

## CAIRNS Lesson Plan

### Title

Lakota Kinship and Childhood Education in Ella Deloria's *Waterlily*.

### Grade Level

College undergraduates in an American Indian Literature course.

### Theme

In her novel *Waterlily*, Ella Deloria illustrates the fundamental importance of kinship ties in Lakota society and how Lakota children were taught their kinship responsibilities in pre-reservation times.

### Duration

Two weeks. Six fifty-minute class periods or the equivalent.

### Goal

Students will learn about the tribes and reservations in South Dakota, the Lakota kinship system, and how *Waterlily* demonstrates Lakota kinship privileges and responsibilities and the ways in which they were taught to children.

### Objectives

1. Students will be able to describe Lakota kinship relationships in English and use some kinship terms in Lakota in small groups.
2. Students will be able to identify the Indian reservations on a map of South Dakota and to list the official names of the tribes, of the reservations, and of the capitals of the reservations.
3. Students will be able to list the tribes of the *Oceti Sakowin*, the Seven Council Fires.
4. Students will be able to list the seven bands of the *Titonwan* tribe, the Teton Lakota.
5. Students will read and discuss *Waterlily* and its Introduction, Preface, Biographical Sketch of the Author, and Afterword.
6. Students will be able to identify kinship relationships in *Waterlily* by their English and Lakota terms from the perspective of the character Waterlily.
7. Students will be able to describe numerous traditional ways of educating children about their kinship responsibilities portrayed in *Waterlily*.
8. Students will be able to describe how the characters, themes, and plot of *Waterlily* are influenced by kinship privileges and responsibilities.

### South Dakota Standards

University, College, and Department standards and learning objectives.

## Cultural Concept

Traditionally, a Lakota person is defined not by individual identity and personal goals, but by kinship relationships.

## Cultural Background

The people described in the novel *Waterlily* today make up more than eight percent of the population of South Dakota. Therefore, all students in the state should know basic information about South Dakota Indian reservations, history, culture, literature, and language. Ella Deloria, an ethnographer and member of the Yankton Sioux Tribe, believed that kinship relationships and responsibilities formed the bedrock of traditional Lakota/Dakota/Nakota society. (Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota are the three dialects of the language spoken by the tribes of the *Oceti Sakowin* or Seven Council Fires and are the general terms used today to refer to these tribes, replacing the word Sioux.) Deloria's main purpose in writing *Waterlily* was to demonstrate the importance of kinship relationships to its Lakota characters. As with all literature, a more than superficial reading of this novel requires that students be familiar with its cultural and historical background, the context of its writing, and the author's intent. This lesson plan is designed to provide them with this information as they read *Waterlily*.

## Student Activities (Based on six fifty-minute class periods.)

### Day One

1. Before class, have the students read the Introduction, the Preface, the Biographical Sketch, and the Afterword of *Waterlily* and write a one-to-two-page reading journal about them which lists at its end one or more questions the students have about the readings. The journal should give enough details from the readings to show that the student has read them as well as some personal reflections on the readings. Also have the students read the English Kinship Relations Chart (A), and the three Oglala Kinship Terminology Charts (B, C, and D) posted on a web-based course software program content page and make hard copies of these charts to take to class.
2. In class, have the students turn in their journals and call on some of them to ask their classmates a question about the Introduction, Preface, Biographical Sketch, or Afterword of the novel.
3. Call up Chart B, subtitled English Equivalents, from the course web program content page onto the large screen. Then divide the students as nearly as possible into groups of six arranged in circles. Make a list for yourself of the names of the students in each group. To each group, hand out one separate hard copy of Chart B. On this chart have each student write his or her first name by one of the circles if female or by one of the triangles if male. Tell them not to write their names by the ego circle or the triangle indicating ego's husband or by a circle or triangle already chosen by another student. Have the students make sure that in their group there is at least one name on each of the four horizontal tiers and on both the right and left sides of Chart B.

4. Now have each student get out her or his individual Chart C if a female or Chart D if a male. On Chart C (female) or Chart D (male) have each student write her or his name beside the circle (female) or triangle (male) labeled “ego.” Then have the students pass their Charts C or D to the students on their left sides. On these charts have these other students write their first names by the triangle or circle (in Lakota) that matches the one he or she chose on Chart B (in English). Call up Charts C and D from the course web program content page onto the screen and demonstrate. Have students continue to pass the C and D charts to the left in their circles until they return to the students who started them.

5. Have the students get out their hard copies of Chart A. Then have each female student write the first names of the people in her group beside the appropriate Lakota kinship terms on the left-hand column of her Chart A and have each male students do the same beside the Lakota kinship terms on the right-hand column of his Chart A. Then call up on the screen the Lakota Pronunciation website linked to the course web program links page with the URL <http://www.inext.cz/siouan/alphabet/alphabet.htm> and show the students how to access recorded pronunciations of each letter in the Lakota language. Call up Chart A from the course web program content page on the screen and have the students get out their individual copies of this chart. Pronounce the male and female kinship terms for the students, having them repeat them after you and have them write down any letters that will help them remember how to pronounce the kinship terms of their relatives in the group. Next, call up the Lakota Kinship website with the URL <http://lakhota.chat.ru/kinbas.htm> on the screen and show the students how to access more information on Lakota kinship. Have them pick “Basic” Lakota and explain to them its differences in orthography from Chart A. Ask for questions. Until the class period is over, have the students practice addressing their group members by their respective Lakota kinship terms.

## Day Two

1. Before class, have the students read Chapters 1-3 of *Waterlily* and Ella Deloria’s excerpt “A Way of Life That Worked” and the essay “Kinship System” posted the course web program content page. Also, have the students to practice saying the Lakota kinship terms for the people in their group.

2. In class, have the students sit in the same circles as they did on Day One.

3. Next, project onto the screen the following greetings in Lakota which you have typed before class:

*híhanni wasté* - good morning

*anpétu wasté* - good day

*htayétu wasté* - good evening

Have the students pick the most appropriate greeting for the time of day and practice pronouncing it after you. Then welcome the class as a whole with the chosen greeting in Lakota and refer to them in Lakota as children or grandchildren (your choice). Then have each student shake hands with everyone else in his or her group while saying in Lakota the chosen greeting followed by the correct kinship term for each person. Let them refer to the screen and their Chart A’s, but encourage them to memorize these words.

4. Return their passed or failed journals to the students with brief answers written on them to the questions at their ends. Indicate on any failed journal information why it failed and what the student should do differently to pass the next journal. Tell the students that you passed a journal if it gave enough details from the readings to show that the student had read them, if it included some personal reflections on the readings, and if it was long enough.
5. When they are finished, give each group a blank copy of the South Dakota Tribes and Reservations pretest about the tribes and reservations in South Dakota. Have each group fill out as many answers as it can. Call up the blank pretest from the course software program content page on the screen and solicit answers from the groups. Then call up the correctly answered pretest from the course web program content page and go over it. Tell the groups that this pretest will not count for grading, but that they will be tested again on this material sometime the following week and that test will be graded. Pick up the group pretests to keep for comparing with their later tests.
6. Tell the students that they can consider the group they are in to be their *tiyospaye* since they are related to everyone in it. Lakota people traditionally lived in extended family groups of that name. In this, they were unlike the majority of tribes in North America, which were organized into clans. In those tribes, the clans were exogamous, meaning that a person had to marry someone from a different clan. If a given tribe was patrilineal and patrilocal, the children of a married couple became members of the father's clan, and the couple and their children lived in the father's village. If a tribe was matrilineal and matrilocal, the children of a married couple became members of the mother's clan, and the couple and their children lived in the mother's village. The Lakota were not organized into clans, but a Lakota person had to marry someone from a different *tiyospaye*. A married couple's children were related to both sides of the family, and the couple could choose which *tiyospaye* to live with and could move back and forth between the mother's and the father's *tiyospaye*.
7. Have each group draw connections between the two essays assigned about the Lakota/Dakota kinship system and the situation of Blue Bird and her grandmother at the beginning of *Waterlily* and jot them down on a piece of paper. Then have the students in each group take turns telling the whole class about their ideas and asking the class for questions or comments about them.

### Day Three

1. Before class, have the students read Chapters 4-7 of *Waterlily* and the essays posted on the course web program content page about the tribes making up the *Oceti Sakowin* or Seven Council Fires and the bands making up the *Titonwan* tribe. Also have each student draw on a piece of paper the location of the seven tribes of the *Oceti Sakowin* in the camp circle of the Seven Council Fires. In these drawings, have the students leave an opening on the east side of the camp circle for its entrance, like a nearly closed C. Have them label the tribe names both in English and in Lakota. For the Lakota words have them use the spelling used in the Antoine Herman/James R. Walker essay. In addition, tell the students to work on memorizing the Lakota kinship terms of the people in their group.

2. In class, write the Lakota greeting chosen on Day Two on the board. Welcome the class as a whole with the greeting in Lakota and refer to them in Lakota as children or grandchildren. Have the students sit in their *tiyospaye* group circles and have each student shake hands with everyone else in the group while giving the chosen Lakota greeting followed by the correct kinship term for each person. Let them refer to the board for the greeting and to their A Charts or other crib sheets for the kinship terms, but encourage them all to memorize these words by the next class period. Ask those students to raise their hands who already had all of the Lakota kinship terms memorized for today. Then ask for the hands of those students who had most of these terms memorized. Ask for the hands of those students who already had some of these Lakota terms memorized. Praise them all for making progress.

3. Have the students in their groups get out their individual *Oceti Sakowin*/Seven Council Fire drawings giving the locations of the tribes in a camp circle that they made for class. On a piece of paper, have the group draw one camp circle based on the combined information of the group's individual drawings. If the individual drawings differ, have the students decide amongst themselves what would be best for their group drawing. Pick up the group drawings and show them each briefly on the overhead projector. Have the class discuss any differences between them. If some show the place of honor on the west side directly across from the east entrance to the camp circle as occupied by the *Titonwan* and others show that spot occupied by the *Mdewakantonwan*, have the class discuss why. If some use different terms for the English names of the tribes than others, have the class discuss why. Then, ask the students to tell you the names of the seven bands of the *Titonwan* in English and Lakota. Write these down on a piece of paper to project on the overhead. Tell the students that sometime next week you will give the groups a test on the Lakota and English names of the tribes of the *Oceti Sakowin* and the divisions of the *Titonwan* tribe and pick them up for grading. Call up the essay giving the list of the bands in the *Titonwan* tribe from the course web program content page onto the screen and explain that the words in the right-hand column are the words commonly used today to refer to these bands. Ask for any questions from the class about this topic.

4. Have each student locate a passage in Chapters 4-7 of *Waterlily* that indicates how children were raised in Lakota culture. Call on one student from each group to read his or her passage and then to describe in his or her own words what this child rearing practice was and how it related to teaching kinship relationships, privileges, or responsibilities. If the student cannot think of any way the practice related to teaching about kinship, have him or her ask for help with this from the rest of the class. Tell the students that a question about child rearing will probably be on the midterm examination and that they might want to take notes today and update these notes as they read the rest of the novel. When someone from each group has read a passage, go around the groups again. Tell students that as an alternative to reading a passage they can ask the class a question about Chapters 4-7 of *Waterlily* instead. Continue for this for the remainder of the class period.

## Day Four

1. Before class, have the students read Chapters 8-11 of *Waterlily* and write a one-to-two-page reading journal about them which lists at its end one or more questions the students have about the reading. Have the students bring their hard copies of Chart C to class, with female students running off new unmarked ones.
2. In class, welcome the class as a whole with the chosen greeting in Lakota, referring to them in Lakota as children or grandchildren. Have the students sit in their *tiyospaye* group circles and have each student shake hands with everyone else in the group while giving the chosen Lakota greeting followed by the correct kinship term for each person.
3. Have students turn in their journals.
4. Project a hard copy of Chart C from the course web program content page onto the screen. Then hand out a hard copy of Chart C to each group. Have the students in each group write their names at the top of this kinship Chart C. Have them write the name Waterlily by the circle labeled ego. Then have them write the characters' names through Chapter 11 of the novel beside the appropriate Lakota kinship terms. Have them write or print as small as possible, because some of the kinship terms will refer to more than one character. After ten or fifteen minutes, go around asking each group for a character name to write beside the appropriate kinship term on the hard copy projected overhead on the big screen. Continue going around the groups asking for more character names until no one has any more. Have students get out their individual hard copies of Chart C and write in the character names generated in the groups today. When they have finished, tell them to add any more names through Chapter 14 to their individual charts as homework. Pick up the group C Charts.
5. Have each group come up with three questions about Chapters 8-11 of *Waterlily* to ask to the rest of the class. Then have each group play teacher and ask one question to the class and call on people who raise their hands for answers. After each group has asked a question, have them do two more rounds of questions and answers until all questions have been asked and answered.

## Day Five

1. Before class, have the students read Chapters 12-14 of *Waterlily* and fill in more character names on their individual C Charts.
2. In class, welcome the class as a whole with the chosen greeting in Lakota referring to them in Lakota as your children or grandchildren. Have the students sit in their *tiyospaye* group circles and have each student shake hands with everyone else in the group while giving the chosen Lakota greeting followed by the correct kinship term for each person.
3. Return their passed or failed journals to the students with brief answers written on them to the questions at their ends. Indicate on any failed journal information why it failed and what the student should do differently.
4. Give each group a blank copy of the South Dakota Tribes and Reservations test about the tribes and reservations in South Dakota that they first filled out on Day Two. Have each group

fill out as many answers as it can and then turn the test in for grading. Call up correct answers from the course web program content page on the screen.

5. Hand back the C Charts to the groups and have the students fill in more character names given in the novel through Chapter 14. Project a hard copy of Chart C from Day Four overhead on the screen. Have the students tell you more character names to add to it. Have students fill out individual charts with more names to take home. Pick up the group C Charts again.

6. Have the members of each group come up with various ways in which the characters, themes, and plot of *Waterlily* have been influenced so far in the novel by kinship relationships, privileges and responsibilities. Then have the groups share their lists/ideas with the whole class. Tell all the students that a question on this topic will likely be on the midterm examination and that they might want to take individual notes.

7. If there is remaining time, ask for questions or comments about any aspect of *Waterlily*.

### Day Six

1. Before class, have students read Chapters 15-17 of *Waterlily* and fill in more character names on their individual C Charts.

2. In class, welcome the class as a whole with the chosen greeting in Lakota referring to them in Lakota as your children or grandchildren. Have the students sit in their *tiyospaye* group circles and have each student shake hands with everyone else in the group while giving the chosen Lakota greeting followed by the correct kinship term for each person.

3. In class, return the graded tests on tribes and reservations in South Dakota to the groups.

4. Have each group get out a piece of paper and list the tribes of the *Oceti Sakowin* in Lakota and English and the bands of the *Titonwan* in Lakota and English. Pick up these tests and tell the students that you will return them graded the next class day.

5. Hand back the group C Charts and have the groups fill in more character names given in the novel through its end. Ask all the groups what new names they added to where in the chart. Pick up the charts and tell students that you will grade them and return them the next class day.

6. Have the groups discuss more ways in which the characters, themes, and plot of *Waterlily* have been influenced by kinship relationships, privileges and responsibilities as seen in Chapters 15-17. Have each group share its ideas with the whole class. Remind the students that they might want to take individual notes about this for the midterm examination.

7. If there is enough time left in the period, tell the students that at this time, if they want, they can change the membership of their groups in the following ways (if there is not time for this, do it at the beginning of the next class period): If he or she chooses, a student can agree with a member of the opposite gender in a different *tiyospaye* group to become married. Likewise, a student can agree with a member of the same gender in a different *tiyospaye* group to enter into a state of fellowship. Only males did this in Lakota society, but for the purposes of this class, females can also. Once married or in fellowship, each pair should decide which *tiyospaye* group to “live with” (although in Lakota society men in fellowship pairs usually lived in the other’s *tiyospaye* for only brief periods of time). As a class, try to work things out so that the groups

each still have six people in them (because there is not enough grass, firewood, or game in each area to support a larger *tiyospaye* and smaller groups would find it difficult to survive). If students have moved to a new *tiyospaye* group or have had new members join their groups, they should figure out what Lakota kinship terms to call each other. To do this, they should consult Chart A and/or the Lakota kinship website on the course web program links page with the URL <http://lakhota.chat.ru/kinbas.htm>. Tell them to memorize these new names and to get into these groups again at the beginning of the next class period even though they will have started reading a different book.

### Resources

1. A classroom with moveable chairs/desks.
2. A whiteboard, a large screen, a classroom computer, a projector, and an opaque overhead projector.
3. A web-based course software program on which to post assignments and the charts, essays, tests, maps, and links to other web pages appended to this lesson plan.
4. Copies of *Waterlily* for the teacher and the students.

### Assessment

1. Weekly individual reading journals graded pass/fail with the passes added up at the end of the semester on a numerical scale corresponding to letter grades A through F.
2. Three group tests: one on South Dakota Indian Tribes and Reservations and their locations, one on the tribes of the *Oceti Sakowin* and the bands of the *Titowan* tribe, and one a chart of the Lakota kinship connections between the characters in *Waterlily*, each graded on a numerical scale of correct answers corresponding to letter grades A through F. These three tests will be preceded by ungraded pretests or class exercises.
3. Essay questions on Lakota kinship relationships and child rearing practices seen in *Waterlily* as part of the course midterm examination.

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#### Date

August 4, 2011

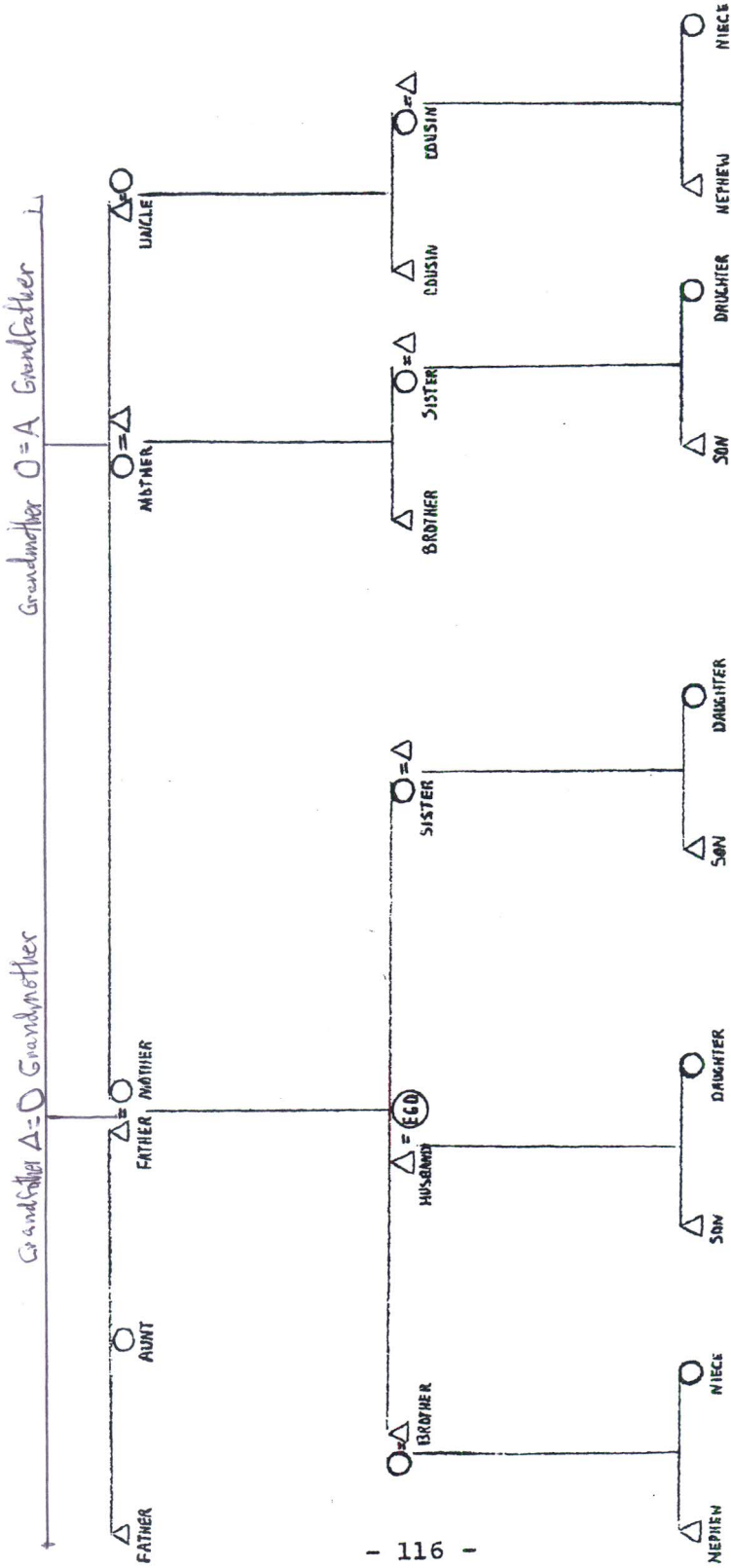
Chart A



Lakota Female	English Kinship Relations	Lakota Male
Unci	Grandmother	Unci
Tunkasila	Grandfather	Tunkasila
Ina	Mother [and her sisters]	Ina
Ate	Father [and his brothers]	Ate
Tunwin	Aunt [father's sisters, father's brother's wife, and mother's brother's wife]	Tunwin
Leksi	Uncle [mother's brother, mother's sister's husband, and father's sister's husband]	Leksi
Cepansi	Female cousin [daughters of mother's brothers and father's sisters]	Hankasi
Sicesi	Male cousin [sons of mother's brothers and father's sisters]	Tahansi
Cuwe	Older sister [and older daughters of mother's sisters and father's brothers]	Tanke
Tiblo	Older brother [and older sons of mother's sisters and father's brothers]	Ciye
Tanka	Younger sister [and younger daughters of mother's sisters and father's brothers]	Tanksi
Misun	Younger brother [and younger sons of mother's sisters and father's brothers]	Misun
Sicepan	Sister-in-law [a woman's husband's sister or her sister's husband; a man's wife's sister or his brother's wife]	Hanka
Sice	Brother-in-law [a woman's husband's brother or her sister's husband; a man's wife's brother or his sister's husband]	Tanhan
Cunksi	Daughter [and daughters of a woman's sisters or a man's brothers]	Cunksi
Cinksi	Son [and sons of a woman's sisters or a man's brothers]	Cinksi
Tojan	Niece	Tonjan
Toska	Nephew	Tonska
Uncisi	Mother-in-law	Uncisi
Tunkan	Father-in-law	Tunkan
Wakanyeja	Child	Wakanyeja
Takoja	Grandchild	Takoja

Chart B

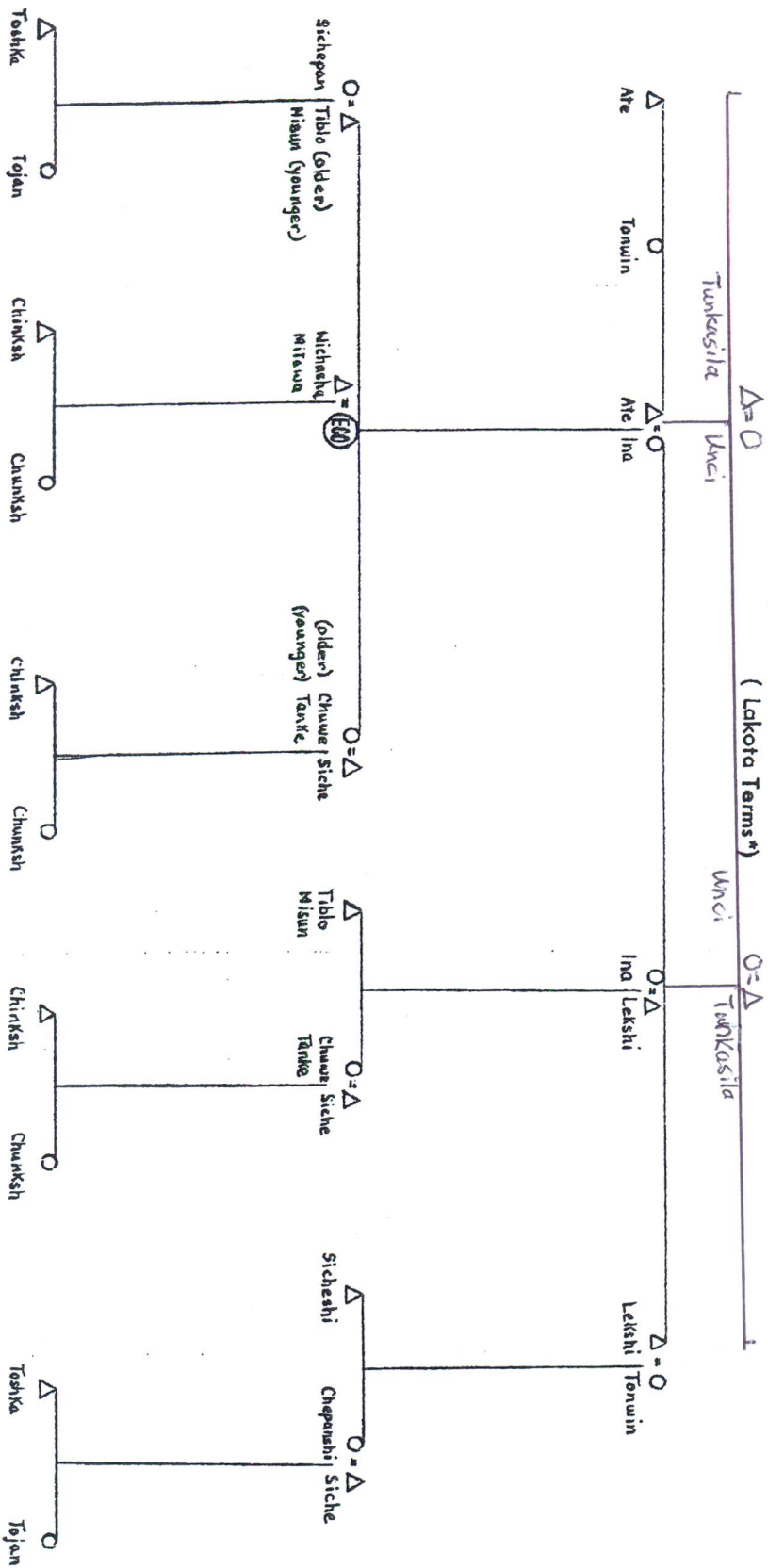
OGIALA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY\*  
English Equivalents



\*Ego is the reference person - in this case, a female.

Chart C

OGJALA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY  
(Lakota Terms\*)

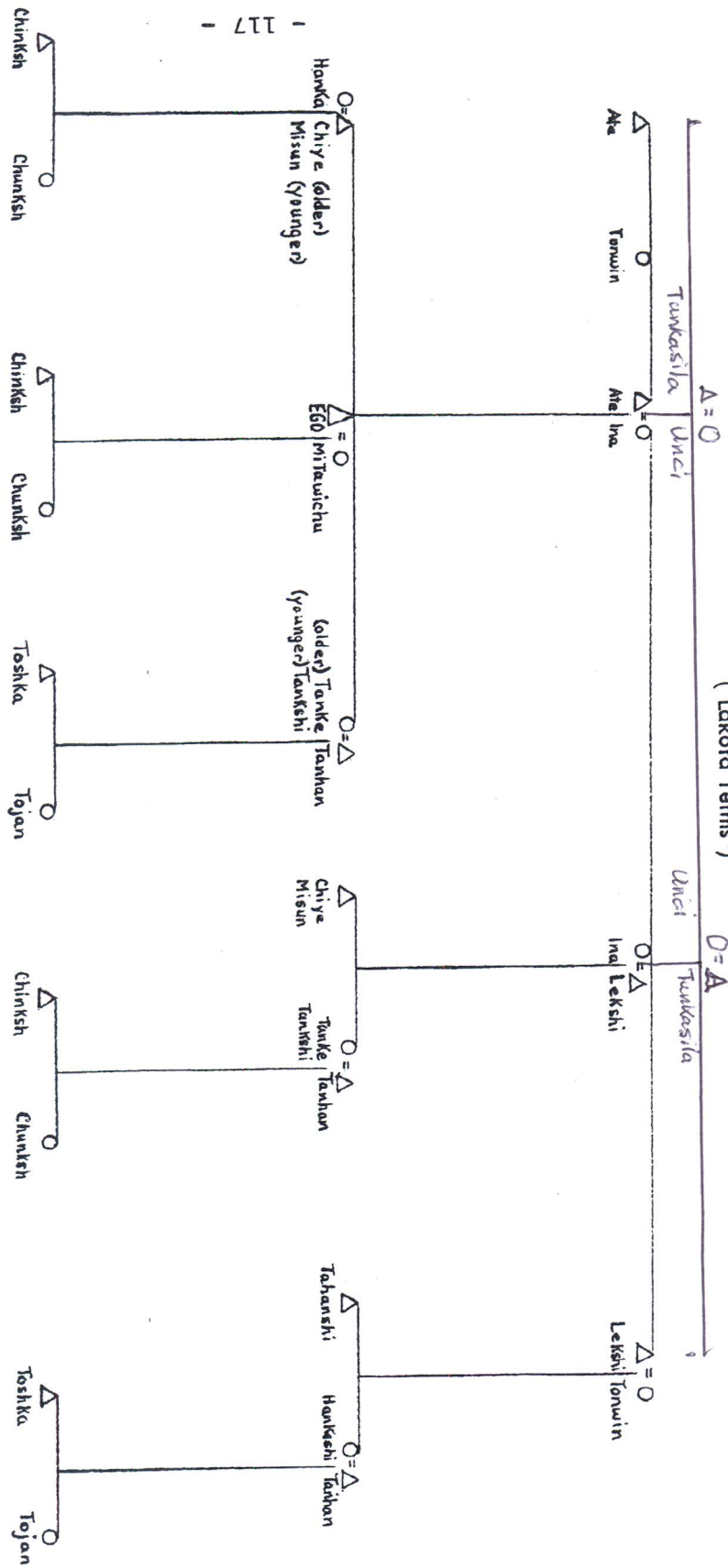


Ego is the reference person, in this case, female.  
Information on Lakota Terms obtained through the kind cooperation of Hilda Catches and Rose Respects Nothing.

MALE  $\Delta$   
FEMALE  $\text{O}$

Chart D

OGGALA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY  
(Lakota Terms\*)



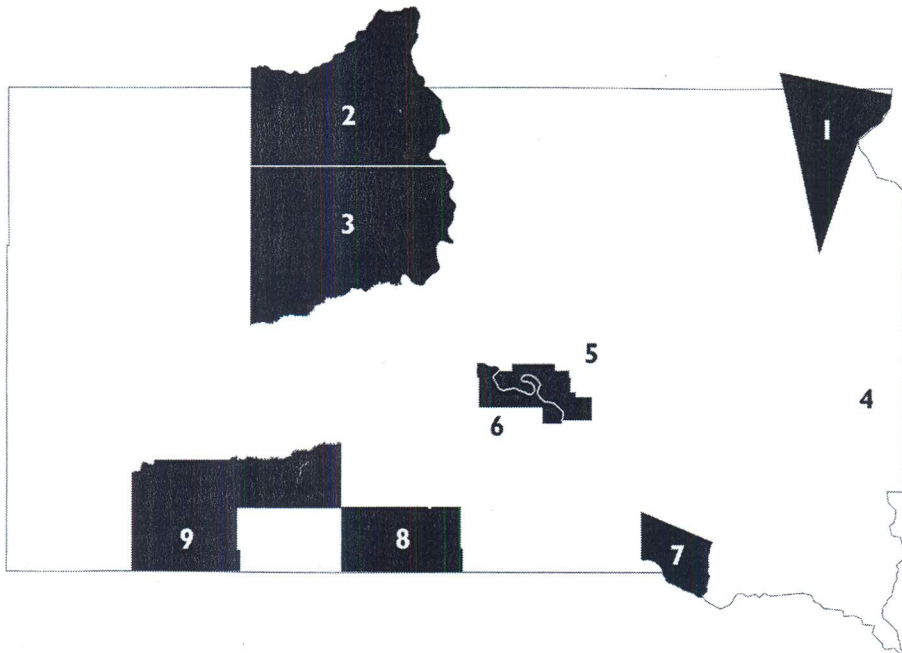
\*Ego is the reference person, in this case, male.  
Information on Lakota terms obtained through the kind cooperation of Hilda Catches and Rose Respects Nothing.

MALE  $\Delta$   
FEMALE  $\circ$



7. Complete the following chart based on the map below.

	Tribe Name	Reservation Name	Capital City
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			



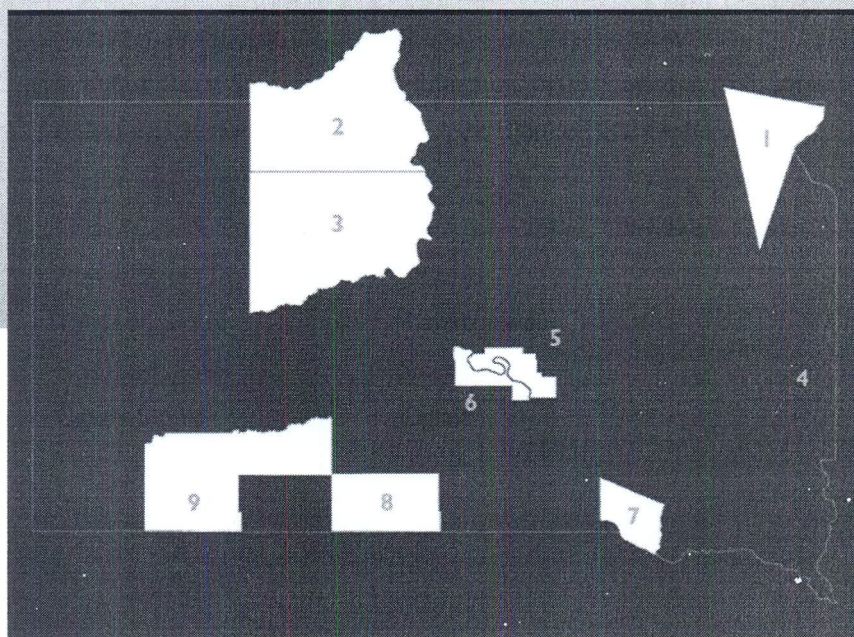


# Lakota, Nakota & Dakota

## Oceti Sakowin Seven Council Fires



- Hunkpapa
- Oohenunpa
- Mniconjou
- Oglala
- Itazipco
- Sihhasapa
- Sicangu



Reservation	Tribe	Oyate
1 Lake Traverse	Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux	Sissetonwan, Wahpetonwan
2 Standing Rock	Standing Rock Sioux	Hunkpapa, Ihanktonwanna, Sihhasapa
3 Cheyenne River	Cheyenne River Sioux	Itazipco, Mniconjou, Oohenunpa, Sihhasapa
4 Flandreau	Flandreau Santee Sioux	Mdewakantonwan, Wahpekute
5 Crow Creek	Crow Creek Sioux	Ihanktonwanna, Mdewakantonwan
6 Lower Brule	Lower Brule Sioux	Sicangu
7 Yankton	Yankton Sioux	Ihanktonwan
8 Rosebud	Rosebud Sioux	Sicangu
9 Pine Ridge	Oglala Sioux	Oglala

Kinship System

The traditional kinship terminology used by the Sioux is based on the sex of the relative through whom one is reckoning kinship and on the extension of lineal terms to collateral relatives. Thus one uses the same term for mother and mother's sister (iná) and for father and father's brother (até). Your mother's brother and father's sister are called by terms roughly equivalent to uncle and aunt in western kinship terminology. The terms sister and brother would be used for your siblings and the children of those you call mother and father, i.e., your parallel cousins - children of your maternal aunts and paternal uncles.<sup>5</sup>

Although much of the traditional kinship terminology has fallen into disuse, it is still used by some of the Full Bloods. In consequence, there is often confusion when Non-Indians ask about relationships. For example, an Oglala may call someone "aunt" whom a Non-Indian would call "cousin".

The kinship term applied to a person in traditional culture determined one's behavior toward the person. Persons called "mother" and "father" were treated with love and respect. One was more reserved with those called "aunt" and "uncle". Between brothers and between sisters there was cooperation and great love. The relationship between brother and sister, however, was marked by reserve - they did not speak to each other unless necessary or look directly at one another. They, however, were expected to be dedicated to one another and help each other in time of need. The strictest avoidance rules were between a person and his parent-in-law of the opposite sex. On the other extreme, joking relationships were permitted between a man and his brothers' wives and his wife's sisters. Familiar behavior between these affinal relatives probably was a result of the custom in which a man sometimes married his wife's sister or his brother's widow. Polygyny was accepted but not encouraged by the society.



### 1. Legend of the Camp Circle. John Blunt Horn. (CHS)

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Long ago the Lakotas made but one council fire. Then they were all like brothers and made their winter camp on *Ble Wakan* [Sacred Lake], and this was called *Ble Wakan Tonwan* [Sacred Lake Village].<sup>20</sup> Then some wandered so far in the summertime that they did not return to the winter camp, which was made in the place of the pines. These people made their winter camp where the leaves fall in the winter and some made it upon the *tinle* or plains. Then others made their winter camp on *Ble Isan*, or Knife Lake [the Santees]. Then some stayed at the lake in the summertime and ate fish all the time and they stank like fish so they were called *Sin-Sin* [Sisseton]. So there were four council fires.

Then there was war with other Indians and the Lakotas all came together to help each other fight, but there were four council fires. They made the camp circle. Those who lived at Spirit Lake were the oldest camp and they placed their camp opposite the entrance and those from the plains made their camp on both sides of the entrance. (Another version says that the plains people placed their camp on the left and the Knife Lakers on the right and the Slimy Ones [Sissetons] at the entrance.)

After this those at the Knife Lake went to where the leaves fall and made their camp there. They made two council fires. Then some who went to the plains went far away and would not come to help in war. They spoke to the messengers in a rough voice so that the Lakotas called them *Ho He*, or Rough Voiced [the Assiniboins]. But some came to help at council and they placed their camps one on the north side and one on the south side of the entrance to the circle, but they made their council fire on both sides of the entrance. So they were called *Ihank Tonwan* [End Village] and *Ihank Tonwanda* [Little End Village]. Ever since that time there have been seven council fires that would not be extinguished.

## 2. The Seven Council Fires. Antoine Herman and James R. Walker. (CHS)

It is the custom of the Sioux Indians to name a people descriptive of some characteristic or peculiarity of those named as, for instance, they call the Germans *Lasica*, Bad-Speak; the Negroes *Haccha*, Black-skin; the Ojibwas *Hakatonwan*, Camp-at-falls; the Navajos *Sinagleglega*, Make-figured-ropes [Striped blankets].

They name themselves, in the Santee dialect, *Dakota*, which is derived from their word *da*, considered, and *koda*, a friend or friends, and it means Considered-friends.<sup>21</sup> The Teton dialect has varied from the Santee according to the natural process of variation of a language which is not written. In the former the sound represented by *l* has taken the place of the sound repre-

sented by *d* in the latter, so that the *Tionwan* or Teton call the Sioux *Lakota*.

They also speak of themselves as *Ocehi Sakowin*, a contraction of *Ocehiyohi Sakowin*, which means the Seven Council Fires, and indicates that they considered themselves as one tribe divided into seven gentes [bands], each gens governed by its own council, and the tribe bound together by a kind of confederacy.<sup>22</sup> According to their legends they were originally all kinspeople, living together under one chief in the regions of the pines [the north], but the writer has heard no legend that accounts for their division into the gentes or that would indicate the exact location of their earliest home. \* \* \*<sup>23</sup>

The only binding force of this confederation was that no one of these clans [bands] should be at war or enmity with any other, though in raids for horses and women and in feuds and reprisals there was at times almost a state of war between some of these clans.<sup>24</sup>

These clans or tribes were:

<i>Medewakan-tonwan</i>	Camping at Spirit Lake
<i>Wakpekute</i>	Leaf Shooters
<i>Wakpetonwan</i>	Camping among Leaves
<i>Sistonwan</i>	Camping among Swamps
<i>Ihanktonwan</i>	Camping at the End
<i>Ihanktonwanna</i>	Camping at the Little End
<i>Tionwan</i>	Camping on the Plains

These are the most generally accepted names of the tribes among the Dakotas, but each tribe, except the *Tionwan*, had other names by which they were known, as for instance, the *Medewakan-tonwan* were also known as *Kiyuksa*, Violators of a Custom, referring to their taking women in violation of the generally accepted custom of the Dakotas. This is of interest because according to the legends of this people the Campers at Mysterious Lake was the original gens of the Lakotas from which the other six gentes were formed in the manner that will be explained further on.<sup>25</sup>

The Mysterious Lake referred to in this name is the Mille Lacs in Minnesota, situated in the midst of pine forests which extend a short distance southward and terminate along its southern border in a large admixture of deciduous trees, while it

extends northwards as the Lakotas believed, indefinitely. They believed that the Mysterious Lake was the center of the world, and north they called *wazyata*, the region of the pines, because no one had been known to find the end of the pine forests in that direction, and according to their stories and myths they extended to the edge of the earth. This indicates that they inhabited this region from remote times, and that the gens occupying this territory was the original from which the other six gens were formed.

This gens considered themselves the original stock, and that the other gens were inferior and subordinate to them. When the latter originated the custom of getting their women from gens other than their own, they continued to take women of their own gens and were thus designated as the *Kiyuksa*, or Violators of the Custom.<sup>26</sup>

When the Lakotas *tonwanyanpi*, or made a camp according to their customs, they did so on the territory they claimed as their hunting grounds, which was established by a common consent, or by conquest, and maintained by force. This territory was generally defined by natural landmarks such as lakes, rivers, hills, prairies, etc., but [the boundaries] were often indefinite, and varied according to the ability of the claimants to extend them or defend them from invasion by others. They varied from place to place for these same reasons. In this manner the Lakotas lost their claim to the territory around the Mysterious Lake to the Algonquins, who, being a canoeing people, were able to move expeditiously about the lacustrine regions of northern Minnesota. Coming from eastward where they were in contact with the white people before the Lakotas were, they had firearms, which gave them an immense advantage in warfare so that they drove the Lakotas from the wooded regions to the prairies in a contest of war which was continual until the U.S. government interfered to make peace between these two peoples.<sup>27</sup>

The original territory occupied by the Lakotas is hardly defined by their stories or legends, but philological reasons indicate that it was confined to the pine regions extending from Mille Lacs, for the first gens originating from the parent gens was the Shooters among the Leaves, which means that they shot among the deciduous leaves of trees; that would indicate that they moved

southward from the regions of the pines and hunted among the trees with deciduous leaves. The second subordinate gens moved further southward and made their camp among the trees with deciduous leaves. The last of the subordinate gens, the *Tiorwan*, left the timbered country altogether and inhabited the plains.

The gens are given in the order above because in a legend of The Seven Council Fires the camp was established in a circle according to the rank of the several gens. The oldest and original gens, the *Mdewakantonwan*, were at the west in the place of honor; the next oldest, the *Wahpekute*, were at the left of these; the next oldest, the *Wahpetonwan*, were at the right; the third from the oldest, the *Sisitonwan*, were at the left of the *Wahpekute*; the fourth oldest, the *Ihanktonwan*, were at the north side of the entrance to the circle at the east, and the *Ihanktonwanna* were at the south side of this entrance; while the youngest, the *Tiorwan*, were at the south side of the circle. They were placed thus to indicate the directions of their territory from the territory of the *Mdewakantonwan*, the oldest of the gens.

According to the legends of this people, they were originally all kinpeople, with one chief, and lived in one camp. As the writer has heard no legend to account for their division into the gens and subgens, it probably was done as such divisions were made in later times, which was as follows.

A man might leave a camp, either voluntarily or driven out, and have his tipi alone, or his friends might leave the camp with him, in which case they *tonwanyanpi*, formed a camp; or if when he was alone others came to him and camped with him, then they formed a camp and he was the chief of the camp and of the band of people living in it. As long as this camp, band, or subgens remained living in the territory claimed by a gens it was considered a subgens, subordinate to the gens claiming the territory or from which its members were mostly drawn to form the subgens, and the chief of the gens ranked superior to the chief of the subgens. In this way each gens was composed of many subgens, each with its chief, but the chief of the original gens was the head chief of all the subgens.

But, if a subgens became numerous and powerful, then it could assume the place of the principal gens and hold the other subgens as subordinate and its chief would become the head

chief of the gens. Or it might take possession of a territory independent of other gentes and become the principal gens of that territory, from which other subgentes would originate, all known under the name of the originating gens.

It is therefore probable that the *Mdewakantonwan* was the original gens and that other gentes sprang from it in the manner above given, and that some of these gentes took possession of new territory and assumed an independence of the parent gens and were given names in accordance with the customs of the people, which generally are some characteristic of those named.

### 3. Divisions of the Lakotas. James R. Walker. (CHS)

When the Lakotas came from the middle of the world they were one as a people and made but one winter camp and kept but one council fire.<sup>28</sup> After a time some did not return to the winter camp and when they did associate with the original camp they maintained their council fire, so they were called *tonwan* [village] because they thought they had power sufficient to be independent. Then others did so until there were seven *tonwan*, or seven council fires, when the people all associated. While these people were independent of each other, they were friends, so they called themselves *Dakoda*, or friends (*Lakola* [sic] in the Teton dialect), and they were allies against all others of mankind.

When a formal camp is made it is circular with the entrance towards the rising sun and the place of honor at the opposite side facing the entrance. When all the Lakotas were associated in one camp, each *tonwan* placed its tipis together and built its camp fire. By common consent the original *tonwan* was given the place of honor and the others were arranged as agreed upon. But the Teton became powerful and warlike and they usurped the place of honor which had been given to the *Blawakantonwan*, [*Mdewakantonwan*] and then the camp circle was arranged as follows, beginning at the north side of the entrance:<sup>29</sup>

<i>Ihantonwan</i>	End detachment (Yanktons)
<i>Sinsinonwan</i>	Slimy detachment (Sissetons)
<i>Blawakantonwan</i>	Holy lake detachment (Spirit Lakers)
<i>Tintonwan</i>	Plains detachment (Tetons)
<i>Wahpemuketonwan</i>	Leaf shoot detachment (Santees)
<i>Wahpetonwan</i>	Leaf detachment (Santees)
<i>Ihantonwan</i>	End little detachment (Yanktonais)

When two or more of these *tonwan* were associated in a camp each took the precedence in the following order:

1st: Tetons
2nd: Spirit Lakers
3rd: Santees; 1st: Leaf shooters; 2nd: Leaves
4th: Sissetons
5th: Yanktons

The Teton were divided into seven bands, each of which when unassociated with another maintained its council fire. They were as follows:

<i>Siangu</i>	Thighs-scorched	Brulés
<i>Oohenonpa</i>	Boil-twice	Two Kettles
<i>Minikanyewozupi</i>	Plant-near-water	Minikanzus
<i>Oglala</i>	Cast-on-own	Oglala
<i>Hazpco</i>	No-bow	Sans Arc
<i>Sisasapa</i>	Black-foot	Blackfeet
<i>Hunkpapa</i>	End-of-horn	Hunkpapa

The bands of the Teton associated themselves in a formal camp circle in the order given, which always gave to the Oglalas the chief place in every formal camp of the Lakotas. When two or more of these bands were associated each took precedence in the following order:

1st: Oglalas
2nd: Minikanzus
3rd: Brulés
4th: Two Kettles
5th: Sans Arcs
6th: Blackfeet
7th: Hunkpapas

ate relatives by blood and marriage to receive him properly. And the men, women, and even children quickly fell into line, without awkwardness, accepting the situation and behaving according as each was now related to him. Those proper attitudes and behaviors accompanying each term were, as I have said before, ingrained in them from constant practice until they were automatic. Until they were instinctive, I nearly said, but of course that is not the word. It is not instinctive to be unselfish, kind, and sincere toward others, and therefore courteous. Those are traits that have to be learned. And they can be learned, but only by scrupulous repetition, until they become automatic responses; until, in the case of the Dakotas, the very uttering of a kinship term at once brought the whole process into synchronic play—kinship term, attitude, behavior—like a chord that is harmonious.

To summarize, and perhaps also to catch up some points not yet clear, I have this to say:

This chapter tries to give the basic principles of the Dakota kinship system and to explain its purpose and influence in tribal life. What I have given here is, of course, the ideal picture. But I can honestly say that hardly one in a hundred dared to be thought of as deviating from its rule, although there were always a few naturally heedless persons who persistently or occasionally disregarded it. But that at once classed them with the *witko*—the naughty, irresponsible child, the outlaw adult, the mentally foolish, the drunk. No adult in his right mind cared to be so classed.

I run a risk in leaving this subject with such an emphasis on the facility with which new relatives could be made. I don't mean that a Dakota could not rest until he had feverishly gone round the entire camp circle establishing relationships. After all, the sphere of kith and kin is limited for even a Dakota. When I say that kinship was all-inclusive and co-extensive with the tribe, I mean it was that potentially. It was true that everyone was related to all the people within his own circle of acquaintances. But all those people also had other circles of acquaintance within the large tribe. All such circles overlapped and interlocked. Any Dakota could legitimately find his way to any other, if he wished or needed to do so. And thus, with relatives scattered over the many camp circles and communities, anyone could go visiting anywhere, and be at home.

Perhaps now it can be better realized how, for publicity purposes, almost any Sioux entertainer can quite blandly claim to be a grandson of Sitting Bull. He probably is!



There are nine reservations within the borders of South Dakota.

Reservation	Tribe	Capital
Lake Traverse	Sisseton-Wahpeton Oyate	Agency Village
Standing Rock	Standing Rock Sioux Tribe	Fort Yates
Cheyenne River	Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe	Eagle Butte
Flandreau	Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe	Flandreau
Crow Creek	Crow Creek Sioux Tribe	Fort Thompson
Lower Brule	Lower Brule Sioux Tribe	Lower Brule
Yankton	Yankton Sioux Tribe	Marty
Rosebud	Rosebud Sioux Tribe	Rosebud
Pine Ridge	Oglala Sioux Tribe	Pine Ridge

Statistical information related to these reservations [and off-reservation trust lands] and tribes from the 2000 Census is presented in the following table. Cumulative data is compiled in the SD Reservations column. For comparative purposes the same data is provided for South Dakota.

	Lake Traverse	Standing Rock	Cheyenne River	Flandreau	Crow Creek	Lower Brule	Yankton	Rosebud	Pine Ridge	SD Reservations	South Dakota
Reservation established	1867	1889	1889	1936	1889	1889	1858	1889	1889		1889
Constitution	1946	1959	1935	1936	1923	1936	1932	1935	1935		1889
IRA	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes		
Districts	7	8	13	1	3	1	1	20	9		66
Area in square miles, 2000	1,509	3,663	4,420	4	461	390	684	1,975	3,472	16,577	77,117
Population per square mile	7.2	2.3	2.0	102.3	5.3	3.9	9.8	5.3	4.5	15.8	9.9
Population	10,408	8,250	8,470	408	2,225	1,353	6,500	10,469	15,521	63,604	754,844
Median Age	36.5	25.8	25.7	25.7	22.3	21.8	32.6	21.5	20.6	25.8	35.6
% Under 5	7.0	9.8	9.7	10.0	11.5	13.4	9.9	12.1	10.9	10.1	6.8
% 5 to 19	26.7	32.4	33.3	33.1	35.3	34.4	27.0	35.8	38.1	33.1	23.4
% 20 to 34	14.3	18.7	17.8	20.8	19.6	20.8	15.6	19.2	19.8	18.0	19.1
% 35 to 54	26.3	24.0	24.3	25.7	21.9	22.0	23.1	22.0	21.0	23.2	28.2
% 55 to 64	9.4	7.1	6.9	5.9	6.5	4.9	9.8	5.2	5.4	6.9	8.3
% 65 to 84	13.8	7.6	7.4	3.7	5.1	4.1	12.4	5.2	4.5	7.7	12.2
% 85+	2.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.2	0.4	2.4	0.4	0.3	1.0	2.1
Unemployment percentage	7.3	18.3	15.2	14.5	21.6	28.1	12.2	20.1	33.0	18.9	4.4
Average Household Size	2.7	3.5	3.2	3.1	4.0	3.8	2.9	3.7	4.4	3.5	2.5



	Lake Traverse	Standing Rock	Cheyenne River	Flandreau	Crow Creek	Lower Brule	Yankton	Rosebud	Pine Ridge	SD Reservations	South Dakota
<b>Educational Attainment %</b>											
Below 9th grade	13.6	8.8	6.2	5.3	9.4	5.6	13.4	7	9.9	8.8	7.5
9-12 no diploma	12.4	13.9	18.2	25.2	25.7	18.5	13.7	20.1	21.3	18.8	8
High school	35.3	35.1	33.2	31.1	34.6	41.4	34.1	32.4	26.6	33.8	32.9
Some college	18	21.4	23.6	26.7	20.6	20	16.7	24	23.4	21.6	23
Associate	7.3	9.5	6.6	4.9	3.9	5.7	8.4	5.6	7.7	6.6	7.1
Bachelor's	9.6	8.6	9	6.8	4.6	5.7	10.5	6.9	7.2	7.7	15.5
Graduate/Prof	3.7	2.6	3.2	0	1.1	3.1	3.2	4	3.9	2.8	6
<b>Income in 1999</b>											
Median hshld	28,083	21,625	22,094	32,813	12,070	21,146	23,734	19,046	20,569	22,353	35,282
Per capita	12,743	8,192	8,710	11,877	5,272	7,020	10,168	7,279	6,143	8,600	17,562
<b>Poverty level</b>											
Number below	2,323	3,256	3,229	50	1,220	653	2,217	5,152	8,140	26,240	95,900
Percent below	22.8	40.0	38.5	13.0	55.7	48.3	34.8	50.5	53.4	39.7	13.2
<b>School Enrollment %</b>											
Pre-K	6.6	7.6	6.9	2.1	10.0	9.8	7.7	6.5	7.4	7.2	6.1
Kindergarten	6.3	5.2	7.2	4.2	6.1	9.4	8.5	7.2	7.5	6.8	5.4
Grades 1-8	53.1	52.0	51.9	63.4	51.2	46.1	57.1	51.8	54.1	53.4	44.6
Grades 9-12	25.4	24.7	22.6	25.4	25.6	26.0	20.8	21.2	19.5	23.5	23.4
College	8.6	10.5	11.4	4.9	7.1	8.7	5.8	13.2	11.5	9.1	20.6

## “A Scheme of Life That Worked”

### PART II

#### 4: KINSHIP'S ROLE IN DAKOTA LIFE

All peoples who live communally must first find some way to get along together harmoniously and with a measure of decency and order. This is a universal problem. Each people, even the most primitive, has solved it in its own way. And that way, by whatever rules and controls it is achieved, is, for any people, the scheme of life that works. The Dakota people of the past found a way: it was through kinship.

Kinship was the all-important matter. Its demands and dictates for all phases of social life were relentless and exact; but, on the other hand, its privileges and honorings and rewarding prestige were not only tolerable but downright pleasant and desirable for all who conformed. By kinship all Dakota people were held together in a great relationship that was theoretically all-inclusive and co-extensive with the Dakota domain. Everyone who was born a Dakota belonged in it; nobody need be left outside.

This meant that the Dakota camp circles were no haphazard assemblages of heterogeneous individuals. Ideally, nobody living there was unattached. The most solitary member was sure to have at least one blood relative, no matter how distant, through whose marriage connections he was automatically the relative of a host of people. For, in Dakota society, everyone shared affinal relatives; that is, relatives-through-marriage, with his own relatives-through-blood.

Before going further, I can safely say that the ultimate aim of Dakota life, stripped of accessories, was quite simple: One must obey kinship rules; one must be a good relative. No Dakota who has participated in that life will dispute that. In the last analysis every other consideration was secondary—property, personal ambition, glory, good times, life itself. Without that aim and the con-

stant struggle to attain it, the people would no longer be Dakotas in truth. They would no longer even be human. To be a good Dakota, then, was to be humanized, civilized. And to be civilized was to keep the rules imposed by kinship for achieving civility, good manners, and a sense of responsibility toward every individual dealt with. Thus only was it possible to live communally with success; that is to say, with a minimum of friction and a maximum of good will.

Let me try to explain the kinship system of the Dakotas as simply as I can, though it is complex at best. As a member of the tribe you have, of course, your natural father and mother and siblings; that is, all their other children, your brothers and sisters. So far it is the same as in any other society. But now, in addition, there are any number of men and women whom you also call father and mother, your secondary or auxiliary parents. Those “fathers” are all the men whom your own father calls brother or cousin. They are not your uncles; only your mother’s brothers and cousins are your uncles. And those “mothers” are the women whom your mother calls sister or cousin. They are not your aunts; only your father’s sisters and cousins are your aunts.

Now you can see where you get so many other brothers and sisters besides your own, and where you get so many cousins. These extended siblings and these cousins constitute your generation; you belong together. Many of them live in your camp-circle, and many others are sprinkled throughout the other Dakota camp circles moving over the land. Through them you have actual and potential relatives practically everywhere you go.

You share affinal relatives, I said. This means that when your blood relatives marry, all their new relatives are yours, too; and, because your many secondary fathers and mothers are of various ages—and some are much older than your own parents—they may have sons and daughters who are already married and parents themselves. Thus it happens that, through them, you find yourself at birth with every kind of relative a body could have: parents-in-law, sons and daughters, nieces and nephews, and, in some cases, a grandchild or two—and of course, in that case, daughters-in-law and sons-in-law. All the spouses of all your siblings and cousins become your sisters- or brothers-in-law.

Because relationships through marriage extend practically *ad infinitum*, any strangers thrown together by circumstances are gen-



erally able to arrive at consistent terms for each other through some mutual relative, no matter how tortuous the path. It may sound artificial, and of course it was that, in the sense that it had to be devised. In the very remote situations, as between two persons who met only once or so in a lifetime, those terms were purely formal, but nonetheless essential, as we shall see.

Kinship ties being that important, blood connections were assiduously traced and remembered, no matter how far back, if only they could be definitely established. That was no easy feat either, since there were no records. However distant a relative might seem according to the white man's method of reckoning, he would be claimed by Dakotas.

Beyond all these relationships, which after all had a legitimate basis, there were still others that had to be established on a purely social basis. Ethnologists call this the social kinship system, as distinct from kinship based on blood and marriage. One's social kin then would be the same as one's friends, neighbors, and acquaintances in white society. Through this social kinship system even real outsiders became relatives.

My readers will be getting impatient just about here and saying, "But why all this insistence on kinship and kinship terms? Why all the artificial methods for securing relatives? Why couldn't Dakotas simply be friends, like other people?" So let's look at it from the Dakota point of view.

All peoples have their own ways of showing courtesy. The fundamental idea is the same: to be gracious and kind and to show good will; to abide by the rules of etiquette as practiced by the majority, so as not to appear boorish or queer. The idea is one; the methods are many. Among the Dakotas it was rude to speak another's name boldly; one must employ the kinship term instead. Not "Swift Cloud," but "*My uncle*, Swift Cloud," or, where there was no danger of ambiguity, simply "*My uncle*." Furthermore, it was improper to plunge into conversation without first using the polite term of kinship; only to animals might you speak so rudely. Consequently, it was of the utmost importance to know the right term for each person and not be caught unaware. Naturally it followed that the right terms of address were always the people's pre-occupation.

This need of first establishing proper relationship prevailed even when one came to pray. It gave a man status with the Super-

natural as well as with man. The Dakota words "to address a relative" and "to pray" are familiar everyday words. It was not until a few years ago, when I was listing and defining verb-stems for linguistic students at Columbia University, that suddenly I realized that the two words are not really two; they are one. *Wacektiya* means both acts. Nor is that surprising, come to think of it, for a Dakota did not like to deal with another person without first avowing his own status, as a relative mindful of the duties incumbent on him as such, while also reminding the other of his. *Wacektiya* implies that in every meeting of two minds the kinship approach is imperative; it is the open sesame to any sincere exchange of sentiment between man and his neighbor or man and his God. Once the channel is clear between the two, a reciprocal trust and confidence are guaranteed. It is tantamount to smoking the peace pipe; in fact, to smoke ceremonially is to *wacektiya*.

In other words, you simply did not dare have dealings with strangers, because you could not be sure of them. They might so easily turn out to be the incarnation of Ikromi, the legendary spirit of deceit, ready to play a trick on you. Of relatives only you might be sure, because they and you both knew what your reciprocal obligations were as such. The dictates of kinship demanded of relatives that they not harm each other; so it was necessary first to make relatives of erstwhile strangers, thus putting them "on the spot," and then deal with them on that basis. You assumed that as relatives they would be trustworthy, and by the same token you obligated yourself.

But the use of kinship terms of address was only the beginning, important as it was from the standpoint of etiquette. The core of the matter was that a proper mental attitude and a proper conventional behavior prescribed by kinship must accompany the speaking of each term. As you said "Uncle"—or "Father" or "Brother"—in either address or reference, you must immediately control your thinking of him; you must assume the correct mental attitude due the particular relative addressed, and you must express that attitude in its fitting outward behavior and mien, according to the accepted convention. Thus, term, attitude, behavior, in the correct combinations, were what every member of society must learn and observe undeviatingly. They were standard and inexorable; they had always been. One simply was born into their rule and conformed to them invariably as a matter of course. The more cor-

rectly he could do this, whatever the personal sacrifice involved at times, the better member of the group he was, the better his standing as a Dakota, the higher his prestige as a person.

What did this exacting and unrelenting obedience to kinship demands do to the Dakotas? It made them a most kind, unselfish people, always acutely aware of those about them and imately courteous. You see, everyone who would be rated well as a relative had to *make* himself feel and act always in the same way. "How monotonous!" you might say. But it wasn't. For there was as great a variety of permissible attitudes and behaviors as there were kinds of relatives. In that way all the natural human impulses were satisfied: to be gay and irresponsible, or flippanant and rude, for fun; to be excessively respectful and dignified; to enjoy being a little foolish, as with those called father and mother; and then to turn serious and protective, as with sons and daughters.

This meant that a socially responsible Dakota might not thoughtlessly indulge his moods, lest there be within range of his voice or presence a kind of relative before whom his feelings must be suppressed as a matter of obligatory respect. He might not be whimsical and unpredictable in his behavior, causing it to be said of him, "He is nice, but I can't ever rely on his being the same way. Now he is charming and polite, and again he is gruff and rude. But that's all right, because I know he means well." If he meant well—that is to say, if he wanted to be known as a good relative—he would not dare act that way. One offense before a respect-relative would be enough!

Now does that sound stuffy and imprisoning? It wasn't one bit. It came natural to a people used to nothing else. It was, in fact, a well oiled, pleasant discipline for group living. To be sure, there were occasional scolds, as among all peoples; but kinship demands tended to keep them down to a minimum, and besides, these persons were considered socially irresponsible and written off as such.

For the most part, then, everyone had his part to play and played it for the sake of his honor, all kinship duties, obligations, privileges, and honorings being reciprocal. One got as well as gave. Thus kinship had everybody in a fast net of interpersonal responsibility and made everybody like it, because its rewards were pleasant. There were fewer rebels against the system than you might think, since, as I have said, social standing and reputation hinged on it. Only those who kept the rules consistently and glad-

ly, thus honoring all their fellows, were good Dakotas—meaning good citizens of society, meaning persons of integrity and reliability. And that was practically all the government there was. It was what men lived by.

Social pressure, always powerful, was particularly strong in such a close-knit group as a camp circle, where everyone was literally in the public eye. Unless an individual was congenitally perverse or slightly queer he did not care to be aberrant. Indeed, even such a one was likely to be excused and shielded by his relatives, as though he were under an evil spell and could not help it. It was essential that the relatives hold up their end anyway for their own sakes. The failure of one did not excuse another. "Ah, yes, he is like that, has always been . . . still and all, he is my relative," a man might say, and go on playing his own part.

The kinship appeal was always a compelling force in any situation. If two normally decent acquaintances quarreled, for instance—and of course if they were acquaintances they were social relatives—outsiders were deeply concerned over it until it was straightened out. The "good men" felt it incumbent on them to restore peace and order by appealing to the quarreling ones through kinship. Peace is implied by the very name of the people, Odakota, a state or condition of peace; the "O" is a locative prefix.

"We Dakotas love peace within our borders. Peacemaking is our heritage. Even as children we settled our little fights through kinship that we might live in Odakota." And with that, two of the most responsible and influential men would visit the unhappy ones and appeal to them to cool off their hearts for the sake of their relatives who were unhappy over their plight. And they did not go empty-handed. There must always be a token, an outward sign of great inner desire. The peacemakers went prepared to give a gift "to cool off your heart and to show by it that we your kinsmen value your life far above mere chattel."

Such an appeal in kinship's name was supreme. It placed the responsibility for his relatives' peace of mind squarely on the troubled man, reminding him that no Dakota lived unto himself alone; all were bound together in kinship. He might not rightly risk even his very own life needlessly, thereby bringing tears to the eyes of his relatives—especially his sisters and women cousins, to whom he owed the very highest respect and consideration. However slightly he valued himself, he must regard the relatives. And

the quarreling men, unable to resist such an appeal, smoked the pipe together and were feasted before the council, and so the breach was healed. Friends, happy over the reconciliation and the restoration of peace, brought them more presents. And it was not in the least the intrinsic value of the gifts that mattered but what they symbolized: that the two were more precious to their relatives than mere things. And thus peace was restored in the camp circle to the relief of all.

But there was still another situation, even more tense than a quarrel, wherein occasionally the power of kinship rose to its sublime height. The murder of a fellow Dakota was a crime punishable either through immediate reprisal by the kinsmen of the slain or a resort to the ancient ordeals, supervised by the council. I need not describe those ordeals now, except to say that they were almost impossible to survive—humanly speaking. And so, he who did survive was set free, as having been exonerated by a greater than human power—by the Wakan, in fact.

However, now and again, influenced by exceptionally wise leadership, the relatives of a murdered man might agree not to shoot the murderer or demand the ordeal for him, but instead to win his abiding loyalty through kinship. This they did by actually adopting him to be one of them in place of his victim. It was a moving scene when this was done—I wish I could describe it step by step. I have a most impressive account of such an episode, which I transcribed in the Dakota language while old Simon Antelope, a well known, reliable Yankton, told it. I can give only snatches of it here in a free translation:

The angry younger relatives debated the kind of punishment fitting the crime while their wise elder listened, seemingly in accord with them. But after a good while, he began to speak. Skillfully, he began by going along with them:

"My Brothers and Cousins, my Sons and Nephews, we have been caused to weep without shame, men though we are. No wonder we are enraged, for our pride and honor have been grossly violated. Why shouldn't we go out, then, and give the murderer what he deserves?"

Then, after an ominous pause, he suddenly shifted into another gear:

"And yet, my kinsmen, there is a better way!"  
Slowly and clearly he explained that better way. They

were men of standing, he reminded them, and therefore it was becoming in them to act accordingly. He challenged them to reject the traditional and choose the better way. It was also the hard way, but the only certain way to put out the fire in all their hearts and in the murderer's.

"Each of you bring to me the thing you prize the most. These things shall be a token of our intention. We shall give them to the murderer who has hurt us, and he shall thereby become 'something to us' (an idiom for relative) in place of him who is gone. Was the dead your brother? Then this man shall be your brother. Or your uncle? Or your cousin? As for me, he was my nephew; and so this man shall be my nephew. And from now on, he shall be one of us, and our endless concern shall be to regard him as though he were truly our loved one come back to us."

And they did just that. The slayer was brought to the council not knowing what his fate was to be. Stealing himself for the worst, he kept his eyes averted. He did not try to infer the decision by peering into the councilmen's faces. He was not going to have it said of him in after years, "Poor thing! How I pitied him! Like some hunted creature, he tried furtively to read mercy in men's eyes!" No, he would not flinch at having to give up his life after taking another's. He too was a man!

But when the council's speaker offered him the peace pipe saying, "Smoke now with these your new relatives, for they have chosen to take you to themselves in place of one who is not here," his heart began to melt.

"It is their heart's wish that henceforth you shall be one of them; shall go out and come in without fear. Be confident that their love and compassion which were his are now yours forever!" And, during that speech, tears trickled down the murderer's face.

"He had been trapped by loving kinship," my informant said, "and you can be sure that he made an ever better relative than many who are related by blood, because he had been bought at such a price." And what might easily have become burning rancor and hatred, perhaps leading to further violence, was purged away from the hearts of all.

It was, of course, obligatory on all the slain man's immedi-