



HEART OF ALL ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Master Narration Script

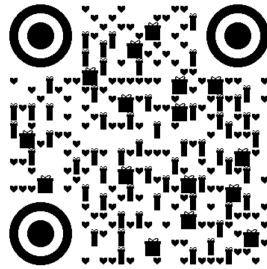


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EPISODE 1 - THE BEGINNING : ORIGIN STORIES

Narration 1 - Intro to Project/Explanation of “Wicoicage”(E1N1)

In Lakota society, stories have always been used to pass knowledge from one generation to the next. Through the oral tradition, elders share their wisdom and teachings with the generations that follow. In this manner, the Lakota culture and way of life is preserved. This project is our humble attempt to bring this tradition into modern times - using microphones, recording devices, telephones, computers, and people spread out geographically. Nonetheless, we hope the end result is somewhat similar - bringing knowledge and wisdom to future generations of Lakota youth. Perhaps some others will also learn something meaningful in the process.

In this first episode, we will be hearing some of the most important creation stories of the Lakota people. Richard Moves Camp, an elder and spiritual leader from the Eagle Nest community, provides some insight into the Lakota understanding of “wicoicage” - a Lakota word used to describe the Western concept of creation. It comes from two words: “wico” meaning a group of beings and “icage” meaning the making or growing of. You might notice that the Lakota and Western understandings of creation diverge quite a bit.

Narration 2 - Intro to Episode/Origin story(E1N2)

We will be hearing more from Richard Moves Camp later in this episode when he speaks about the creation story that he and his family follows. It should be said that these stories and their interpretations often vary from *tiwahe* to *tiwahe* - family to family - and different *tiospayes* - or communities - value some of them over others. This is by no means a definitive collection of every Lakota creation story that has ever been told. With all the variations that exist, that would be impossible. Nonetheless, these are some of the significant stories that we came across in our interviews along with a bit of commentary as to why we think they are important.

In this next segment, Corey Yellow Boy recounts a story he heard from Wilmer Mesteth, an elder and spiritual leader from the Medicine Root community who, in Moves Camp's words, is now manifested into the next world. This story tells about the Creator giving of himself to make all the spirits and beings of the universe. As a result of his sacrifice, everything in the universe is connected to the Creator and, therefore, we are all related. *Mitakuye Oyasin*. This phrase is used commonly even today and it is the way that nearly every prayer concludes. All my relatives. Mitakuye Oyasin.

Narration 3 - Intro to Wind Cave story(E1N3)

The origin story of the Lakota people most often starts with Wind Cave. This next version told by Wayne Weston, although slightly different than the previous one, is important because it illustrates the formation of the seven communities of the Oceti Sakowin - the Seven Council Fires. This historic alliance of linguistically and culturally connected bands of the Lakota people - although unique in their own ways - found power in unity even if they spent most of their time far from one another. It is notable that the Oceti Sakowin was involved in both the 1876 Battle of Greasy Grass - otherwise known as Little Bighorn - as well as the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890. Many would say that the increasing enforcement of the reservation system created by the 1851 Indian Appropriations Act - where Natives were not allowed to leave their reservations without permission - worked effectively to disempower the Oceti Sakowin who were at odds with the U.S. government since long before George Custer's death and the defeat of the 7th Cavalry. Most recently, in a historic moment of our renewed unity, the alliance came together in 2016 to stand up against the DAPL pipeline at Standing Rock.

Narration 4 - Intro to Great Race story(E1N4)

Another story told among the Lakota is that of the Great Race. It describes a competition between 2-legged and 4-legged creatures to determine who would be at the top of the animal hierarchy. While it did decide who would eat who, winning the race did not give anyone the power to dominate or exploit other creatures. Instead, Cornell Conroy points out that in fact this story illustrates the spiritual mandate of the Oceti

Sakowin to be caretakers of *Unci Maka* - Grandmother Earth - and all of her inhabitants. In the process, he also points out the concept of “duality” - where there is both a physical and a spiritual meaning of everything that exists on Unci Maka. This concept will be further explored and expanded upon throughout the project.

Additionally, the story emphasizes the importance of *He Sapa* - otherwise known as the Black Hills - the oldest mountain range in what is now the United States of America. The region is considered “wakan” - or sacred - and the center of the universe to the Lakota and the rest of the Oceti Sakowin. It plays a prominent role in spiritual undertakings to this day. In Episode 3, we will explore the contentious history of He Sapa which eventually led to the U.S. Court of Claims stating that “a more ripe and rank case of dishonorable dealings will never, in all probability, be found in our history.” In 1980’s *United States vs. Sioux Nation of Indians* case, the Supreme Court ruled 8-1 to award the Oceti Sakowin over \$105 million for the illegal seizure of He Sapa by the U.S. government. To date, the tribes have refused to accept the money - which has grown to around \$2 billion - saying, in effect, that He Sapa was never for sale and demanding instead the return of our sacred land.

Narration 5 - Intro to Pte San Win story(E1N5)

Another story told often among the Lakota is that of Pte San Win, or White Buffalo Calf Woman. It has been said that the Lakota were going through hard times - perhaps a drought or food shortage. Perhaps spiritually challenging times were facing the people. Among those we talked to, there were differences as to when and where the story took place or the extent of what Pte San Win brought to the Lakota. It was agreed upon by most that she is said to have brought the *canupa wakan*, or sacred pipe, that would come to play an important role in Lakota culture. This story is told by Tom Hollow Horn, Cornell Conroy, and Wayne Weston. It is directly followed by Weston’s commentary about why the canupa brought by Pte San Win should be considered the second pipe rather than the first one.

Narration 6 - Intro to 7 Star Dipper story(E1N6)

Wakanyeja. Children. Broken apart syllable by syllable, it can be translated to “something that is the purest form that is made through the female.” Most modern Lakota use the phrase “sacred beings” to express the meaning of *wakanyeja*. In this next and last story segment, Richard Moves Camp tells of the importance of the 7-star dipper, otherwise known as the Big Dipper, as a visual representation of the Lakota’s 7 spiritual ceremonies.

Narration 7 - Outro to Episode/Credits(E1N7)

All of the Lakota creation stories share values and lessons that are important in keeping identity strong and grounded in a culture with a long and dignified history. Together or on their own, they work to answer basic questions that a child - or an adult for that matter - may ask throughout their lives: Who am I? Where did I come from? What makes me unique? How should I live my life? Why does it matter? It was said several times during our interviews that every time you hear these stories, they will provide new teachings based on where you are in your life. One time you might learn about the importance of sacrifice. Another time you might hear a message about the importance of relatives and kinship more strongly. Another time the part about showing compassion for everything that lives might stand out to you. But, just like the Lakota way of life, there will always be something there for you to learn. Very different from the modern world that we are surrounded by, where misinformation thrives and truth seems to change from day to day, they are stories to guide individuals throughout their lives - one source of information that will forever stay true, that provide a reliable and solid foundation upon which to build a healthy life, with lessons that have withstood the test of time.

The voices you heard in the opening montage of the episode were Marcell Bull Bear, Amanda Thunder Bull Christensen, Jessie Pulliam, Tom Hollow Horn, John Haas, Ervene Palmier, Lynore Long Man, Joe Whiting, and Wayne Weston. The narrators for this episode were Joseph Marshall III, Elizabeth Iron Horn, Lara Herman, and Stephanie Janis. A couple of narration revisions were recorded by Kansas Clifford. The project theme song was written and performed by Alex Fire Thunder. In the remaining time, you

will hear the song that was recorded especially for this episode - by Brandon McBride, Austin Last Horse, Anthony Gutierrez, and Dave McBride - followed by commentary about the relevance of the song to the episode by our music director Anthony George Apple.

EPISODE 2 - BUFFALO NATION : BEFORE CONTACT

Narration 1 - Opening(E2N1)

Endless rolling prairies, stretching as far as the eye can see in every direction. No buildings, no fences, no roads as most people know them today. Grasses blowing in the wind, undulating in the breeze - a giant green and golden sea. This was the heart of *Keya Wita*, Turtle Island, or what is now known as North America. Upon closer inspection there are beautiful wildflowers of nearly every shape and color, dried and withered remains by the time Winter arrived; stands of mighty pines and strong leafed trees that change color with the seasons, standing barren and leafless much of the year; creeks, rivers, and lakes of the purest waters, frigid and largely frozen during the cold months. While it might seem desolate or even lonely, this vast, wild, undeveloped expanse was teeming with life. All of it - from the wind to the dragonflies and the eagles, from the rocks to the snakes and the mountain lions, from the flowers to the deer and the antelope, from the trees to the coyotes and the innumerable and sacred buffalo - were considered our relatives. This is where we, the Lakota, have always called home.

Narration 2 - Intro to Episode/“Loss of Purity” segment(E2N2)

Life on the plains was not easy. Winters were cold, dark, and formidable; we counted our age by the number of winters we survived. There were times of drought and times of famine. Of course, there was death and loss, mourning and sadness. But, then again, Spring would return and, with it, new life. To this day, we welcome back the *Wakinyans* - the Thunder Beings - and the many blessings they bring. There were times of plenty where we would celebrate our bounty. Summers were warm and usually joyous, full of festivities and ceremonies. Of course, there was also birth, growth, and healing. This was the circle of life. There is always balance. All the time, regardless of our circumstances or moods, we would pray and give thanks for our lives, no matter how challenging they were.

In this second episode, we will be hearing about how life was for the Lakota before contact with non-indigenous people. We will share some of the important values and teachings along with insights about the things that made us unique, that we are grateful to have gathered during our interviews. Richard Two Dogs, an elder and spiritual leader from the Porcupine community, starts by explaining why spirituality and certain values were an important part of Lakota society.

Narration 3 - Intro to Learn from Unci Maka segment(E2N3)

Much of what we knew and how we lived as a people came from our close relationship with *Unci Maka* - Grandmother Earth. As mentioned in the first episode, we were her caretakers and therefore we learned to live in accordance with Nature in order to not only survive but to thrive. Out of this relationship, came who the Lakota are as a nation: strong, industrious, compassionate, and resilient. In this next segment, several people talk about our close connection to Nature and what we learned along the way that helped guide our lives and society as a whole. They are Richard Moves Camp, Jeanne Janis, Joyce Hollow Horn, and the late great Birgil Kills Straight. In the last section, Wayne Weston explains one of the things that we learned from the buffalo, our relatives who we depended upon for so much - food, shelter, clothing, rope, and even some of our tools, weapons, and toys. Of course they are why we and the rest of the Oceti Sakowin knew ourselves as *Pte Oyate*, the Buffalo Nation.

Narration 4 - Intro to Lakota Language segment(E2N4)

A defining feature of the Lakota people is our language. It can be traced back over 3,000 years and, despite the severe challenges of attempted genocide followed by forced assimilation, it is one of only 12 Native languages that has survived relatively intact on Keya Wita, out of hundreds that existed when the Pilgrims arrived in 1620.¹ During our interviews, elders talked about how the Lakota language is the very essence of being Lakota. Important values are embodied and passed on through it. Someone who was not explicitly taught traditional Lakota teachings in the home, which happened

¹ Andrews, John. "Saving Their Language: Speakers Try to Revive Lakota and Dakota Before They Disappear." *South Dakota Magazine*. (March/April, 2009). Accessed on 30 December 2020 at <https://www.southdakotamagazine.com/lakota-saving-their-language>

much more so in the modern era, learned them through the language. For example, kinship terms helped to define the roles that created order and stability within Lakota society, based on respect, understanding the responsibilities of one's own and others' positions, and accountability to the rest of the community. The concepts used to create a complex vocabulary, although fairly simple on their own, tied an individual back to where they as a Lakota came from. In losing the language, it is much more than communication that is hindered; it is identity. To many, the language is the embodiment of who we are as Lakota people. During this segment, you will hear from Richard Moves Camp, Jessie Pulliam, Richard Two Dogs, and Birgil Kills Straight.

Narration 5 - Intro to Lakota Society segment(E2N5)

In order to endure for as long and as strongly as it did, Lakota society had to be built upon a very stable foundation. This was no accident. It is what allowed the entire Oceti Sakowin to live and flourish - from what is now Montana all the way to what is now Minnesota, from what is now southern Canada all the way to what is now Nebraska. It started with 7 spiritual laws that were passed down using the oral tradition, through rote teachings as well as stories imbued with these same important virtues. There was pride in and a deep understanding of what it meant to be Lakota. Children were treated as *wakan* and the elderly were revered as the keepers of knowledge and wisdom. As mentioned before, there were very defined roles and responsibilities that were respected almost without exception and helped maintain a clear sense of social order. Decisions were made in a balanced way, as women were highly respected as life-givers and child-rearers and therefore the backbone of the Nation. Lakota society was largely self-regulating; because everyone lived by the same values and teachings, there was little need for intervention and conflict resolution. When it was necessary, even under the most serious circumstances, you will see that it was done mainly in subtle and restorative ways. After all, the balance and well-being of the larger community was paramount to a healthy and well-functioning society. In this longer segment, you will be hearing from Birgil Kills Straight, Richard Moves Camp, Richard Two Dogs, Jessie Pulliam, Lisa White Bull, Marcell Bull Bear, Cornell Conroy, Joyce Hollow Horn, and Amanda Thunder Bull Christensen.

Narration 6 - Intro to Four Stages of Life segment(E2N6)

One of the most prominent and meaningful symbols of the Lakota and the rest of the Oceti Sakowin is what is now commonly known as the Medicine Wheel. Some people call it *Cangleska Wakan*, meaning Sacred Circle or Sacred Hoop. The use of the word “wheel” certainly arose in more recent times. Nonetheless, the circle that defines the shape of the Medicine Wheel comes from our close relationship with Unci Maka. It is the shape of our beloved Grandmother, as well as our relatives *wi*, the sun, and *hanwi*, the moon. It is also the shape of our winged relatives’ *hohpi*, or nest, and the tipi, our own homes for many centuries as we followed the buffalo. The circle is seen as a physical symbol of many things all at once. It represents, in Birgil Kills Straight’s words, “God, the First Grandfather, or the Creator” - otherwise known as *Wakan Tanka* - which literally means “Great Sacred” but is known as “the Sacred Mystery” or “the Great Spirit” as well. Many people also use the term *Tunkasila* - Grandfather - to describe God. In addition, the circle represents the idea of *Mitakuye Oyasin* - how all things are interconnected - as well as the “circle of life” that we have heard about - the never-ending cycle of life, death, and rebirth. Inside the *Cangleska Wakan*, there are two lines that cross in the very center. The horizontal line represents the *Wanagi Tachanku* or Spirit Trail, otherwise known as the Milky Way, and the vertical line represents the *Canku Wakan* - sometimes called the “Red Road” - or the Sacred Path of every individual that walks Unci Maka. The center is where we pray, surrounded by all of our relatives, all of Creation - those that came before, those now in existence, and those that have yet to arrive. At the end of the crossing lines are the Four Directions, and each of the four quadrants created by the lines is associated with a sacred color: black, red, yellow, and white. There are many more teachings related to the Medicine Wheel and each of the Four Directions - not to mention the sacred Seven Directions which include *mahpiya*(the sky), Unci Maka, and *nagi*(the spirit) - but in this next clip Richard Two Dogs shares with us one that was passed on to him.

Narration 7 - Intro to Seven Original Healers segment(E2N7)

Discussion of Lakota society would not be complete without the mention of the *wicasa wakan* - sacred man - or what is more commonly known as the medicine man. In fact,

not all medicine men were men. Whether male or female, these spiritual leaders provided guidance and healing to the people using their direct connection to the spirit world. We were told in our interviews that good spiritual health was the key to good physical, mental, and emotional health. Therefore, by taking care of the spiritual needs of the people, medicine men were in fact helping to ensure the strength of the entire Nation, from the ground up. In this next segment, Richard Moves Camp shares his knowledge of the original 7 medicine men of the Oceti Sakowin.

Narration 8 - Outro to Episode/Credits(E2N8)

While we are known fairly widely as part of Pte Oyate, the Buffalo Nation - for obvious reasons and going back to our creation stories - most people, maybe ourselves even, know much less about the things that made the Lakota and the rest of the Oceti Sakowin such a strong and stable society that endured for so long upon the prairies of Keya Wita. We did not need buildings. We did not need fences. We did not need roads. In fact, we did not *need* anything...because we already had everything that we needed and much much more. We had our relative *tatanka* which kept us alive, as long as we did not take more than we needed. We had Unci Maka and all of the rest of her inhabitants with everything else that they provided for us, as long as we took care of them. We had our language and our laws, our stories and our teachings, our elders and our medicine men - where we learned everything we needed to know about how to live in peace and balance - as long as we respected them. We had *Wakan Tanka* or *Tunkasila* and all the rest of our ancestral spirits who guided and protected us, as long as we honored them. Lastly, but certainly not least, we had each other, for a great nation cannot exist without its people. While much has changed since our free days upon the plains - many challenges have come and many still exist including those facing Lakota spirituality - as Mr. Moves Camp said, "The power is still out there."

The flute music you heard in the introduction to the episode was played by Zenos Graham in 1939. It is part of the Willard Rhodes Collection that was shared with us by the Oglala Lakota College Archives courtesy of the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University. The voices you heard in the opening montage of the episode were

Birgil Kills Straight, Ervene Palmier, Joyce Hollow Horn, John Haas, Richard Moves Camp, Richard Two Dogs, Tom Hollow Horn, Lynore Long Man, and Cornell Conroy. The narrators for this episode were Lara Herman, Elizabeth Iron Horn, Stephanie Janis, and Joseph Marshall III. Narration revisions were made by Kansas Clifford. The project theme song was written and performed by Alex Fire Thunder. In the remaining time, you will hear the song that was recorded especially for this episode - by Brandon McBride, Austin Last Horse, Anthony Gutierrez, and Dave McBride - followed by commentary about the relevance of the song to the episode by our music director Anthony George Apple.

EPISODE 3 - THE NEXT DAY : ARRIVAL TO DAWES

Narration 1 - Opening(E3N1)

One night we fell asleep. Some of us rested well and had good dreams. Some of us - those with worries or those going through hard times - were probably not so fortunate that night. But that, of course, is part of being human. The lookouts stoked the fire, like any other night, and many awoke to pray to the Morning Star, none realizing that what happened today would change their world forever. It started almost as a whisper; over time that whisper would grow in intensity, like the wind across the prairie. Maybe some thought it was an empty rumor, but it must have been a strange one. Certainly everyone had to see it, or them, with their own eyes to believe it. In this song recorded in 1939, Louise Twiss sings, "*Blihiciyaye, taku otehika u ktaye*" - "Take courage, hardships are coming" - "*Blihiciyaye ozuya ye, nake nula yecize*" - "Take courage, the ones who are fighting will never give up."

Narration 2 - Intro to Episode/Winter Count segment(E3N2)

In this third episode, we will continue to explore the story of the Lakota which became much more complicated with the arrival of Europeans to Keya Wita. Before then life had been *waste*, good. Not easy...but waste. We had learned to live in harmony with Unci Maka. It was considered a privilege, the highest honor, and it came with certain responsibility as we discussed last episode. Along with our 7 guiding values, we were taught to see ourselves as *ikce wicasa* - common man - not above anyone or anything else. The act of counting coup - touching our enemy with a coup stick rather than killing them - was given the greatest respect among Lakota warriors. Our concept of *mitakuye oyasin* - cherishing all of our relatives, everything in existence - guided our lives and interaction with the world around us. We documented our long history, living the way we were taught by Unci Maka and our ancestors, on winter counts. This is Richard Moves Camp.

Narration 3 - Intro to Discovery Doctrine Part 1 segment(E3N3)

As we discussed the arrival of non-indigenous people to Keya Wita, we thought that perhaps our ancestors saw them as powerful, maybe even godly with their guns and medicine. But as we looked more at the way things ended up playing out, we had trouble describing it. This is the closest thing we could come up with: “At first they earned our trust, but then it was like a monster that kept wanting more.” We remembered Ité, the double-faced woman who would switch from good to evil and back again. She relied on Iktomi, the trickster, who teaches us by doing things the opposite way of how they should be done. He never takes responsibility for the problems he creates, laughing his way out of them instead. One story actually tells of Iktomi and Gnaska, who is *wakan sica* or bad spirit, teaching languages and customs that were foreign to those of the Oceti Sakowin. Iktomi was even said to teach people about strange gods so that they would forget the gods of their ancestors. In this same story, Tokahe encouraged us to continue, united as relatives, even if we have to struggle for the natural rights that we are entitled to like everyone else. In this next segment, Shawnee/Lenape scholar Steve Newcomb and Cornell Conroy discuss the Doctrine of Discovery that guided European nations in their exploration of the world.

Narration 4 - Intro to Pipe Commission segment(E3N4)

The first documented interaction with non-indigenous people in what would later become South Dakota took place in 1742 after Francois and Louis-Joseph Verendrye and two other Frenchmen set out to find a water route to the Pacific Ocean.² In the journal of their expedition, they repeatedly make mention of “the savages” that they expected to encounter along the way. As they made their way west, the Frenchmen were welcomed and assisted by every indigenous band they met. Upon meeting what they called the chief of the “Bow People,” Francois Verendrye commented, “Paying us attentions and politeness that had in them nothing of the savage, he had all our baggage put into his lodge...and saw that great care was taken of our horses.” He continued, “Up to that point we had been very well received in all of the villages we had

² National Park Service. “Early Exploration and the Fur Trade.” Accessed March 7, 2020, at https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/pierre_fortpierre/early_exploration_fur_trade_essay.html

passed through...” While the expedition did not make it all the way to the western coast, they were cared for and protected for 3½ months even with the extreme threat of the violent and destructive “Snake People,” thought by at least two scholars familiar with the account to be the Shoshoni.³ It is interesting to note that the tribes of the Oceti Sakowin would come to be known by French traders as “nadouessioux,” after being given the name “natowessiwak,” meaning “little snakes,” by one of their rivals, the Ojibwe. It is said the English shortened the name to “Sioux.” The proper names Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota actually translate to mean “friend” or “ally.”⁴ While conflict certainly existed among indigenous tribes, the arrival of Europeans seemed to push the Lakota, who according to Richard Moves Camp had recently acquired the *canupa wakan*, to try and make peace with tribes around Keya Wita by the late 1700s.

Narration 5 - Intro to Early Contact segment(E3N5)

It is fairly well-understood and admitted that colonization was devastating for indigenous people around the world. Through disease and direct conflict, 90% of those populations were killed in what would later come to be known as the Americas, all within a little over 100 years after Christopher Columbus’s first voyage in 1492. An estimated fifty-six million people by 1600. Enough to actually cool the planet. Fifty-six million people.⁵ “Old World diseases that were not present in the Americas until contact include bubonic plague, measles, smallpox, mumps, chickenpox, influenza, cholera, diphtheria, typhus, malaria, leprosy, and yellow fever.”⁶ Larson in Martin and Goodman. “[Indigenous people] at that time had never been in contact with the pathogens the colonists brought, creating so-called ‘virgin soil’ epidemics. People who didn’t die from smallpox, died from the following wave of influenza. Those who survived that succumbed to measles. Warfare, famine and colonial atrocities did the rest in the Great Dying.”⁷ Koch, Brierley,

³ *Journal of the Expedition of the Chevalier de La Vérendrye and One of His Brothers to Reach the Western Sea, Addressed to M. the Marquis de Beauharnois, 1742-43.* Accessed March 11, 2021, at <https://content.wisconsinhistory.org/digital/collection/aj/id/7074>

⁴ Black Hills Visitor. “Lakota or Sioux?” Accessed March 7, 2021, at <https://blackhillsvisitor.com/learn/lakota-or-sioux/>

⁵ Milman, O. “European colonization of the Americas killed so many it cooled Earth’s climate.” (January 31, 2019). Accessed March 8, 2021 at <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/jan/31/european-colonization-of-americas-helped-cause-climate-change>

⁶ Martin, D., & Goodman, A. “Health conditions before Columbus: Paleopathology of Native North Americans.” (January, 2002). Accessed October 14, 2021, at <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1071659/#ref19>

⁷ Koch, A., Brierly, C., Maslin, M., Lewis, S. “European colonisation of the Americas killed 10% of world population and caused global cooling.” (February 1, 2019). Accessed March 9, 2021, at <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/02/european-colonisation-of-the-americas-caused-global-cooling/>

Maslin, and Lewis. In this next segment, Marcell Bull Bear, Stella Iron Cloud, Richard Moves Camp, and Jessie Pulliam talk about early contact with Europeans.

Narration 6 - Intro to Intermarriage segment(E3N6)

With the influx of European trappers, soldiers, and then settlers, intermarriage began. This mixing affected the trajectory of the Lakota, seen obviously today in the many European names you can find amongst our people. In this next segment, Stella Iron Cloud talks about how intermarriage came about, the rights of Lakota women after colonization, the effects of intermarriage on the Lakota, and the creation of half-breed reservations.

Narration 7 - Intro to Discovery Doctrine Part 2 segment(E3N7)

While some have perhaps not heard of the Doctrine of Discovery, many more are aware of the concept of Manifest Destiny. It held that Europeans, or “Americans” after 1776, were somehow intended to settle across what was declared by the Second Continental Congress as the United States of America.⁸ Towards this end, the United States Supreme Court said unanimously in 1823’s Johnson vs. McIntosh decision that indigenous people had no claim to land they had been living on for at least several thousand years. They were considered occupants, not owners. Chief Justice John Marshall wrote the following regarding the relationship “between the discoverer and the native”:

“In the establishment of these relations, the rights of the original inhabitants were, in no instance, entirely disregarded; but were necessarily, to a considerable extent, impaired. They were admitted to be the rightful occupants of the soil, with a legal as well as just claim to retain possession of it, and to use it according to their own discretion; but their rights to complete sovereignty, as independent nations, were necessarily diminished, and their power to dispose of the soil at their own will, to whomsoever they pleased,

⁸ National Constitution Center. “On this day, the name ‘United States of America’ becomes official.” Accessed March 12, 2021, at <https://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution/blog/today-the-name-united-states-of-america-becomes-offici#:~:text=On%20September%209%2C%201776%2C%20the.symbol%20of%20freedom%20and%20independence>

was denied by the original fundamental principle, that discovery gave exclusive title to those who made it.”⁹

It should be mentioned that the indigenous people of Keya Wita had already been officially deemed “merciless Indian Savages” in the Declaration of Independence which had been presented to Congress on July 4th, 1776. Referring to King George III of Great Britain and Ireland, it reads,

“He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.”¹⁰

In this next clip, Cornell Conroy and Steve Newcomb establish a direct link between the Papal Bulls of the late 1400s and U.S. federal law that was used to dispossess indigenous people of their land.

Narration 8 - Intro to 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty segment(E3N8)

In 1830, President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act into law, “authorizing the president to grant lands west of the Mississippi in exchange for Indian lands within existing state borders.”¹¹ While some would go willingly, many tribes resisted being relocated from their ancestral homelands. At the same time, the concept of trust responsibility was established by the 1831 Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia Supreme Court case. Trust responsibility “consists of the highest moral obligations that the United States must meet to ensure the protection of tribal and individual Indian lands, assets, resources, and treaty and similarly recognized rights.”¹² Nonetheless, Jackson ignored this newly established trust responsibility as well as the Worcester vs. Georgia Supreme Court decision of 1832 which ruled that the Cherokee were a sovereign nation. This

⁹ Library of Congress. *Johnson and Graham's Lessee vs. William McIntosh*. (1823). Accessed March 14th, 2021, at <https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/ll/usrep/usrep021/usrep021543/usrep021543.pdf>

¹⁰ National Archives. “Declaration of Independence: A Transcription.” Accessed October 14, 2021, at <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript#:~:text=He%20has%20excited%20domestic%20insurrections.all%20ages%2C%20sexes%20and%20conditions>

¹¹ Library of Congress. “Indian Removal Act: Primary Documents in American History.” Accessed March 8th, 2021, at <https://guides.loc.gov/indian-removal-act>

¹² U.S. Department of the Interior. “Order No. 3335 - Reaffirmation of the Federal Trust Responsibility to Federally Recognized Indian Tribes and Individual Indian Benefactors.” (August 20, 2014). Accessed March 11, 2021, at <https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.gov/files/migrated/news/pressreleases/upload/Signed-SO-3335.pdf>

comes from the Museum of the Cherokee Indian: “In 1838, Cherokee people were forcibly taken from their homes, incarcerated in stockades, forced to walk more than a thousand miles, and removed to Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. More than 4,000 died and many are buried in unmarked graves along ‘The Trail Where They Cried.’”¹³ This is also known as the Trail of Tears.

On January 24th, 1848, a man named James Wilson Marshall found gold flakes in a river at the base of what are now the Sierra Nevada Mountains near present-day Coloma, California. By the end of 1849, the non-indigenous population of the so-called California territory had grown from less than 1,000 to around 100,000.¹⁴ The Oregon Trail, which connected what is now Independence, Missouri with present-day Oregon City, Oregon was being used steadily by migrants since 1843.¹⁵ Most indigenous people were welcoming of the travelers along the Trail, preferring to trade for goods coming from the east rather than fight. Between 1840 and 1860, 362 migrants and 426 indigenous people had been killed, 90% of those west of present-day South Pass¹⁶ which marked the Continental Divide in what is now Wyoming.¹⁷ This was of the estimated 350,000 migrants who used the Oregon Trail between 1841 and 1866. The Trail was only one of the available western routes at the time.¹⁸ Nonetheless, in 1849 the U.S. government started negotiations with tribes living between the so-called Arkansas and Missouri rivers to ensure protection of migrants traveling west. The Lakota were one of 9 tribes whose representatives signed the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty which promised annuities to the participating tribes in line with the federal government’s trust responsibilities. It should be noted that also in 1851, the U.S. government signed the Indian Appropriations Act which created the reservation system. Under it,

¹³ Cherokee Museum. “Trail of Tears.” Accessed 10, 2021, at https://cherokeemuseum.com/archives/era/trail-of-tears?qclid=Cj0KCQiA1pyCBhCtARIsAHaY_5fuVNanY8i0c9XGmckTixdmnVRKfe8_AgcPs8o-nSM8mlrB5ZOFliMaAk_KEALw_wcB

¹⁴ History.com editors. “California Gold Rush.” Accessed March 19, 2021, at <https://www.history.com/topics/westward-expansion/gold-rush-of-1849>

¹⁵ History.com editors. “Oregon Trail.” Accessed March 13, 2021, at <https://www.history.com/topics/westward-expansion/oregon-trail>

¹⁶ National Oregon/California Trail Center. “Historical Trails.” Accessed March 12, 2021, at <https://oregontrailcenter.org/indians>

¹⁷ National Park Service. “South Pass.” Accessed March 10, 2021, at <https://www.nps.gov/cali/planyourvisit/south-pass.htm>

¹⁸ U.S. Department of the Interior. “Oregon Trail.” Accessed March 9, 2021, at https://www.blm.gov/sites/blm.gov/files/learn_interp_nhotic_faq.pdf

indigenous people were not allowed to leave those newly created reservations without permission.¹⁹ This is Marcell Bull Bear and Richard Moves Camp.

Narration 9 - Intro to Grattan Massacre segment(E3N9)

Article VI paragraph 2 of the U.S. Constitution states that “all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land.”²⁰ This clause puts federal treaties with indigenous tribes on the same level as acts of Congress.²¹ Despite their supremacy, there were many challenges that came with treaties, as passing time would make obvious. The 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty was no different. For one, there were not enough translators available to ensure that the tribes had a full understanding of the document which was only written in English. Secondly, tribes usually made decisions based on consensus while the U.S. government wanted to speak to elected officials. In the end, the tribes agreed to appoint chiefs to sign the document but, given traditional indigenous governance practices, they had no control over individuals that were not a part of the signing. Lastly and certainly most fatally, the terms of the treaty were soon broken by colonists, the U.S. government, and the tribes.²² Marcell Bull Bear tells the story of what some historians call the Mormon Cow Incident or the Grattan Massacre.

Narration 10 - Intro to Red Cloud’s War segment(E3N10)

A year later, William Harney led 600 U.S. Army soldiers to what is now called Blue Water Creek, three miles north of the present-day North Platte River. There they found a Lakota village whose 250 or so inhabitants Harney somehow decided were responsible for the Grattan Massacre the year before. Harney separated his forces and attacked the village using new long-range rifles. The infantrymen sent the villagers fleeing towards

¹⁹ History.com editors. “Indian Reservations.” (December 8, 2017). Accessed March 7, 2021, at <https://www.history.com/topics/native-american-history/indian-reservations#:~:text=In%201851%2C%20Congress%20passed%20the%20the%20reservations%20without%20permission>

²⁰ Constitution Annotated. “Article 6 - Clause 2.” Accessed March 8, 2021, at <https://constitution.congress.gov/browse/article-6/clause-2/>

²¹ Legal Information Institute at Cornell University. “Treaties as the Law of the Land.” Accessed March 12, 2021, at <https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution-conan/article-2/section-2/clause-2/treaties-as-law-of-the-land>

²² North Dakota State website. “Section 3: The Treaties of Fort Laramie 1851 & 1868.” Accessed March 11, 2021, at <https://www.ndstudies.gov/gr8/content/unit-iii-waves-development-1861-1920/lesson-4-alliances-and-conflicts/topic-2-sitting-bulls-people/section-3-treaties-fort-laramie-1851-1868#:~:text=The%20Treaty%20of%20Fort%20Laramie%20of%201851%20created%20a%20short,opportunities%20for%20conflict%20and%20misunderstanding>

mounted soldiers to the north. In the end, 86 Brules and Oglalas were killed and 70 women and children were taken captive. The tipis were plundered and set on fire. This so-called Battle of Blue Water or Ash Hollow marked what is considered the first military campaign by U.S. forces against the Lakota.²³

During the 1850s, there was a growing call by Californians for the U.S. Congress to establish a transcontinental railroad to deliver both passengers and goods from the middle and eastern coast of Keya Wita.²⁴ In 1852, Congress authorized the Pacific Railroad Surveys which were carried out by the Secretary of War Jefferson Davis between 1853 and 1855.²⁵ The first transcontinental railroad, the Pacific, would be constructed between 1863 and 1869, connecting what is now Council Bluffs, Iowa with what was then called Oakland Long Wharf on San Francisco Bay.²⁶ The “Iron Horse” had arrived. In 1858, the Pikes Peak Gold Rush, later known as the Colorado Gold Rush, brought 100,000 migrants to what is now Colorado but was then part of the so-called Kansas and Nebraska territories.²⁷ In May of 1862, President Lincoln signed the Homestead Act which granted Americans 160-acre plots and rewarded settlement on western lands. The Act resulted in 1.6 million official homestead claims amounting to 270 million acres. The most successful claims were made in present-day Montana, North Dakota, Colorado, and Nebraska. During this time, indigenous tribes including the Lakota were forced from their ancestral homelands and onto reservations to make way for homesteaders.²⁸ In this next segment, Marcell Bull Bear discusses Red Cloud’s War which was a reaction to accelerating American westward expansion without consideration for the country’s original inhabitants.

²³ Explore Nebraska. “Battle of Blue Water.” Accessed March 10, 2021, at <https://mynehistory.com/items/show/236?tour=4&index=2>

²⁴ Lumen Learning. “Manifest Destiny and the Gold Rush.” Accessed March 9, 2021, at <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/suny-ushistory1ay/chapter/manifest-destiny-and-the-gold-rush/>

²⁵ Stanford University Libraries. “Pacific Railroad Surveys.” Accessed March 10, 2021, at <https://exhibits.stanford.edu/rr/feature/pacific-railroad-surveys>

²⁶ Linda Hall Library. “The Pacific Railway: A Brief History of Building the Transcontinental Railroad.” Accessed March 9, 2021, at <https://railroad.lindahall.org/essays/brief-history.html>

²⁷ Western Mining History. “The Colorado Gold Rush.” Accessed March 10, 2021 at <https://westernmininghistory.com/articles/11/page1/>

²⁸ History.com editors. “Homestead Act.” Accessed <https://www.history.com/topics/american-civil-war/homestead-act>

Narration 11 - Intro to Importance of He Sapa segment(E3N11)

For a moment, let us go out of order, because we would be irresponsible not to mention it. In August of 1862 - around the time they found gold in what is now western Montana and 4 years before the beginning of Red Cloud's War - the Dakota War, otherwise known as the Sioux Uprising, began. After having their lands whittled away through treaties between 1805 and 1858, most of the Dakotas' annuity payments were going to traders who said they were owed. In 1862, late annuity payments, failing crops, and the refusal of traders and Indian agents to help the Dakota left many of our relatives starving and desperate. On August 18th, a group of Dakota attacked trading posts and settlements along what is now the Minnesota River Valley. After a month of fighting, most of the Dakota who participated in the war fled and the remaining 2,000 or so surrendered. A military commission was created and 392 Dakota men were tried for killing and assaulting civilians.²⁹ Regardless of what happened previously, the trials were unjust: little evidence, strong bias against the Dakota, and the affairs were conducted exclusively in English.³⁰ While 303 were originally sentenced to death, President Lincoln reduced that number to 38. On December 26th, 1862, the Dakota 38 were hanged in *Makatho* or Blue Earth - now known as Mankato, Minnesota - in the largest mass execution in U.S. history.³¹ In this next segment, Richard Moves Camp and Richard Two Dogs explain the importance of *He Sapa*, the Black Hills, to the entire Oceti Sakowin.

Narration 12 - Intro to 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty segment(E3N12)

1868 saw the first U.S. presidential election after the Civil War. Voting rights for newly freed black slaves were also being considered.³² In September of that year, George Armstrong Custer was sent to deal with the Cheyenne, some of whom had that summer entered what were by then Kansas and Oklahoma. General Philip Sheridan determined

²⁹ Dakota County Historical Society. "Sibley and the US-Dakota War of 1862." Accessed March 10, 2021 at <https://www.dakotahistory.org/sibley-1862>

³⁰ Minnesota Historical Society. "The Trials and Hanging." Accessed March 10, 2021, at <https://www.usdakotawar.org/history/aftermath/trials-hanging>

³¹ Dakota County Historical Society. "Sibley and the US-Dakota War of 1862." Accessed March 10, 2021 at <https://www.dakotahistory.org/sibley-1862>

³² Britannica. "United States Presidential Election of 1868." Accessed March 9, 2021, at <https://www.britannica.com/event/United-States-presidential-election-of-1868>

that a raid on the Cheyenne's winter camp might be most effective. On November 26th, Custer located a large village on the Lodge Pole River, near present-day Cheyenne, Oklahoma. He did not attempt to identify who this group was or he would have found out that they were a peaceful band living on reservation land where the commander of nearby Fort Cobb had ensured them safety. He must not have noticed the white flag hanging from one of the main dwellings either. At dawn the next morning, Custer ordered four columns of 7th Cavalry soldiers to overtake the quiet village. Within a few hours, 103 Cheyenne were dead including the Peace Chief Black Kettle along with many women and children. This was considered the first major victory by the U.S. government of the Indian Wars.³³ After what many historians call the Battle of the Washita, the Cavalry rounded up 800 of the Cheyenne's horses and shot them. Lenora Hart Holimann said,

"The horse enabled us to follow the buffalo herds. The horse was a symbol of wealth. To the Cheyenne people, the horse was like part of our family. That day at the Lodge Pole, we witnessed our horses shot, one by one. Our relatives say that as they were dying, these horses were screaming like people. Today, during special ceremonies, we can still hear the cries of these horses."³⁴

At least one account of this event says that Custer raped a young Cheyenne girl after the onslaught. According to the story, the young girl gave birth to a blonde baby, both of whom were abandoned by Custer when his wife rejoined him.³⁵

That same Spring, the U.S. government invited Lakota representatives back to Fort Laramie, Wyoming. This is Richard Moves Camp, Richard Iron Cloud, and Marcell Bull Bear.

³³ History.com editors. "Custer Massacres Cheyenne on Washita River." Accessed March 10, 2021, at <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/custer-massacres-cheyenne-on-washita-river>

³⁴ National Park Service. "Cheyenne Oral Account of the Attack at Washita." Accessed March 9, 2021, at <http://npshistory.com/brochures/waba/cheyenne-oral-account.pdf>

³⁵ Koster, J. "Squaring Custer's Triangle." (March 27, 2018). Accessed March 8, 2021, at <https://www.historynet.com/squaring-custers-triangle.htm#:~:text=The%20malicious%20version%20suggests%20that%20his%20wife%20rejoined%20him>

Narration 13 - Intro to Treaties & Trust Responsibility segment(E3N13)

In 1871, in what was meant to be a funding bill for Indian Agencies which were set up to control trade with indigenous tribes³⁶, the U.S. Congress put an end to any chance of future treaties. The rider to the Indian Appropriations Act of 1871 stated that “hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty.”³⁷ The first question we had when we learned this was, What did that mean for the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 which had been signed just 3 years earlier? Secondly, what did this mean for the trust responsibility promised by the U.S. government that would provide for our well-being in exchange for giving up our freedom and our land? In this next segment, Marcell Bull Bear and Richard Moves Camp elaborate on this idea of trust responsibility which included annuities and later rations or commodities, among other things that play an important role in our lives even today.

Narration 14 - Intro to Gold in He Sapa segment(E3N14)

The 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty shut down the Bozeman Trail in Montana as well as the forts that had been built beside it. Red Cloud waited to sign it until all the forts were burned down, 7 months after the Treaty had been negotiated, ending his war against the U.S. government.³⁸ As discussed already, the Treaty also “set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation”³⁹ the Great Sioux Reservation which included the western half of what is now South Dakota including *He Sapa*, the Black Hills. It also stated that no more land could be taken by the U.S. government without support of 75% of adult male tribal members.⁴⁰ This is Richard Moves Camp and Marcell Bull Bear.

³⁶ Colorado Encyclopedia. “Indian Appropriations Act(1871).” Accessed March 9, 2021, at <https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/indian-appropriations-act-1871>

³⁷ Legal Information Institute at Cornell University. “Present Status of Indian Treaties.” Accessed March 8, 2021, at <https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution-conan/article-2/section-2/clause-2/present-status-of-indian-treaties#:~:text=By%20a%20Rider%20inserted%20in.by%20Treaty%3A%20Provided%2C%20further%2C>

³⁸ Cutlip, K. “In 1868, two nations made a treaty, the U.S. broke it and Plains Indian tribes are still seeking justice.” *Smithsonian Magazine*. (November 7, 2018). Accessed March 9, 2021, at <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/1868-two-nations-made-treaty-us-broke-it-and-plains-indian-tribes-are-still-seeking-justice-180970741/>

³⁹ Yale Law School. “Fort Laramie Treaty 1868.” Accessed March 10, 2021, at https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/nt001.asp

⁴⁰ Cutlip, K. “In 1868, two nations made a treaty, the U.S. broke it and Plains Indian tribes are still seeking justice.” *Smithsonian Magazine*. (November 7, 2018). Accessed March 9, 2021, at

Narration 15 - Intro to Greasy Grass segment(E3N15)

In 1874, George Custer had received orders to explore He Sapa with his 7th Cavalry. He brought 1,000 soldiers, 110 wagons, 70 Indian scouts, 4 journalists, and 2 miners. When they left Fort Lincoln on July 2nd, they played Custer's favorite song, the same song he had played in the early dawn before the Washita Massacre.⁴¹ Some say he also had this Irish drinking song played the last time he left the fort on his way to the Greasy Grass.⁴² Upon arrival in He Sapa on July 18th, Custer wrote his wife, "We have discovered a rich and beautiful country." On July 27th, the 2 miners in the expedition began to pan for gold. On August 2nd, Custer reports to the New York Times that they had discovered gold "right from the grass roots." On August 10th, the headline of the New York Times is the discovery of the "New Gold Country."⁴³ In this next longer segment, Ernie LaPointe talks about his great-grandfather Sitting Bull and the events leading up to the Battle of the Greasy Grass as well as the Battle itself.

Narration 16 - Intro to Letter from Little Wound segment(E3N16)

The school that we attend is now called Little Wound. It was previously called Kyle Day School and has an interesting history, but we will get to that in the next episode when we discuss boarding schools, along with the Wounded Knee Massacre, the Badlands Bombing Range, and many other things facing the Lakota in the years to come. Little Wound School gets its name from Taopi Cikala, also known as Chief Little Wound, who lived between about 1828 and 1899. He wrote this letter to Valentine McGillycuddy, the Indian Agent at the Pine Ridge Agency starting in 1879. This is Stella Iron Cloud.⁴⁴

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/1868-two-nations-made-treaty-us-broke-it-and-plains-indian-tribes-are-still-seeking-justice-180970741/>

⁴¹ Public Broadcasting Service. "Black Hills Expedition of 1874." Accessed March 10, 2021, at

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/custer-timeline/>

⁴² O'Dowd, N. "Irish song 'Garryowen' played before Custer's Native American massacres is banned." *Irish Central*. Accessed March 9, 2021, at <https://www.irishcentral.com/roots/history/ireland-song-garryowen-banned-custer>

⁴³ Public Broadcasting Service. "Black Hills Expedition of 1874." Accessed March 10, 2021, at <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/custer-timeline/>

⁴⁴ Letter is from Miller, I.R. French-Indian Families in America's West. Westcliffe: Trafford, 2005, pp.73-4.

Narration 17 - Intro to The Strip & Whiskey Ranches segment(E3N17)

The U.S. Congress responded to the 7th Cavalry's defeat in a way that would certainly hurt the Lakota and would probably have made Custer a happy man had he survived the Greasy Grass. Similar to 1871, the 1876 Indian Appropriations Act added another rider that would undermine indigenous tribes, this time the Lakota specifically. The rider stated that until the Lakota signed an agreement to sell He Sapa to the U.S. government, all rations promised by the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty would be withheld. The Lakota call this the "Sell or Starve" rider. The next year, Congress attached another rider to the 1877 Indian Appropriations Bill that changed the reservation boundaries established in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, this time excluding He Sapa. This act effectively altered a treaty which only 100 years before had been declared "the supreme Law of the Land" within the U.S. Constitution.⁴⁵ More importantly, it took the sacred He Sapa from the Lakota.

While boundaries were being changed, the U.S. government altered the border of the Great Sioux Reservation by executive order in 1882, adding 50 square miles of land just south of Pine Ridge village.⁴⁶ The current reservation boundaries would not be established until 1889.⁴⁷ In this next segment, Stella Iron Cloud, John Haas, and Jimmy Christensen explain the White Clay Extension, otherwise known as The Strip.

Narration 18 - Intro to Near Annihilation of the Buffalo segment(E3N18)

Initially the Extension was created by President Chester Arthur as a "no sale of alcohol buffer zone" in response to insecurity caused by the creation of the Whiskey Ranches that had been set up next to the Great Sioux Reservation starting in the 1800s.⁴⁸ Alcohol - introduced by European explorers, trappers, and traders, and used against the

⁴⁵ Bell, R.A. "The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 and the Sioux: Is the United States Honoring the Agreements it Made?" *Indigenous Policy Journal*, 28:3(Winter 2018), 5-6.

⁴⁶ Arthur, C. "Executive Order - Jan 24, 1882." *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties(Volume 1)*. Government Printing Offices. Accessed March 9, 2021, at https://web.archive.org/web/20110805081736/http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol1/HTML_files/NEB0861.html

⁴⁷ U.S. Congress via Library of Congress.. "Fiftieth Congress - 2nd Session." Downloaded on March 9, 2021, at <https://www.loc.gov/item/lsl-v25/>

⁴⁸ *Poor Bear vs. Nesbitt, Robbins, Logsdon, Coyne, Flower*. National Indian Law Library. Accessed March 10, 2021, at <https://narl.org/nill/bulletins/federal/documents/pobear.html>

Lakota as a negotiating tool - had started to become a problem for us. We will explore this topic more in future episodes.

In December of 1882, Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller wrote a letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price.⁴⁹ In it he said,

“I desire to call your attention to what I regard as a great hindrance to the civilization of the Indians...the continuance of the old heathenish dances...These feasts or dances are not social gatherings for the amusement of these people, but, on the contrary, are intended and calculated to stimulate the warlike passions of the young warriors of the tribe...The result is the demoralization of the young, who are incited to emulate the wicked conduct of their elders, without a thought that in so doing they violate any law, but, on the contrary, with the conviction that in so doing they are securing for themselves an enduring and deserved fame among their people. Active measures should be taken to discourage all feasts and dances of the character I have mentioned.”⁵⁰

After turning to the practice of polygamy, Teller goes on to talk about what he sees as problems related to the *wicasa wakan*:

“The medicine men resort to various artifices and devices to keep the people under their influence, and are especially active in preventing the attendance of the children at the public schools, using their conjurers' arts to prevent the people from abandoning their heathenish rites and customs...Steps should be taken to compel these imposters to abandon this deception and discontinue their practice, which are not only without benefit to the Indians but positively injurious to them.”⁵¹

He then undermines the traditional Lakota practice of destroying a relative's belongings after they have moved on from this world. In opposition he says, “When an Indian acquires property, with a disposition to retain the same, free from tribal or individual interference, he has made a step forward in the road to civilization.”⁵² He ends his letter by saying,

⁴⁹ Colorado Encyclopedia. “Henry Teller.” Accessed March 9, 2021, at <https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/henry-teller>

⁵⁰ Department of the Interior. “Rules Governing the Court of Indian Offenses.” (March 30, 1883). Accessed March 12, 2021, at <https://rclinton.files.wordpress.com/2007/11/code-of-indian-offenses.pdf>

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

“I therefore suggest whether it is not practicable to formulate certain rules for the government of the Indians on the reservations that shall restrict and ultimately abolish the practices I have mentioned. I am not ignorant of the difficulties that will be encountered in this effort; yet I believe in all the tribes there will be found many Indians who will aid the Government in its efforts to abolish rites and customs so injurious to the Indians and so contrary to the civilization that they earnestly desire.”⁵³

In response to Teller’s letter, Price created the Code of Indian Offenses that was to be enforced by the Court of Indian Offenses starting in 1883. We will look more at the effect of this Code and Court in Episode 4.

Something else significant to the Lakota happened in 1883, a process that had been unfolding since migrants began pouring into the western part of Keya Wita. This is Marcell Bull Bear.

Narration 19 - Intro to The Dawes Act segment(E3N19)

In the mid-1800s, it is said that somewhere between 30 to 60 million buffalo lived upon the plains of Keya Wita. By 1900, only 300 remained in the wild.⁵⁴ It is estimated that 12 million indigenous people in Keya Wita also lost their lives between the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492 and 1900.⁵⁵

We realize that we have come so far since the beginning of this episode, that night we fell asleep upon the plains not knowing what the next day would bring. Could our ancestors have imagined the way things would turn out? Did Iktomi stories exist before the arrival of the Europeans? All these words - all these dates, all these people, all these things - they are hard to stomach, hard to take. We might prefer not to talk about them, not to think about them...not to think...not to... But then that song...that voice...those words: “*Blihiciyaye...Take courage.*”

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ King, G. “Where the Buffalo No Longer Roamed.” *Smithsonian Magazine*. (July 17, 2012). Accessed March 9, 2021, at <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/where-the-buffalo-no-longer-roamed-3067904/>

⁵⁵ Smith, D. “Counting the Dead: Estimating the Loss of Life in the Indigenous Holocaust.” Accessed March 9, 2021 at <https://www.se.edu/native-american/wp-content/uploads/sites/49/2019/09/A-NAS-2017-Proceedings-Smith.pdf>

By now, many attempts had been made to control the Lakota. They brought their diseases. They brought their alcohol. They brought their guns. They brought their laws and treaties. They took our women. They took our food. They took our lives. They took our relative *tatanka*. They took our sacred He Sapa. They started trying to take our culture.

The next step was assimilation - trying to make us *be* more like them. The Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887, also known as the Dawes Severalty Act, was a law intended to make indigenous people into dependable farmers “in the white man’s image.”⁵⁶ Similar to the Homestead Act of 1862, it was “to allot the lands in said reservations in severalty (or separately) to any Indian located thereon.”⁵⁷ The U.S. National Park Service even admits that another intended goal of the Dawes Act was “to create divisions among Native Americans and eliminate the social cohesion of tribes.”⁵⁸ In this last segment, Richard Iron Cloud, Jimmy Christensen, and Marcell Bull Bear discuss the Dawes Act and its effect upon the Lakota.

Narration 20 - Credits(E3N20)

The song you heard during the episode introduction was from the Willard Rhodes Collection and it was shared with us by the Oglala Lakota College Archives courtesy of the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University. The voices you heard in the opening montage of the episode were Richard Two Dogs, Stella Iron Cloud, Marcell Bull Bear, Jessie Pulliam, Richard Iron Cloud, and Lynore Long Man. The narrators for this episode were Lara Herman, Elizabeth Iron Horn, Stephanie Janis, Joseph Marshall III, and Antonio Rojas. Narration revisions were made by Kansas Clifford and Jada Good Crow. The project theme song was written and performed by Alex Fire Thunder. Thanks to James McDonald at Little Wound School for letting us look at his curriculum, Delaney Apple for his assistance in archival song selection, and Halley Hair at the South Dakota State Historical Society. In the remaining time, you will hear the song that was recorded especially for this episode - by Brandon McBride, Anthony Gutierrez, Dawson Yellow Fat, and Dave McBride - followed by commentary about the relevance of the song to the episode by our music director Anthony George Apple.

⁵⁶ Britannica. “Dawes General Allotment Act.” Accessed March 9, 2021, at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Dawes-General-Allotment-Act>

⁵⁷ Digital History. “Dawes Act.” Accessed March 7, 2021, at https://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=4029

⁵⁸ National Park Service. “The Dawes Act.” Accessed March 8, 2021, at <https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/dawes-act.htm#:~:text=NPS%20Photo-How%20did%20the%20Dawes%20Act%20affect%20Native%20Americans%3F.of%20each%20Native%20American%20family>

EPISODE 4 - DARKEST NIGHT : PINE RIDGE TO BOMBING RANGE

Narration 1 - Opening(E4N1)

Much had changed since that night we fell asleep, free upon the Plains, living life the only way we had ever known. Gone now was most of our land, including He Sapa, which, along with our freedom, was taken to satisfy the greed of the new nation that was expanding and developing around us. Gone also was our relative the buffalo on whom we had depended for so much, taken maliciously and in cold blood to remove our main means of survival. Gone too were many of our sisters and brothers, mothers and fathers, grandmothers and grandfathers, from diseases, starvation, massacres, and struggle. As if colonization had not been destructive enough, the next step of assimilation was meant to make those of us who remained forget who we were. Who *we are*. As 8 year-old Lindy LaCroix White Calf sings this beautiful song recorded in 1936, we think of the wakanyeja and the future generations that were and will continue to be impacted by all of these things.

Narration 2 - Intro to Episode/Creation of Pine Ridge segment(E4N2)

The arrival of Europeans to Keya Wita marked the beginning of the end of our world as we had always known it. In Episode 3, we explored the processes that led to us being forced onto reservations as our land and resources dwindled. Looking back, most of this was the result of a strong sense of entitlement that seemed to stem from the Doctrine of Discovery or Manifest Destiny as we discussed, immense greed as we just mentioned, and - we don't know how else to put this - the fact that we were in the way of what some people called "progress." In this fourth episode, we will pick up after the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887 which, along with the 1883 Code of Indian Offenses, began the federal government's new chapter of forced assimilation. Before we look more at this process, however, there are a few other important things to consider including the 1889 creation of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, a much-diminished version of the Great Sioux Reservation, that is known by some as Prisoner of War Camp 334. This is Marcell Bull Bear.

Narration 3 - Intro to Wounded Knee Massacre segment(E4N3)

We will look more closely at schools - boarding schools specifically - and the broader process of forced assimilation shortly. But first we must discuss the Wounded Knee Massacre of December 29th, 1890. By the time Pine Ridge Reservation was created in 1889, we had become completely dependent on the U.S. government through trust responsibility as we covered last episode. For everything we had given up, or what had been taken, the government agreed to compensate us. Nonetheless, that same year the U.S. Congress severely cut our annuities or rations budget. After drought and a harsh winter - and unable to live as we always had - we were near starvation. Some of us turned to the Ghost Dance in desperation.⁵⁹ At the same time, men of the local militia - also known as the Home Guard - were roaming the prairies, seemingly hunting our people. As National Guard historian Richard Cropp wrote, “[T]here were some ambitious soldiers who had never killed an Indian, but who would like to.”⁶⁰ This happened in at least a few recorded events, if not many more. One was in Buffalo Gap when “several wagonloads” of Lakota who were visiting their white friend’s home were killed by militiamen.⁶¹ Another was at the Stronghold on Cunny Table when at least 70 Ghost Dancers were killed, shortly before the Wounded Knee Massacre.⁶² In November of 1890, the new head of Pine Ridge Agency Daniel Royer telegraphed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs saying, “Indians are dancing in the snow and are wild and crazy. We need protection and we need it now.”⁶³ In response, 500 soldiers of the 7th Cavalry, Custer’s old regiment, were sent with the task of arresting several Lakota leaders.⁶⁴ It is said by at least one source to be the largest deployment of federal troops since the end of the Civil War in 1865.⁶⁵ This is Ernie LaPointe, Bernadette Hollow Horn,

⁵⁹ Hudson, M. “Wounded Knee Massacre.” Accessed May 21, 2021, at <https://www.britannica.com/event/Wounded-Knee-Massacre>

⁶⁰ Cropp, R. The Coyotes: A History of South Dakota National Guard. Mitchell: South Dakota Board of Military Affairs and National Guard Officers Association, 1962, p. 86.

⁶¹ Native Philanthropy editors. “Boarding School and Land Allotment Eras.” Accessed May 20, 2021, at <https://nativephilanthropy.candid.org/timeline/era/boarding-school-and-land-allotment-eras/#timeline-content>

⁶² Native Press editors. “Keepers of the Stronghold.” (October 23, 2021). Accessed May 18, 2021, at <https://thenativepress.com/culture/keepers-of-the-stronghold-lakota-are-once-again-defending-ghost-dancers-burial-places/>

⁶³ Phillips, C. “Wounded Knee Massacre.” (June 12, 2006). Accessed via Historynet on May 17, 2021, at <https://www.historynet.com/wounded-knee-massacre-united-states-versus-the-plains-indians.htm>

⁶⁴ Klein, C. “Remembering the Wounded Knee Massacre.” (December 28, 2015). Accessed May 15, 2021, at <https://www.history.com/news/remembering-the-wounded-knee-massacre#:~:text=Big%20Foot%2C%20leader%20of%20the.axes%2C%20rifles%20and%20other%20weapons>

⁶⁵ Hudson, M.. “Wounded Knee Massacre.” Accessed May 17, 2021, at <https://www.britannica.com/event/Wounded-Knee-Massacre>

Joe Whiting, Birgil Kills Straight, Tom Hollow Horn, Cornell Conroy, and Stella Iron Cloud.

Narration 4 - Intro to Wasu Maza/Dewey Beard segment(E4N4)

Nine days before the Wounded Knee Massacre, Aberdeen, South Dakota's *Saturday Pioneer* newspaper printed an editorial by its publisher L. Frank Baum. This was 10 years before he wrote The Wizard of Oz. Responding to Sitting Bull's murder, Baum's editorial read,

"The whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent, and the best safety of the frontier settlements will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians. Why not annihilation? Their glory has fled, their spirit is broken, their manhood effaced; better that they die than live the miserable wretches that they are."⁶⁶

Then, on January 3rd, 1891, only 5 days after the Massacre, Baum published another editorial that read,

"The Pioneer has before declared that our only safety depends upon the total extermination of the Indians. Having wronged them for centuries, we had better, in order to protect our civilization, follow it up by one more wrong and wipe these untamed and untamable creatures from the face of the earth."⁶⁷

Baum himself was born and raised in New York state, not South Dakota, but nonetheless these statements represent some of the extremely harsh words we heard and bigotry we faced around the state and elsewhere at that time.

The next segment is recorded testimony of Wounded Knee survivor Wasu Maza, or "Iron Hail" in Lakota, also known as Dewey Beard. The testimony was abridged from its original form for time's sake. It is part of the James E. Emery Collection and was shared with us by the Oglala Lakota College Archives. The Lakota language was translated to English by Agnes Gay in 2010 and is read here by Antonio Giago. The "big guns" that Wasu Maza refers to are presumably the 4 Hotchkiss guns placed by the 7th Cavalry on

⁶⁶ Baum, L. F. "Editorials on the Sioux Nation." Accessed May 18, 2021, at <https://diogenesii.files.wordpress.com/2012/12/baum.pdf>

⁶⁷ Ibid.

a hill above the circle of Mnicoujou as they were ordered to surrender all of their weapons.⁶⁸ One of these guns was first used against the Nez Percé in 1877 and only 56 of them were ever purchased by the U.S. government.⁶⁹ They were capable of firing 50 2-pound shells per minute⁷⁰ and supposedly rang out for a full hour at Wounded Knee,⁷¹ on top of the footsoldiers' own gunfire, until no more targets could be found. The hill where the cannons were positioned is now the site of the mass grave where 146 Mnicoujou were buried on January 3rd, 1891. It is estimated that in total between 250 and 300 Mnicoujou were killed at Wounded Knee. Almost half of them were women and children.⁷²

Narration 5 - Intro to Boarding Schools segment(E4N5)

Because of all the other things that were already happening up until now, and because their direct impact lasted well into the 1900s - with their repercussions lasting much longer - we have so far neglected to discuss boarding schools. Education of indigenous youth by non-indigenous people in Keya Wita actually preceded the founding of the United States of America in 1776. As far back as 1634, a mission was established with the goal (quote) “to extend civilization and instruction to his ignorant race, and show them the way to heaven.”⁷³ In 1775, a year before the country’s founding, the Continental Congress funded 10 youth to attend Dartmouth College. By 1793, the federal Indian Trade and Intercourse Act started authorizing funding to “promote civilization.” This was followed by the Indian Civilization Act of 1819 which began contracting the involvement of missionaries and (quote) “benevolent societies”⁷⁴ - meaning agencies of the federal government⁷⁵ - to teach indigenous youth (quote) “the habits and arts of civilization.”⁷⁶ The U.S. Congress did not start specifically funding

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Wikia editors. “Hotchkiss gun.” Accessed May 18, 2021, at https://military.wikia.org/wiki/Hotchkiss_gun

⁷⁰ Hudson, M. “Wounded Knee Massacre.” Accessed May 17, 2021, at <https://www.britannica.com/event/Wounded-Knee-Massacre>

⁷¹ Phillips, C. “Wounded Knee Massacre.” (June 12, 2006). Accessed via Historynet on May 17, 2021, at <https://www.historynet.com/wounded-knee-massacre-united-states-versus-the-plains-indians.htm>

⁷² Hudson, M. “Wounded Knee Massacre.” Accessed May 17, 2021, at <https://www.britannica.com/event/Wounded-Knee-Massacre>

⁷³ Foley, H. *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*. London: Burns and Oates, 1875, p. 352.

⁷⁴ U.S. Congress via U.S. Government Publishing Office. “112th Congress - 2nd Session. Senate Report 112-262.” Accessed May 17, 2021, at <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CRPT-112srpt262/html/CRPT-112srpt262.htm>

⁷⁵ State of the Union History editors. “1818 James Monroe - Indian Civilization Act 1819.” Accessed May 19, 2021, at <http://www.stateoftheunionhistory.com/2017/04/1818-james-monroe-indian-civilization.html>

⁷⁶ Pember, M. “Death by Civilization.” *The Atlantic*. (March 8, 2019). Accessed May 19, 2021, at <https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2019/03/traumatic-legacy-indian-boarding-schools/584293/>

Indian education until 1870, but within 20 years “over \$2,500,000 was being expended annually on 148 boarding schools and 225 day schools with almost 20,000 children in attendance.”⁷⁷

As part of its trust responsibility established in exchange for getting the land it wanted from indigenous tribes, the U.S. government promised to respect tribal sovereignty while protecting tribes and providing for their well-being.⁷⁸ Along with health and public safety, it was also to take responsibility for the education of our youth.⁷⁹ At the time, however, it was not specified how this would be carried out. As with westward expansion, it turns out that Christianity would play a large role in this process. After the devastation already caused by colonization, the U.S. government began its strategy of forced assimilation in the late 1800s to address what some people called the “Indian problem.”⁸⁰ Boarding schools were intended to make indigenous children “abandon their customs and traditions, with the goal of having them adopt mainstream America’s beliefs and value systems.”⁸¹ The founder of Carlisle Indian Industrial School, the first government-run boarding school which opened in 1879 and served as a model for those that followed, was known to say, “Kill the Indian, Save the Man.” That same man, Civil War veteran Lieutenant Colonel Richard Henry Pratt, was sent to the Dakota Territory by the Department of War to recruit children of Oglala and Brulé leaders. These children were then essentially held hostage to ensure the tribes’ good behavior.⁸² If parents refused to send their children to boarding schools, Indian agents often withheld rations or sent police to strongarm resisters.⁸³ By 1887 - 4 years after the establishment of the Code of Indian Offenses which banned medicine men, dances, and many other indigenous practices - the Commissioner of Indian Affairs J.D.C. Atkins banned the teaching and speaking of indigenous languages in government- and mission-run

⁷⁷ Hagan, W. American Indian. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979, p. 134.

⁷⁸ U.S. Department of Health and Human Service. “American Indians and Alaska Natives - The Trust Responsibility.” Accessed May 18, 2021, at <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/ana/fact-sheet/american-indians-and-alaska-natives-trust-responsibility>

⁷⁹ Friends Committee on National Legislation. “The Origins of our Trust Responsibility Towards the Tribes.” Accessed May 19, 2021, at <https://www.fcnl.org/updates/2016-09/origins-our-trust-responsibility-towards-tribes>

⁸⁰ Elliot, S. “Understanding the Origin of American Indian Boarding Schools.” Public Broadcasting Service. (April 13, 2020). Accessed May 20, 2021, at <https://www.pbs.org/wqbh/roadshow/stories/articles/2020/4/13/early-years-american-indian-boarding-schools>

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Carlisle Indian School Project. “Past.” Accessed May 20, 2021, at <https://carlisleindianschoolproject.com/past/>

⁸³ American Indian Relief Council. “History and Culture: Boarding Schools.” Accessed May 21, 2021, at http://www.nativepartnership.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc_hist_boardingschools

schools.⁸⁴ In 1891, a federal compulsory attendance law allowed government officers “to forcibly take Native American children from their homes and reservations” in order to educate them.⁸⁵ It was not until the passing of the 1978 Indian Child Welfare Act that parents were legally allowed to stop their children from being placed in off-reservation boarding schools.⁸⁶ While some of the people we talked to spoke positively about their or their relatives’ experiences - keep in mind these were the later years of boarding schools after support for their strict assimilationist strategies was waning - the majority did not. This is Joyce Hollow Horn, Birgil Kills Straight, Wayne Weston, Stella Iron Cloud, Jeanne Janis, Richard Moves Camp, Lisa White Bull, and Jessie Pulliam.

Narration 6 - Intro to Suppressing Indian-ness segment(E4N6)

As boarding schools were working to assimilate indigenous youth away from the influences of their families, the Code and Court of Indian Offenses, which we introduced last episode, continued to force the rest of our population to abandon our culture. Starting in 1883, the Code officially banned dances, polygamy, medicine men, the destruction of property after someone’s passing, and the giving of dowries at marriages.⁸⁷ Based on our interviews, the Code *unofficially* extended much further in its reach, as federal Reservation Superintendents and newly created Indian Police seemed to attempt to ban *all* displayed signs of “Indian-ness.” Going against the Code resulted in withholding of annuities or rations - which we depended on - for 10 days on the first offense and 30 days with possible 30-day incarceration on the second offense.⁸⁸ Like boarding schools, the U.S. government was saying in effect that we either had to submit to assimilation or we would starve. These actions remind us of the 1876 “Sell or Starve” rider that was used to try and take away our sacred He Sapa, the Black Hills. All

⁸⁴ National Library of Medicine. “1887: Indian Affairs Commissioner bans Native languages in schools.” Accessed May 20, 2021, at <https://www.nlm.nih.gov/nativevoices/timeline/369.html#:~:text=languages%20in%20schools-1887%3A%20Indian%20Affairs%20Commissioner%20bans%20Native%20languages%20in%20schools.Native%20languages%20in%20mission%20schools>

⁸⁵ Native Philanthropy editors. “Compulsory attendance law for Native Boarding School attendance.” Accessed May 19, 2021, at <https://nativephilanthropy.candid.org/events/compulsory-attendance-law-for-native-boarding-school-attendance/#:~:text=1891-Compulsory%20attendance%20law%20for%20Native%20Boarding%20School%20attendance.from%20their%20homes%20and%20reservations>

⁸⁶ American Indian Relief Council. “History and Culture: Boarding Schools.” Accessed May 21, 2021, at http://www.nativepartnership.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc_hist_boardingschools

⁸⁷ Department of the Interior. “Rules Governing the Court of Indian Offenses.” (March 30, 1883). Accessed March 12, 2021, at <https://rclinton.files.wordpress.com/2007/11/code-of-indian-offenses.pdf>

⁸⁸ National Geographic editors. “Native Americans and Freedom of Religion.” *National Geographic*. (April 20, 2020). Accessed May 19, 2021, at <https://www.nationalgeographic.org/article/native-americans-and-freedom-religion/>

enforcement of the Code was decided by the Superintendent, one of whom said in 1890, “All offenses are punished as I deem expedient, and the Indians offer no resistance.”⁸⁹ As Clinton writes, “[T]he Code of Indian Offenses...was not an early criminal code for Indian Reservations, as it is sometimes portrayed, but, rather, the clearest evidence of a deliberate federal policy of ethnocide - the deliberate extermination of another culture.”⁹⁰ Some might say that this banning of traditional practices should have been deemed unconstitutional by the First Amendment of the United States Constitution, but it was not until 1924 that we received full citizenship under the Indian Citizenship Act. In South Dakota, indigenous people could only vote at that time “if they severed ties with their tribes.” Here, anti-indigenous voting statutes remained on the books until 1951, and even then many of us still could not vote as “law prohibited the creation of precincts where Indians could cast their ballots.”⁹¹ This is John Haas.

Narration 7 - Intro to Land Further Diminished segment(E4N7)

We have already looked at how our original lands were whittled away through broken treaties, riders to Indian Appropriation Acts, and the Dawes Act. This process would continue once we were confined to reservations as what government agents deemed (quote) “unclaimed” or (quote) “surplus” lands were sold at least in part to fund boarding schools.⁹² By 1932, this resulted in the loss of two-thirds of the 138 million acres that indigenous people held before the Dawes Act.⁹³ On Pine Ridge, there were several ways that land continued to be taken. In 1891, the Secretary of the Interior was given the power to determine if an allottee had the “mental or physical qualifications” to utilize their land in line with government standards. If not, the Reservation Superintendent

⁸⁹ Cohen, F. Handbook of Federal Indian Law. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971, p. 175.

⁹⁰ Clinton, R. “Code of Indian Offenses.” (February 24, 2008). Accessed May 20, 2021, at <https://rclinton.wordpress.com/2008/02/24/code-of-indian-offenses/>

⁹¹ South Dakota Legislative Research Council. “Native American Vote.” Accessed May 20, 2021, at <https://mylrc.sdlegislature.gov/api/Documents/Attachment/121890.pdf?Year=2017#:~:text=In%201924%2C%20Congress%20passed%20the,currentl%20codified%20at%208%20U.S.C.&text=As%20a%20result%2C%20several%20states,Act%E2%80%94South%20Dakota%20among%20them>

⁹² Library of Congress. “Indian Citizenship Act.” Accessed May 19, 2021, at <https://www.loc.gov/item/today-in-history/june-02/#:~:text=to%20this%20page-,Indian%20Citizenship%20Act,barred%20Native%20Americans%20from%20voting>

⁹³ Ibid.

could lease the land to non-tribal members.⁹⁴ Starting in 1894, the Superintendent could deem an allotment owner unfit for ownership due to what he perceived as their “inability to work the land.” Again, if deemed unfit, an allottee’s land could be leased to non-tribal members.⁹⁵ The 1906 Burke Act gave the Secretary of the Interior the power to decide if “any Indian allottee is competent and capable of managing his or her affairs.”⁹⁶ If determined to be incompetent, an allottee’s land “was leased out by the federal government to oil, timber, mineral, and grazing interests.”⁹⁷ In 1915, one Pine Ridge Superintendent decided that 56% of adult males were not capable of properly utilizing their land.⁹⁸ If determined to be competent, a fee patent was issued which opened the allotment to taxation.⁹⁹ With relatively few local sources of reliable income, this is how many other allottees lost their land. As of 2021, almost 60% of the Pine Ridge Reservation was being leased out by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, mostly to non-tribal members.¹⁰⁰ We realize this explanation only starts to scratch the surface of the complicated land issue, but it is a start. Here is Keith Janis and Stella Iron Cloud.

Narration 8 - Intro to Indian Reorganization Act segment(E4N8)

In 1920, John Collier began researching the living conditions of indigenous people around the country in what would prove to be the groundwork for the coming (quote) “Indian New Deal.” Then, in June of 1926, Department of the Interior Secretary Hubert Work requested the Institute for Government Research to do a survey of the social and economic conditions facing indigenous people in the United States of America. The resulting overview entitled The Problem of Indian Administration - also known as “The

⁹⁴ Village Earth. “Range Units and the History of Leasing Lands on the Pine Ridge Reservation.” Accessed May 17, 2021, at <https://villageearth.org/range-units-and-the-history-of-leasing-lands-on-the-pine-ridge-reservation/>

⁹⁵ Pine Ridge Land Information System. “Background.” Accessed May 19, 2021, at <https://lakotalands.net/resources-for-native-land-owners/>

⁹⁶ Bureau of Indian Affairs. “BIA History.” Accessed May 19, 2021, at https://www.bia.gov/sites/bia.gov/files/assets/public/pdf/1A-BIA_HISTORY2.pdf

⁹⁷ Native Land Information System. “Allotment Timeline on the Pine Ridge Reservation.” Accessed May 18, 2021, at <https://nativeland.info/dashboard/allotment-timeline-on-the-pine-ridge-reservation/>

⁹⁸ Pine Ridge Land Information System. “Background.” Accessed May 19, 2021, at <https://lakotalands.net/resources-for-native-land-owners/>

⁹⁹ Native Land Information System. “Allotment Timeline on the Pine Ridge Reservation.” Accessed May 18, 2021, at <https://nativeland.info/dashboard/allotment-timeline-on-the-pine-ridge-reservation/>

¹⁰⁰ Village Earth. “Range Units and the History of Leasing Lands on the Pine Ridge Reservation.” Accessed May 17, 2021, at <https://villageearth.org/range-units-and-the-history-of-leasing-lands-on-the-pine-ridge-reservation/>

Meriam Report” after its director Lewis Meriam - was published in 1928.¹⁰¹ Overall, the report made clear that the U.S. government’s approach to its indigenous people - namely allotment and assimilation - was failing. While it made many important findings, we found this passage to be the most interesting:

“No race has been subjected to such recurring misfortunes due to land hunger on the part of the whites as has the red man in America. The stage could not have been better set for the exploitation of a race...He was content with the small living gained from hunting, fishing, and gathering native foods, in some cases practicing a little agriculture...He was compelled by the logic of events to change in a few decades his whole mode of existence and to adopt the habits and ways of a foreign race...The white man, on the other hand, with an inheritance centuries in the making, keen as a competitor, pressing his every economic advantage, has legitimately and otherwise dispossessed the Indian...Unfortunately both for the government and for the missionaries, one element in our civilization seeks no interest but its own, playing without conscience on the Indians' weakness and destroying the constructive work of years. How many a missionary when preaching the white man's religion to the Indians must be embarrassed by the thought of what the white race has done to the Indians? What must be the thoughts of the intelligent Indian when he hears the great precepts of the Christian faith and contrasts them with the actions of the white men toward the Indian race?”¹⁰²

In order to improve the situation facing the U.S.’s indigenous population, the Meriam Report recommended utilizing our input in future policy decisions regarding our lives:

“Leadership will recognize the good in the economic and social life of the Indians in their religion and ethics, and will seek to develop it and build on it rather than to crush out all that is Indian. The Indians have much to contribute to the dominant civilization, and the effort should be made to secure this contribution.”¹⁰³

In response to the Meriam Report - and amidst the Great Depression - U.S. Congress passed the Wheeler-Howard Act, otherwise known as the Indian Reorganization Act(or IRA), on June 18th, 1934. After realizing its flaws, the IRA was meant to reverse the

¹⁰¹ Institute for Government Research via Native American Rights Fund. “The Problem of Indian Administration.” (Feb 21, 1928). Accessed May 20, 2021, at https://narf.org/nill/documents/merriam/b_meriam_letter.pdf

¹⁰² Ibid, pages 830-31. Accessed May 20, 2021, at https://narf.org/nill/documents/merriam/x_meriam_chapter14_missionary.pdf

¹⁰³ Ibid, page 22. Accessed May 20, 2021, at https://narf.org/nill/documents/merriam/d_meriam_chapter1_summary_of_findings.pdf

government's assimilation policy by notably ending the land allotment system.¹⁰⁴ With that said, we wondered if, after over 45 years of the Dawes Act and breaking up already-shrunken reservations, the damage had not already been done. Among other things, the IRA also pushed for tribes to develop their own constitutions and by-laws towards more effective self-government.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps this was how we were to make a greater contribution to American society. While it seems that some of the original intentions of the IRA might have been good, the way the government went about it was another matter. One critic said that in the end it was a failure "because the IRA was a white-imposed reform program."¹⁰⁶ As it turned out, about a third of federally-recognized tribes rejected the Act and turn-out for constitutional elections was poor,¹⁰⁷ demonstrating little support for the IRA's proposed changes. This is Harold Salway Left Heron, Oglala Sioux Tribal President from 1990 to 1992 and from 1998 to 2000.

Narration 9 - Intro to Bombing Range segment(E4N9)

On December 7th, 1941, the United States of America declared war on Japan after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Three days later, the U.S. fully entered World War II after Italy and Germany declared war against it.¹⁰⁸ Within 7 months, the U.S. government took control of 341,726 acres of the northern portion of the Pine Ridge Reservation in an area many people have come to call the Badlands, very near Little Wound School in Kyle. For the next 3 years, the Army Air Force used this land for air-to-air and air-to-ground gunnery practice as well as bombing exercises. Bombers would intentionally target elephant-sized dinosaur bones in what we have also heard was the bottom of the sea. Following World War II and up until 1968, the South Dakota National Guard used parts of this same land for artillery training.¹⁰⁹ The area is still, to this day,

¹⁰⁴ Wilma, D. "Wheeler-Howard Act shifts U.S. policy toward Native American right to self-determination on June 18, 1934." *History Link*. Accessed May 19, 2021, at <https://www.historylink.org/File/2599>

¹⁰⁵ U.S. Government Publishing Office. "Act of June 18, 1934 - Indian Reorganization Act." Section 16 accessed May 18, 2021, at <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/COMPS-5299/pdf/COMPS-5299.pdf>

¹⁰⁶ Giago, T. "Good or Bad? Indian Reorganization Act Turns 75." *Huffington Post*. (Sept 13, 2009). Accessed May 22, 2021, at https://www.huffpost.com/entry/good-or-bad-indian-reorga_b_284940

¹⁰⁷ Colorado Encyclopedia. "Indian Reorganization Act." Accessed May 22, 2021, at <https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/indian-reorganization-act-indian-new-deal>

¹⁰⁸ Library of Congress. "World War II." Accessed May 21, 2021, at <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/great-depression-and-world-war-ii-1929-1945/world-war-ii/>

¹⁰⁹ National Park Service. "World War II Comes to the Badlands: The Badlands Gunnery Range." Accessed May 19, 2021, at <http://npshistory.com/brochures/badl/gunnery-range.pdf>

littered with ordinance debris, huge bullets, and who knows what else. When we heard personal stories about what most locals simply call “The Bombing Range,” we were at a loss for words. First, by that point we as a people had already experienced so much loss of land. Second, the families living there were basically following government orders by figuring out how to live off what most people would say was uninhabitable land. They had made a home in an almost impossible place. Then the government comes in and tells our relatives - again - to pack up and leave. This is Keith Janis, Joe Whiting, Gaka Mustang Wilbur Witt, and Jimmy Christensen.

Narration 10 - Outro to Episode/Credits(E4N10)

We know we have covered a lot of ground in these past two episodes - from the arrival of Europeans to Keya Wita up until this point. We have definitely left things out along the way, and we apologize for that, but we did our best to make sense of such a complicated and challenging history. We also realize that it is a lot of information to take in and a lot to process, but for our ancestors and our surviving elders it was much more to experience and to endure. We are grateful for their stories, and even more grateful for the sacrifices they made during their lifetimes so that we can still stand here today.

The song you heard during the episode introduction was from the Willard Rhodes Collection and it was shared with us by the Oglala Lakota College Archives courtesy of the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University. The voices you heard in the opening montage of this episode were Ernie LaPointe, Jimmy Christensen, Birgil Kills Straight, Tom Hollow Horn, Stella Iron Cloud, Jessie Pulliam, Keith Janis, Joe Whiting, Bernadette Hollow Horn, and Cornell Conroy. The narrators for this episode were Kansas Clifford, Tionna Pourier, Jaida Jacobs, Joseph Marshall III, and Antonio Rojas. The project theme song was written and performed by Alex Fire Thunder. Thanks to Delaney Apple for his assistance in archival song selection and James McDonald at Little Wound School for letting us look at his curriculum. In the remaining time, you will hear the song that was recorded especially for this episode - by Brandon McBride, Anthony Gutierrez, Dawson Yellow Fat, and Dave McBride - followed by commentary about the relevance of the song to the episode by our music director Anthony George Apple.

EPISODE 5 - DAWN : RELOCATION AND OCCUPATION

Archival footage of Proclamation made at Wounded Knee - March 12th, 1973¹¹⁰

Narration 1 - Opening(E5N1)

In this episode, we will be looking in-depth at the 1973 Occupation of Wounded Knee. Unlike most of the historical events and processes that we have covered so far in our project, the news media was present and active in documenting this incident. Many articles, books, and documentaries were and continue to be made that are accessible to the general public. Therefore, we will make an effort to keep our narration relatively short where possible during this episode in order to let the people we interviewed speak for themselves.

Narration 2 - Intro to How Wounded Knee Got Its Name segment(E5N2)

After everything that had happened since the arrival of Europeans to Keya Wita - from the devastating processes of colonization that led us to Reservation life to the ravaging processes of assimilation that tried forcefully to strip us of our culture and identity - as Birgil Kills Straight said simply, "We survived." Like several others we spoke to, Birgil was a direct descendant of a survivor of the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre. You will see he was also involved in the events leading up to the Wounded Knee Occupation of 1973 and beyond. While the main focus of this episode will be the Occupation, we want to start with a story we thought should be shared about how Wounded Knee got its name. This is Bernadette Hollow Horn.

Narration 3 - Intro to Relocation segment(E5N3)

Before we begin to discuss the Wounded Knee Occupation, there is one more thing that needs to be mentioned. Despite the strong support of our relatives in the World War II effort, and regardless of the supposedly empowering shift brought by the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, the U.S. government made a dramatic move to end its responsibilities to indigenous people and tribes starting in the mid-1940s. This would

¹¹⁰ See page 47(*Narration 7 - Credits*) for in-text citation.

come to be called “Termination.” Trust responsibility established in the 1800s, and all the sacrifices we made up until this point, now seemed to mean nothing. Between 1953 and 1964, more than 100 tribes were terminated¹¹¹ and at least a million acres of indigenous land was removed from protected trust status.¹¹² Also, under Public Law 280, federal law enforcement authority was transferred to states in several cases. Affected tribes saw this as undermining their sovereignty because, again, the change was imposed on them without consultation or consent.¹¹³ Another part of Termination was a new push for assimilation, this time through relocation to urban areas where it was hoped our relatives would blend with the rest of the population. This process started in 1948¹¹⁴ and the Indian Relocation Act was passed in 1956. While funding for reservations was either being reduced or cut entirely, the government committed to paying moving expenses along with providing job training and employment to those who agreed to relocate.¹¹⁵ Many indigenous people ended up moving from reservations to cities like Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Seattle. As you can imagine, it was a challenge to adjust to city life, while many faced discrimination, low-paying jobs, and unemployment along with homesickness and the loss of connection to their culture.¹¹⁶ The experience of Relocation, however, was different for everyone as you will hear. This is long-time Little Wound School employee Anne Hunter and Jeanne Janis.

Narration 4 - Intro to Road to Wounded Knee segment(E5N4)

While the word “termination” usually means the end, for us it was something of a new beginning. Starting in 1944, just 2 years after hundreds of families were removed to make room for the Bombing Range, the National Congress of American Indians was founded (quote) “in response to the termination and assimilation policies the U.S.

¹¹¹ Landry, A. “Harry S. Truman: Beginning of Indian Termination Era.” *Indian Country Today*. (August 16, 2016). Accessed October 17, 2021, at <https://indiancountrytoday.com/archive/harry-s-truman-beginning-of-indian-termination-era>

¹¹² Partnership with Native Americans. “Termination Policy 1953-1968.” Accessed October 17, 2021, at http://www.nativepartnership.org/site/PageServer?pagename=PWNA_Native_History_terminationpolicyNP

¹¹³ University of Alaska Fairbanks. “Public Law 280.” Accessed October 17, 2021, at https://www.uaf.edu/tribal/112/unit_2/terminationeratethe1950spubliclaw280.php

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Investing in Native Communities. “Indian Relocation Act passes, launching the urban relocation process.” Accessed October 17, 2021, at <https://nativephilanthropy.candid.org/events/indian-relocation-act-passes-launching-the-urban-relocation-process/>

¹¹⁶ U.S. National Archives. “American Indian Urban Relocation.” Accessed October 17, 2021, at <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/indian-relocation.html#:~:text=Numerous%20American%20Indians%20made%20the,loss%20the%20traditional%20cultural%20supports>

government forced upon tribal governments in contradiction of their treaty rights and status as sovereign nations.”¹¹⁷ That year, almost 80 representatives from 50 tribes and associations in 27 states met in Denver, Colorado. They stressed the need for unity in fighting federal policy and improving conditions for indigenous people around the country.¹¹⁸ In 1961, the American Indian Chicago Conference brought together about 460 representatives from 90 tribes towards a similar goal.¹¹⁹ The conference produced the “Declaration of Indian Purpose” which, among other things, stated the following:

“We believe in the inherent right of all people to retain spiritual and cultural values, and that the free exercise of these values is necessary to the normal development of any people.”¹²⁰

The Declaration’s principle of self-determination became the foundation of indigenous activism in the years following the conference.¹²¹ Across the country, indigenous people were starting to organize, to unify, and to speak up not only about the things that had happened to us but about a good way forward. As a result of this growing movement, U.S. Presidents John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson started to slowly dismantle Termination policy starting that same year.¹²²

In 1968, the American Indian Movement(or AIM) was founded in Minneapolis, Minnesota. It was part of what has been called the Red Power Movement along with such groups as the National Indian Youth Council, Women of All Red Nations, and the International Indian Treaty Council. At the beginning, AIM protested racism and civil rights violations¹²³ in an effort to improve the conditions of indigenous people that had ended up in cities largely as a result of Termination policy.¹²⁴ According to the group,

¹¹⁷ National Congress of American Indians. “Mission & History.” Accessed October 17, 2021, at <https://www.ncai.org/about-ncai/mission-history>

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ American Indian Chicago Conference. “Declaration of Indian Purpose.” (June 1961). Page 3. Accessed October 18, 2021, at <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED030518.pdf>

¹²⁰ Ibid, page 5.

¹²¹ Niermann, T. “The American Indian Chicago Conference, 1961.” (July 2006). Accessed October 18, 2021, at <http://www.indigenousspolicy.org/index.php/ipj/thesis/view/232>

¹²² John F. Kennedy Presidential Library. “Legislative Summary: Indians.” Accessed October 18, 2021, at <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/legislative-summary/indians>

¹²³ Digital Public Library of America. “The American Indian Movement, 1968-1978.” Accessed October 18, 2021, at <https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/the-american-indian-movement-1968-1978>

¹²⁴ Lurie, J. “The Minneapolis-founded American Indian Movement responded to the needs of urban American Indians.” *MinnPost*. (August 19, 2019). Accessed October 18, 2021, at

however, “its first mandate is to ensure the fulfillment of treaties made with the United States.”¹²⁵ From November of 1969 to June of 1971, AIM participated along with another group of indigenous activists called Indians of All Tribes in the occupation of Alcatraz Island in the San Francisco Bay. The goal was (quote) “to protest against the United States government’s policies that took aboriginal land away from American Indians and aimed to destroy their cultures.”¹²⁶ The National Park Service states this was “the first intertribal protest action to focus the nation’s attention on the situation of native peoples in the United States.”¹²⁷ In 1972, AIM leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means helped organize what was called the Trail of Broken Treaties, an automobile caravan that started on the West Coast and ended in Washington, DC. There, protesters occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices to demand legal recognition of the treaties, restoration of the treaty-making process, return of indigenous lands, and reform of federal-tribal relations.¹²⁸ President Richard Nixon agreed to consider the request and in 1973 he reinstated the federally-recognized status of the Menominee tribe, one of over 100 tribes that lost this status under Termination.¹²⁹ At the time, Nixon also paid \$66,650 so that all of the protestors could return home.¹³⁰

Less than a year later, AIM made its way to South Dakota to take up the causes of Wesley Bad Heart Bull and Raymond Yellow Thunder, both of whom had been killed by white men under questionable circumstances. Tensions were high about how justice would be carried out, if at all. In both cases, charges against the murderers and accomplices were extremely lenient and the way things were handled exposed intense racism in the local justice system. This led to a riot at the Custer Courthouse and protests in Gordon, Nebraska. At the same time, there was discontent on the Pine

<https://www.minnpost.com/mnopedia/2019/08/the-minneapolis-founded-american-indian-movement-responded-to-the-needs-of-urban-american-indians/>

¹²⁵ American Indian Movement. “History of AIM.” Accessed October 19, 2021, at <http://www.aim-ic.org/history-aim>

¹²⁶ National Park Service. “Alcatraz Occupation.” Accessed October 19, 2021, at <https://www.nps.gov/goga/learn/historyculture/alcatraz-occupation.htm>

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Muscarelle Museum of Art at William & Mary. “The Trail of Broken Treaties.” Accessed October 19, 2021, at <https://muscarelle.wm.edu/rising/broken-treaties/>

¹²⁹ GovTrack. “H.R. 10717 (93rd): Menominee Restoration Act.” Accessed October 20, 2021, at <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/93/hr10717>

¹³⁰ Muscarelle Museum of Art at William & Mary. “The Trail of Broken Treaties.” Accessed October 19, 2021, at <https://muscarelle.wm.edu/rising/broken-treaties/>

Ridge Reservation about how Oglala Sioux Tribal President Dick Wilson was using his power. He had been elected in 1972 and was quickly seen to be authoritarian and corrupt by some. It is at this point that we will defer to the individuals we interviewed who have their own valuable perspectives and insight on the events leading up to the 1973 Wounded Knee Occupation. This is Bernadette Hollow Horn, Earl Tall, Jessie Pulliam, Birgil Kills Straight, and Joe Whiting.

Narration 5 - Intro to Occupation segment(E5N5)

These events led to the 71-day Occupation of Wounded Knee, a tense affair that was shocking for many of us to hear about like so much of the history before and after it. Until this project, most of us were not even aware of how heated these times were nor how many of our relatives were impacted by everything that happened. Again, rather than saying too much, stating disputed facts, taking sides, or possibly forgetting to include important information, we will leave it to the individuals we interviewed to tell the story in their own words. This is Jessie Pulliam, Jimmy Christensen, Harold Salway Left Heron, Earl Tall, Birgil Kills Straight, Joe Whiting, Dick Marshall, and Bernadette Hollow Horn.

Narration 6 - Intro to Aftermath segment(E5N6)

When the Occupation of Wounded Knee ended on May 8th, 1973, there was a lot that still needed to be resolved. A lot had happened up to that point, and from what we heard, a lot more was to happen in the years to come. Some people referred to this period as “The Aftermath,” and again, it was difficult for us to understand or make sense of. You will see that some people mentioned the devastation brought to families and communities or the struggles they faced themselves, while others talked about the important strides made by the American Indian Movement and the reasons to celebrate the Occupation. For us, this was confusing: Why did something good have to include terrible things? Why did success have to include loss and heartbreak? This is Birgil Kills Straight, Jessie Pulliam, Joe Whiting, Jimmy Christensen, Bernadette Hollow Horn, Lisa White Bull, John Haas, Earl Tall, Dick Marshall, Cornell Conroy, and Harold Salway Left Heron.

Narration 7 - Outro to Episode/Credits(E5N7)

Maybe it is because it is such recent history, or maybe it is because very few of us had heard much or anything at all about the Wounded Knee Occupation before this project, but we found these stories to be extremely unsettling. The way the world is now, it is hard to imagine that we could possibly pick up weapons against our relatives, no matter who they are or what they believe. In previous episodes, in the more distant past, the conflict was more understandable when the enemy was the U.S. government and our land, our relatives, and our way of life was being taken from us. But now, as John Haas said, it was “Indians fighting Indians.” Maybe it is because of our complicated history and all the traumas we have been forced to endure, that we ended up inflicting similar traumas on our own people? Maybe the IRA government system is indeed not made for us, as some people mentioned, and our ties to the federal government played a significant role in these dramatic events? No matter what the answers are to these questions, however, we agree that our culture and identity are extremely important, but so too is our unity. We hope for a future where who we are is valued by all and does not need to be fought for, where we can all get along and everyone is respected and cared for, where *all* Lakota are working in the best interest of *all* Lakota, and where we can take the much-needed time and love to heal from everything we have been through as a people.

The archival footage you heard at the beginning of the episode is from a radio documentary entitled “Why Wounded Knee?” that was produced in 1975 by Berryhill and Jiltonilro y Fasanmi and broadcast that same year. It was shared with us by the Oglala Lakota College Archives courtesy of Pacifica Radio Archives. The voices you heard in the opening montage of the episode were Jessie Pulliam, Bernadette Hollow Horn, Earl Tall, Joe Whiting, John Haas, Dick Marshall, Jimmy Christensen, and Lisa White Bull. The narrators for this episode were Kansas Clifford, Joseph Marshall III, Jaida Jacobs, and Tionna Pourier. The project theme song was written and performed by Alex Fire Thunder. In the remaining time, you will hear the song that was recorded especially for this episode - by Brandon McBride, Anthony Gutierrez, Dawson Yellow Fat, Dave McBride, and Dionna Bull Bear - followed by commentary about the relevance of the song to the episode by our music director Anthony George Apple.

EPISODE 6 - A NEW DAY : EDUCATION TO REPATRIATION

Narration 1 - Opening(E6N1)

“I arose in the middle of the night, and again walked to each of the four directions, returning to the center each time, continually sending my voice. Just before the morning star came up, I again visited the four quarters, and just as I reached the place where the sun rises, I saw the Morning Star, and I noticed that at first it was all red, and then it changed to blue, and then into yellow, and finally I saw that it was white, and in these four colors I saw the four ages. Although this star did not really speak to me...it taught me very much. I stood there waiting for the sun to rise, and just at dawn I saw the world full of little winged people, and they were all rejoicing. Finally the sun came up, bringing its light into the world, and then I began to cry and returned to the center where I lay down, leaning my pipe against the center offering-pole.” -Black Elk¹³¹

Narration 2 - Intro to Episode & Education Acts segment(E6N2)

While some people think of dawn as the moment when the sun actually rises, others see it as the first sign of morning light which happens long before sunrise. It is the time when we would pray to the Morning Star, while the world was still quiet. Without the day's distractions and the sun's brightness, perhaps this is why our prayers were so strong. After many years of the blinding light of colonization, followed by the long dark night of forced assimilation, we finally arrived at a new day. In this episode, we will be exploring some of the changes that came about starting in the 1970s - most of them policy changes - that were signs of a brighter day ahead. While we heard many times that these new policies would take quite awhile to have an actual impact, they still represent something to celebrate, as all progress should be celebrated, or perhaps even to cry about as Black Elk did one morning with the sun's arrival. In this first section, lifelong educator and educational administrator John Haas and former Oglala Sioux Tribe President Bryan Brewer talk about changes in the field of education following the

¹³¹ Brown, J.E. The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953, pg. 63.

1972 Indian Education Act and 1975's Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act.

Narration 3 - Intro to Religious Freedom Act segment(E6N3)

On August 11, 1978, President Jimmy Carter signed into law the American Indian Religious Freedom Act which overturned the Code and Court of Indian Offenses that were created in 1883 and worked to ban indigenous spirituality under risk of severe punishment. This does not even account for the state and local enforcement of the Code and Court which, as we heard in our interviews, many times ended in the death of the perceived transgressor. After 95 years, the Religious Freedom Act stated “that henceforth it shall be the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions...including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites.”¹³² To discuss the Religious Freedom Act are spiritual leaders Richard Two Dogs and Richard Moves Camp.

Narration 4 - Intro to Child Welfare Act segment(E6N4)

According to the National Indian Child Welfare Association, “[t]he Indian Child Welfare Act(or ICWA) was enacted (later) in 1978 in response to a crisis affecting American Indian and Alaska Native children, families, and tribes. Studies revealed that large numbers of Native children were being separated from their parents, extended families, and communities by state welfare and private adoption agencies. In fact, research found that 25-35% of all Native children were being removed; of these, 85% were placed outside of their families and communities - even when fit and willing relatives were available.”¹³³ This is Cecelia Fire Thunder, the first woman ever to be elected as President of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, to explain her perspective on ICWA.

¹³² *American Indian Religious Freedom Act, Public Law No. 95-341, 92 Stat. 469.* (August 11, 1978). Codified at 42 U.S.C. Accessed March 27, 2022, at <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-92/pdf/STATUTE-92-Pg469.pdf#page=1>

¹³³ National Indian Child Welfare Association. “About ICWA.” Accessed March 27, 2022, at <https://www.nicwa.org/about-icwa/>

Narration 5 - Intro to Black Hills Cases segment(E6N5)

The following is part of the legal syllabus of the United States Supreme Court for the United States v. Sioux Nation of Indians case that was argued on March 24th, 1980, and decided on June 30th, 1980: “Under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, the United States pledged that the Great Sioux Reservation, including the Black Hills, would be ‘set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation’ of the Sioux Nation...and that no treaty for the cession of any part of the reservation would be valid as against the Sioux unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of the adult male Sioux population. The treaty also reserved the Sioux’ right to hunt in certain unceded territories. Subsequently, in 1876, a quote ‘agreement’ presented to the Sioux by a special Commission but signed by only 10% of the adult male Sioux population, provided that the Sioux would relinquish their rights to the Black Hills and to hunt in the unceded territories, in exchange for subsistence rations for as long as they would be needed. In 1877, Congress passed an Act...implementing this ‘agreement’ and thus, in effect, abrogated the Fort Laramie Treaty.”¹³⁴ To describe the cases related to the Black Hills land claim that was introduced in Episode 1 and further explained in Episode 3, this is Mario Gonzalez.

Narration 6 - Intro to NAGPRA segment(E6N6)

The National Congress of American Indians states that “[p]rotection of Native cultural resources is critical to the vitality of traditional Native religions, customs, languages, and status as sovereign nations.” “These resources,” they go on to state, “may include not only land and objects but also traditions, languages, and symbols. Access to and usage of these cultural resources, as well as public awareness and understanding of Native cultural practices and traditions, are integral to the preservation of Native lifeways and the unique contribution they make to our nation.”¹³⁵ In 1990, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act(or NAGPRA) was enacted “to establish the rights of Indian tribes and their lineal descendents to obtain repatriation of certain

¹³⁴ Justia. “United States v. Sioux Nation of Indians, 448 U.S. 371 (1980).” Accessed March 28, 2022, at <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/448/371/>

¹³⁵ National Congress of American Indians. “Cultural Protection & NAGPRA.” Accessed March 28, 2022, at <https://www.ncai.org/policy-issues/community-and-culture/cultural-protection-and-nagpra>

human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony from federal agencies or museums.”¹³⁶ To talk about NAGPRA, this is Harold Salway Left Heron and Tawa Ducheneaux, Head Archivist at Oglala Lakota College.

Narration 7 - Outro to Episode/Credits(E6N7)

After everything that had happened up until this point - from the blinding light of colonization to the long dark night of forced assimilation - it might have been difficult to believe that positive and lasting change would ever come to our people. This hesitation to trust what was happening probably intensified when resistance to the promised change continued within local, state, and even federal institutions. Was this just another case of what Keith Janis called Washington double-speak? Of course it did not help that local and state dynamics were more like those that unleashed the devastating processes of colonization and assimilation rather than those that would finally free us of them. Nonetheless, as we said in the beginning, it is important to celebrate progress, even if it is hard to recognize at first. After all, in each of the significant policies that were just covered, as well as in the case of the Black Hills, there was a certain underlying awareness that we are who we are as Lakota people, as part of the great Oceti Sakowin, and that no policy, however strict or forceful, would or could ever change that. If nothing else, let us celebrate that.

The rabbit dance song you heard during the episode introduction was performed by Grace Longfish in 1936. As a correction, we should note that all of the archival songs used so far - in the introductions to episodes 2, 3, and 4 - while part of the 1939 Willard Rhodes Collection - were actually recorded on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1936. Again, they were shared with us by the Oglala Lakota College Archives courtesy of the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University. The voices you heard in the opening montage of the episode were Alex White Plume, Joyce Hollow Horn, Dick Marshall, Wilbur Witt, Clarence Yellow Hawk, Sr., Vina Lonehill Yankton, and Dawn Little Sky. The narrators for the episode were Kansas Clifford, Joseph Marshall III, Ohiyesawin

¹³⁶ National Congress of American Indians. “Cultural Protection & NAGPRA.” Accessed March 28, 2022, at <https://www.ncai.org/policy-issues/community-and-culture/cultural-protection-and-nagpra#:~:text=NAGPRA%20was%20initially%20enacted%20in,from%20federal%20agencies%20and%20museums>

Ramirez, Jada Good Crow, and Jaida Jacobs. The project theme song was written and performed by Alex Fire Thunder. In the remaining time, you will hear the song that was recorded especially for this episode - by Brayden McBride, Jaelyn McBride, Ramone McBride, and Brandon McBride - followed by commentary about the relevance of the song to the episode by our music director Anthony George Apple.

EPISODE 7 - WALKING TOGETHER : PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

Narration 1 - Opening(E7N1)

“You are a kind and good-looking tree. Upon you the winged peoples have raised their families. From the tip of your lofty branches down to your roots, the winged and four-legged peoples have made their homes. When you stand at the center of the sacred hoop you will be the people, and you will be as the pipe, stretching from [sky] to earth. The weak will lean upon you, and for all the people you will be a support. With the tips of your branches you hold the sacred red and blue days. You will stand where the four sacred paths cross - there you will be the center of the great powers of the universe. May we two-leggeds always follow your sacred example, for we see that you are always looking upwards into the heavens. Soon, and with all the peoples of the world, you will stand at the center. For all the beings and all things, you will bring that which is good. Hecetu welo!” -Black Elk¹³⁷

Narration 2 - Intro to Episode/Lakota Language Revisited segment(E7N2)

In this final episode, we will be covering a lot of ground: past, present, and future. Over the past two-plus years, we have done our best to put together a detailed look at the story of the Lakota Oyate - from origin stories to time before contact with Europeans; from feelings of wonder at the new arrivals to fatal clashes over land and resources; from supposed agreements to genocidal attacks on us, our relative tatanka, our language, and our way of life; from standing up for who we are to finally having our voices heard. While we still have a long way to go, given everything that happened over the years, as Richard Moves Camp said about spirituality, “[I]t is a good thing that we are all on the same page, headed the same way. We are learning together now.” In this first section, we will take another look at the Lakota language and its importance to our future as an oyate. This is Cecelia Fire Thunder, Matilda Montileaux, and Richard Moves Camp.

¹³⁷ Brown, J.E. The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953, pg. 74.

Narration 3 - Intro to Personal Stories segment(E7N3)

So far in our project we have been so busy covering everything that *needs* to be covered - and of course probably missing many important things along the way - that we have not taken the time to simply get to know the individuals we have been blessed to meet and speak to. It should be said that the past two years have been especially difficult and several of these relatives are no longer with us, at least here in this earthly dimension. They have shown us though, in both little as well as unquestionable ways, that we are never alone. In this piece, our longest segment yet by far, you will hear from Dawn Little Sky, Ruby Clifford, Wilbur Witt, Vina Lonehill Yankton, Lynore Long Man, Ervene Palmier, Joyce Hollow Horn, Manuela Maldonado, John Haas, Jackie Eagle Heart, Amanda Thunder Bull Christensen, and Jessie Pulliam.

Narration 4 - Intro to “If Trees Could Speak” poem(E7N4)

After a look at how life used to be - through the voices of our beloved *human* relatives - we want you to hear a new perspective on our relative *chun*, the tree. Earlier in the project, we heard that it was the first and most important symbol ever to be taught when we were young. In learning about the tree, we would find guidance on how to live a good life and where we should look to remain firmly grounded. As Richard Moves Camp said, it is “rooted into the ground so solidly...it will bend like it’s going to break...[but] it will outlast everything.” Here is recent Little Wound graduate Pte San Win Little Whiteman with her poem *If Trees Could Speak*.

Narration 5 - Intro to Challenges segment(E7N5)

In these words, you can hear the passionate call of today’s youth. While some might say it is “history,” to us it is much more than that. It is something we live with every day - even if we would rather not - like a cloud hanging heavy in the sky. Although the past can never be erased, we know we are on a better path now, and we hope for better days for our people. In this next segment, you will hear about some of the challenges we must face *together*. This is Jessie Pulliam, Dawn Little Sky, Richard Moves Camp,

Corey Yellow Boy, Darrell Brown Bull Sr., Dick Marshall, Tom Hollow Horn, Lynore Long Man, Alex White Plume, Cornell Conroy, Earl Tall, and Robert Two Crow.

Narration 6 - Intro to Woksape segment(E7N6)

As we have said at least once before during this project, we have come a long way to get to this point. Now, however, we mean it in relation to our work here. We want to give our biggest thanks to everyone who has helped us along the way, especially to all of our relatives who took the time and courage to share their lives with us. We did not know many of you before this endeavor, so we also thank you for trusting us to take good care of your stories, as well as your patience while waiting to see what we came up with. We did our best and we sincerely hope you are pleased. In this next segment, you will hear *Woksape*, or Words of Encouragement, for all Lakota youth, present and future. This is Tom Hollow Horn, Jessie Pulliam, Richard Moves Camp, Cornell Conroy, Vina Lonehill Yankton, Robert Two Crow, Earl Tall, Alex White Plume, Joyce Hollow Horn, Ethleen Iron Cloud-Two Dogs, Richard Two Dogs, Jeanne Janis, Ernie LaPointe, Dick Marshall, Manuela Maldonado, Clarence Yellow Hawk Sr., Darrell Brown Bull Sr., Amanda Thunder Bull Christensen, Marcell Bull Bear, and Ervene Palmier.

Narration 7 - Intro to “Come Home To Me” poem(E7N7)

It is clear that we have our work cut out for us, but if there is one thing we Lakota know it is struggle. As we were told, “To be Lakota, you have to be *suta* in your heart. *Cante suta luhiyayo*. You gotta have a strong heart.” We might struggle...but we survive. And we walk with our prayers. “When you think you have it hard, just remember the buffalo. When it’s blizzarding and he’s got his oyate behind him, he still has to go through those deep drifts.” We have heard that he even faces the storm, head on - he does not turn from it. This is recent Little Wound graduate Zoey White.

Narration 8 - Credits/Thanks(E7N8)

The song you will hear again now was performed by Berdina White Calf in 1936 and is part of the 1939 Willard Rhodes Collection. Like the rest of the archival songs used during this project, it was shared with us by the Oglala Lakota College Archives courtesy of the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University. Many thanks to Tawa Ducheneaux for her invaluable assistance. The voices you heard in the opening montage of the episode were Vina Lonehill Yankton, Dick Marshall, Ernie LaPointe, Tom Hollow Horn, Cornell Conroy, Dawn Little Sky, Clarence Yellow Hawk Sr., and Joyce Hollow Horn. The narrators for the episode were Elizabeth Iron Horn, Joseph Marshall III, and Jada Good Crow. Our great thanks to Matilda Montileaux for her respected guidance and to Joseph Marshall III for being here every tiny step of the way. Thanks also to Tom Casey, Northern Hemis, and KILI Radio for premiering these 7 episodes over the past 11 weeks - and to Lori Walsh, Carl Norquist, and South Dakota Public Broadcasting for bringing the project to many more ears and minds across the state. In the remaining time, you will hear the song that was recorded especially for this episode - by Brayden McBride, Jaelyn McBride, Ramone McBride, and Brandon McBride - followed by commentary about the relevance of the song to the episode by our music director Anthony George Apple. After that, you will hear both versions of the project theme song - written and performed by Alex Fire Thunder - in their entirety.