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Anna Kay Wiitanen-Eggen
Minnesota State University, Mankato

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Environment and Belief:
Investigating the Dakota Archeological Record

By

Anna Kay Wiitanen-Eggen

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Masters of Science

In

Applied Anthropology

Minnesota State University, Mankato

Mankato, Minnesota

April 2024

April 10, 2024

Environment and Belief: Investigating the Dakota Archeological Record

Anna K. Wiitanen-Eggen

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Dr. Ronald Schirmer (Advisor)

Dr. Kathleen Blue (Committee Member)

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Acknowledgements

The journey that my research has taken me on has been long, arduous, and more fulfilling than I could have imagined when I initially began. There have been many people along the way that have aided or guided me in one way or another who deserve a thank you for their various contributions along the way. First and foremost, I extend the deepest of thanks possible to Dr. Ronald Schirmer, my incredibly warm-hearted, energetic, and passionate advisor. As the instructor of my first archeological field school, he provided me with the ability to see how truly amazing archeology can be. He is the exemplar of how passion to pursue it can effectuate progress; he showed me the incredible potential of the field to give back to Indigenous communities and how transformative it is to work alongside descendant individuals, sharing our efforts to reconnect them with their ancestors in pursuits of advocate archeology. Moreover, he guided me away from every rabbit warren I wandered down, no matter how interesting we both found it. For the most part. *Vielen Dank.*

Secondly, I would not have been able to accomplish this research were it not for my committee members: Kathleen Blue and Kathryn “Jay” Elliott. Without their broad experiences, knowledge, and expertise, I would not have the means by which to conduct insightful, holistic, anthropological archeological analysis. I am thankful to Minnesota State University, Mankato for all the opportunities they have provided, and the Anthropology Department for helping me fulfill aspirations I never knew I had. Thank you to Andrew Brown for the guidance he provided with the GIS aspect of my research which aided in the analysis of my various datasets.

I am forever thankful to the members and the friends of the Prairie Island Indian Community, and to the members of the PIIC Tribal Historic Preservation Office, Franky Jackson,

Noah White, and Joey Taylor, I am truly grateful for the honor of the internship opportunity granted to me which allowed me to participate in the Dakota Traditional Homelands Mapping Project, work which subsequently led to *Waŋzi. Wapidapi*.

This thesis would not have been completed were it not for the incredible support system I had throughout the process; to anyone and everyone who contributed aid or assistance in any way, I extend my eternal gratitude. I am profoundly thankful for and appreciative of my parents, Karla, and Ian, for instilling and fostering a desire and thirst for knowledge through their encouragement and belief in my ability to succeed, *sisu*, and compassion for others. I thank my mother for her infallible ability to calm my self-doubt and propensity to over-think, giving me the resolute to overcome and continue with my research. I thank my father, the first person to introduce me to the field/subject of anthropology, for being my guiding light; he knew I would be an anthropologist before I even knew what anthropology is. I also thank my best friend, who listened to every wild tangent, put up with all-night studying and writing endeavors, and helped maintain my sanity. Finally, I thank my partner whom I will be forever grateful for the support throughout this endeavor.

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April, 2024

Abstract

The oral traditions and histories of a people's belief systems are one means by which the relationships between a people and their environment are embodied. Environmental aspects of a people's belief system are reflected in their use of their habited space(s) because beliefs help structure actions. Ergo, an examination of a people's oral traditions and histories has the potential to provide valuable insight to the archeological record of the places potentially occupied by their ancestors or close relatives. Investigation of this aspect of archeology is a relatively new pursuit and is almost completely unexplored in Minnesota.

The relationship between the natural environment and the cultural environment, that is, the belief systems, of Dakota peoples may be analyzed and further understood through the dual analysis of published ethnographic works and known archeological sites in Minnesota. As the behaviors of a people are directed in part by their belief systems, and the natural environment contributes in part to the structure of a peoples' belief systems, it should be possible to use Dakota oral traditions and histories and associated toponyms to elucidate environmentally derived influences on Dakota belief systems which may be reflected in the archeological record. Therefore, it is suggested that an ethnoarcheological approach may be used to investigate and further contribute to Dakota archeology in Minnesota.

In this thesis, a survey of published ethnographic works detailing aspects of Dakota belief systems relevant to the environment is used in conjunction with an adapted historical map – based on oral interviews, published ethnographic sources, and historic records and maps – to construct a tentative interpretive framework against which to compare known site locations and site contents – both with and without, or suspected, documented Eastern Dakota components – in an effort to ascertain whether or not Dakota beliefs about the natural environment are reflected in known site data.

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CHAPTER 1 – BELIEF SYSTEMS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Introduction

It is unquestionable that past human behaviors are reflected in archeological sites, the investigations of which are intended to elucidate numerous aspects of past people's lives. Which of this myriad of aspects is focused on depends on a multitude of variables, but it is ultimately the interest of any particular archeologist that primarily determines this. Naturally, this is driven by a great deal of other variables, but it is predominantly what the archeologist(s) believe to be immediately relevant and answerable questions that guides this determination. In its own way, this is understandable and meritorious, however, this can be an issue, as it can result in the overlooking or exclusion of whole segments of regions or a people's archeology. Such is the case in what the focus of this thesis is: Dakota archeology in Minnesota.

Out of the 20,301 documented archeological sites in Minnesota at the time this analysis was conducted through the fall of 2021, a total of 50 sites are classified as having a Dakota component – 43 sites with an Eastern Dakota component, and 7 with a Western Dakota component – (based on available state archeological site forms). Given the Tribe's long history (according to numerous tribal histories) and wide distribution in the state, such a small number can only be the result of a lack of attention and/or recordation of sites, both archeological and ethnographically documented ones.

Most chronicles of the Dakota begin with their 'discovery'; for example, the first meeting between the Sioux and Jean Nicolet in 1640. Even now, their history continues to be treated as if it did not exist until the European came along to document it. The Lakota/Dakotas' own records, the winter counts, the myths and legends have been largely ignored until recently, yet they reflect important milestones in the history of the tribe and need to be further studied...learning about the native civilization may be essential to the understanding of human

culture as a whole. Thus, the reconstruction of Native American history becomes imperative to our comprehension of man's overall social development (Palmer 2008: 255).

It is also noted by Westerman and White (2012) that "little attempt has been made to correlate the archaeological record with documentary information, whether written or oral" (ibid.: 33). In response to this indisputable lack of Dakota-focused archeology, it is a goal of this thesis to make a fresh start of it by taking into account what has been done in the past and utilizing it to determine how to start from the ground up. The focus of this attempt will be on one of the variables that most profoundly shapes a group's archeology – how their environmentally driven behaviors and belief systems shape each other, what that means for where their sites are, and what they consist of. Because, as Birk (1973: 5) notes about the interrelationship of past peoples with the available material resources significantly limited them to certain lifestyles and population densities, "Certainly the physical environment is an important factor when considering aboriginal settlement patterns and their modes of ecological adaptation." Furthermore, the influence of limiting factors imposed on a people by their natural environments can also be found in the nature of their belief systems, which may be seen as reflections of their modes of ecological adaptation.

An example of how researchers in Minnesota have tacitly recognized the interlinking between environment and belief can be found in Dobbs' et al. (1992) statement of how mounds in Minnesota can be thought of and/or analyzed in other ways than just as burial places, as they traditionally have been.

However, mounds also may be viewed as repositories of a variety of other information. The underlying assumption to this approach is that the size, volume, types of mounds, and other characteristics present in a group are the product of the meaning and behavior of those people who built the group. By studying these characteristics, distinct types of mound groups may be developed and these types may be integrated into a broader model of ancient settlement and subsistence in

the region. When viewed as an integral part of ancient settlement systems, mound groups assume a new importance and may be linked to a variety of other aspects of life in past societies (Dobbs et al. 1992: 31-32).

While it is undeniable that the interconnectedness of environment and belief impacts site locations and contents, existing approaches have remained theoretically ungrounded and presumptive. Therefore, it is an aim of this thesis to ameliorate these past approaches to the study of the relationship between the natural environment and the cultural environment – that is, belief systems – through the dual use of archeology and ethnography (i.e., ethnoarcheology) reminiscent of Taylor's (1983 [1948]) conjunctive archeology.

1.1 – What Are Belief Systems?

Belief systems are a bricolage of a people's precepts and convictions about the world around them and are often based on logical or rational understandings/assessments of natural phenomena encountered in a people's lives. They are reflections of a people's relationship with the environment, both natural and cultural, of their habited spaces, and consist of "the essential concerns of the human condition" (Insoll 2004: 7). Belief systems are comprised of individuals' or a group of individuals' attitudes and opinions about the world that regulate personal conduct or behavior and thought, and are predominantly products or takeaways from lived experiences, whether they be an individual's experiences, someone within their social interaction group(s), or the experiences of ancestors or close relatives.

Spiro (1996 [1976]) defines "belief" as "any cognition concerning human beings, society, or the world that is held to be true" (ibid.: xx). That is, beliefs are the ideas, perceptions, conclusions, etc., that people have about the natural world, which are the product of, or were formulated from, tangible and real-world experiences and observations. As such, belief systems relate to the everyday world of common sense objects and practical acts. They 'deal with,' using Geertz's (1973: 119) phrasing of Schutz's ideas, "the paramount reality in human experience—paramount in the sense that it is the world in which we are most solidly rooted, whose inherent actuality we can hardly question (however much we may question certain portions of it), and from whose pressures and requirements we can least escape" (Geertz 1973: 119). Belief systems are related to and/or part of a people's world view, "the picture they [*humans*] have of the way things in sheer actuality are, their most comprehensive ideas of order" (Geertz 1973: 89).

According to Geertz (1973), a people's world view "objectivizes moral and aesthetic preferences by depicting them as the imposed conditions of life implicit in a world with a particular structure,

as mere common sense given the unalterable shape of reality” (ibid.: 90). As such, it may be suggested that belief systems are the result or product of, or consensus formulated from, a people’s world view. However, it may also be purported that a people’s world view is instead the product of their belief systems, as “it supports these received beliefs about the world’s body by invoking deeply felt moral and aesthetic sentiments as experiential evidence for their truth” (Geertz 1973: 90). While the connective relationship between belief systems and world view is debatable, and both clearly interact with, and have influence on, each other, the key point is that both of them are means by which people live and interact with the real, natural, tangible world, “the paramount reality in human experience,” they are a way of seeing that guides the actions and behaviors of people.

Put laconically, belief systems form a coalescence of lived experiences of a group of people; they are reflections of what past peoples have undergone and what their takeaways were. In a way, belief systems are conceptualizations, those ways of “reacting to experience by organizing particulars according to ideal categories that have been derived from experience. It is a way of experiencing and coping with the world that allows a person to utilize his general knowledge in particular situations” (Watson and Watson 1969: 67).

1.1.1 – Belief Systems vs. Religious Beliefs

For the purpose of this analysis, it is pertinent to make a distinction between belief systems and religious beliefs, as the two terms and/or concepts are often used interchangeably in North American vernacular even though the former is a human universal, while the latter are essentially a “code” for groups of people to live their lives in a particular way (c.f. Durkheim 1995 [1912], c.f. Lambek 2002). That is, religious beliefs are symbolic, culturally constituted beliefs which “are acquired through instruction (rather than experience)” (Spiro 1996 [1976]:

xxi). While belief systems are exactly what the term says, a system of beliefs, religious beliefs constitute a subset of particular beliefs which are encompassed by/within a people's broader belief systems. Eller (2007) provides the following description of beliefs:

As an objective, propositional issue, a belief is a publicly available 'truth claim,' an assertion about something 'real' in the world. If a person or society is said to 'believe' something—or to 'believe in' something—that means that the individual or group is making a claim about reality...As a subjective or psychological issue, beliefs are additionally and necessarily construed as mental states of individuals. That is, if we say that a person believes X, we are making a statement about that person's mental representations. A person who believes X should *know* that he/she believes X and be able and willing to affirm X (Eller: 29; emphasis in original).

In his discussion, Spiro (1996 [1967]) also makes a distinction pertinent to this investigation, which is that there is a distinction between belief systems and religious beliefs, the latter of which he defines as,

Any cognition concerning human beings, society, or the world that is held to be true. By 'religious belief' I mean any belief that directly or indirectly relates to beings who are held to possess greater power than humans and animals, with whom human beings sustain relationship (interactions and transactions), and who can affect human lives for good or for evil. In short, 'religious' beliefs are beliefs related to supernatural beings (Spiro 1996 [1967]: xx).

Thus, belief is not unique to religion. "What is distinctive about beliefs in general is that they are 'cognitions' and that they are 'held to be true' by those people who have the mental contents" (Eller 2007: 28).

In his analysis of what constitutes "a religious life," Durkheim (1995 [1912]) seemingly supports this distinction as he contradicts the argument that the function of religion is to make people act and to help them live, that belief in salvation by faith is the first article of faith. He considers faith, a cornerstone of religious beliefs, to be an idea,

But it is hard to see how a mere idea could have that power. In fact, an idea is but *one element* of ourselves. How could it confer on us powers that are superior to those given us in our natural makeup? As rich in emotive power as an idea may

be, it cannot add anything to our natural vitality; it can only release emotive forces that are already within us, neither creating nor increasing them (Durkheim 1995 [1912]: 47; emphasis added).

Although Durkheim (1995 [1912], c.f. Lambek 2002) only considers one facet of religious beliefs (i.e., faith), it can be argued that all aspects of religious beliefs may be characterized in the same way, that they are “rich in emotive power.” Viewed in Durkheim’s (ibid.; emphasis added) framework of discriminating religious belief(s) from belief systems, the latter consist of numerous sets of ideas and tenets that help people to live in the natural world which add to the “natural vitality” of a group of people, with religious beliefs being a specific sub-set of ideas, tenets, and cognitions. Any postulation or assertion that religious beliefs, “which represent the human mind groping for an explanation of the seemingly supernatural” (Whitbeck 1918: 316), have the ability, on their own, to directly contribute to the survival of a people, is incommensurable, dubious, and is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to operationalize. Rather, those environmentally influenced/directed survival-driven behaviors which contribute to the belief system of a people have the potential to become imbued with beliefs that are religiously oriented. In other words, belief systems contribute to and guide the nature and structure of religious beliefs.

1.1.2 – Western vs. Indigenous Concepts

It is prudent, or judicious, to note that any distinction made between, or definition of, belief systems and religious beliefs, is for the purpose of clarity in discussion of this investigation, is a matter of philosophical convenience. The notion that belief systems, and associated behaviors and material culture(s), can be simply broken down, defined, and organized into groups may be considered an insidious and attenuating approach which has the potential to act as blinders to anthropological investigations. However, the establishment of such classificatory systems is necessary for such investigations, otherwise it is irreducibly complex. From a philosophical standpoint, the highly specified nature of a religious belief, or the dogma, focuses on a particular belief; the ambiguity in it is reduced more so than regular beliefs as broadly conceived. Therefore, because belief systems are the broader context within which religious beliefs can be said to exist, they are the focus of this thesis/investigation. Furthermore, “they encompass a broader realm of a people’s existence that is often more tangibly or directly related to a greater range of human/environment interaction that shape the archeological record” (Schirmer 2020, personal communication).

The history of American archeology has been typified by a privileged, hegemonic Western style thinking which has largely disregarded the importance of including Indigenous beliefs, histories, and practices. While there is obvious value in this type of approach, for the purposes of this thesis, it is self-evident that such an approach is not apt. In many cases, belief systems and religious beliefs are tightly woven together, inextricable due to perpetual feedback between the multitudinous facets of culture, and indistinguishable as separate entities, such is the case with Dakota people. As such, the real issue is determining how to operationalize the study of belief systems vis a vis the environment, or the “*demonstration* of a constant articulation of

variables within a system and the measurement of the concomitant variability among the variables within the system” (Binford 1962: 217; emphasis in original).

1.1.3 – Relevant Theoretical Anthropological Concepts

Phenomenology can be used to investigate the relationship between the natural, or physical, environment and belief systems. A primary goal of this approach, according to Tilly (1994), is the analysis of how people relate to the world around them, which is a focus of this thesis.

It is about the relationship between Being and Being-in-the-world. Being-in-the-world resides in a process of objectification in which people objectify the world by setting themselves apart from it. This results in the creation of a gap, a distance in space. To be human is both to create this distance between the self and that which is beyond and to attempt to bridge this distance through a variety of means – through perception (seeing, hearing, touching), bodily actions and movements, and intentionality, emotion and awareness residing in systems of belief and decision-making, remembrance and evaluation (Tilly 1994: 12).

Since phenomenology attempts to determine the manner in which people understand the world and “involves the understanding and description of things as they are experienced by a subject” (ibid.), it holds significant potential to provide illumination on the relationship between the natural environment and the cultural environment (i.e., belief systems) since it requires the inclusion of the subjective, emic Native American perspective in the analysis.

However, Insoll (2004: 86) points out that a key issue with phenomenological archeology is “the fact that the ‘being’ in question, basically the modern observer...is difficult to project backwards in time.” Limitations to the data which the archeological record can produce/provide are inherent, therefore, it is impossible to know the past with certainty, as all records of the past (e.g., the archeological record, oral histories or traditions, written records, etc.) are not, and will never be, perfect representations or translations of the past.

Although Native American archeologists have the added benefit of studying within their own culture, i.e., that of their ancestors and/or close relatives, even they must deal with the issue of temporal displacement from the object or subject which they study. That said, this matter is an unfortunate aspect of archeology that is arguably unavoidable. Because “our understanding is only partial and it would be presumptuous to assume otherwise” (Insoll 2004: 87), it is paramount for archeologists to maintain an awareness of our situation in time, and to keep this in mind whilst we conduct archeological investigations and formulate interpretations. Therefore, although the dual use of archeology and ethnography can be used to mitigate this issue, a certain degree of difficulty persists in attempts to ‘experience’ or ‘reconstruct’ similar meanings for past landscapes, and the position of the archeologist will forever be that of an outsider due to temporal disparity.

While phenomenological archeology is limited by the inability to project far backwards in time, as stated above, Binford (1962) provides a sanguine point, “It has often been suggested that we cannot dig up a social system or ideology, granted we cannot excavate a kinship terminology or a philosophy, but we can and do excavate the material items which functioned together with these more behavioral elements within the appropriate cultural sub-systems” (ibid.: 218-219). As such, it is reasonable to assert that ethnographic publications can be used to alleviate at least some of the issues of temporal disconnection in archeology. Additionally, ethnoarcheology can be a means to provide a way to extend the limits of archeological research by way of (relatively) first-hand insight into the structure and function of total cultural systems and can therefore be used to aid in the understanding of how belief systems, oral traditions and histories, and place names are situated in their cultural milieu and natural environmental contexts. Gibbon (2003) makes an important point regarding intracultural diversity,

...despite a shared cultural tradition, all cultures contain diversity. One reason is that individuals, families, villages, and other subgroups in the same cultural tradition have different as well as shared learning experiences. In addition, despite cultural constraints, like censure and ridicule, people adhere to ideal cultural patterns to different degrees. This results in further diversity. The presence of diversity in cultural traditions helps explain the divergent historical trajectories taken by different groups and families of Sioux since Euro-American contact, even though they remain members of one broad cultural tradition... a culture is generally adaptive to a physical environment and a neighboring people in the sense that those customs that enhance survival and reproductive chances are likely to persist (ibid.: 57).

This type of cultural diversity may be observed between the various divisions and subdivisions of both historic and modern Dakota people in Minnesota, as will be shown and discussed in the following chapters.

A variety of anthropological concepts have been developed that can help this discussion along. As touched on above, a people's belief systems are in part influenced by the environment and intrinsically contribute to and structure their behaviors. It is unquestionable that people have nearly always "possessed a detailed knowledge of their natural surroundings in all matters relevant to their way of life" (Clark 1960: 228), from which they amass bodies of empirical knowledge that allowed peoples to ultimately formulate general laws.

Indeed it was precisely the ability to accumulate such knowledge and gradually discern causal relations between phenomena that gave man the power, not merely to exist in his environment like other animals, but constantly improve his own position in relation to it: he achieved power over his surroundings by means of knowledge, and this knowledge was based on the storing and classification of observations made over countless thousands of generations... This knowledge was shared by individuals by virtue of belonging to the social groups which stored and transmitted it to succeeding generations and, conversely, such new discoveries or observations made by individuals as commended themselves to the group were absorbed by it and incorporated into the social tradition (Clark 1960: 229-230).

Therefore, the natural environments of a peoples' habited spaces are a fundamental variable that contributes to the composition of their culture, which, as previously stated, includes their belief systems.

Belief systems and the physical environment are in a state of perpetual fluid feedback. As reflections of articulations formulated from past and sometimes recent experiences of a people, belief systems structure future behaviors and experiences, as well as future beliefs. That is, belief systems can be viewed as one byproduct of the influence that the natural environment has on behaviors and interactions with the environment and enculturation of the landscape. Thus, belief systems need to be situated in the environmental context of their development and practice in order to understand how the continuous feedback is reflected in a people's belief systems, and this is essential to do in any archeology that intends to be inclusive of this aspect of past people's lives.

The influence the natural environment has on a people's culture is reminiscent of linguistic relativity, or the "Sapir-Whorf hypothesis" (Koerner 1992), in the manner which it structures their belief systems and behaviors. "Human interaction with the environment is not the foundation of a human society, nor is it a theoretical panacea. Although human decisions are made within an ecological framework, they are also made within historical and cultural constraints" (Kelly 1995: 36). In other words, belief systems, and subsequent behaviors, are based on the lived experiences of a people and their antecedents. As such, those lived experiences establish a bond between the people and the landscapes they interact with, and this bond is articulated linguistically within conceptual networks referencing other aspects of their culture.

When the nuances of a people's habited environment become known and the landscape becomes familiar to them, "A sense of attachment to places is frequently derived from the stability of meanings associated with it" (Tilley 1994: 18). Enculturation of the landscape occurs when the natural landscape becomes imbued with cultural meaning and significance; past

settlements and other alterations of landscapes which are products of the “deposition of cultural debris, a focus for tracks and pathways, suggests a strong symbolic element to the choice of the location, one that could ritually link past and present”, and for the archeologist, it “prompts one to infer long-term regularities in linking people and places” (Tilley 1994: 117-118; emphasis added). This in turn fosters a relationship with the natural environment that goes beyond resource requirements and survival.

Belief systems entail reflections of the lived experiences of the ancestors and close relatives of a people and their environments, both past and present, and serve their needs accordingly. For example, the annual flooding of river valleys, the best spots for gathering natural resources, or the habits of wildlife not only become accustomed to but become an integral part of a people’s life. In anthropology, connections between culture and the environment, or geographical concentrations of culture traits, were first defined by Mason (1894) as “culture areas,” though it was Clark Wissler and Alfred Kroeber, students of Franz Boas, who tackled the implications (Kelly 1995: 40). Wissler (1926) defines the concept of cultural areas as an observable “close correlation between the geographical area and the type of culture” (ibid.: 214), or constellations of culture traits that coincide with the geographic range of a major food, such as bison, salmon, wild seeds, maize, or caribou. Furthermore, subsistence technology which is linked to the particular food(s) being consumed mediate the connections between culture and the environment as every culture area has a center, and although historical or ethnic as well as environmental conditions may contribute to its definition, “the reason why every culture area has a center is that the organic life of the corresponding ecological area is richer at the center and so the conditions for human adjustment are best...it is in the nucleus of the ecological center that a type of aboriginal culture is at its best” (Wissler 1926: 219). That is, cultures become best

adjusted to the subsistence of a region at what would become the center of a culture area where “ideal conditions” prevail.

It has been pointed out by Kelly (1995) that the culture-area concept is fraught with theoretical and practical difficulties. For example, there are often difficulties when it comes to defining a culture area, "since some aspects of culture...cut across what otherwise appeared to be cultural or geographic boundaries"; and because as the size of a culture area increases, so does the environmental and cultural diversity encompassed within it, as well as “the number of possible connections between environment and society,” and the difficulty in their sorting, or the discovery of cross-cultural connections between culture and environment (ibid.: 40-41). However, because of the nature and scope of this investigation, that of a specific group of people in a finite area – the Dakota of Minnesota – the legitimate concern related to the issues brought up by Kelly (1995) must be truncated. While it is self-evident that there is some environmental diversity throughout Minnesota that has resulted in cultural (i.e., belief system) diversity amongst the historic Dakota and their ancestors, current knowledge places them primarily in the western part of the Eastern Woodlands, along and into the Forest/Prairie ecotone, in northwestern Wisconsin and eastern Minnesota. Moreover, given that there has been continued interactions between the different Dakota bands, villages, divisions, etc., some limitations on internal diversity can safely be assumed.

Functional explanations for environmentally driven variability in Dakota belief systems which may be observed in the archeological record may be found through the use of cultural ecology, since central to this methodological approach is the concept of culture core, defined by Kelly (1995: 42) as “those behaviors most closely related to the extraction of energy from the environment.” A cultural ecology approach is additionally beneficial since a large part of cultural

ecology studies have attempted to account for cultural behaviors by showing in what ways they were necessary to acts of food acquisition, or how they improved food acquisition methods and returns (ibid.: 43). Thus, an ethnoarcheological approach may be best suited to investigating the relationship between the natural environment and belief systems, as this type of approach combines empirical procedures with methods (e.g., oral histories and traditions) intended to gain/provide an emic perspective of a cultural group. “Since man is a part of nature, he can be studied scientifically and natural laws can be derived concerning his behavior, just as is the case for any other natural object” (Watson and Watson 1969: 3).

Human Behavioral Ecology (HBE) is another concept that can help structure an archeological understanding of human/environmental interaction. Briefly, HBE asks how environmental conditions – physical, biotic, and social – shape human lives and behaviors (Low 2016), thus it is well-suited for this investigation. Although the natural environment does not directly determine human behavior, according to Watson and Watson (1969), “it must all be related to the physical environment in some way...It is the physical environment that sets the possibilities for and the limitations of cultural development...and the structure and functions of his [*human's*] social institutions in myriad lesser ways” (ibid.: 160-161). As reflections of a people’s belief systems, environmentally driven behaviors have the potential to be observed in the archeological record. “Based in evolutionary theory, behavioral ecology tests hypotheses designed to understand the ultimate causation of the patterns we see – the selective pressures that shape these patterns. It seeks to understand the actual function of behaviors” (Low 2016). Therefore, behavioral ecology has the potential to provide a way of further understanding how the natural environment contributes to the structure of a group’s belief systems (and from there, their behaviors).

Behavioral ecology can be used to address variability within and between populations as it essentially builds on cultural ecology with the addition of natural selection to the concept, since differential survivorship and/or reproduction of particular phenotypes is the means by which evolution occurs. Variability is therefore presupposed when it comes to evolution, and it requires a means whereby variable traits are passed on through generations. “Given that no two individuals in a society are exactly alike, either biologically or culturally, and given that most human behavior is socially transmitted, evolutionary forces are potentially at work” (Kelly 1995: 50-51). Phenotypes include behaviors for humans, behaviors which are seen as part of the phenotype produced by both genetic and environmental factors and include both natural and social environments.

Since behavioral phenotypes are inferred to be representation/exhibitions of behavioral patterns, and associated belief systems, they may potentially be observed and traced in the archeological record. “People who live under different conditions are expected to make different decisions...even if the particular behavior is in all likelihood not genetically controlled” (Kelly 1995: 53). Therefore, observable patterns of behavior allow archeologists to make inferences about cultural patterns, connections, and variations through the analysis and comparison of the archeological record at various sites (i.e., the artifact(s) assemblages, features, site layout/organization, and site locations) and these efforts can be supplemented with published ethnographic data.

1.1.4 – Operationalization

It is inherent in anthropological investigations, as well as those of other social sciences, that in order to measure phenomena we must make definitions about those phenomena based upon the operations we must employ (c.f. Bridgeman 1961 [1927]; Kuznar 1997). Although these operational definitions are arbitrary, they are necessary to our research as they make our data comparable. That is, the data generated from the study and analysis of phenomena based on our established operational definitions may then be used to test theories, and other/future anthropologists have a means by which/basis to construct better measures of phenomena.

As this investigation is an analysis of the influence the natural environment has on Dakota belief systems, and how that relationship may be reflected in the archeological record, it is inherently necessary to operationalize the phenomena which are under consideration/being analyzed, that is, the relationship between the natural environment and Dakota belief systems. According to Insoll (2004), archeology can provide “a key to examining aspects of practice, but archaeology was made more powerful through oral tradition, myth and ethnography – which ultimately served to indicate past complexity, how the past can be the ‘other’, and how elusive past meanings inevitably are” (Insoll 2004: 119). Additionally, language and speech, “on which the creation of culture depends” (Watson and Watson 1969: 21), is necessary for the transmission of cultural information, “for language tells a great deal about a people” and “Nothing demonstrates history better than language” (Palmer 2008: 29). Furthermore, throughout time, narratives have been a principal method of accomplishing the transmission of cultural information. “History comes from stories, accounts, anecdotes, legends, traditions, and folktales. No matter who gives these accounts, or whether they are written or not, they come with the

perspective of the teller and the teller’s culture, position, and situation” (Westerman and White 2012: 6).

As such, for this investigation, the relationship between the natural environment and Dakota belief systems is operationalized by way of Dakota narratives – namely, oral traditions and oral histories – and Dakota place names. These phenomena are then compared to the archeological record in order to establish/connect Dakota people to the land in Minnesota.

If places are read and experienced in relation to others and through serial movements along the axes of paths it follows that an art of understanding of place, movement and landscape must fundamentally be a narrative understanding involving a presencing of previous experiences in present contexts. Spatial and textual stories are embedded in one another (Tilley 1994: 31).

Therefore, as Dakota narratives and place names are phenomena which customarily consist of and relay cultural information, they may be operationalized as reflections of the influence the natural environment has on Dakota belief systems, and it should be possible to use them comparatively against the archeological record to establish/verify the presence of past Dakota people and their ancestors in Minnesota. Although both oral traditions and oral histories are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs, as place names are a reflection/example of landscape enculturation, as well as being a phenomenon which has been operationalized for the purpose of this analysis, it is discussed later in this chapter.

Oral Traditions

Oral traditions tend to convey beliefs about the environment of a people’s habited cultural spaces and relay information about their ancestors and their lived experiences. “...information is selectively passed on from generation to generation, making culture analogous to genetics, in that information, encoded in symbols rather than in DNA, is ‘inherited’ by one generation from

another” (Kelly 1995: 58). In his discussion of archeology and native North American oral tradition, Robert Mason (2000: 263) notes that,

Oral tradition is quintessentially local...it is culturally specific, memory-dependent, and accepted on faith. Vis-a-vis other locales or cultures, oral tradition is private knowledge, not accessible except on its own authority...[it] is particularistic and unintegrated with any governing hierarchy of understanding other than the customs and mindsets peculiar to its articulators in their unique context of time, place and circumstance...And although, as with religion, there may be pieces of history embedded in particular oral traditions, they may be teased out by adherence to the rules of rational inquiry...Oral traditions, as stories relating a people’s traversing of time, differ from those other branches of traditional knowledge by means of which investigators learn about residence patterns, kinship systems, conceptions of gender, sodality initiations, and so on (ibid.).

Oral traditions are not to be confused with narratives which are characteristically mythological, such as creation stories and origin myths. From a Western perspective, myth is often viewed as a type of narrative that tells “of a make-believe realm set in a nonexistent time and place with deliberately fictive characters” (Paden 1988: 72) and is often viewed as “a fanciful tale as opposed to true, discursive language” (ibid.: 70). The messages conveyed in myth frequently pertain to cosmology and cosmogeny, and “not only explains the world but also constructs and governs it” (Paden 1988: 73). Often, myths are essentially broad unifiers for a larger group of people or tribe (e.g., the Dakota) rather than for a particular band, division, or village (e.g., the *Mdewakantowwan*, Lower Sioux, or Red Wing village). Therefore, myths may be viewed as narratives that guide and structure people’s lives, for “a myth – like ritual – simultaneously imposes an order, accounts for the origin and nature of that order, and shapes people’s dispositions to experience that order in the world around them” (Bell 1997: 21; emphasis added). Conversely, narratives which are oral traditions tend to be more like legends which describe the natural and cultural environments that people interact with on a daily basis; they tend to be more personal because they essentially describe how their traditional landscapes

became encultured. Therefore, oral traditions essentially function to describe the environments, both natural and cultural, of a people, and communicate cultural information that is personal to a specific division of a larger cultural group; their influence on the lives of that particular group of people stems from the personal connection of the people to the subject of the oral tradition (a concept which also applies to oral histories).

For purposes of archeological analysis, it is important to make a distinction between oral traditions and histories and mythological narratives due to the inability of myth to make a direct leap to say what aspects of a landscape mean to a people since “a suggestion is there but no more” (Insoll 2004: 126). Additionally, while myth can supplement ethnography and other sources of data, “in practical reality the use of myth for the purposes of archaeological interpretation is not as promising as scholars...might have argued”. That said, when myth is supplementally utilized, contextualization of myth is crucial; the interpretation of myths should never be done on a stand-alone basis but with reference to ethnographic works of the societies of their origination. “Nevertheless, foolish or angelic archaeologists *will* continue to pick and choose among the offerings of oral traditions. They should be aware, however, that doing so is tantamount to cherry picking in a minefield” (R. Mason 2000: 262; emphasis in original).

In summation, oral traditions are believed by the narrators to be trusted renderings of the past happening(s) to which they refer; “Like religion, you believe oral tradition or you don’t” (R. Mason 2000: 263). Therefore, although oral traditions proffer “a mythologized accounting of formative experiences thought by believers to have made them the people they are today” (ibid.), as they consist of information that would likely be considered menial and insignificant to those who are not part of that cultural tradition, the information within them is culturally significant to

a particular group of people, “Thus, they are not regarded as fictions or fairy tales” (R. Mason 2000: 240).

Oral Histories

By comparison, narratives which are oral histories recount veridical historical events and lived experiences that need not necessarily be those which apply to an individual group of people but the general public. However, the focus of this investigation is generally on those oral histories that recount events and experiences that occurred on the encultured, or contributed to the enculturation of, landscapes of Dakota ancestors and their close relatives. Oral histories refer to the “...memories and recollections of the individuals who experienced or witnessed in their own lives the events they relate; its maximum time depth is thus that of the oldest surviving narrator in the relevant community” (R. Mason 2000: 240). They come from reminiscences, or are the products of, eyewitness accounts of “events and situations which are contemporary, that is, which occurred during the lifetime of the informants” and “have passed from mouth to mouth, for a period beyond the lifetime of the informants” (Vansina 1985: 12-13).

Although history as we – that is, people separated in time from the events that occurred – know it is rarely, if ever, an accurate presentation of what occurred in the past, what is important is the fact that those events and experiences carried enough salience for past peoples that they felt it necessary to maintain those memories in their cultural histories shows that they were considered an important part of their history. Oral histories may not be exact accounts of what happened in the past, but they generally adhere to some degree of reality. One way in which oral histories find immediate relevance here is through place names, explored further below, as they are reflections of landscape enculturation.

Summary

Oral histories and traditions are important to understanding the relationship between the natural environment and belief systems, as both [symbolic] forms of cultural transmission actively contribute to and/or substantiate enculturation of a people's landscape(s). As a conduit for cultural knowledge which recounts lived experiences of, and events which happened to, a people's antecedents, oral histories often become embedded in the cultural practices and lifeways of a people. While oral traditions also often become incorporated into the behavior phenotypes of a people as well, they generally don't convey "real" events or experiences as they typically consist of "created" information. "Cultural information, after all, is not encoded in genes but in symbolic communication, and is passed on through enculturation, rather than reproduction" (Kelly 1995: 58). That is, both types of narratives not only function to transmit cultural information about, or pertaining to, specific bands, divisions, and sub-divisions of Dakota people, but also augment their cultural connection to the natural landscape(s) of their habited spaces. "Landscapes anchor events, and thus act so as to ensure their enduring significance for populations moving around and experiencing them on a daily basis. The landscape provides permanent markers around which life flows and within which meanings become sedimented" (Tilley 1994: 59).

Although the differences between oral histories and traditions are relatively minor, and is a classificatory distinction which is made here for the purpose of this analysis, both narratives are a means of cultural dissemination which not only give credence to a people's connections to their traditionally habited landscapes but are generally taken at face value by the people to whom they carry significance and validate/reify the enculturation of the landscape merely through their existence. Oral traditions and histories, as well as associated place names, are methods by which

landscapes become enculturated. “Cultural information, after all, is not encoded in genes but in symbolic communication, and is passed on through enculturation, rather than reproduction” (Kelly 1995: 58). They function to show the connection of a people to their habited spaces.

1.2 – How Are Belief Systems Influenced By The Natural Environment?

Following the phenomenological approach, with the clarifying ideas of culture areas and historical behavioral ecology, as well as the discussion on how the phenomena under analysis have been operationalized, it is important to now explore the mechanism through which experience and environment, which form the basis of beliefs, become concretized into beliefs that can be expressed interpersonally and thus cultural patterns.

That ideas are the ruling force and ‘the constructive center’ of human society is readily conceded as applicable to our own race. It is equally true of the Indian; but in according this power to ideas the modifying influence of the environment is not to be overlooked. One cannot conceive of man apart from environment; his contact with it is the very condition of being. As Herbert Spencer has phrased it, life is ‘the continuous adjustment of inner relations to outer relations’ (Fletcher 1896: 476).

1.2.1 – Lifeways

Binford argues that “reasons are mental constructs that defend the rationality of human behavior in a particular set of circumstances,” while is it not the case that “acceptance of the offered reason [is] related in any necessary way to conditions in the world of general acceptance. A reason is only plausible if it is consistent with one’s own beliefs or prior knowledge about a set of relationships, either real or imagined. Reasons are perhaps most easily understood in the context of excuses for behaving in unexpected ways” (Binford 2001: 34-35). What Binford calls ‘reasons’ may be substituted here for ‘belief systems,’ and it is postulated here that both concepts structure a people’s behavior based on their experiential backgrounds, that oral traditions as well

as oral histories are the primary means of the transmission of this knowledge for Dakota people, and while each of the concepts consist of ideas which are acceptances of something(s) that are held to be true or exist, neither of them necessarily need be valid. Neither ‘reasons’, nor ‘belief systems’ are “linked in any predictable way with outcomes. They have reference only to a person’s motivations in the pursuit of particular goals” (Binford 2001: 35). In other words, the influence of the environment over a people’s behaviors is the reason, to an extent, that they behave in certain patterned ways that are reflected in the archeological record, and a good starting point into this relationship between Dakota belief systems and the natural environment may be “an investigation into the factors that condition the outcomes of human planning and tactics, because the patterned relationships that archaeologists observe among the components of the archaeological record directly reflect those outcomes” (Binford 2001: 35). As the natural environment(s) of a people’s habited spaces contributes to the nature of their cultural landscape(s), the former essentially then gives reason, to a degree, to such aspects of the latter, such as the topographic setting of habitation, earthwork, mortuary, food processing/acquisition sites, etc.

It should be noted that the potential of the natural environment(s) in the habited spaces which are utilized by a people have to contribute to their survival needs to be thought of in fairly broad terms, from plants and animals that provide nourishment and technology, to inorganic things like stone and clay for making tools, waterways that not only provide resources but also means of travel, viewsheds that give people a broader visual reference to scope their territory, etc. This list not meant to be exhaustive, but to simply provide some examples as a way to incorporate this into the analysis and discussion.

Habited Spaces

Due to greater frequency of interaction, the environments of a people's habited spaces – those environmental landscapes which a people interact with the most – become primary contributors to their belief systems. As “...some behavioral acts or elements of material culture take on symbolic meaning and will be adopted for their meaning rather than their function” (Kelly 1995: 61), it is a people's habited spaces which become uniquely encultured. That is, those environmental areas/regions/landscapes which a people interact with the most have a greater tendency to be subject to enculturation than those which are frequented to a lesser degree due to frequency of interaction.

Subsistence

Nourishment is necessary for human survival (i.e., a human universal), and as the subsistence practices employed by a group of people are structured and/or dictated by the natural environment of their habited spaces, they are a vital aspect of a people's culture which have an influence on/contribute to their belief systems. There are numerous behavioral patterns that may be observed in the archeological record that are reflective of the lifeway practices/patterns of a culturally connected group of people, as well as their belief systems. The degree of sedentism, the type of landscapes a people interact with (i.e., their habited spaces), location/placement of habitation sites, resources processing sites, etc., have potential to provide insight into how a people's interactions with the natural environments of their habited spaces contribute to their belief systems and structure, to some degree, their behaviors.

The habited spaces of past people were likely initially utilized due to the potential to contribute to their survival. That is, the greater the resource availability and diversity and possible contribution of defensive resources, the more appeal a natural landscape may have. As a result of “diversity of landscape perception” (Thomas 2001: 174), differences in environmental

variables, such as resource availability and distribution, which influence lifeway practices and/or patterns which generally results in/leads to a variety of lived experiences and, subsequently, beliefs about the natural environment (of a people's habited spaces), thus variably contributing to their sociocultural traditions and belief systems. Belief systems are reflections and/or the embodiment, of a people's relationship with their habited spaces:

The fact that culture is artificial—that it is the distinctive contribution of man—does not mean that it can exist outside nature. It is not merely that man, the creator and bearer of culture, is a natural organism and one that has emerged from those which conform to merely instinctive patterns of behavior, but that culture itself is essentially no more than a traditional medium for harmonizing social needs and aspirations with the realities of the physical world, that is with the soil and climate of the habitat and with all the forms of life, including man himself, that together constitute the biome. Soil, climate, vegetation, and fauna are no mere background to human cultures, but the very seed-bed in which they grow and which in turn have helped them form (Clark 1939: 174-176).

Since behaviors related to methods of resource acquisition are contingent on resource availability, which is in turn dictated by the natural environment, they may therefore provide insight into a people's beliefs about, and/or relationship with, their natural environments. Additionally, subsistence practices and strategies generally involve material culture items, that is, utilitarian items which are generally found quite often in the archeological record. Therefore, resource use strategies of historic Dakota people may be viewed as a primary variable for a people's culture that contributes to the nature of their belief systems and may perhaps even be considered a causal variable. For “diversity or similarities in behavior are a result of diversity or similarity in selective pressures and enculturative environments” (Kelly 1995: 262). However, it is prolonged interaction with, and lived experiences within, the environment of their habited spaces that lead to enculturation of the landscape. There is a constant loop of enculturation that exists between a people and the landscapes of their environment. Once a people adapt to their natural environments through the development of methods of survival suited for the environment

of their habited spaces, enculturation of the landscape occurs; the innate drive to survive in the natural world leads to the acculturation of a people, which in turn results in enculturation of the environment and the landscape. Therefore, it may be stated that the nature and/or structure of a people's belief systems reflect and contribute to these processes. Furthermore, because belief systems structure behaviors, it should be possible to analyze the relationship between a people and their environment – how the natural environment affects the cultural environment.

Adaptation

Although humans are part of nature, their culture is apart from nature. The natural world, or physical environment, consists of the total ecological community – its physical features and its living inhabitants – in which humans live and with which they interact. Whatever humans do or produce, “it is at once natural and cultural,” and by contrasting humans and their culture with the rest of nature, it is possible to describe and understand humans' place in the natural world (Watson and Watson 1969: 17). Therefore, through their creation of culture, humans have altered their position in the earth's ecological community, that is, adapted to it, by gaining progressively more control over the natural environment (ibid.: 21). This adaptive ability has made it possible for humans to potentially inhabit a wide range of natural environments. As such, the range of cultural possibilities is just as vast as the natural environments where people can live, and it is implicit that the numerous aggregations of people living in those different environments, both cultural and natural, will have belief systems which are products and drivers of adaptations to those natural and cultural environments.

It is axiomatic that belief systems are a part of cultural systems/environments, and because they are structured by past experiences, and in part structure future actions (i.e., the act of doing something) and behaviors (i.e., the way in which people act), belief systems are

considered in this analysis to be functionally adaptive (i.e., the ability to cope with everyday environmental demands, including daily living skills which people perform to care for themselves and to interact with others¹). “Although cultural systems emerge out of the complex interactions of many variables...technology and environment together have powerful effects. If cultural systems are to adapt and survive for a period of time, they must establish relatively stable relationships with their environment” (Beals et al., 1977: 219). Intrinsic to this type of relationship which a people have with their environment is the formulation of a belief system, which will inherently be structured by that natural environment. Therefore, because “Culture is viewed as the extra-somatic means of adaptation for the human organism” (White 1959: 8), and belief systems are vital contributors to culture, environmentally driven variance in belief systems should be evident in the material culture of a people, which may then be observed in the archeological record.

1.2.2 – Enculturation of the Landscape

As noted above, the environmental landscape(s) of a people’s habited spaces become(s) enculturated through the interaction of a people with the physical environment(s) of their habited spaces, that is, nature excluding humans, which “consists of the total ecological community -- its physical features and its living inhabitants – in which man lives and with which he interacts” (Watson and Watson 1969: 20). People generally live in places that have resources of many types which have the potential to be exploited, and some of these available resources become important or acquire significance to the people for one reason or another, which is what leads to places being named for events, resources, etc.; aspects of the natural environment – the resources

¹ <https://sk.sagepub.com/reference/the-sage-encyclopedia-of-lifespan-human-development/i2345.xml#:~:text=Adaptive%20functioning%20refers%20to%20coping,and%20to%20interact%20with%20others.>

available for exploitation, topographic features, etc. – acquire such an importance or significance to a people that they become enculturated. The lived and shared experiences of a people within their environment, among other aspects of their lives, are among the bases of their belief systems. “The relationship of a people to the lands where they live is crucial for understanding their history and culture” (Westerman and White 2012: 6).

Significance of Experience

The interactions (i.e., lived experiences, events, etc.) that occur between a people and the environmental landscape(s) within their habited spaces may vary from positive to negative, as well as in significance, however, it is the most evocative or redolent experiences, events, and phenomena which have a greater likelihood of contributing to the belief systems of a people, become incorporated into their narratives (e.g., oral traditions and histories), prompt behaviors concomitant to them, and eventually lead to the enculturation of the landscape and environment of their habited spaces.

The importance and significance of past events and experiences in both the natural and cultural environment of a people, how those occurrences influence their belief systems and subsequent behaviors, and how those might be reflected in the archeological record brings into consideration the archeology of emotion (c.f. Tarlow 2000). In his discussion of the relationship between emotion and the archeological record, Insoll (2004: 112) notes that the numinous “is in essence irreducible from emotion, and, this accepted, emotion is thus critical as a generative factor in the archaeological material we consider.” In other words, environmental variables, both natural and cultural, that carry greater significance with a people have a greater chance of contributing to the enculturation of the landscape and there is a greater chance that it will have permanence, which may be visible in oral histories and traditions and acquire place names. In the

archeological study of belief systems, “The acknowledgement of an emotional factor...further reinforces the place of ethnography as a wonderful resource in indication the possibilities of the ‘otherness’ of the past, including that pertaining to emotion” (Insoll 2004: 113). Since significance and emotion are tightly bound together, it stands that they may generally be reflective of a people’s belief systems and may be “viewed” as some of the numerous variables that drive people’s behaviors which may be seen in the archeological record.

Place Names

The establishment and use of place names are more than just a way for a people to describe and interact with the world around them, they are reflections and exhibitions of a people’s connection to the landscape of their habited spaces; they are an expression and/or method of landscape enculturation (of a people’s habited spaces).

The naming and identification of particular topographical features, such as sand dunes, bays and inlets, mountain peaks, etc., settlements and sites is crucial for the establishment and maintenance of their identity. Through the act of naming and through the development of...associations such places become invested with meaning and significance because they act so as to transform the sheerly physical and geographical into something that is historically and socially experienced. The bestowing of names creates shared existential space out of a blank environment (Basso 1984: 27; Weiner 1991: 32 [c.f. Tilley 1994: 18; emphasis added]).

In other words, place names affirm a people’s cultural relationship and/or connection to their habited spaces and the natural environments of them. Through habitation and acquired significance, people then derive place names as a way to refer to the enculturated content, that is, features on/aspects of the landscape. Because place names given to natural features on the landscape are the product of a particular group of people’s experiences with the environmental landscape(s) of their habited spaces, they are *sui generis* to/of the cultural group of people to whom they mean something to/are significant to. In effect, place names convey that a feature of

the landscape – whether it be a topographic feature or a particular location – is of significance for a people and, consequently, place names provide insights into the belief systems of those people and their relationship with their environment(s).

While some place names may merely be descriptions of the geographical environment or landscape (e.g., The Blue Earth River, Rice Lake, Barn Bluff, etc.), others may be allusions to, or part of, an oral history or tradition (e.g., Black Dog Lake, the present-day city of Shakopee, Yellow Medicine River, etc.). No matter the case, place names are a way that people demonstrate their relationship with/connection to the landscape(s) of their habited spaces and convey a sense of meaning and significance for the people who established/created them.

Concepts of Space (territoriality/boundaries)

Place names not only have the potential to provide insight into what aspects of their natural environment a people are the most aware of, or those which carry/convey the most significance for them, but they also relay information about their beliefs about, or conceptions pertaining to, space (e.g., territoriality and boundaries). That is, the study of place names is an avenue which can be used to understand how a people understand and/or interact with boundaries and territoriality on landscapes. According to Kelly (1995) “no society has a laissez-faire attitude toward spatial boundaries. Instead, all have ways, sometimes very subtle ways, of assigning individuals to specific tracts of land and gaining access to others. Boundaries exist, although at many different levels, and societies vary in their attitudes about defining, maintaining, and protecting them” (ibid.: 185). Furthermore,

The basis for much of the behavior labeled territoriality, then, is the product of individuals making decisions about whether and how to share the right of resource use with others. These decisions are embedded in a complex intellectual process whereby people come to share an identity. Through kinship, trade, mythology, and

other cultural mechanisms, people construct ideologies that relate themselves to each other and thus to land. These social relations form the basis for the right to be asked – and to ask – to use resources. Different ideologies give land-tenure systems their particular characters (Kelly 1995: 189).

It is possible to formulate interpretations about the relationship between a people's belief systems and the environment(s) of their habited spaces due to the possibility to see patterned behaviors in the archeological record, as observable patterns in the archeological record show that actions of past people were likely preformed with intents which were structured and/or guided by their beliefs about and/or influenced by both their natural and cultural environments.

Landscape itself is perceived by many groups as having its own agency and power with which people today engage, regardless of a relationship proved through narrative. Even if they do not know the 'full story' about places of importance, they understand them and know how to act toward them when they see them. In other words, the traditional importance of such places is recorded in behavior, not narrative (Westerman and White 2012: 217-218).

Therefore, it is additionally possible to garner information about a people's belief systems, those reasons which drive actions, using published ethnographic works that include place name data in conjunction with the archeological record.

Conclusion

This first chapter has laid out the perspective of how belief systems are viewed/considered in this analysis, laid out a handful of theoretical approaches which have been used to understand/elucidate the relationship between belief systems and the natural environment. It has also been established that past archeological work in the state of Minnesota has greatly fallen short in contributing to an understanding of Dakota archeology in Minnesota, and that the majority of the archeological work in the state which may be viewed as germane to Dakota peoples and their ancestors has primarily been the result of cultural resource management (CRM) work. Furthermore, because most of our current understanding of Dakota related

archeology in the state has been the result of CRM work, it has failed to provide information which may be used by academics who may wish to mitigate the issue at hand.

In the subsequent chapters, this groundwork information will be used to, in a way, establish a model which may be used by subsequent archeologists to wish to contribute to and/or carry out anthropological investigations of Dakota archeology in Minnesota. Chapter Two addresses the environment of the traditional homelands of Dakota people in Minnesota; it consists of a discussion of the physical setting, the climatological setting, and the cultural setting. The discussion of the physical setting entails a description of the geology and geography of Minnesota, as well as the environmental areas included in this analysis. The discussion of the cultural setting includes an outline of the distribution of Dakota people throughout the state from the end of the Historic Period (C.A. 1650) to the Contact period, as well as a discussion of their lifeways during these time periods, and outside influences (i.e., interactions between Dakota people and Euro-Americans) which may have contributed to changes in their distribution and lifeways. The intent of Chapter Two is to provide necessary “groundwork” information to which the theoretical groundwork laid out in Chapter One is then applied to in Chapter Three, which consists of an analysis of the relationship between the natural environment(s) of Dakota people in Minnesota and their belief systems; the numerous [possible] influences which the natural environment may have had on Dakota belief systems. Nearly all the information within these two chapters was gathered from numerous published ethnographic records available at the time this analysis was conducted, which is then used to set up archeological expectations for a “Dakota archeology in Minnesota.” Chapter Four then switches to the archeology side of things; it describes what resources there are (e.g., Durand [1994], the state site files, etc.) that place Dakota people in specific locations, how GIS (geographic information systems) can be used to

facilitate that, and comes up with a range of sites that have specific Dakota references (that is, that are identified as Dakota related in the state site files) or that are very near where Dakota sites are supposed to be, so that it is possible to assess the known archeological record, through site forms and site reports, to see how well it conforms to the expectations set up in Chapter Three. Chapter Five is then where the sites are described, with brief mentions of pre-16th century information, but which primarily focuses on stuff that might be reasonably Dakota-related. Chapter Six includes interpretation and discussion of this analysis.

CHAPTER 2 – ENVIRONMENT OF DAKOTA PEOPLES

Introduction

The natural environment(s) is what a people must acquaint themselves with and adapt their behaviors to in order to survive and prosper. Thus, the environmental conditions or Minnesota – the landscape and topography, climate, geography, environmental regions, etc. – are crucial elements to consider in the analysis of the relationship between the natural environment and Dakota belief systems, and to comprehend Dakota archeology in Minnesota. “Natural environmental processes have profound influences on human settlement and activities. These factors also directly affect site formation processes, and the preservation of the archaeological record in the intervening years since a site was established” (Mather 2000: 4). As such, the physical setting of Minnesota is first described, which includes a discussion of the geological history of the state and its geography. This is followed by a description of the climatological setting of the state, and the factors that contribute to the diverse environmental setting in Minnesota which past peoples had to live in and adapt to. Once the natural or physical setting of the Dakota environment in Minnesota is established, it is then possible to discuss the cultural setting of the Dakota environment in Minnesota.

2.1 – Physical Setting

In order to understand how the natural environment may have contributed or directed in part Dakota belief systems, and how that influence may be reflected in, or contributed to, an understanding of Dakota archeology in Minnesota, it is necessary to first discuss the Dakota environment in Minnesota. The pre-1850s distribution of plant and animal communities in Minnesota and, in turn, the distribution of hunter-gatherer (i.e., historic Dakota and their

predecessors) lifeway patterns, was structured by the fluctuation of temperature and moisture, which in turn dictated available resources, in the state throughout pre-contact and contact times. As the focus of this analysis is on Dakota belief systems and how the natural environment has influenced or contributed in part to them in order to gain as well as contribute to a better understanding of what Dakota archeology in Minnesota might look like, this discussion of the Dakota environment in this state includes both their physical environment as well as their cultural environment.

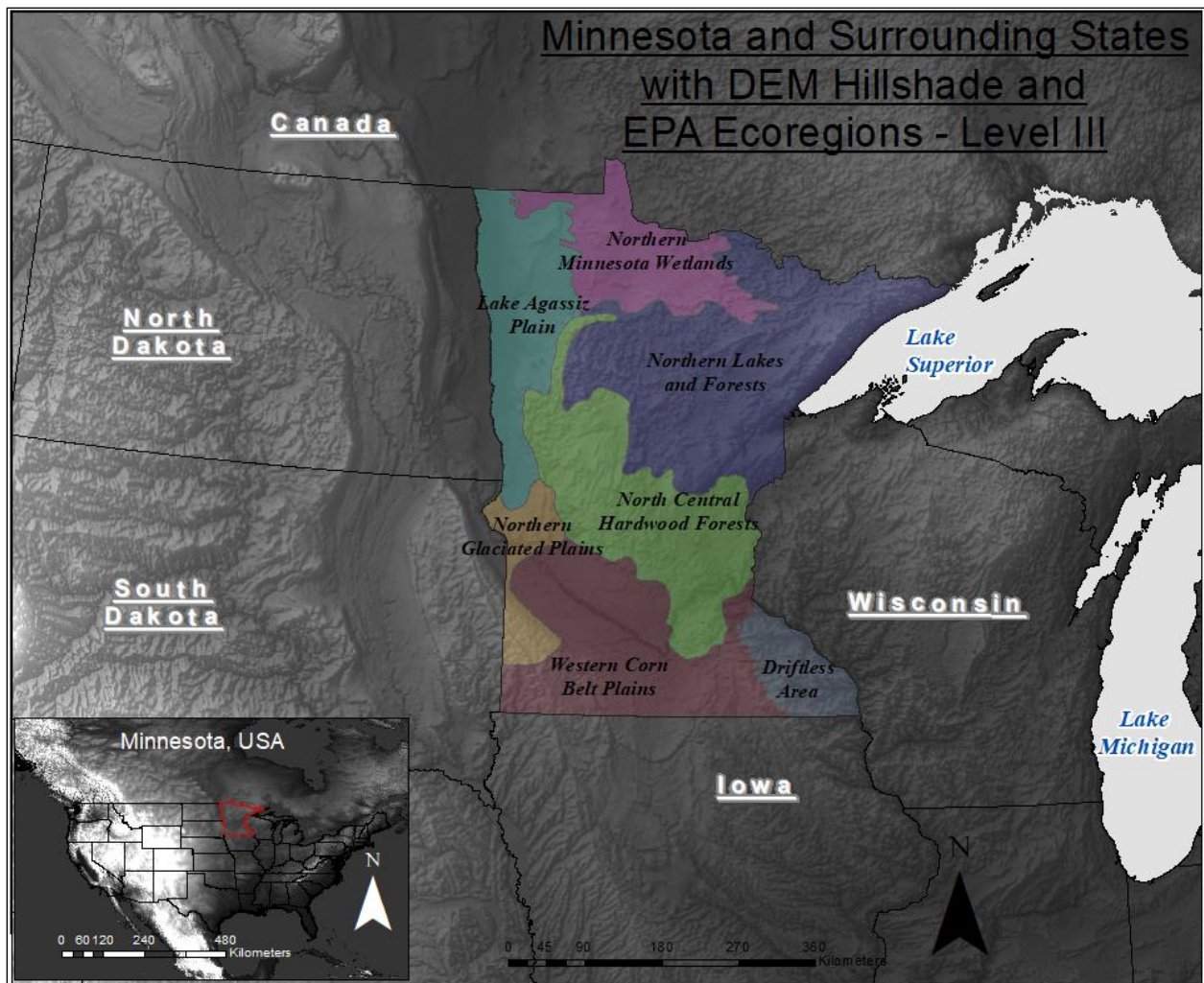
At 400 miles (643.73 kilometers) long and 250 miles (402.3 kilometers) wide, the state of Minnesota consists of 86,938.87 square miles (225,170.56 square kilometers), is the 12th largest of the 50 states, and is bordered by Canada to the north, Iowa to the south, Wisconsin and Lake Superior on the east, and North and South Dakota to the west. With a mean elevation of 1,200 feet (365.76 meters), the state is relatively flat. Although high ground occurs in southwestern Minnesota where the Coteau des Prairies – “Highlands of the Prairies” – stands and adjoins parts of South Dakota and Iowa, which rises from 50 to 500 feet above the general level of the region and forms a more or less continuous ridge nearly 100 miles long, extending from just north of Grand Rapids, Itasca County to beyond Birch Lake in eastern St. Louis County and western Lake County (Morey and Dahlberg n.d.), most parts of Minnesota have very little relief, with elevations considerably less than 1,000 feet, such as the Red River Lowland in the northwestern part of the state, which is the largest and most prominent of these, where some elevations are only 760 feet above sea level (ibid.).

According to the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources (MnDNR), the land area of the state is 79,610.08 square miles (206,189.16 square kilometers), and the water area is 7,328.79

square miles (18,981.47 square kilometers)². The MnDNR states that as of 2013, the total area of Minnesota covered by lakes and rivers (deep water) is 2,560,299 acres or about 4,000 square miles (about 10,560 square kilometers), and that the total surface water area including wetlands is 13,136,357 acres or about 20,526 square miles (about 53,162 square kilometers)³. According to the MnDNR, there are 11,842 lakes in the state which are more than 10 acres or 435,600 square miles (1,128,198.82 square kilometers) in size, 6,564 natural rivers and streams (covering a distance of 69,200 miles [111,366.6 kilometers]) in the state, and as of 2008 there were 10.6 million acres of land in Minnesota that are covered in wetlands. The longest river in Minnesota is the Mississippi, with 680 of its 2,340 total miles (1,094.35 of 3,765.86 kilometers) falling within the borders of the state, and it is also the southern outward flow of water in the state, which dumps into the Gulf of Mexico; Minnesota's waters also flow outward north to Hudson Bay in Canada via the Red River of the North, and east to the Atlantic Ocean via the St. Louis River, Lake Superior, and the St. Lawrence Seaway (Morey and Dahlberg n.d.).

² <https://www.dnr.state.mn.us/faq/mnfacts/land.html>

³ All data regarding the lakes, rivers, and wetlands in Minnesota was obtained from the MnDNR webpage: <https://www.dnr.state.mn.us/faq/mnfacts/water.html>



Map 2.1 – Minnesota with EPA Ecoregions – Level III and surrounding states with DEM hillshade.

2.1.1 – Geology

Minnesota straddles two of North America’s largest physiographic or topographic provinces, the Laurentian Upland and the Interior Lowland, both of which are low lying and quite featureless since for about the last 1,000 million years, what is now the state of Minnesota has been stable and quiet (Ojakangas and Matsch 1982). Within the last million years, the most impactful events to occur since then were the repeated advances and retreats of ice sheets during the last glacial period known as the Wisconsin Glaciation which spanned about 35,000 to 10,000 B.P. (J. Anfinson 2003: 27; Ojakangas and Matsch 1982). Minnesota was at the edge of a continental ice sheet known as the Laurentide Ice Sheet – a massive glacier centered upon what is now Hudson Bay – which covered almost all the state, excluding the southeastern corner known as the “driftless area,” and in some places the ice was more than a mile thick (Morey and Dahlberg n.d.; Ojakangas and Matsch 1982).

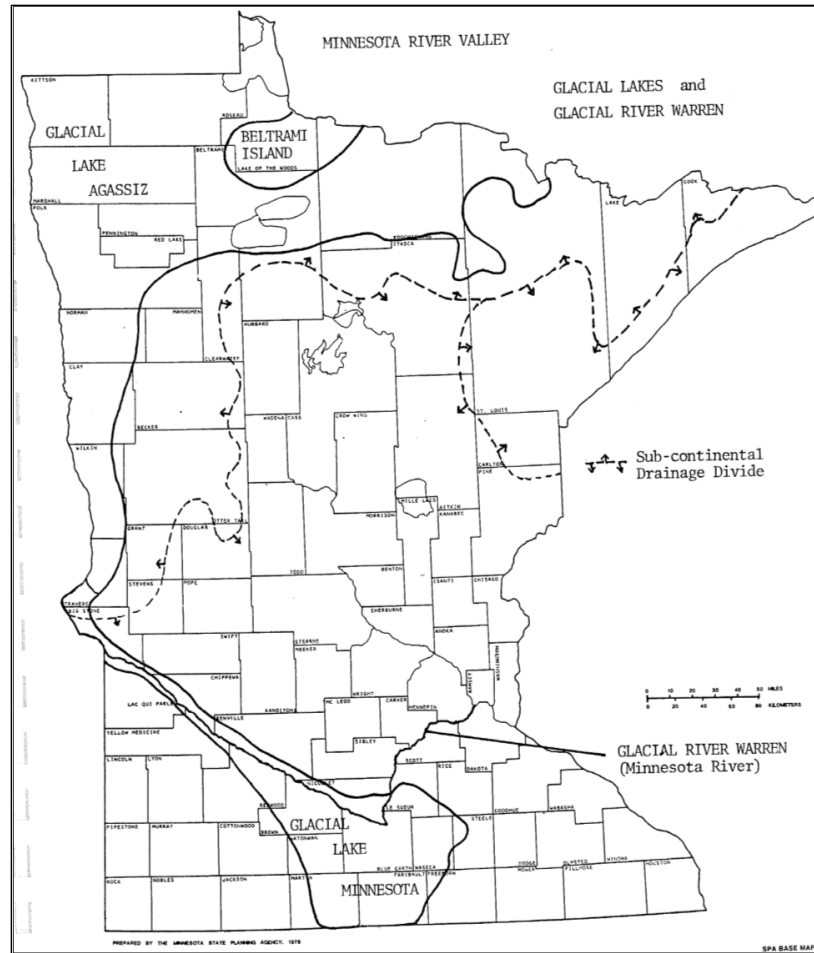


Figure 2.1 – Map of glacial lakes in Minnesota and the Glacial River Warren (Hudak 1979: 5).

By 12,000 years B.P., all the ice lobes which formerly covered the surface of Minnesota were in full retreat. The retreat of the Lake Superior and Des Moines lobes, which covered all of Minnesota except the far southwest corner of the state, left behind upwards of 50-feet of glacial till throughout the majority of Minnesota, as well as large areas of pulverized limestone which enriched the soil in the state. Because glacial melting is most intense at the margins of glaciers, those are especially active sites for the accumulation of debris, and outwash deposits formed at the front of glaciers by meltwater streams that flowed under and off the ice and are important sources of groundwater (Ojakangas and Matsch 1982: 100). It is from sediments deposited by glacial ice and its meltwater that ensembles of distinctive landforms are constructed. As the

glacial ice thinned and melted back, the flow of meltwater and runoff from precipitation became more and more influenced by the emerging drift-covered bedrock topography. The retreating ice margins acted as dams, and in conjunction with topographic barriers such as moraines they aided in the ponding of considerable amounts of water, or glacial lakes. The largest of these glacial lakes was Glacial Lake Agassiz, which at its greatest extent covered about 123,520 square miles (Gibbon 2012: 23). At its highest level, Glacial Lake Agassiz overtopped a moraine dam near what is now Browns Valley, and an outlet river became established. This Glacial River Warren would eventually excavate the valley now occupied by the Minnesota River. In Minnesota, the legacy of this enormous glacial lake is a huge, flat lakebed which is interrupted by the incised valleys of meandering streams and the former shorelines of the lake; the eastern arm (or Beltrami) of the lakebed stretches eastward to International Falls and the headwaters of Rainy River, and its southern lobe stretches south to Lake Traverse, the headwater of the Red River of the North (Gibbon 2012: 23; Ojakangas and Matsch 1982).

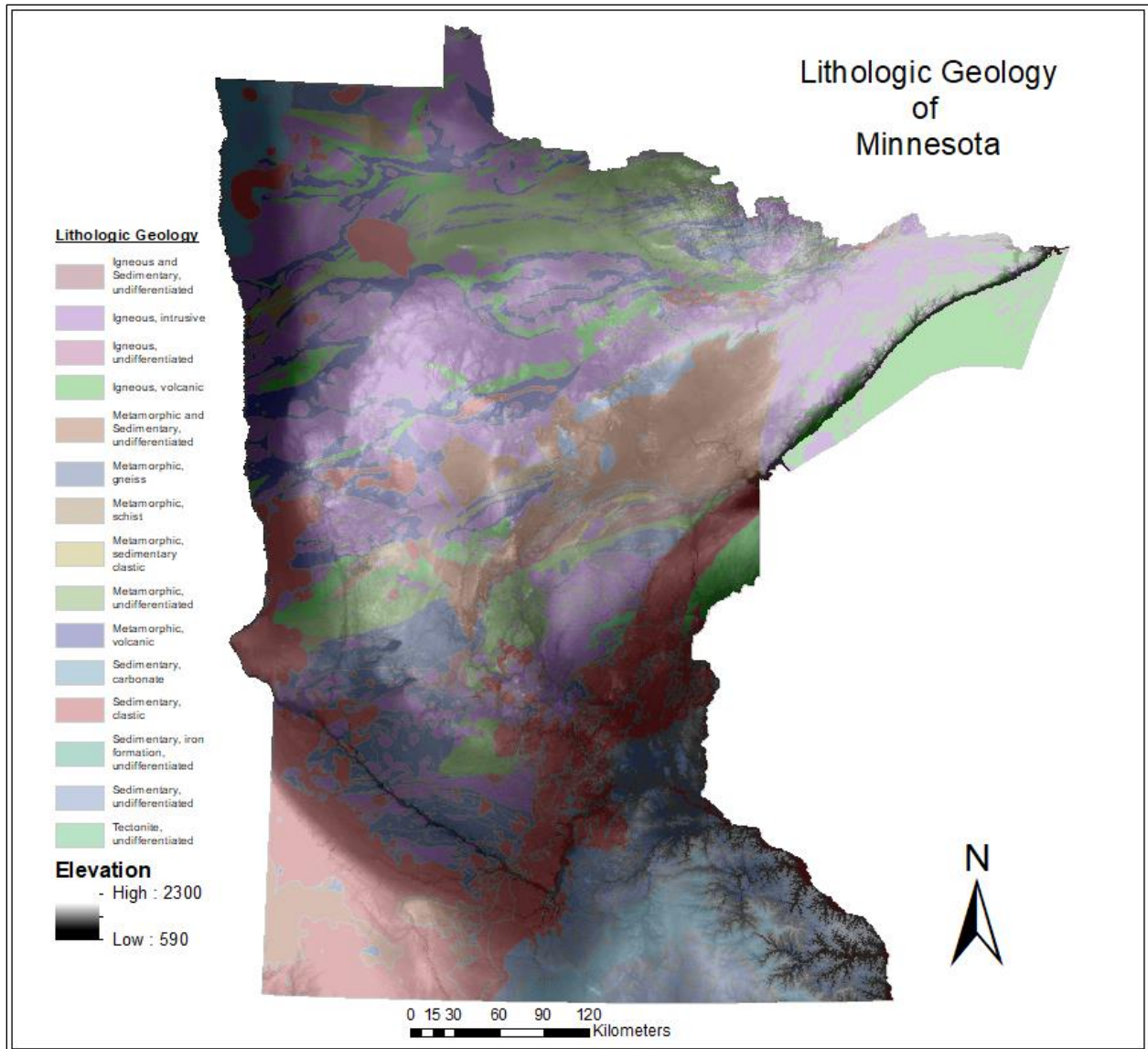
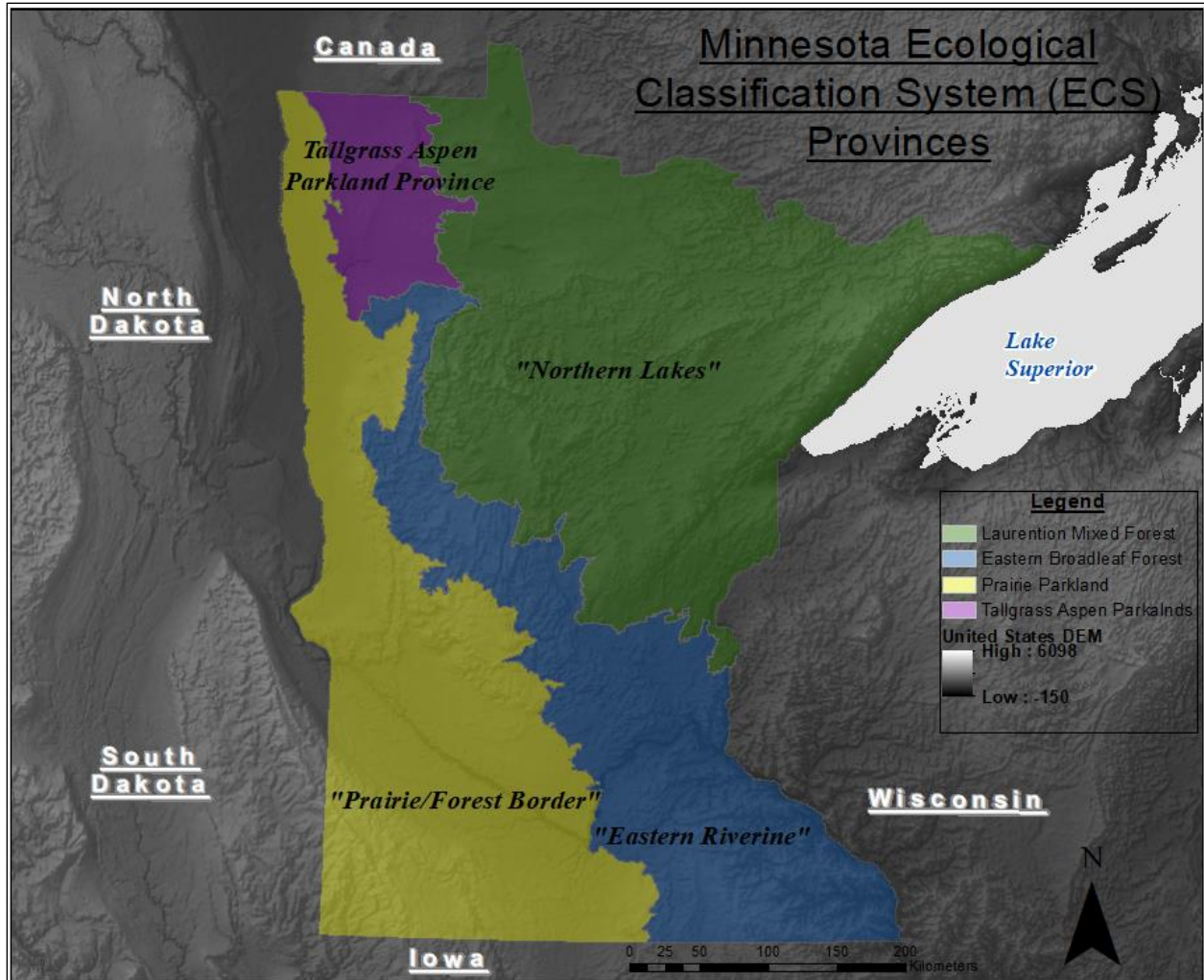


Figure 2.2 – Map of lithic geology of Minnesota.

2.1.2 – Climate

Positioned where it is on the continent, Minnesota is located on the boundary between the semi-humid climate of the eastern, and the semi-arid regime of the western parts of the U.S. The boundary between the climate regimes in Minnesota roughly cuts the state into east-west halves (https://www.dnr.state.mn.us/climate/water_availability.html). Because of its location, Minnesota is subject to frequent polar air outbreaks in the cold season, during which temperatures will drop

to extreme levels and can occasionally extend to the rest of the year. Those regions near Lake Superior tend to be colder in the summer and warmer in the winter compared to the rest of the state; winters are cold and snowy in the north, where at least one inch of snow covers the lands for roughly 140 days annually, and slightly mild in the south. The cold season in Minnesota ranges from late September to mid-March, with temperatures ranging from 8° F (-13° C) to 41° F (5° C) in the northern part of the state, and from 18° F (-8° C) to 47° F (8.3° C) in the southern part of the state; in the northeast region of the state, the average annual snowfall ranges from 70+ inches/year (178+ centimeters/year) in the northeastern region of the state to 35 inches/year (89+ centimeters/year) in the southwestern region. The warm season in Minnesota typically ranges from mid- to late March to late August, with average spring temperatures ranging from 36° F (2° C) to 63° F (17° C) in the northern part of the state, and from 44° F (4° C) to 70° F (21° C) in the southern part. The growing period lasts 90 to 160 days, with the wettest period lasting from May to September, with the northwest region of the states receiving an average of 20 inches (51 centimeters) of precipitation a year, and the southern region an average of 35 inches (89 centimeters) of precipitation a year.



Map 2.2 – Minnesota ECS Provinces as “Environmental Areas,” with DEM hillshade.

2.1.3 – Geography and Environmental Areas

Located in the transition zone between the moist East and the semi-arid Great Plains, the geography of Minnesota consists of Lake Superior lowlands, western prairies, northern woods, and deciduous forests of the southeast. Biomes found within the state include eastern broadleaf forests and mixed hardwood and coniferous forests in the north. For the purposes of this analysis, the geographic regions of the state known as ECS Provinces are divided into three environmental areas, based on where it is known past Dakota peoples lived in the state. These include, 1) the

northern lakes, 2) the eastern riverine, and 3) the prairie/forest border. As such, the focus of the environmental settings described below are based on that information and therefore do not include the entirety of the state.

The Northern Lakes

What is referred to herein as the northern lakes environmental area for this analysis consists of the greater part of the northeastern-northcentral to central-eastern part of Minnesota, with the southern border located roughly near Mille Lacs Lake. The landscape of the northern lakes ranges from rugged lake-dotted terrain with thin glacial deposits over bedrock in the northern part, to hummocky or undulating plains with deep glacial drift in the central part, and to large, flat, poorly drained peatlands in the southern part of this environmental area. Natural lakes occupy more than 9% of the region. This environmental area is characterized by broad areas of conifer forest, mixed conifer and hardwood forests, and conifer swamps and bogs. This boreal forest environment is inhabited by a distinctive suite of species which greatly contribute to the diversity of Minnesota's wildlife due to the climate of the northern lakes; the overall pattern of vegetation change across the region is from warm and dry habitats in the southwest to cooler and moister ones in the northeast. This southwest to northeast gradient which is linked to climate also has an influence on vegetation and species ranges, the most notable being growing-degree days, evapotranspiration, and the depth and duration of snow cover.

The Eastern Riverine

The eastern riverine environmental area includes the southeastern part of the state from roughly the confluence of the St. Croix and Mississippi Rivers to the southern border, and ranges from the eastern border of the state to about the Minnesota River at Blue Earth and Nicollet

Counties as it juts northwestward towards Big Stone Lake and Lake Traverse. This region serves as an ecotone, or a transition, between semi-arid portions of the state, which were historically prairie, and semi-humid mixed conifer-deciduous forests to the northeast. As this environmental area roughly coincides with the part of Minnesota where precipitation approximately equals evapotranspiration, which is an important influence on plants, many forest species reach their western range limits and numerous prairie species reach their eastern limits.

While most of the western boundary of this region is sharply defined as an abrupt transition from forest and woodland to open grassland, the northeastern boundary is rather diffuse, with a gradual transition between the deciduous forests of eastern Minnesota and the northern mixed conifer-hardwood forests, though the many linear depressions of tunnel valleys are occupied by peatlands. The land surface of the eastern riverine is largely the product of glacial processes which occurred during the last glaciation. As the northwestern and central portions of the eastern riverine were covered by ice during those glacial events, these surfaces are characterized by thick (100-300 feet [30-90 meters]) deposits of highly calcareous glacial drift of Wisconsin Age. Additionally, glacial lakes associated with the last glacial advance contributed large volumes of meltwater to rivers that cut deep valleys along the present courses of the Minnesota, St. Croix, and lower Mississippi Rivers. However, the southeastern part of the eastern riverine was not covered by ice in the last glaciation, and headward erosion of streams draining into the Mississippi River valley dissected the flanking uplands, which exposed Paleozoic bedrock and pre-Wisconsin drift. As glacial lakes melted, they contributed significant amounts of sediment to the river valleys and provided a source of silt which was redeposited by wind as a mantle of loess over the eroded lands in the southeastern part of the eastern riverine.

The Prairie/Forest Border

The prairie/forest border environmental area is also an ecotone which transitions between northern forests, the open woodland of the eastern riverine, the grasslands in the western south-central part of the state, and the plains west of the state. The transition from forest and woodland to open grassland is an abrupt one which sharply defines much of it. The prairie portion covers just over 16 million acres, which coincides with the part of the state which was historically dominated by tallgrass prairie. Grassland is favored over forest vegetation due to low winter precipitation, short duration of snow cover, and desiccating westerly winds which promote severe spring fire seasons. In circumstances where the frequency or intensity of fire is reduced, shrubs and fire-tolerant trees can persist, which leads to the formation of brush-prairie and savanna communities. Throughout much of this environmental area, evapotranspiration is greater than precipitation, though a small (1 inch [3 cm]) precipitation surplus characterizes the extreme southeastern corner. The area is characterized by low-relief landscapes with relatively few, mostly small, widely scattered lakes, with natural lakes occupying less than 2% of the region.

The land surface of the prairie/forest border was also heavily influenced by the most recent glaciation, with ice sheets having crossed it several times, depositing a mantle of drift 100 to 600 feet (30 to 180meters) thick in most places. The last lobe of ice, the Des Moines lobe, deposited calcareous drift in the southern part of this environmental area, and Glacial Lake Agassiz at the northern front of the lobe deposited deep-water sediments over the northern part of this area. Glacial River Warren cut a deep, broad valley, which is now occupied by the Minnesota River, that bisects the southern part of the prairie/forest border. Because of the thick mantle of drift that covers most of this region, bedrock exposures are rare, being limited to the deeply down-cut Minnesota River valley and a few places in the southwestern corner of the state where quartzite bedrock highs protrude through thinner drift.

2.2 – Cultural Setting

The Dakota and their close ancestors consist of the part of the Siouan language family who traditionally resided in what is now the state of Minnesota. They are divided into seven principal divisions – *Mdewakantowan*, *Wahpetowan*, *Sisitowan*, *Wahpekuŋe*, *Ihanktowan*, *Ihankuwanna*, and *Titowan*. However, since around 1500 AD, the latter three divisions have been geographically and, subsequently, linguistically and culturally, disparate from the other four divisions (Bray and Bray 1993; Gibbon 2003; Landes 1968; Westerman and White 2012). In part due to this, the Dakota-speaking Sioux – *Mdewakantowan*, *Wahpetowan*, *Sisitowan*, and *Wahpekuŋe* – are generally referred to as the “Eastern Dakota, while the Lakota- and Nakota-speaking Sioux are generally referred to as the “Western Dakota” (Landes 1968; Riggs 2004 [1893]). Although Eastern and Western Dakota peoples have historically interacted intensively, visiting one another, and often living together, the primary habitat of the Dakota-speaking Sioux (the *Mdewakantowan*, *Wahpetowan*, *Sisitowan*, and *Wahpekuŋe*) was in the east, while the Western Sioux lived further west. As such, the region of what is now Minnesota, which is the eastern region or boundary of their traditional lands, as well as being primarily where Dakota sites are located and/or found, is the focus of this analysis.

This discussion focuses on the cultural setting of Dakota people in Minnesota is on data from the 17th century onward. It starts with a description of Dakota lifeways in the protohistoric period – the time of those initial contact situations in which they did not yet have direct face-to-face relationships with Euro-Americans, yet had contact through intermediaries – and the early historic time, during which early face-to-face contacts occurred between the Dakota and Euro-Americans, though no or few major changes occurred in the lifeways of the Dakotas (c.f. Gibbon 2003: 171). This is followed by a

more in-depth description of the historic Dakota, their traditional homelands, and their lifeways. This then lays the groundwork for the analysis of how of how Dakota belief systems (as documented ethnographically and through oral history and tradition) reflect their environment(s), which then enables the ability to generate expectations of the archeological record, which are discussed and analyzed in Chapter 3.

2.2.1 – Protohistoric and Contact

The earliest written accounts of ancestral Dakota people in their Northwoods homeland were written during the period of French exploration and primarily come from the reports of French Jesuit missionaries, explorers, and traders which were published in *Jesuit Relations* dated 1642-1643 (Gibbon 2012; Landes 1968; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Thwaites 1889, 23; Upham 2001; Westerman and White 2012). It is known from these records that in or around 1641, two early French missionaries, Charles Raymbaut and Isaac Jogues, were told by the ancestors of the Ojibwe that a group of Native Americans referred to as the *Nadouessis* or *Nadouessioux* lived approximately 18 days to the northwest or west of Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, where the French first came into contact with the Ojibwe (Gibbon 2012: 48; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 169; Thwaites 1898, 23: 225; Westerman and White 2012). Although the French would not come into direct contact with the “*Nadouessioux*” until some 20 years later around 1666, according to *Jesuit Relations* dated 1642-1643 states, “These Peoples [*the Nadouessioux*] till the soil in the manner of our Hurons, and harvest Indian corn and Tobacco. Their villages are larger, and in a better state of defense, owing to their continual wars with the Kiristinons [*Cree*], the Irinions [*Illinois*], and other great Nations who inhabit the same Country” (Thwaites 1889, 23: 225-227; emphasis

added)⁴. The first recorded contact between Eastern Dakota people and Europeans was apparently with French explorers Pierre d'Esprit, Sieur de Radisson and Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers and possibly took place during the winter of 1659-1660 in the area of what is now northwestern Wisconsin or eastern Minnesota (Anderson 1997; Brower 1902: 81; Dobbs 1990c: 30; Gibbon 2003: 48; Meyer 1967: 1). Radisson and his men were on the verge of starving during that winter when, "There came 2 men from a strange countrey [*sic*] who had a dogg... Those men weare Nadoneseronons [*Sioux or Dakota*]. They weare much respected that no body durst not offend them" (Radisson 1885: 206)⁵. Some "two moons" after this initial encounter, Radisson says, "there came 8 ambassadors from the nation of Nadoneseronons, that we will call now the Nation of the beefe [*Boeuf Sioux*]" (ibid.: 207). The Dakota ambassadors provided them with food of "Oats, corne that growes in that country, of a small quantity of Indian Corne, with other grains, & it was to present to us, which we received as a great favour & token of friendshipp" (Radisson 1885: 207). The importance of "beefe" or buffalo/bison to the Dakota can be inferred from Radisson's calling the group of Dakota Sioux he encountered the "Nation of the beefe." Radisson provides no further information about this interaction with the Sioux or "Nadoneseronons."

Several early writers (e.g., Radisson 1885) describe the early Dakota as mobile hunter-gathers, who followed a seasonal settlement and subsistence round, exploiting resources seasonally in widely different localities (Gibbon 2012: 54; Radisson 1885). In the mid-17th century, when they occupied a vast expanse of territory that stretched from the woodlands of

⁴ While the information found in the *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites 1889) documents are comprised of observations and accounts of French missionaries which were largely based on no personal interactions, the information is still helpful in establishing an understanding of the lifeways of Dakota ancestors in the 17th century. If anything, the information found in them can function as a base or the groundwork for understanding Dakota life at that time.

⁵ While Radisson's first language was French, he had a fair understanding of English, though his knowledge of writing in English was poor. Thus, there are many instances where he misspells words. Those idiosyncrasies of spelling are preserved in the quotations from his writings used in this analysis.

central Minnesota into the tallgrass prairies of the eastern Dakotas, their basic seasonal round consisted of hunting bison on the prairies to the south and west in the summer, and in the fall, winter, and spring they resided in the northern forests where they harvested wild rice and other wild plants, fished, trapped, and hunted (Gibbon 2003: 54). Their primary subsistence was large game mammals, such as buffalo, deer, elk, etc., as well as smaller mammals, all of which were hunted by men and boys, and turtle, fish, and waterfowl; Dakota women tapped sugar maples, gathered berries, nuts, and roots, and harvested the more important wild rice, which thrived in the northeastern woodlands, especially near Mille Lacs Lake (Anderson 1997: 3; Birk and Johnson 1988: 4; Gibbon 20003: 50-54; Radisson 1885). *Jesuit Relations* from 1670 states that the *Nadouessioux*, "...live near and on the banks of that great river called Missisipi [*sic*]...They are content with a kind of marsh rye [*wild rice*] which we call wild oats, which the prairies furnish them naturally, – they dividing the latter among themselves, and each gathering his own harvest separately, without encroaching on the others" (Thwaites 1889, 55: 169). According to Brower (1901), wild rice and fish are greatest in abundance near the outlet of Mille Lacs Lake than at any point on the shore, therefore, "The M'de Wakan [*Mille Lacs Lake*] people invariably located their largest towns near inlets or outlets of lakes supplying the greatest amount of natural food production" (ibid.: 48).

As the Dakota were highly mobile, which allowed Eastern Dakota groups to occasionally adopt the lifestyle of their western relatives and vice versa, André Pénigauît, described the Dakota as being "toujours errante," always wandering, and states that "They seldom stayed more than eight days in one locality before striking camp" (Anderson 1997: 2). Another French traveler, Pierre de Charlevoix, states that the Sioux lacked a clearly defined occupational pattern: "A [*Dakota*] village which the year before [was on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, shall be

this year on the western bank, and that those who have lived for some time on the banks of the river St. Peters [*now known as the Minnesota River*] shall...be at present in some meadow a great distance from it” (Anderson 1993: 2-3). However, from the accounts of early French explorers such Radisson and du Lhut, it is known that the Dakota had villages around Mille Lacs which were permanent settlements and were situated near the great wild rice fields along the Rum and Snake rivers (Brower 1902: 81). Some sources state that during his 1659-1660⁶ expedition, Radisson visited a great Sioux town, possibly a fortified village, at an unknown location, though Radisson does note that it was about seven days from the fort where his party had wintered, probably at the outlet of Rainy Lake, where the two Dakota Sioux strangers and later eight of their ambassadors had visited them (c.f. Blakeley 1898: 344-345, 351; Brower 1901: 47; Westerman and White 2012: 38). Although Radisson is unclear in his writings about where the Dakota village he visited was located, it is suspected to have been in the region of Mille Lacs and that it was the village known today as “Kathio” (Brower 1901: 47-48; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 172; Westerman and White 2012: 38). According to Radisson, the inhabitants of this village claimed it contained 7,000 men; “We being arrived among the nation of the beefe, we wondred to finde ourselves in a town where weare great cabbans most covered with skins and other close matts” (Radisson 1885: 219-220). Radisson and his party stayed at this village for six weeks. Of the subsistence practices and resources which he observed were utilized by the Dakotas living in this village, Radisson writes:

There they have no wood, and make provision of mosse for their firing. This their place is environed with pearches which are a good distance one from another, they get in the valleys where the Buffeufe to repaire, upon which they do live. They sow corne, but their harvest is small. The soyle is good, but the cold hinders

⁶ While most sources state that the Dakotas’ first contact with French traders, as well as the first visit to their village of “Izatys” (Kathio) was made by Radisson, occurred during the winter of 1659-1660 (Dobbs 1990c: 30; Westerman and White 2012: 37-38), Brower (1901: 47-48) states that Radisson visited the village in the winter of 1658-1659.

it, and the graine very small. In their country are mines of copper, of peweter, and of ledd. There are mountains covered with a kind of Stone that is transparent and tender, and like that of Venice. The people stay not there all the yeare; they retire in winter towards the woods of the North, where they kill a quantity of Castors [*beavers*], and I say that there are not so good in the whole world, but not in such a stores as the Christinos [*ancestral Cree*], but far better (Radisson 1885: 220).

While there are disagreements about whether Radisson did in fact visit a Dakota village during his 1659-1660 expeditions, the first verifiable documentation of a European visiting a Dakota village was that of French explorer Daniel Greysolon, Sieur du Lhut during his 1678-1682 expeditions. On July 2, 1679, it was du Lhut who “had the honor to set up the arms of his Majesty in the great village of the Nadouecious called Izatys, where no Frenchman had ever been, not to the Songaskitons and Houetbatons, distant 26 leagues from the first, where also I set up the arms of his Majesty in the same year 1679” (J. Anfinson 2003: 54; Brower 1902: 81; Diedrich 1989: 10; Dobbs 1990c: 31; Kellogg 1917: 330; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 171; Westerman and White 201238). As the territory of the Dakota Sioux abounded in beaver and other valuable peltry, du Lhut’s accomplishment established an alliance with the Dakota Sioux, which “was to bring unlimited wealth in furs to the young colony along the St. Lawrence” (Kellogg 1917: 326). Later that same year, du Lhut visited another group of Dakota which was comprised of the *Watpaton* (a *Mdewakəŋtoŋwaŋ* band), and another branch often suggested to have been the ancestors of today’s *Sisitoŋwaŋ*, encamped at a village 30 or 40 miles north of Mille Lacs Lake (Anderson 1997: 23, 33). It is probable that these two bands of Dakota Sioux – the *Songaskitons*, a now-extinct branch of Eastern Dakota whose name is often translated as “village of the fort” or the “strong and brave” ones,” and the *Houetbatons*, another now-extinct branch of Eastern Dakota, who are known to ethnologists as the *Wahpetəŋwaŋ*, whose name is generally translated as the “village of the river” – are the ones du Lhut mentions above in his discussion about his visit to Kathio, (Kellogg 1917: 330n).

Other notable initial interactions between Dakota people and Europeans in the mid- to late-17th century include Father Claude Allouëz's trip to Lake Superior in 1665-1667, Nicolas Perrot's activities in the region of Lake Superior and at Prairie du Chien between 1665-1699, Father Louis Hennepin's visit to the villages at Mille Lacs Lake in 1680, and the explorations of the entrepreneur Pierre Charles Le Sueur, who spent the winter of 1700-1701 with some Dakotas along the Blue Earth River at Fort L'Huillier in present-day south-central Minnesota (Gibbon 2003; Westerman and White 2012). Around 1665, Allouëz wrote about his first impressions of the Dakota Sioux:

This is a tribe that dwells to the west of this (Fond du Lac), toward the great river called MESSIPI. They are forty or fifty leagues from here, in a country of prairies, abounding in all kinds of game. They have fields in which they do not sow Indian corn, but only tobacco. Providence has provided them with a species of marsh rice, which, toward the end of summer, they go to collect in certain small lakes that are covered with it. They know how to prepare it so well that it is quite agreeable to the taste and nutritive. They presented me with some when I was at the extremity of Lake Tracy (Superior), where I saw them. They do not use the gun, but only the bow and arrow, which they use with great dexterity. Their cabins are not covered with bark, but with deerskins well dried, and stitched together so well that the cold does not enter. (Allouëz, c.f. Neill 1882: 110; emphasis in original).

In February 1680 near present-day Peoria, Illinois, Father Louis Hennepin and two others – Michael Accault and Antoine Auguelle – were sent by Jesuit priest René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle as an advance party to search for the Mississippi River (Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012). On April 11, 1680, while on their way back to Illinois, near the mouth of the Wisconsin River Hennepin's small party encountered a war party of 120 Dakota in 33 bark canoes who took Hennepin and the other men as prisoners (Anderson 1997; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012). When they reached the Dakota villages at Mille Lacs, “They passed through the marshes at the head of Rum River and were taken by canoes ‘a short league to an island [*Aquipaguetin Island*] in the lake, where were the lodges” (Riggs 2004

[1893]: 173). Throughout Hennepin's internment with the Dakota at Mille Lacs Lake, the principal chief of this part of the tribe, whom Hennepin called "*Washechoonde*," became his friend.

They treated him kindly – covered him with a robe made of dressed beaver skins, ornamented with porcupine quills, rubbed him down after his journey, and set before him a bark dish full of fish. As the Franciscan fell sick, his savage father made a sweating-cabin for him, and after the process of sweating naked by means of heated stones, he was rubbed down by four Indians. Thus he was reinvigorated (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 174).

Hennepin lived in the Dakota village at Mille Lacs Lake for several months, and even accompanied a Dakota hunting party to western Minnesota. He described the Dakota as cooking in earthen vessels, living in bark lodges, eating wild rice cooked with dried blueberries, and hunting on the prairies⁷. Upon hearing of his capture, du Lhut set out and retrieved Hennepin in June 1680. Although Hennepin's account of his captivity is written in from an etic perspective "and often exceptionally self-serving," it not only provides a captivating (pun intended) written account of Dakota life at the end of the 17th century (Dobbs 1990c: 31), but also "confirmed that the Sioux were securely implanted along the shores of Mille Lacs Lake" (Anderson 1997: 21). Thus, in Father Louis Hennepin's narrative, we have the first exact locality of the bands of the Eastern Dakota people.

Although the best known of the 17th century Eastern Dakota villages are in the region around Mille Lacs Lake, they probably also had villages at Sandy, Red, Cass, Leech, and Winnibigoshish lakes as well, for "[c]ertainly there were villages at these locales in the early 18th century (Dobbs 1990c: 30). And while Hennepin indicates that in 1680 the vast majority of the Sioux lived in the woodlands (Anderson 1997: 22), according to Riggs, before the end of the 17th century, the Eastern Dakota had been breaking away from their old home around *Isan̄ta Mde*

⁷ <https://mn.gov/admin/archaeologist/the-public/mn-archaeology/contact-period/>.

(Knife Lake) and “began to make their villages along down the Rum River, and perhaps also on the Mississippi, and so obtained the name of Wakpa-atojwaŋ, the Village on the River” (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 183). For example, in 1753 French trader Joseph Marin discovered that the Dakotas had established semi-sedentary villages on the St. Croix River (Anderson 1997: 22, 179-180), and on November 1, 1766, along the Mississippi River below Lake Pepin French explorer Jonathan Carver describes his initial encounter with “a part of the Mawatawbauntowahs, amounting to forty warriors and their families” (Carver 1956 [1778]: 60). The name of this band is possibly Carver’s version of the name of the *Mantantons* (Westerman and White 2012: 75). The presence of an unnamed Sioux village on the St. Croix River was also implied by Perrot in 1689 (Anderson 1997: 23). The reason for these likely being voluntary migrations is that, throughout the 1700s, outside influence from European explorers and traders pressured Dakota people away from the region of Mille Lacs (Anderson 1997: 25). The resources found in the traditional territories of the early Dakota in Minnesota spurred the French traders to establish trade connections with the Dakotas (as well as other Native Americans) (Gibbon 2012). “Their position between two great waterways, the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes, put the Dakota at a natural crossroads, turning them into middlemen in exchange between the tribes of the western plains and those of the woodland further east” (Palmer 2008: 118). Thus, by the middle of the 18th century, the vast majority of Dakota people had moved into the Mississippi River valley.

Summary

As can be seen from the preceding discussions concerning the “prehistoric” Dakota, published ethnographic records which describe their lifeways were often rather inconsistent and semi-reliable at best, which can be credited to erratic interactions between Dakota people and

what can be assumed to have been uncertain/unreliable communications. However, towards the end of the 18th century and the start of the 19th century, interactions between Euro-Americans and Dakota people living in Minnesota became more frequent and consistent, and descriptions of their lifeways became more in-depth with generally more accurate representations. Furthermore, the histories of the Dakota between their first interactions with Europeans in the 1650s and the start of the 19th century are invariably written from a Euro-American perspective and, “As a result, the focus is on encounters between Sioux and Euro-Americans, on how these encounters affected Sioux life, and on what the Sioux as exotica were like” (Gibbon 2012: 47). It is for these reasons why the discussion on Dakota lifeways in Minnesota is divided as such into “protohistoric” and “historic.” Therefore, the description of “historic” Dakota lifeways begins around the transition of/between the 18th and 19th centuries.

2.2.2 – The Historic Dakota

It is believed by many (e.g., archeologists, anthropologists, and historians) that at the beginning of the Contact Period, the Eastern Dakota were conceivably the largest and most widespread of the Native Americans living in Minnesota (Dobbs 1990c; Gibbon 2012: 76). This suggestion is relatively well-grounded, as not only Dakota oral histories and/or traditions, but archeological evidence as well indicates that Minnesota had been their ancestral home for an extensive number of years prior to Euro-American arrival in the state. Although data for this is dated and based on dubious evidence, it has been estimated that there were 38,000 Eastern Dakota people in Minnesota in 1650 (Anderson 1997: 18).

Migration

There are contending arguments regarding the forces that led the Dakotas to migrate from the area of Mille Lacs. Some believe that they were pushed or driven away from the area of their “headquarters” due to persistent hostilities in the area, while others believe they were pulled away, and for a variety of reasons. Those that suggest the Eastern Dakota people were pushed from their traditional homelands in northern and central Minnesota due to hostilities argue that the primary reason for the removal of the Eastern Dakota from the area of *Mde Wakay* was prolonged aggression between them and the superiorly technologically equipped Ojibwe (J. Anfinson 2003; Dobbs 1990c: 31). The woodland Dakota felt the presence of the whites “through the buffeting of tribes and through trade as they obtained European goods, mostly kettles and knives, through Indian intermediaries. The delay in contact left the Dakotas technologically impoverished” (Palmer 2008: 120). Therefore, as the Ojibwe “who brought with them from Lake Superior and Northern Wisconsin flintlock shotguns, steel knives, iron hatchets and a complete knowledge of the use of powder and firearms” (Brower 1902: 79) moved into Minnesota, the Dakota lacked an effective means with which to resist the incursion of Ojibwe into their woodland territories, which in turn is led to the displacement Dakota (Anderson 1997; Dobbs 1990c: 31; Gibbon 2012). It is generally held that these hostilities culminated in 1750 with the three-day-long Battle of Kathio, “in which the Ojibway defeated the Dakota living around Mille Lacs and destroyed their villages” (Dobbs 1990c: 33). According to Brower (1902), the Battle of Kathio, “marks the uncertain date” when the bands of Dakota peoples “were forced to retire southward and surrender possession of *Kakabikansing* and the Upper Mississippi to the prevailing Ojibway people” (Brower 1902: 79; emphasis added). That said, while there was perpetual warfare between the Eastern Dakota and the Ojibwe in the “northern lakes” and “eastern riverine” regions of Minnesota between 1744 and 1780 (Dobbs 1990c), by the 1750s,

the Eastern Dakota had predominantly abandoned their ancestral homeland around the Mississippi Headwaters region and at Mille Lacs Lake and moved to the south and west (J. Anfinson 2003). Besides, somewhat ironically, it was through their interactions with the Ojibwe, the Dakotas were aware of the trade opportunities the French provided. To capitalize on exchange with Native Americans in the region of Minnesota, traders introduced goods such as guns that upset the balance of power.

Those that believe the Dakota were pulled or drawn from it for a variety of reasons suggest that the Dakota were drawn south from the Mississippi Headwaters region by the presence of French traders on the Mississippi at Lake Pepin (J. Anfinson 2003). For example, in the 1680s, the *Mantanton*, who in the late 17th century were the leading Dakota tribe in Minnesota, migrated south from the Onamia Lake area to the mouth of the Minnesota River “in order to avail themselves of a French trading post on Prairie Island near the head of Lake Pepin” (Diedrich 1989: 10; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 306, 318, 438; Westerman and White 2012). According to Riggs, from the beginning of the interactions of Euro-Americans with Native Americans on this continent, the “chief stimulus to adventure and the great means by which the location and condition of the aboriginal populations were made known to the civilized world” has been the fur trade (2004 [1893]: 169). However, as traders “induced the Chippewa, Dakota and other tribes to focus on the beaver, muskrat and other fur bearing animals, changing in fundamental ways their traditional economies and spurring the decimation of many species” (J. Anfinson 2003: 14). To trap the beaver desired by the European traders, due to the loss of game in their traditional territory, which was the result of competition with white settlers for food and territory, the Eastern Dakota migrated/moved progressively farther south and west in Minnesota (and the

Western Dakota and Lakota moved to the plains) (J. Anfinson 2003; Anderson 1997; Landes 1968; Westerman and White 2012).

Although alterations in the Dakota ecosystem partially explain the subtle changes in occupational and food gathering patterns, numerous other forces contributed to culture change in the 1820s...The year-round occupation of Sioux lands also increased external pressures on hunters, who now more frequently looked to the trader than the chiefs for advice individually or in council...The use of individual accounts made it more difficult for chiefs or soldiers' lodges to control the annual take in pelts or the distribution of presents...Even though Indians often refused to follow the traders' directions, the fur trade was well along the way to becoming less of a reciprocal exchange and more of an economic function (Anderson 1997: 110-111).

It has also been proposed that the buffalo and the European introduction of the horse provided a strong incentive for the *Sisitonwan* and *Wahpetonwan* to begin moving towards the plains (Anderson 1997: 58). While French traders were essentially successful in their trade-focused prerogative, it led to a continuous shift in Dakota lifeways, "particularly as it relates to the use of the prairie" (Dobbs 1990c: 31).

The cleavage between western and eastern Dakota populations was deepened by the contrasting economic resources. The prairies teemed with buffalo herds, rendered completely accessible by the tribes' horses; but the woodlands suffered from white inroads that decimated the game by rash hunting and chased them off by settlement...Despite geographic separation and diverging economic pursuits, the Santee never forgot their western Dakota kin, as my informants showed in their historic recollections (Landes 1968: 14).

Therefore, the fur trade was likely an integral factor which created/fostered greater cultural differences between the historic eastern and western Dakota of Minnesota, and the adoption of a prairie lifeway was "a recent occurrence and the result of European trade" (Dobbs 1990c). Thus, it is likely that a combination of these factors convinced Dakota people to migrate south and west from their traditional homelands in the Mille Lacs area.

Treaties

Although radical changes in Native American cultures in the Upper Midwest occurred during the French and British periods, “by the beginning of American dominance, Dakota groups in Minnesota were still essentially in control of their own lives” (Dobbs 1990c: 3). Up to that point, most of the cultural changes had been with respect to material culture (e.g., brass kettles, guns, horses) and economic orientation (e.g., greater emphasis on hunting fur bearing animals). As these changes had not detracted from the ability of Dakota people to cope successfully with the cultural and natural environment, these changes had been willingly accepted.

However, changes brought about by white intrusion soon took place during the American Period which were not as beneficial to, or as well accepted by, the Native American inhabitants of southern Minnesota (S. Anfinson 1994: 3). Within half a century, numerous treaties were signed between the Dakota people and the U.S. government, and, as a result, the Dakota became not only nearly entirely dependent on the U.S. government for survival, but their territory in Minnesota was limited to a few small parcels of land. “As the Dakota and Chippewa lost their lands in the Treaties of 1837 and 1851, pioneers swiftly moved in. The Mississippi was the settlers’ primary highway from and to the rest of the world” (J. Anfinson 2003: 14). These issues were exacerbated by the fact that, generally, the Native Americans who signed treaties did not read English; they were reliant on interpreters who were paid by the U.S. government. As such, it is uncertain whether they were aware of the exact terms of the treaties they signed. Moreover, although the government promised the Dakotas payments and annuities for their land, they received little to none, and while the *Mdewakantoywanj* resented the settlers who took advantage of the land cessions, they relied on them for handouts (J. Anfinson 2003: 71). Additionally, the establishment of Fort Snelling at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers in 1820 included the implementation of a permanent Indian agent based at the fort and with backing from

troops allowed the U.S. government to take a more active role in Native American affairs (S. Anfinson 1994: 3).

Pike's Treaty of 1805

Without legal authority, Zebulon Pike signed a treaty with two Dakota leaders, whereby the Dakota ceded nine square miles of land, where Fort Snelling, St. Paul, and Minneapolis would eventually exist. In order to conclude this treaty between the U.S. and various bands of Dakota, in September of 1805 Lieutenant Zebulon Pike, representing the United States, and the leaders of two local Dakota villages met at the island (later known as Pike Island) at the mouth of the Minnesota River, a place known to the Dakota as *Mdote*. The Dakota signers included *Çetaŋ Wakuwa Mani*, who was known to Euro-Americans as Little Crow I, and *Wanyagya Inaziŋ*, the chief known as *Le fils de Penichon*; they were leaders of the villages of *Kapoža* and *Titaŋka Taŋnina*, respectively, which were located on the lower Minnesota River (Durand 1994; Kane et al. 1978; Landes 1968; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Westerman and White 2012). The purpose of the treaty was the cessation of Dakota land for the establishment of two U.S. military posts on two pieces of land, one at the mouth of the St. Croix River, and the other at the land from below the mouth of the Minnesota River to the Falls of St. Anthony. According to Article 1, “the Sioux Nation grants to the United States, the full sovereignty and power over said districts forever, without any let or hindrance whatsoever.” Additionally, the United States promised “to permit the Sioux to pass, repass, hunt or make other uses of the said districts, as they have formerly done, without any other exception, but those specified in article first.” The resultant cessation of land opened the land east of the Mississippi River below the mouth of the Crow Wing River to white settlement and Euro-American intrusion into Minnesota.

Treaty of 1825

In August 1825, U.S. government officials met at Prairie du Chien to negotiate “a firm and perpetual peace” between the Dakota and the Ojibwe, as well as the Sac and Fox, the Menominee, the Ioway, the Ho-Chunk, Potawatomi, and Ottawa tribes; 26 Dakota leaders, representing the *Wahpekuṭe*, *Wahpetonwan*, *Sisitonwan*, and *Ihanktuwan*, were present at the treaty negotiation. The aim of the treaty was to establish the boundaries of tribal land in the Upper Mississippi River region; tribes were not to hunt on each other’s lands without their assent and that of the U.S. government. However, the purpose of establishing boundaries between the Native American nations “may have been as much for facilitating treaties of cession for the lands as for establishing peace” (Westerman and White 2012: 149).

Tribal leaders were aware that portions of their territory were shared, and some tried to warn American officials that they had differing concepts regarding land ownership. While leaders were able to provide detailed descriptions laying out their territories, only those Dakota leaders whose lands bordered neighboring nations demarcated the relevant boundaries of their territories, “often not only naming rivers, lakes, and landmarks but noting they were born in or had long connection to these areas” (Westerman and White 2012: 150). For example, Little, from Lac qui Parle and who was the principal *Wahpetonwan* chief, stated: “I am of the prairie. I claim land up the River Corbeau to its source, and from there to Otter Tail Lake. I can yet show the marks of my lodges there, and they will remain as long as the world lasts” (Diedrich 1989: 25). Generally, the territories corresponded to areas where the Dakota had often been described as hunting in the 19th century and earlier. Difficulties and disagreements in defining boundaries were primarily between the Dakota, Ojibwe, and Sac and Fox. After the 1825 peace council at Prairie du Chien, the *Wahpekuṭe* had hoped to see some relief from a ravaging war with the Sac and Fox, who had begun to invade the hunting grounds of the *Wahpekuṭe* (which included much

of present-day Iowa). However, in late 1828 a war party led by the mixed-blood Fox war chief, Morgan, had attacked a *Wahpekute* hunting camp and the stepdaughter and child of the head chief *Tasagi* were taken prisoner. *Tasagi* told Indian agent Lawrence Taliaferro: “We must hunt on our lands or starve. I am going out again and if a cloud [*is*] over my lands, I must [*meet*] it, for it is better to die in battle than starve to death, for that is a slow way of dying”; as the small *Wahpekute* tribe were slowly decimated by the continued war, *Tasagi* declared: “We are living on our lands for one hundred years and losing half our people in defending it” (Diedrich 1989: 28). Unfortunately, the wars between the Dakota and the Sacs and Foxes would be superseded by a greater one.

Treaty of 1837

By 1836, increased reliance on Euro-American trade goods and food had greatly altered traditional Dakota lifeways; starvation, a smallpox epidemic, and warfare had sapped the *Mdewakantonwan* population, and they faced a crisis. In an attempt to mitigate the issues Dakota people were facing, Lawrence Taliaferro, the Indian agent at Fort Snelling, suggested the Dakota sell their lands east of the Mississippi River, and in 1837 a group of Dakota leaders were brought to Washington under the impression that they would be negotiating the settlement of their southern boundary (J. Anfinson 2003: 68; Diedrich 1989: 30). Instead, they were pressured into ceding all their land east of the Mississippi River. Dakota leader Little Crow II or *Wakinyan Tan̄ka* apparently recognized the inevitability of the land cession, but argued for more money:

My father, some years ago we received an invitation to visit our Great Father. Our friends came here [*to Washington*]. They told us of your power.

My father, since I have been here I have been looking around. I see all your people are well-dressed—we are obliged to wear skins. I am acquainted with your agent at St. Peter’s. I have followed your council. I have not arrived to the day when I am to be well off. When the amount is divided among our people it will

not be much for each. We have had great difficulty in getting [*here*]. We have come to see you. We depend upon our Great Father as second to the Great Spirit (Diedrich 1989: 30).

The land was valued at \$1,600,000, but the U.S. government agreed to pay far less. Under the treaty of 1837, the *Mdewakantoway* were to receive \$25,000 in food, farm tools, and goods annually for 20 years, as well as a permanent \$15,000 annual annuity that represented the 5% interest on a \$300,000 trust fund. The government kept control over one-third of this money, reserving (but not allocating) it for education. To friends and relatives of the tribe, another \$200,000 was paid to settle debts, and as an incentive to sign the treaty \$16,000 was given to the Dakota leaders. While the payments from this treaty gave the Dakota a brief respite, “The annuities could not hide the demise of the Dakota’s game and fur resources” (J. Anfinson 2003: 68), and they had to depend more upon the annuities and the Americans, which in turn led the Americans to steadily push further into the lands of the Dakota’s. For the *Mdewakantoway* people, the sale marked a historic turning point in their lifeways.

Some of these [*Dakota*] families knew only one way of life, and their ancestors had known it for centuries, but broken treaties changed that way of life. The haste in which the new form of American government negotiated the treaties with the Dakota bands did not take into account the ancient religious practices. They ignored the realization that these lands were used for medicine gathering and hunting, and they sustained a way of life for the Mdewakanton and other Dakota (Campbell 2000: 50-51).

Thus, “Confronted by the spectre [*sic.*] of starvation, tribal leaders seized upon a treaty that would provide food annuities as a means of relief for their suffering people” (Anderson 1980: 311).

Treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota (1851)

When Minnesota became a territory in 1849, white settlers were eager to establish homesteads on the fertile frontier. Under pressure from traders and threatened with military

force, the Dakota were forced to cede nearly all their land in Minnesota and the eastern Dakotas via the 1851 treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota. These treaties also called for setting up reservations on both the north and south side of the Minnesota River. These treaties reflect the desperation of the Dakotas following the failure of the fur trade, conflicts with the Ojibwe, and the disappearance of game (S. Anfinson 1994: 4). According to Dr. Williamson, “The Sioux never offered to sell their lands; but were persuaded and driven to do so, asserting at the time that the price was not an equivalent” (Diedrich 1989: 44). This attitude was reflected in the statement made by Big Curly Head or *Upi Iyahdeya*, the *Wahpetonwan* chief whose village was at Lac qui Parle: “Fathers, you think it a great deal you are giving for this country. I don’t think so; for both our land and all we get for them will at last belong to the white men. The money comes to us, but will all go to the white men who trade with us” (ibid.).

On July 23, 1851, the *Wahpetonwan* and *Sisitonwan* signed a treaty at Traverse des Sioux which ceded 21 million acres for \$1,665,000, or about 7.5 cents an acre. Of that amount, \$275,000 was set aside to pay debts claimed by traders and to relocate the Dakotas. Another \$30,000 was allocated to establish schools and to prepare the new reservation for the Dakotas. More than 80% of the money (\$1,360,000) was kept by the U.S. government, with only the interest on the amount – at 5% for 50 years – paid to the Dakota. After the council at Traverse des Sioux, treaty negotiations began at Mendota with the *Mdewakantonwan* and *Wahpekute*. While the terms of the Mendota treaty were similar to those of the Traverse des Sioux, there were other issues the Dakota wished to resolve. When *Wapahsa* III stated that he wanted money paid out to the Dakotas due to them under the treaty of 1837, talks immediately stalemated until August 5, 1851, when Little Crow III or *Ta Oyate Duta* – “His Red Nation” – the youngest and newest chief of the *Mdewakantonwan*, felt obliged to speak for his people.

Fathers, these chiefs and soldiers and others who sit here have something they wish to say to you and I am going to speak for them. There are chiefs who are older than myself, and I would rather they have spoken; but they have put it upon me to speak—although I feel as if my mouth was tied.

These chiefs went to Washington long ago and brought back a good report concerning the settlement of our affairs in the treaty made there and they and we were glad. But things that were promised in that treaty have not taken place. This is why these men sit here and say nothing. You perhaps are ashamed of us; but you, fathers, are the cause of it being so.

They speak of some money that is due them; it was mentioned the other day to Governor Ramsey, and we spoke about it last fall, but we have not yet seen the money. We desire to have it laid down to us. It is money due on the old treaty, and I think it should be paid; we do not want to talk about a new treaty until it is all paid...We will talk of nothing else but that money if it is until next spring. That lies in the way of a treaty. I speak for others and not myself (Diedrich 1989: 45).

While it was agreed that the Dakotas would be paid \$30,000 immediately in place of the 1837 annuity, the Dakota leaders were told by the commissioners that the reservation borders were non-negotiable. Along with 63 other leaders, *Ta Oyate Duta* and *Wapahša* III signed the treaty, and in November 1851, the *Mdewakanŋtonwan* and *Wahpekuŋe* gave into Sibley's requests to sign traders' papers. The *Wahpekuŋe* agreed to pay traders \$90,000; and the *Mdewakanŋtonwan* paid them \$70,000 and were given \$20,000 which was shared between seven chiefs. Five Dakota men were released from the jail at Fort Snelling when the papers were signed.

However, due to the treaty-making of 1851, the *Mdewakanŋtonwan* spent little time in their villages, the women did not plant their usual gardens, and scarcity of game caused many Dakotas in a state of complete destitution by spring 1852 as the treaty had yet to be ratified and the Dakotas had not yet received their first money payments. Although the treaties were finally approved by Congress on June 23, 1852, they had been amended to state that while their "Great Father," President Millard Fillmore, would allow them to cultivate the lands for a period of time, after which they had to remove elsewhere, the Dakota did not own their reserve – a 10-mile-wide and 150-mile-linea corridor on either side of the Minnesota River from Lake Traverse to Little

Rock Creek in western Nicollet County (Diedrich 1989). Congress required the Dakotas to approve this change before appointing desperately needed cash and goods. When asked to sign the amended treaty, “Bad Hail” expressed the mood of the chiefs: “Father [*Governor Ramsey*], we fear that our Great Father at Washington wishes to drive us to some country to starve us to death, and we cannot sign the treaty as our Great Father wishes” (Diedrich 1989: 48). Governor Ramsey hired the influential politician and trader Henry M. Rice to ply the Dakotas with gifts to convince them to sign the treaty; after about one month, and spending \$25,000 of Indian removal fund money, Rice succeeded. On September 4, 1852, 45 members of the lower Dakota bands signed the amended Treaty of Mendota. The western Minnesota Dakota groups – the *Sisitonwan* and *Wahpetonwan* (the “Upper Sioux”) – were allowed to settle above the Yellow Medicine River, while the eastern Minnesota Dakota groups – the *Wahpetonwan* (the “Lower Sioux”) – were allowed to settle below the Yellow Medicine (S. Anfinson 1994: 1).

With the treaties of 1851, the Dakotas underwent a permanent change to their way of life as they had ceded much of their homeland and they began living on reservations, which opened millions of acres to white colonization. Thus, these treaties may be seen as the impetus for the US-Dakota War of 1862.

The U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862

In 1862, Dakota frustration over their mistreatment erupted in open conflict, which resulted in the deaths of numerous white settlers and eventually numerous Dakota. In response to this conflict, the government abrogated all treaties with the Dakotas and banished the Lower Sioux Dakota from Minnesota. Although the Upper Sioux Dakota were allowed to remain, few did due to fear of reprisal by white settlers.

There were many causes for the U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862. As many Dakotas wanted to return to their traditional village sites in eastern Minnesota, there was widespread dissatisfaction with the western Minnesota reservation, and settlement pressure by whites intensified and these settlers had little interest in interacting with their Dakota neighbors (S. Anfinson 1994). By the summer of 1862, many Dakota people on the reservation were starving and economic pursuits were difficult to pursue; due to the disappearance of game and the decline of the fur trade; the corn crop in 1861 had been poor; the Dakotas had become dependent on government annuity payments, which would have covered the cost of food and goods, though they were insufficient and often late with traders refusing to extend credit. By August 6, 1862, Captain John S. Marsh arrived from Fort Ridgely and ordered Dakota agent Thomas J. Galbraith to issue all the Upper Sioux Dakotas at Yellow Medicine their provisions (Anderson 1997; Diedrich 1989). *Ta Oyate Duta* then asked the agent to issue goods to the Lower Dakotas as well, as many were also in a starving condition. John P. Williamson interpreted the words of *Ta Oyate Duta*: “We have waited a long time. The money is ours, but we cannot get it. We have no food, but here are these stores, filled with food. We ask that you, the agent, make some arrangements by which we can get food from the stores, or else we may take our own way to keep ourselves from starving. When men are hungry they help themselves” (Diedrich 1989: 65). The tense situation culminated on August 17, 1862, when several young Dakota men from the Rice Creek faction of *Šakpe*’s band led by “Little Six” attacked the white settlements at Acton Township in southwestern Minnesota and killed five settlers (Anderson 1997: 236; Diedrich 1989: 94). The Dakota became divided into two main factions: the Upper Dakotas who were farmers or “cut hairs” as many of which considered themselves as “white men” and argued for peace, and those who supported the violent resistance, particularly young *Mdewakantonwan* men of the Lower

Dakotas. Other major battles were fought at Lower Sioux on August 20, Fort Ridgely on August 22, New Ulm on August 25, Birch Coulee on September 2, and Acton, Forest City, Hutchinson, and Fort Abercrombie on September 3-4. The war's final engagement was the Battle of Wood Lake on September 23, 1862, when the roughly 738 Dakota mustered by *Ta Oyate Duta* were defeated by Colonel Henry H. Sibley's troops, although only about 300 of Sibley's army of 1,600 engaged (Anderson 1997: 274; Diedrich 1989: 78). Many of the Dakotas opposed the war and positioned themselves where they would not have to take an active role in the fight. "The unwillingness of many Indians to participate doomed the assault from the start" (Anderson 1997: 274). Out of a population of more than 7,000, fewer than 1,000 Dakota participated, killing more than 600 settlers during the six-week conflict.

After the Battle of Wood Lake, while some 1,700 Dakotas surrendered to Colonel Henry Sibley at the camp of *Wapahsa* and *Taopi*, consisting of 150 lodges, and which became known as "Camp Release," opposite the mouth of the Chippewa River, and the "friendly Sioux" were sent to Fort Snelling where they were imprisoned, the Dakotas associated with *Ta Oyate Duta* (Little Crow III) knew they could not defeat Sibley's forces in a pitched battle and, compelled by *Mazasha* (Red Iron) and his band to stop the fighting, gathered their families, and scattered westward onto the plains (Anderson 1997; S. Anfinson 1994: 5; Diedrich 1989: 81; Durand 1994: 49). Of the nearly 400 Dakota men were tried by military commission, 303 were condemned to death on convictions of murder or rape. Although most of the condemned were pardoned by President Lincoln, 38 Dakota were hanged at Mankato on December 26, 1862, in the nation's largest mass hanging in history. The remainder of the condemned Dakota spent the winter imprisoned at Mankato and were transferred to Camp McClelland in Davenport, Iowa in the spring of 1863. About 1,700 Dakota non-combatants were removed to a concentration camp

on Pike Island at Fort Snelling, where they remained imprisoned during the winter of 1862-1863. Following the war, the U.S. government nullified its treaties with the Dakota and dissolved their reservation.

Because of the U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862, the Dakota were essentially banished from Minnesota, although the government allowed a few Dakotas who had supported peace to stay. Many of these families came together at Faribault where they camped on the farm of Alexander Faribault. After 1863, only three Dakota lodges stayed at Upper Sioux, a community which had been first established by Stephen Riggs in 1856 in an attempt to form a Native American farming community called the Hazelwood Republic. It was made up primarily of *Sisitonwan* and some *Wahpetonwan*. The Upper Sioux Dakota who fled in 1863 first went to Devils Lake, North Dakota and then settled near Fort Wadsworth, South Dakota. Two *Sisitonwan* reservations – the Crow Creek and Santee Reservations – were established in 1867 in South Dakota and most of the dislocated Upper Sioux Dakota went to these. After the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887, a few Dakotas returned to the Granite Falls area, forming the nucleus of the modern Upper Sioux community (S. Anfinson 1994: 6). It wasn't until 1887 that the government purchased small parcels of land at Birch Coulee, Shakopee, Prior Lake, and Prairie Island for the Dakotas. In 1889, additional land was purchased at Prairie Island and Birch Coulee. These lands became the core properties for the modern Dakota communities of Lower Sioux, Shakopee, and Prairie Island. The Upper Sioux Community was not formally established until 1938.

Summary

From 1837 until passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, the U.S. government made rigorous attempts to end Native American ways of life; the terms of the treaties the Dakota signed with the U.S. government and work carried out by missionaries focused on forcing

Dakota people to abandon their culture. While some Dakota people adopted Euro-American practices (e.g., farming methods, cutting their hair, converting to Christianity, etc.), others resisted by continuing to hunt and practice ceremonies. However, late 19th century life for the Dakotas in southern Minnesota was dramatically different from what it had been prior to white settlement.

As time went by, territorial lands were becoming states, and counties were being platted for settlement as more settlers were coming into the area. Most of the Dakota have become wanderers and displaced people in their own lands since that time. Their way of life had changed, and their civilization through their beliefs was changed forever. Unlike the Europeans who came to this land to practice their religious beliefs and culture relatively undisturbed, the Dakota had no new lands or worlds in which to practice their beliefs and religious practices, as they had done in the past (Campbell 2000: 51).

Although missionaries and the government continued to attempt to make farming the major economic focus at the three recognized Dakota communities (Lower Sioux, Shakopee, and Prairie Island), droughts in the 1890s made conditions very difficult. Additionally, the government gradually withdrew their promised benefits and the closing of the Indian agencies in the early 20th century exacerbated these conditions (ibid.). Gone were the days of traditional Eastern Dakota semi-nomadic, seasonally directed migratory and subsistence lifeways in Minnesota.

2.3.3 – Distribution of Historic Dakota

Following their southern and western migration from the area of Mille Lacs and prior to the U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862, the “new” bands of Dakota – the *Mdewakan̄tonwan̄*, *Wahpeton̄wan̄*, *Sisiton̄wan̄*, and *Wahpekutē* – variably split into numerous divisions and subdivisions as they spread out geographically (S. Pond 1986 [1908]). By the middle of the 18th century, the vast majority of Dakota people had moved into the Mississippi River valley.

According to both Dakota oral tradition and history, as their people spread out from the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers or *Mdote*, a cultural hub was eventually established at Barn Bluff near present-day Red Wing; “There were Dakota villages north and south of present-day Prairie Island, and on all the other rivers that flowed into the Mississippi from the east and west banks” (Campbell 2000: 41).

For the most part, nearly all the portions of the Dakota that lived in Minnesota after their migration from *Mde Wakan̄* (Mille Lacs Lake) had their semi-permanent (i.e., summer) villages the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers, at Big Stone Lake, Lake Traverse, and Lac qui Parle, exploiting much of the land between, with the exceptions of a small village at *Bde Maka Ska* (formerly Lake Calhoun), one on the Cannon River, and one south of Lac qui Parle at the Two Woods in South Dakota (Bray and Bray 1993; Landes 1968; S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 4; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012).

Mdewakantonwan̄

As *Mde Wakan̄* (Mille Lacs Lake) was the old home of the Dakota nation when they were first visited by Louis Hennepin and Daniel Greysolon, Sieur du Lhut, who in the late 17th century were the first Europeans to visit a Dakota village, the *Mdewakantonwan̄* were essentially the “gateway of the nation,” and for a long time were better known than the other Dakota bands (Riggs 2004 [1893]). Therefore, “they came to regard themselves as living in the center of the world” (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 156). In the first part of the 19th century, the *Mdewakantonwan̄* lived on the Mississippi River from the present-day city of Winona to the Falls of St. Anthony, and up the Minnesota Rivers as far as the present-day city of Shakopee (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 4; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 180). In these regions, the *Mdewakantonwan̄* Dakota maintained a woodland culture (Hodge I 1907-1910: 826-827, II 1907-1910: 891-892, c.f. Landes 1968: 4). The Dakota

of the southernmost *Mdewakantonwan* villages (Wabasha's and Red Wing's) usually hunted inland, either to the north in the area of present-day Wisconsin along the Red Cedar and Chippewa Rivers, or west along the headwaters of the Cannon, Zumbro, Root, Blue Earth, and Des Moines Rivers (Westerman and White 2012: 94). Although the region of the latter group of rivers were generally known as *Wahpekute* territory, it was shared with other Dakota bands (ibid.).

Titaŋka Taŋnina

Located on the right bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* (Minnesota River) at the mouth of Nine Mile Creek, about nine miles from Fort Snelling, was the *Mdewakantonwan* village of *Titaŋka Taŋnina* and it was here that the extinct branch of the *Mantantonwan* lived as early as 1689 or before, as recorded by Nicolas Perrot (Durand 1994: 92; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 183). According to Samuel Pond, “The general rendezvous of the Medawakantonwan was, at no remote period, on the north bank of the Minnesota river, a little below the mouth of the Nine Mile creek,” as it was a location which was secure from the attacks of their enemies, being protected on one side by the river and on the other by a lake several miles long (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 175). However, “It was probably only a place where they occasionally met, for, as they did not plant, they could not continue long in one place” (ibid.). By around 1805 declining game herds and changing economic led to the dissolution of the village of *Titaŋka Taŋnina*, as well as other larger villages seen by earlier travelers, which in turn affected tribal unity; the chiefs of the *Hupahu Ša* (Red Wing) and *Wapahša* bands were two of the initial groups to separate from the *Mdewakantonwan* proper, having moved with their followers to other sites – *Kiyuksa* (*Wapahša*'s, *Ĥe Mni Čaŋ* (*Otoŋwe*) (*Hupahu Ša*'s) , and *Ohaŋska* (*Suŋka Sapa*'s) – down the Mississippi (Anderson 1997: 79, 82; Durand 1994: 92). Those which remained apparently split

again, “some staying with their new chief, Le Fils de Penichon (the son of Penichon), the others crossing the river under Black Dog” (Durand 1994: 83).

Kiyuksa

After their movement from *Titaŋka Taŋnina* around 1800, *Wapahša* III and his followers, who were a remnant of the *Mantanton* people and came to be known as the *Kiyuksa* or “Breakers of custom or law,” settled at a new location situated on the *Haha Wakpa* (Mississippi River) below Lake Pepin or *Taŋka Mde* at the present-day city of Winona, and thus became the most southern group of *Mdewakatoŋwan* Dakota (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 312, 457; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Upham 2001: 600; Westerman and White 2012). The *Kiyuksa* occupied the area below *Taŋka Mde*, with their principal village having been situated near present-day Rollingstone Creek, though they also had a camping ground on a small prairie on the Mississippi flood plain at the mouth of the Zumbro River (Durand 1994; Upham 2001). William Keating states that in 1823, what is now known to have been the *Kiyuksa* band of *Mdewakatoŋwan*, had two villages, one on *Taŋka Mde* and the other on the Upper Iowa River, the latter being the one where they were encountered by Zebulon Pike in 1805 (Keating et al. 1825; Westerman and White 2012: 130). In 1836 Indian Agent Lawrence Taliaferro reported that the *Kiyuksa* band was on the east side of the *Haha Wakpa*, in what is now Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, a temporary change brought on by attacks from the Fox people (Durand 1994: 21; Westerman and White 2012: 130).

Hupahu Ša

In Goodhue County the *Mdewakatoŋwan* had two villages which were known collectively as the Red Wing village(s) or the villages of *Hupahu Ša* (Bray and Bray 1993;

Durand 1994; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012). The first village was located at what is the present-day city of Red Wing and was known as *Ħe Mni Çañ* or “hill-water-Wood village,” while the second village was located east of it on the Cannon River and was known as *Inyyañ Bosdata Otoŋwe* or “Village of the Standing Rock”. Historic accounts from early settlers described various sites around the current city of Red Wing which were used by the Dakota, including a cornfield planted by villagers and burial scaffolds on present-day College Hill, and that the Dakota often camped in the area of Prairie Island, which is now the location of the Prairie Island Indian Community (PIIC) (Durand 1994; Westerman and White 2012). According to Nicollet, Dakota oral history states that the *Ħupahu Ša* band came into existence around the time of the War of 1812 when *Tataŋka Mani* the son of the original Chief Red Wing (the “elder,” who took part in Pontiac’s War) moved his followers from *Titaŋka Taŋnina* and established two villages near *Taŋka Mde* and the *Inyyañ Bosdata* at the present-day city of Red Wing (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994: 20; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 168, 440).

Kapoža

The most northern *Mdewakanŋtonwan* village on the *Ħaĥa Wakpa* near the present-day city of St. Paul was called *Kapoža* or “Those Who Traveled Unencumbered with Much Baggage” – (Anderson 1997; Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Peterson and La Batte 2022: 145; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 164; Riggs 2004 [1893]). As with most Eastern Dakota villages, *Kapoža* was only occupied during the summer months, during which they lived in bark structures made of an elm frame with elm-bark walls and roofs (Anderson 1986: 10).

The original site(s) of the village of *Kapoža* was on both sides of the *Ħaĥa Wakpa* and below extensive burial mounds on the bluffs above it, though it changed locations several times throughout the history of its existence (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; O. Eastman 2016

[1971]; Westerman and White 2012). In the early 19th century (1805 and 1817) *Kapoža* was situated along the *Haha Wakpa* where it meets the St. Croix River at what is known today as Pigs Eye Lake (formerly Grand Marais). From the 1820s to the mid-1830s, the village of *Kapoža* was located on the other side of *Wakan Tipi* within the present-day city of St. Paul or *Imnizaska*, possibly near the mouth of Phalen Creek, and at the site where the St. Paul Union Depot was later built (Westerman and White 2012: 127). When the village of the *Kapoža* band was located on the east bank of the *Haha Wakpa*, it was virtually at the center of *Mdewakantowwan* occupations in the area, thus providing the people immediate access to both the *Haha Wakpa* and St. Croix rivers (Anderson 1986; Durand 1994; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 152, 289, 526; Westerman and White 2012). As these rivers could be reached by canoe or by a short hike overland, “The village served as a staging area for the many hunting and food-gathering trips that occurred during the year” (Anderson 1986: 13). Furthermore, no matter its location, *Kapoža* was well-suited to fit the climate and the hunting and gathering needs of its inhabitants. “The spot selected for Kaposia allowed the men of the village to participate in the economic growth that occurred along the upper Mississippi in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries” (Anderson 1986: 10).

Ohanska

The *Mdewakantowwan* habitation site which was closest to Fort Snelling or *Haha Bdote* was the village of *Ohanska* or “Village of the Long Avenue” or “Long Avenue Village” (Durand 1994; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Westerman and White 2012). According to Dakota oral histories, the village of *Ohanska*, like those of *Hupahu Ša* and *Wapahša*, had its beginnings either just before 1800 or shortly after the War of 1812, around the time of the departure of from the old village of *Titanka Tannina*, when Black Dog’s people settled halfway between the village of *Titanka*

Tajnina and the mouth of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* (Anderson 1986: 11; Durand 1994: 83). Often known as the “Long Avenue Village,” it has been suggested that the layout of the village (i.e., in a straight line) was used by the Eastern Dakota when they were camped in the woods, “as the tipis then followed the bank of the river, lake, or creek chosen for the village place” (Landes 1968: 30).

Heyate Otoŋwe

At *Mde Maka Ska* (formerly known as Lake Calhoun), was the village of *Heyate Otoŋwe* or “The Village at the Side” or “Village Set Back from the [Mississippi] River” (Durand 1994: 22; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 305, 312, 436). *Heyate Otoŋwe* was a small agricultural community which was established in 1829 by Chief *Mahpiya Wičasta* – “Cloud Man” – who was a member of the Black Dog band of Dakota, after he survived a treacherous snowstorm while on a hunt; as while he huddled down in snowdrifts to wait out the storm, *Mahpiya Wičasta* “had the leisure to reflect on the vicissitudes of a hunter’s life” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 10; Riggs 1992 [1908]: 305, 568). According to historic documents, the previous year Indian Agent Major Lawrence Taliaferro had tried to persuade *Mahpiya Wičasta* to plant at the then marshy area of *Mde Maka Ska* which had served as a place to harvest wild rice in the past (Westerman and White 2012). After surviving the blizzard, *Mahpiya Wičasta* was determined to follow this advice as he believed that the Dakota were headed for ruin and that a change in their mode of life could save them from this; he was able to persuade a group of families at his home at *Ohaŋska* to, with government aid, start a new village in which agriculture would be emphasized for subsistence, though attempts to persuade other Dakota to also turn their attention to agriculture were unsuccessful (S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Westerman and White 2012). As *Mahpiya Wičasta* was one of the first of his people to learn to plow, Samuel Pond deemed this

change in subsistence practices as “abandoning the chase and cultivating the arts of civilized life,” as he believed a change in the Dakota mode of life could save them from ruin (ibid.).

However, by 1839, *Mahpiya Wičasta* and his people had abandoned *Heyate Otoŋwe*. Following the 1838 massacre of a group of *Wahpetoŋwan* at the hands of Ojibwe chief Hole-in-the-Day, a council was held a year later between the Dakota chiefs, and Hole-in-the-Day and his brother, Strong Ground, at Fort Snelling, whereupon a peace was agreed upon by the two tribes, however, unbeknownst to the rest of the tribe, two Ojibwe remained behind as the rest of them proceeded north, and these two ambushed and killed the son-in-law of the *Mdewakaŋtoŋwan* chief *Mahpiya Wičasta* (Diedrich 1989: 36; Westerman and White 2012). The Dakotas, “infuriated to the uttermost,” gathered war parties, and on July 3, 1839, two severe battles took place (Diedrich 1989). Over 100 Ojibwe were killed during the battles that day, however, the *Mdewakaŋtoŋwan* living at *Heyate Otoŋwe* feared additional retaliatory attacks from the Ojibwe at their village on *Mde Maka Ska* (Diedrich 1989; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Westerman and White 2012). Thus, the Dakota of *Heyate Otoŋwe* relocated their village to Oak Grove on Nine Mile Creek at the present-day city of Bloomington (Durand 1994: 29; Peterson and LaBatte 2022: 144).

Tiŋta Otoŋwe

The *Mdewakaŋtoŋwan* village located farthest upstream on the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, near the present-day city of Shakopee, and the *Mdewakaŋtoŋwan* village with the largest population in the mid-19th century, was *Šakpe*’s village of *Tiŋta Otoŋwe* or “Village of the Prairie” or “Prairie Village” (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012). In 1823 the village was located on the north side of the *Mini Sota*

Wakpa and was surrounded by cornfields and burial scaffolds, which were, at that time, found on both the north and south banks of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* (Westerman and White 2012: 125).

Tewapa

According to Samuel Pond, “When not kept together by the fear of an enemy, there was a tendency in the larger bands to separate and form smaller ones; and some of the smaller bands were composed of fugitives from the larger ones” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 6). Thus, in the 1830s, *Huyapa*⁸ – “Gray Eagle Head” – who, “having murdered a woman at Shakopee, and fearing to remain there, removed to Eagle Creek, where, gathering his relatives and others about him, he finally became a chief” (ibid.). This *Mdewakantonwan* village, which was a sub-division or satellite of Chief *Šakpe*, was located along the *Mini Sota Wakpa* in Scott County at Eagle Creek and was known as *Tewapa* or “the place of the lily” (Bray and Bray 1993: 44; Durand 1994: 29, 88; S. Pond 1986 [1908]).

Otoṅwe Wakapadaṅ

The *Mdewakantonwan* also had a village known as *Otoṅwe Wakapadaṅ* or “Village on a Small River” in the area of Anoka and Ramsey Counties along a river known to the Dakotas as *Otoṅwe Wakapadaṅ* or Rice Creek (Durand 1994: 67; Westerman and White 2012: 58). Rice Creek or *Otoṅwe Wakapadaṅ* was part of an important travel route for Dakota people and other Native Americans. Its headwaters, on the border of Chisago and Washington Counties, were adjacent to those of the Sunrise River (for which no Dakota name could be found at the time of this analysis), which flowed north into the *Hogaṅ Wanke Kiy* (St. Croix River) near the present-day town of Sunrise. The Rice Creek-Sunrise River corridors provided a significantly shorter

⁸ Written as *Rhuya-pha* – “the eagle’s head, the grey eagle, smaller than the *Kili[o]u*” by Nicollet (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 44).

passage between the two rivers than traveling south to the mouth and then up the *Hogaŋ Waŋke Kiŋ* (Durand 1994; Westerman and White 2012).

Although the stay at this village was a relatively short one, *Otoŋwe Wakapadaŋ* was one of the three large villages, the other two being *Ohaŋska* and *Titaŋka Taŋnina*, which the *Mdewakatoŋwaŋ* united in following their expulsion or migration from Mille Lacs around 1745 (Durand 1994: 67). Tradition states that *Huyapa* (Eagle Head) and *Taçaŋku Wašte* (Good Road) were originally from this village (ibid.). Another source states that this village came into existence after the old chief (the identity of whom is unknown, or unelaborated on) of the Shakopee band had died in 1857, and the group had moved to Rice Creek under his brother Red Middle Voice with the more militant portion of the village (Anderson 1997: 236).

Wahpetoŋwaŋ

Around the 19th century, most of the Native Americans living on the Minnesota River above the present-day city of Shakopee were *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* (S. Pond 1986 [1908]:4), though they also had villages at Lac qui Parle (Bray and Bray 1993: 256), at Big Stone Lake with the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* where they lived on the small islands in the lake, and at Lake Traverse with both the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* and *Ihaŋktuŋwaŋ* (Hodge I 1907-1910: 826-827, II 1907-1910: 891-892 [in Landes 1968: 4]; S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 4, 320; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 180). Stephen Riggs was informed by Dakota elders that when the *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* “retired from the bullets of the Ojibwe on the east of the Mississippi,” for a period of time they moved towards the northwest corner of what is now the state of Iowa, and when they returned to Minnesota “they established their planting village at what has been called Little Rapids, on the lower part of the Minnesota River” (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 180). According to Dakota oral history, a major migration of about three quarters of the *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* occurred around 1810, and under the leadership of “Yellow Spider” the

Wahpetonwan moved to an island at the southern end of *Mde Inyan Tanjinkinyan* (Big Stone Lake) (Durand 1994; Enos and Skinner 2003: 60; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 180). Some suggest that the main reason for this movement was the disappearance of the buffalo from the Buffalo, Cannon, Des Moines and Blue Earth Rivers (Gary Clayton Anderson, qtd. in Durand 1994: 32). After their movement to *Mde Inyan Takiyanyan* a larger part also settled at Lac qui Parle (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 180).

Inyan Ceyaka Otonwe

The “original” village of the *Wahpetonwan* located on the eastern bank of the Minnesota River in Scott County at Little Rapids (now known as Carver Rapids) was known as *Inyan Ceyaka Otonwe* or “Village of the Little Rapids” (Bray and Bray 1993; Dorsey 1891: 258; Durand 1994; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012). According to Janet Spector (1985), the archeologist who has conducted the most extensive work at the site, “Environmentally, the site location provided access to rich bottomlands, dry habitation land, and a diversity of plant and animal resources distributed in several physiographic zones in the close vicinity of the site” (ibid.: 186). Therefore, the location of this village is one example of how Dakota people were aware of their landscapes and the benefits that it had the potential to provide. Spector (1985) also states that Dakota peoples had likely lived there many centuries prior to any recordation of their presence there by an outsider (ibid.: 42). However, according to Riggs in 1837,

About 300 people still reside there [*at Little Rapids*], but the larger part of the band [*Wahpetonwan*] have removed to Lac-qui-parle and Big Stone Lake. In all they number about 1,000 or 1,200 souls. They all plant corn, more or less, and at Lac-qui-parle, one of the mission stations acquired by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, they have made some progress in learning to read and write their own language, and have substituted, to some extent, the use of the plow for the hoe (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 157).

Mazomani was the chief of this small *Wahpetonwan* band, who, prior to removing to Lac qui Parle, had been located near Carver at the village of *Inyan Çeyaka Otoŋwe* (Hughes 1969: 94). When Joseph Nicollet visited *Inyan Çeyaka Otoŋwe* in 1838 he wrote: “Village of the Little Rapids, 15 lodges in winter, made of bark; these are the people of the leaf (the *Warhpeton-wan*) [*Wahpetonwan*] of whom the chief is *Maza Omanki* – who walks or who will get himself in iron [*Iron Walker*]. The other parts of this tribe are at Lac qui Parle and at Big Stone Lake” (Bray and Bray 1993: 45; emphasis in original).

Wiyaka Otidaŋ

A small band of *Wahpetonwan* made their home, as it existed in the 19th century, northwest of the present-day city of Jordan in St. Lawrence Township near the mouth, right bank, of Sand Creek (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994: 116-117; Westerman and White 2012: 124; Woolworth 1981). The name of this village was *Wiyaka Otidaŋ* or “Little Village of Sand River” (Dorsey 1891: 258; Durand 1994: 116-117; Peterson and LaBatte 2022: 163; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 389, 581; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158; Westerman and White 2012: 124). However, William H. Keating indicates around early July of 1823 that the *Wahpetonwan* had recently moved their village of *Wiyaka Otidaŋ* from the mouth of Sand Creek to about 20 miles above it to on the east bank of the Minnesota River opposite the present-day city of Henderson (Long 1978: 160n). Keating notes,

We reached the extremity of the forest the next morning, and found on the prairie a small party of Indians encamped. We were told that the principal of these was the old chief who formerly resided at *Weakaote*. He has thirty or forty warriors under his command, who intend to remove from their old residence to this spot, as the other place is considered unhealthy; by white men it is called Fever Sandbar (Keating, et al. 1824: 334; emphasis added).

It has been suggested that after *Wiyaka Otidaŋ* was moved to its new location, it became known as the village of Red Eagle (Long 1978: 160n). Unfortunately, at the time this analysis was conducted, little else regarding the *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* village of *Wiyaka Otidaŋ* could be found in published ethnographic resources.

Takapsin Toŋwaŋna

On the eastern side of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* near the present-day city of Belle Plaine in Scott County was the *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* village known as *Takapsin Toŋwaŋna* or “Those Who Dwell at the Shinny-Ground [*lacrosse-ground*]” (Dorsey 1891: 258; Durand 1994; Renville, qtd. in Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 454; Westerman and White 2012). In 1838, Nicollet visited a *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* village, likely that of *Takapsin Toŋwaŋna*, that consisted of 300 lodges and which he called “The village of Broken Arm,” though he gives the name of the leader as *Wakaŋhdi Ohanko* and that he was also known as The Broken Arm, as he had broken his arm in a fight among the Dakota “which took place about 35 years ago” at the mouth of the Cottonwood River.

That year the Indians of each village had been out on the prairies, and had reunited toward the end of the hunt near the mouth of the Cottonwood River. Strong drink in abundance was given to them for their numerous furs which they had brought back from their journeys. Some quarrels spring up, a general melee took place, 3 were killed, 14 wounded (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 46; emphasis in original).

Little else could be found in either ethnographic or historic records about this village.

Otehi Otoŋwe

Near the present-day city of Le Sueur the *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* had village which was called *Otehi Otoŋwe* – “Village on the Thicket” – (Dorsey 1891: 258; Durand 1994: 67; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 389; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158; Woolworth 1981). Although the location of *Otehi Otoŋwe*

is an approximation based on information found in published ethnographic sources, it is known that the village was situated north of a prairie near Le Sueur Creek, and it was at these locations that Dakota people found the silicious stone they used to make the points of arrows (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 48; Durand 1994: 89). Additionally, it was here that the land route from Mendota to Traverse des Sioux, through *les Bois franc* (“Big Woods”), ended, “a route often swampy, humid, because of the virgin state of the forest and the undulating country” (Bray and Bray 1993: 48).

Çaŋkağa Otina Tipi

Both Riggs (2004 [1893]) and Dorsey (1891) state that the *Wahpetonwan* had a village which was called *Çaŋkağa Otina Tipi* – “Dwellers in Log (huts)” – (Dorsey 1891: 259; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 86, 89, 389; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158). However, according to *Wanbdiska* Fred Pearsall, *Çaŋkağa Otina Tipi* was the Hazelwood Republic, a mission and agricultural colony established in 1854 by missionaries Thomas S. Williamson and Stephen R. Riggs which was located along the *Mini Sota Wakpa* at Hazel Creek, several miles north of the Yellow Medicine River, until it burned down at the start of the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862; it was situated close to the old mission of Stephen Riggs and John P. Williamson, and two or three miles west of the present-day Upper Sioux Community *Pezihutazi Oyate* (Anderson 1997: 210; Peterson and LaBatte 2022: 143; Westerman and White 2012: 120).

Wita Otina

The *Wahpetonwan* also had a village at Big Stone Lake where they lived with the *Sisitonwan* at the present-day city of Ortonville (Bray and Bray 1993: 256; Durand 1994; S. Pond 1989 [1908]: 5; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 180). To the *Wahpetonwan*, this village was known as

Wita Otina or “Dwellers in the Island” (Dorsey 1891: 258; Enos and Skinner 2003: 60; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 389, 579; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 180).

James E. Colhoun, the astronomer Stephen H. Long brought along on his 1823 expedition, writes about their arrival at the *Wahpetonwan* village at *Mde Inyan Takinyanyan*:

We followed them [*the Wahpetonwan inhabitants of the village*] to [*the*] village on the shore of Lac des Grosses Roches [*Big Stone Lake*], consisting of about 25 skin lodges & containing between 100 & 200 inhabitants. An island in the Lake a quarter of a mile distant is their permanent residence because more secure, but they have encamped here for the hunting season. We delayed a short time, accepting [*an*] invitation to feast in one of the lodges. They presented us buffalo meat & a hominy of tepsin [*tipsigna or tipsin – the wild prairie turnip or pomme de terre*]...It is very abundant in the moist soil about the village. The Indians do not appear to cultivate it (Long 1978: 297-298).

A short distance away was the trading house of Hazen Mooers, and upon visiting his residence, the Long-Keating expedition encountered “A small encampment of Indians consisting of three or four Lodges [*which*] was situated near the trading house, whose chief Ta-tanka-wick-ash-ta, or the Buffalo-man” (Keating, et al. 1824: 371; Long 1978: 169).

Wakpa Otoḡwe

The *Wahpetonwan* also had a village which was called *Wakpa Otoḡwe* or *Wakpa Atoḡwan* or “Village on the River” (Dorsey 1891: 258; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 389, 516; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158). Although numerous sources (Dorsey 1891; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Skinner 1919) state that the *Wahpetonwan* also had a village which was called *Wakpa Otoḡwe* or *Wakpa Atoḡwan*, an approximate location for this village could not be found in published ethnographic resources at the time this analysis was conducted. However, even an approximate location for this village could not be found in published ethnographic resources at the time this analysis was conducted, as all ethnographic sources (Dorsey 1891; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Skinner 1919) referred to for information related to Dakota villages and/or communities only mention the name of the village

and provide no other information about the site. Furthermore, ethnographic resources (Bray and Bray 1993; Hughes 1969; S. Pond 1986 [1908]) which include the names of Dakota leaders at particular villages and/or communities rarely, if ever, include the name of those habitation sites.

Sisitonwan

While the *Sisitonwan* are technically part of the eastern division of the Dakota, “The nineteenth century brought many changes that caused tension and splintered the community. The tide of white settlement swept over the land and forced the Sisseton and Wahpeton to forsake the old ways. The system of government, religious beliefs, cultural practices, and economic pursuits were permanently altered” (Enos Oneroad and Skinner 2003: 5). Thus, due to their geographical position within the transitional prairie-forest ecotone along the Minnesota River Valley, the *Sisitonwan* “appear to have formed a link between the eastern and western tribes” (Hodge 1910: 580). Therefore, Skinner suggests that cultural differences were likely due to their geographical position being farther from the forest and its influences than other Eastern Dakota bands, and that they were in less contact with the Central Algonkian (Skinner 1919: 174). Additionally, the *Sisitonwan* who lived alongside the Western Dakota bands were generally more nomadic and, therefore, had more fluid territorial ranges and lifeways and it seemed by way of these more fluid practices by which they identified. By 1820, the *Sisitonwan* were divided into two sub-tribes: the Northern *Sisitonwan* and the Southern *Sisitonwan*; the former lived on Lake Traverse and at the Two Woods in South Dakota, while the latter occupied the Minnesota River from its junction with the Mississippi River towards Big Stone Lake (Woolworth 1981). According to Stephen Riggs, the *Sisitonwan* split into sub-divisions due to the introduction of whiskey by Euro-Americans; “The Sissetons got drunk and killed each other. By this means they were scattered,” (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158). Thus, Riggs states, the *Sisitonwan* were divided into seven

“subgentes” (Dorsey 1891; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158-159). In 1884, the missionary of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* Reverend Edward Ashley, the missionary of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* provided not only these “gentes” of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ*, but their “subgentes” as well (Dorsey 1891 and Riggs 2004 [1893]). These included the following: 1. (a) *Wita waziyata otina*, (b) *Ohdihe*; 2. (a) *Basdeçe šni* (b) *Itokah-tina*; 3. (a) *Kahmiŋ atoŋwaŋ* (part of these were called *Çaŋ Šda Çikaŋa*), (b) *Mani-ti*, (c) *Keze*, their tents were on the right of the south end of the tribal circle; and on the left of them came the 4. *Çaŋkute*; 5. (a) *Ti Zaptaŋna*, (b) *Okopeya*; 6. *Kapoža*; 7. *Amdowapuskiya* (qtd. in Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159).

Although the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* were often identified based on their “gentes,” they also had numerous ethnographically documented villages which were primarily situated in the Minnesota River Valley. They chiefly lived at Swan Lake, Little Rock, at the Two Woods on the Coteau in South Dakota, at the mouth of the Cottonwood River, and at Lake Traverse (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 435; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158). However, unlike most of the other bands of Eastern Dakota living in Minnesota a portion of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* lived farther west and south (Landes 1968). In that region, most of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* had their villages in the vicinity of Big Stone Lake, where they lived with the *Wahpetoŋwaŋ*, and Lake Traverse, where they also lived with the *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* as well as the *Ihaŋktuŋwaŋ* (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 4-5). South of Lac qui Parle there was also a “small, restless band” of *Sisitoŋwaŋ* (ibid.: 5).

Maya Kicaksa

Near the mouth of the Cottonwood River at its junction with the *Mini Sota Wakpa* at the present-day city of New Ulm in Brown County was the village of *Maya Kiçaksa*, though some sources recorded it as *Wak Žu Pata* (Bray and Bray 1993; Dorsey 1891; Durand 1994; Peterson

and LaBatte 2022; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012). According to Nicollet, *Wak Žu Pata* or *Maya Kiçaksa* was the primary and most important village of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* as it was a rendezvous spot for Dakotas living in Minnesota; “the Indians of each village had been out on the prairies, and had reunited toward the end of the hunt near the mouth of the Cottonwood River” (Bray and Bray 1933: 46). As their territory furnished valuable fur-bearing animals more so than any other area west of the Mississippi River, the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* (along with the *Ihaŋktuŋwaŋ*) were able to obtain more European merchandise than any of the other surrounding nations (Durand 1994: 81).

Wita Taŋka

According to Joseph Nicollet, the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* maintained numerous summer villages along the course of the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, as well as on the numerous islands in present-day Swan Lake in Nicollet County (Bray and Bray 1993: 51; Durand 1994: 42). At Swan Lake, Nicollet states lived “the families of the warriors that we met at the Traverse des Sioux as they were going down to St. Peter’s with Sleepy Eyes” (Bray and Bray 1993: 51). On his travel from *Oiyuweġe* or Traverse des Sioux, where the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* also often lived at the village known as *Maya Skadaŋ*, Nicollet states the following:

We left the Sioux crossing-place for the mouth of the *Wara-oju*, or simply the *Waraju*; otherwise, Cottonwood river...During this journey of 26 miles, we visited the Big Swan, or *Marrahtanka* lake, represented by some geographers as no more than a large swamp, mistaking it for some marshy spaces in its vicinity. The truth is, that *Marrahtanka* lake is a beautiful sheet of water about 13 miles long, in the midst of which are several islands sufficiently large to furnish a summer’s retreat to the Sissitons, whose most important village [*Maya Kiçaksa* or *Wak Žu Pata*] is at the mouth of the *Waraju* (Nicollet 1845: 13; emphasis in original).

The primary summer village of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* living at Swan Lake was on a large island, known as *Wita Taŋka* or “large island,” there in the northwestern part of the lake (Durand 1994:

116). According to Nicollet, on the islands on *Mağa Taŋka Ota Mde*, the Dakota primarily lived on the *tipsiŋna*, (*Psoralea esculenta*) or prairie turnip, and only a little on hunting (Bray and Bray 1993: 51). Nicollet’s traveling companion Geyer commented that on the prairies and the bottomlands along the *Mini Sota Wakpa* the bluffs “are remarkable for the variety of plants, which owing to the variety of soil & the different elevations of the hills” (Bray and Bray 1993: 49). For example, they encountered a plant the bulb of which was a “great item of nourishment in August and September” for the Dakota; the yellow flowers found on the plant were also used as a means by which to dye objects the same color (having been dried and submerged into boiling water) (Bray and Bray 1993: 51). This plant was *Rudbeckia purpurea*, though the Dakotas call it *Itcharhpahé* – “that which makes it fall from above or fall from on high (ibid.: 54).

Maya Skadaŋ

Located downstream from Traverse des Sioux on the right (cardinal east) bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, situated at the end of an overland shortcut across the big southern bend of the river from the present-day city of St. Peter in Nicollet County⁹, there was another *Sisitorŋwan* village which was called *Maya Skadaŋ* (Bray and Bray 1993: 49). In 1838, Nicollet states that in past times, the “beautiful prairie” which *Maya Skadaŋ* overlooks was “the rendezvous of all the villages of Sisseton when they left for buffalo hunts or when they went to gather wild rice in the beautiful lakes which are in the area. It is also here that they used to wait for the traders who came from *Makina* [*Mackinak*] to trade peltries in order to extort a few casks of brandy from

⁹ A lapse in attention to detail resulted in the misplacement of this village on the ethnographic maps produced for this analysis; it was placed on the right bank if one were going upstream on the Minnesota River from Traverse des Sioux, when it should be placed on the right bank if one were going downstream from Traverse des Sioux (c.f. Durand 1994: 47). This misplacement on the maps produced for this analysis was guided by Smith (1967: 17), who alleged that the “Old Traverse des Sioux” site (21NLas) was the location of Red Iron’s village, which is on the cardinal east side of the Minnesota River. Due to time constraints, this error has not yet been fixed.

them as they passed” (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 48). The area of *Maya Skadaŋ* was an important site for past Dakota peoples as it was rich in various resources which were utilized by the Dakotas, as it was from the height of a calcareous escarpment of granular sandstone, Nicollet was told that the Dakota would “dig holes to extract a clay-lime substance with which they decorate the body” (ibid.).

It appears that *Maya Skadaŋ* was also known as a *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* village, for according to historic accounts, *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* chief Red Iron or *Maza Ša*, the leader of a soldiers’ lodge who had succeeded his brother Big Walker or *Tankamani* as chief of the Traverse des Sioux *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* in 1846, had his village on the right bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* upstream from *Oiyuweŋe* (Diedrich 1989; Durand 1994; Smith 1967; Westerman and White 2012). *Maza Ša* was also the brother of Iron Walker or *Mazomani*, the “chief of a small Wahpeton band, who, prior to removing to Lac qui Parle, had been located near Carver” (Hughes 1969: 94). According to Joseph R. Brown, the old home of *Maza Ša* and the *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* of his band had been around Waterville and the upper Cannon River, though “[f]or some reason, about 1845, the band divided. A portion with the old chief, Tankamani, crossed to the east side of the Minnesota River, and established a village and planting near Ottawa,” and after Big Walker’s death at that location in 1846, “It may be that Red Iron was made chief of the section of the band which remained at the old site when the division took place. After Tankamani’s death, the band soon reunited with Red Iron (Mazasha) as sole chief” (Hughes 1969: 94).

**Ti Za-ptaŋna and Okopeya*

West of Lac qui Parle in Deuel County, South Dakota is an area called the Two Woods, and the five or six lakes which surrounded the Two Woods were inhabited by a division of *Sisitoŋwaŋ* which were called the *Ti Za-ptaŋna* (Bray and Bray 1993: 95; Riggs 1992 [1890]:

319, 467, 649). When Nicollet encountered this *Sisitoŋwaŋ* sub-division, it consisted of 50 lodges at two villages which they maintained at the Two Woods, the *Ti Za-ptanŋa* being the main body and the other being a smaller division, the people of which were called *Okopeya* (Bray and Bray 1993: 95; Durand 1994: 6; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 1918: 521; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159).

*Wita Waziyata and the Ohdihe

Around 1839 Joseph Nicollet visited Lake Traverse or *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* and he encountered a division of *Sisitoŋwaŋ* which he called *Waziyata Sisiton* (Bray and Bray 1993). These *Sisitoŋwaŋ* had their main village of *Wita Waziyata* situated on an island in the southern end of *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* (Bray and Bray 1993; Dorsey 1891; Durand 1994; Peterson and LaBatte 2022; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012). Known to Stephen Riggs (1992 [1890]) as the *Wita Waziyata Otina*, he states that these *Sisitoŋwaŋ* were a “subgentes,” and that they also consisted of a sub-division which was known as *Ohdihe*, though these two communities of *Sisitoŋwaŋ* were generally counted as a single division of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* (ibid.: 351; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159). Although Nicollet states that the *Wita Waziyata* and *Ohdihe Sisitoŋwaŋ* were located at *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ*, he provides no other information (Bray and Bray 1993: 156). However, Riggs (2004 [1893]) states that a part of this division, which was led by *Maka Ideya* – “Burning Earth” – the partisan of the *Wita Waziyata*, had his village at the south end of *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* near the mouth of the Little Minnesota River, as well as that there were at least two more villages which were situated on the east side of the lake, one near the center of it and one near the northeast end (qtd. in Beissel et al. 1984: 55). Additionally, when Riggs visited *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* in 1838, he went to a *Sisitoŋwaŋ* village located at the southern

end of the lake and that it consisted of forty houses and 10 lodges, “perhaps a distinction between summer houses and tepees,” (qtd. in Westerman and White 2012: 119).

*Amdowapuskiya

According to Riggs, another division of *Sisitoŋwaŋ* lived at *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* (Lake Traverse) who were great buffalo hunters and were called *Amdowapuskiya* (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159). Riggs states that the *Amdowapuskiya* that lived at *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* were the people of Standing Buffalo or *Tataŋka Naziŋ* who had a village at Brown’s valley around 1860 (Hughes 1969: 122; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159). *Tataŋka Naziŋ* was a cousin of the prominent *Sisitoŋwaŋ* chief The Charger or *Waanatan* (also spelled *Wanatan*), who was actually *Ihaŋktuŋwaŋ*, and whose village of 30 houses was on the west shore of *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* (Hughes 1969: 122; Westerman and White 2012: 119). The *Amdowapuskiya* were further divided into three “subgentes” which were known as the *Maka Ideya*, the *Waŋmdiupi duta* and the *Waŋmdi nahotoŋ* (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159). Little other information could be found regarding these leaders and their divisions or villages.

Wahpekute

The *Wahpekute* Eastern Dakota was one of the smallest of the Dakota bands (Riggs 1918: 496n) and were generally a roaming band. Hodge states that, “The Wahpekute were doubtless living in the vicinity of the Mdewakanton of Mille Lac, Minn., when first visited by the French (1678-1680), and were still so closely combined with them as to be included under one term” (Hodge 1910: 890). During Long’s 1823 expedition, the Cannon River had “a small band of Sioux Indians residing near its head,” which they assume to have been *Wahpekute* (Long 1978: 64). However, after the sale of their land with the Treaty of 1851, “they became connected with

the Spirit-Lake band, and, disregarding their gentes, some of them are now at Santee Agency and some at Sisseton Agency, but the greater part have fled to the Missouri River and to Canada” (ibid.). According to Stephen Riggs, around 1863, “they were a roving band of about 500 or 600, who laid claim to the country of Cannon River, the head of the Blue Earth, and westward” (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 157).

The *Wahpekute* lived chiefly at the headwaters of the Blue Earth and Cannon Rivers, where part of them lived at Traverse des Sioux and part along the *Inyan Bosdata Wakpa*, near the present-day city of Faribault, while some of them were also in southeastern Minnesota on the Wisconsin border around Lake Pepin (Hodge II: 460 [in Landes 1968: 4; S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 4; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 502; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 180). Nicollet states that the territory of the *Wahpekute* was encompassed within the “Big Woods,” a large strip of deciduous forest which acted as a dividing line between the vast prairies to the west and the pine forests to the east (Bray and Bray 1993: 47; Durand 1994: 5), and originally covered about two-thirds of what is now Rice County in dense hardwood forests of ash, elm, oak, and maple trees. Beginning in Canada and entering Minnesota east of the Red River valley, it gradually expanded from five miles in width to over 80 miles in its southerly course into Iowa and Wisconsin, with the southern underbelly of it being protected by the Minnesota, Le Sueur, and Cannon Rivers from prairie fires racing eastwards south of these rivers (Durand 1994: 5).

Inyan Bosdata Wakpa (Medatepetonka)

Some of the primary settlements of the *Wahpekute* in *Mini Sota Makoçe* were in what is now Rice County near the source of the *Inyan Bosdata Wakpa* (Cannon River) (Durand 1994: 30-31; Nicollet, *Report*, 21). According to Sibley (Minn. Hist. Coll., III, 250, 1880), in 1834 the *Wahpekute* were in villages on the *Inyan Bosdata Wakpa*, a short distance from the present-day

city of Faribault in Rice County, and at a few other points (qtd. in Hodge 1912: 891). According to Nicollet (*Report*, 21), the *Iñyañ Bosdata Wakpa* is one of the last rivers to freeze during the winter months, which makes it “the last resort of the wild fowl.” Therefore, “The Sioux are said to congregate, in consequence, upon its banks in large numbers; relying on this resource, whilst they are otherwise collecting their peltries, insomuch that the American Fur Department at St. Peter’s has always kept up this post for the purpose of securing the advantages of this trade” (Nicollet, *Report*, 21). The *Wahpekute* who lived around the *Iñyañ Bosdata Wakpa* are said to have “intermarried considerably” with the *Sisitoñwañ* whose “villages were located usually at West Mankato, or on the plateaus of South Bend and Minneopa, or on the prairie between Mankato and Kasota. In the winter, they sought the sheltered spots such as North Mankato, the Minneopa Glen, below the crossing of the Mankato-New Ulm road, and the Red Jacket Valley” (Hughes 1969: 130). Although a handful of sources (Hughes 1969; Smith 1967) state that their leader *Sintominiduta* was a *Sisitoñwañ*, who was related to the *Sisitoñwañ* chief Sleepy Eyes through marriage, he is often referred to as being *Wahpekute*. It is unclear at the time this analysis, which is correct, though Smith (1967) states that the “Village of Sintominiduta’s Band of the Sissiton” was located in the Minneopa Glen in what is now Minneopa State Park (ibid.: 23). As this discovery was made in the final stages of this analysis and a greater quantity of data seems to ‘classify’ *Sintominiduta* as *Wahpekute*, his village is kept in this section, though further investigations into this are pending at this time.

Headwaters of the Blue Earth River

Like the other bands of Eastern Dakota, the *Wahpekute* also had habitations at *Oiyuwege* (S. Pond 1986 [1908]). According to Riggs (ibid.), at *Oiyuwege* (Traverse des Sioux) *Wamdisapa* planted less than Sleepy Eye and Gray Leaf, “and was consequently less about the Traverse in

those days” (Riggs 1918: 500), though they hunted in the general vicinity of the *Makato Oze* and its branches down to Iowa (S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 1918: 500). In August of 1838, near the junction of Perch Creek and the Watonwan River, Nicollet and his party acquired a supply of buffalo meat from “several Indians of the Wahpekuhteh [*Wahpekuṭe*] band” who had apparently killed the animal near the headwaters of the *Iṅyaṅ Šasa Wakpa* (Des Moines River) (Bray and Bray 1993: 118; Durand 1994: 32). While Nicollet does not elaborate any further on this encounter either, it does offer some insight into the reaches of their hunting territory and their subsistence practices, as well as just how nomadic the *Wahpekuṭe* were. According to Nicollet (Bray and Bray 1993: 65), the *Wahpekuṭe* used to have a village of 30 lodges with the *Ti Zaptaṅna Sisitoṅwaṅ* in what is now Murray County near *Çaṅ Ptaya Taṅka* (Great Oasis) (Durand 1994: 8). However, when Nicollet and his party arrived at the location in June of 1838, the village had been abandoned for months due to a smallpox epidemic which almost annihilated the *Wahpekuṭe*, and the few who remained, “being too exposed to the anger of the Sauk and the Fox,” left their villages and established themselves nearer the *Mini Sota Wakpa* (Bray and Bray 1993: 65). Nicollet adds,

The Indians of the Wahpekute tribe cannot bring themselves to leave the country In spite of the continual danger they run of being attacked by the Sauk and Fox. At this moment they are scattered in little bands of 3 to 6 lodges in *le bois francs* [*the Big Woods*] around the lakes to gather wild rice...From time to time some of them wander alone on the prairie or on the summit of hills where they stop to weep on the tombs of some of their recently buried kin...This morning my heart felt as if it would break when I found on the summit of a little hill a spoon and a blanket, signs of a dying person abandoned by the family which faces this terrible [*necessity*] that forces the Indians to abandon the dying to save the living who are decimated by famine (Bray and Bray 1993: 125-126; emphasis in original).

No further information could be found about this habitation site which the *Wahpekuṭe* shared with these other bands of Dakota.

“Red Top Band”

This *Wahpekuṭe* band had two primary chiefs, *Tasagie* or *Çaṅ Sagye* and *Wamdisapa*, the latter being the real war leader (Anderson 1997; Bray and Bray 1993; Riggs 1918: 500n). However, around 1840 the *Wahpekuṭe* were significantly suffering due to the unusual bitterness of a chronic warfare that had long existed between all the Dakota tribes and the Ojibwe to the north and the Sauk and Fox to the south, though the issues at this point in time were “attributed to the bloody propensity of one of their own sub-chiefs, named *Wamdisapa* (Black Eagle), whose vicious activity on the warpath provoked constant retaliation from the enemy” (Hughes 1905: 263). As the *Wahpekuṭe* struggled to maintain their territory in southern Minnesota and northern Iowa due to these conflicts with the Sacs and Foxes, the territory of the *Wahpekuṭe*, “suffered a slow ecological disintegration as the Sac and Fox hunters and white pioneers depleted its resources” (Anderson 1997: 216). Blood feuds broke out between the *Wahpekuṭe* chief and sub-chief, which resulted in the murder of *Tasagie* at the hands of *Wamdisapa*. Around 1846, *Wamdisapa* was succeeded by his son *Sintominiduta* who became the head chief of the Red Top Band, and *Wamdisapa*’s other son, *Inkpaduta* became the sub-chief. Under *Inkpaduta*’s leadership in the 1850s, they returned to Minnesota in order to benefit from annuity distributions promised by treaties; it was the *Wahpekuṭe* under the leadership of *Inkpaduta* that were responsible for the Spirit Lake Massacred in northern Iowa in 1857 (Anderson 1986: 82-83), after which they “were so demoralized thereby that they became rovers, and have lost their place in the Dakota family” (Riggs 2004: 157), and they fled west to the Missouri River valley. There they intermixed with the *Ihaṅktuṅwaṅ* (Yanktons) and the *Sisitoṅwaṅ*, which effectively ceased close connections between the Red Top Band and the other *Wahpekuṭe* band living along the *Inṅyaṅ Bosdata Wakpa*.

2.3.4 – Lifeways of Historic Dakota

Since historic Dakota lifeways in Minnesota varied depending on seasonally available resources and the activities associated with these seasonal lifeway patterns, the following discussion on their lifeways simultaneously addresses both their subsistence and resource acquisition practices as well as their settlement practices as these aspects of their lives both directed and were directed by each other.

Subsistence and Resource Acquisition

Past Dakota people in Minnesota generally practiced a semi-sedentary lifestyle; subsistence patterns focused on hunting, fishing, and gathering or those that allow for the exploitation of various resources, though generalized, could “more readily adapt to changing local conditions or new areas without being dependent upon one food resource” (Hurley 1974: 127). Throughout the year, Dakota men hunted big game (e.g., buffalo, deer, and bear), which provided them with meat to eat and hides of which they worked for shelter and clothing, trapped smaller animals for fur (e.g., muskrat and beaver), and fished; when the land was not frozen and covered with snow, Dakota women gathered wild rice, tubers, beans, nuts, and small fruits, tree sap for maple sugar, with corn or maize having been sparingly adapted (Landes 1969; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 211). Because many of these resources were found in different regions of their traditional lands, “the Dakotas returned to these specific localities at certain times of the year, thus producing a cycle that brought some order to an otherwise fluid existence” (Anderson 1984: 3). For example, in the summer, “the bands divided into small parties, each party going where it was hoped food would be found most abundant, or in pursuit of some article used for food or otherwise, which could be best procured at that season of the year...Indeed, they made excursions in all directions, and for various purposes” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 57-58). Thus, as “Sioux behavior was in part dictated by the abundant resources surrounding the people and by

their fluid lifeway... exploiting various resources at particular times of the year” (Anderson 1984: 8-13), past Dakota peoples generally practiced cyclic seasonal migrations, which can be seen in both their subsistence and settlement practices.

Hunting, Trapping, and Fishing

Hunting was an integral subsistence strategy for past Dakota peoples. Samuel Pond states, “The Dakota was a hunter, descended from a long line of hunters, trained to hunting by precept and example, with all the wisdom of a hunter that could be handed down by tradition or gained by experience, and with all the instincts of a hunter that could be transmitted by inheritance” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]; 66). Throughout the year, Dakota men hunted large animals such as buffalo and deer, occasionally a few elk were killed, and considerable numbers of bears were occasionally found (Landes 1968; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Westerman and White 2012). Although Dakota men hunted throughout the year, Charles Eastman states, “Our hunting varied with the season of the year, and the nature of the country which was for the time our home” (S. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 37). For example, in the woodland regions of eastern-central Minnesota the major large animal hunted by the Dakota was deer, whereas in the prairies of western Minnesota it was the buffalo, and to these animals they often dedicated large winter and summer hunts, respectively (Landes 1968; S. Pond 1986 [1908]).

The winter deer hunt was important for winter subsistence, and this began in September or October and lasted through December or January, “the moon of difficulty” (S. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 90; Landes 1968; Palmer 2008: 93; S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 44; Spector 1993). For the *Mdewakantonwan* Dakota, this fall/winter deer hunt was perhaps the most ordered event in Dakota cyclical migrations (Anderson 1986). For the duration of the winter deer hunt, Dakota families would establish a series of base camps, from which the men would then depart to

conduct daily hunts in backwater regions, up small tributaries and valleys of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers (Westerman and White 2012: 90). “Having procured, as far as they were able, the needed supplies of clothing, guns, ammunition, etc., the various bands started in different directions, the larger subdividing into smaller parties, that they might spread over a larger extent of country, for they needed all the game to be found within their territories” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 44). According to Landes, the placement of winter deer hunt camps was “informal arrangements [*which*] were dictated by natural facilities of water, wood, and windbreak” (Landes 1968: 172). While on their winter deer hunts, Dakota families erected “their tipis in sheltered, wooded areas where they could draw on their reserves of food supplies stored since summer” (Spector 1993: 68). Samuel Pond describes Dakota winter quarters as:

...made of eight dressed buffalo or deer skins, sewed together with sinews, and when set up...of a conical shape, about twelve feet in height, and ten or twelve feet in diameter...In the center of the tent, a space for the first three or four feet square was fenced with sticks of wood, outside of which the ground was covered with hay, and that was spread over with buffalo robes...When whole, well set, and warmed by a good fire, the tent or tepee was tolerably comfortable even in the coldest weather...On the whole, no better dwelling for summer or winter could be devised for hunters (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 38-39).

Thus, the animal was not only an important food resource, but integral to their survival in the cold weather as well. The hides would also be used for clothing and blankets, sewn together with the sinews of the animals as well (Landes 1968; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Spector 1993).

The buffalo was generally highly desired and hunted by Dakota people as it was an animal resource which had the potential to provide a substantial amount of protein, though the majority of the animal was generally utilized for other purposes as well (Riggs 2004 [1898]; S. Pond 1986 [1908]). The primary buffalo hunt was in the summertime, and generally started around May, during which Dakota people from throughout the state would gather on the prairies

of western-central Minnesota to participate in the summer buffalo hunt (Bray and Bray 1993; Landes 1968; Westerman and White 2012).

During these two buffalo winters [1847-1848], almost the whole village removed up to the Pomme de Terre, or *Owobaptay* River as the Dakotas called it. That was a better point to hunt from. For the regulation of the hunt, and to prevent the buffalo from being driven off, they organized a Soldiers' Lodge. This was a large tent pitched in the centre [*sic*] of the camp, where the symbols of power were kept in two bundles of red and black sticks. These represented the soldiers – those who had killed enemies and those who had not. To this tent the women brought offerings of wood and meat; and here the young and old med often gathered to feast, and from these headquarters went forth, through an *Eyanpaha* (cryer), the edicts of the wise men” (Riggs 2017 [1887]: 79; emphasis added).

According to Dakota Elder *Wanbdiska*, “Grandpa Fred,” “The western people were the real buffalo hunters, whereas at home in Minnesota buffalo were scarce, as that was timber country, but there was a great deal of other kinds of game upon which the people subsisted. Also, in Minnesota, there were many lakes and rivers that furnished fish and turtles” (Peterson and LaBatte 2022: 47). However, the *Mdewakantonwan* also hunted buffalo west of the Mississippi River on the nearest prairies throughout the summer, and “The summer buffalo hunt was the largest group activity of the Mdewakantonwan, as it was among all prairie tribes” (Landes 1968: 162-163).

While deer and buffalo were the preferred and most sought-after large game animals during the winter and summer months, respectively, they generally required greater effort to obtain, and in western Minnesota, “...many of them [*Dakota people*] frequently came eastward to the Big Woods in the winter in quest of deer” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 30). Additionally, due to the unpredictability of acquiring them, deer and buffalo were often supplemented with smaller animals, such as ducks, geese, and birds (Landes 1968; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Spector 1993). According to Samuel Pond, smaller animals such as ducks and geese were next in importance to deer as food, “and in some parts of the country they were perhaps of even greater importance”

(S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 29). Turtles and fish were also popular supplementary resources caught by both men and women. “When fish were present, we always managed to get some” (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 37). Fishing was done in various ways. “Fish-lines were many of wild hemp, sinew or horse=hair. We either caught fish with lines, snared or speared them, or shot them with bows and arrows... We have sometimes dammed the brooks and driven the larger fish into a willow basket made for that purpose” (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 37). During the winter months, when the lakes and rivers were frozen, they speared fish through a hole cut in the ice, and would occasionally use a bow and arrow, with a string attached to withdraw the arrow (Landes 1968). Although fishing was done by all Dakota people, fishing in the winter “was most practiced by the upper Indians,” which they sometimes solely depended on for subsistence for a long time (S. Pond 1986 [1908]).

Trapping was a major activity for historic Dakota peoples which also supplemented hunting throughout the year, as well as being a means of acquiring pelts/fur (Landes 1968: 187; S. Pond 1986 [1908]). The primary animals sought for their pelts were muskrat, skunk, ermine, mink, raccoon, rabbit, otter, beaver (Spector 1993). In the fall, the eastern Santee Dakota trapped beaver and otter intensively, camping by creeks at beaver dams, seldom at lakes. However, by the mid-17th century, the focus of Dakota trappers was muskrat, while their relatives on the plains “focused on the beaver that had been depleted further east” (Palmer 2008: 92). Among the *Mdewakantowan* in particular, “The shift to exploiting muskrats prompted changes in food-gathering cycles,” which in turn led to fluctuations in their occupation patterns (Anderson 1984: 109). In winter and early spring, *Mdewakantowan* and *Wahpetowan* Dakota men went to shallow lakes and marshes to hunt muskrat, which were appreciated as good food at those times, though not in warm weather (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 30). While both the winter and spring

muskrat hunts were important for acquiring resources, “The spring hunt was the most important, for the furs were then the most valuable” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 54). The spring muskrat hunts generally required a lengthy period of travel, for while muskrats were found throughout the state, they were not plentiful everywhere. Therefore, Dakota men hunting muskrat “were under the necessity of starting from home early in March, as it took some time to make the journey and the hunt commenced before the ice was out of the lakes” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 54).

Food Gathering

While hunted resources were an important part of Dakota subsistence, gathered resources – e.g., berries, plums, nuts, tubers, etc. – “provided significant supplements, especially when the hunt failed” (Anderson 1986: 14). In small task groups, Dakota women would spread from their summer planting villages and camp sites to gather native plant resources from the land which they would use for food, beverages, medicines, and dyes (Landes 1969; S. Pond 1986 [1908]). Among these native plant foods, “which are neglected by the whites...the most important were the *psinçinça*, the *mđo*, the wild turnip or *pomme de terre*, the water-lily, and wild rice” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 28; emphasis added). While wild rice (*Zizania aquatica* L.) was an important food resource, and one which was available throughout much of the state, maize or corn was variably incorporated into Dakota subsistence.

From the marshy areas around their settlements, Dakota women gathered the *psinçinça* – a bulbous esculent root about the size of a hen’s egg which grows on the margin of rivers and lakes – and the *psinça* – also a bulbous esculent root which grows in marshes and grows to about an inch in diameter, about the size of a black walnut with the hull on – (S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 1992 [1890]). *Ohiyesa* Charles Eastman states, “When our people were gathering the wild rice, they always watched for another plant that grows in the muddy bottom of lakes and

ponds...This is stored away by the muskrats in their houses by the waterside, and there is often a bushel or more of the psinchinchah [*psinçinçca*] to be found within” (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 85). According to Samuel Pond, “These roots and those of the water-lily were dug, some by the men but more by the women. They gathered them where the water was waist-deep, feeling for them with their feet at the bottom of the lake” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 28). While the *psinçinçca* immediately rises to the surface of the water once detached from the mud, “the *psincha* does not float, and must be raised by the foot until it can be reached by the hand, a difficult operation, requiring much dexterity where the water is up to the arms as it often is where they grow” (ibid.; emphasis added).

The *mdo* is a food root with a vine that coils around nearby plants, and which grows on dry land, sometimes getting as large as a decent sized potato, “but it is nowhere very plentiful, and can seldom be obtained in any quantity without great labor and perseverance” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 28). This leguminous plant, known as the Indian potato, “is found in great quantities in the northern prairies, and furnishes the Indians with an abundant and nourishing food,” and is collected by the women “by striking the end of the stick into the ground, and prying them out; after which they are dried and preserved in their wigwams for sue during the season” (Catlin 1989: 58). The tubers of the *mdo* were prepared by boiling or roasting (Gilmore 1919: 94).

French trader Pierre Radisson states that wild rice (*Zizania aquatica* L.) or *psinç* an important plant food resource to Dakota people and it constituted the chief food of the Dakota during the winter months (qtd in Winchell 1911: 496). When *Ohiyesa* Charles Eastman’s people lived in Minnesota, “a good part of their natural subsistence was furnished by the wild rice, which grew abundantly in all of that region. Around the shores and all over some of the innumerable lakes in the ‘Land of Sky-blue Water’ was this wild cereal found. Indeed, some of

the watery fields in those days might be compared in extent and fruitfulness with the fields of wheat in Minnesota's magnificent farms to-day" (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 92). In late August Dakota families would disband from their summer residential/planting villages in groups of 15 to 20 people to go to their wild rice camps (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 92). At these wild rice camps, which were located near shallow ricing lakes near their summer villages they would set up at camping spots that had "shade and cool breezes off the water," and the people "pitched their teepees upon the heights, if possible, for the sake of a good outlook" (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 92). The *psij* was collected by two people in a canoe, "one propelling the canoe while the other bent over the heads of rice and beat the seeds into the canoe with a stick" (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 29). *Ohiyesa* Charles Eastman states that "The real work was when they prepared the rice for use" (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 93). First, the rice had to be made perfectly dry, which was done by spreading it "upon buffalo robes and mats, and sometimes upon layers of coarse swamp grass, and dry it in the sun" (ibid.). Once dried, to separate the rice from the chaff, the *psij* was scorched in a kettle and then beat in a mortar "made by digging a circular hole in the ground and lining it with deer-skin," after which, if the men carried out the task, they trampled it with their feet, while the women would beat it with the end of a stick (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 29). The women then poured the rice "upon a robe and begin to shake it so that the chaff will be separated by the wind" (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 93). After the *psij* was prepared, that which was not immediately eaten was stored, generally in bark- and grass-lined caches dug by each family in a concealed spot (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 94; S. Pond 1986 [1908]).

As Dakota people migrated west and south of the Mille Lacs region, "the quantity of *Zizania* diminished and the lack had to be supplied by substitution of something which the prairie might afford" (Gilmore 1919: 56; emphasis in original). One of the plant foods which

they found on the prairie to substitute *psij* which became of great importance to them, and which “furnishes an invaluable food to the Indians” (Nicollet, *Report No. 52*: 11), was the *tipsiŋna* or *tipsij*, a starchy wild turnip (*Psoralea esculenta*), or “Dakota turnip” (Gilmore 1919: 56; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 470; Winchell 1911: 496). The *tipsiŋna* was gathered from the high dry prairies about the headwaters of the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, where it “grows singly, scattered over the prairies, and was an important article of food” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 28). Of a band of *Sisitorŋwanj* living at *Maŋa Taŋka Ota Mde* (Swan Lake) in 1838 in what Nicollet County is now, Nicollet states, “Now some families of Indians occupy these islands, to live on the *tipsinna* [*Psoralea esculenta* or *Prairie turnip*] and a little on hunting” (Bray and Bray 1993: 51; emphasis in original). The farinaceous roots of this plant were an important part item of the vegetal diet of tribes living on the plains, and “Large quantities were dug in June and early July to peel and dry for the winter food supply” (Gilmore 1919: 56). *Ohiyesa* Charles Eastman states, out on the prairie in July and August, “the women were wont to dig *teepsinna* with sharpened sticks,” to be dried and stowed in cache pits (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 94; emphasis added). With the *tipsiŋna*, Dakota people would make a dish which they call *pašdayapi* – which is a “treasured Dakota soup” made from “Indian corn,” *tipsiŋna*, meat (in modern times, beef is used), vegetables (turnips or prairie turnips, rutabaga, and onion), and seasoning (in modern times, salt, pepper, chili powder) (Peterson and LaBatte 2022). According to *Wašicuŋhdiŋaŋiŋ*, Deksi Super, “just as *wacipi* (powwow), *siŋkpetawote* [“the muskrat’s food,” or *sweet flag* or *sway*], *tipsiŋna*, and other Dakota foods and medicines,” *pašdayapi* ties Dakota people to their culture (ibid.: 52; emphasis added).

The yellow lotus or American lotus (*Nelumbo lutea*), known to Dakota people as *tewapa*, is “an esculent root, growing in the water, which the Dakotas boil and eat” (Riggs 1992 [1890]:

467). It was an important native plant food, as both the tubers and seeds were used, and “was much sought and highly prized by the tribes living within its range” (Gilmore 1919: 79). The tubers were found by wading into a pond to search for them in the mud with the toes, the mud was worked away from them with the feet “and they were pulled out by means of a hooked stick,” which in shape and general appearance much resemble a small banana (Gilmore 1919: 79). After the tubers were peeled, they were cut up and cooked with meat or with hominy, and the hard, nutlike seeds were cracked and freed from their shells to be used with meat for making soup (Gilmore 1919: 79). Geyer states that the roots of the white water lily (*Nymphaea odorata*) were “gathered by the Indians as a winter food, where the name derives from” (qtd. in Bray and Bray 1993: 126).

Throughout the wooded portion of the state Dakota people made maple sugar from the sap of the sugar maple (*Acer saccharinum*) (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2016 [1889]). Every spring from March through May, during the melting of the snow and thawing of the ground, Dakota communities primarily comprised of women and children would disperse to large maple groves where their long-time maple sugar camps, which were generally located about two or three miles from their summer villages (S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2016 [1889]). While there was no “ownership” of groves, “the same local or kinship group or family seems to have gone to the same place year after year, for generations...There was no need to blaze boundaries, for people did not trespass” (Landes 1968: 194). Around 1846 George Featherstonhaugh encountered a Dakota sugar processing camp in a clump of sugar maple trees along the *Mini Sota Wakpa* between Granite Falls and Lac qui Parle where they, “found a great number of little wooden troughs, which the Indians, after making an incision in the trees, place beneath them to collect the sap: here, also, were their spring teebees, which they inhabit at that

season” (Featherstonhaugh 1847: 335). Women did the majority of the sap and sugar processing, and the boys would hunt small animals (birds, rabbits, chipmunks, etc.), and pests that were drawn to the area by the sugar (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]). At these sugar-making camps they would both manufacture and live in “sugar houses” which were repaired each season to be reused the next year (Spector 1985). These “sugar houses” were generally ovate and made of wood; generally, there was a row of interior fires used for sugar manufacturing (ibid.). In the fall, Dakota people lived at wild rice camps which were also reoccupied over numerous years (Landes 1968; S. Pond 1986 [1908]). Though the sugar maple (*Acer saccharinum*) was the primary tree exploited for sap, it was also collected from birch (*Betula* spp.) and ash (*Fraxinus* spp.), both of which made a dark and bitter sugar that they would use for medicinal purposes, and from box elder (*Acer negundo*), which they would use to make a sweet white sugar (ibid.).

While there were many factors which pushed Dakota people to adopt the cultivation of maize or corn, ecological decline and persuasion from missionaries, government officials, and other Euro-Americans to abandon their hunter-gatherer lifeways to adopt an agriculturally focused one appear to have been the primary factors (Anderson 1984: 107; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Westerman and White 2012). After 1812 “planting seems to have increased among the Mdewakantons,” and by the 1820s they all had planted corn; some sources report that the largest agricultural effort among the *Mdewakantowwan* was undertaken by *Šakpe*’s people, while the *Sisitorwan* had substantial fields of corn on several islands on both *Inyan Tan̄kiñiñyan* (Big Stone Lake) and *Mde Hdakiñyan* (Lake Traverse) (Anderson 1984: 107-108). It is quite possible that that this greater focus on growing maize or corn at these latter locations was due to the environmental setting in the prairie/forest border, which lacked the same variety and/or availability of wild plant resources found in the eastern riverine and northern lakes regions.

While a small amount of corn was raised by Renville's relatives at *Mde Iyedaŋ* (Lac qui Parle), and "More corn was raised at that time at Lake Traverse than anywhere else among the Dakotas," Samuel Pond believed this was the result of the influence of the local trader (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 26). Moreover, Pond states that corn remained of variable importance to Dakota people living in *Mini Sota Makoçe*, as wild plants remained of considerable importance, and was therefore inconsistently adopted; "At most of the villages a very little corn was raised by some of the families, but only enough to supply them with food for a few days...So little corn was then raised by the Dakotas that some of the bands ate all they had while it was green, and many did not plant at all" (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 26-27).

When they planted their corn, a place was usually chosen "where there was a thrifty growth of wild artichokes, as they were likely to find the soil in such places rich and mellow" (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 27; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 563). According to Nicollet, the dense blazing-star (*Liatris spicata*) was used as an indicator for when the corn was good to eat, which was signified when the flower was blue-red (Bray and Bray 1993: 117). Once collected the maize or corn was dried on scaffolds which are called *çowahe* (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 104). Dried corn not immediately used was put in barrels made of bark and buried in the ground, where it was usually left "until the owners returned from the deer-hunt in January, and was so concealed that, when the snow was on the ground, none but the owners could easily find it" (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 27). When there was a surplus of corn, some of it was preserved by boiling it before it was hard, scraped from the cob with mussel shells, then dried, or by husking it, leaving two or three leaves of the husk attached to the ear, which were then braided in strings about five feet long and hung in the sunshine to dry (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 27). In the past, Dakota recognized two types of corn, flint corn or *kohdi* – "clear, transparent" – is a variety which has shiny and very hard

kernels, which makes it extra difficult to soften with wood ash, and maize or *wamnaheza* has kernels which are matte in color and was the preferred corn as it was easier to soften, thus Dakota women were encouraged to grow *wamnaheza* (Peterson and LaBatte 2022: 50; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 294).

Other plants important to the Dakotas includes the *oymniça* – “beans” – or “Dakota beans” which grow wild in the valleys and low grounds and have a vine-like top (Bray and Bray 1993: 51; Gilmore 1919; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 378). According to Nicollet’s Dakota informants, these little tubers the size of a pea “serves as winter food for prairie mice,” and which the Dakota used themselves as “a great item of nourishment in August and September” (Bray and Bray 1993: 51). Of other gathered plant foods *Ohiyesa* Charles Eastman states, “Our native women gathered all the wild rice, roots, berries and fruits which formed an important part of our food...*Uncheedah* (grandmother) understood these matters perfectly, and it became a kind of instinct with her to know just where to look for each edible variety and at what season of the year” (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 11; emphasis added). From the thickets they would gather hazelnuts (*Corylus cornuta*), wild raspberries (*Rubus idaeus*), grapes (*Vitis riparia*), elderberries (*Sambucus canadensis* and/or *Sambucus racemosa*), cherries (*Prunus* spp.), and plums (*Prunus* spp.) (Palmer 2008; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Spector 1993). Often chokecherries (*Prunus virginiana*) were used to make a berry sauce similar to jam called *canpa wojapi* – which roughly means “chokecherry berry sauce” (Peterson and LaBatte 2022; Williamson 1992: 91). Called *maštijpute* – “rabbit-nose” – by the Dakotas, the buffalo berry or rabbit berry (*Shepherdia argentea*) is a bush bearing red berries which are edible, and the leaves of the plant were sometimes used by the Dakotas for tobacco (Gilmore 1919: 74; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 106, 309; Winchell 1911: 496). In times of extremity, “the Dakota ate acorns and the vine of the

bittersweet,” and would also obtain an article food by boiling hickory chips, from which they would extract the sap (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 29).

Settlement

The semi-sedentary lifeways directed in part by seasonally and regionally available resources is also seen reflected in their settlement patterns as well. While those Dakota peoples who participated in the summer buffalo hunt on the prairies lived in large circular encampments, the Dakota peoples living in the eastern riverine and woodlands generally spent most of the summer months at large summer planting villages, from which they would make excursions to gather resources; the winter months were often spent traversing the territory around their summer planting villages hunting game, utilizing a combination of base camps (e.g., deer hunting base camps) and satellite sites (e.g., muskrat procurement sites, deer cache sites, deer kill sites, etc.); and spring and fall were spent at resource acquisition and processing camps (e.g., wild ricing camps, cranberry camps, maple sugar camps, etc.) (Landes 1968; S. Pond 1968 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Spector 1985; Spector 1993; Westerman and White 2012).

Throughout the summertime, from roughly May to September, Dakota peoples generally occupied their summer residential villages, or “logistical bases,” which Samuel Pond states were typically situated on terraces above rivers and on the uplands near lakes, “for the Indians located their summer villages in the most secure places, often on islands” (S. Pond 1986 [1908: 126]. For example, in his account of Major Long’s expedition, Keating says, at the foot of *Iḡyaḡ* *Taḡkiḡiḡyaḡ* (Big Stone Lake),

The village to which they directed us consisted of thirty skin lodges, situated on a fine meadow on the bank of the lake [*Big Stone Lake*]. Their permanent residence, or at least that which they have occupied as such for the last five years, is on a rocky island (Big Island) in the lake nearly opposite to, and within a quarter of a

mile of, their present encampment. Upon the island they cultivate their corn-fields, secure against the aggressions of their enemies (Keating 1824: 384).

Additionally, the location of a habitation site was often selected for protective purposes, as can be seen from Major Stephen Long's description of the placement of Little Crow's village along the *Haha Wakpa* (Mississippi River) at Pine Bend in July of 1817.

Passed a Sioux village on our right containing 14 Cabins...One of their Cabins is furnished with loop holes and is situated so near the water that the opposite side of the river is within musket shot range from the building. By this means Petit Corbeau [*Little Crow*] is enabled to exercise a command over the passage of the river, and has in some instances compelled traders to land with their goods and induced them, probably thro' fear of offending him, to bestow presents to a considerable amount before he would suffer them to pass. The cabins are a kind of stockade buildings and of a better appearance than any Indian dwellings I have before met with (Long 197: 67).

In the "prairie/forest border" environmental area of western-southern *Mini Sota Makoçe*, the location and movement of summer habitation sites were dictated by the summer hunt of the *pte*, or buffalo. "On the buffalo hunt only, people pitched tents in a circle or semicircle. In the middle of the cleared space was the leader's tipi, where police often gathered. Camp was pitched near water and a windbreak, and as fall approached, the tipis moved eastwards towards outlying brush of the timber country" (Landes 1968: 166). The hide tipis used on the plains could be adapted to the seasons, keeping them warm in the winter and cool in the summer, whereas the summer lodge of the woodland Santee was well suited to the environment – which capitalized on wood, a resource unavailable to the Dakota of the plains. "Here as elsewhere, the Dakota peoples revealed ingenuity in adapting the native resources. They were a practical people, using the material at hand" (Landes 1968: 80).

Regarding the types of habitations utilized by the Dakotas, Winchell states the following:

It is easy to discern, however, on careful scrutiny, that the Dakota had two styles of habitation, the skin tent and the temporary bark cabin being considered as one, and the other those that they occupied in their 'fixed towns or villages;' one style

being transportable easily and used on their travels and hunting trips, and the other when they left behind them their families and household goods. The latter, whether of bark or dirt, accommodated the women and children in their absence and served as rallying points in case of war, and as winter houses when they had sufficient food to warrant them staying at home. There is no doubt that the two kinds were interspersed at all their fixed villages (Winchell 1911: 397).

In their summer planting villages, the woodland *Wahpetonwan* and *Mdewakanonwan* Dakota both maintained semi-permanent summer houses, *tipi tonkas* (Riggs 1992 [1890]), which “were quite comfortable in summer, the only season in which they were occupied” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 38). These abodes were rectangular lodges which were generally supported by a frame of poles, had gabled roofs, and a woven wooden bench that ran along the interior of the lodges (S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Winchell 1911). The coverings of the houses, both sides and roofs, were taken from standing elm trees, with a single bark, which was about six feet (1.8 meters) long, being taken from each tree (*ibid.*). These bark slabs were fastened to the frame poles with basswood bark, and the whole dwelling was covered with them, with those on the roof lapped like shingles which made them waterproof. Running along the whole length of the interior of the house and on all sides of the house but the one where the door was, which was located at the end of the house, was a bench, about two feet (0.6 meters) high and five or six feet (1.5 or 1.8 meters) wide, covered with bark, and in some places was spread over with buffalo robes and mats; on these benches or bedsteads, the Dakota sat, ate, and slept (*ibid.*). The fire was situated on the ground in the center of the house below an aperture left in the roof for the smoke to escape through. Above the doorway outside would be a wooden scaffold on which the Dakota would dry meat or sleep on during hot summer nights (S. Pond 1986 [1908]); Riggs 2004 [1893]; Winchell 1911).

In January of 1838, Mrs. S. M. Riggs, writing at Lac qui Parle describes the Dakota winter habitations in the following terms:

The Dakota tent is formed of buffalo skins, stretched on long poles placed on the ground in a circle, and meeting at the top, where a hole is left from which the smoke of the fire in the center issues. Others are made of bark and tied to the poles placed in a similar manner. A small place is left for a door of skin stretched on skins and hinged with strings at the top, so that the person entering raises it from the bottom and crawls in. at this season of the year the door is protected by a covered passage formed by stakes driven into the ground several feet apart, and thatched with grass. Here they keep their wood which the women cut this cold weather...And should you lift the little door, you would find a cold, smokey lodge about twelve feet in diameter, a mother and her child, a blanket or two, or a skin, a kettle, and possible a sack of corn in some of them (Riggs 1969 [1887]: 43-44).

Conclusion

The focus of this chapter on the Dakota environment in *Mini Sota Makoçe* has covered both the natural and cultural environments of Dakota people who have lived in this state. In providing descriptions of the physical and environmental settings, it laid the groundwork for understanding the environmental influences that contributed, or had the potential, to Dakota culture in *Mini Sota Makoçe*. This then made it possible to discuss the cultural setting for Dakota people in *Mini Sota Makoçe*, which included a discussion of ancestral or protohistoric Dakota lifeways, based on what is known from published ethnographic and historic records. These records also provided insight into how interactions with Euro-Americans, as well as other Native Americans, contributed to or altered Dakota culture and lifeways, such as treaties with the U.S. Government and wars with them and other tribes of Native Americans. Dakota bands and divisions, and villages and communities were also discussed, thoroughly placing Dakota people on the landscape in *Mini Sota Makoçe*. The discussion of the cultural setting for Dakota people in *Mini Sota Makoçe* was concluded with a discussion of their lifeways in regard to subsistence and settlement practices and patterns.

By discussing all of these aspects of the Dakota environment in *Mini Sota Makoçe*, it has made it possible to now address Dakota belief systems and analyze in what ways the natural

environment has contributed to or directed them, as well as establish a framework for what Dakota archeology in *Mini Sota Makoçe* may look like, which will be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER 3 – THE ENVIRONMENT AND DAKOTA BELIEF

SYSTEMS

Introduction

Throughout their history, the environment has been at the very core of Dakota belief systems, and it was around the environment which everyone's lives revolved. Nicollet provides an observation on how natural features on the landscape have contributed to the belief systems of the Dakota people; he states that Dakota people were,

...in awe of all the physical objects that cover the earth, and according to their ideas they do not fail to have as much respect for these objects as for men. It is a perpetual dread of death; they ask all these objects to spare them, to let them live. The longest idea that they have of life is that of grandfather and grandmother. From here comes the fact that to rocky escarpments, to isolated rocks, to these they sacrifice everything they have on them; they always say or call out to them 'My grandfather, my grandmother, let me live, make my children live, as long as you have lived' (Bray and Bray 1993: 268).

In their observations of their natural surroundings, past Dakota people developed belief systems apropos a relationship with the natural environment which resulted in the enculturation of the landscape. Hence, ethnographic data such as this it provides insight into the nature of the relationship that Dakota people have had with the natural environment of their traditional homelands in Minnesota or *Mini Sota Makoçe*¹⁰ – “land where the waters reflect the sky” – and it is ethnographic information such as this which is the focus of this chapter. Descriptions of Dakota belief systems are first provided, followed by a discussion about how Dakota belief systems reflect their environments, which focuses on how Dakota beliefs about the environment are broadly writ, and shaped their behaviors which may then be observed in the archeological

¹⁰ Peterson and LaBatte 2022; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 307, 314, 318, 438; Westerman and White 2012.

record. Reasonable expectations for what to expect from the archeological record are then established at the end of the chapter.

3.1 – Dakota Belief Systems

It is through stories that people understand where they come from, and for Dakota people, oral traditions and oral histories are a cornerstone of their belief systems and, thus, their lives.

Carried in our collective memories are stories of this place that reach beyond recorded history...Indeed, the stories—oral histories and traditions—are reflected in the place names of this region where Dakota people have lived for millennia and where they still maintain powerful connections to the land. Place names around us...repeat these stories. Existing in different versions, carried forward by multiple storytellers, the message is the same: Mni Sota is a Dakota place (Westerman and White 2012: 13-14).

As such, it may be possible to use Dakota oral histories and traditions to see how the environment contributed to Dakota belief systems, as these narratives play an integral part in facilitating the connection of Dakota people to the environment(s) of their traditional homelands in *Mini Sota Makoçe*. Additionally, according to missionary Stephen R. Riggs, “Mythology, next to language, affords the most reliable evidence as to the origin or relationship of a people; for peoples have been slow to change their gods” (Riggs 1883: 147). Furthermore, “Our chief and most reliable of Dakota mythology is...from their traditions and tales” (Riggs 1883: 148). Therefore, it should be possible to use Dakota oral traditions to gain an understanding of Dakota peoples’ beliefs about their place in the world, which may then provide a basis for understanding how the natural environment has contributed to their belief systems.

Sacred Dakota Figures, Beings, and Deities

Although Dakota theology, “...consists of sixteen persons yet all in the one person of **A-KAN TAN-KA**, the great god,” who is “composed of four ranking superior gods, each with his

own associate god or other selves” (Durand 1994: 90; emphasis in original). *Iḡyaḡ* – “stone” or “rock” – is the source of all things, ancestor of all the “gods,” and whose associated is *Wakiḡyaḡ* – “thunder beings” – or the winged “god,” the voice of thunder, and giver of revelation; *Maka* – “the Earth” – is the patroness of all that grows, and whose associate is *Whope* – “the Beautiful One” – who is the daughter of the Sun and the Moon, is the great mediator, and is married to the South Wind; *Skan* – “the Sky” – is the Great Spirit, the source of all motion and judge of all the “gods,” and whose associate is *Tate* – “the Wind” – who is the controller of the season; and *Wi* – “the Sun” – is who is chief “god” and the most powerful, and whose other self is *Hanwi* – “the Moon” – who is his wife, and sets the time for all important undertakings (ibid.). In Dakota *Hituḡkakanpi* (legends, tales, myths), when the world was created, *Kuḡḡi Maka* – “Grandmother Earth” – was just a rock, and she was selected to hold life, though the moon, the planets, the stars, and the sun agreed to help her with this task she had been given (Westerman and White 2012: 17).

The Dakotas often refer to supernatural or divine powers as *Ṭaku Wakay* (also written *Taku Wakan*) – “something mysterious or sacred” – (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 108; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 455, 508). In Dakota belief systems, the preeminent spiritual figure/entity, and chief object of worship, are the powerful water spirits who are also spirits of the underworld, of which there are many, both male and female, both of which Dakota people consider to be *wakay* – “sacred” or “Holy Beings” – (Campbell 2000; G. Pond 1867; S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 87; Riggs 1883: 149). The males are known as *Uḡktehi* (also written *Unkteri*) and their dwelling place is the water, while the females are known as *Uḡḡeḡila* and are the spirits of which animates the earth (Durand 1994: 96; G. Pond 1867; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 485). The *Uḡktehi* was originally an associate god to *Maka*, the Earth, “but was cast into the waters because

of an extremely contentious nature” (Durand 1994: 96). Thus, the *Uŋktehi* are underwater beings, and much of the oral history and philosophies of earlier Eastern Dakotas “say they were here from the beginning of time, even before the earth was covered with water,” and this was where the *Uŋktehi* lived (Campbell 2000: 37). “Hence, when the Dakota seems to be praying, chanting, or offering sacrifices to the water or earth, it is to this family of gods that they worship is rendered. They address the male as ‘Grandfather’ and the female as ‘Grandmother’” (Durand 1994: 96). As the *Uŋktehi* are powerful water spirits, missionary Samuel Pond was told by Dakota elders that the *Uŋktehi* inhabited springs, waterways, and locations such as the Falls of St. Anthony, though his primary dwelling place was *Ṭaḳu Wakaŋ Tipi* – “the dwelling place of the gods” – which is “a small hill over-looking the Fort Snelling prairie located between the VA Hospital and Naval Air Station” (Durand 1994: 86). Dakota tradition states that the spirit of the female *Uŋktehi* animate the earth, “Hence, when the Dakota seems to be praying or chanting or offering sacrifices to the water or to the earth, it is to this family of the gods that the worship is rendered” (G. Pond 1867: 35).

Dakota oral traditions also describe how the *Wakinyan* – “thunder beings” – who caused storm winds and lightning (Westerman and White 2012: 17). For example, according to Dakota oral tradition, a small cloud once rose upward from behind the hills west of *Mde Hdakinyan* and Big Stone Lake or *Mde Inyan Tanŋiŋkinyan* – “big stone lake” – (Durand 1994: 33), and that this was the *Wakinyan* – “Thunder Bird” – which lived among the lakes to the west.

The flapping of its wings caused the crashing of the thunder, and flames of lightning issued forth from its nostrils. As it flew, the heavens darkened and the rain fell in torrents. Finally, the Thunder Bird stopped to rest on the ridge of hills a few miles west of the south end of Lake Traverse, and on alighting on a large granite boulder it left the imprints of its feet on the boulder’s surface. Thus the rock became sacred or *wakan*, and was regarded by the Dakotas as the everlasting resting place of the Thunder Bird (Johnsgard 1979: 94).

In Dakota belief systems, the counterpart deity to the *Wakinyan* is *Iñyan* – “stone” – though Riggs states that in the “sacred language” he was also known as *Tukän*¹¹ – “stone” or “grandfather” – (Bray and Bray 1993; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 481). *Iñyan* is a superior god, the ancestor of all things, and as the advocate of construction and destruction, authority, and vengeance, is considered the greatest force and power in the land (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994: 94). According to Nicollet, the Dakota “see everything on earth perish except stone. They believe, therefore, that the oldest object merits their veneration, having a spirit” (Bray and Bray 1993: 270). The *Iñyan* (or *Tukän*) are said to exist “in the numerous boulders scattered over the prairies, and is more worshipped than any other of the Dakota gods” (Riggs 1883: 148). There is another entity similar to this one which, according to Samuel Pond, the Dakota are said to worship the *Taku-Shkan-Shkan* – “that which moves” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]). This deity/spirit is also associated with stones, which are “sometimes at least, his dwelling-place,” and it is also believed by the Dakotas that some stones had the ability of locomotion, “or were moved by some invisible, supernatural power” (ibid.: 87). Based on the translation of this spirit’s/deity’s Dakota name, it would seem that they credit the ability of stones to locomote to the *Taku-Shkan-Shkan*. Whether the *Iñyan* and *Taku-Shkan-Shkan* are separate entities or the same is unclear, for, as seen above, the Dakota had numerous names and/or spellings for their spirits. That said, it is clear that stone(s), or *iñyan*, and water, or *mini*, were significant aspects of the natural environment which contributed to Dakota belief systems, as can be seen from the esteem the Dakota had for them.

Origins of Dakota Peoples

As a cultural group or tribe, the Sioux have generally referred to themselves collectively as the *Oçeti Šakowin* – “Seven Council Fires” – in reference to the seven bands of the Sioux –

¹¹ Correctly spelled: *Tuñkan* (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 481).

the *Mdewakan̄toŋwaŋ* (spelled *Bdewakan̄tuŋwaŋ* by the *Tituŋwaŋ* [Teton]), the *Wah̄petoŋwaŋ*, the *Sisitoŋwaŋ*, the *Wah̄pekūte*, the *Ihaŋktuŋwaŋ* (Yankton), the *Ihaŋkuŋwaŋna* (Yanktonai [Nakota]), and the *Tituŋwaŋ* (Teton [Lakota]) – with each band representing one of the seven “Fires” (Bray and Bray 1993; Patterson and LaBatte 2022; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012). Due to their (scientifically correct) belief that they originate from the stars, Dakota people also call themselves *Wican̄h̄pi Oyate* – “Star People” – as their spirits, are brought forth from the Creator down the *Çaŋku Wanaġi* – “spirit road” – or the Milky Way, and at death, they return where they came from along that same path (Westerman and White 2012).

According to Dakota oral traditions, *Mini Sota Makoçe* is the place where the first of their people walked upon the land and, as such, “everything is imbued with an element of wakaŋ, or sacredness” (Westerman and White 2012: 222). Dakota people believe that *Oçeti Şaġowiŋ* came from the constellation of Orion, which includes seven major stars, and arrived at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers in the area of present-day Fort Snelling. At this place of creation, which is known to Dakota people as *Mdote Mini Sota* – “the clouded joining of two rivers” – Dakota oral tradition states that the Earth opened herself, and from the earth two bluffs – *Çaşke Taŋka* and *Çaşke Cistiŋna* – were formed, and when “...[t]he Earth opened herself in that way...from the mud the Creator made the first Dakota man and Woman,” where they were brought forth on the prairie below St. Anthony Falls, or *Owamniyomni* – “whirlpool” – and because they were made from the Earth, the Dakotas call her *Ina* – “Mother” (Westerman and White 2012: 19). In this area of *Mdote* and *Owamniyomni*, “the Dakota people flourished,” and soon the various groups of Dakota spread out to the south and west of *Mdote* and *Owamniyomni* and “lived all through the prairies, where they hunted buffalo and elk” (ibid.: 27). And so, in

some respects, this place is an Eden of the Dakota people, and the land around that area is sacred as well (Westerman and White 2012: 18-19). As these oral traditions show, the landscape of *Mini Sota Makoçe* abounds with natural/environmental features, many of which are considered by Dakota people to be sacred sites, which have contributed to Dakota belief systems.

3.2 – How Dakota Belief Systems Reflect Their Environment

For Dakota people, the power of place is understood through the stories and experiences of their people and their ancestors, and from ethnographically documented Dakota oral histories, oral traditions, and place names, it is known that there are landscape features (e.g., rivers, lakes, hills, caves, springs, etc.) throughout *Mini Sota Makoçe* which have been known to Dakota people due to their association with, or are references to, events, both fictive and real, which such narratives convey. One example of a river whose name comes from a Dakota oral history is the Credit River in Scott County, which is known to the Dakota as *Hehaka Hnaka Wakpadaŋ* – “river where they elevated [or “buried”] the elk” (Bray and Bray 1993: 44; Durand 1994: 17; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 142, 150-151, 516). According to a Dakota oral tradition as understood by Joseph Nicollet, “the Elk” “was an ancient Sioux who had the name, and who, upon his death, was elevated on a scaffold on the bank of the river from which circumstance it has taken the name” (Bray and Bray 1993: 44).

The names Dakota people gave to environmental features on the landscapes of their habited spaces were/are also geographic references or toponyms. “The Indians change the name of a river often along its course. Their geography gives information of immediate use to them. The names multiply because of useful objects, or memorable events, or formations of the terrain which are found along the river” (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 102). An example of this practice is

the Crow Wing River, the two branches of which are known to Dakota people by separate names; the south branch retains the name Crow River, or *Kaŋgi Suŋ Wakpa* – “crow wing river” – from its mouth to *Kaŋdiyohi* – “where the buffalo fish come” – in the prairies, and the north branch is considered to be another river, the *Mağa Wakpa* – “goose river” (Durand 1994: 37-38; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 260, 292, 449, 516). According to Dakota oral tradition, the name for the crow is *Uŋci Sicadaŋ* – “bad grandmother” – “because it will steal corn and other items” (Nicollet qtd. in Durand 1994: 37). It is worth noting that *Kaŋdiyohi* is likely an Americanized version of the Dakota word for wood, “*çaŋ*.” As there are many Dakota place names with *çaŋ* (“wood”) as a prefix or are included in the name, this provides insight into how Dakota people cognized and activated the relationship between environment and place or humanized their habited spaces.

It must be noted that that an exhaustive list of all the Dakota place names for rivers, lakes, woods, sacred sites, etc., not only because of research limitations, but due to information loss, informational variability across bands, etc. That said, the germane point is that water features were important not only as resources, but as places which situated or contributed to Dakota life in other ways. Furthermore, while the original meanings of Dakota words, phrases, or names may be forgotten over time, the name remains. Therefore, “Unless the story of a name is kept, the original meaning can be lost” (Peterson and LaBatte 2022: 67).

3.2.1 – The Environment and Dakota Belief Systems

While a significant number of Dakota narratives and place names provide a means by which to understand how past events and/or behaviors have contributed to Dakota belief systems, many of those which are included in this analysis commonly pertain to particular environmental features on the landscape. As close observers of nature (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]), it stands to reason that

certain aspect of the environment, such as landscape features (e.g., lakes, rivers, hills, caves, springs, etc.), will have variably contributed to Dakota belief systems. Those landscape features or aspects of the natural environment which appear to have contributed the ‘most’ to Dakota belief systems are the focus of this section. These include, though are not limited to, the following: *mini*¹² – “water,” *mde* – “lake(s),” *çaŋ* – “wood,” *iŋyaŋ* – “stone” or “rock,” and *h̄e* or *paha* – “hill(s)” (Durand 1994; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 86, 163, 201, 312, 314, 318; Westerman and White 2012).

Mini (“Water”)

It is axiomatic that water is a natural resource which is a requisite to the survival of humans. While all bodies of *mini* are generally considered by Dakota people to be significant, there are some which are particularly so. For Dakota people, water or *mini* “...was pure, part of the land, and therefore part of the people,” and since water keeps everything alive, it was the first medicine given to the Dakota people, and that water which comes from the earth is *wakaŋ* – “sacred” (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 508; Westerman and White 2012: 19).

Dakota beliefs pertaining to *mini* is echoed in their beliefs about naturally occurring springs of water or fountains or *wakoniya*¹³ (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 515), which they believe to be abodes of the *Uŋktehi*, as well as being a natural feature which was a means of transportation between bodies of water for him, such as from Lake Traverse and Big Stone Lake along the *Mini Sota Wakpa* (Minnesota River) to *Ṭaḳu Wakay Tipi*, which is present-day Indian Mounds Park (21RA0010) near *H̄aha Mdote* (Fort Snelling), at the *H̄aha Wakpa* (Mississippi River) (S. Pond

¹² This spelling of the word is that used in the Dakota Sioux (Eastern Dakota) dialect, whereas in the *Ihaŋktuŋwaŋ* (Yankton – Western Dakota) dialect, it is written “*mni*” [Riggs 1992 [1890]: 314, 318]). As with the distinction made above between the varied spellings of *mdote/bdote*, as “*mini*” is the version used by the Dakota Sioux, it is used instead of the *Ihaŋktuŋwaŋ* dialect version.

¹³ In the Teton dialect these are called *miniyowe* (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 515).

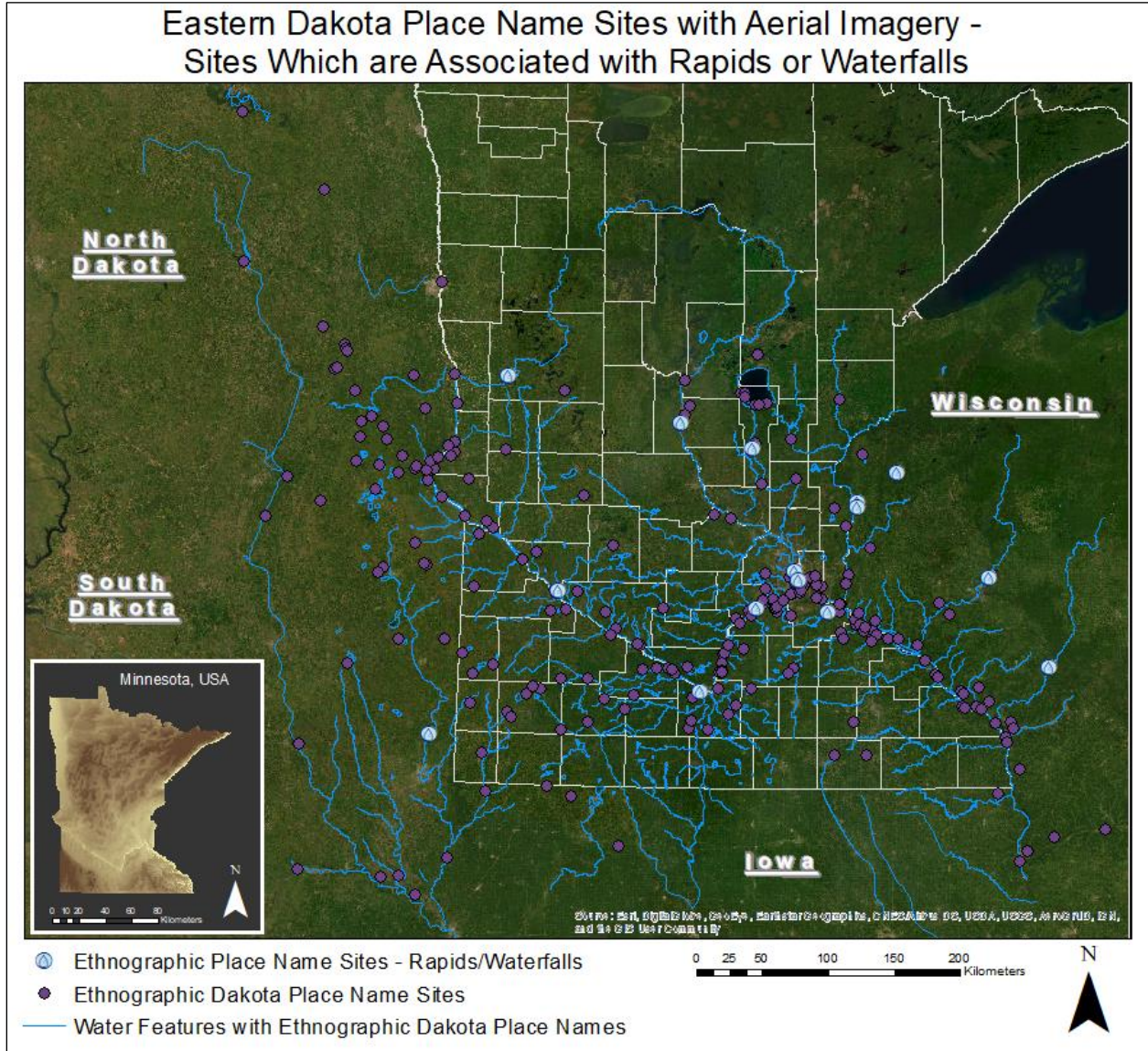
1986 [1908]: 106). (Campbell 2000; G. Pond 1867; Westerman and White 2012). Hence, "...it is probably, that the bubbling springs of water are called the 'breathing places of the wakan'" (G. Pond 1867: 35). For example, the Dakota name for Waconia Lake, Carver County, MN is *Mde Wakoniya* – "fountain of spring lake" – is taken from *wakan*, "a spirit," plus *niya*, "to breathe," and literally translates to "breathing hold of the gods," which has particular reference to the male *Uŋktehi*, "whose abode is in the water where he awaits an unsuspecting victim" (Durand 1994: 55). Coldwater Spring or *Maka Yusota* – "boiling springs" – which is in the present-day city of Savage and runs to *Wakan Tipi* (Carver's Cave) is another spring which Dakota people believe to be a point of transportation for *Uŋktehi*, as well as one of his abodes (Durand 1994; Westerman and White 2012). Located near *Oheyawahi* (Pilot Knob), *Maka Yusota* is a sacred site to Dakota people. Reverend Gary Cavender states that, according to Dakota oral tradition "in that spring there is an underground river that goes into the big river, and that is his [*Uŋktehi*] passageway to get out into the world. To block the sacred passageway would be courting drought and things of that nature that have to do with water, because after all, this is the God of the water" (qtd. in Westerman and White 2012: 213).

Another body of water which exhibits the importance of *mini* in Dakota belief systems and is of similar significance to Dakota people in past and present times, is Mille Lacs Lake or *Mde Wakan* – "mysterious lake" or "spirit lake" (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012). According to Dakota oral tradition, *Mde Wakan* was an abode of "a fearful *Ŧaku Wakan*, that is, some supernatural or divine power," which was the *Uŋktehi* (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 108; emphasis added). In Dakota belief systems, the *Uŋktehi* is sacred because he existed at the beginning of time; he "was the connection between the human, the plants, and the animal world, and the philosophy was that he always lies underneath the

earth, and all things grow from him, such as the trees, the roots, the plants, the waters, everything” (Campbell 2000: 38-39). Therefore, although the Dakota feared the *Uḡktehi*, which lived in *Mde Wakąḡ*, it was there that the *Mdewakąḡtoḡwanḡ* made their village, for it was this *Ṭąku Wakąḡ* who appeared in the spring during planting time, and “that by means of *Uḡktomi*’s [*Uḡktehi*’s] heart the people were brought to life again” (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 143, 157). Thus, as *Mde Wakąḡ* was believed to be an abode of *Uḡktehi*, this lake was viewed as a place of creation and therefore *wakąḡ*, which further illuminates on the specificity regarding the source of water (that is, that which comes from the earth) to be *wakąḡ*. Samuel Pond (1986 [1908]) states, “To declare a thing as wakan was often nothing more than an attempt to prevent improper or dangerous things from being done by an appeal to superstitious fears” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 106).

The significance of *mini* in Dakota belief systems may also be inferred from a Dakota oral tradition about creation or, rather, ‘re-creation.’ As with many cultures throughout the world, the Dakotas have an oral tradition which involves a ‘cleansing’ flood of the earth, and this narrative provides additional insight into *Sisitoḡwanḡ* (and *Ihaḡktuḡwanḡ*) beliefs about the location of the center of the earth/center of creation. According to this Dakota oral tradition, the *Uḡktehi* was called on by the Creator to flood the land and cleanse it of all the people who had forgotten how to behave, the eagle picked up a young woman who was clinging to a tree and brought her to *Inḡyan Ṭąḡka* – “the big rock” – which stood out from the water at Big Stone Lake or *Mde Inḡyan Ṭąḡnyąnyąḡ* – “big stone lake” (Durand 1994; Westerman and White 2012). From there the eagle showed her that the water from there – the center of the earth – flowed in all directions (to the north and east and to the south and west), and it was from there “that the people again

multiplied and flourished” (Westerman and White 2012: 26-27). Thus, the massive flood of *mini* was a means by which the *Maka* was cleansed of the bad.



Map 3.1– Map of Dakota ethnographic place name sites associated with rapids/waterfalls, with aerial imagery.

Inyan (“stone/rock”)

Another aspect of their environment(s) which played an integral role in Dakota belief systems was stone, or *inyan* (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 201), as *Inyan* or the Rock, who, as the ancestor

of all things, is a superior god in Dakota belief systems (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994: 94; S. Pond 1986 [1908]). Therefore, sites on the landscape which consist of prominent awe-inspiring stone features, such as large boulders, which Dakota people often painted red and/or made offerings at, are believed by Dakota people to be *wakan*. One example of this is a large sacred stone of this sort at Red Rock or *Inyan Ša* near the present-day city of Newport, Minnesota, from which the place takes its name. In 1824 near Prairie du Chien, George Featherstonhaugh encountered, “Those rocks where rude figures of animals have been painted by the Indians” (Featherstonhaugh 1847: 22). In the past, both were often found to be “covered with votive offerings, such as tobacco, pieces of cloth, hatchets, knives, arrows, and other articles of small value” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 89). According to Nicollet,

The Sioux take advantage of these loose materials [*fragments of granite rocks*] to erect signals on the most elevated spots, or to designate the place by some conical structure, where some exhausted hunter has died on the prairies, and desires to be buried in a more prominent situation; or they amuse themselves in shaping them into fantastic figures. They give names to these localities, which thus serve as landmarks in a country where there are no other geographical beacons (Nicollet 1845: 14).

One example of these “fantastic figures” made of stone is a stone effigy on the Coteau located southwest of Lake Wilson in Murray County, Minnesota which is known as *Inyan Wičasta Kağapi* – “large man made of stone” – (Durand 1994: 33; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 201, 248, 568). According to Nicollet, “The Sioux, one does not know when, brought together the stones of the place and made with them a representation of a man and named the place *ian Witchashta Karhapi* [*Inyan Wicasta Kagapi*] – the place where they have made a man of stone” (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 70; emphasis in original). Although Nicollet (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993) attributes the creation of this human-made figure of *Inyan* to the Dakota since their relatives were living the area when he visited them, Nicollet was also told by the Dakota he encountered that the

Dakota themselves were unsure when the stone effigy was made so who did in fact make it is inherently unclear.

Dakota beliefs pertaining to *iŋyaŋ* can also be interpreted from oral traditions related to rock features on the landscape which exhibit the significance of *iŋyaŋ* in Dakota belief systems, such as the numerous sites within the Pipestone National Monument in Pipestone County, MN. The present-day Pipestone Quarry or *Çaŋduhupa Ša Kapi* – “to dig the red pipes” – (Durand 1994: 2), is comprised of close-grained, compact quartz known as pipestone or Catlinite. Early explorer George Catlin, for whom the stone is named, visited the site in the early to mid-19th century and provided the following observations.

From the very numerous marks of ancient and modern diggings or excavations, it would appear that this place has been for many centuries resorted to for the red stone; and from the great number of graves and remains of ancient fortifications in its vicinity, it would seem, as well as from their actual traditions, that the Indian tribes have long held this place in high superstitious estimation; and also that it has been the resort for different tribes, who have made their regular pilgrimage here to renew their pipes (Catlin 1989: 424).

Hence, *Çaŋduhupa Ša Kapi* is a “celebrated meeting ground” where Native Americans of many nations have gone for many generations to obtain the red stone found there (Bray and Bray 1993: 22), and it has been an integral ‘feature’ in the oral traditions and histories and, subsequently, the belief systems, of numerous Native American tribes extending back a great many generations. In 1838 Joseph N. Nicollet noted that, “In the opinion of the Sioux, who are fond of the marvelous, this quarry was opened by the great spirit of thunder, and one cannot visit it without being greeted by his rumblings and the lightning and storms that accompany them” (Bray and Bray 1993: 72-73). According to Swift Man or *Wicasta Duzahan*, the son of a chief near *Oiyuweġe* (Traverse des Sioux), “This red pipe was given to the red men by the Great Spirit – it is part of our flesh, and therefore is great medicine” (Catlin 1989: 431; qtd. in Diedrich 1989: 29).

Additionally, Dakota oral tradition maintains that *Çaŋduhupa Ša Kapi* was created when “the people” (i.e., the ancestors and close relatives of the Dakota) which lived up and down the Mississippi River or *Haha Wakpa* – “river of the falls” – fell away from the Creator and, as a result, the Creator sent the *Uŋktehi* to flood the earth and cleanse it of the disrespectful actions of the people. Those who perished were the ones who had “forgotten how to behave as humans,” and it was their blood which became the sacred red stone, or Catlinite, which is still used by Dakota people today for their ceremonial pipes used for prayer (Westerman and White 2012: 21). In a way, this oral tradition reifies the belief of Dakota people that water is *wakaŋ*, as it was water which was sent by the *Uŋktehi* at the behest of Creator to cleanse the earth of that which was bad. It is also interesting that one becomes cleansed by smoking through something that is a symbol of Creator’s wish for people to be pure, but which is at the same time the blood of the impure.



Figure 3.1 – Pipestone quarry; Pipestone National Monument.

Another ‘*iŋyaŋ* site’ within *Çaŋduhupa Ša Kapi* which exhibit the significance of *iŋyaŋ* in Dakota belief systems consists of six glacial “erratics,” i.e., fragments of individual red granite boulders which were carried, likely as one original boulder, far from their bedrock sources from further up north by a glacier and left behind when the ice melted (Bray and Bray 1993; Ojakangas and Matsch 1982: 100; Winchell 1911). The three largest of these granite boulders are known to Dakota peoples as The Three Maidens, and to which they leave offerings for.

One must ask where they [*the stones*] came from. The situation is a mystery. It is on the red fragments which serve as paving stones for these rocks that the Sioux come to write their names as is their custom. They say, moreover, that three female spirits live in this mysterious place and that it is they who have engraved all of the characters that one sees on the red pavement and that one can hear them work at night (Bray and Bray 1993: 84).



Figure 3.2 – Glacial “erratics” known as the Three Maidens; Pipestone National Monument.

The significance of caves/caverns/holes in the ground, which are known to Dakota people as *makoħdoka* (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 307), in Dakota belief systems is interesting and intriguing as they essentially represent a confluence of two types of features/aspects of the natural landscape,

mini and *iŋyaŋ*, the influences of which on Dakota belief systems has been lightly discussed in the above paragraphs, such as the specific/particular association of two prominent spiritual figures or deities/gods – *Uŋktehi*, the Dakota deity/god of both water and the underworld, and *Iŋyaŋ*, the Dakota deity associated with stone, respectively – with them. It therefore stands to reason that *makohdoka* are often believed by Dakota people to be places which are *wakaŋ*. In a narrative of a personal experience had as a Dakota youth in western *Mini Sota Makoçe*, *Ohiyesa* Charles Eastman provides insight on the *wakaŋ* nature Dakota believe caves to have:

Then they proceeded to the mouth of an immense cave, some fifty feet above the river, under the cliff. A little stream of limpid water trickled down from a spring within the cave. The little watercourse served as a sort of natural staircase for the visitors. A cool, pleasant atmosphere exhaled from the mouth of the caver. Really it was a shrine of nature and it is not strange that it was so regarded by the tribe (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 46).

One example of such “a shrine of nature” is the sacred site of *Wakaŋ Tipi* – “sacred habitation” or “Dwelling of the Great Spirit” – (Durand 1994; Westerman and White 2012), present-day Carver’s Cave, which is a large cave along the *Haha Wakpa* near *Mdote* with a spring-fed lake that flows from its mouth. In accordance with Dakota oral tradition, Dakota people believe *Wakaŋ Tipi* to be an abode of *Uŋktehi*, as indicated by the presence of pictographs of snakes, which are “generally associated with the powerful underwater spirit,” which are etched on the walls and ceiling within the cave (Westerman and White 2012: 219).

It is prudent to note that there are narratives which are meant to be metaphorical (oral traditions) and some which are specific to events which actually happened (oral histories), and it is not uncommon for them to blend. Those associated with this site demonstrate the point. Clearly it is not the case that all the Dakota bands brought their dead here, as there would be tens of thousands of bodies in the mounds at this site. “This is the real heart of why it’s so difficult to use this kind of information. While some is factual, some is not, and it’s not only tough to sort

out which is which, but you also don't want to get caught up in saying that someone's state beliefs are false" (Dr. Ronald Schirmer 2022; personal communication). It should also be noted that in many cases narratives such as the origin stories and oral traditions included in this analysis should not be, and often were not meant to be, taken literally, but are, and were, to be understood metaphorically. There are stories that are quite specific about particular places where events happened, and then there are general stories, and it is not uncommon for them to blend.

Ĥe or Paha ("hill(s)")

To Dakota people, hills, which are called *ĥe* – “a high hill” or “ridge of hills, a mountain” (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 163) or “the river hills” (Williamson 1992 [1902]: 83) – and a *paha* – “a mound, hill” (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 403; Williamson 1992 [1902]: 83), are landscape features which are endowed with special properties, which may be why Samuel Pond states, “The Dakotas selected elevated locations for burying places” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 164). Samuel Pond adroitly points out the following:

We should also remember that the customs of a people, once adopted from necessity, are likely to be continued after the necessity for them ceases to exist. Practices that are now out of place might have been proper a hundred years ago, but it would have been strange if the Dakotas had not retained some of the customs of their ancestors longer than there was any real necessity for their observance. We are to remember that the Dakotas have always inhabited a cold country, and that they had no tools for digging except what they made for themselves. Under such circumstances, it would have been an utter impossibility for them to dig graves in the winter, and they could preserve the bodies of their dead from wild beasts by placing them on trees or scaffolds (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 162-163).

In the 1850s, missionary Stephen R. Riggs attests to the connection of the Dakota people to the mounds of the Minnesota River Valley, noting that they preferred to bury their people on a hill or conspicuous point – a *paha* or *ĥe* – near their villages (Riggs 2004 [1893]). On such a *paha* or *ĥe* (hill or prominence on the landscape), the Dakota would erect a scaffold on which the body

would lie before burial (Bray and Bray 1993; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]). “After a while the bones could be gathered up and buried in the mound and an additional quantity of earth carried up to cover it” (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 212). According to Riggs, this practice was partly the explanation of burial mounds, as he notes that those burial mounds which still existed at that time, had continued to be used by the Dakota for burial and were found near all their villages (Westerman and White 2012: 32]). According to George Catlin,

The wigwams of these people are only moveable tents, and leave but a temporary mark to be discovered. Their burials, however, are peculiar and lasting remains, which can be long detected. They often deposit their dead on trees, and on scaffolds; but more generally bury in the tops of bluffs, or near their villages; when they often split out staves and drive in the ground around the grave, to protect it from the trespass of dogs or wild animals (Catlin 1989: 275).

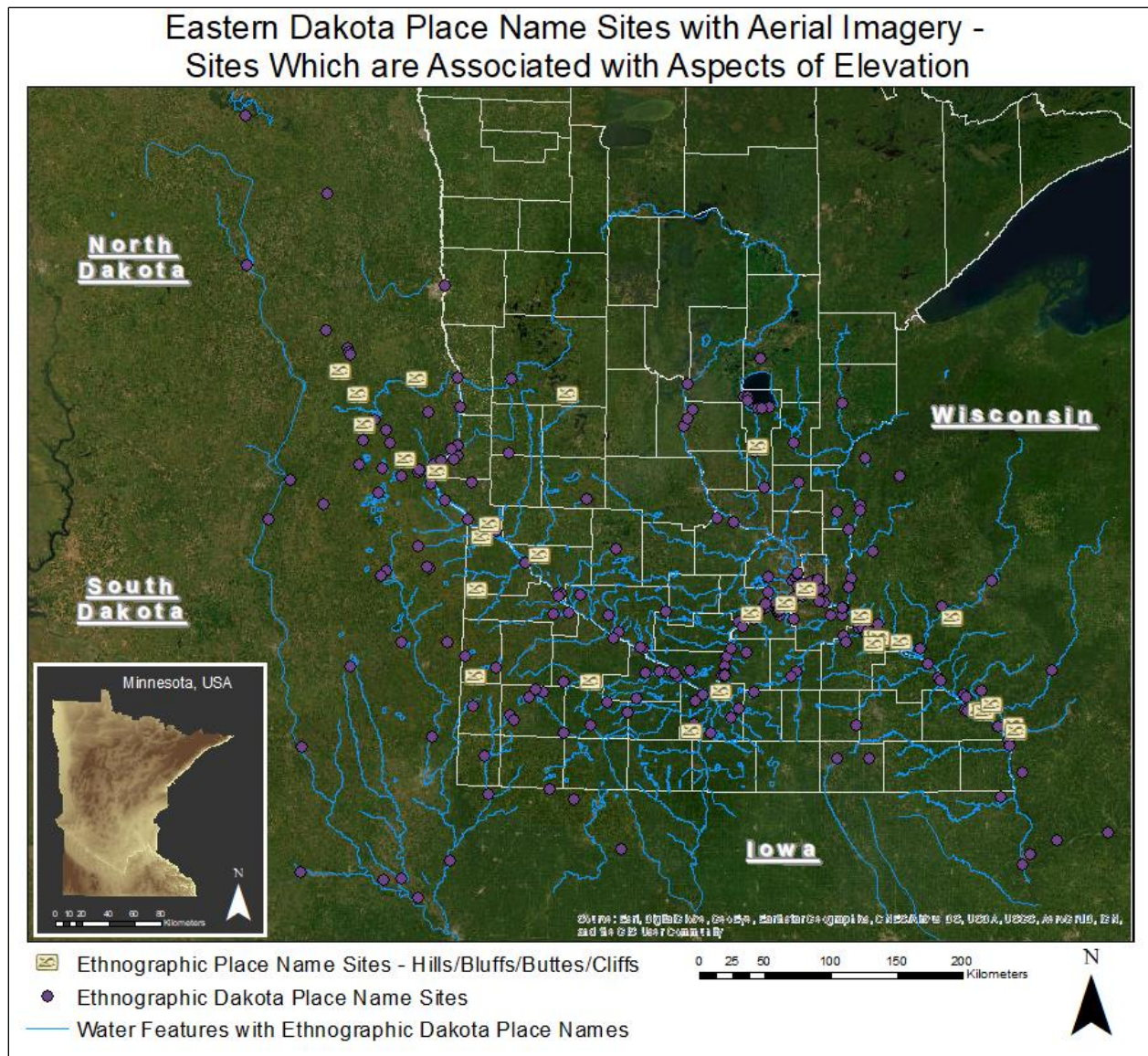
Nicollet encountered such a site during his 1843 expedition near Lake Shetek or *Mdega Be* – “pelican lake” – (Durand 1994: 80), where Nicollet and his party ascended a conical hill “which has served and still serves as a cemetery for the Sioux who die while camping at these lakes” (Bray and Bray 1993: 64). Because this *paha* was a “summit of the hill of the dead,” it was known to the Dakota as *Oseyadaŋ* – “to cry, to weep” – (Bray and Bray 1993: 64; Durand 1994: 63). Another such site is located along the eastern bank of the *Haha Wakpa* within the “sacred district of Bdote” is another *he* or *paha* which is known to Dakota peoples as *Ohe Yawahe* – “the place much visited” or “a hill much visited” – as the site was often visited by the Dakota, though no permanent or seasonal villages were located there (Durand 1994: 63; Westerman and White 2012: 186). According to Dakota elder *Ta Šuŋka Wakinyan Ohitika* Chris Leith, at *Ohe Yawahe* there was “a lot of energy... There’s a vortex energy there, that’s why, and the Dakota nation held it sacred” (c.f. Westerman and White 2012: 187 [sidebar]). Therefore, places such as these served as cemeteries, not only because they were sacred and living on a sacred site was not advised, but people knew that burials situated in such sacred spaces would be

left alone (ibid.). For example, Dakota oral history states that *Ohe Yawahe* is also known as the site of the graves of Scarlet Dove and Eagle Eye. According to a Dakota oral history (or tradition), Eagle Eye was accidentally killed by the arrow of a comrade while on a hunting party in the area east of Lake Pepin and, “Upon returning slowly to the Minnesota River, a scaffold was erected upon which Scarlet Dove’s beloved was ‘buried.’ Then using the straps by which she had carried her burden, the mourning Scarlet Dove hanged herself to the scaffold and died” (Gideon Pond, qtd. in Durand 1994: 64).

Missionary brothers Samuel and Gideon Pond recorded a Dakota oral tradition which relates an account of how this prominence on the landscape, *Ohe Yawahe*, which is present-day Pilot Knob, came to be. According to this oral tradition, *Ohe Yawahe* was created by *Uṅktehī* around 1800 (G. Pond 1867). At that time, a band of Dakota were camped on the flat ground between the *Mini Sota Wakpa* and the *Ĥaĥa Wakpa*, just below present-day Fort Snelling, when “Suddenly, the waters began to rise very rapidly. Looking up the Mississippi, they [*the Dakota camped there*] saw an immense animal descending the river damming the water behind as he approached. As the waters filled the gorge, they quickly struck their tipis and fled to the top of the bluff” (c.f. Durand 1994: 64). The “animal” in question is said to have been the *Uṅktehī*. However, “When the channel was opened by pressure, of course, the rush of water ‘carried all before it.’ A cabin which stood on the low bank under the falls, was carried away with a soldier in it, who was never heard of afterwards” (G. Pond 1867: 36). As the *Uṅktehī* turned up the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, he “finally disappeared into the opposite bluff causing the elevation now known as Pilot Knob to reach its present height” (Durand 1994: 64). According to G. Pond, “It is universally believed by the worshipers of the god in question [*Uṅktehī*], that the occurrence was

caused by these gods passing down the river, who took the soldier for his evening meal, as they often feast on human spirits – *wicanagi*” (G. Pond 1867: 36; emphasis in original).

Dakota people have other beliefs pertaining to *paha* or *he* as well. The area of the Coteau near Lac qui Parle is described by Nicollet as an “undulating country varied by hills which the Indians [*the Dakota*] find remarkable enough to name” (Bray and Bray 1993: 104). For example, in that region, about 10 miles above the mouth of the Chippewa River with its junction with the Minnesota River, is a small conical hill which is known to Dakotas as *Heyokati* – “the house of Heyoka.” According to missionary Stephen Riggs, *Heyoka* is the name of a Dakota god, called by some the anti-natural god, which is portrayed as “a little old man with a cocked hat on his head, a bow and arrows in his hands, and a quiver on his back. In winter he goes naked, and in summer he wraps his buffalo-robe around him” (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 144-145). According to Riggs, Dakota people believe the little *he* of the prairies to be the dwelling places of *Heyoka* (ibid.). *Heyoka* is sometimes confounded with *Waziya* – the northern “god” or “god” of the north – a fabled giant who lives in the north and blows cold out of his mouth, drawing near in the winter and receding in the summer (S. Pond 1986 [1908]), though Riggs believes them to be separate beings (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 153).



Map 3.2 – Map of Dakota ethnographic place name sites that are associated with hills/bluffs/buttes/cliffs.

Caŋ (“a tree, trees; wood”)

Due to the seasonal availability of resources in *Mini Sota Makoce*, such as maple sugar, wild rice, fur-bearing animals, etc., and the reliance of past Dakota peoples on them for survival, it makes sense that historic Dakota lifeways revolved around their ability to obtain necessary resources. For “The Dakota knew *Mni Sota Makoce* as an interconnected network for travel and

subsistence and followed seasonal rounds of hunting, fishing, gathering, and cultivating” (Westerman and White 2012: 223; emphasis added). As mentioned above, many Dakota place names are geographic references, as well as being references to resources available around the landscape to which the name refers, which are commonly known as toponyms. For example, explorer Joseph N. Nicollet came across an area which was “situated near the last isle of woods” which he referred to as “Great Oasis” (Bray and Bray 1993) and is known to the Dakota as *Çaŋ Ptaya Taŋka* – “large wood grove/bands” – (Durand 1994: 8; Riggs 1992 [1890]). The significance and/or benefits of the environmental setting/area known as *Çaŋ Ptaya Taŋka* to the Dakota appears to have been clear to Nicollet as well.

This beautiful grove is surrounded by large lakes [*Crooked, Great Oasis, Rush, and Bear*] ornamented with aquatic plants which live innumerable families of muskrats and water birds. These lakes are from 7 to 12 feet deep, and the soil that surrounds them is very suitable for potatoes and other vegetables...The growth of the various species forming it is as beautiful as any which can be seen in the basin of the lower Missouri...As this oasis is protected from the spring and fall fires by the lakes which surround it, one can understand why the climate has been able to develop such a richness here. It is good testimony in favor of my opinion that all the prairies watered by the Mississippi and the Missouri are the work of the Indians who destroy by fire the rich vegetation to assure themselves of animal food. Let the vast and shorn prairies that we cross remain untouched and the forests, with time, will reappear (Bray and Bray 1993: 66-67).

Nicollet encountered another such “oasis,” which, at the time of Nicollet’s travels, was a little river which followed “a deep ravine,” the sides of which were wooded since they were protected from fire, and since wood was so rare, “knowledge of it is precious” (Bray and Bray 1993: 69). This other “oasis” was known to Dakota peoples as *Çaŋ Nahmadaŋ* – “hidden wood” – (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 86, 106, 323) and according to Nicollet it was from this place which the creek took its name (Bray and Bray 1993: 69).

Between the present-day cities of Belle Plain and Jordan was an area that, although within the general area of the “Big Woods,” was known for the extraordinary thickness of wood

(Durand 1994: 5), therefore the Dakota called the stream, a tributary of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* on the south edge of Belle Plain upstream to Forest-Prairie Creek at Le Sueur which is known today as Robert Creek, that ran through it *Çaŋ Kiyute Wakpadaŋ* – “the river at the end of the woods” (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 46-47; Durand 1994: 5; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 86, 293, 516). Of this river and locale, Featherstonhaugh states that from the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, the *Çaŋ Kiyute Wakpadaŋ* soon enters “an extensive forest from which that stream takes its name... The forest is said to extend from twenty-five to thirty miles on each side of the river, and the district consisting of low, swampy land, in which deciduous trees grow, the Indians have called it ‘free wood,’ in contradistinction to the wood that is evergreen and tough” (Featherstonhaugh 1847: 294).

3.3 – Historic Dakota Lifeways And The Environment

To determine whether or not environmentally derived variability in Dakota belief systems is reflected in, and may be studied through, the naming practices past Dakota peoples used to describe, denote, and navigate both the environment(s) of their habited spaces and their social communities, those past villages and/or communities, which are known from published ethnographic records, of the Eastern Dakota bands living in *Mini Sota Makoçe* – *Mdewakəŋtoŋwaŋ*, *Wahpetoŋwaŋ*, *Sisitoŋwaŋ*, and *Wahpekuŋe* – are first discussed. This is followed by an analysis of how past Eastern Dakota peoples made use of and interacted with the natural landscape in order to further grasp how the natural environment directed their lifeways and subsequently contributed to variability in their belief systems.

It should be noted that because the greater amount of the Dakota cultural information which was referenced/used for this analysis came from published ethnographic and historic

records, it is second-hand information; Dakota people themselves didn't transcribe their cultural information at this time but practiced oral cultural sharing. Additionally,

Vast confusion exists as to the names & numbers of the Bands respectively, which must be owing in some degree to the subdivisions of each; chiefly to the ignorance & carelessness of travelers. They have seldom discriminated between the names given by Indian tribes to themselves & those bestowed upon them by their neighbors. The practice also obtains among Indians generally of naming a few families from the chief of their village or the stream on which they are located. No less confusion prevails in their geography & in their claims of territory from one nation lending land to another & from the changes constantly produced by secession, emigration & conquest (Colhoun, in Long 1978: 305).

Therefore, while a general knowledge or understanding of “protohistoric” Dakota socio-cultural organization may be gleaned from historic records and sources, it is pertinent to keep in mind that the information about Dakota people at that time was recorded by early explorers, traders, missionaries, etc., whose primary interests were generally economically and politically oriented, rather than on the recordation and understanding of Dakota culture and lifeways. As this is the case for much of what is known about Dakota history, up until rather recent times, this is an important factor that must be kept in mind for much of what we know about Dakota people.

3.3.1 – The Environment and Dakota Traditional Homelands

Although the *Mdewakantowwan*, *Wahpetowwan*, *Sisitorwan*, and *Wahpekuƭe* Dakota are often jointly referred to as the “Eastern Dakota” in more recent modern times, prior to this these Dakota peoples were often erroneously referred to collectively as the Santee or *Isanati* – “knife camp” or “those who make camp at the knife” – even though the name *Isanati* actually pertains to only one of these four bands, the *Mdewakantowwan* (Peterson and LaBatte 2022; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 51, 206; Riggs 2004 [1908]: 159). While the origin of the tribal/band name *Isanati* was viewed as a matter of conjecture by Stephen Riggs (Riggs 1992 [1890]), the general consensus is that the name came into use due to the association and connection of these bands with present-

day Knife Lake or *Isanta Mde* – “knife lake” – in Kanabec County, MN, as they frequently camped there and, more importantly, it was where they acquired the sharp flint used for their arrows, knives, etc. (Brower 1901; Peterson and LaBatte 2022; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 51, 206; Riggs 2004 [1908]: 159). However, their primary habitations, or “headquarters,” were at Mille Lacs Lake or *Mde Wakpa* – “spirit lake” – (Anderson 1997; Brower 1901; Landes 1968; Riggs 2004 [1908]; Westerman and White 2012).

When the Dakota had their “headquarters” in the Mille Lacs region, they appear to have been divided into or organized as bands, which included the *Matanton*, the *Watpaaton*, and the *Chankasketon*; “Some of the names it is now impossible to read with certainty. Some have disappeared or given place to others, while some of them are old landmarks by which we can read the history of their migrations” (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 177). For example, “because they chiefly dwell near the banks of this River,” Johnathan Carver called the three bands of the *Nawdowessie* which resided near the St. Croix River the “River Bands,” and included the *Mawtawbautowahs* (“Spirit Lake”) the *Nehogatawonahs* (“Leaf Villagers”), and the *Shahsweentowahs* (“Sisseton”) (Carver 1956 [1778]: 59; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 179; Westerman and White 2012: 75-77), while “the other eight [*of the 11 he noted/mentioned*] are generally distinguished by the title of the Naudowessies [*sic*] of the Plains, and inhabit a country that lies more to the westward” (Carver 1956 [1778]: 9-60). Those villages, or communities, which were present and documented in published ethnographic and historic records from around the time of first contact with Euro-Americans are listed in the table below, having been split up by those villages/communities which were situated to the east of the *Haha Wakpa*, and those that were situated to the west of the *Haha Wakpa*. Information regarding the origin or source of the name for each band community is included for those for which it could be found.

Dakota Village Name	Translation	Notes on Origin of Village Name
“Ancient” Dakota Villages East of the Mississippi River		
<i>Matanton</i>	“Great Lake Village”	Perhaps originally <i>Mdetanj-k-tojwanj</i> , a designation given to a portion of Mille Lacs.
<i>Psiŋ-omani-tojwanj</i>	“Wild Rice Gatherers”	Due to the apparent specialization of some families in the gathering of the wild rice in the lakes.
<i>Watpatojwanj</i>	“River Village”	Before the end of the 18 th century these people began to make their villages along down the Rum River, and perhaps also on the Mississippi.
<i>Watomanitojwanj</i>	“Boat Village”	N/A
<i>Cankaskatojwanj</i>	“Fortified Village”	Assumed to come from the fact that as the Ojibwe acquired firearms, the Dakota who pitched their tents westward and northward toward Sandy and Leech Lakes were situated in a wooded country and made wooden protections from the assaults of their enemies.
“Ancient” Dakota Villages to West of the Mississippi River		
<i>Canhuasinton (?)</i>	“Pole Village”	N/A
<i>Psiŋçatojwanj</i>	“Red Wild Rice Village”	N/A
<i>Wagalespeton (?)</i>	“Small Band Village”	N/A
<i>Psiŋhutaŋkiŋ-tojwanj</i>	“Great Wild Rice Village”	N/A
<i>Titaŋka-kaġa-toj (?)</i>	“Grand Lodge Village”	N/A
<i>Wahpetojwanj</i>	“Leaf Village”	N/A
<i>Uŋkçekce-ota-tojwanj</i>	“Dung Village”	N/A
<i>Wahpeton-Teton</i>	“Teton Leaf Village”	Indicates that some of the <i>Wahpetojwanj</i> had become “Dwellers on the Prairie.”
<i>Hinhaneton</i>	“Red Stone Quarry Village”	Must be a reference to the Pipestone Quarry and that the Dakotas who lived there guarded it, though it is possible that the “Red Stone” may have signified the Des Moines River, which was so called.

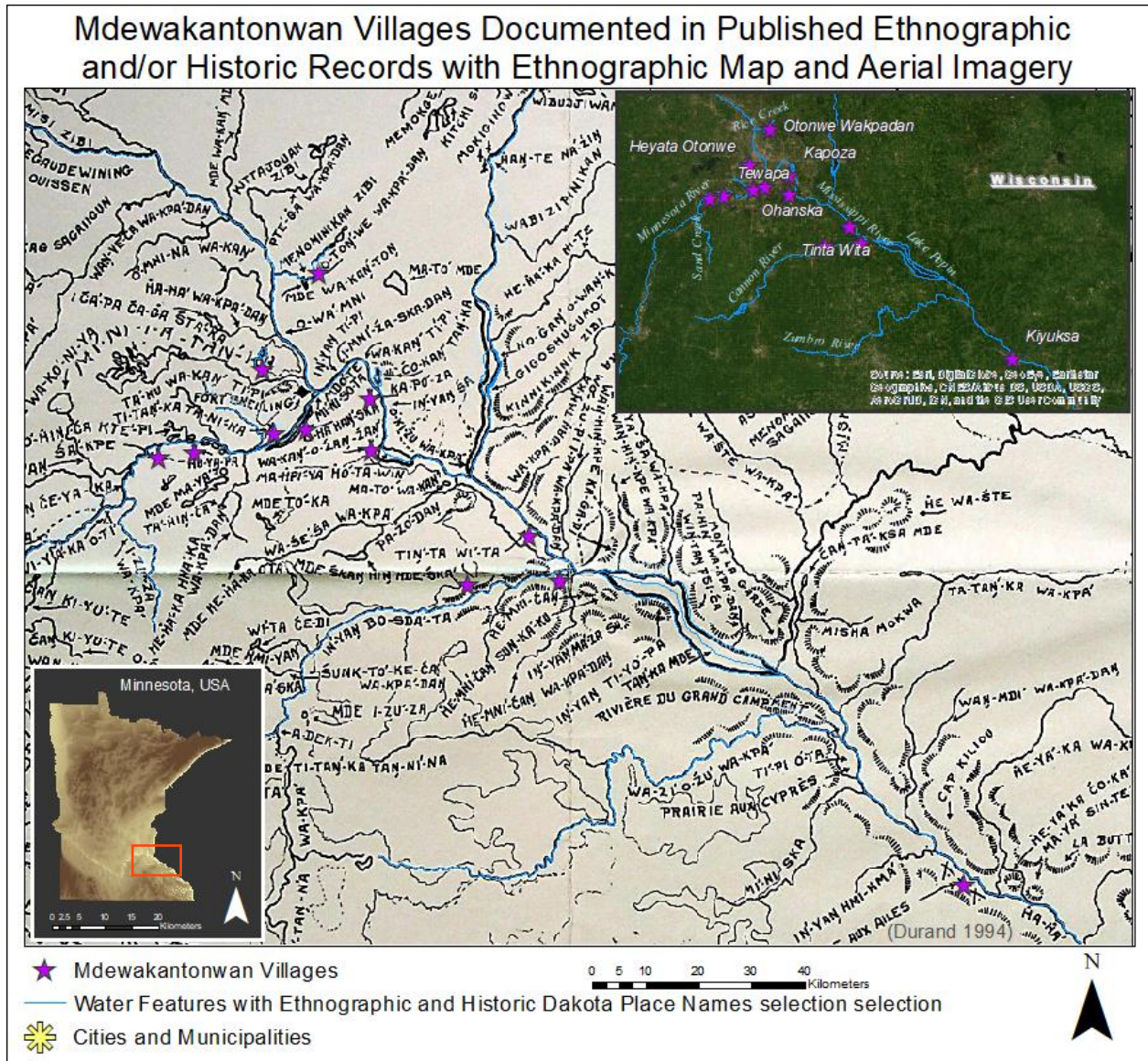
Table 3.1 – Names of Eastern Dakota villages and/or communities leading up to, or around the time of, first contact with Euro-Americans, according to Stephen Riggs (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 177-178).

The lack of detailed information for some, and complete lack of information for others, of these Dakota communities may be attributed to the fact that by 1766, their southern and western migrations had resulted in a reformation of sorts of the former bands of Dakota. Thus, the “*Isaŋati*” became the *Mdewakatojwanj*, the *Wahpetojwanj*, the *Sisitojwanj*, and the *Wahpekute*, and the use of *Isaŋati* as a collective name for those Dakota people formerly known as such became inaccurate/unapplicable and antiquated. To that point, although Riggs (2004 [1893]) provides very limited locational information (let alone any other cultural information) for these villages/communities, and while the names appear to be general geographic descriptions of the environmental setting in which they were situated, unfortunately, little to no ethnographic

information could be found on these villages of the Dakota at the time this analysis was conducted.

Mdewakantowan

The general consensus on the origin of the *Mdewakantowan* band name is that they acquired it from their former residence at the old home of the nation at the head of the Rum River, which is known to Dakotas as *Mdote Mini Wakan* or *Mde Wakan Mdote Wakpa* – “the mysterious or spiritual junction of two rivers” or the outlet of spirit lake” – at Mille Lacs Lake or *Mde Wakan* – “spirit lake” or “lake of the ardent spirits” – (Durand 1994: 57; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012). The origin of the Dakota name for Mille Lacs Lake may be found at the start of this chapter and the preceding one, though Riggs notes: “We have seen that Du Luth and Hennepin first visited the villages of the Dakota on the islands and shores of Mille Lacs, which was their Mde-wakan [“*spiritual or mysterious lake*”], and hence the name Mde-wakan-tonwan. This name has come down through more than two centuries, and still attaches to a portion of the people, and is abiding evidence of their having lived on the head of the Rum River” (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 183). Thus, the *Mdewakantowan* came to be known as the “Sacred-Lake Villagers” or “Dwellers at Spirit Lake” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]). As past Dakota people spread from this region, the *Mdewakantowan* primarily settled along the *Haha Wakpa* and *Mini Sota Wakpa*, with their villages “extending from Winona to Shakopee” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 4).



Map 3.3 – Ethnohistoric map of Mdewakantonwan villages.

Mdewakantonwan Leaders

According to Stephen Long, the *Mdewakantonwan* were “governed by hereditary leaders whose interests had often been wedded to the British cause” (Long 1978: 9). Therefore, there were numerous Dakota villages which were generally known by a dynastic name, such as the Black Dog village or *Ohanska*, the village of Six or *Sakpe*, though the Dakotas called it *Tinjta Otonwe*, and the village of *Pinisha*, though the last village listed was also known as *Titanka*

Taḡnina (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]). Additionally, Joseph Nicollet states that in 1838 there were two little *Mdewakaḡtoḡwaḡ* villages on the Mississippi River (Durand 1994), one (for which he provides no Dakota name for) which was located on the west bank at what is known today as Pine Bend near the present-day city of Hastings, and the other, known to Dakotas as name *Kapoḡa* (Kaposia) on the east bank at what was formerly known as the Grand Marais (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994: 99). Together, they formed a band “under the name of the formerly celebrated chief, Little Crow, *Che-tan wakua mani*, Hawk that hunts walking” (Bray and Bray 1993: 256). The leader of the Pine Bend village was “A highly respected man as chief as well as medicine man,” and was known as *Wakaḡ Oḡaḡzaḡ* – “Medicine Bottle” – and was (Durand 1994: 99). The village of *Kapoḡa*, as well as the Black Dog village, were the villages from which the people of Cloud Man’s village originated (Durand 1994; Westerman and White 2012: 108).

Titaḡka Taḡnina

The name of the *Mdewakaḡtoḡwaḡ* village of *Titaḡka Taḡnina* – “Old Village” or “Ancient Village” – is suggested to show that it was the first village of the Dakota on the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, dating back hundreds of years (Durand 1994: 92; Westerman and White 2012: 126). Nicolas Perrot recorded that this site was occupied by the extinct branch of the *Mdewakaḡtoḡwaḡ* known as the *Mantantonwan*, the name of which appears to be a contraction of *Mdewakaḡtoḡwaḡ* and means “Village of the Great Lake,” lived at this site as early as 1689 or before (Durand 1994: 92; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 183). The *Mdewakaḡtoḡwaḡ* are said to have united into the huge village of *Titaḡka Taḡnina* around 1780 with the help of Chief *Wapahḡa* (or *Wapaha Śa*), the second chief of that name, eventually totaling over 400 lodges; it was later considered to the spiritual home of the 19th century *Mdewakaḡtoḡwaḡ* (Anderson 1997: 74;

Durand 1994: 92). *Titaŋka Taŋnina* was also known as *Ble* – “Lake Village” – as well as *Icahtaka* – “to touch” – (Durand 1994: 92). Nicollet notes that the *Mdewakątoŋwaŋ* that lived at *Titaŋka Taŋnina* were called *Oyateshitsha* or *Oyate siča* – “the bad band” or “the bad people” – (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 397) though he provides no explanation for this name (Bray and Bray 1993: 257).

This village was located at the mouth of Nine Mile Creek, the “original” Dakota name for which was *Takokipa Šni Wožupi Wakpadaŋ* – “The Stream Where the Dauntless Plants” – in reference to the presiding chief of the “Ancient Village,” *Takokipasni* – “He That Feels Nothing” – though he was also known as Penichon (Diedrich 1989: 26; Durand 1994: 36; Riggs 1992 [1896]: 194, 294, 447, 516, 600; Westerman and White 2012: 83). The son of *Takokipasni* was *Wanyagya Inažiŋ* – “He Sees Standing Up” – though he was also known as *Les fils de Penichon* – “the sone of Penichon” – was one of the Dakota chiefs who signed the Pike Treaty of 1805 but died before 1820 and was the father of *Taçaŋku Wašte* (“Good Road”) (Diedrich 1989: 26; Westerman and White 2012: 83). Thus, not only was the Dakota name for Nine Mile Creek a reference to what is believed to have been one of the first chief of this “ancient village,” the name by which this village itself has commonly been known as, “Penichon’s Village,” was also an homage and/or reference to these first chiefs of *Titaŋka Taŋnina*.

Kiyuksa

Situated on the *Ĥaha Wakpa* below Lake Pepin or *Taŋka Mde*¹⁴ – “large lake” – at the present-day city of Winona was a band of *Mdewakątoŋwaŋ* band led by the *Wapahša* dynasty which was known as the *Kiyuksa*¹⁵ – “Breakers of custom or law” – (Bray and Bray 1993;

¹⁴ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 312, 457.

¹⁵ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 292-293.

Durand 1994: 72; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 1992 [1890]; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 157; Upham 2001: 600-604; Westerman and White 2012). According to Samuel Pond, a social custom existed amongst the Dakotas which prohibited speaking the name of certain individuals and extended to not only to a large circle of relatives, but functioned as a means of prohibiting intermarriages “within the circle of relatives embraced by this prohibition, that is, it was held improper for two persons to be joined in marriage who were not permitted to speak each other’s names” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 139). Joseph Nicollet states that in the 19th century, the *Kiyuksa* band of *Mdewakan̄tor̄wan̄* had become so diminished by sickness and wars that they had to renounce this rigid custom. Therefore, “The other bands, holding this in disdain, have called them because of this circumstance the *kiuksa*, *kiuksapi*, those who cut themselves in half” (Bray and Bray 1993: 255). Thus, *Wapaasa*’s band was generally known to other bands of Dakotas as the “breakers of custom or law” (Durand 1994: 106; Riggs 2004 [1893]).

The principal village of the *Kiyuksa* band was near present-day Rollingstone Creek or *Inyan Hmihma* – “round, like a wheel, stones” – which was a reference to “a dark trap boulder which served as an altar stone for the Wapasha band” (Durand 1994: 31). They also had a camping ground known as *Tipi Ota* – “many habitations/houses” – on a small prairie on the Mississippi flood plain at the mouth of the Zumbro River or *Wazi Ožu Wakpa* – “river where the pines grow” – the name of which is said to be a reference to a grove of large white pines found at Pine Island in Goodhue County (Durand 1994: 90; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 150, 201, 387, 401, 470, 516, 563; Upham 2001: 600, 604-605). In 1836 when the *Kiyuksa* band were on the east side of the *Haha Wakpa* in what is now Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, they were living at

Trempealeau Mountain or *Ĥeya Ka Çoka (Ya) Owaŋka*¹⁶ – “a hill or rock setting apart and lying in the middle” – (Durand 1994: 21; Westerman and White 2012: 130).

Dakota oral tradition states that in the past many people, both Dakota and non-Dakota, lived around Goodhue and Wabasha Counties (Campbell 2000; Riggs 1992 [1890]). Although they worked together, gathered medicines, and hunted the shared land, disagreements eventually arose about who should pick medicine in the area; arguments culminated until the Dakota and non-Dakota peoples faced each other to do battle over the contested ground, which led the Creator to interfere (ibid.). According to Dakota oral tradition,

In reproach, the Great Spirit split Barn Bluff in two. Wapasha and his band together with half the mountain were transported forty miles downstream to the Winona prairie. A large portion of the cedar-crowned heights was modeled into a beautiful hat called **WA-PA-HA-SA**, the red hat, or **WA-PA-HA-SA'S** hat. The remainder of the bluff found at Trempealeau, called **PA-HA-HDA**, (1) *hill* (2) **HDA** [from **YU-HDA**, to *untwist, unroll, uncoil, stretch out*] – ‘The Moved Mountain.’ The residue is at nearby Rattlesnake Hills or **MA-YA SIN-TE-HDA** (1) *a steep bank* (2) *the tail rattler or rattle snake*, where the ancestral bones originally buried at Barn Bluff are guarded by snakes. No snakes were ever killed on the bluffs (Durand 1994: 21; emphasis in original).

This oral tradition may be correlated by William Keating’s statement that in 1823 the *Kiyuksa* band of *Mdewakəŋtoŋwaŋ* had two villages, one on *Taŋka Mde* and the other on the Upper Iowa River (Keating et al. 1825; Westerman and White 2012: 130).

Ĥupahu Ša

The two *Mdewakəŋtoŋwaŋ* villages in present-day Red Wing were known collectively as the Red Wing village(s) or the villages of *Ĥupahu Ša* – “Red Wing” – in reference to the dynastic

¹⁶ Nicollet recorded the name of Trempealeau Mountain as *Mini Çaŋ Kaška* – “a place enclosed by water” (c.f. Durand 1994: 21; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 86, 314, 268).

lineage of *Mdewakan̄toŋwaŋ* leaders in that area (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 168, 440; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012).

The largest of these villages was known to Dakota people as *Ĥe Mni¹⁷ Çaŋ Otoŋwe* – “hill-water-Wood village” – which was situated near the mouth of the Cannon River (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 86, 163, 314, 389). Published ethnographic sources state that this village was named as such due to its adjacency to a large landform which rises above the *Ĥaha Wakpa*, and is known to Dakotas as *Ĥe Mni Çaŋ¹⁸* – “hill-water-wood” – which is generally translated as meaning “hill that appears as if it were in water” due to the relative position of the three elements of a hill (*Ĥe*), water (*mini* or *mni*), and wood (*çaŋ*) in the area (Bray and Bray 1993: 255; Campbell 2000; Durand 1994). This is present-day Barn Bluff in the city of Red Wing. Nicollet states that Dakota people, “in the names they give to places, always give preference to the form of an object resembles. When this is lacking, they name it for the locality, or for accidents or events that happened there. But above all they choose names that make known whatever necessities of life may be found at that place” (Bray and Bray 1993: 187). Thus, the Dakota people which lived at this village called themselves the *Ĥe Mni Çaŋ* band in reference to their geographic position on the landscape (Anderson 1997: 80).

The other primary village of the *Ĥupahu Śa* band was located west of *Ĥe Mni Çaŋ* on a tributary of the *Ĥaha Wakpa*, the Cannon River or *Iŋyaŋ Bosdata* – “river of the standing rock” – thus the village was called *Iŋyaŋ Bosdata Otoŋwe* – “Village of the Standing Rock” (Bray and

¹⁷ The Dakota word for water – *mini* – which is used throughout this analysis is the accepted Eastern Dakota spelling of the word (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 314), whereas the version – *mni* – which is used for the name of this *Mdewakan̄toŋwaŋ* village is the *Ihaŋktuŋwaŋ* (Yankton) spelling of the word (c.f. Riggs 1992 [1890]: 318). However, as the latter version of the word is the one which is nearly always used for the name of this village and associated landscape features, that spelling of the word is the version which is used throughout this analysis when in reference to natural and cultural features associated with the village of *Ĥe Mni Çaŋ*.

¹⁸ Nicollet recorded the name of this village as *Rhemnichia* – “hill that appears as if it were in the water” or “mountain – water and wood” (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 255); Campbell writes it as *Khemnichan* (Campbell 2000); and Dorsey spelled it as *Qe-mini-tca* (Dorsey 1897).

Bray 1993; Durand 1994). Nicollet (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993) states that the name *Inyaŋ Bosdata* is a reference to a prominent landmark almost 30 miles above the mouth of the river which is a roughly 40-foot sandstone spire that rises above the prairie in present-day Dakota County (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Westerman and White 2012). According to historic accounts from early settlers and Dakota oral history, the Dakota also often camped in the area of *Tiŋta Wita* – “prairie island” or “island you can look across” – which is present-day Prairie Island (Durand 1994; Westerman and White 2012). According to Dakota oral history, before Prairie Island became an island, it was called *Tiŋta Makoče* – “prairie land” (Campbell 2000: 42).

Kapoža

The *Mdewakantonwan* village on the *Haŋa Wakpa* near the present-day city of St. Paul or *Imnizaska* – “white cliff or rock” – from the large white banks along the river, was called *Kapoža*¹⁹ – “Those Who Traveled Unencumbered with Much Baggage” – (Anderson 1997; c.f. Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Peterson and La Batte 2022: 145; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 164; Riggs 2004 [1893]). *Kapoža* was also the name of Little Crow’s band of the Dakota. It is believed by some that this village received its name through the swiftness and agility of its members while playing lacrosse or *takapsiçapi*, thus the name of the village is often translated as meaning “Light or Swift of Foot in Running” (Durand 1994: 79; Upham 2001; Westerman and White 2012: 127). It is said that they often practiced or played this ballgame at a prairie in Cottage Grove, Washington County known as *Tiŋta Takapsiça* – “lacrosse prairie” (Durand 1994: 79).

¹⁹ The name of this village/band of Eastern Dakota was recorded by Nicollet (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993) as *Kap’oje*. Indian agent Lawrence Taliaferro sometimes called *Kapoža* “nine-mile village on the Mississippi,” referring to its distance from Fort Snelling (Westerman and White 2012).

For a time in the early 19th century, *Kapoža* was situated along the *Haha Wakpa* where it meets the St. Croix River at what is known today as Pigs Eye Lake (formerly Grand Marais) or *Çokaŋ Taŋka* – “a large, low bottom where there are lakes and marshes” – the name of which is clearly a reference to the environmental setting (Bray and Bray 1993: 45n; Durand 1994: 13, 65; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 103, 457; Westerman and White 2012: 127). The confluence of the *Haha Wakpa* and St. Croix Rivers is known to Dakota people as *Okizu Wakpa* – “place where the waters gather and the rivers meet” – and is the present-day site Point Douglas (Durand 1994: 65; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 371, 516). Both the St. Croix River and St. Croix Lake are known to Dakota people as *Hoğaŋ Owaŋka Kin* – “where the fish lies” – (Durand 1994: 25-27; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 152, 288, 392; Westerman and White 2012). According to Dakota oral tradition, both the St. Croix River and Lake St. Croix take their name from an event that happened “long ago,” when two Dakota warriors were traveling along the shores of Lake St. Croix.

Because they were near enemy country, they did not want to shoot anything although they were in need of food. One of them managed to catch a fish; however, since the pike was the emblem of his band, he did not eat it. Hunger, however, forced him to break his vow. After the meal, thirst became paramount. He called for water until the strength of his companion failed and was told to lie down by the lake and drink his fill. Complying with the advice, he drank and drank till at last he cried to his friend, ‘Come look at me!’ The sight caused his comrade to withdraw in fear for he was fast turning into a fish. At length, he stretched himself across the lake to form what is now known as Pike Bar (Durand 1994: 25-27).

It is also from this event that present-day Hudson, Wisconsin is known to Dakota people as *Tamahe* – “place of the pike” (Durand 1994: 27; Westerman and White 2012).

Ohanska

The *Mdewakantowwanj* habitation site closest to *Haha Bdote* was the village known as *Ohańska*²⁰ – “Village of the Long Avenue” or “Long Avenue Village” – as it was formed by a long row of *tipis* two or three miles in length along the natural levee on the long bottomland lake which was parallel to the *Mini Sota Wakpa* and ran from this village to its mouth (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994: 83; Westerman and White 2012: 126). The *Ohańska* village was sometimes called *Çaŋ Oska* – “open wooded country without thickets” or “bare” – which Joseph Nicollet (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993) states refers to the long bottomland lake of *Çokaŋ Hańska*, known today as Black Dog Lake, which runs parallel to the right bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* beginning at present-day Savage and extends to the foot of Pilot Knob or *Oheyawahi* – “a hill much visited” – a burial place of the Dakota (Durand 1994: 13). However, the village is/was more often known as *Šuŋka Šapa* – “Black Dog” – in reference to the leaders of the band which resided there, as they were part of a dynastic lineage of the same name, “Black Dog” (Durand 1994: 82; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 441, 450), and the present-day name of *Çokaŋ Hańska* (Black Dog Lake) is said to have been named as such by Euro-Americans “in memory of the old chief” (Frederick W. Pearsall, qtd. in Durand 1994: 13). The inhabitants of the Black Dog village were sometimes called *Mağa Yuŋe Šni* – “those who do not eat geese” – which was likely a reference to the fact that they sold their geese to the garrison at Fort Snelling rather than eating them (Bray and Bray 1993: 43; Westerman and White 2012).

Heyate Otoŋwe

²⁰ The name of this village is also spelled *Oha hańska* – “a long straight place” – by Riggs (1992 [1890]: 349) and as *Hohaanskae* by Nicollet (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993) as it was situated about four miles above Fort Snelling, near the present-day site of Mall of America and below extensive burial mounds, which are now almost entirely destroyed (Durand 1994; Westerman and White 2012: 126).

o'-haŋ - a straight place in a river [*o- haŋ* ' - to do, to work], *ska* - white; clear; pure in any respect (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 350, 353, 436; Westerman and White 2012: 126).

The small agricultural village on the shores of *Mde Maka Ska* – “white banks lake” – which was formerly Lake Calhoun, was known as *Ĥeyate Otoŋwe* – “The Village at the Side” or “Village Set Back from the [Mississippi] River” – and was known as such because, according to Samuel Pond, it was the only one which was set away from the Mississippi or Minnesota rivers (Durand 1994: 22; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 305, 312, 436). It was also known as *Teakape Otoŋwe*²¹ – “Village Whose Houses Have Roofs” – (Durand 1994: 22). No explanation for this name could be found in published ethnographic or historic records, though it may be inferred that it was a reference to the houses in which they lived, perhaps having adopted Euro-American habitations along with agriculture. Therefore, it may be that the latter name for the village is an example of Euro-American directed change in Dakota lifeways.

Mahpiya Wičasta and his people abandoned *Ĥeyate Otoŋwe* in 1839 due to altercations with Ojibwe Hole-in-the-Day and his people, which led to deaths of both Dakotas and Ojibwe, and relocated their village to Oak Grove on Nine Mile Creek at the present-day city of Bloomington (Durand 1994: 29; Peterson and LaBatte 2022: 144). The “ancient name” for the city of Bloomington was *Icahtake* – “touching place” – in reference to it being a place where a river touches or runs near a hill, or a place where the prairie reaches down to a river or lake where the river touches the bluff at Bloomington, where “By coincidence of topography, both occur here. The Minnesota River with its sweeping meanders touches the foot of the valley’s north wall while several small prairies above meet the flood plain lakes and river in the valley” (Durand 1994: 29). *Icahtake* was also one of several names for Good Road’s village (Frederick W. Pearsall, qtd. in Durand 1994: 29).

²¹ The name of this village was recorded by Nicollet (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993) as *Rheatan ottonwe* – “The Village of the End” – though Pond (1986 [1908]) wrote it as *Reyata Otonwa*, Riggs (2004 [1893]) recorded it as *Ĥe-ya-ta-toŋwe* – “Back Villagers,” and Dorsey (1897) as *Qeyata-oto”we* – “Village Back from the River.”

Tiŋta Otoŋwe

The largest population in the mid-19th century was *Šakpe*'s village of *Tiŋta Otoŋwe* – “Village of the Prairie” or “Prairie Village” – the name of which is a reference to the unwooded land on the terrace on the south side of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012).

Although Taliaferro called it the “twenty-mile village,” as it was that far away from the Euro-American hub of *Haha Mdote* (Fort Snelling), *Tiŋta Otoŋwe* was often referred to as the Village of the Six, as the leaders of this village bore the hereditary name of *Šakpe* – “The Six” – though with one generation it was *Šakpedaŋ* – “Little Six” – (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Westerman and White 2012: 125). The name *Šakpe* is said to be an ancient name originating when the Dakota were still at *Mde Wakaŋ*. Dakota oral history states that an intertribal marriage occurred between the renowned first Sioux *Wapahaša* and a grandmother of the famous Ojibwe warrior, *Waub o jeeg*, from which sextuplets were born, “a fact so wonderful that this dynastic name has survived to the present day” (Durand 1994: 76).

Tewapa

The *Mdewakantoŋwaŋ* village led by *Huyapa*²² – “Gray Eagle Head” – which was a sub-division or satellite of Chief *Šakpe*, was located along the *Mini Sota Wakpa* in Scott County at Eagle Creek or *Huyapa*, was named for the leader of this village, was known as *Tewapa* – “the place of the lily” – (Bray and Bray 1993: 44; Durand 1994: 29, 88; S. Pond 1986 [1908]). The origin of this village is discussed in the preceding chapter.

Otoŋwe Wakapadaŋ

²² Written as *Rhuya-pha* – “the eagle’s head, the grey eagle, smaller than the *Kili[o]u*” by Nicollet (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 44).

The *Mdewakantonwan* village of *Otonwe Wakapadaŋ* – “Village on a Small River” – was named for what is known today as Rice Lake along the *Haha Wakpa*, although wild rice was found in most of the lakes in the area, though the name of the river means “village on a small river” (Durand 1994: 67; Westerman and White 2012: 58). The “small river” in reference is Rice Creek, which Joseph Nicollet mapped as *Otonwe* River – “village on a small river” – although Nicollet himself made no mention of a village having been there when he was in the area in 1838 (Bray and Bray 1993).

There are numerous historical records which provide support for the presence of Dakota habitations in the area. For example, in “*Dakota Tawaxitku Kin*” or “Dakota Friend,” a paper published monthly by The Dakota Mission and edited by Gideon H. Pond, there are mentions of the *Mdewakantonwan* having utilized the area for the gathering of rice, and later for planting corn.

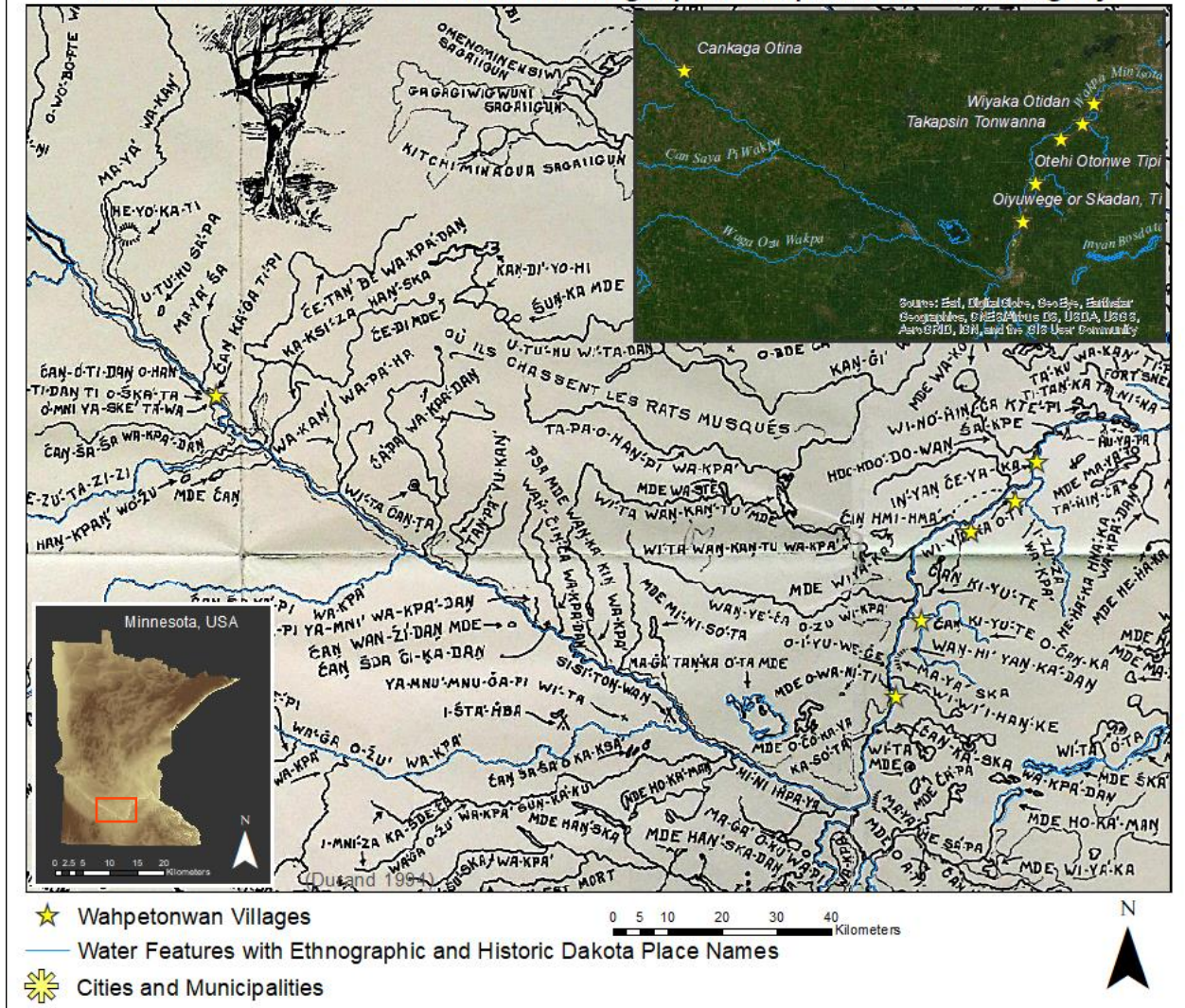
The country along Rice Creek being not inferior to that about Mille Lac, as regards rice, but little was wanting to draw the *Mde-wa-kan-ton-wans* from the latter place southward, to *O-ton-we-kpa-day*, (Rice Creek,) where it appears that they first erected such summer dwellings as they now inhabit, and plant corn...tradition tells us that the *Mde-wa-kan-ton-wans* no sooner became acquainted with traders and the advantages of trade, than they erected their teepees (tipis) around the log hut of the white man, and hunted in the direction of the *Wa-kpa-mi-ni-so-ta*, (Minnesota river) returning in *Psin-hna-ke-tu*, (rice-gathering-moon, Sept.,) to the rice swamps which were nearest to their friends. Hence the country along Rice Creek, became a common center for their division of the Dakota tribe (July 1851; emphasis added).

Wahpetonwan

The Dakota name for the *Wahpetonwan* band is generally translated as “The People Who Live in the Forest” (Westerman and White 2012: 22) or the “village in the leaves” (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 157). Stephen Riggs suggests that the name of this band came from the fact that they formerly only lived in the woods, mostly along the *Mini Sota Wakpa* above Shakopee, with their

old home having been at having been at Little Rapids (Riggs 2004 [1893]). Mr. M Renville accounts for the origin of the name “Leaf Villagers” in the following: “First, tradition says the clan were in the habit of making booths with tree branches with the leaves attached. Secondly, when camping in a country of prairie and woods they were in the habit of making their camp in the wood. Hence their name” (qtd. in Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158). According to another source, “Unlike most of the Sisseton, whose gentes were nicknamed from one particularity [*sic*], the *Wahpetonwan*, who were considered more sedentary got their names from the localities in which they lived” (Enos and Skinner 2003: 60; emphasis added). This is of particular significance and/or use in this analysis, as it provides insight not only into how naming practices related to villages and/or communities varied between the bands of Eastern Dakota living in *Mini Sota Makoçe*, but also helps to explain why it is especially difficult to find information about some of the various *Wahpetonwan* villages and/or communities in published ethnographic resources, which was definitely an issue throughout this analysis.

Wahpetonwan Villages Documented in Published Ethnographic and/or Historic Records with Ethnographic Map and Aerial Imagery



Map 3.4 – Ethnohistoric map of Wahpetonwan villages.

Inyan Çeyaka Otonwe

The “original” village of the *Wahpetonwan* was located at *Inyan Çeyaka* – “the barrier of stone” – and is said to be named in reference to Little Rapids (now known as Carver Rapids) which are found at that point in the *Mini Sota Wakpa* in what is now the city of Carver or *Hdohdowanpi* – “to sing a grunting song [something the Dakotas sometimes do in going to war]” – (Bray and Bray 1993: 256; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 100, 102, 132-133). Thus, it is from these

rapids which this village, formerly located on the eastern bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* takes its name, *Iṅyaṅ Çeyaka Otoṅwe* – “Village of the Little Rapids” – (Dorsey 1891: 258; Durand 1994; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 100, 201, 389).

Wiyaka Otidaṅ

The Dakota name of Sand Creek has been recorded as *Wiyaka Otidaṅ Wakpa* (or *Wiyaka Oti*) – “the stream of sand with the little lodge, or little village” – and that the sandbar in question is in the *Mini Sota Wakpa* about one mile higher than the mouth of *Wiyaka Oti* (Bray and Bray 1993: 46; Durand 1994: 116-117; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 389, 581). Sand Creek is also known to the Dakotas as *Izuza Wakpa* – “sandstone; whetstone river” (Durand 1994: 36; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 244, 516). Situated near the mouth of this creek, it is evident that the name of this *Wahpetoṅwan* village was a geographic reference to it (more specifically, the sandbar found near where the village was situated), and was thus known as *Wiyaka Otidaṅ* – “Little Village of Sand River” – or *Wiyaka Oti* – “Dwellers on Sand” – (Dorsey 1891: 258; Durand 1994: 116-117; Peterson and LaBatte 2022: 163; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 389, 581; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158; Westerman and White 2012: 124).

In 1823, Major Stephen H. Long passed through *Iṅyaṅ Çeyaka Otoṅwe* during his trip down the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, and he provides the following description:

Having crossed the rapids [*i.e.*, *Little Rapids*], we dined and resumed our march. Arrived at a small Sioux village about 5 miles above the rapids at 3 P.M. The Indians were all absent on a hunting expedition, and we could only gratify our curiosity by visiting their Wigwams, burying places &c [*sic*]. We observed two scaffolds on which as many dead bodies had been deposited. On one of them, erect[ed] about 12 feet high & situated on a rising ground, was a rude coffin covered with calico and containing a corpse. Immediately under the scaffold, a post was set about 6 ft. high on which were inscribed several rude figures of Indians by the friends of the deceased, purporting to be victims or prisoners taken in battle who had preceded him on their march to the other world, and who were

thus offered as guides or companions of the deceased to conduct him on his way. On the other, the friends of the deceased had evinced their grief by wrenching locks of hair from their heads and offering it at the scaffold in token of their friendship. At both scaffolds were burying grounds in which the remains are deposited when the coffin shall have decayed, as is customary among the Sioux (Long 1978: 159).

While this was undoubtedly the village of *Wiyaka Otidaŋ*, it seems that when Long was in the area in 1823, the village was located several miles above the mouth of *Wiyaka Otidaŋ Wakpa* near the present-day city of Jordan (Long 1978: 159n).

Takapsin Toŋwaŋna

The *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* village known as *Takapsin Toŋwaŋna* – “Those Who Dwell at the Shiny-Ground [*lacrosse-ground*]” – is said to be named as such as a part of this group became famous ball players, thus the name of the village is a reference to *takapsiçapi* – “lacrosse” or “ball play” (Dorsey 1891: 258; Durand 1994; Renville, qtd. in Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 454; Westerman and White 2012). According to Samuel Pond, “This favorite game [*takapsiçapi*] was not only a test of the physical qualities of the actors, but was also a severe trial of their tempers. It was a rude game, and those engaged in such a strife could not be expected to deal gently with all around them” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 115). Of this Dakota sport, Edward D. Neill states,

The favorite and most exciting game of the Dakotas is ball playing. It appears to be nothing more than a game which was often played by the writer in school-boy days, and which was called ‘*shinny*.’ A smooth place was chosen on the prairie or frozen river or lake. Each player has a stick three or four feet long and crooked at the lower end, with deer strings tied across forming a sort of a pocket. The ball is made of a rounded knot of wood, or clay covered with hide, and is supposed to possess supernatural qualities. Stakes are set at a distance of a quarter or half mile, as bounds. Two parties are then formed, and the ball being thrown up in the centre, The contest is for one party to carry the ball from other beyond one of the bounds. Two or three hundred men are sometimes engaged at once. On a summer’s day, to see them rushing to and fro, painted in divers [*sic*] colors, with no article of apparel, with feathers in their heads, bells around their wrists, and fox and wolf tails dangling behind, is a wild and noisy spectacle. The

eyewitnesses among the Indians become more interested in the success of one or the other of the parties than any crowd at a horse race, and frequently stake their last piece of property on the issue of the game (Neill 1872: 280-281; emphasis in original).

Located on the opposite (western) bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* from the village of *Takapsin Toḡwaḡna* was a prairie known to Dakotas as *Çaḡ Hmihma* – “round wood” – as the woods surrounded it in a nearly perfect circle (Bray and Bray 1993: 46; Durand 1994: 3-4; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 86, 150). Known today as the Round Prairie, Dakota people also refer to it as *Huta Hmihma* – “the round edge of a prairie or wood” – as well as *Tiḡta Mibe* – “round prairie” – (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 150, 159, 314, 469) due to the fact that “it is nearly encircled by woods” (Featherstonhaugh 1847: 293). Due to the proximity of *Takapsin Toḡwaḡna* to this prairie, this band of *Wahpetoḡwaḡ* is sometimes referred to as “the *Wahpetoḡwaḡ* of the round prairie” (Woolworth 1981; emphasis added). Additionally, it is possible that their close position on the landscape to this prairie contributed to their abilities at *takapscicapi* (lacrosse), as smooth level places next to prairies were generally selected as areas to play this ball game (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 114). This may have been the village of “lively Spirit” or *La Bras Casse*, as historic sources note that his village was located on the south bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* at the present-day town of Belle Blaine (Babcock :1945 142; Featherstonhaugh 1847: 249; Smith 1967: 13).

Otehi Otoḡwe

The *Wahpetoḡwaḡ* village near the present-day city of Le Sueur was called *Otehi Otoḡwe* – “Village on the Thicket” – (Dorsey 1891: 258; Durand 1994: 67; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 389; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158; Woolworth 1981). Although little information regarding the “origin” of or reason for the of the name of this village could be found in published ethnographic resources, according to Joseph Renville, there was a part of the *Wahpetoḡwaḡ* that were afraid of enemies, so when they were on journeys, “they sought a *thicket* in which to make their camp,” thus, this

summer habitation site was known as “The Village on the Thicket” or *Otehi Otonwe* (Renville, qtd. in. Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158; emphasis added). However, Nicollet states that the thicket referred to in the name of this village is said to have been one which was located between the present towns of Ottawa and Le Sueur (Bray and Bray 1993).

It is known that the village was situated north of a prairie near Le Sueur Creek, both of which are known to Dakota people for the siliceous stone found there that served to make the points of arrows (Bray and Bray 1993: 48; Durand 1994: 89). Thus, Nicollet states that the Dakotas called the Le Sueur Creek *Wanhi Yankadang Wakpa*²³ – “river where there are arrow flints” – and that the prairie there was named this as well (Bray and Bray 1993: 48; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 525, 610). Additionally, Beltrami wrote on ascending the *Mini Sota Wakpa*: “We came to a magnificent prairie called ‘The Arrow.’ A great block of granite is visible on the left and has been painted with nose, eyes, and mouth” (qtd. in Durand 1994: 104-105). In earlier times, “The Prairie of the Arrow,” as it was often called by traders, was known to Dakotas as *Tiŋta Mağa Bohpa* – “the prairie where the swan fell to earth” – which is a reference to a Dakota oral tradition in which a miraculous occurrence which happened long ago on this prairie, the particulars of which are long forgotten (Durand 1994: 89).

Çaŋkağa Otina Tipi

Although sources state that the *Wahpetonwan* had a village which was called *Çaŋkağa Otina Tipi* – “Dwellers in Log (huts)” – little information could be found in published ethnographic or historic sources about it (Dorsey 1891: 259; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 86, 89, 389; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158). According to *Wanbdiska* Fred Pearsall, the Dakota evidently called the

²³ Nicollet recorded the Dakota name for Le Sueur Creek and the associated prairie as *Wanhi ok'èdan watpa* – “river of the arrow stone” – (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 48).

Hazelwood Republic *Çaŋkaġotipi* – “Log House Dwellers” – a name which may be a reference to the Euro-American dwellings located near/associated with the mission (Peterson and LaBatte 2022: 143). However, the Dakota name for the area which is the present-day city of Granite Falls in Yellow Medicine County is *Çaŋ Kaġa Otidaŋ* – “wood where a small habitation is made” – and was so-called after the *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* village which was nearby (Durand 1994: 4; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 86 247-248, 389). Yet, another source says that the name of this village was *Haha atonwan* – “Falls Dwellers” – due to its location at the falls at Granite Falls (Enos and Skinner 2003: 60).

There are numerous Dakota oral traditions that are associated with *Çaŋ Kaġa Otidaŋ* (Granite Falls), many of which pertain to *Çaŋotidaŋ* – “woodsprite” – the Dakota deity of the woods, which is “an unknown animal said to resemble a monkey, which the Dakotas worship, *the monkey*” (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 91; emphasis in original). James H. Howard states that *Çaŋotidaŋ* is,

...[a] malevolent woodsprite who dwells in hollow trees or stumps. His power extends into the sky for an infinite distance in the form of an enchanted shaft the size of the opening in which he dwells. When wild fowl fly over, they are stricken dead and fall into the Tree Dweller’s den. Even the Thunderbirds fear and avoid him. He causes hunters to lose their way and deprives them of game, sometimes even taking a life. Usually appearing as a child or a small man with a tail, he has the ability to change into an owl or some animal form. Only the smoke of the pipe or the potency of the Four Winds can defeat his purpose. Should, however, he appear in a vision and can be secured by the dreamer as a spirit-helper, the supplicant can, through proper ceremony, enlist his aid for luck in hunting and ability to prophesy, and even effect certain cures. The long wavy instrument in his hand is a curved gun by which he can shoot around corners (qtd. in Durand 1994: 6).

Alex Ross of Granite Falls states that the city of Granite Falls itself is also known as *Çaŋotidaŋ Ti Oskata* – “*Çaŋotidaŋ*’s playhouse” – and alongside the Minnesota River at Granite Falls is *Çaŋotidaŋ Ohaŋ* – “*Çaŋotidaŋ*’s workshop” – as well as a water source which never dries up and

is known to Dakotas as *Omni Yaske Tawa* – “Çaŋotidaŋ’s drinking fountain” – (Durand 1994: 7, 66).

Located to the west of *Caŋkaġotipi* is Hazel Creek or *Çaŋsaša Wakpadaŋ* – “red willow creek” – in reference to *çaŋsaša*, red willow tobacco that is used for smoking, which used to grow at that creek alongside green willow, “that willow used for making *initipi*, sweat lodges” (Peterson and LaBatte 2022: 149-150; emphasis added). According to Dakota oral history, they would wait until “after the thunder beings came” and the willow was sucking up the moisture; the plant would be cut so that it could regrow the next year, and with the extra moisture the two barks, the inner and the outer, could be easily separated from the stem wood and each other so that they might be dried and cut with regular tobacco and then smoked (ibid.: 150).

Wita Otina

The *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* village at Big Stone Lake or *Mde Inyaŋ Takinyanyaŋ* – “big stone lake” or “lake of the big stones” – at the present-day city of Ortonville was known as *Wita Otina* – “Dwellers in the Island” – (Bray and Bray 1993: 256; Dorsey 1891: 258; Durand 1994; Enos and Skinner 2003: 60; S. Pond 1989 [1908]: 5; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 389, 579; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 180). Big Stone Lake was also known as *Ipaksaŋ Mde* – “bent lake” – in reference to the bent shape of the lake, as well as *Inyaŋ Tanġka* – “large stone” – which alludes to the conspicuous outcrops of granite and gneiss, extensively quarried, that occur in the Minnesota valley from a half mile to three miles below the southern end of the lake (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994: 33; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 201, 203, 312, 457; Upham 2001: 55). When James E. Colhoun and Stephen H. Long visited this band of *Wahpetoŋwaŋ*, they note that the Dakota had their permanent residence on an island in *Mde Inyaŋ Takinyanyaŋ*. Keating calls the island on which the *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* had their permanent residence, “or at least that which they have occupied as

such for the last five years,” the “Big Island,” and states that is located “nearly opposite to, and within a quarter of a mile of, their present encampment” (Keating, et al. 1824: 369). He adds that it was on that island that they cultivated their cornfields as it was protected against the aggressions of their enemies (ibid.). Thus, it appears that the name of this *Wahpetonwan* village was a geographic reference to the location where the village itself was located. Unfortunately, little to no more information pertaining to this village could be found in published ethnographic sources regarding this village, though there are numerous place name sites in the region.

Although *Wamdiupi Duta* – “Scarlet Plume” – was a prominent *Sisitonwan* chief, according to ethnographic data, in 1862 he also had a village “...at the foot of Big Stone Lake, where Ortonville now stands” (Hughes 1969: 122). Furthermore, Samuel Pond states that “Most of the Sissetonwan had their villages in the vicinity of lakes Big Stone and Traverse” (S. Pond 1989 [1908]: 5), so it is reasonable to infer that this village of *Wamdiupi Duta* was one of these.

Wakpa Otonwe

One band of *Wahpetonwan* called *Wakpa Otonwe* or *Wakpa Atonwan* – “Village on the River” – and the people of which were known as the Dwellers on the River (Dorsey 1891: 258; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 389, 516; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158). However, as many of the *Wahpetonwan* villages or habitation sites were generally situated along the *Mni Sota Wakpa* (S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]), it is possible that the “*wakpa*” in the name of this village is a geographic reference to the river it was located on, which is assumed here to have been the *Mni Sota Wakpa*. That said, the *Wahpetonwan* did not limit themselves to having their villages on the *Mni Sota Wakpa* as they also had villages at *Mde Inyan Takinyanyan* and *Mde Iyendan* (Lac qui Parle) (Bray and Bray 1993; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]). Therefore, it is possible

that this village may have been situated on a tributary of the *Mni Sota Wakpa*, such as the *Waga Ozu Wakpa* (Cottonwood River) or *Cañşayapi Wakpa* (Redwood River).

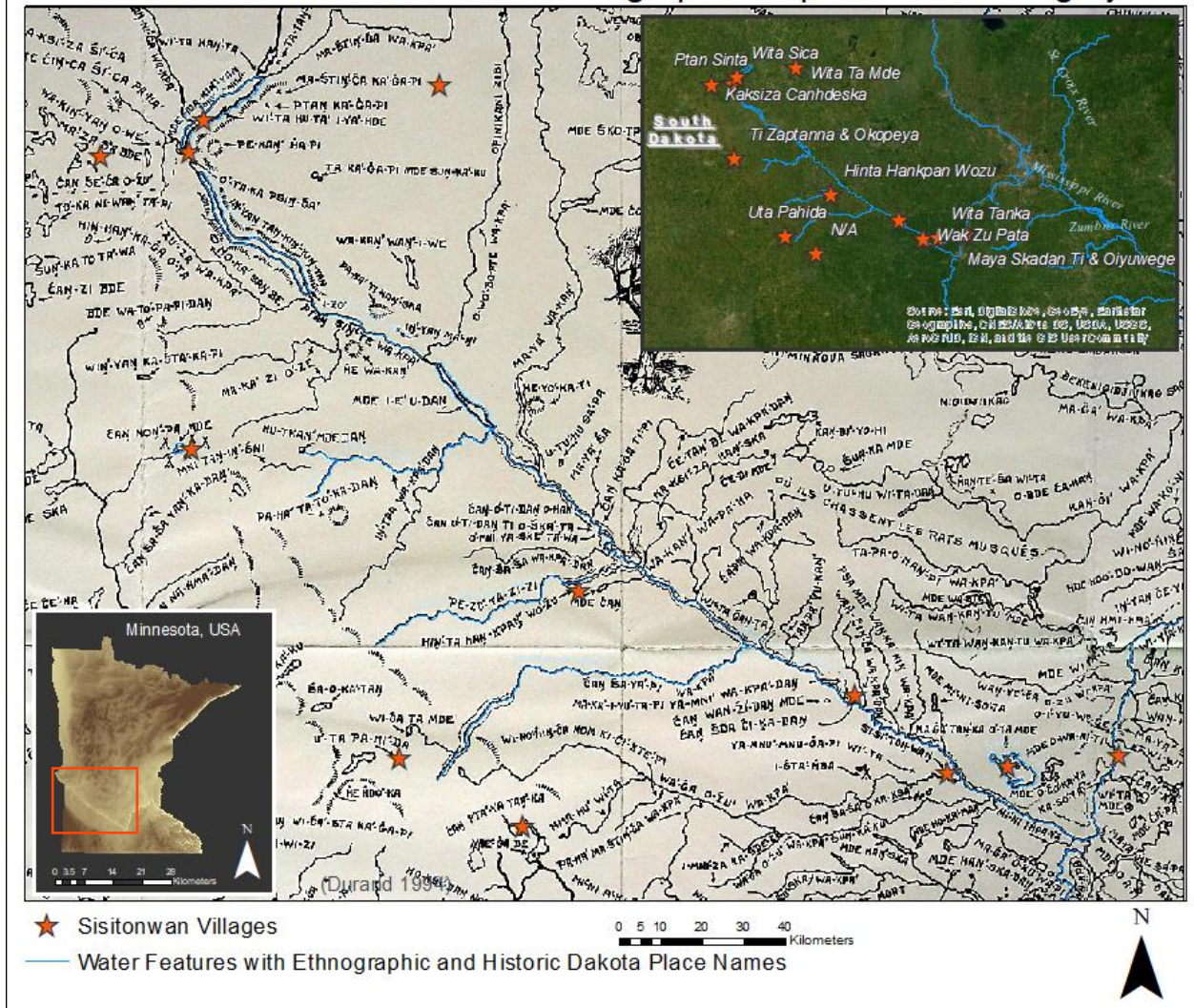
Sisitoŋwaŋ

The name of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* band was formerly believed to have come from the fact that *si-siŋ* meant “swampy land,” which was then translated to “swamp villagers” (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158). According to Mr. Renville, the word *si-siŋ* is synonymous with *wiwi* – “a swamp” – and as the source from which the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* derived their name, thus translating the name as “Swamp Villagers” (Renville, qtd. in Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158). However, according to Riggs’ (1992 [1890]) “Dakota-English Dictionary,” “*sisiŋ*” is more accurately equated with “*hoŋaŋmna*” – “smelling strongly of fish, fishy” – or “*siçamna*” – “bad smelling” – (ibid.: 152, 435, 442). Thus, as the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* lived chiefly on fish, “the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* villages were ‘*sisiŋ*’ on account of the old fish-bones and putrefied fish lying about” (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 435). Some sources say that in the past, the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* were called *Skiskita’atoŋwaŋ* – “water-shed village” – which the modern name of *Sisitoŋwaŋ* is a corruption of, and that *Sisitoŋwaŋ* had nothing to do with fish but that the band or village was called *Skistita en tipi* – “dwellers at the isthmus” – because of the isthmus dividing Lake Traverse and Big Stone Lake (Morris qtd. in Enos Oneroad and Skinner 2003: 59n8).

As discussed in the preceding chapter, the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* generally inhabited the prairie-forest transitional ecotone located in central-western *Mini Sota Makoçe*, which essentially split the band into two sub-divisions: the “Southern *Sisitoŋwaŋ*” and the “Northern *Sisitoŋwaŋ*” (Woolworth 1981). A result of this is that, unlike the other Eastern Dakota bands whose socio-cultural associations were predominantly based on their connection to a particular lineage-based semi-permanent village as well as the environmental region in which they were situated, the

Sisitoŋwaŋ differentiated and/or identified themselves by the particular activities they practiced, many of which were related to their prairie-forest transitional lifeways, which would suggest a more fluid membership of each social group or community. While this socio-cultural milieu of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* makes it more difficult to locate them on the landscape, it has the potential to provide more insightful information about environmentally derived variability in Dakota belief systems. That said, to mitigate this, every attempt was made to make connections between the names of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* divisions and/or sub-divisions with place names on the landscape(s), though it must be kept in mind that these assignments may not be completely accurate reflections of divisional connections nor their habited areas.

Sisitonwan Villages Documented in Published Ethnographic and/or Historic Records with Ethnographic Map and Aerial Imagery



Map 3.5 – Ethnohistoric map of Sisitonwan villages.

**²⁴Kahminj atonwan (also, the Mani-ti, the Caŋ Sda Cikana, and the Keze)*

The name of the *Kahminj atonwan* division of *Sisitonwan* is generally translated as meaning “Village at the Bend (in a river, a bay)” – (Dorsey 1891: 259; Hodge 1907: 644; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 52, 100, 252; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159). The name of this band of *Sisitonwan* is a geographic reference to the loop formed by the great bend of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* at the mouth

²⁴ Each of the following groups marked with an “*” are not villages, but divisions of the *Sisitonwan*, according to Stephen Riggs (2004 [1893]: 159). Those not marked as such are known villages of the *Sisitonwan*.

of the Blue Earth River or *Makato Wakpa*²⁵ – “river of bluish-green earth” – where the *Mini Sota Wakpa* makes an abrupt turn northeastward and is thus called *Kahmiŋ* – “The Bend” – by Dakota people (Durand 1994: 102; Hughes 1993: 13).

This division of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* consisted of two primary offshoots, the *Mani-ti* and the *Keze* (Dorsey 1891; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158). The name *Mani-ti*²⁶ – “Those who camp away from the village” – is said to have come from the fact that when all the divisions of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* were camped together they were kept out of the camp circle as though ashamed (Enos Oneroad and Skinner 2003: 59), though no further elaboration could be found regarding this practice. The name of the *Keze*²⁷ is generally translated as meaning “Barbed (as/of a fishhook),” and was a name apparently given in derision (Dorsey 1891: 259; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159), though no explanation is provided in ethnographic sources for this. Stephen Riggs was informed by Reverend Edward Ashley that the *Kahmiŋ atonwan* also once had a third sub-division which was “formerly considered a part of the *Kahmiŋ atonwan*” (Hodge 1907: 644). Known as the *Çaŋ Šda Çikąŋa*²⁸ – “little place bare of wood” – the name of this sub-division came from the name of the chief, otherwise known as *Ištahba* or “Sleepy Eyes” and that they were one of the Dakota bands located below Lake Traverse, although Riggs (2004 [1893]: 159) states that a portion of these people also lived at Little Rock, while another portion lived at Traverse des Sioux, the latter of which were the people of *Mazasha* – “Red Iron” – (Diedrich 1989: 49; qtd. in Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159; Dorsey 1891: 216; Hodge 1907: 644).

Maya Kicaksa

²⁵ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 252.

²⁶ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 308, 467.

²⁷ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 276.

²⁸ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 86, 100, 441.

The *Sisitoŋwaŋ* village located near the mouth of the Cottonwood River or *Waġa Ožu Wakpa*²⁹ – “river where cottonwoods are planted” – was generally called *Maya Kiçaksa*³⁰ – “a steep place cut in two” – in reference to a long cleft, once measuring 15 feet wide and three quarters of a mile long, which runs parallel to the river’s right bank (Bray and Bray 1993: 256; Durand 1994: 42, 45; Westerman and White 2012: 121). As it is from this feature on the landscape which this *Sisitoŋwaŋ* village derived its name, it was generally referred to as “The Village of the Cut Bank” (Durand 1994: 45). This *Sisitoŋwaŋ* village at the mouth of the Cottonwood River also had a lesser known (or utilized) name, *Wak Žu Pata*³¹ – “Village at the End of the Cottonwood” – which was evidently another geographic reference to the *Waġa Ožu Wakpa* (Bray and Bray 1993: 115; Durand 1994: 98, 102).

Wita Taŋka

Nicollet states that in the summer the Dakota occupied “the beautiful islands, fertile and well wooded” of present-day Swan Lake on Swan Lake or *Maġa Taŋka Ota Mde*³² – “goose lake” (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 51). Their primary summer village at *Maġa Taŋka Ota Mde* was on an island they called *Wita Taŋka*³³ – “large island” – which is likely present-day Big Island in the northwestern part of the lake (Durand 1994: 116). Nicollet also notes that the summit of the high ground on the southeastern shore of this lake served “as a burial place for the Sisseton who frequent this lake” (Bray and Bray 1993: 51).

Maya Skadaŋ and Oiyuweġe

²⁹ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 401, 415, 497, 516.

³⁰ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 277, 309. Nicollet recorded this name as *Mayakichakse* – “bank cut in two” – (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 256).

³¹ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 401, 415, 497, 516, 652.

³² Riggs 1992 [1890]: 303, 312, 387, 457.

³³ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 457, 579.

The *Sisitoŋwaŋ* village led by *Istah̄ba* near the present-day city of St. Peter was called *Maya Skadaŋ* – “little white bluff” – a name which, according to Nicollet, was a geographic reference to a “little bluff [*right bank of Minnesota River*] which presents an escarpment of 300 to 400 feet in width by 30 to 40 in height is formed of granular sandstone on which are deposited some calcareous colors, salmon-colored in some place and yellow-gray in some others” (Bray and Bray 1993: 49). Featherstonhaugh wrote of the area:

...we came again to rocks in place on the right banks, at a locality called by the Indians *M̄ya Skah*, or ‘White Rock,’ where there is an escarpment of fifty feet, consisting of forty feet of clear granulated sandstone, with occasional flinty concretions, capped by ten feet of fawn-coloured limestone, being a sort of repetition of the beds on the Wisconsin river. At the junction of these two beds there is a narrow seam of greenish-blue silicate of iron, which Milor said was a kind of pigment the Indians valued much to pain themselves with...At half-past two we passed the village of *Wahgonakah*, or ‘Big Leg,’ the band inhabiting which were gone to gather wild rice. About 4 P. M. we reached a place called Traverse des Sioux... The Sioux, who in old times came from the south to trade with the French, used to cross the river here...We left this place at 5 P. M., and soon after passed a stream on the right bank, called *Wee Wee*, or ‘Moon Creek.’ Its serpentine course is divided so equally into curves, that the Indians, who always name things from nature, have called the curves moons (Featherstonhaugh 1970 [1847]: 297-298; emphasis in original).

Located downstream from *Maya Skadaŋ* was present-day Traverse des Sioux on the right bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa*³⁴, which was generally known to Dakotas as *Oiyuweŋe* – “the place of crossing” – due to the advantages that the landscape provided for traversing the landscape, it being an ideal spot for crossing the river. The great bend of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* which is at *Oiyuweŋe* was called “The Crescent” in the past (Long 1978), though another common name for

³⁴ A lapse in attention to detail resulted in the misplacement of this village on the ethnographic maps produced for this analysis; it was placed on the right bank if one were going upstream on the Minnesota River from Traverse des Sioux, when it should be placed on the right bank if one were going downstream from Traverse des Sioux (c.f. Durand 1994: 47). This misplacement on the maps produced for this analysis was guided by Smith (1967: 17), who alleged that the “Old Traverse des Sioux” site (21NLas) was the location of Red Iron’s village, which is on the cardinal east side of the Minnesota River. Due to time constraints, this error has not yet been fixed.

this place was *Skadaŋ-ti*³⁵, “*Skadaŋ* having been the Dakota name of Mons. Provencalle, an early trader at that place.” According to Riggs (2004 [1893]), both the *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* and the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* had residences at *Oiyuweŋe* (ibid.: 159). This was the village of Red Iron or *Maza Śa*.

**Ti Za-ptanŋa and Okopeya*

The name of the Two Woods in Deuel County, South Dakota is a direct translation of the Dakota term for the place, *Çaŋ Nonpa Mde*³⁶ – “two woods” – and the five or six lakes which surrounded the *Çaŋ Nonpa Mde* were inhabited by the division of *Sisitoŋwaŋ* called the *Ti Za-ptanŋa*³⁷ – “Those who make up five lodges small in number” – as when they separated from the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* band, “They sprang from a large family that made up five lodges, and that was...made up bad men making trouble within their nation and robbing the traders” (Bray and Bray 1993: 95; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 319, 467, 649). The smaller division of the *Ti Za-ptanŋa* were called *Okopeya*³⁸ – “In danger” – though no explanation could be found for the name of this division (Bray and Bray 1993: 95; Durand 1994: 6; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 1918: 521; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159). However, according to Samuel Pond, one of the leaders of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* at *Çaŋ Nonpa Mde* was *Ite Wakinyan*³⁹ – “Thunder Face” – who, being much feared by the Euro-Americans who called him “Limping Devil,” was a noted character in his day, for he was a bad leader of a bad band (Bray and Bray 1993: 98; S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 6; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158); “They were restless and roving, and supposed to be as lawless, as prairie wolves” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 14). While the people of his band were good buffalo hunters, they were

³⁵ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 359, 436.

³⁶ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 86, 312, 343. Nicollet recorded this place as *Tchan Nompa Mde* or *Chanopa*, still translating it as “two woods” (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 95).

³⁷ Nicollet recorded the name of this band as *Tizaptonans* or *Tizaptan* (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993).

³⁸ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 371.

³⁹ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 212, 514). His name was also written as *Etawakinyan* (Riggs 1918) and *Itewakinyanna* (S. Pond 1986 [1908]).

bad horse thieves, “and a terror alike to friends and foes” (ibid.). The other leader of these *Sisitoŋwaŋ* was *Kinihaŋpi*⁴⁰ – “The One Who is Respected” – and was the brother of *Ite Wakiŋyaŋ* (Bray and Bray 1993: 98; S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 6; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158). Thus, this may be an explanation for the name of the *Okopeya*.

*Wita Waziyata and the Ohdihe

When Joseph Nicollet visited Lake Traverse or *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ*⁴¹ – “crosswise lake” – he called the division of *Sisitoŋwaŋ* he encountered the *Waziyata Sisiton* – “the *Sisitons* of the North” – or *Wita Waziyata*⁴² – “North Island (Dwellers)” – as they lived at “North Island” in *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* (Bray and Bray 1993: 256). Thus, their village was known as *Wita Waziyata*. While there is no “North Island” on *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ*, Upham (2001) states that the largest two most northern islands in the lake are Jackson Island (southernmost) and Carlson Island (northernmost), with the former having been called Plum Island or *Wita Kaŋta*⁴³ – “plum island” – and the latter having been called North Island (ibid.: 599). Furthermore, both Samuel Pond (1986 [1908]) and Stephen Riggs (1918) state that in the early 19th century the Dakota who lived at *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* were raising corn there, though Riggs states specifically that this was done at “the island” at *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* (ibid.: 536; emphasis added). Although it is known that the sub-division of these *Sisitoŋwaŋ* were called the *Ohdihe* – “falling headfirst” or “to fall in endwise” – no explanation could be found for this name (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159).

*Amdowapuskiya

⁴⁰ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 288.

⁴¹ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 127.

⁴² Riggs 1992 [1890]: 563, 579.

⁴³ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 260, 579.

According to Riggs (2004 [1893]), the other division of *Sisitoŋwaŋ* lived at *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* were formidable buffalo hunters, and who “often moved camp when their meat was not dried, and so spread it out on the horses’ backs and on the hills” (ibid.: 159). As such, this division of Northern/Upper *Sisitoŋwaŋ* were called *Amdowapuskiya* – “Those who place the meat on their shoulders in order to dry it” (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159) or “Those who lay meat on their shoulders [*amdo*] to dry it [*wapuskiya*] during the hunt” (Dorsey 1891: 260). Thus, it is evident that this *Sisitoŋwaŋ* division was named for a cultural practice which they were known for; as the *Sisitoŋwaŋ*, especially the Northern *Sisitoŋwaŋ*, were less sedentary than the *Mdewakaŋtoŋwaŋ* and *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* bands of Dakota, and the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* were often named from one particularity such as this (Enos Oneroad and Skinner 2003: 60; Skinner 1919: 172). It is likely that they acquired this practice from their Western Dakota relatives with whom they lived alongside at *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* and Big Stone Lake or *Inyaŋ Taŋkiŋkiŋyaŋ* – “lake of the big stones” – (S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]). However, it would appear that the *Amdowapuskiya* did retain a naming practice used by the other Eastern Dakota bands, as the subdivisions or “subgentes” of these *Sisitoŋwaŋ* were named for their leaders: the *Maka Ideya* – “Burning Earth” or “Prairie Fire” – *Waŋmdiupi duta* – “Red Eagle Feather” – and *Waŋmדי nahotoŋ* – “Sounding Eagle” – (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 109, 182, 305, 323, 526; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159).

While no associated village information could be found for the *Amdowapuskiya* division of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* with certainty, in 1862 the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* had a village at the southern end of *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* at the present site of Brown’s Valley (Hughes 1969: 122), which could have been the village associated with this division of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ*. To the Dakotas, Brown’s Valley is known

as *Otaka Psiŋça*⁴⁴ – “many duck potatoes” – in reference to the *psiŋça*, a bulbous esculent root which grows in marshes and grew aplenty, albeit prior to modern development, in that area (Durand 1994: 66), which therefore led the Dakota to refer to the area as such.

**Basdece šni*

The division of *Sisitoŋwaŋ* which were called the *Basdece šni* – “those who do not split (the backbone of the buffalo)” or “do not slice meat” – are said to have acquired their name from the fact they were too stingy to cut meat for others (Enos Oneroad and Skinner 2003: 58; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159). The sub-division of this band was called the *Itokah-tina* – “Dwellers at the south” – and though no information about this name could be found in published ethnographic resources, it is likely another geographic reference to where they had their summer villages, like the *Wazyata Sisiton* or the name of the village of *Wita Taŋka* (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159).

Like with the habitation sites for the *Amdowapuskiya*, no village name(s) could be found for either of these divisions of *Sisitoŋwaŋ*, nor could any specific locational/territory-related information be found, which may again be attributed to a more nomadic lifestyle. However, according to Simon Ćekpâ, as their name implies, they were the southernmost members of the *Sisitoŋwaŋ* (qtd. in Enos Oneroad and Skinner 2003: 58), and although he does not address what they were “southernmost” of, it is possible that their name was a reference to where their tents were situated in the camp circle when encamped on the plains with other bands of Dakota, such as the *Wahpetoŋwaŋ*, for when encamped together, “Beginning at the north and to the right of the opening of the tribal circle the tents were pitched” in a particular order (ibid.: 159; c.f. Dorsey 1891, 1897). It is also possible that the *Itokah-tina* were the band of Dakota living at the island

⁴⁴ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 387, 425. Another Dakota name for Brown’s Valley was *Ski-Ski-ta* – “a strip of land pressed or hemmed in; an isthmus” (Durand 1994: 65; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 436).

village at the southern end of *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* which Stephen Riggs visited in 1838 (Westerman and White 2012: 119). Additionally, according to Warren Upham (2001), in *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ*, the most southern island, about halfway across the lake opposite to a former trading post, now called Snake (or Jensen) Island or *Wita Siça* – “bad, ugly, wicked island” – was “once the village home of the Indians,” and may have been where both these groups of *Sisitoŋwaŋ* lived (ibid.: 599).

Wahpekute

The name of the *Wahpekute* band is translated by Riggs (1992 [1890]: 502; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 157), as “Leaf Shooters” and by others as “People Who Shoot Among the Leaves” (Landes 1968: 3). Joseph Nicollet was told by *Sisitoŋwaŋ* leader *Istahba* that the name of the band means “those who shoot at the leaf (in practicing with the bow)” (Bray and Bray 1993: 258). According to Riggs the *Wahpekute* “continued to dwell, for the most part, in the wooded country, as their names indicate” (2004 [1893]: 184). The traditional territory of the *Wahpekute* included the area along the Cannon River or *Inyaŋ Bosdata Wakpa*⁴⁵ – “river of the standing stone” – and the area south of it to the Straight River or the *Owotaŋna Wakpa*⁴⁶ – “river that is straight, not crooked; right, just, upright” – and is a region which is encompassed within what is generally known as the “Big Woods” (Durand 1994: 30, 70; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012). According to Nicollet, the “Big Woods” is known to the Dakotas as *Çaŋ Kiyute Oçaŋka*⁴⁷ – “end of the woods” – and he states that, “The beautiful hardwood forest which the Minnesota [River] divides in half is about 40 miles long following the course of the river,” with the two extremities each marked by a river, Roberts Creek and Le Sueur Creek in Le Sueur County, which comes from the right bank (Bray and Bray 1993: 47-48;

⁴⁵ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 79, 201, 516.

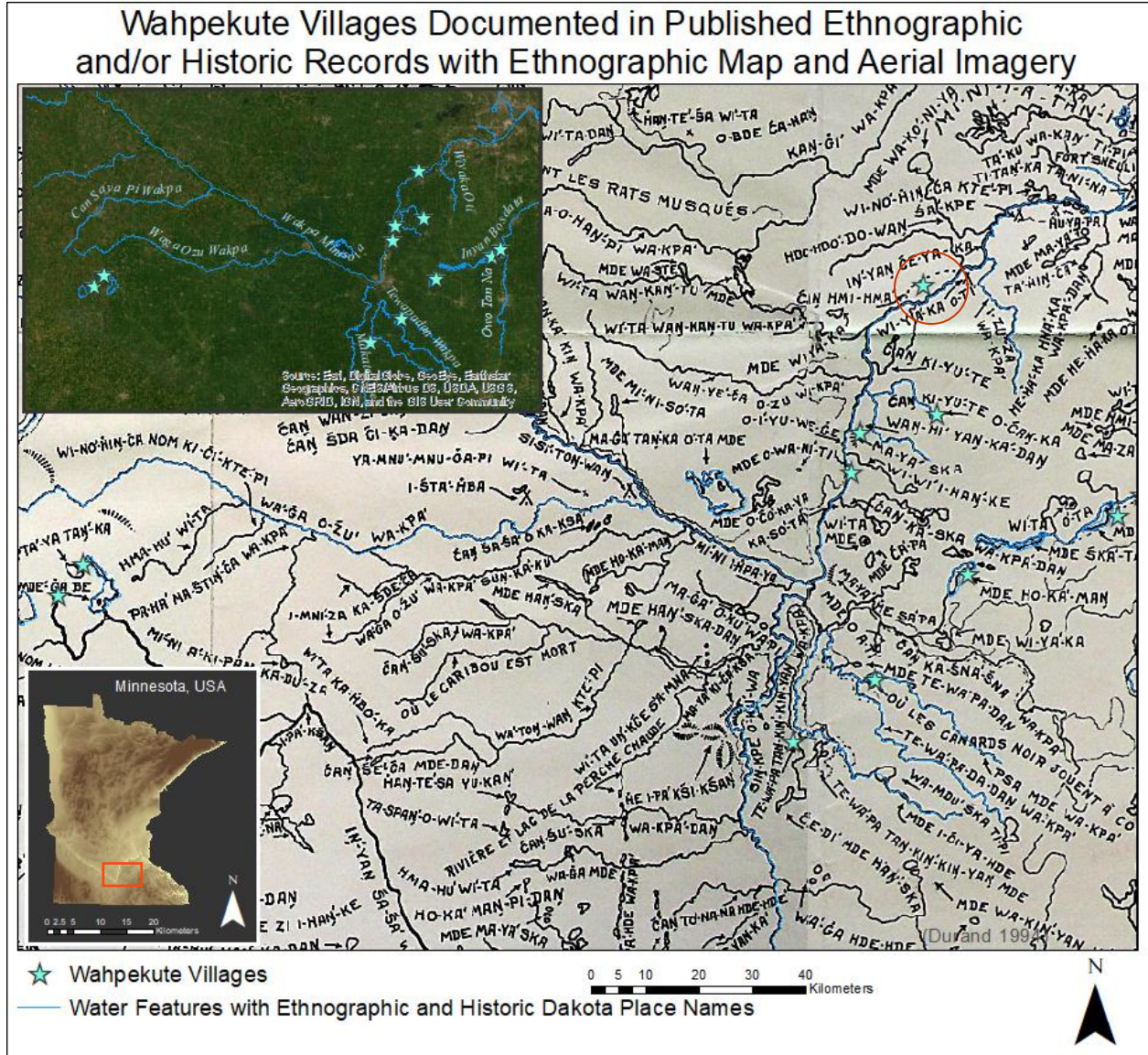
⁴⁶ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 396, 516.

⁴⁷ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 86, 293, 343.

Durand 1994: 5). Thus, the name *Wahpekute* as the “Shooters Among the Leaves” is a geographic reference to the forest environment which they generally occupied. The intersection of the *Inyan Bosdata* and the *Owotaŋna Wakpa* made the land ideal, as these rivers not only provided easy transportation for the *Wahpekute*, but an abundance of small game as well, though the *Wahpekute* hunted near the headwaters of the Blue Earth River or *Makato Oze*⁴⁸ – “blue (or green) earth river” – as well (Durand 1994).

As previously noted, the *Wahpekute* were one of the smallest of the Dakota bands (Riggs 1918: 496n) and were generally a roaming band. Therefore, they did not have fixed village sites, which according to Nicollet (Bray and Bray 1993) “is why they do not add *tonwan* [or, “village,” to their name]” (ibid.: 256; emphasis in original). Furthermore, the overall smaller size of the *Wahpekute* band, and the sub-divisions or communities of other Eastern Dakota bands, may be also explained by their more nomadic settlement practices, as such a lifeway is not necessarily an ideal one for population growth, as food production, which aids in population growth, is more difficult the more nomadic a people are. As such, there is little to be found in published ethnographic records regarding *Wahpekute* villages, though every effort has been taken to determine approximately where in *Mini Sota Makoçe* the *Wahpekute* had some of their villages or habitation sites. However, apart from their primary habitation sites which were along the *Inyan Bosdata Wakpa* near the present-day city of Faribault, and in the Blue Earth River valley at the headwaters of the *Makato Oze* at *Oiyuwege* they also had a settlement near Spirit Lake in northern Iowa (Anderson 1986: 80; Durand 1994: 43; S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 4).

⁴⁸ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 306, 400.



Map 3.6 – Ethnohistoric map of Wahpekuṭe villages.

Inyan Bosdata Wakpa (Medatepetonka)

At a trading post of Alexander Faribault’s which was located on the northwest shore of Cannon Lake was the large *Wahpekuṭe* village of *Medatepetonka* – “lake of the big village” – which gave to Cannon Lake its Dakota name (Curtiss-Wedge 1910: 89; Palmer 2008; Upham 2001: 496), though earlier historians used the Dakota name of *Tetonka Tonah* for this “Indian rendezvous” located on Cannon Lake (Bray and Bray 1993: 124n; *Rice County Herald*, Feb. 19,

1857: 4). In 1838, Nicollet (Bray and Bray 1993: 124n) recorded the name of Cannon Lake as *Titanka tanninan*⁴⁹ – “former big lodge.” However, according to Durand (1994: 53, 94), the Dakota name for Cannon Lake is *Mde Titan̄ka Tañnina*⁵⁰ – “lake of the large ancient habitation” – and states that this name is a reference to two old *Wahpekuṭe* villages, and although Durand (1994) provides no further information about those villages, German botanist Charles A. Geyer, who traveled with Nicollet during his 1838 expedition provides insightful observations of the location where the party camped at Cannon Lake.

...only had the view of one half of the water sheet, on account of a high elevated ridge like point at the east bank, which narrows [*sic*]the extent of the Lake at that place, and this, our camping spot no doubt was once the place of one of those ancient villages. Some ruined Indian lodges, build of logs & covered with bark, which are still to be found there are of a more recent time, the level extend of ground as far as the banks are cleared from timber, appear to be as having the appearance of a wasted field, this part however is not Large at least not more than 2 or 3 acres (Bray and Bray 1993: 124; emphasis in original).

Thus, it would appear that there had been a Native American village there in the not-too-distant past from when Geyer and Nicollet were there, though it would be presumptuous to make the outright claim that it was a *Wahpekuṭe* village specifically.

Headwaters of the Blue Earth River

Nicollet encountered numerous other encampments in 1838 near the headwaters of the *Makato Oze* which he states were *Wahpekuṭe* habitation sites. In what is now Blue Earth County on the right bank of the Little Cobb River or *Psa Mde Wakpa*⁵¹ – “river of the lake of rushes” – he met a band of *Wahpekuṭe*, led by *Wamdisapa*, that were encamped at Perch Lake, which Nicollet recorded as *Tchan pannan-Kitchitanpi-Mde*, though he provides no definition or

⁴⁹ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 457, 459, 467. Charles A. Geyer, the German botanist who traveled with Nicollet during his 1838 expedition translated the Dakota name for this lake as meaning “lake of the two ancient villages” (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 124).

⁵⁰ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 312, 457, 459, 467.

⁵¹ Durand 1994: 72-73.

explanation for this Dakota name for the lake (Bray and Bray 1993: 127). In the southern end of Blue Earth County, near Rice Creek (no Dakota name could be found associated with this stream) and the Maple River or *Tewapa Taŋkinkinyan Wakpa*⁵² – “river of the very large lotus” – Nicollet and his party passed another encampment that consisted of “2 summer lodges of Wahpekuteh Indians” (Bray and Bray 1993: 127), though he provides no further information about this apparent *Wahpekute* habitation site. In Murray County the *Wahpekute* once had a village of 30 lodges with the *Ti Za-ptayna Sisitoŋwan* near Great Oasis or *Çaŋ Ptaya Taŋka* – “the great band of woods” (Durand 1994: 8). Nicollet also encountered a group of *Wahpekute* in August of 1838 near the junction of Perch Creek and the Watonwan River, and although no Dakota name could be found for Perch Creek, it is known that the Dakotas have separate names for the north and south branches of the Watonwan River, calling the north branch *Çaŋsuska Wakpadaŋ*⁵³ – “box elder creek” – and the south branch *Watoŋwan Ktepi Wakpa*⁵⁴ – “the river where they killed Watonwan, He who saw everything.”

“Red Top Band”

This *Wahpekute* band had two primary chiefs, *Tasagi*⁵⁵ – “In a Hardened State” [translation uncertain] – or *Çaŋ Sagye* – “The Cane” – and *Wamdisapa*⁵⁶ – “Black Eagle” – the latter being the real war leader (Anderson 1997; Bray and Bray 1993; Riggs 1918: 500n). However, blood feuds broke out between the chief *Tasagi* and the sub-chief *Wamdisapa* in the mid-19th century, which resulted in the murder of *Tasagi* at the hands of *Wamdisapa*. Fearing the vengeance of the band, *Wamdisapa* fled with a few partisans, mostly relatives, to the

⁵² Durand 1993: 89.

⁵³ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 92, 516.

⁵⁴ c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 117; Durand 1994: 10, 107-108; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 299, 421, 516.

⁵⁵ His name is variously spelled as *Tasapie* or *Tasagya*, *Tasaugye*.

⁵⁶ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 430, 461.

Vermilion River in South Dakota, though the outlaw chief met his own death in two or three years (Hughes 1905: 264). With the death (or murder) of *Wamdisapa* around 1846, his son *Sintomniduta* – “Red All Over” – also known as *Napenomnana* – “Two Fingers” – became the leader, with *Wamdisapa*’s other son, *Inkpaduta* – Scarlet Point,” “Red End,” or “Red Cap” – as the sub-chief (Anderson 1986: 83; Riggs 1918: 469). *Sintomniduta*’s band of *Wahpekuṭe*, who became known for their lawless character and attracted fugitives from justice from other bands, was called the Red Top Band. Hence, that faction was known as the “Red Top” band of *Wahpekuṭe*, and the band became known for their lawless character and attracted fugitives from justice from other bands. While the name of the Red Top band of *Wahpekuṭe* is not a geographic reference, given the nomadic nature of the band, and the fact that it was borne out of factual disputes between the leaders, it is of little surprise that this band would be named for their leader.

Summary

It should be kept in mind that, while the communities of the Eastern Dakota bands included in this analysis have, throughout time (i.e., pre-contact, contact, and post-contact times), been known by different names, and varied in language, manners, and dress, “they were essentially one people...They considered themselves as forming part of a great people, which owned a vast region of country, extending from the upper Mississippi to the Rocky mountains” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 4). Additionally, *Wakanhdi Sapa* (“Black Lightning”) Curtis Campbell states that while the various bands, divisions, communities, etc. of Dakota peoples may have viewed themselves as separate or distinct societies, they all generally practiced a relatedness through sharing, which “In the old society of families this relatedness through sharing, called the *Wico-we-chi-wazi*, was a practice and a way of life” (Campbell 2000: 18; emphasis added). This practice and way of life is central to a Dakota worldview and is known as the concept of

Mitakuye Owasiŋ – “all my relations” – which is at the core of their way of life, and it is used to guide their decision-making and actions; “We are related to all the human family, to the buffalo, birds, and all of the animal family, but also to all the rocks, trees, and everything else. In other words, all of creation, we are the same” (Peterson and LaBatte 2022: 45).

3.3.2 – The Environmental Influence on Dakota Belief Systems and Their Use of the Land

For the greater part of their history, Dakota lifeways were directed by the natural environment; they lived off the land and were more or less reliant on the natural environment for survival. “Being very close and careful observers of natural phenomena, they could tell very nearly the time of the year in summer by the appearance of vegetation, and in winter by the fetuses of the animals which they killed” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 83). Additionally, “The Dakotas had a polytheistic world view that helped regulate their hunter-gatherer subsistence cycle and defined individual Dakotas’ relation to the world around them” (Anderson 1997: 167). Moreover, Dakota use of the land was “related not only to daily subsistence but also to their beliefs and rituals and the meaning they attached to particular places in the region” (Westerman and White 2012: 89).

Much of what is known about past Dakota lifeways comes from published ethnographic and historic sources, which often describe the different ways Dakota people interacted with the natural environment, such as settlement and subsistence practices, which natural resources they valued in particular, how certain resources were utilized by them, the beliefs Dakota people had about various resources, etc. For example, the buffalo or *pte* is believed by Dakotas to be a “Master Guardian,” or master spirit – a spirit animal that guards an entire species (Landes 1968).

It was *Pte*, the buffalo, who provided the Sioux of the northern plains with all the necessities of existence...Small wonder that *Pte* was honored above all other

animals by the Sioux, for he bore in his huge body virtually everything necessary to the Indians; peripatetic existence...for *Pte* alone was reserved the title of Uncle – a word of respect roughly comparable in English to Father, for Grandfather is the Great Master Himself. Small wonder that the nomads of the plains made *Pte* a part of their religious life, holding buffalo dances in his honor – a plea which *Pte* never failed to answer by appearing before his nephews, for they danced until the buffalo came (Nelson 1947: 13-14; emphasis added).

Joseph Nicollet states, “There are two plants that are the object of a great mystery and a great value among the savages of the prairies,” and which Dakota people “consider necessary to attract the buffalo” (Bray and Bray 1993: 281). The Dakotas call these roots *Wah̄ça Ska* – “the white blossom” – which is commonly known as Clammyweed (*Polanisia dodecandra*), and the *Pte Ta Woyute*⁵⁷ (or *Ptetawote*) – “the buffalo’s food” – which has been suggested to be the Lead Plant (*Amorpha canescens*) (Bray and Bray 1993: 117, 281; Durand 1994: 7; Gilmore 1919). Of *Wah̄ça Ska* or Clammyweed (*Polanisia dodecandra*), Charles Geyer states that this plant was used by Dakota people,

...as a medicine to find as many Buffaloe [*sic*] as they want, which is performed by mixing this plant with another, pounding both together & with this mixture the performer goes on horseback near the buffaloe [*sic*], which attracted by the agreeable [*sic*] scent, wherein they meet their death. This medicine is not very public among the Indians only few know about the ingredienies [*sic*] and performance so that it is said, an Indian will give for the first article 5 horses & for the Second his Lodge; we have not been able to learn the second species (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 93; sub-note 85]; Geyer, “Botany Journal,” 52-53).

Of the *Pte Ta Woyute* or Lead Plant (*Amorpha canescens*), Nicollet states, “On the high prairie the grass is only 2 or 3 inches tall and there is always present *Amorpha canescens* [*lead plant*] which gives a gray-green color to the prairies of the northwest” (Bray and Bray 1993: 88; emphasis in original). Another plant utilized by Dakota people, and which “belonged to the Sioux hunting calendar,” was Silver Feather Grass (*Stipa barbata*) or *Wīçapēça*⁵⁸ – “the plant that pricks” – a kind of grass “armed with a long sharp beard.” Nicollet states about this plant

⁵⁷ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 427, 428, 436, 451, 501, 599.

⁵⁸ Riggs 1992 [1890]: 568. Nicollet recorded this plant as *Witchapetcha* (Bray and Bray 1993: 281).

that, “When it is ripe it takes a black color; the top is very prickly and attaches itself easily to whatever rubs it in passing so that animals can no longer walk on the prairies without hurting themselves. Then the buffalo leave the prairies to take refuge in the woods where the hunters go to find them” (Bray and Bray 1993: 281).

Since past Dakota lifeways generally consisted of cyclic migrations which were directed by seasonally available resources, “...it is essential to comprehend the patterns associated with seasonal subsistence activities” (Westerman and White 2012: 89). While the intensity and frequency of their seasonal movements and activities were directed in part by the environment(s) of the traditional territory of each of the bands, the names Dakota people gave to the months provide some insight into what the general focus of seasonal activities were for past Dakota peoples. “...the Dakota names for the seasons related to the land: winter moons or months connected to animals, while the names for summer months described horticultural or gathering activities” (Westerman and White 2012: 89). For example, those Dakotas that did grow corn knew it was time to plant it when they observed the ripening of the wild strawberries in June or *Ważušteçaša-wi* – “the moon when the strawberries are red” – as they knew then that the crops would be safe from late frost (Palmer 2008: 88; Spector 1993). This practice of associating certain times of the year with available resources and associated subsistence practice activities can be further seen in Table 3.2 below.

Month	Dakota Name	Translation
January	<i>Wi-tehi</i>	“the hard or severe moon” “the cold moon”
February	<i>Wiçata-wi</i>	“the raccoon moon” “the snow moon”
March	<i>Istawiçayazaŋ-wi</i>	“the moon of sore eyes” “worm moon”
April	<i>Mağaokada-wi</i> and <i>Watopapi-wi</i> (T., <i>Mağakasiça-agli-we</i>)	“the moon when geese lay eggs” and “the moon when streams are again navigable” (T., “the moon when the ducks come back”) “the month of plants”

Month	Dakota Name	Translation
May	<i>Wožupi-wi</i>	“the moon for planting” “the month of flowers”
June	<i>Wažuštecaša-wi</i> (T., <i>Tipsiŋla-itkaḥça-wi</i> and <i>Wipazoka-wašte-wi</i>)	“the moon when strawberries are red and when corn is hoed” (T., “the moon when the seed-pods of the Indian turnip mature” and “the moon when the <i>wipazoka</i> (berries) are good” “the hot moon”
July	<i>Caŋpasapa-wi</i> and <i>Wašunpa-wi</i> (T., <i>Caŋpasapa-wi</i> and <i>Takiyuḥa-wi</i>)	“the moon when chokecherries are ripe” and “when the geese shed their feathers” (T., “the deer-rutting moon”) “the buck moon”
August	<i>Wasutoŋ-wi</i> (T., <i>Kaŋta-ša-wi</i>)	“the moon when corn is gathered, or the harvest moon” (T., “the moon when plums are red”) “the sturgeon moon”
September	<i>Psiihnaketu-wi</i> (T., <i>Çaŋwapeği-wi</i>)	“the moon when rice is laid up to dry” (T., “the moon in which the leaves become brown”) “the corn moon”
October	<i>Ważupi wi</i> (T., <i>Çaŋwape-ka-sna-wi</i> and <i>Wayuksapi-wi</i>)	“the moon for drying rice” (T., “the moon when the wind shakes off leaves” and “corn- harvest moon”) “the travelling moon”
November	<i>Takiyuḥa wi</i> (T., <i>Waniyetu-wi</i>)	“the moon when deer rut” (T., “the winter moon”) “the beaver moon”
December	<i>Tahecapšun</i> (T., <i>Waniçokaŋ-wi</i>)	“the moon when deer shed their horns” (T., “the mid-winter moon”) “the hunting moon”

Table 3.2 – Dakota names for the months and their translations. Those months in which there are parentheses with a “T.” in them are the Teton names for those months, which were included in this table to show the environmentally derived variability in activities associated with each month. (Riggs 1992 [1890]; Spector 1993; Williamson 1992).

A resource highly valued by Dakota people was maple sugar (S. Pond 1986 [1908]), though Stephen Riggs states that, for Dakota women at Lac qui Parley, sugar was “a luxury for which these poor women are willing to toil hard, and often but with small recompense” (Riggs 2016 [1889]: 50). There are various ethnographically documented sites where past Dakota people acquired maple syrup and were thus often named in reference to this resource and activities associated with it. For example, the Dakota name for the area which is the present-day city of Chanhassen in Carver County is *Çaŋhassen*⁵⁹ – “tree” – and *hassen*, related to *haza* – “huckleberry or blueberry” – thus denoting “the tree of sweet juice,” is a reference to activities which Dakota people carried out there, and it may be inferred that it was there that past Dakota

⁵⁹ Durand 1994: 3; Riggs 1992 [1893]: 86, 125; Upham 2001: 355.

people had maple sugar-processing camps. Chanhassen was also known as *Çaŋ Ha Saŋ Paha*⁶⁰ – “the hills of the whitish barked trees” or “sugar maple hills.” Another example is present-day Elm Creek in Martin County, which flows eastward into the Blue Earth River, and is known to the Dakotas as *Çaŋ Śuska Wakpa*⁶¹ – “river of maples” – though the literal translation is “box elder creek” – in reference to the grove of sugar maple trees from which Dakota people gathered maple syrup from in the spring (Bray and Bray 1993: 128; Durand 1994). Thus, the Dakota name for this region not only alludes to past Dakota lifeways, as this area was, as Geyer points out, “A prairie island with sugar maple trees where the Sioux got to in the spring” (Bray and Bray 1993: 130) but is also a reference to resources which were found there.

As previously discussed, *psij* or wild rice (*Zizania aquatica L.*) is an important part of Dakota subsistence (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 1890; Spector 1985; Williamson 1992), and which has contributed to their belief systems. According to Winchell (1911: 495) the wide distribution of *psij* (*Zizania aquatica L.*), and its importance to Dakota people, in *Mini Sota Makoçe* is indicated by the prevalence of lakes and streams which are named for the plant, such as lake which is located across the Minnesota River from *Śakpe*’s village is known as *Psij Mde* – “rice lake” – which Dakota people also believe to be where the bones of *Uŋktehi* may be found (Durand 1994: 100). Therefore, it is evident “that of all the native products of the soil which did not require cultivation, the wild rice...stood paramount in importance” (Winchell 1911: 496).

The importance of *psij* to Dakota people as a resource is also evident from the names which they gave to two of the “moons” of the year, which were references to the natural resource. The harvesting of *psij* started around August or September and ran through October

⁶⁰ Durand 1994: 3; Riggs 1992 [1893]: 86, 125; Upham 2001: 355.

⁶¹ Nicollet recorded this as *Tchanshushka Watapadan* (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993).

(O. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 92-94; Landes 1968: 197; S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 29). Thus, among the Dakotas the moon associated with the month of August is *Wasutoŋ wi* – “the moon when corn is gathered, or the harvest moon” – while September is known as *Psijhnaketu-wi* – “the moon when rice is laid up to dry” – and the moon associated with the month of October *Wi-wažupi* – “the drying rice moon” – (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 564-565; Spector 1993: 66; Westerman and White 2012: 109; Williamson 1992 [1902]: 11, 118, 197). According to Dakota oral tradition, *Wakinyan* – “the thunderer” – or the Thunder Beings, were the creators of *psij* and a variety of prairie grass, “the seed of which bears some resemblance to that of the rice” (G. Pond 1867: 42). Additionally, the process of harvesting the plant, which there was “an elaborateness and a supernatural aura lacking in other Santee food-gathering practices” (Landes 1968: 197), was preceded by “many preliminary feasts of fish, ducks and venison, and offerings in honor of the ‘Water Chief,’ [*Uŋktehi*] so that there might not be any drowning accident during the harvest” (O. Eastman 2016 [1971]: 93).

Another native plant the importance of which to Dakota people can be inferred from the numerous bodies of water they named in reference to the resource found associated with them is the yellow lotus (*Nelumbo lutea*) or the *tewapa*, an esculent root which grows in the water and the Dakotas boil and eat (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 467). For example, both Fisher Lake and Rice Lake, located in Scott County, are known to the Dakota as *Tewapha [Tewapa] Mde* – “lake of the *tewapha* root” or “lily lake” – (Bray and Bray 1993: 44; Durand 1994: 89; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 312, 467). The names of these rivers and lakes, among others similarly named, “referred to the roots that they [*Native Americans*] dug for food in the shallow water of these streams and their tributary lakes” (Upham 2001: 69). In addition to being an important native food plant, as both the seeds and the tubers of the *tewapa* (*Nelumbo lutea*) were “much sought and highly prized by

the tribes living within its range,” it is one of the plants Dakota people consider to be invested with mystic powers (Gilmore 1919: 79). Thus, it is evident that the *tewapa* (*Nelumbo lutea*) is a resource which was prolific in the habited spaces of past Dakota people living in *Mini Sota Makoçe*, and that it has significantly contributed to their belief systems.

Summary

Thus, the natural environment has contributed to the belief systems of Dakota people, as it was not only a means by which they understood time and space by providing them with a means by which to guide their daily lives and activities (i.e., through the seasonally available resources and the associated activities), but also provided a means for the transmission of their culture and history. That is, their oral transmission of knowledge about the environments of their habited spaces by way of place names and oral traditions and histories, i.e., expressions of their belief systems, aided past Dakota people with their resource acquisition pursuits as a means by which to understand the patterns of seasonally available resources available throughout their traditional homelands.

3.4 – Archeological Expectations For Dakota Archeology In Minnesota

It has been established in the preceding chapters that Dakota people were all over the place, and wherever people live, those places become enculturated largely driven by their environment and how people use it. From this information, as well as the descriptions of both the Dakota habitat in *Mini Sota Makoçe* and what we know about Dakota beliefs as they relate to the environment, it should be possible to establish a framework or expectations for what Dakota archeology in *Mini Sota Makoçe* might look like. Thus, the focus of this section is on using the Dakota information hereto forth discussed to see if the archeological record reflects it.

It should be noted that in addition to very little effort having been made to connect descendant peoples with their archeological ancestors, the prehistory of the Sioux as a topic of professional archeological investigation has generally been ignored (Gibbon 2003: 17). However, it is immediately evident that there is more to Dakota archeology in *Mini Sota Makoçe* than what is represented by our current understandings of it; there are undoubtedly more archeological sites with Dakota components than are part of our archeological record for them. However, it must be kept in mind that these only include recorded archeological sites classified as having an Eastern Dakota component; it is inevitable that there are not only a great many more which have just not yet been discovered, or there are recorded archeological sites which are Eastern Dakota, they just haven't been classified as such.

3.4.1 – Archeological Cultural Traditions in Minnesota and Dakota Peoples

The Dakota information discussed in the preceding chapters of this analysis has provided insight into the lifeways of past Dakota peoples and their ancestors; for the greater part of their history as we understand and know it, they have practiced a semi-sedentary subsistence-settlement pattern that was seasonally directed, and that the types of resources available for acquisition were dependent on the natural environmental setting.

The lifeways of ancestral and past Dakota people generally correlate with the Woodland Tradition based on the fact that cultures of this tradition are characterized by the appearance of pottery vessels and burial mounds (Johnson 1988), as well as that when the first Europeans encountered 17th century Dakota peoples, the locations in which this occurred “correspond to the geographical concentrations of Woodland sites” (Ossenberg 1974: 20). For example, accounts agree that the “late prehistoric” homeland of the Dakota were the forests of east central Minnesota in the region of Mille Lacs and Big Sandy lakes (Johnson 1988: 1), “with at least one

important village cluster near the Rum River outlet of Mille Lacs Lake,” and northwestern Wisconsin (Gibbon 2003: 18). Additionally,

...[a]t the first French contacts Mille Lacs was the home of the Mdewakanton tribe, which had pottery and practiced scaffold exposure of the newly dead, followed by secondary burial in mounds. Sometime near the middle of the 18th century the Sioux were driven from the Mille Lacs area by the Chippewa, who possessed no pottery and practiced primary interment in graves, not mounds.

In the Mille Lacs area are many sites with pottery, and there are many mounds in which the prevailing mode of burial is the secondary burial of a bundle of bones. Excavations of both sites and mounds has revealed a fairly uniform culture, indicating the probability that a single group had inhabited the area for a long time; and as the Sioux are the only known pottery making people of the area, and practiced secondary burial, it is believed that they are the creators of both the mounds and the pottery (Wilford 1955: 134).

As lakes or large rivers held stocks of fish and attracted game birds, they were ideal locations for habitation sites (Anderson 1997: 6). According to Jacob Brower, “In all directions from Mille Lac the ancient highways of the natives radiated, and by their use and along the water courses everywhere available, the expansion of the bands extended to an occupancy which finally included the whole upper course of the Mississippi and the territory from Lake Superior to the great buffalo ranges of the remote plains in the prairie region of the West” (Brower 1901: 53). While the best known of the 17th century Eastern Dakota villages are in the region around Mille Lacs Lake, they probably also had villages at Sandy, Red, Cass, Leech, and Winnibigoshish lakes as well, for “Certainly there were villages at these locales in the early 18th century (Dobbs 1990c: 30). Although by the 18th century, their major villages were in the south-central and southern region of the state (ibid.), up to and throughout the 17th century, “the Eastern Dakota were principally living in the lake-forest region of central and northern Minnesota” (Dobbs 1990c: 30). Thus, many archeologists assert that the most secure associations between the ancestral Sioux and prehistoric archeological complexes are with what archeologists call the Woodland Period (Gibbon 2003: 25; Wilford 1944). As can be seen in the table below, 39 of the sites

included in this analysis contain a Woodland Tradition component, with 27 of them containing a documented Eastern Dakota component.

Site Number(s)	Site Name	Function	Tradition	Context
21AK0053	Savanna Portage	Portage	W-2	ED-2 , Oj-2, Fr-1, En-1, US-1
21CW0015	Crow Wing State Park	Trading Post, Mortuary	W-1	Br-1, Oj-1, US-1, IC-1, EA-1
21DK0008	Black Dog Mound Group/Oanoska Mound Group	Mortuary, Burial Mound	W-1	
21DK0031	Sibley House/American Fur Company (overlaps w/ 21DK17)	Trading Post, Homestead, Habitation	PL-1, A-1, W-1, M-2	PI-1, Br-2, SELW-1, HR-1, ED-1 , US-1, EA-1, TR-1, RA-1
21GD0003	Silvernale Village (overlaps w/ 21GD17)	Habitation	W-1, PV-1, M-1	Sn-1, BE-1, ED-1 , SELW-1
21GD0017	Silvernale Mound Group/Industrial Park Mounds (overlaps W/21GD3)	Mortuary, Habitation	W-1, M-1	Sn-1
21GD0258	McClelland Site A	Habitation	A-1, W-1, M-1	O-2
21KA0034	21KA0034	Mortuary	W-1	MW-1, ED-1
21ML0002	Aquipaguetin Island	Habitation	W-1	Oj, ED
21ML0006	Indian School/Robbins Mounds/H. & J. Ayer's Trading Post	Habitation, Burial Mound, Trading Post	W-1, O-1	HR-1, Ka-1, Oj-1, TR-1, Bd-1, Br-1, Ps-1, ED-1 , FR-1
21ML0009	Leland R. Cooper Mounds (same as 21ML16)	Burial Mound, Mortuary, Ricing, Habitation	A-1, W-1, O-1	SO-1, Ka-1, Ps-1, Oj-1, ED-1
21ML0011	Petaga Point (overlaps w/21ML63)	Habitation, Mortuary	A-1, W-1, M-1	LW-1, Ka-1, Bd-1, Ps-1, AL-1, SO-2, O-1, Oj-2, ED-1
21ML0012	L.A. Wilford/Griffin (same as 21ML18)	Ricing?, Habitation	W-1, O-1	MW-1, SO-1, LW-1, ED-1 , Oj-1, Fr-1
21ML0016	Leland R. Cooper Mounds	Burial Mound, Mortuary, Ricing	A-1, W-1, O-1	SO-1, Ka-1, Ps-1, Oj-1, ED-1
21MO0033	Twin Oaks-N.Little Elk-WW (same as 21MO34)	Homestead	W-1	IC-2
21MO0035	Winin-Wabik		W-1	Oj-2, ED-2 , US-2, IC-2, EA-1, SC-1
21MO0036	Little Elk Mill Complex	Sawmill	W-1	Oj-2, ED-2 , US-2, IC-1, EA-1, SC-1
21NL0073	Traverse des Sioux (contains 21NL5, 60, 61, & 70-overlaps w/21NL50)	Habitation, Mortuary, Ghost Town, Trading Post, Sawmill, Mission	PL-1, A-1, W-1, M-2	PL-1, ED-2 , Fr-1, US-1, IC-1, EA-1, TR-1
21NLas	Traverse des Sioux (contains 21NL5, 60, 61, & 70; overlaps w/21NL50)	Habitation, Mortuary, Ghost Town, Trading Post, Sawmill, Mission	PL-1, A-1, W-1, M-2	PL-1, ED-2 , Fr-1, US-1, IC-1, EA-1, TR-1
21PL0029	T.S. Danielson A		W-1	Ps-1, ED-2
21PL0030	T.S. Danielson B		W-1	Ps-1, ED-2

Site Number(s)	Site Name	Function	Tradition	Context
21PL0031	T.S. Danielson C		W-1	Ps-1, ED-2
21PO0047	Barsness Site 1	Habitation, Burial Mound	W-1, PV-1	BR-1, SO-1, ED-2
21RA0005	Dayton's Bluff	Burial Mound, Mortuary	W-1	
21RA0010	Indian Mounds Park	Burial Mound, Mortuary	W-1	MW-1, LW-2, ED-1 , IC-1
21RW0011	Lower Sioux Agency	Trading Post, Mission, Agency, Farmstead, Habitation	W-1	FL-2, LB-2, ED-1 , US-1, EA-1, WD-1 , IC-1, WD-1
21RW0026	Plum Creek Park		W-1	
21SC0002	Shakopee Village (contains 21SC40)	Burial Mound, Habitation, Mission	W-1	Ka-1, ED-1 , IC-1, EA-2
21SC0024	Steele	Burial Mound	W-1	Ka-1, ED-1
21SC0027	Little Rapids	Habitation, Trading Post	W-1	Fr-1, ED-1
21SC0033	Murphy's Landing Terrace	Habitation	W-1	LW-1, ED-1 , IC-1, EA-1
21SL1248	Prairie Island	Habitation, Mortuary	W-1	ED-2 , Oj-1, En-2, US-1, IC-1, NL-2
21TR0035/ 39RO0045	Border Village	Habitation	W-1, O-1	LW-1, Ps-2
21WA0001	Schilling Archaeological District	Habitation, Burial Mound	A-2, W-1, M-2, O-2	
21YM0011	Riggs Mission	Mission, Mortuary	W-1, A-1, M-1	EA-2, O-1, IC-1, EA-1
21YM0091	Inyangmani's Village (Running Walker's Village)	Habitation	W-1, PV-1	IC-1, LB-1, GO-1, Ca-1, WD-1
21YM0097		Habitation	PL-1, W-1, A-1	LW-1, FL-1, ED-1 , US-1, IC-1

Table 3.3 – Archeological sites included in this analysis that have a documented Woodland Tradition component. Those with green text contain a documented Eastern Dakota component; those with blue text are believed to contain an undocumented Eastern Dakota component.

Initially developed as part of the cultural continuum “for North America’s Eastern Woodlands culture area to describe the cultures observed in the lower Midwest...where the Woodland period was recognized archeologically by the introduction and co-occurrence of ceramics, agriculture, and burial mounds” (Johnson and Buhta 2014: 6), and which was initially divided into Early, Middle, and Late divisions, Gibbon (1998: 93) points out that the existence of Early Woodland sites in Minnesota due to the lack of archeological evidence characteristic of the Early Woodland found in surrounding states, and that these divisions were primarily rooted in the recognition of social and economic developments identified in the Ohio Valley and adjacent areas. Thus, Gibbon (1998), Dobbs (1989: 106), and others questioned the applicability of this

classification and divisions of the Woodland period in Minnesota, with Dobbs (1989: 107) noting that, except perhaps in the southeastern quarter of the state, there is really no manifestation of ‘Early’ Woodland in Minnesota’s archeological record apropos the traditional definition. As a result, Dobbs (1989) opt to use the term “Ceramic/mound stage to describe the period for the entire state between roughly 3,000 b.p. and 1,000 b.p.” (ibid.: 107). Dobbs (1989) states that the historic contexts associated with the Cermic/Mound stage include: Early Woodland; Fox Lake; Malmo; Howard Lake; Havana-related; Laurel; Brainerd; Arvilla Complex; Transitional Woodland (central Minnesota); Lake Benton; and Late Woodland (southeastern Minnesota) (ibid.: 111). More recently, Gibbon (2012) chose to reclassify Minnesota’s Woodland period divisions as Initial and Terminal, rather than the three divisions common in the lower Midwest, of which, Gibbon states, “[a]lthough awkward at times, these concepts stress the unique accomplishments of Native Americans in Minnesota rather than their marginality to events and processes that occurred in more resource-rich environments to the south” (ibid. 93-94). Gibbon (2012) provides tables which summarizes the terminology he uses for archeological periods (in italic) and complexes in precontact southern, central, and northern Minnesota, respectively.

Years AD/BC	Southeast	Southwest
AD 1650-1200	<i>Oneota Tradition</i>	
	<i>Mississippian Tradition</i> Silvernale Phase (AD 1050-1200)	<i>Palins Village Tradition</i> Great Oasis and Cambria Phases (AD 950-1200)
	<i>Terminal Woodland</i> Initial, Mature, and Final Late Woodland (AD 500-1200)	<i>Terminal Woodland</i> Lake Benton Phase (AD 700-1200/1300)
	<i>Initial Woodland</i> Early Woodland, Havana-Hopewell Middle Woodland, Late Middle Woodland (500 BC-AD 500)	<i>Initial Woodland</i> Fox Lake Phase (200 BC-AD 700)
500-3000 BC	<i>Late Archaic</i>	
3000-7500 BC	<i>Middle Archaic</i>	
7500-10,500 BC	<i>Late Paleoindian/Early Eastern Archaic</i>	

10,500-11,200 BC	<i>Early Paleoindian</i>
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Table 3.4 – Archeological periods (in italic) and complexes in precontact southern Minnesota (Gibbon 2012: 5).

Years AD/BC	Headwaters Lakes Locality	Mille Lacs Locality
AD 1650-1200	<i>Late Terminal Woodland</i> Psinomani Complex	
	<i>Middle Terminal Woodland</i> Blackduck Complex (AD 600/800-1200)	<i>Middle Terminal Woodland</i> Kathio Complex (AD 800-1300)
	<i>Early Terminal Woodland</i> (AD 400-600/800)	<i>Early Terminal Woodland</i> St. Croix and Isle Phases (AD 500-800)
	<i>Initial Woodland</i> Elk Lake Complex (1000 BC-AD 400)	<i>Initial Woodland</i> Rum River Phase (200 BC-AD 500)
	<i>Late Archaic</i> (3000-1000 BC)	<i>Late Archaic</i> (3000-200 BC)
3000-7500 BC	<i>Middle Archaic</i>	
7500-10,500 BC	<i>Late Paleoindian/Early Eastern Archaic</i>	
10,500-11,200 BC	<i>Early Paleoindian</i>	

Table 3.5 – Archeological periods (in italic) and complexes in precontact central Minnesota (Gibbon 2012: 6).

Years AD/BC	Rainy River Locality
AD 1650-1350	<i>Late Terminal Woodland: Psinomani Complex</i>
AD 1350-1000	<i>Later Terminal Woodland: Rainy River Composite</i>
AD 1100-800	<i>Middle Terminal Woodland: Blackduck Complex</i>
AD 1000-500 BC	<i>Initial Woodland: Laurel Complex</i>
500-3000 BC	<i>Late Archaic</i>
3000-7500 BC	<i>Middle Archaic</i>
7500-10,500 BC	<i>Late Paleoindian</i>
10,500-10,900 BC	<i>Early Paleoindian</i>

Table 3.6 – Archeological periods (in italic) and complexes in precontact northern Minnesota (Gibbon 2012: 6).

3.4.2 – Dakota Material Culture

Although Late Precontact Dakota archeology in Minnesota is not well understood, Dakota peoples have been linked to various cultures via material culture (Schirmer 2021,

personal communication); archeologists familiar with Dakota archeology in Minnesota, in its current state of understanding, agree that ancestral Dakota people are most closely linked to Woodland period archeological pottery types associated with the Mille Lacs Locality, such as Kathio, Clam River, Onamia, Ogechie, etc., and thus even precursor wares (Schirmer, 2023, personal communication), such as Malmo, Blackduck, etc., some of which are subsequently discussed in further detail. The Mille Lacs Locality which, as defined by Elden Johnson (1984), has been identified as the ancestral home of the Eastern Dakota peoples based on the writings of early European explorers (Mather 2000), such as those discussed in Chapter Two, which “establishes a connection between the contemporary archaeological record and a particular people” (Gibbon 2012: 171).

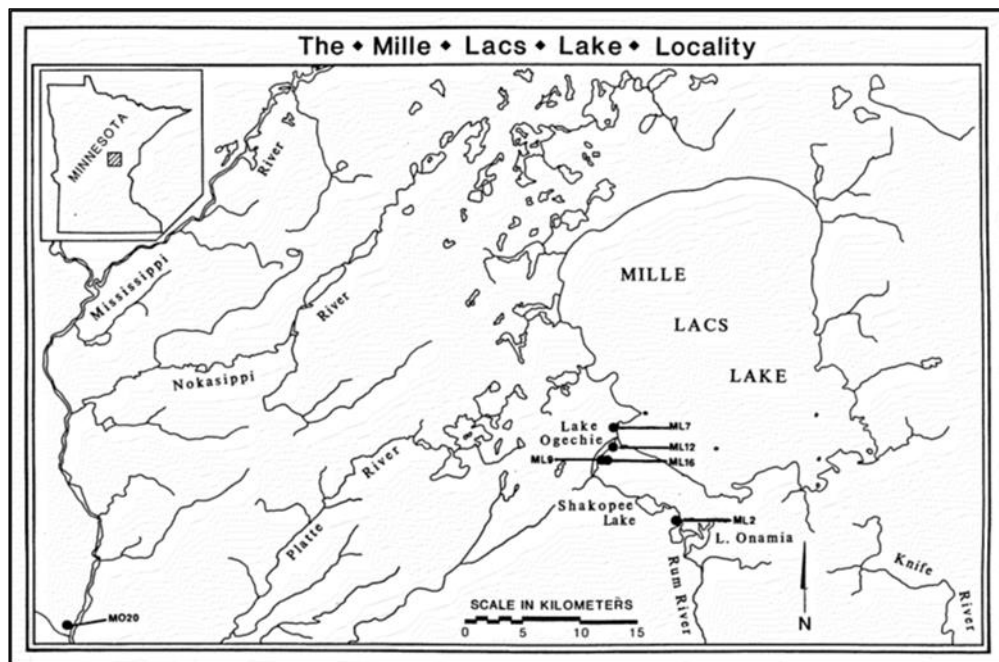


Figure 3.3 – The Mille Lacs-Kathio Locality. Showing the Dakota “village” sites on the Mde Mini Wakaj (Rum River) at and below its outlet from Mille Lacs Lake, and a mid-18th century French fort site (21MO0020) (Birk and Johnson 1988: 29).

The area of *Mde Wakaj* “is a cultural landscape, a place where history and the human past are more visible than in most parts of Minnesota,” and “Mille Lacs is, and has always been, at the

meeting of the Northeastern Plains and the Eastern Woodlands. The effects of this location are apparent in both the natural and human histories of the Locality” (Mather 2000: 1, 8).

Additionally,

...[a]rchaological excavations of sites in this region have located evidence of fortified villages on Lake Ogechie dating as far back as a thousand years. All these places have been the site of important archaeological discoveries from the Dakota era at Mille Lacs and have also been associated with later Ojibwe villages. It would make sense if the distribution of Ojibwe at Mille Lacs mirrored those of earlier Dakota. Hennepin stated that when the Issatis left Mille Lacs to hunt buffalo to the south, there were eighty houses of people, suggesting a population over one thousand strong. He implied that they all lived in one great village, but more likely they encompassed a number of settlements at Mille Lacs and in the surrounding region (Westerman and White 2012: 58-59).

Archeological investigations into Native American connections to the *Mde Wakan* area culminated with the establishment of the Mille-Lacs-Kathio State Park in 1957, which “contains rich archaeological resources that reflect 9,000 years of human habitation, including the site of the great Dakota village of Izatys” (Upham 2001: 371), and the designation of the Kathio National Historic Landmark in 1964. The entirety of three sites (21ML0011, 21ML0012, and 21ML0016) included in this analysis, and part of one site (21ML0002), fall within the boundaries of the Mille Lacs-Kathio State Park. Wilford aptly points out: “Since the excavation at Aquipaguetin Island was undertaken solely because Kathio is the best identified Dakota site in the state, it is obvious that the Kathio focus represents the culture of the Dakota, at least of the Santee Dakota, if the identification is correct” (Wilford 1937: 276 [Mather 2000: 11]). According to historic and ethnographic records, “Kathio was the name of the great town of the Nadouessioux which Du Luth visited, in 1679,” though the name was mistranslated and/or its true pronunciation was misstated (Brower 1901: xv).

First defined by Lloyd Wilford as a focus in his Mille Lacs Aspect, Wilford saw the Kathio culture “as terminal Woodland and as the late prehistoric complex associated with the

Eastern Dakota” (Dobbs 1988: 230). Wilford (1955) made this association with the Dakota based on the overlap of the distribution of the early historic period Dakota people and their geographic correspondence of the Kathio phase of Mille Lacs culture, and because the predominant form of burial was secondary bundle, which corresponded to the earliest mortuary customs of the Dakota recorded at the time (Dobbs 1988: 230; Gibbon 2012; Wilford 1955). Additionally, “The Kathio focus is assigned to the Mdewakanton Dakota and is projected backward in time to include the Malmo focus in a common Mille Lacs aspect, thereby inferring that the aspect represents the culture of the Dakota” (Wilford 1955: 136). The Mille Lacs Locality, as defined by Elden Johnson (1984), has been identified as the ancestral home of the Eastern Dakota peoples based on the writings of Father Louis Hennepin and other early European explorers (Mather 2000). A series of radiocarbon age determinations carried out since Wilford’s work in the area on Minnesota Blackduck materials (Johnson 1964), which are quite similar to Kathio ceramics, “provided dates 300 to 800 years earlier than the French contacts with the Mdewakanton Dakota” (Birk and Johnson n.d.). From these results, Elden Johnson hypothesized that Blackduck, Kathio, Clam River, and Madison ceramics “formed a series of closely related forms distributed from southern Wisconsin northwest into southern Manitoba paralleling the prairie-forest border and marking the beginning of the Late Woodland of the region” (ibid.). It was also suggested by Leland Cooper and Elden Johnson that in Minnesota, what they called Sandy Lake Ware ceramics succeeded both Blackduck and Kathio (Cooper and Johnson 1964). The probable validity of the hypothesis was strengthened by the lack of any European artifacts associated with Blackduck or Kathio excavation data.

Similar to the material culture of Kathio and Blackduck, apart from ceramics and associated small, unnotched triangular projectile points, is that of the Psinomani complex

(Gibbon 2012: 190). The Cooper Village site (21ML09/16) and Wilford Village site (21ML21), which have been identified positively as Eastern Dakota (Ossenberg 1974: 32), represent the first site types of the Psinomani complex in the Mille Lacs region, at least during the Bradbury phase. In the Mille Lacs region the Bradbury phase (AD 1680-1750) is the phase that spans the protohistoric/early historic period (Gibbon 2012: 195). Although Native American derived traits of the Bradbury phase include the presence of Ogechie and Sandy Lake pottery, large house floors in villages, the Q-pattern of stone raw material use, conical mounds, the presence of French trade goods – e.g., honey-colored gunflints, Jesuit rings, axes, trade knives, and brass tinkling cones – is also characteristic of the Bradbury phase (Gibbon 2012: 195). While it is assumed that these items are indicative of trade rather than French residence in the region, “their presence and the writings of Father Hennepin and other late seventeenth-century explorers confirm that Bradbury phase habitation sites are surviving remnants of the villages of the Mdewakanton Dakota” (Gibbon 2012: 196).

Connections between the Dakota information discussed in the preceding chapters and the archeological record are somewhat more difficult to make, as the focus of archeologists on making connections people Dakota people and archeological cultures has largely been carried out in the Mille Lacs Locality. Although this focus on the region which both ethnographic and archeological data confirm as the “traditional” homelands of ancestral and past Dakota peoples has greatly contributed to our understanding of archeological antecedent Dakota lifeways and essentially laid the groundwork for understanding Dakota archeology in Minnesota, in a way it has inhibited or put a stopper in furthering that knowledge and the expansion of it. That is, past Dakota culture and lifeway practices, and certain aspects of their belief systems, indubitably changed with their movement from the Mille Lacs region to the end of the 18th century. As they

began to generally occupy areas along the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers and their tributaries and at Big Stone Lake and Lake Traverse (S. Pond 1986 [1908]), their way of life became heavily influenced by these riverine environmental setting (Westerman and White 2012). For example,

About 1700 A.D. the Oneota people were driven out of the Minnesota region by members of the Eastern Dakota bands who were then moving southward from their ancestral center of Mille Lacs Lake. These Dakota Indian tribes lived in eastern and southern Minnesota until pressures from increasing numbers of white men cause them to sell their lands and to move onto reservations along the upper Minnesota in the mid 1850's (Woolworth 1981: 53).

Although it is probable that certain cultural aspects associated with the Mille Lacs Locality were retained since "...[a]lthough human decisions are made within an ecological framework, they are also made within historical and cultural constraints" (Kelly 1995: 36), it is undeniable that their culture underwent change as well, which may be explained by archeological phases which appear to be southern 'offshoots' of those associated with the Mille Lacs Locality. Furthermore, these river systems facilitated the connection and interaction of groups of people living along them, which also enabled greater cultural exchange. Therefore, it is of little surprise that it may be more difficult to locate Dakota peoples in the archeological record and further our understanding of Dakota archeology in Minnesota.

Period	Pattern	Phase	Aspect	Focus	Some Components
LATE WOODLAND	MISSISS- IPPI	UPPER	ONEOTA	ORR	RUSHFORD HOGBACK
			—	BLUE EARTH	HUMPHREY BARTRON
			—	SILVERNALE	SILVERNALE
		PLAINS	—	CAMBRIA	CAMBRIA
			—	GREAT OASIS	GREAT OASIS LAKE
			HEADWATERS LAKES	BLACKDUCK	BLACKDUCK LAKE OSUFSEN
RED RIVER	ARVILLA	ARVILLA, N.D. De SPIEGLER, S.D.			
			KATHIO	AQUIPAGUETIN Is.	
MIDDLE WOODLAND	WOODLAND	LAKE MICHIGAN	MILLE LACS	MALMO	MALMO KERN
			RAINY RIVER	LAUREL	SMITH MOUND #4 McKINSTRY
			SO. MINN.	—	FOX LAKE
		EFFIGY MOUND	—	—	
		HOPEWELL- IAN	—	HOWARD LAKE —	ANDERSON TUDAHL
EARLY WOODLAND				La MOILLE	La MOILLE
ARCHAIC					

Figure 3.4 – Classification of Late Prehistoric cultures of Minnesota (Wilford 1955: 131).

That said, while there is a lack of previous archeological investigations into locating Dakota peoples in the archeological record in the central-southern part of Minnesota from which to draw on, there is a greater amount of information about Dakota lifeways to be found in published ethnographic and historic records which may be used as a reference to determine if the archeological record reflects it. This will be the focus of the discussion in the subsequent section.

Conclusion

It is an intrinsic issue of archeological investigations that there are limitations to the type and extent of information which can be elucidated about past Dakota peoples in Minnesota from

the archeological record alone. That is, it is exceedingly difficult to impossible to determine with certainty the particular ways past Dakota people interacted with and utilized the environment of their habited spaces, and from there, the influence the natural environment had on their belief systems. However, as ethnographic sources can be used to clarify the ways past Dakota peoples interacted with and/or exploited the environments of their past traditional landscapes, the archeological record may be used to verify, in a way, those records, as well as determine if the correlate with the handful of archeological expectations laid out in this section.

CHAPTER 4 – METHODS

Introduction

This analysis of Dakota archeology in Minnesota consisted of a survey of published ethnographic works (e.g., journals, maps, oral interviews, etc. from early Euro-American explorers, missionaries, traders, etc.) and historic records that contain descriptions of past Dakota lifeways in Minnesota, with a focus on details which I perceived to pertain to aspects of Dakota belief systems relevant to the natural environment, which were used to construct a tentative interpretative framework against which to compare known archeological sites in Minnesota in order to ascertain whether or not such Dakota cultural information is reflected in the archeological record of Minnesota.

An additional aim of this investigation was to determine if it is possible to use an ethnoarcheological approach to elucidate environmentally derived variability in Dakota belief systems. Given the focus of this analysis on the relationship between the natural environment and Dakota lifeways, this was a rather natural segue. Due to the close cultural connectedness of Dakota people, knowledge about/regarding differences in the availability of natural resources exists between the bands, and since one, if not more, of the bands and/or communities may have maintained a close and specific relationship with such resources, variability in the belief systems of bands and villages that pertain to territory or boundaries should be attributable to environmental variance. Similarly, place name associations and oral traditions and histories can also be examples of this.

4.1 – Archeology

In order to conduct this analysis, archeological sites were selected based on the information found in Mn/OSA files. The first archeological sites which were selected to be included in this analysis were those sites which (at the time this analysis was conducted) contain a documented Eastern Dakota component; at the time this analysis was conducted, this consisted of 44 archeological sites. This was followed by a selection of archeological sites which I believed, based on my understanding of Dakota archeology in Minnesota at this stage of the investigation, to have the potential to contain Eastern Dakota components.

The primary archeological sources used for placing past Dakota people at specific sites were Minnesota state site files, such as archeological state site forms, files from the Office of the State Archeologist (OSA) – e.g., legacy reports, State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) files, survey reports from the Minnesota Department of Transportation (MnDOT), cultural resource management (CRM) reports, Trunk Highway (TH) reports, County State Aid Highway (CSAH) reports, etc. – publications found in the journal “Minnesota Archaeologist,” Masters theses, PhD dissertations, as well as numerous other sources.

Minnesota’s state site forms contain much of the pertinent archeological information about each of the recorded archeological sites in the state. These forms are generally updated any time work (e.g., archeological investigations, construction activities, etc.) which may have the potential to affect a recorded archeological site is conducted at or near the sites in order to keep track of potential affects or changes to the sites. Included in or associated with these forms are other resources such as state files, etc., which contain information pertaining to work and investigations conducted at and/or associated with each site as well. Therefore, the state site forms, and associated state files are generally the most informative sources available for archeological sites in Minnesota.

However, as state archeological site files and reports on summaries of archeological investigations are generally prepared and updated for purposes related to cultural resource management (CRM) investigations, it is not uncommon for them to lack insightful details about the sites, such as those which are generally found in research-oriented reports of archeological investigations. That is, the nature of CRM work is typically not predisposed to highly detailed work at, or lengthy interest in, any one particular site, region, etc.; Therefore, the associated reports of investigations and potential updates to state site files, which are based on the findings of such investigations, often lack the type of valuable cultural information that may be found in research-oriented reports and publications and/or published ethnographic records.

Additional sources of archeological information were the publications of professional archeologists who have conducted work in Minnesota and thus acquired a familiarity with the nature of the archeological record in the state. Over many years, Jacob V. Brower conducted a significant number of archeological investigations in the Mille Lacs area of the state, the results and analysis of which are found in numerous publications. Those works published by Brower which were referenced for this analysis include the following: “Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi, Vol. III: Mille Lac” (Brower 1900); “Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi, Vol. IV: Kathio” (Brower 1901); and “Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi, Vol. V: Kakabikansing” (Brower 1902). From his archeologic explorations along the headwaters of the Mississippi River and elsewhere, Brower (1900, 1901, 1902) was able to determine that “There is ample proof to justify the assertion that the ancestors of the present Sioux Indians constructed mounds, lodge circles and embankments in the Mille Lac Basin: and also that the stone and flint implements found there were made and used by the same nation of people” (Bushnell, qtd. in Brower 1900: *xiii*). In order to gain a general

understanding of the prehistoric period in Minnesota, as it pertains to the ancestors of Dakota people, Elden Johnson's (1988) "The Prehistoric Peoples of Minnesota" and Guy Gibbon's (2012) "Archaeology of Minnesota: The Prehistory of the Upper Mississippi River Region" were of paramount importance, as these sources of archeological information were a means by which attempts could be made to make cultural connections between historic Dakota people and their prehistoric ancestors.

4.2 – Ethnography

As a primary goal of this analysis was to make/elucidate connections between Dakota belief systems and their presence in the archeological record in Minnesota, published ethnographic works were an important source which enabled the ability to place Dakota people at certain locations on the landscape(s) in Minnesota. Paul Durand's (1994) publication on the Eastern Dakota, "Where the Waters Gather and the Rivers Meet: An Atlas of the Eastern Sioux," was a vital initial source of Dakota cultural information, as it contains a compilation of data on Dakota people found in numerous other published ethnographic sources. Therefore, "Where the Waters Gather and the Rivers Meet: An Atlas of the Eastern Sioux" (Durand 1994) was used and/or functioned as a jumping off point in the discovery of other sources which contain additional and more in-depth ethnographic information on Dakota people.

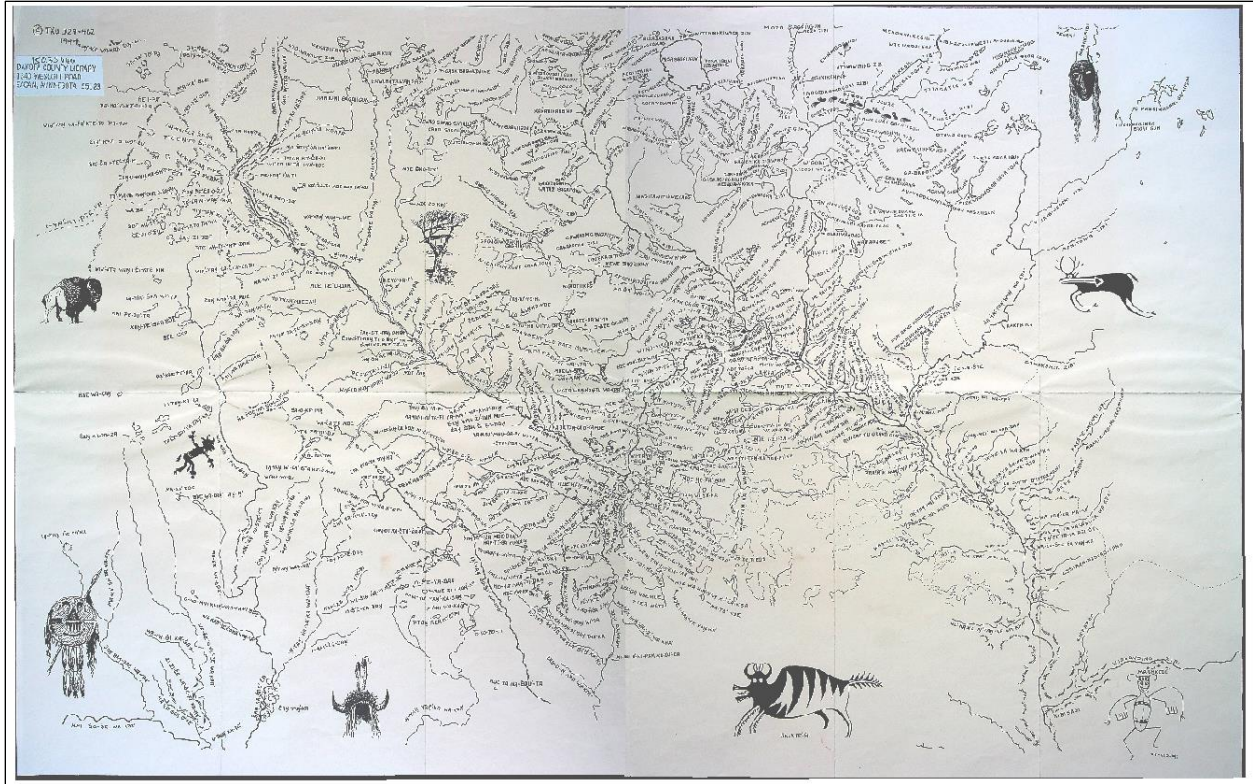


Figure 4.1 – Adapted ethnographic map intended to illustrate "Where The Waters Gather and The Rivers Meet: An Atlas of The Eastern Sioux" (Durand 1994).

Samuel W. Pond's (1986 [1908]) "Dakota Life in the Upper Midwest" was a crucial ethnographic source, as Pond himself lived amongst the Dakota in the 1800s. Samuel Pond and his brother Gideon arrived in present-day Minneapolis in 1834 with the intent to preach Christianity to the Native Americans. For nearly 20 years, the brothers spent time learning the Dakota language and observing how they lived. After the Dakota had fought a disastrous war in the 1860s and 1870s with the Euro-Americans who had taken their land, Samuel Pond recorded his recollections of the Native Americans "to show what manner of people the Dakotas were...while they still retained the customs of their ancestors" (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 3).

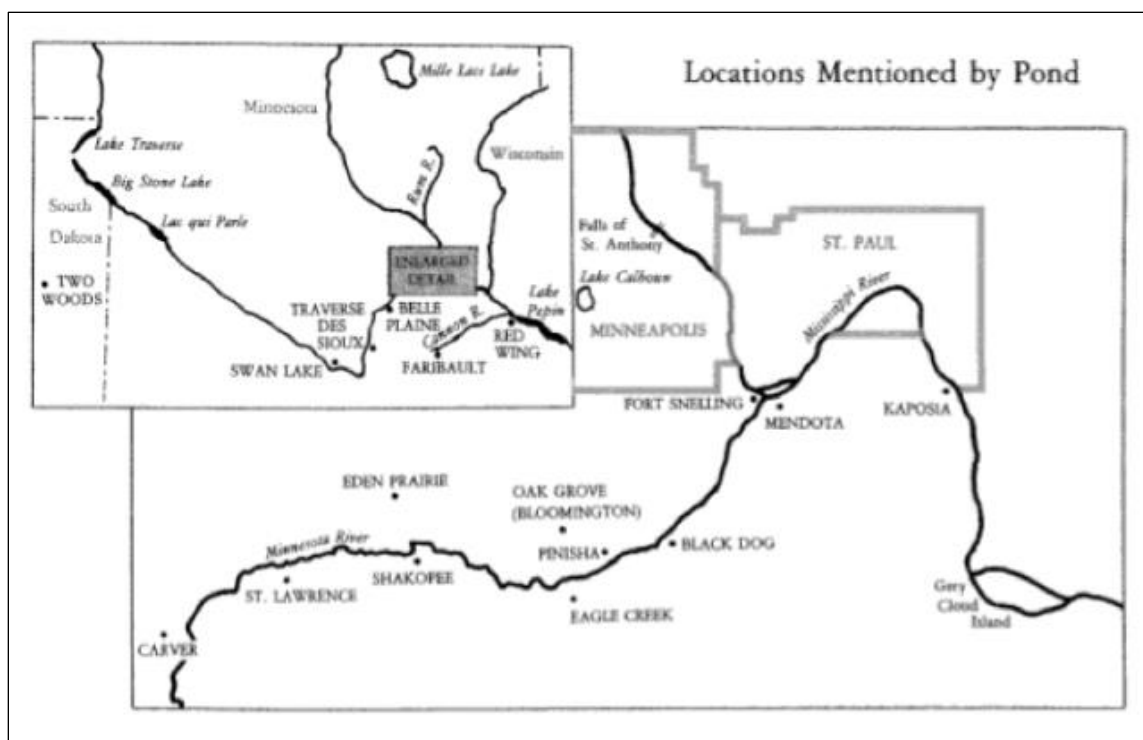


Figure 4.2 – Maps of Dakota-related locations mentioned by Samuel Pond in his writings throughout his time spent among them (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: x).

Missionary Stephen Return Riggs and his wife Mary spent 40 years living among the Dakota. They established missions at Lake Traverse, as well as at other locations, the accounts of which are found in “Mary and I: Forty Years with the Sioux” (Riggs 1969 [1887]). Additionally, with the aid of missionary Thomas P. Williamson (1992 [1890]), Stephen Riggs was the first person to not only transcribe the Dakota language, compiled in his publication “Dakota Grammar with Texts and Ethnography” (Riggs 2004 [1863]), but to also write a dictionary of the Dakota language, “A Dakota-English Dictionary” (Riggs 1992 [1890]), and the supplementary publication, “An English-Dakota Dictionary” (Williamson 1992 [1902]). As the primary means of Dakota cultural transmission up till that time had been through oral transmission and no written records of their history existed, Riggs’ ethnographic publications about the Dakota language proved to be an insightful means by which to understand the culture, lifeways, and belief systems of Dakota peoples, both past and present.

In 1838 and 1839 French scientist Joseph N. Nicollet led two U.S. government-sponsored expeditions into the region between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, the findings of which were published in the 1840s in Nicollet's famous "Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River," the first authentic map (see Figure 4.3 below) of those lands, and the "Report" intended to illustrate it. Translations of Nicollet's journals, letters, and notes written during those expeditions are found in the book "Joseph N. Nicollet on the Plains and Prairies: The Expeditions of 1839-39 with Journals, Letters, and Notes on the Dakota Indians" edited by Edmund C. Bray and Martha Coleman Bray (1993). The information found in Nicollet's accounts provide invaluable descriptions and observations of his time spent in the traditional homelands of Dakota people in the late-historic period and contributed vital ethnographic information pertaining to the environment(s) and lifeways of Dakota people at that time which significantly aided in placing them in specific locations.



Figure 4.3 – Joseph N. Nicollet’s “Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River” (Nicollet 1976).

4.3 – Ethnoarcheology

As Dakota archeology in Minnesota is lacking and poorly understood and published ethnographic records generally contain cultural information about to past Dakota peoples which have the potential to provide insight into their lifeway practices, which are often reproductions of their belief systems, which may be reflected and/or observed in the archeological record. While “ideas that because archaeology depends on material traces it must be limited in its reconstructions to the material aspects of prehistoric life is...fallacious: so long as an activity leaves tangible traces it is amenable to archaeological study, whatever its motivation” (Clark 1939: 232). Additionally, since belief systems are often expressed through patterned behaviors and activities which involve material cultural items, it follows that to an extent at least archeology has the potential to shed light upon belief system related behaviors. As such, an ethnoarcheological approach to the identification of unknown, or undocumented, Dakota sites (e.g., habitation, resource acquisition and/or processing, mortuary, earthworks, etc.) has significant potential, as can be seen from the variety of examples provided in the preceding chapters where these two records of past human activity complement each other from the presence of archeological sites at locations that have associated Dakota place names and oral traditions and histories. As such, it was necessary to acquaint and familiarize myself with the methods of ethnoarcheology. This was not an easy undertaking, as the goal of it was to study/analyze both material and non-material traditions (i.e., material cultural traditions and oral traditions and oral histories), and the application of observed behavior(s) to non-observed behavior(s) (e.g., settlement and subsistence patterns, and place name practices). However, since ethnoarcheology involves the ethnographic study of peoples for archeological reasons, usually through the study of material remains of a society; “[t]he historical record helps to explain North

American social settings as the product of traceable processes rather than as an expression of a timelessly rigid 'ethnographic present.' Oral tradition and the archaeological record both reveal the workings of these processes, and both provide important knowledge about the ancient past" (Echo-Hawk 2000: 288). Moreover, "Cultural beliefs include values, attitudes, ideals, and views of the supernatural. The symbolic, ideal, and non-objectified nature of these aspects of culture makes it impossible to recapture the fullness of a culture from the archaeological record alone" (Gibbon 2003: 224). Therefore, in order to conduct this analysis of Dakota archeology in Minnesota, it was necessary to use an approach which had the potential to provide/contribute cultural information inaccessible through archeological investigations alone, one to which ethnoarcheology is best-suited due to its ability to achieve that or contribute that type of information.

4.3.1 – Data Processing

The primary ethnoarcheological methods used for this analysis consisted of attempts to establish correlations between the ethnographic data and the archeological data, most often through the use of geographic information systems (GIS), in order to further understand how past Dakota peoples interacted with the natural environment(s) of their habited spaces in Minnesota. Included with Durand's (1994) compilation of Dakota cultural information is an ethnohistoric sketch map adapted from information which had been compiled from both published ethnographic and historic sources as well as maps which had been drawn by early Euro-American explorers, traders, missionaries, etc. The map created for the purpose of this analysis contains all the Native American place names recorded by these Euro-Americans that are included in the Durand's (1994) atlas on the Eastern Dakota, as well as a small amount of additional place names which were encountered during this investigation.

This adapted ethnohistoric map (Durand 1994) was digitized by first using a Czur Aura Pro scanner, due to the advanced ability of the scanner to maintain the integrity of the documents, books, etc. Because of the large size of the map and technical limitations of the height/range of the camera, the map was scanned in three separate sections to ensure the quality of the scans while still capturing the entirety of the map. The scans of the map were exported in TIFF format, which were then merged into a single TIFF image with the software GNU Image Manipulation Program (GIMP). Editing of the scans/images was kept to a minimum to maintain consistency between them and to ensure they were merged as seamlessly as possible; no re-sizing or alteration of the color was done. However, because the map had been folded and stored in a pocket in the back of the book, there were deep creases in the paper map, which were impossible to fully eradicate, and which interfered with the alignment of the scans/images. As such, very minor rotations of the scans/images were the only form of alteration done to the images/scans so as to accommodate for creases in the pages from the map having been folded when while stored in the back of the book. Once the scanned images of the map were merged into a single TIFF file, it could be imported to ArcGIS and used to contribute to the analysis.

To make this map useful for this analysis, the cultural data (i.e., Dakota place names for aspects of the natural environment) included in Durand's (1994) publication was first catalogued in a Microsoft Excel document (see Appendix II). Each of the individual "entries" as they were transcribed in "Where the Waters Gather and the Rivers Meet: An Atlas of the Eastern Sioux" (Durand 1994) were included in this spreadsheet document, as well as their translation from the native language (e.g., Dakota, Ojibwe, French, Winnebago, and Ho Chunk) to English, the present-day name and the city, township, county(ies), and state(s) where it is located if still extant, any other terms, words, or names associated with or used for the entries, the source(s)

from which they were obtained if included with the entry, as well as any notes with germane information (e.g., what the entry is a reference to, etc.).

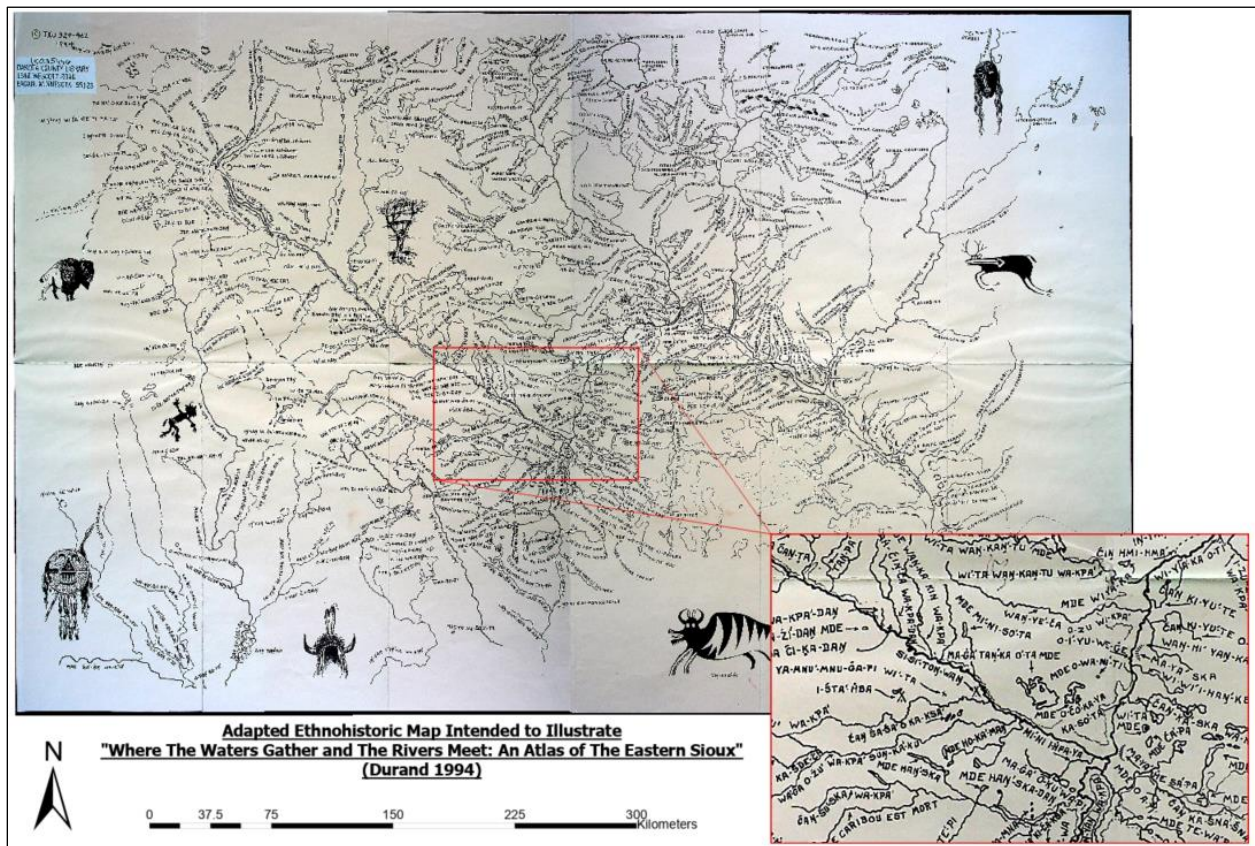
The Excel document with each of the entries in Durand's (1994) publication was then imported into ESRI's ArcGIS software platform ArcMap and then converted into geospatial data, which made it possible to create a spatial representation of that Dakota cultural and belief system-related data that was then compared to a MnDOT (Minnesota Department of Transportation) GIS dataset of archeological sites in Minnesota to determine if any basic spatial concordance existed between the different data sets. All the datasets (geospatial and non-geospatial) pertaining to Dakota cultural information included in "Where the Waters Gather and the Rivers Meet: An Atlas of the Eastern Sioux" (Durand 1994) were created by the researcher from "scratch" for the intents and purposes of this thesis. State geospatial data – state and county boundaries, elevation, water bodies, archeological site boundaries and data – were obtained from open-source geospatial data websites.

4.3.2 – Geographical Information Systems (GIS) Methods

ESRI's software ArcGIS for Desktop and ArcGIS Pro made it possible to conduct a spatial analysis of the relationship between Dakota belief systems and the natural environment to determine if and how that relationship is reflected in the archeological record was conducted with. This was done by way of the creation of a geospatially accurate digitization of the historical map provided with Durand's (1994) compilation of ethnographic data, which made possible the identification and analysis of land features, environmental and cultural boundaries, archeological sites, Dakota place name distribution by way of Durand's (1994) ethnohistorical map which was digitized and geoprocessed in ESRI's ArcMap.

The TIFF file of the ethnohistoric map was added to a geographical information systems (GIS) geodatabase [Durand.gdb] (i.e., a data container in which feature classes are stored) in an ArcGIS XML (i.e., extensible markup language) file as a raster map (i.e., data made up as a matrix of pixels). Because the geospatial data which cover the location of spatial features in Durand's (1994) ethnohistorical map of Native American place names is an adaptation from numerous free- or hand-drawn sketch maps, it is an inaccurate representation of the landscape and lacks a reference framework of points, lines, and surfaces to determine positions in two- or three-dimensional space. In order to use this map in a GIS (e.g., for further data creation, such as the digitization of features, or use it as another GIS raster layer), and to accurately locate spatial features on the Earth's surface, it was first necessary to georeference the TIFF of the scanned ethnohistoric map by aligning it to a known coordinate system; a geographic coordinate system – i.e., the system that defines locations on the curved surface of the earth – and a projected coordinate system of x, y coordinates are used to align geographic data to a known coordinate system (Chang 2016; Law & Collins 2015). The geographic coordinate system for the “Durand” map was GCS_North_American_1983, as this was used for nearly all the state geospatial data acquired, and since the majority of the ethnographic data included on the map falls within the state of Minnesota, which is within Universal Transverse Mercator Zone 15N, the NAD_1983_UTM_Zone_15N was used for the projected coordinate system. State DNR (Department of Natural Resources) water-body geospatial data for Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin were used to identify and link usable ground control points on the coordinate grid and calculate (x, y) coordinates based on the map projection. In addition to the state DNR water-body geospatial datasets, Google Maps was used to ensure the “reference features” were digitized as accurately as possible. Confluences of large river systems

and borders of lakes in the geospatial datasets with known coordinates on the DNR water-body datasets were the primary features used to identify and link control points during the georectification process, which made it possible to shift the raster dataset from its original location to a spatially correct one. Once the XML of the scanned ethnohistoric map had been georectified to fit the new projection, it was possible to use the map as a base layer as well as for further data creation.



Map 4.1 – Digitization of Durand’s (1994) adapted ethnohistoric map.

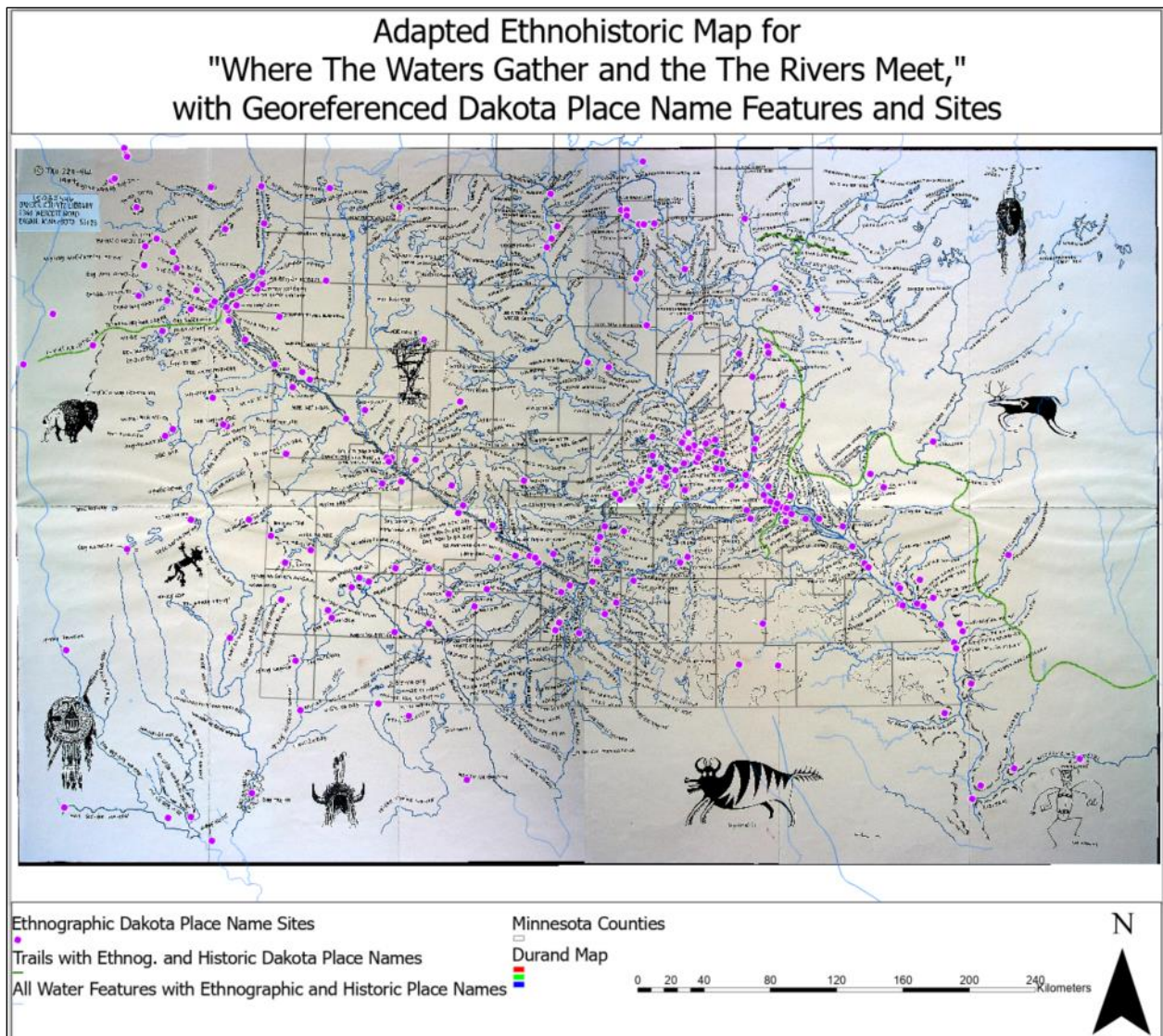
Feature classes were created to group digitized features – e.g., water features, village/habitation sites, sites associated with beliefs and traditions, sites of battles, topographical features, and trails. The Excel document with the cataloged the entries of Durand’s (1994) ethnohistoric publication were not incorporated into the XML file of the ethnohistoric map, rather it was used as a framework for the feature classes of the features digitized from the

historical map. Three feature classes were created for the digitized features from the georectified historical map: water features – rivers, lakes, streams, tributaries – and trails, which are represented as line features (waterfalls/springs and rapids are represented as point features); village/habitation sites, sites associated with beliefs and traditions – effigies, mounds, and inscriptions, trading posts, enemy tribes, sites of battles, subsistence-related sites, and topographical features – islands, waterfalls/springs, and rapids – which are represented by point features; and lakes which are represented as line features rather than polygon features, so all water features (apart from waterfalls/springs and rapids) are part of the same feature class to make analysis less arduous. As the ethnohistoric map does not include every water feature, extant or extinct, which past Dakota peoples interacted with, were aware of, etc., some additional landscape features such as lakes or rivers were included in the feature creation process, which were primarily used as additional reference points on the geospatial landscape and made the digitization of the features on the georectified map easier to accomplish.

The “Editor” geoprocessing extension was used to digitize line and point features into feature classes. The adapted hand-drawn format of the historical map again became an issue during the digitization of the features; because the map is essentially a sketch map which does not have a coordinate system, there is an inherent degree of inaccuracy and misrepresentation of the place name features recorded on it; it was not drawn with the intent to be a perfect, exact topographical representation but, like Nicollet’s map “Hydrographical Basin of the Mississippi River, 1834: From Astronomical and Barometrical Observations Surveys and Information” (see Figure 4.2 above), rather a supplementary visual document to the publication of ethnographic data meant to relay the cultural information imbued on the landscape. While the hand-drawn features of the historical map are decent representations of the topographic features they are

meant to represent, they lack geographical detail and accuracy. Furthermore, there are cultural features included on the historical map that are not part of the DNR water-body geospatial data that was used during the georectification process.

Therefore, while it would have been easier to execute a “Copy”/“Paste” of each water feature from the DNR water-body geospatial data, if the features of the historical map were digitized in this manner, there would have been a clear discrepancy between the digitized features and those hand-drawn on the map. To mitigate this issue, each feature was manually traced and digitized. River and stream centerlines were first traced in accordance with the historical map, and if the sketch of the river or stream terminated before it did in the DNR water-body geospatial data, the latter was traced as accurately as possible. It was also necessary to manually digitize features from the historical map because of the cultural features, which were found to be best represented as point features.



Map 4.2 – Digitization of Durand's (1994) adapted ethnohistoric map showing ethnographic place name sites, water features, and trails mentioned in the publication.

ArcGIS was also used to aid in the visualization of the environmental setting of Dakota traditional homelands in Minnesota. For example, a digital elevation model (DEM) – a representation of the bare ground (bare earth) topographic surface of the Earth, excluding trees, buildings, and other surface objects – acquired was used in order to show the elevation and topographic nature/composition of the state without the hindrance of surface features, both natural and cultural. This also provided a means of establishing the geographical setting of the state. A DEM was used as opposed to a LiDAR (Light Detection and Ranging) system

representation, as the latter can include elevation or height values that can come from the top of buildings, tree canopy, powerlines, etc.; it is a digital surface model (DSM) that captures the natural and built features on the Earth's surface.

4.3.3 – Ethnoarcheology and GIS

To analyze the spatial and geographic relationship between the ethnographic and archeologic datasets, the Minnesota Department of Transportation (MnDOT) state archeological site GIS polygons were used as a means to aid in cross-referencing the two datasets, with the intent to determine if there was a correlation between Dakota ethnographic place name sites and archeological sites with documented Eastern Dakota components. This method of cross-comparison made it possible to determine if there is an under-representation of Dakota archeological sites. While those archeological sites in MnDOT records listed as having an Eastern Dakota component were the first among the first sites selected for this analysis, additional sites were added to this based on their correlation with ethnographically documented Dakota sites. An arbitrary two-mile buffer was used to narrow down this process, in addition to a review of the Minnesota state site forms to ensure that the sites had the potential to have a Native American, principally Eastern Dakota, component recorded at them. The selection of MnDOT sites from those that fell within the two-mile buffer around the ethnographic place name sites was done with the goal of selecting sites which are near to/correlate with sites mentioned in Durand's (1994) publication, with special attention paid to those entries in the book which appeared to be part of Dakota oral traditions and/or histories. The archeological site selection process also took into consideration the ability of the archeological record to reflect behaviors that had the potential to be inferred/interpreted as belief-driven behaviors. To use the archeological record to validate this, there had to be sufficient data collected from archeological

investigations (artifacts, features, etc.). Those sites with known or suspected Dakota affiliation were generally preferentially selected, and for the most part, nearly all those sites were referred to in Durand's (1994) ethnographic place name data. Since Dakota and Ojibwe people historically occupied much of the same landscapes, especially after Ojibwe expulsion of the Dakota following a battle in the mid-eighteenth century (Durand 1994; Riggs 2004 [1839]; Westerman and White 2012), sites with suspected Ojibwe affiliation were often preferentially selected for as well.

ESRI's ModelBuilder (a design environment used to create workflow diagrams) was used to create a model in ArcGIS to streamline site selection. The "Buffer" and "Intersect" software tools were used to first, create a buffer around each of the ethnographic place name features, and second, select all MnDOT sites that intersected with the buffer. The goal was to eliminate MnDOT archeological sites that were not within the chosen area, to pare down the number of potential sites to select from, since 15,450 total sites in the MnDOT data is a rather large amount and there were time restrictions to adhere to for this research. A one-mile and five-mile buffer were initially tested, but the former proved to be too small of an area of interest and the latter was too large. A two-mile linear unit buffer around each of the 'Durand.gdb' place name feature classes (Sites, Water Features, and Trails) proved to be the better option of the three, since the aim was to elucidate which/how many known/recorded archeological sites were potentially associated with those mentioned in published ethnographic works; the incorporation of ethnographic works is what makes this research unique and is therefore the primary focus.

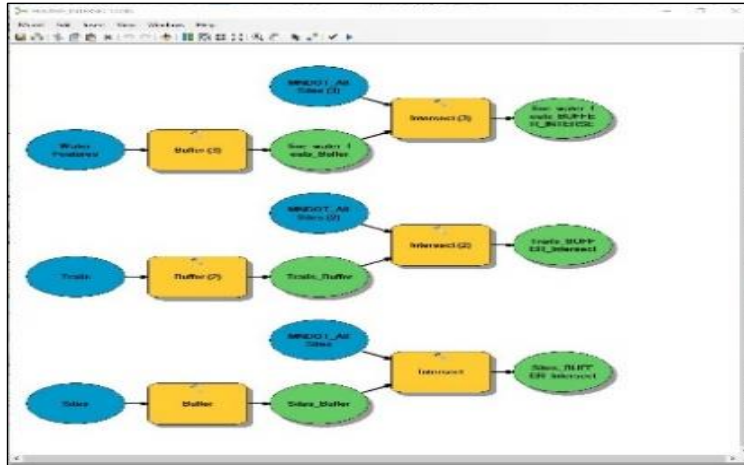
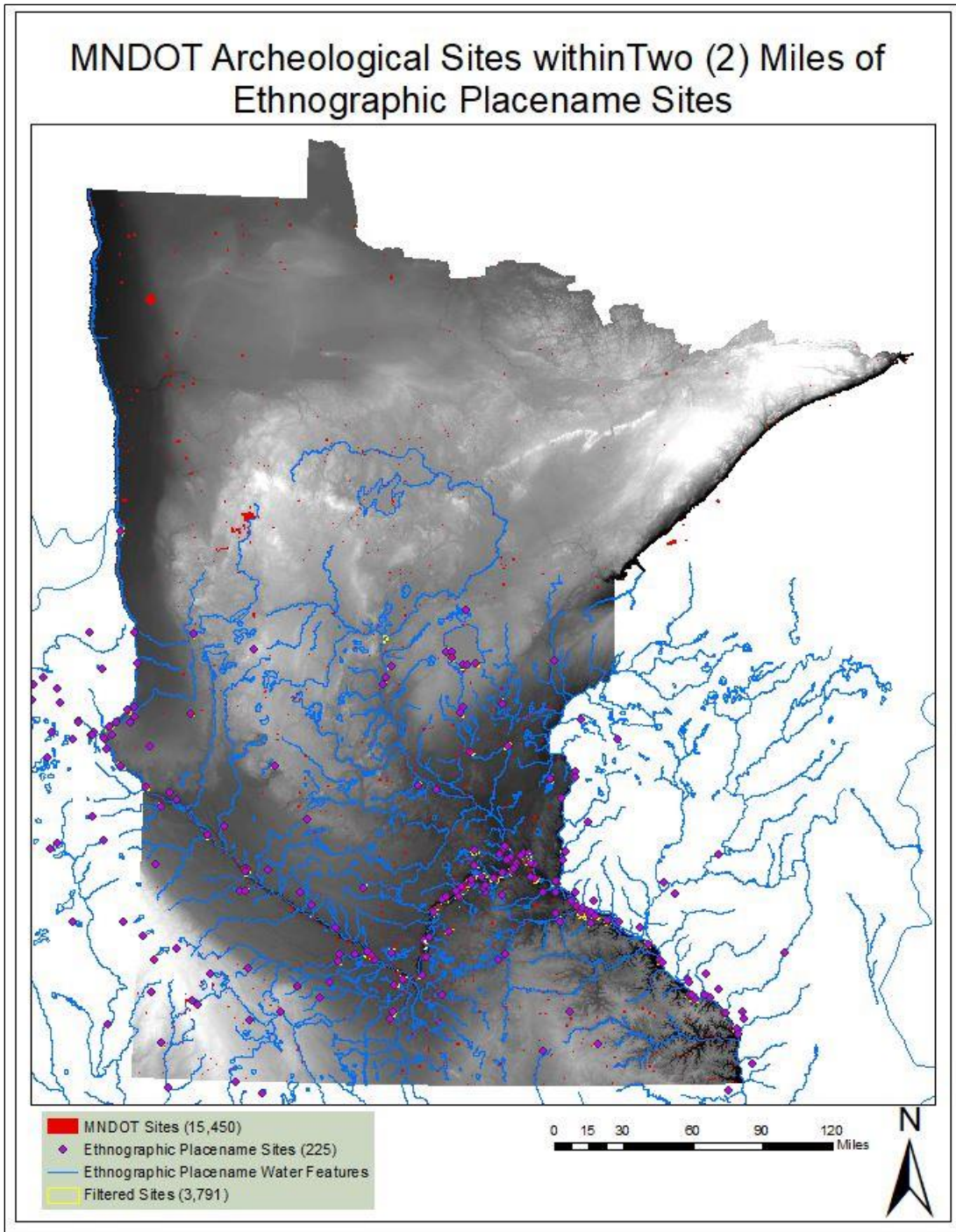


Figure 4.4 – ArcGIS Model for Site Selection.

The buffers were set to not dissolve as that resulted in a loss of attribute data, which was necessary for this research. When the Input Features – the ethnographic place name feature classes (Sites, Water Features, and Trails) – were set to dissolve, it was set to “Dissolve All” of the Input Features, so all the buffers around them dissolved into a single, merged Output Feature Class and resulted in a loss of ethnographic place name attribute data, which left only MnDOT site attribute data. This model setup eliminated the ability to see which ethnographic place name sites the MnDOT sites were associated with. This was an issue since the aim of this geoprocessing was to see how ethnographic place name sites and MnDOT sites correlate, which was impossible to accomplish with that model output. Of minor note, while the output data differed when “Dissolve” was selected for versus when it was not, the graphics, images, appearance, etc. of the data did not differ since the selection of MnDOT sites was the goal of each geoprocessing execution. Each of the buffer outputs were then set to individually intersect, rather than as one dissolved feature class, with the MnDOT archeological site data and to not dissolve. The output dataset from the model was then a selection of MnDOT archeological sites that intersected with the two-mile buffer that was executed/created/set around each of the ethnographic place name features.



Map 4.3 – Map of MnDOT archeological sites within a two-mile radius of ethnographically documented sites.

The MnDOT archeological sites that were in the three outputs from each of the feature classes (Sites, Water Features, and Trails) were then what were selected from for further analysis. The sites were selected from the MnDOT Sites feature class and exported to the ‘Durand’

geodatabase. The Buffer tool was used to create a two-mile buffer around each of the selected sites to determine which ethnographic place name features (water features, trails, habitations/villages, sites associated with beliefs and traditions, battle/warfare sites, subsistence-related sites, and topographic features, etc.) were associated with them. A two-mile buffer was opted for as it narrowed down the amount of MnDOT sites taken into consideration for analysis, but more so because it kept the area of investigation more limited, which made it easier to determine if there might be other archeological sites in proximity that are potentially associated with sites, locations, localities, etc. found in the ethnographic data. The output data of these geoprocesses thus made it possible to convert the ethnographic data into reasonable expectations for the archeological record.

The “Cultural Affiliations” section of MnDOT site forms was the first approach taken to aid in the creation of associations between sites and archeological records. Dobbs’ (1990a) “Outline of Historic Contexts for The Prehistoric Period (C.A. 12,000 B.P. – A.D. 1700)” was used to gather additional knowledge about the cultural contexts, but Gibbon (2012) provided the most useful knowledge for the inference of cultural connections between archeological sites and cultures. Those MnDOT sites that fell within the same area as a site or feature associated with an ethnographic place name in Durand’s (1994) publication were preferentially selected for, as they had greater potential to show a connection between the archeological record and ethnographic data. This inherently made the analysis of the relationship between the environment and belief systems, and how that relationship is reflected in the archeological record significantly easier, as a known association/connection helped to interpret the material culture recovered, features, the situation of the site on the landscape and its organization. The fact that habitation sites typically have a larger/more diverse artifact assemblage made it easier to make inferences about cultural

connections and belief systems, as opposed to sites that consisted of solely pictographs or petroglyphs.

Conclusion

The methods used for this analysis were quite complex as it deals with complex data. Thus, it is important to bear in mind that none of the data sets were perfect or complete. For example, as I proceeded with the analysis, it was not uncommon for new information to come to light which had the potential to contribute to or affect the analysis. However, due to time constraints, it was not always possible to fully incorporate the novel information into the analysis, and in such instances, a note of this was made, and every effort was made to ensure that the data was accurate and reflective of the germane information.

CHAPTER 5 – SITE ANALYSIS

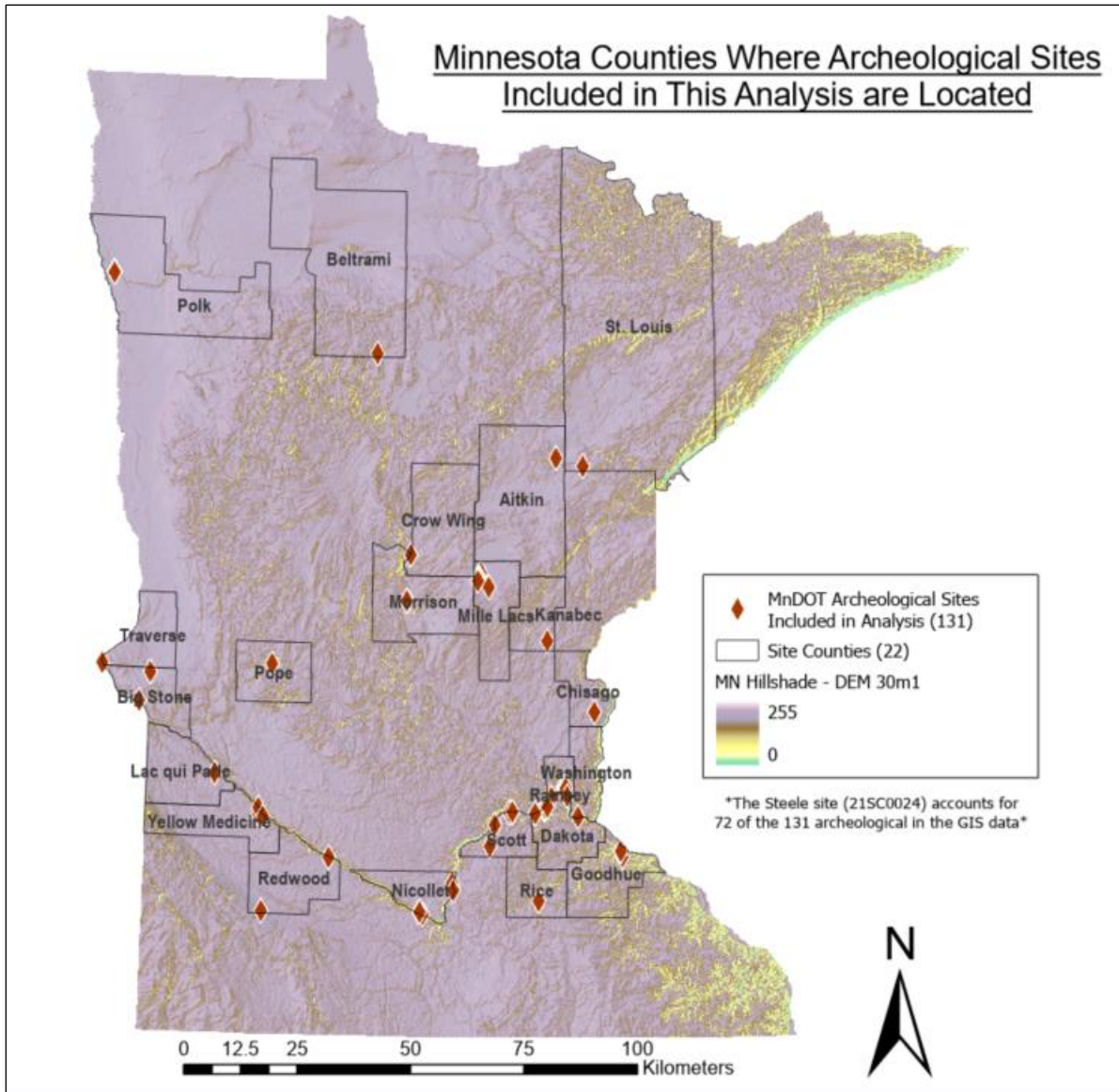
Introduction

The establishment of the physical and cultural setting of Dakota people in Minnesota, discussion of Dakota belief systems and examples of the ways in which the natural environment(s) of the habited spaces of past Dakota peoples have contributed to the nature of Dakota belief systems, and archeological expectations laid out in the preceding chapters established the basis/groundwork which the analysis of the recorded archeological sites selected for this analysis is referenced in order to determine if the Dakota cultural data found in published ethnographic sources is reflected in the archeological record of Minnesota.

A total of 73 recorded archeological sites in Minnesota, though one site – the Boarder Village site (21TR0035/39RO0045) – extends into South Dakota, were initially selected for this analysis; this includes all 43 of the recorded archeological sites in Minnesota that contain a documented Eastern Dakota component (those sites that contain a documented Eastern Dakota are marked with an asterisk “*” in the subsequent site analyses, in addition to that being mentioned in the site descriptions), as well as 30 archeological sites which were selected based on the possibility that they contain an undocumented Eastern Dakota component. However, as the analysis progressed, 11⁶² of the archeological sites were eliminated as they failed to provide sufficient data that warranted including them in the analysis, leaving the total amount of archeological sites included in this analysis at 62 sites.

⁶² Sites removed from analysis: CCC Camp SP-15 (21CW0137), Belle Creek Village (21GD0200), Silvernale West Terrace (21GD0254), Lincoln Mounds (21HE0007), Cove Bay Site (21ML0077), Stumne Mounds (21PN0005), Browns Valley Enclosure/Browns Valley Mound (21TR0019); site 21WA0090; Whitewater Village (21WB0004), Whitewater Village [same as 21WB0004] (21WB0038), and site 21WL0034).

The analyses of the 62 archeological sites selected for this investigation include descriptions of the geographic location and setting of each site, notable investigations and/or disturbances which have occurred at or near the sites, and cultural materials observed during and/or collected from past archeological investigations, and cultural affiliations identified at the sites based on the evidence from records and reports associated with the sites. Descriptions of the sites briefly mention pre-16th century data, but they primarily focus on that which might reasonably be Dakota-related. As archeological phases (e.g., Silvernale phase, etc.) consist of a deeper history that undoubtedly relates to precontact Dakota peoples, those connections have yet to be made and is not the focus of this investigation, though the product of this analysis might help to do that in the future.



Map 5.1 – Map of Minnesota counties which contain the archeological sites included in this analysis.

AITKIN COUNTY

***21AK0053 – Savanna Portage**

The Savanna Portage site (21AK0053) is a multi-component site that includes documented precontact Woodland and historic Eastern Dakota components. Located within Sections 35 and 36 of Townships 50N and 51N Range 22W, most of the Savanna Portage State Park, the six-mile portage which is site 21AK0053 was a key transportation link between Lake Superior and the

Mississippi River drainages (Radford 2016b: 2), stretching from the West Savanna River to the East Savanna River (no Dakota name could be found for these rivers).

Throughout the precontact period through the 1870s, this drainage was travelled by Native Americans, explorers, fur traders, and missionaries (Radford 2016b), though because of the marshes, bogs and tamarack swamps voyageurs considered it to be the “worst carrying place in the northwest” (Remus et al. 1996). While the exact location(s) of the portage is not precisely known or been determined thus far, early fieldwork (Gibbon and Williams 1985; Hart 1927; Watrall 1969), supplemented by Native American oral histories, have determined that the portage (21AK0053) was likely located within the confines of the current boundaries of the site (Radford 2016b). Additionally, although there is no known Dakota name for the Savanna Portage, the Dakota words or terms for a portage are “*watoha*” and “*oiyuwege*,” the latter being the place name Dakotas generally call Traverse des Sioux (Durand 1994: 107; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 359, 539).

While there may be a lack of known Dakota place names for natural landscape features (e.g., rivers, lakes, etc.) to be found in ethnographic sources which have the potential to provide support that this area was occupied by past Dakota peoples, there are other ethnographic and archeological data which do in fact confirm that the area was part of the traditional homelands of Dakota ancestors (c.f. Brower 1901).

The Siouan speaking Santee Dakota Indians lived around the southern and western borders of Lake Superior until about 1720 and then gradually withdrew to the south and west under pressure from the Algonquian speaking Ojibwe who were expanding westward along the southern margins of this great lake...The Grand Portage area was occupied by the Cree and Assiniboine tribes prior to the advent of the Ojibwe. These people withdrew north of Lake Superior and westward to Rainy Lake. The Lake of the Woods area was dominated by the Assiniboine, an offshoot of the Yanktonai Dakota. They were closely allied with

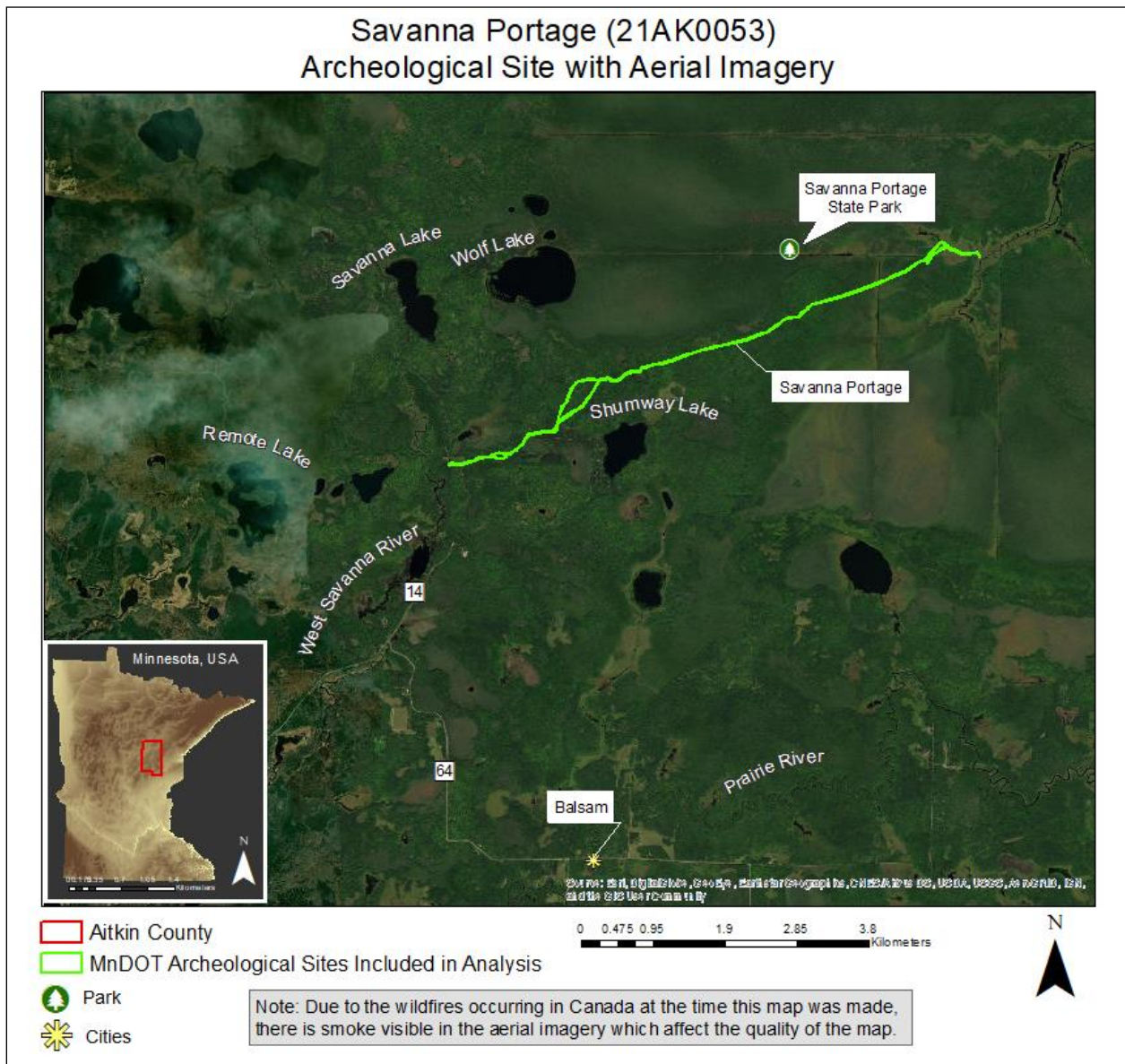
the Cree and gradually moved westward to the Red River Valley (Woolworth 1993: 13).

The *Jesuit Relations* (1670-1671) (Thwaites 1889) is the first historical reference to Savanna Portage (*Portage de la Savanne*), which describes it as “*Hauteur des Terres*,” or height-of-land. Daniel Greysolon, Siur du Lhut was the first Frenchman to have crossed the portage on July 2, 1679. It was here that he encountered the Dakotas who guided his party to their cultural heartland around *Mde Wakan* (Durand 1994; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 312, 508; Westerman and White 2012). Du Lhut phonetically recorded *Isaḡti* as their name for themselves (Remus et al. 1996: 27-28).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: In 1969, supported by funds from the Minnesota Park Department for the Highway Archaeological Reconnaissance Program of the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS), archeological testing conducted by Charles Watrall confirmed a local Native American with Mille Lacs Lake Eastern Dakota “for several centuries prior to the arrival of the Europeans” (Remus et al. 1996: 27). It was also made evident that the people living in this area practiced a Mississippian lifestyle, as there was evidence that the people were living in semi-permanent or permanent riverine agricultural settlements, which are characteristic of Mississippian Tradition villages (ibid.). Additionally, according to Elden Johnson, while it was probably the staple wild rice (*Zizania aquatica*) which let some elements of the Mississippian Tradition to be adopted here, this area of Minnesota “is beyond the climatic range for native corn, and which accounts for at least some seasonal settlements” (Remus et al. 1996: 27).

Between 1981 and 1983, archeologists Guy Gibbon and Eugene Williams from the University of Minnesota conducted investigations along the Savanna Portage to locate the exact route of this portage (Remus et al. 1996). From their investigations, Gibbon and Williams

reached two major conclusions: 1) the portage trail as it exists in the state park is not the original route; and 2) changes in water levels caused by the weather likely resulted in changes of the route from time to time (ibid.). Forced rerouting of the trail was also likely caused by beaver dams that altered water levels and fires that burned peat in the swamp.



Map 5.2 – Aerial imagery of site 21AK0053.

BELTRAMI COUNTY

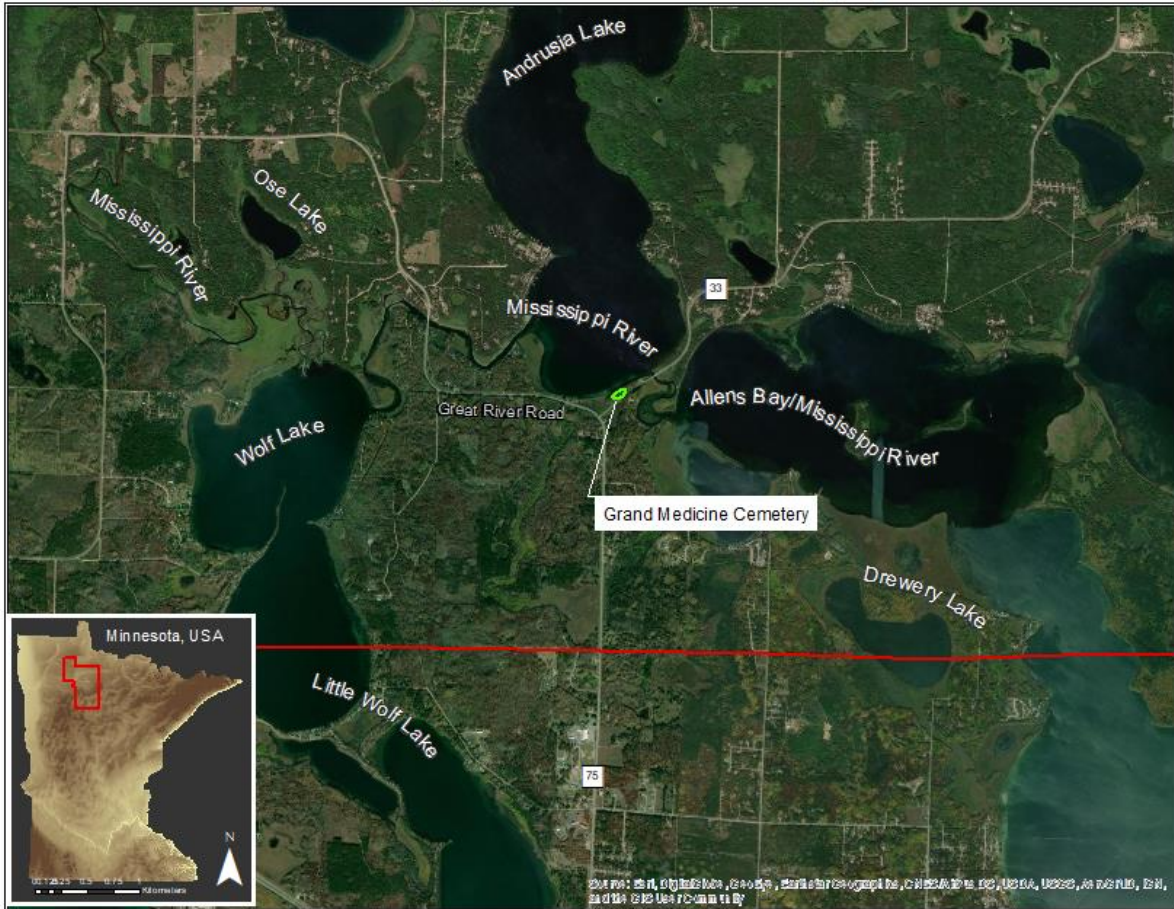
21BL0009 – Grand Medicine Cemetery

The Grand Medicine Ceremony site (21BL0009) is a cemetery and possible village site located on a sandy ridge that rises about 20 feet above the south shore of Andrusia Lake (no Dakota name could be found for this lake) immediately west of the outlet of the *Haha Wakpa* in the Leech Lake Reservation in Beltrami County, Minnesota. The site has historic Ojibwe and undetermined prehistoric cultural affiliations. While no Eastern Dakota component has been documented at site 21BL0009, the Arrowhead Resort site (21BL0010), located just south of the Fisher's Post site (21BL0011), has Late Prehistoric Sandy Lake and Blackduck cultural affiliations. Therefore, based on proximity and current understandings of prehistoric cultural affiliations (i.e., Sandy Lake and Blackduck) and their relations with historic Dakota people (Ossenberg 1974), and knowledge of "protohistoric" homelands of Dakota (Anderson 1997; Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Gibbon 2012; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012), it is reasonable to assert that a Dakota component is present at the Grand Medicine Ceremony site (21BL0009) and thus is a site that should be considered for future investigations or, at the very least, the artifacts should be re-analyzed within a Dakota archeological framework.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: Because this is a burial area, no testing for prehistoric deposits has been conducted (21BL0009 Mn/OSA Files). However, prehistoric materials were noted in the area of 21BL0009 by T. H. Lewis in the 1880s during the Northwestern Archaeological Survey (Nwas) (Winchell 1911: 367). In the late 1890s, J. V. Brower identified the habitation component at 21BL0009 (Brower 1901: 56). The cemetery apparently did not come into use until sometime after the turn of the century, evidenced by the fact that at the time of Brower's visit to the Grand Medicine Ceremony site (21BL0009) there

was an Ojibwe cemetery located northwest of 21BL0009 on the southwestern shore of Andrusia Lake at site 21BL0011 (Fisher's Post), but apparently there was not one at 21BL0009, as Brower's encampment was on or immediately adjacent to this site and he noted no presence of a cemetery (21BL0009 Mn/OSA Files). During a visit to the site in 1947, Lloyd A. Wilford noted the presence of 51 grave houses, and that the cemetery was in use at the time (21BL0009 Mn/OSA Files).

Grand Medicine Cemetery (21BL0009)
Archeological Site with Aerial Imagery



- Beltrami County
- MnDOT Archeological Sites Included in Analysis

Note: Durand's (1994) ethnographic map of Dakota place names doesn't extend far enough north to encompass the site of Grand Medicine Cemetery (21BL0009). Therefore, it was not possible to include that in this map as a reference as is done for most other sites included in this analysis.

Map 5.3 – Aerial imagery of site 21BL0009.

BIG STONE COUNTY

21BS0003 – Lindholm Mounds

The Lindholm Mounds site (21BS0003) is an earthwork and cemetery site which formerly consisted of two burial mounds located about half a mile northeast of Big Stone Lake, on the higher land overlooking the lake (Winchell 1970: 10). Mound One was nearest to *Mde Inyan Takinyanyan* (Big Stone Lake), and Mound Two was a short distance to the northwest where the land was roughly seven feet higher than at Mound One. The location of the mound site corresponds with Gibbon's (2012) assertion that for the most part, Big Stone Phase (A.D. 1200-1300) sites "are situated on high terraces and bluff-tops, perhaps for defensive purposes," since at least ten of the known/documented sites classified as Big Stone Phase are fortified with combinations of embankments, palisades, and ditches (Gibbon 2012: 167). According to Gibbon, archeologists consider Big Stone a phase of the Initial Middle Missouri Tradition within the Northeastern Plains Village complex (ibid.). The Lindholm site (21BS0003) is a principal Cambria site and settlement pattern (Dobbs 1988: 220).

While there is no documented Eastern Dakota component at 21BS0003, as both ethnographic and archeological evidence which provide support for the area of site 21BS0003 as having been part of the historic homelands of *Sisitonwan* and *Wahpetonwan*, it is possible that the site may contain an Eastern Dakota component. The present-day name for Big Stone Lake is a translation of the Dakota name for it, *Mde Inyan Takinyanyan*, meaning "lake of the big stones" (Durand 1994: 33; Riggs 1992 [1890]; Upham 2001), which alludes to

...the conspicuous outcrops of granite and gneiss, extensively quarried, which occur in the Minnesota valley from a half mile to three miles below the foot of the lake...The Sioux name, poorly pronounced and indistinctly heard, was written *Eatakeka* by Keating in his Narrative of Long's Expedition in 1823; but Prof. A.

W. Williamson more correctly spelled it in two words, *Inyan tankinyanyan*, the first meaning stone, the second very great, as shown by the repetition of the first word and duplication of its final syllable (Upham 2001: 53; emphasis added).

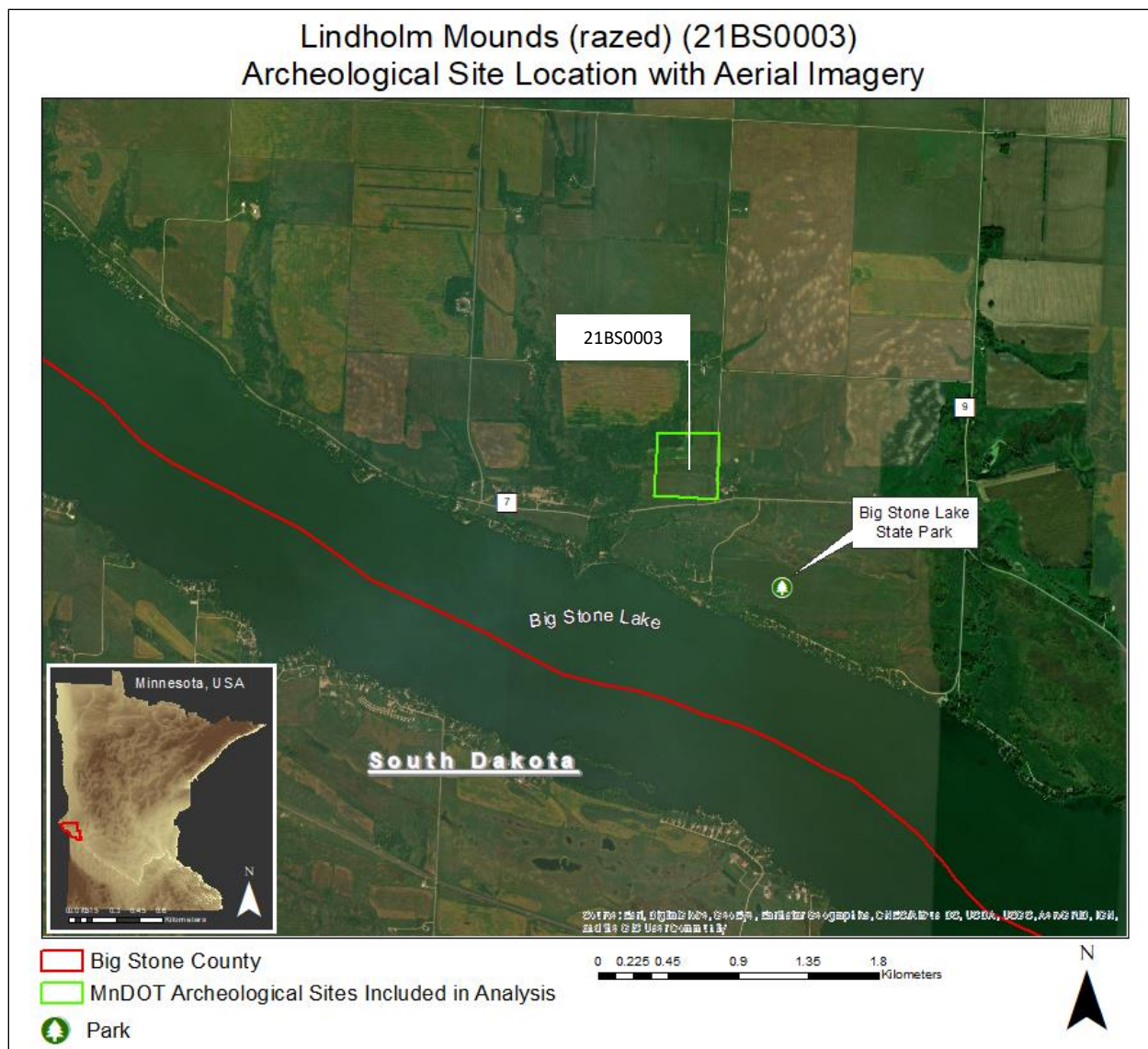
In historic times, there were numerous *Sisitoŋwaŋ* and *Ihaŋktuŋwaŋ* (Yankton) villages located around *Mde Inyan Tankinyanyan*, where buffalo was a primary subsistence activity (Westerman and White 2012: 119).

Since site 21BS0003 is a burial mound site and a cemetery, which makes further sub-surface investigations at the sites not possible. Therefore, future attempts made to confirm an Eastern Dakota component at the Lindholm Mounds (21BS0003) may potentially be accomplished by way of a re-analysis of artifacts recovered from the site during past investigations, which may document additional material relevant to non-Cambria occupation of the area and may thereby potentially contribute to our understanding of Dakota archeology in Minnesota. However, the site has been compromised by past agricultural and archeological activities, which potentially limits future research potential.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: According to Wilford (1970), by 1943 plowing in the area had lowered the ground surface so that “bones had been brought to the surface on the east side of Mound No. 1, and it was reported that other bones had been picked up and carried away” (Wilford 1970: 10). Prior to his excavation of the mounds at 21BS0003 in 1946, Wilford noted that they had been under cultivation for a long time, which resulted in the mounds being spread out and the outlines obliterated, leaving no distinct mound periphery (ibid.). Upon excavation, Wilford discovered that the mounds yielded evidence of primary flexed burials, which occurred in “shallow pits beneath the mounds as well as on the floor and in the mound fill” (Wilford 1970). Additionally, the state of preservation of the bones suggested that the mounds were not very old at the time of Wilford’s excavation. According to Wilford (1970: 14)

and Johnson (1961: 53), the burial traits and mortuary pottery at the Lindholm Mounds (21BS0003) most resemble those found at Big Stone Lake, including the Lou Miller Mound (21BS0004), the Holtz Mound (21BS0005), and two mound groups at Ortonville. A small mortuary pot with a plain surface similar to that of the mortuary vessel from the Lou Miller Mound (21BS0004) was found associated with the burials in Mound 1 at 21BS0003 (Wilford 1970: 14). Pottery found associated with the burials within the mounds appeared to be most closely related to the Cambria culture, or at least influences of it, that appear to extend all the way up the *Mni Sota Wakpa* from the Cambria area (Wilford 1970). However, while the Cambria culture is believed to be ancestral to the Siouan Mandan and/or Hidatsa, it has not been identified as archeologically ancestral to the Dakota (Schirmer 2023, personal communication).

As discussed in the preceding chapters, the present-day city of Ortonville was the site of the historic *Wahpetonwan* village of *Wita Otina* – “Dwellers in the Island” – (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 256; Dorsey 1891: 258; Durand 1994; Enos and Skinner 2003: 60; S. Pond 1989 [1908]: 5; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 389, 579; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 180). Additionally, *Wamdiupi Duta* – “Scarlet Plume” – was a prominent *Sisitonwan* chief “...whose village in 1862 stood at the foot of Big Stone Lake, where Ortonville now stands” (Hughes 1969: 122).



Map 5.4 – Aerial imagery of site 21BS0003.

21BS0051 – Toqua Lakes IV (“Sorensen Field”)

Located in cultivated land on an isthmus between East and West Toqua Lakes at the city of Graceville, the Toqua Lake IV site (21BS0051) is a multi-component artifact scatter that has been inferred to have functioned as a seasonal habitation site, and although there is no documented Eastern Dakota component at this site, "historic sources indicate Western Dakota use of the area as summer village," and there is a documented Western Dakota component at 21BS0051 (21BS0051 Mn/OSA files), though no elaboration on or justification for this cultural

affiliation. The extensive artifact scatter at 21BS0051 consists of four main concentrations, designated as the West, Southwest, South, and Southeast subareas, which are all on higher knolls. The site has been deeply disturbed by cultivation and, along the eastern edge, by CSAH 18 in 2001.

In historic times, the area of Big Stone Lake and Lake Traverse was the home of the *Sisitonwan* and the *Wahpetonwan* bands of Eastern Dakota (Bray and Bray 1993; S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 5), and historic sources indicate Eastern Dakota use of the area of the Toqua Lake IV site (21BS0051) as a summer village site; that *Ta Kaḡapi Mde* (East Toqua Lake) was the residence of *Wasu Ideya* (Sets Fire to Hail), who was formerly chief scout of the Lake Traverse Camp, one of 15 camps of Dakotas amiable to the United States following The U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 (Durand 1994: 85; Westerman and White 2012: 85). Additionally, according to Dakota oral history, *Ta Kaḡapi Mde* (East Toqua Lake) was the site of an ancient effigy, and the name itself, understood orthographically as “the lake where the moose is made” in reference to this ancient effigy that was situated near the lake, which inferred to have been in the shape of a moose (Durand 1994: 85; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 247, 312, 451).

The Dakota name for West Toqua Lake, *Ta Kaḡapi Mde Suḡkaku* – “the younger brother of the lake where the moose is made” – implies that the two lakes were related in appearance (Durand 1994: 85). The present-day name of East and West Toqua lakes is spelled “Ta Kara” on Nicollet’s 1843 map, “Ta being the Sioux word for the moose, while Kara doubtless refers to the Kahra band of the Dakota or Sioux” (Upham 2001: 58). Of the use of the word “Kara,” Upham provides the following insights:

Nicollet also used the word *Kara* as the final part of other names, *Plan Kara* and *Manstitsa Kara*, given on his map to two points or hillocks of the valley bluff east of the northern end of Lake Traverse...Tokua (or Toqua) was the white man’s

endeavor to spell the Sioux name for these pairs of lakes, which Nicollet also spelled as ...Samuel J. Brown, of the village of Brown's Valley, has stated that this name 'was taken from a picture carved on a tree, meaning probably some animal so pictured.' this accords well with the meaning of the name given by Nicollet, as the moose of the *Kara* or *Kahra* band of Sioux, perhaps a family totem or their mystic patron of the clan (as we might say, a mascot) (Upham 2001: 58-59; emphasis added).

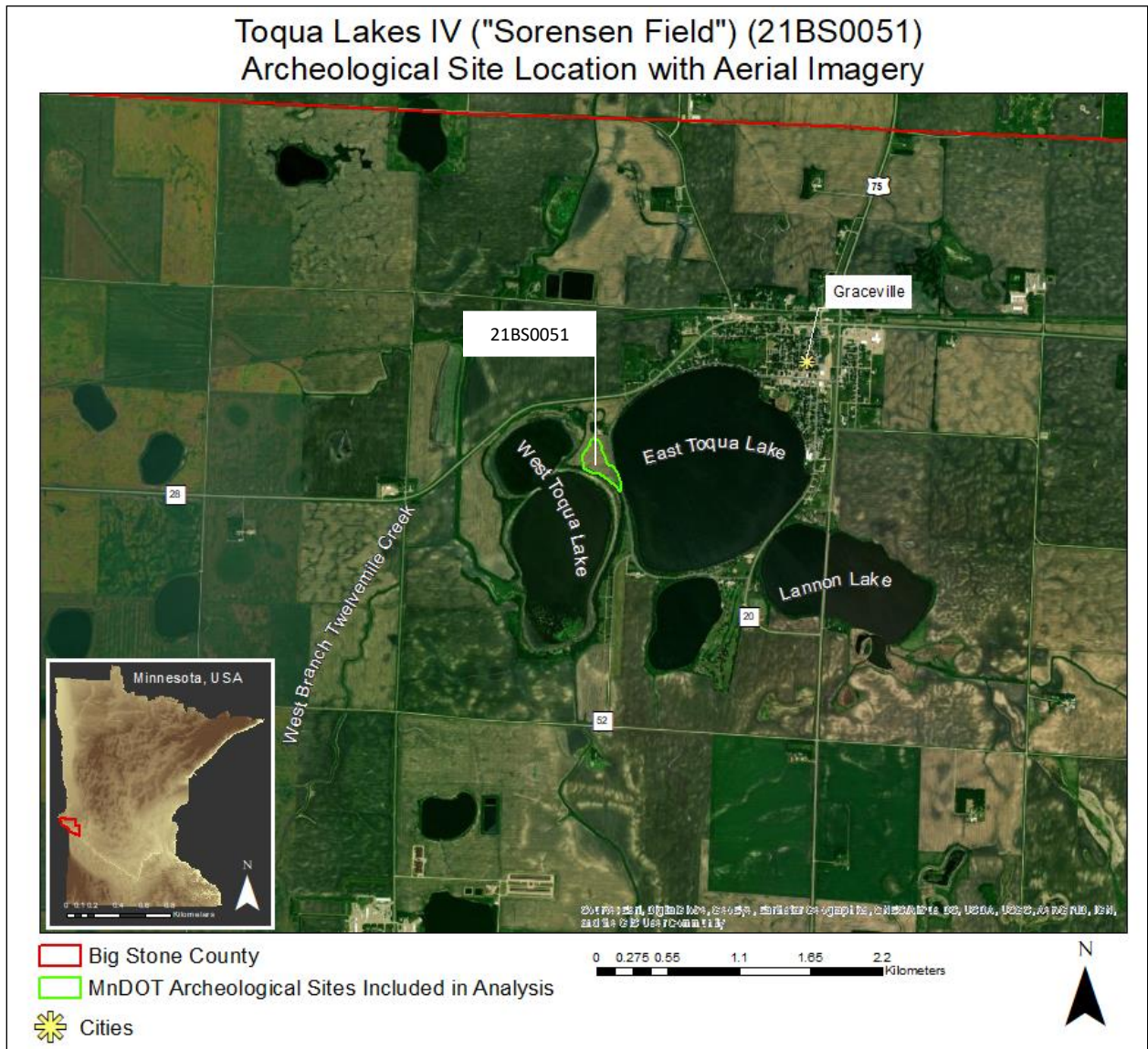
During Long's expedition in 1823, Keating said the following of the Dakota living in this area:

These Indians dwell in very large and fine skin lodges. The skins are well prepared and handsomely painted. They have no permanent residence, but frequently visit Lake Travers [*sic*]. Their hunting grounds are on Red river. They follow *Tatankanaje* (the Standing Buffalo), who is a chief by hereditary right, and who has acquired distinction as a warrior' (Keating et al. 1824: 403; emphasis added).

Therefore, while no Eastern Dakota component has been documented archeologically at site 21BS0051, based on Dakota oral tradition and oral history, published ethnographic records, and other archeological investigations in the area of the site, it is possible that a re-analysis of past data gathered from the site (further archeological investigations would be difficult and/or limited due to reasons elaborated on below), would demonstrate the site to have an Eastern Dakota component, and therefore further contribute to our knowledge of Dakota archeology in Minnesota.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: Artifact comparison of materials recovered from 21BS0051 has indicated Woodland Tradition components with potential Onamia Phase pottery, as well as a Plains Village Tradition component with Cambria Phase pottery. It has been argued that Onamia pottery likely represents some ancestral part of the Dakota (Schirmer 2023, personal communication), so it may be possible that a Dakota link to 21BS0051 may already exist, but not be currently recognized in the archeological literature. A large private collection of lithics exists that has yet to be analyzed (to current knowledge), but which evidently includes Archaic and Woodland projectile points and a possible copper point (21BS0051

Mn/OSA files). While past investigations at 21BS0051 (formerly 21BSi) produced lithics, ceramics and large quantities of broken bison bone, stripping of the disturbed plow horizon in 2001 in the areas which would be impacted by the proposed undertaking of CSAH 18 indicated that the cultural deposits appeared to have been completely plowed through, and therefore found to lack further research potential (Harrison 2002).



Map 5.5 – Aerial imagery of site 21BS0051.

CHISAGO COUNTY

*21CHai - Dakota War Fortification

Formerly located on Sunset Point (previously Maple Island) on South Center Lake in Franconia (no Dakota name could be found for these), Chisago County, Minnesota, the Dakota War Fortification site (21CHai [also or formerly known as 21-CH-10]) was a defensive earthwork. According to historic accounts, during The U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862, local settlers sought refuge on Maple Island (now Sunset Point), where they erected an earthen barricade and placed a cannon brought up from Fort Snelling” (Vogel 1995: 20). The site area of 21CHai “occupies the ‘military crest’ of the south-facing slope on the narrow neck of land which was formerly under South Center Lake” (Vogel 1995: 20).

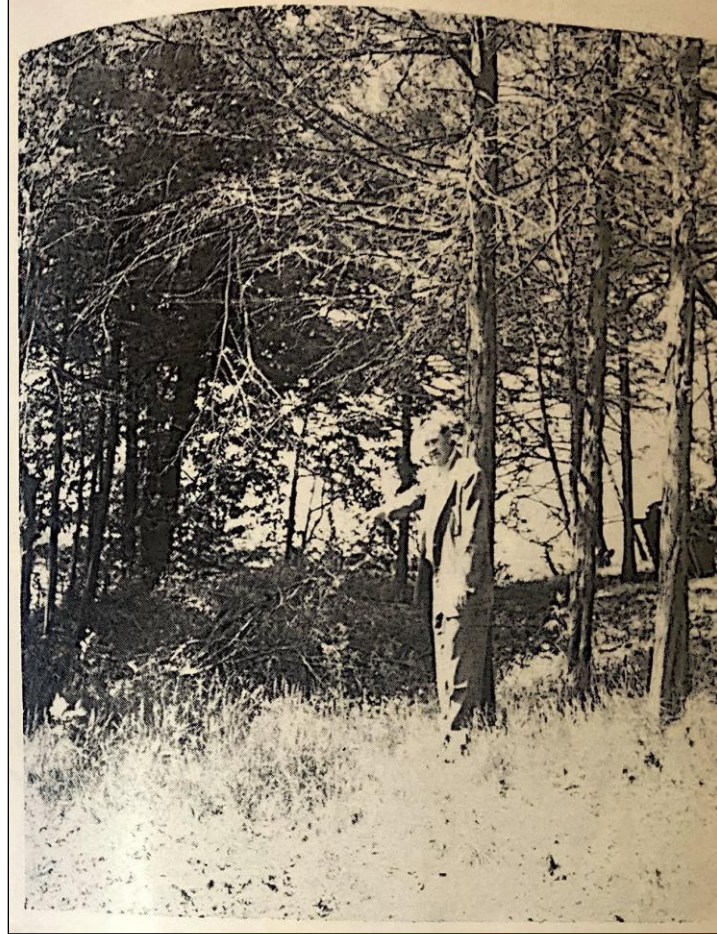


Figure 5.1 – “Where Swedes Barricaded At Indian Scare” – Teddy Norelius stands at a spot known today as Sunset Point (formerly called Maple Island) on South Center Lake and shows all that remained of the barricade a few years after World War II, and soldiers at Birch Coulee, New Ulm and other places in southwestern Minnesota during the U.S. -Dakota Conflict of 1862, early Swedish settlers dug a barricade here in preparation to face Native Americans, as “It was feared that the Indian warriors would come up to this area, but they never did” (Norelius 1974: 29).

Although there is a documented Eastern Dakota component at 21CHai, which Vogel (1995) believes to be the “Sioux” mound described by local historian Teddy Norelius (1974) below, it “has been completely destroyed by highway construction and development” (Vogel 1995: 20). Moreover, due to Euro-American influences, little is known about historic Native American occupation of the Chisago Lakes, and while “Native American camps and villages were noted by early settlers and several Chisago County communities occupy former Ojibwe sites...there are no archival data which indicate that Center City was one of these” (Vogel 1995: 25).

Prior to Euro-American settlement, the City Center area fell within the traditional lands of both the Eastern Dakota and the Ojibwe (Vogel 1995: 24). Additionally, the area of Rice Creek, or *Otoḡwe Wakpadaḡ* – “village on a small river” – which runs north-south to the west of the site, was “part of an important travel route for Dakota and other native people,” as it was part of the Rice Creek-Sunrise River corridors, which “provided a much shorter passage between the two rivers than traveling south of the mouth and then up the St. Croix” (Westerman and White 2012: 58). Literature on the history of the Chisago Lakes area states that around 1916, there were “two huge Indian mounds” which were in the vicinity of the reported location of 21Chai (21-CH-10), and that local legend at that time stated that one belonged to the Sioux and the other, about a ¼ of a mile west of Center City, belonged to the Chippewas (Norelius 1974: 30). According to Norelius (ibid.),

The story, as related to pioneers by early Indians of the area and passed down to coming white generations, told of a terrible battle near that point between the two tribes following which each built a mound for its dead. The mound of the Sioux was soon taken down after the year 1916 because it made a blind spot in the road going from Lindstrom to Center City. At the time horses and scrapers were used to haul away the dirt and a huge find of Indian bones and some implements were unearthed. The writer recalled, as a lad, seeing a lumber wagon half full of Indian remains hauled to the nearest beach at South Center Lake and dumped into the water. An Indian skull was taken up to the laboratory room of the schoolhouse where it remained in a glass case for many years (Norelius 1974: 30).

Local informants state that the fragment of human skull was eventually given to the county historical society, which turned it over to archeologists at Hamline University in 1993 for reburial (Norelius 1974: 30-31; Vogel 1995: 20). Additionally, a Dakota oral history which describes an altercation that occurred between Dakota and Ojibwe nearby. Durand (1994) describes this occurrence as told to him by William W. Warren:

Following a Dakota raid, **MONSO-MAN-AY** collected a large party of warriors and when the snow melted on the ground, followed the trail of the Dakotas as they returned towards their villages on the Mississippi. He caught up with their camp

at a prairie on Sunrise River. They numbered many lodges and around their camp they had thrown up a rampart of earth about four feet high. The Ojibwa ran up to the Dakota defenses from behind which they fired repeated volleys into the defenseless lodges within thus turning to their own advantage the embankment (Durand 1994: 58-59; emphasis in original).

Therefore, although justification for the Eastern Dakota component at 21Chai is somewhat turbid, these accounts provide support for Dakota presence in the area. Additionally, though the location has not been determined precisely, just that it lies somewhere between Green Lake and Forest Lake (for which no Dakota names could be found), is a site known to Dakota peoples as *Mde Wambdi Wahapi* – “the place where they buried the eagles” – (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 312, 501, 526; Westerman and White 2012: 153). In the winter of 1828, Indian agent Lawrence Taliaferro noted that a group of Ojibwe from the St. Croix River region “left early this Morning for their Camp near the Sioux – at the Two Lakes called by them – The place they bury Eagles in” (Taliaferro journal, Dec. 12, 1828). Because these two groups of sometimes-hostile peoples recognized their shared occupation of this place, it made sense that that they would meet in this area (Westerman and White 2012: 153).

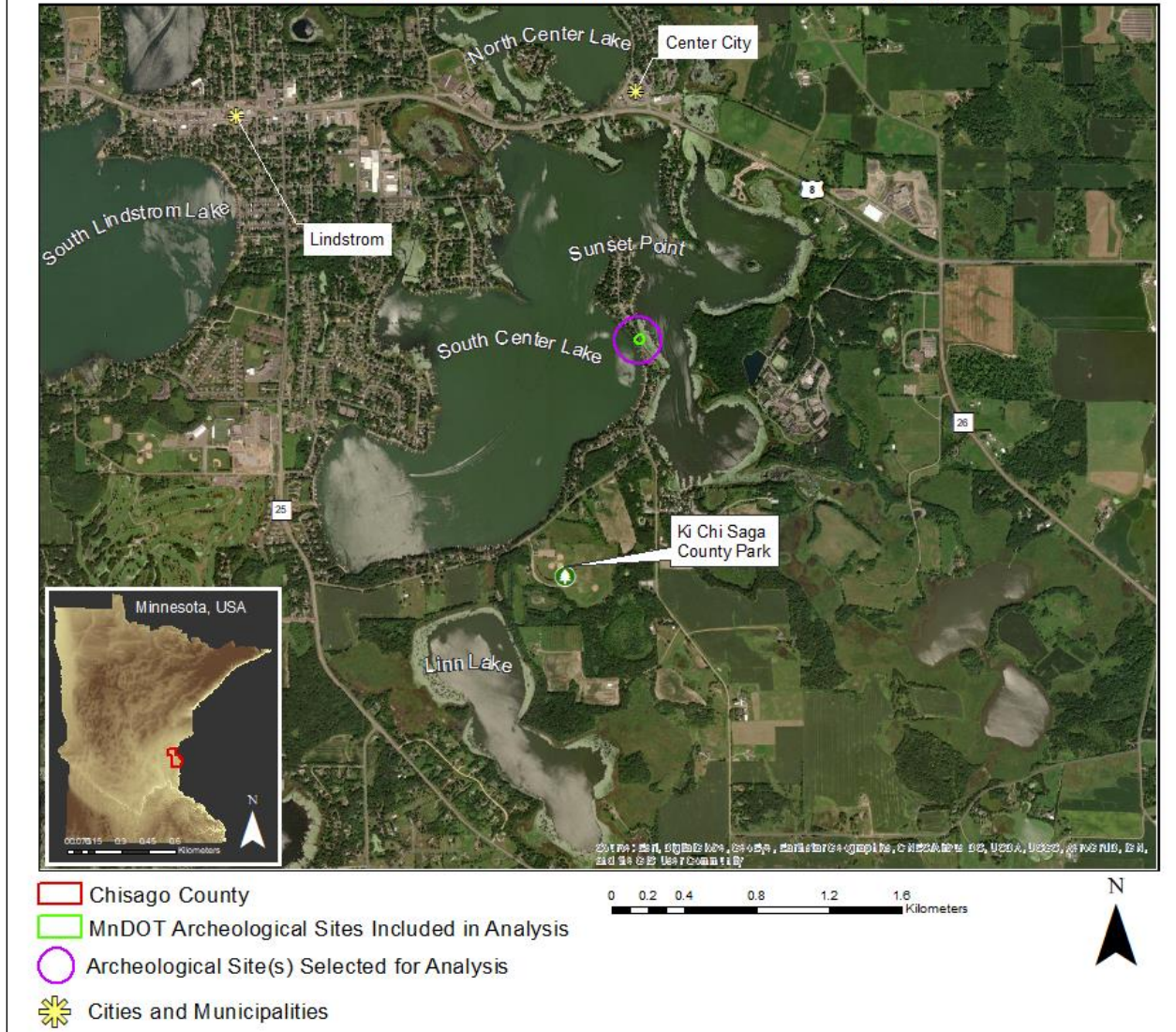
As a result, the location was along the boundary set by the multi-tribal Treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1825. Article 5 placed the boundary along the St. Croix River on the west, thence passing between two lakes called by the Ojibwe ‘Green Lakes’ and by the Dakota ‘the lakes they bury the Eagles in,’ and from thence to the standing cedar that ‘the Sioux Split,’ a location along the Rum River which may have specific—though unexplained—cultural meaning (ibid.).

As such, there is an area known to Dakotas as *Hañte Nažin* – “the standing cedars” – located south-southeast of 21CHai on a southeast curve in the *Hoğan Owanğa Kin* (St. Croix River), and which marked the boundary between the Dakota and Ojibwe (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994: 15; Riggs 1992 [1893]: 152, 162, 280, 340, 392, 525; Westerman and White 2012). According to Dakota oral tradition, *Hañte Nažin* was named for an old cedar which stood on a high bluff,

along with cedars that line the banks of the stream at this turn in the course” (Nicollet qtd. In Durand 1994: 15).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: In 1994, with funds granted to the city of Center City from a Certified Local Government (CLG) grant, Robert C. Vogel & Associates carried out an initial assessment of archeological resources within the city limits of Center City. At the time of the survey, all traces of the original earthwork appeared to have been removed by grading and construction of the Erickson house built in 1962, and the entire area of the site had been heavily developed for other housing, which seriously compromised the integrity of the site (Vogel 1995: 20). Based on this study report, there appears to have been an investigatory preference of the historic Euro-American component over the historic Dakota component at the site, the latter of which has essentially been disregarded, apart from brief mentions of the area of the site having been the traditional homelands of Dakota and Ojibwe peoples.

Dakota War Fortification (21CHai)
 Archeological Site Location with Aerial Imagery



Map 5.6 – Aerial imagery of site 21Chai.

CROW WING COUNTY

***21CW0015 – Crow Wing State Park**

The Crow Wing State Park site (21CW0015) is multi-component trading post and mortuary site on an upland terrace on the eastern bank of the *Haha Wakpa* at the point where the upper/northern channel of the *Maġa Wakpa* (north branch Crow Wing River) confluences with the *Haha Wakpa* (Durand 1994). A prehistoric Woodland habitation has been documented at

21CW0015, as well as historic Eastern Dakota⁶³ and Ojibwe components, fur trade posts (1820s to 1850s), logging activity sites, and other early settler sites (1830s to 1880s) (21CW0015 Mn/OSA Files). Earthworks present at 21CW0015 consist of the remnants of rifle “firing pits” which can still be seen on the east bank of the *Haha Wakpa* about 300 yards south of the mouth of *Mağa Wakpa* (north branch Crow Wing River), and relatively close to the depression of a trading post established by Allen Morrison in 1823, which is located in the southern portion of the site (ibid.).

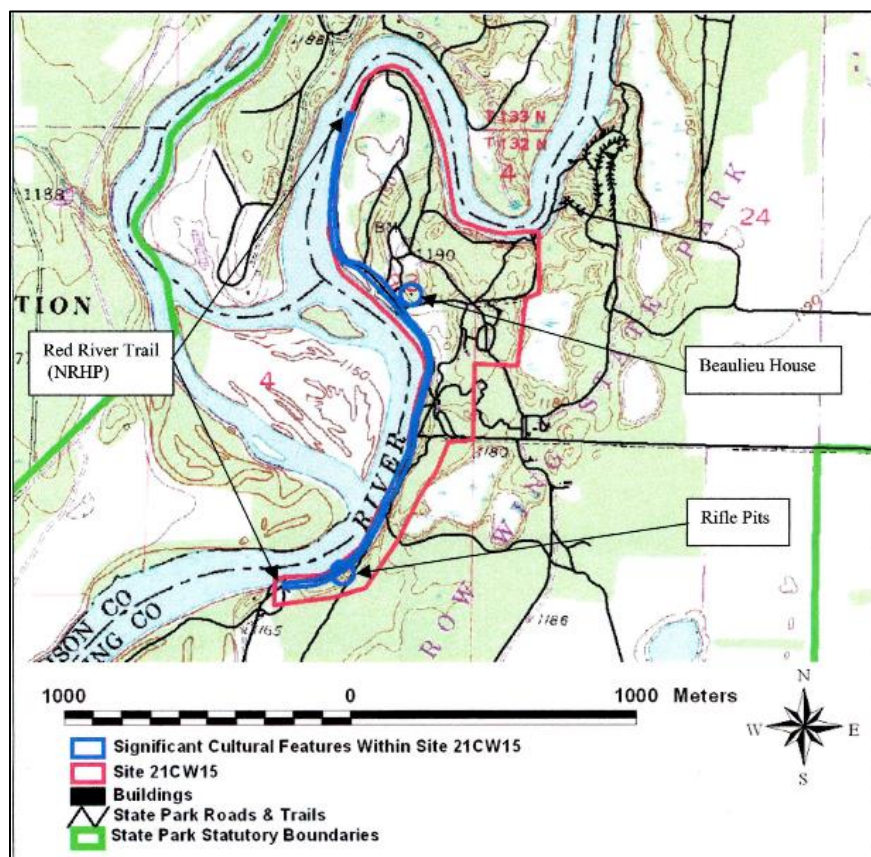


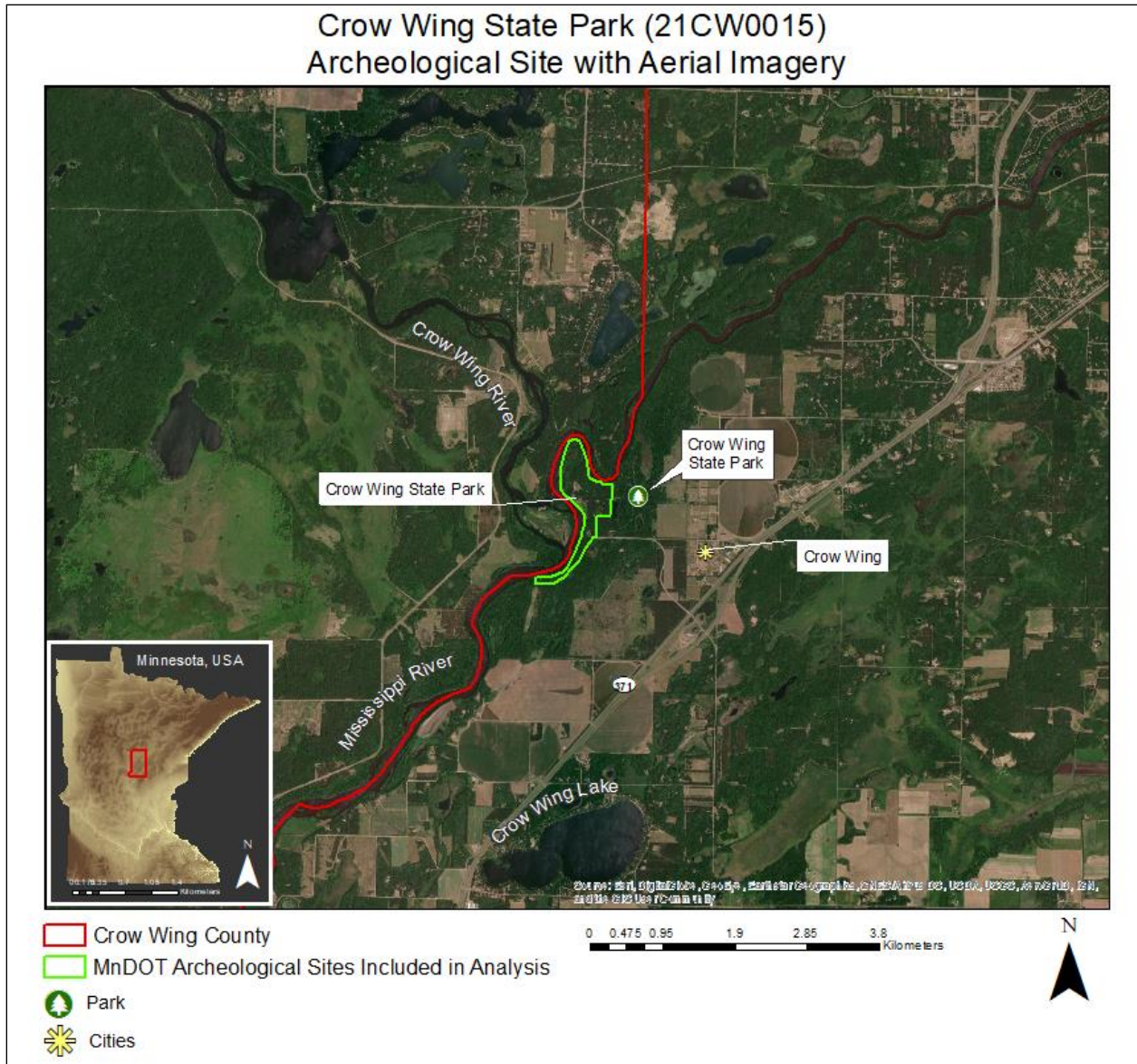
Figure 5.2 – Selected features within the Crow Wing State Park site, namely the location of the rifle “firing pits” from the Dakota-Ojibwe conflict, which can be seen in the far southwestern part of the site boundaries (21CW0015) (21CW0015 Mn/OSA files).

⁶³ Although the MNSU, Mankato Archeology Department Excel document “Archeological_sites_10_22_2020” does not indicate that there is an Eastern Dakota component at the Crow Wing State Park site (21CW0015), the Mn/OSA file for this site indicates that there is in fact an Eastern Dakota component at the site, and a search of historic records support this (Folwell 1956).

Located in an area which had formerly been part of Dakota territory, these rifle “firing pits” mark the locality of a Dakota-Ojibwe conflict (ca. 1768) that resulted in the establishment of Ojibwe control of the area. At the time this battle occurred, the Dakotas “had come into possession of firearms; and the bands which had been driven from Mille Lacs, now residing on the Rum River, were ambitious to recover their ancient hunting grounds from the invading Chippewa” (Folwell 1956: 82). The Dakota warriors had entered the main stream of the Mississippi River with the goal to “fall upon the great Chippewa village on Sandy Lake unexpected and put out its fires forever” (ibid.). Although the majority of the Ojibwe (Chippewa) warriors were absent from this village at the time of the attack, the Dakota warriors failed to accomplish this. The absentee Ojibwe warriors were at the junction of the Crow Wing River with the Mississippi River, and

...The leaders resolved to await the enemy on their return and fall upon them from an ambush. Opposite the lower of the two mouths of the Crow Wing is an elongated hill or bluff some fifty feet high and five hundred feet long, running parallel with the Mississippi and sloping to the shore. Just above is a sharp curve nearly equal to a quarter circle, which throws the current against the east bank. On the crest of this hill the Chippewa dug a line of what in modern war books would be called ‘rifle pits,’ each deep enough and large enough to hold a half dozen or more men (Folwell 1956: 83).

The Dakota warriors were “[u]nappreciative of the danger which awaited them...[and] made a landing in plain sight of the Chippewa trap” (ibid.). Battle between the two Nations ensued, however, the Ojibwe held their fort and the Dakota eventually departed for their villages. Thus, “[w]ell aware that such a campaign as this would be followed by a countermovement on the part of the enemy, they soon after abandoned their villages east of the Mississippi and established themselves on the Mississippi River” (Folwell 1956: 84). Hence, this interaction appears to represent the extent of the Eastern Dakota component at site 21CW0015; no mention of archeological justification for the Eastern Dakota component could be found in Mn/OSA files nor in any reports from past archeological investigations at the site.

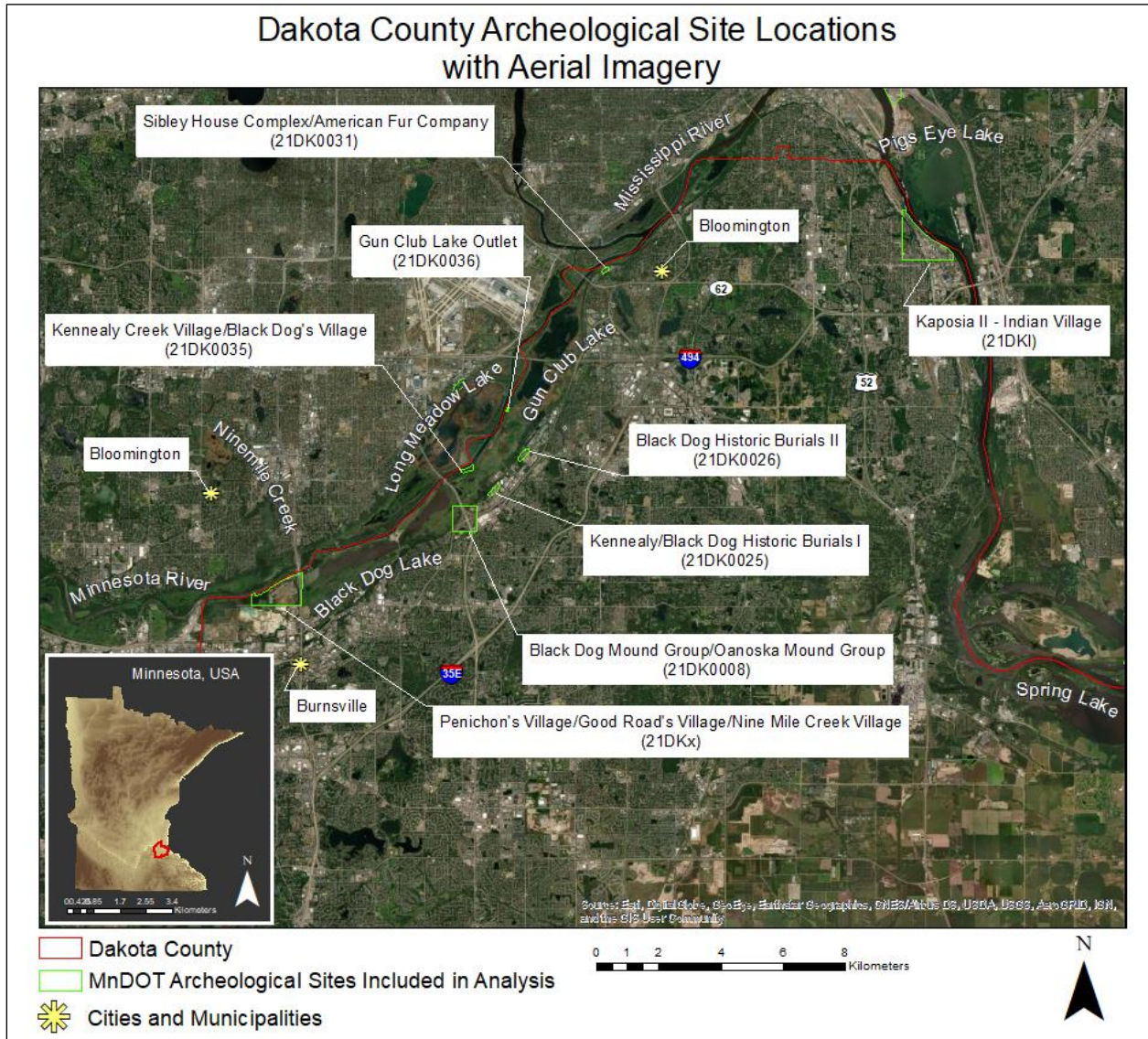


Map 5.7 – Aerial imagery of site 21CW0015.

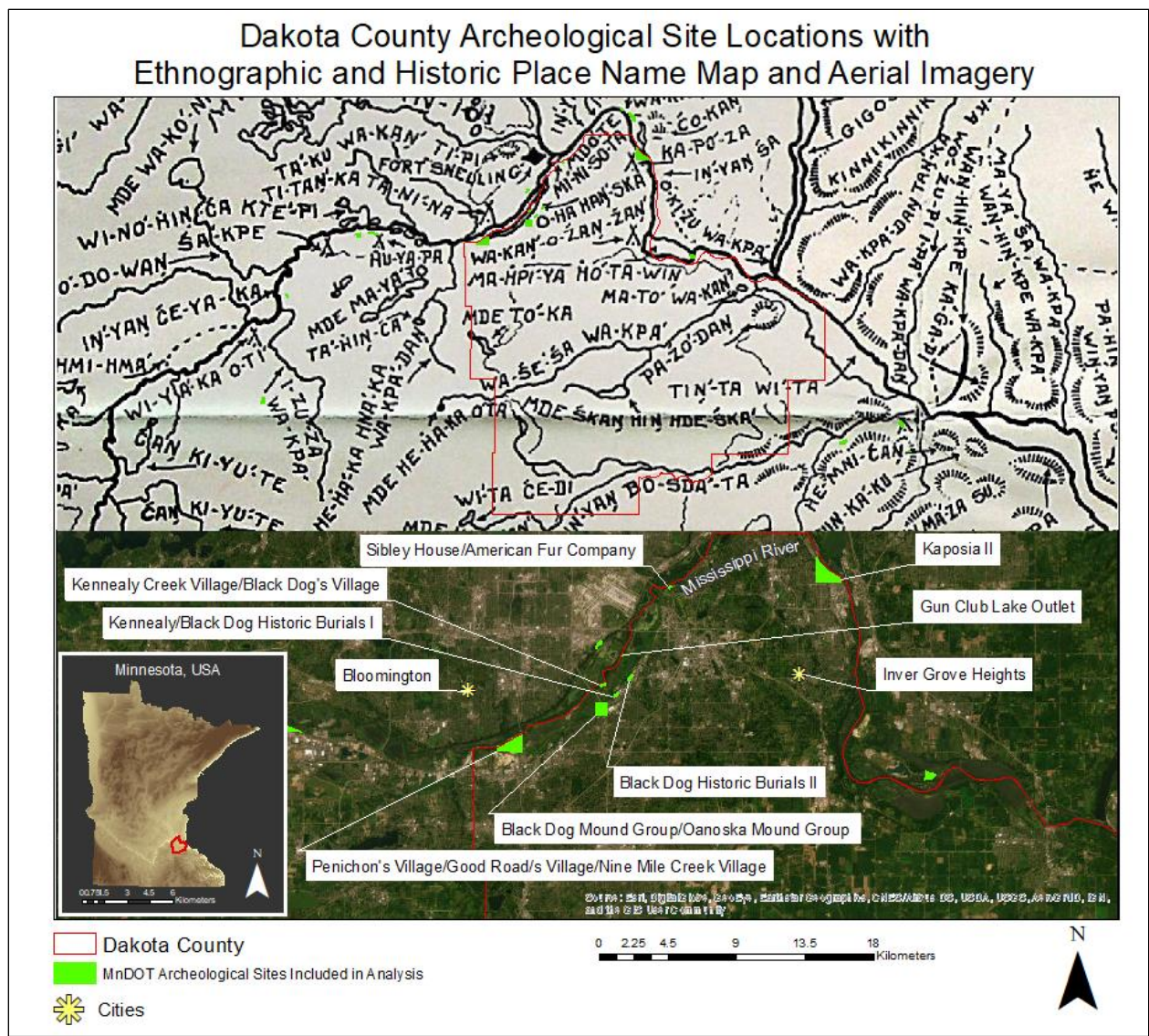
DAKOTA COUNTY

Although an extensive overview of known historic Dakota villages is laid out in preceding chapters, in order to streamline the discussion of the following archeological sites, an additional general background of Dakota history as it relates to the archeological record (and Dakota belief systems) in the area of what is now Dakota County is first provided, as the information

subsequently discussed is pertinent to the understanding of the dynamics of the subsequent sites included in this analysis.



Map 5.8 – Aerial imagery map of Dakota County and the archeological sites that were included in this analysis.



Map 5.9 – Aerial imagery map (bottom) and Durand’s (top) adapted ethnohistoric map (top) of Dakota County and the archeological sites in it which are included in this analysis.

Ohanska – Black Dog Village – The closest Eastern Dakota village to *Haha Mdote* (Fort Snelling⁶⁴), at a distance of about four miles, was the *Šunka Sapa* or “Black Dog” village known as *Ohanska*⁶⁵ – “the village of the long avenue” – (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 350, 436; Westerman and White 2012: 126), and which was situated near the long bottomland lake which ran parallel to

⁶⁴ Fort Snelling was also referred to as *Çonkaške* - “a fence, an enclosure; a fort” - (Durand 1994: 14; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 103).

⁶⁵ According to Stephen Riggs’ translation: *o'-hanj* - a straight place in a river [*o- hanj* - to do, to work], *ska* - white; clear; pure in any respect (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 350, 353, 436; Westerman and White 2012: 126).

the *Mini Sota Wakpa* (Minnesota River) from this village to its mouth (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994: 83; Westerman and White 2012: 126). According to Dakota oral history, the village of *Ohąska* originated just prior to 1800 with the departure of *Wapahsa* and *Tataŋkamani* (Walking Buffalo, the Red Wing leader) from the village of *Titaŋka Taŋnina* (the Little Crow village) located below the mouth of *Takokipa Šni Wožupi Wakpadaŋ* (Nine Mile Creek) (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994: 82; Peterson and LaBatte 2023; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Westerman and White 2012). The remaining villagers at *Ohąska* apparently split again, with some staying with their new chief, *Le Fils de Penichon* at *Titaŋka Taŋnina*, while the others crossed the river under *Šuŋka Sapa* (the Black Dog chief) (Durand 1994: 83). Although the *Šuŋka Sapa* village of *Ohąska* was apparently occupied until the removal of the Dakota to reservations in the mid- to late-19th century, there is evidence that suggests that the village was moved from the terrace adjacent to *Mni Sota Wakpa* to the southeast, which makes verification, and archeological investigations, more difficult/less certain.

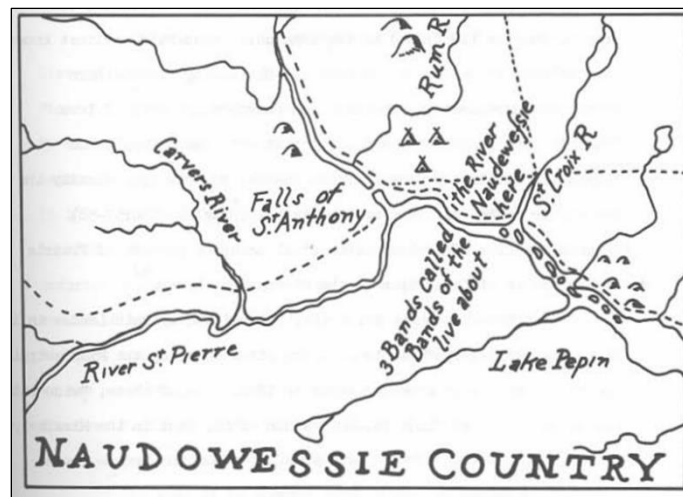


Figure 5.3 – A redrawn portion of “A Plan of Captain Carvers Travels in the Interior Parts of North America in 1766 and 1767” (Carver 1956: 17 [Birk 1973: 15]).

Located to the west of the site(s) of the *Šuŋka Sapa* village of *Ohąska* is *Oheyawahi* – “the place much visited” – or Pilot Knob, known to have been an Eastern Dakota burial place,

and which Dakota oral tradition states is a sacred place, as the health-giving medicine *Wakaŋ Wačipi* ceremony was sometimes performed on the hill (Westerman and White 2012). Because *Oheyawahi* is a sacred site located within the sacred district of *Mdote*, permanent or seasonal villages were not placed here; according to Dakota elder *Ta Šuŋka Wakinyan Ohitika* Christ Leith, “such places served as cemeteries *because* they were sacred (Westerman and White 2012: 187; emphasis added). Also nearby, overlooking the Fort Snelling prairie is a small hill known to Dakota people as *Taku Wakaŋ Tipi* – “dwelling place of the relatives⁶⁶” – which Dakota people believe to be one of the abodes of *Uŋktehi*, the Dakota spirit or deity of the waters and underworld, as within that hill, “A tunnel led from this hill to the Minnesota River permitting easy passage. The caverns under St. Anthony falls were another of his habitations which were constructed of iron” (Durand 1994: 86).

21DK0008 – Black Dog Mound Group

The Black Dog Mound Group (21DK0008) is an earthwork and cemetery site situated on a terrace above the *Mini Sota Wakpa*; it originally consisted of 104 hemispherical and three elongated burial mounds, and when first mapped by Lewis and Hill in 1881, the remains of 14 others were also visible (Winchell 1911: 177-179). The burial mounds at 21DK0008 are one of three mound groupings which have been determined to have been associated with the village of *Ohanška* and the Eastern Dakota *Šuŋka Sapa* chiefs. The other two mound groups are 21DK0025 – Kennealy/Black Dog Historic Burials and 21DK0026 – Black Dog Historic Burials II.

Although it is not possible to identify an Eastern Dakota component at 21DK0008 based on

⁶⁶ *Taku Wakaŋ Tipi* is often translated as “dwelling place of the gods” or “dwelling place of the spirits” (Durand 1994: 86; Westerman and White 2012: 92), and which is also written with incorrect accents below the “T” and “k” by Westerman and White (2012), which is somewhat correct and is a translation likely understood by Dakota people. However, where these translations are incorrect is with the meaning of the word “*Taku*,” which Stephen Riggs translates as meaning “something” or “a relative, kindred” (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 455). Hence, the translation given above.

archeological data, non-archeological data suggests that the site does in fact have an Eastern Dakota cultural affiliation.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: The Black Dog Mound Group (21DK0008) was initially mapped by Theodore H. Lewis and Alfred J. Hill in 1881 during the Northwestern Archaeological Survey (NWAS) (Lewis, Notebook 1, pp. 39-43; Winchell 1911: 177-179). While Lewis recorded them in NW ¼ of Section 19, Township 27N and Range 23W, when Winchell (1888) visited the site later, he mapped the location of the mounds in E ½ and SW ¼ of Section 19, Township 27N and Range 23W. While it is unclear at the time this analysis was conducted if these discrepancies in the initial mappings of the mound locations were ever resolved, a field check of 21DK0008 conducted in 1973 due to its imminent danger to the site from construction activities that were part of the 1974 Minnesota Trunk Highway Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey (MNTHARS) discovered that all the 104 mounds at 21DK0008 had been completely destroyed by cultivation and highway and building construction (Peterson 1975).

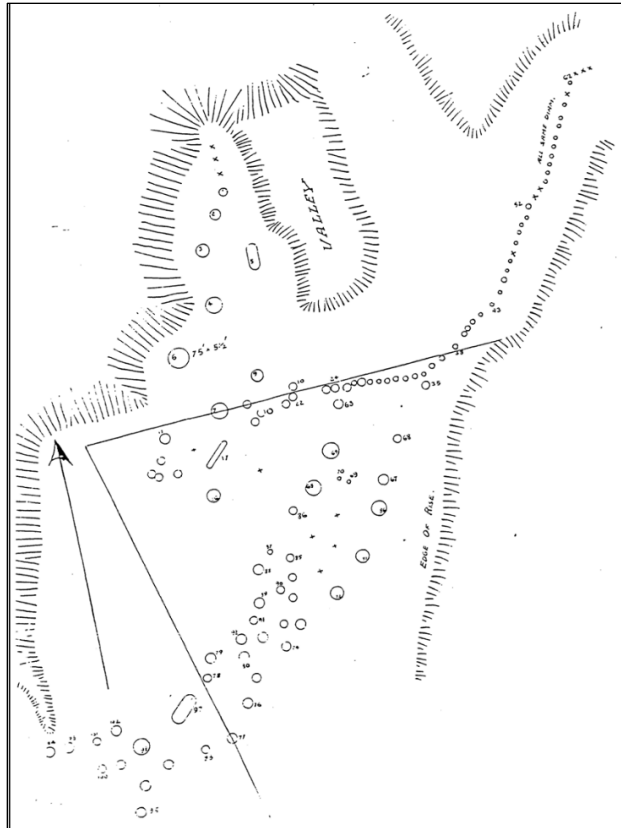
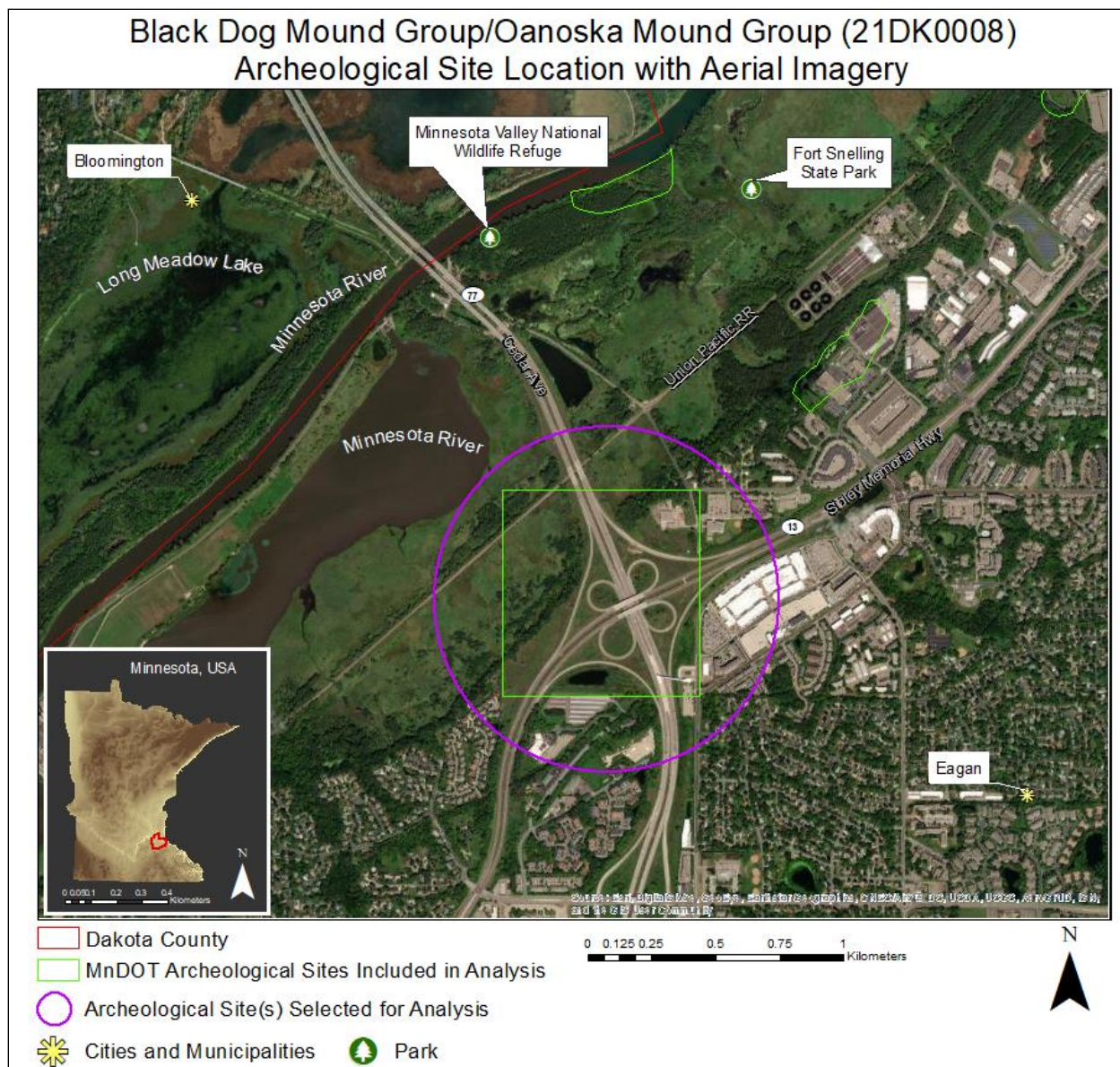


Figure 5.4 – Black Dog Mound Group (21DK0008), mapped by T. H. Lewis and A. J. Hill in 1881 (Winchell 1911: 179). “While parallel with the bluff, and with the direction of the group, these elongated mounds are disposed apparently at random amongst the circular mounds” (Winchell 1911: 179).

Due to loss of site integrity and little or no cultural interpretive potential, consultations between the Highway Archeologist and the State Archeologist determined that “...this disturbed site should not be a total restraint to highway constructions activities if this alternative is chosen as the most feasible” (Peterson 1975: 30). However, since the area of 21DK0008 is still regarded as a Native American (Eastern Dakota) cultural site the Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission (MIAC) and local tribal council were consulted to gain the opinions of local tribal councils on the matter. The MHS was to still keep MIAC and local tribal councils informed of developments in construction plans which would affect the site (Peterson 1975).



***21DK0025 – Kennealy/Black Dog Historic Burials I**

The Kennealy/Black Dog Historic Burials I (21DK0025) are an historic (ca. 1750s-1852) Dakota cemetery site located on the brow of a bluff adjacent to the *Mini Sota Wakpa* at its confluence with *Çokaŋ Haŋska* (Black Dog Creek). This was also one of the eight bands of the *Mdewakantowŋ* villages on the Mississippi and Lower Minnesota Rivers in the 19th century, and in 1834 was under the leadership of *Wamdi Taŋka* – “Big Eagle” (Durand 1994; S. Pond

1986 [1908]). Two “historic” or coffin burial sites are also associated with the village of *Ohąńska* (21DK0025 and 21DK0026).

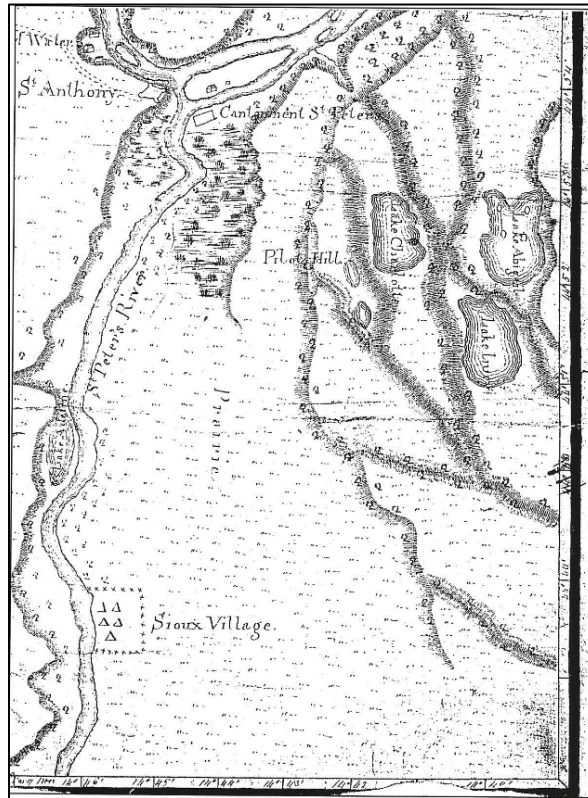


Figure 5.5 – Portion of a map entitled “A Topographical View of the site of Fort St. Anthony at the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peter’s Rivers” showing Sioux Village location in the Black Dog Creek area (unattributed map from Sibley papers, no date [George 1999: 9]).

According to the reports of numerous travelers and historians (Bray and Bray 1993; Long 1978; Keating et al. 1824; Riggs 2004 [1893]), an historic Dakota settlement was reported to have been in the general vicinity of site 21DK0025. However, while there are numerous mentions of the village in these records, and though it was generally described as having been on the south bank of the *Mni Sota Wakpa* about four to six miles above the mouth of the river, “its exact location has remained questionable” (Peterson 1978: 101). This Black Dog village is said to have been occupied by a band of at least 200 *Mdewakąŋtoŋwaŋ* Dakota from ca. 1800 until their removal after the 1851 Treaty of Mendota, and it is probable that during its existence, “this

village would have occupied different segments of the valley and surrounding terraces” (Peterson 1978: 101).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: The burials at 21DK0025 were discovered in response to an inquiry from a concerned local resident; consultation between the Minnesota Department of Transportation (MnDOT) and the contractor for an ongoing private construction project “revealed that a one million cubic yard gravel pit and pit disposal area was being planned in the area of the recorded Black Dog Village and Burial Site” (Peterson 1978: 99). Although the construction negotiations were between the contractor and a private landowner, due to the massive nature of the proposed excavation (1800 x 1500 x 20-30 feet deep), proximity to recorded historic site data, and a review of historical and archeological records revealed an historic Dakota Sioux settlement generally described as Black Dog’s Village was reported to be in the general location of this project area, further investigations were carried out in February 1977 to assess potential impacts of the project (Peterson 1978: 101). Although approximately 90% of the area in question was found to be sterile of cultural material, during monitoring of construction activity, the remnants of a burial pit, human bones, and cultural associations were noted by archeologists within 30 meters of the original 1943 burial discovery, along with six more burial areas and two loci of scattered human bone fragments; the remains of at least 11 individuals were found in the seven defined burial areas (Figure 5.6). After more than six months of negotiations between all parties involved – representatives of Minnesota Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, Minnesota Indian Affairs Intertribal Board, Minnesota State Archaeologist, Minnesota Historical Society, State Historic Preservation Office, and the contractor – the MHS offered to aid the Indian Affairs office to conduct excavations to effect a salvage disinterment of the endangered human burials at the Black Dog site.

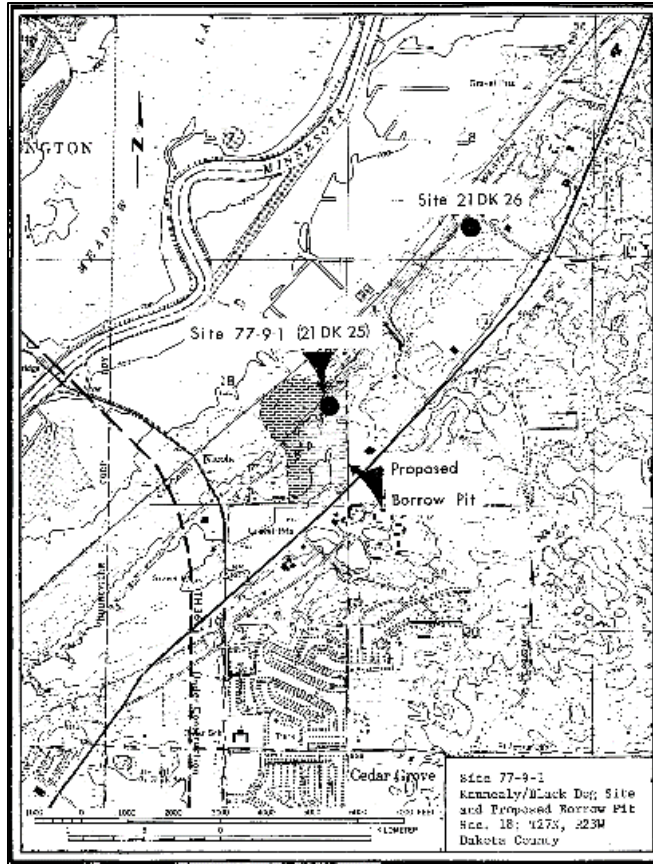


Figure 5.6 – Location of the proposed borrow and spoil area affecting site 77-9-1 (21DK0025), Kennealy/Black Dog Burials (Peterson 1978: 100).

Salvage excavations of the sand pit, which were carried out by Lloyd A. Wilford of the University of Minnesota “with the primary goal of locating all endangered human remains to ensure reburial in a secure location” (Peterson 1978: 105), resulted in the discovery of four historic coffin burials determined to have Native American cultural affiliations. The burials contained numerous trade artifacts of Euro-American manufacture – items of adornment: glass and bone beads, German silver brooches, and bracelets; household goods: tin pans, pewter spoons and ceramic bowls; as well as parts of weapons such as knives and gunflints – which suggested interment during the occupation of Black Dog’s village (Peterson 1978: 105), and the recorded deposition of human remains within the wooden coffins aided in narrowing the probable date of the burials to the period when Christian burial practices were introduced by

missionaries in 1834 (S. Pond 1940: 273) and tribal removal in about 1854. During this period, both traditional Dakota scaffold burial techniques and Christian interment were practiced (S. Pond 1908: 478).

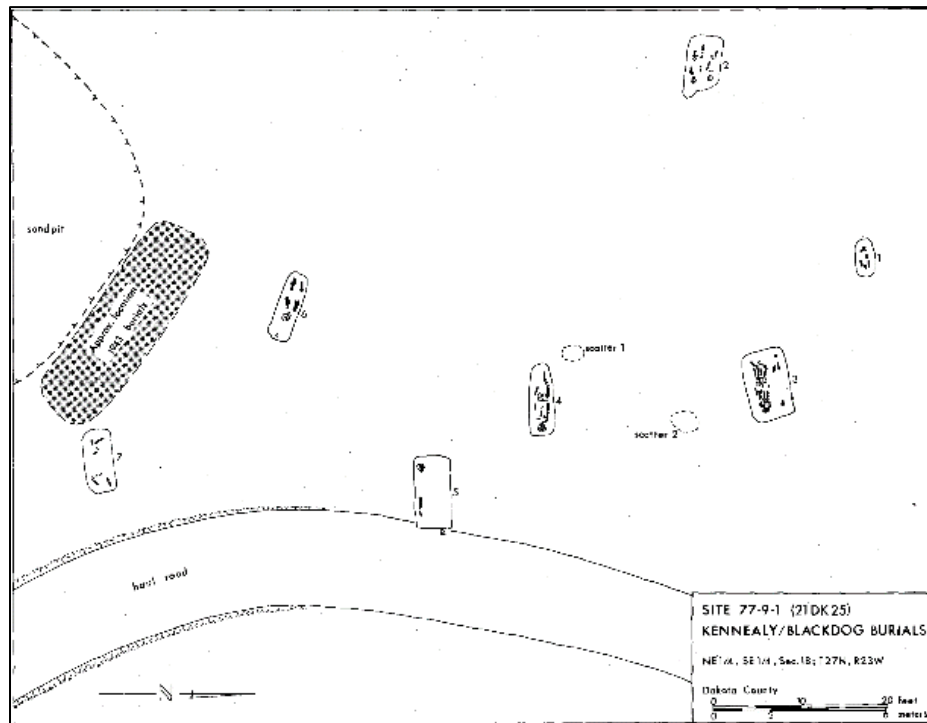
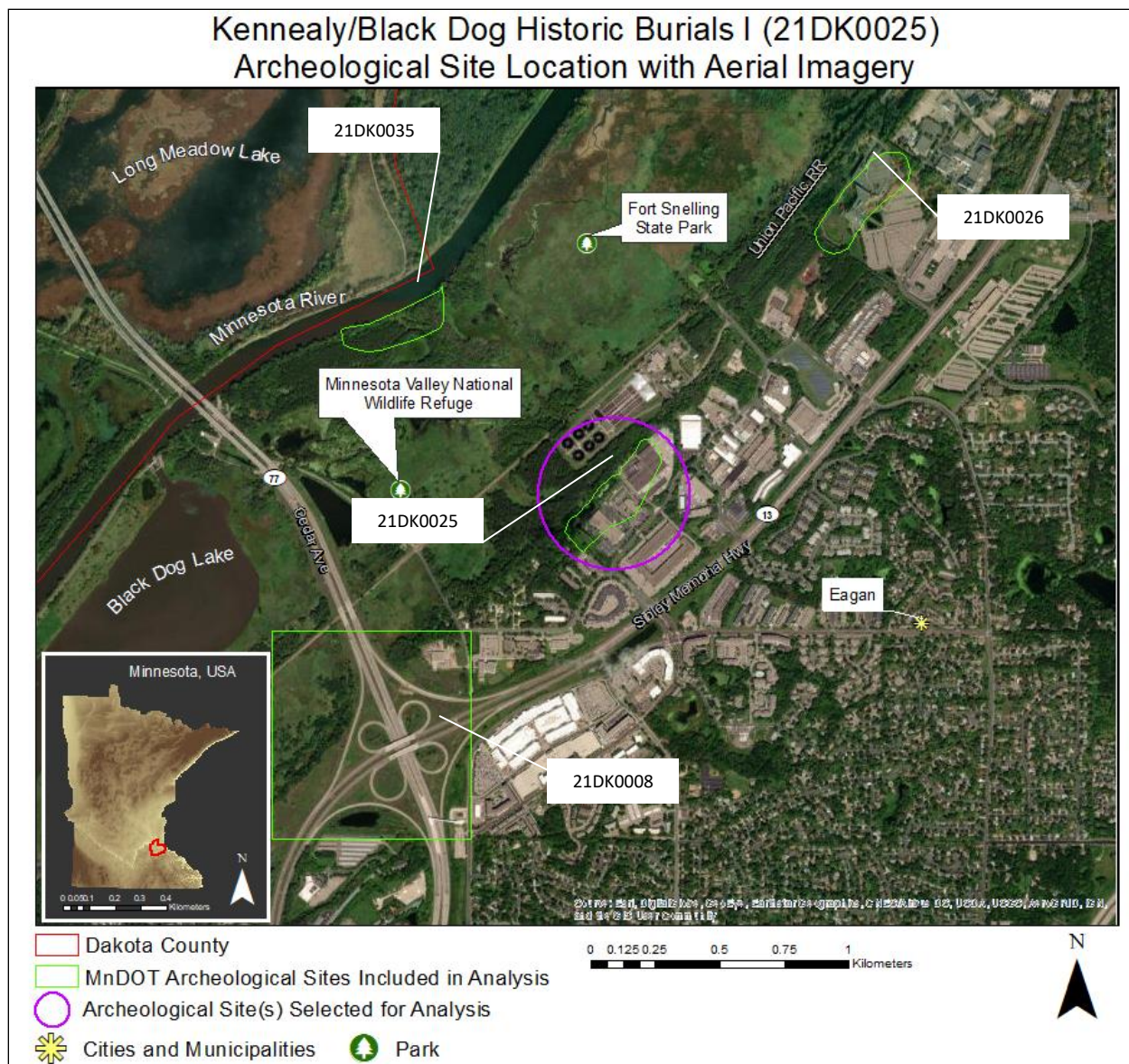


Figure 5.7 – The six additional burials and two loci of scattered human bone fragments revealed following completion of mechanically stripped remaining ca. 30-meter square zone between documented burials at 21DK00025 (Peterson 1978: 104).

All skeletal remains and associated materials were returned to the Indian Affairs Board following cataloguing and to allow reburial due to the relatively secure definition of these human remains as representatives of the historic *Mdewakantowwan* Eastern Dakota band (Peterson 1978: 105). In September 1977, the remains were reburied with appropriate observations at the Lower Sioux Indian Community.



Map 5.11 – Aerial imagery of site 21DK0025.

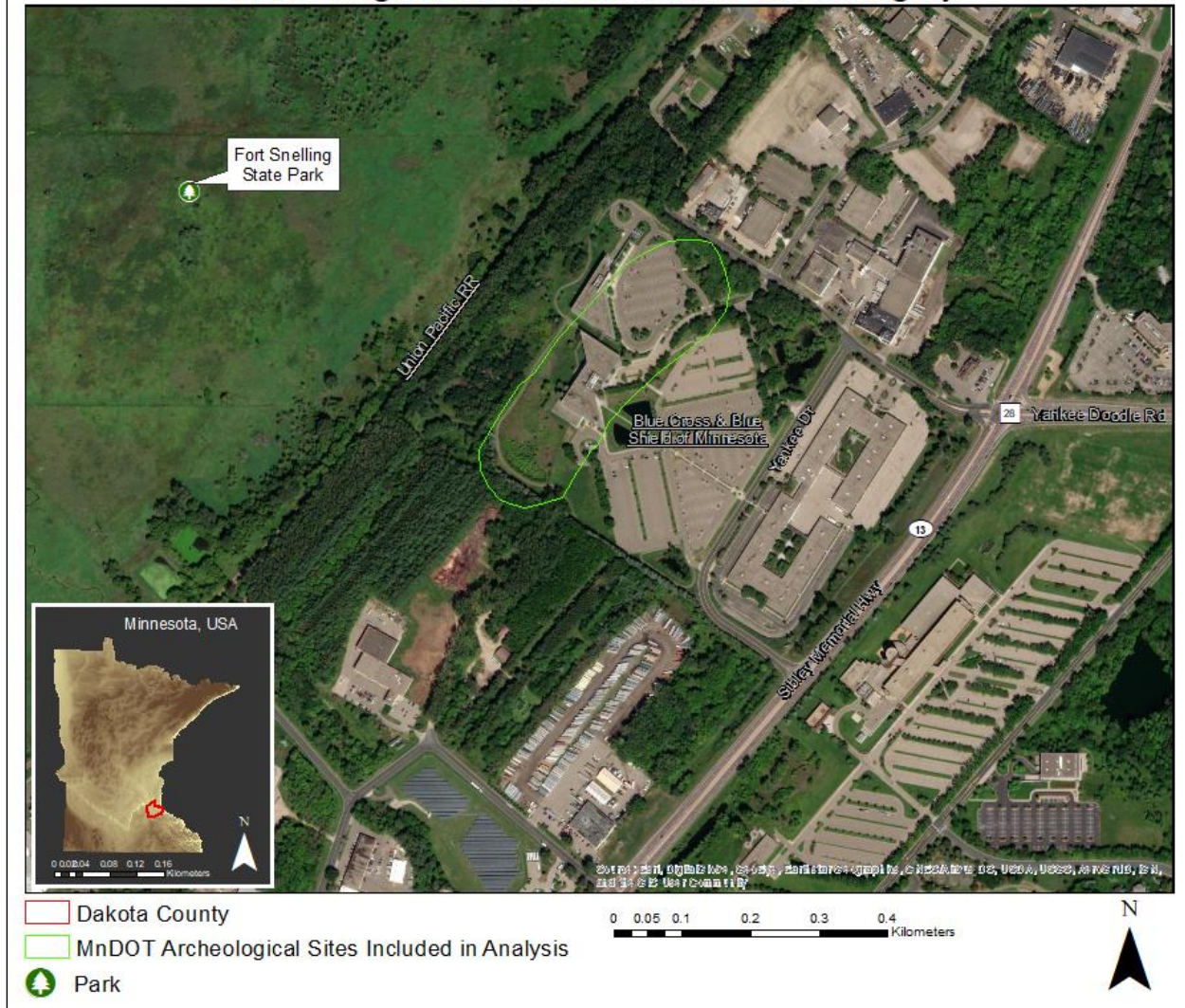
***21DK0026 – Black Dog Historic Burials II**

The Black Dog Historic Burials II site (21DK0026) is an historic burial site which has been determined to have been associated with the village of *Mdewakantowyan* Eastern Dakota (ca. 1820-1855) Chief Black Dog, *Waymdi Tanka*, who had his village about the lake bearing his name (Anderson 1997; Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Westerman and White 2012). 21DK0026 is one of three burial sites (including 21DK0008 and 21DK0025), and

one of two historic burial sites (21DK0025) associated with Black Dog's village, *Šuŋka Sapa* situated on the *Mini Sota Wakpa* (Mn/OSA Files).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: Salvage excavations were conducted at the Black Dog Historic Burials II site (21DK0026) by the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS) in 1968, which resulted in the recovery of skeletal remains and artifacts, and “The historic materials and burial modes suggest that these burials probably also represent inhabitants of Black Dog's Village who had been interred during the same period [1834-1854] as those noted above” (Peterson 1978: 102). Very little information was found in archeological records or reports about what artifacts were recovered during these excavations, only that human and animal remains were found, as well as “floral” biological remains, glass, metal, gunflint, and a bone tool, and exotic materials included Catlinite and “Ocr” (MNSU-Mankato Archeology Lab Excel document, "Archaeology 10-22-2020"). These remains and artifacts were re-buried in 1988 (Peterson 1978: 102).

Black Dog Historic Burials II (21DK0026)
 Archeological Site Location with Aerial Imagery



Map 5.12 – Aerial imagery of site 21DK0026.

***21DK0031 – Sibley House Complex/American Fur Company (overlaps with 21DK0017)**

The Sibley House Complex site (21DK0031) is a multi-component precontact habitation site, and historic trading post and homestead site that is located in the township of Mendota Heights on two terraces on the south bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, and its confluence with the *Haha Wakpa*. Located within the boundaries of the Mendota Historic District, which is also listed on the NRHP, 21DK0031 is best known for the Euro-American trading post and homestead

components at the site, which has generally been the focus of most archeological investigations at the site (Peterson et al. 1991: 375). However, historic records show that 21DK0031 also has an historic Eastern Dakota habitation component, and archeological investigations conducted by MHS archeologists have resulted in the identification of Dakota components, as well as those of other Native Americans, at the site (Birk 1993; Clouse 1996; Lothson 1986; Radford and George 1993), though elaboration on or details pertaining to the Eastern Dakota component at 21DK0031 are essentially never discussed in archeological reports of past investigations.

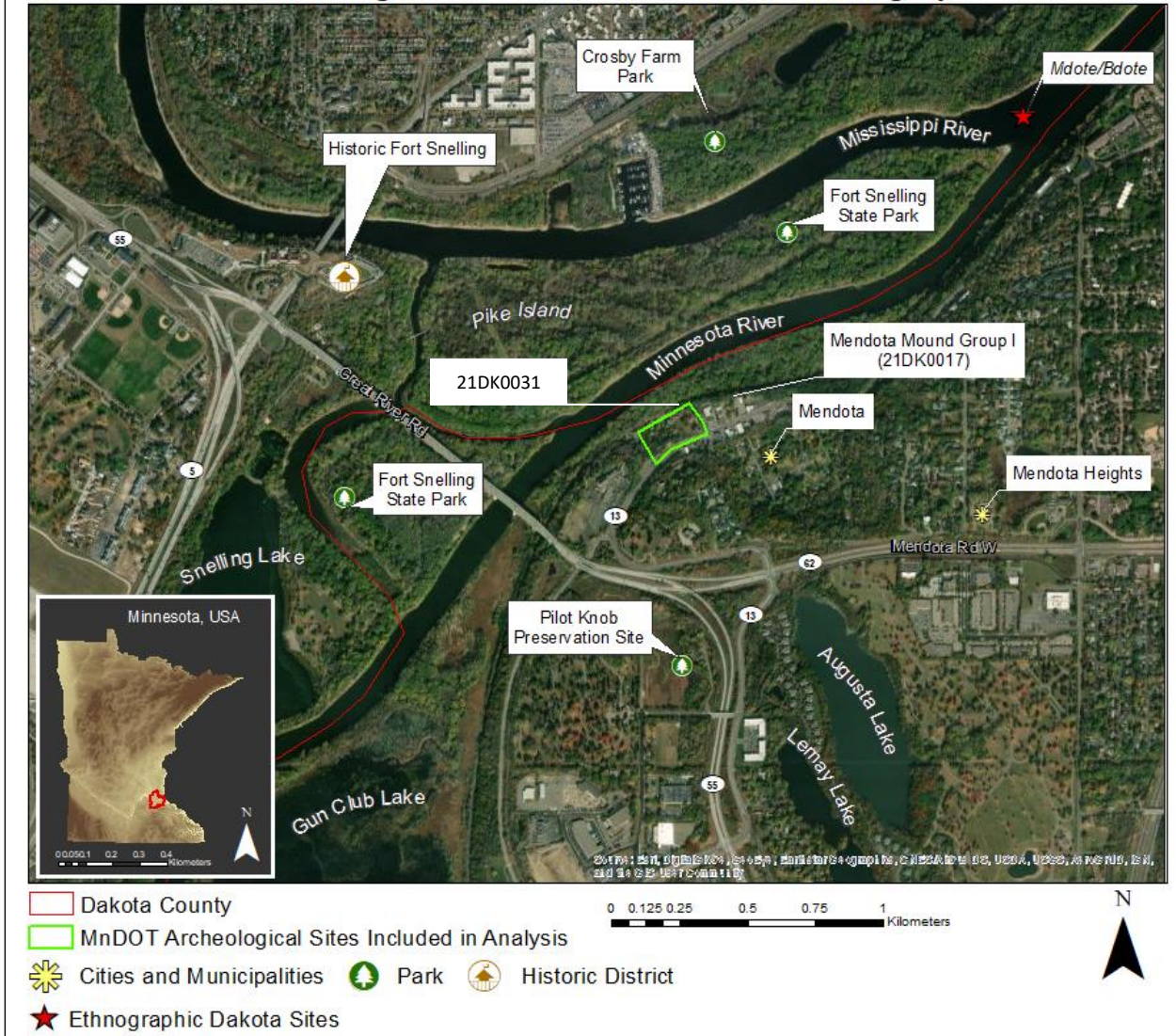
21DK0031 overlaps with the Mendota Mound Group I (21DK0017) which was first surveyed by Theodore H. Lewis in October 1882 for the NWAS, when he mapped a group of eight conical earthen mounds along the edge of the upper terrace (Winchell 1911: 174-175). Based on published ethnographic records, it may be that the burial mounds of 21DK0017 were once associated with the village of *Mdewakantowwan* Eastern Dakota cub-chief *Wakan Ožanžan* – “Medicine Bottle” – a sub-band under Little Crow that was located at Pine Bend (Bray and Bray 1993).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: Construction and commercial development have been a persistent threat to 21DK0031, and historic site construction has resulted in localized disturbance to the precontact occupation component of the site (21DK0031 Mn/OSA Files). The remains of several extinct historic structures and some which are in ruins are contained within the Sibley House Complex (21DK0031). In 1993, under contract with the Sibley House Association (SHA), Douglas A. Birk of the Institute for Minnesota Archaeology (IMA) carried out investigations at 21DK0031 at the recommendation of the Minnesota SHPO due to the potential for activities carried out stabilization purposes to impact subsurface cultural deposits at the site (Birk 1993). A small amount of deeply buried lithic debitage, possibly

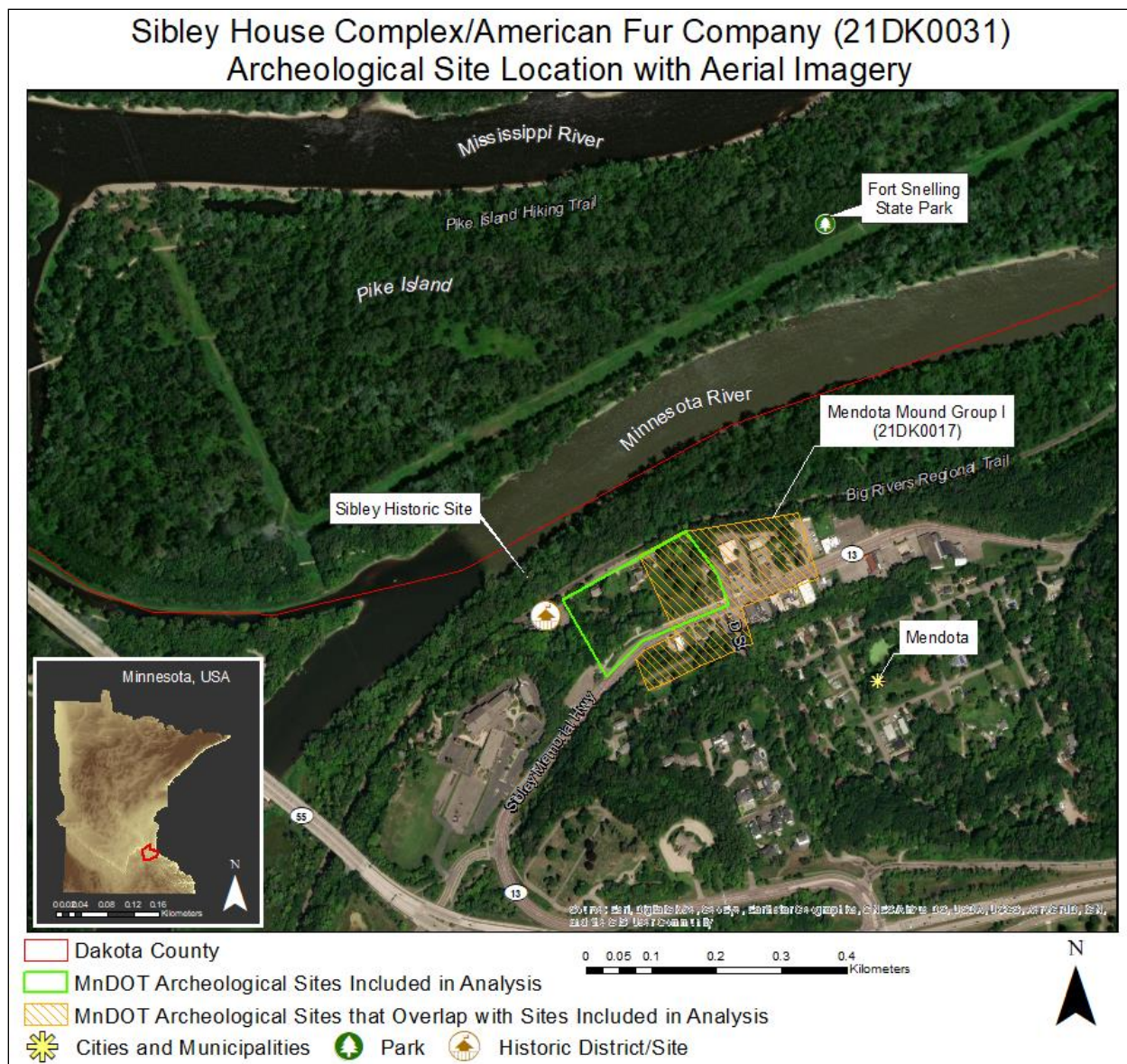
representative of a Middle Woodland component, was recovered, which strongly suggested “that the brick house area of the lower terrace at 21DK31 contains a precontact North American Indian component,” which may have been contemporaneous, and associated, with the earthen mounds on the upper terrace (Birk 1993). All other cultural materials found during this investigation were classified as historic “Sibley-related” contexts (ibid.).

David Clouse’s work at the site in 1995 and 1996 for the MHS determined that 21DK0031 is a well-stratified site, and that it contains identifiable horizons associated with 19th century occupations and the American fur trade, later historic period occupations, and four different occupations – Late Archaic, Middle Woodland, Transitional Middle-Late Woodland, and Late Woodland – which were “related to the heritage of pre-contact Native Americans” (Clouse 1996: 5). The Sibley House Complex site (21DK0031) has been interpreted as part of the historic Eastern Dakota village of *Ohanyska* (Black Dog village) (George 1999). However, while some of the Native American artifacts are undoubtedly related to historic Dakota life around 21DK0031, since Euro-American people were living there at the same time, likely for trade purposes, sorting out which artifacts represent whose past is difficult. That said, it is probable that Dakota-related artifacts may be found some distance from the Sibley house, “so perhaps the evidence would be an area of low artifact concentration between a concentration at the house and somewhere else, where the tipis were set up” (Schirmer 2022, personal communication).

Sibley House Complex/American Fur Company (21DK0031) Archeological Site Location with Aerial Imagery



Map 5.13 – Aerial imagery of site 21DK0031.



Map 5.14 – Aerial imagery of site 21DK0031 with the archeological site that is contained within it, the Mendota Mound Group I site (21DK0017).

***21DK0035 – Kennealy Creek Village Site**

Located in a formerly plowed field on a terrace on the east side of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* at the outlet of *Çokañ Hañska* (Black Dog Creek), the Kennealy Creek Village site (21DK0035) is a multi-component artifact scatter, suggestive of a habitation site, which has a documented Eastern Dakota component (Radford and George 1993). It has been suggested that, based on the recovery of 1850s Dakota village materials and the proximity of the site to the suspected location of Black

Dog Village, 21DK0035 appeared, “as documented in historical accounts,” to be related to *Ohaŋska* (Black Dog village) (Radford and Foss 2018: 6). Additionally, site 21DK0035 was deemed to have excellent research potential for cultural assimilation studies related to Dakota adoption of 19th century Euro-American material culture and possibly for studies of 19th century Dakota settlement (Radford and George 1993). “It’s a good indicator of what historic Dakota stuff would look like. And again, begs the question of how to distinguish Dakota and Euro sites of the same time period. Probably by whether or not there are brick fragments, but who knows?” (Schirmer 2022, personal communication).

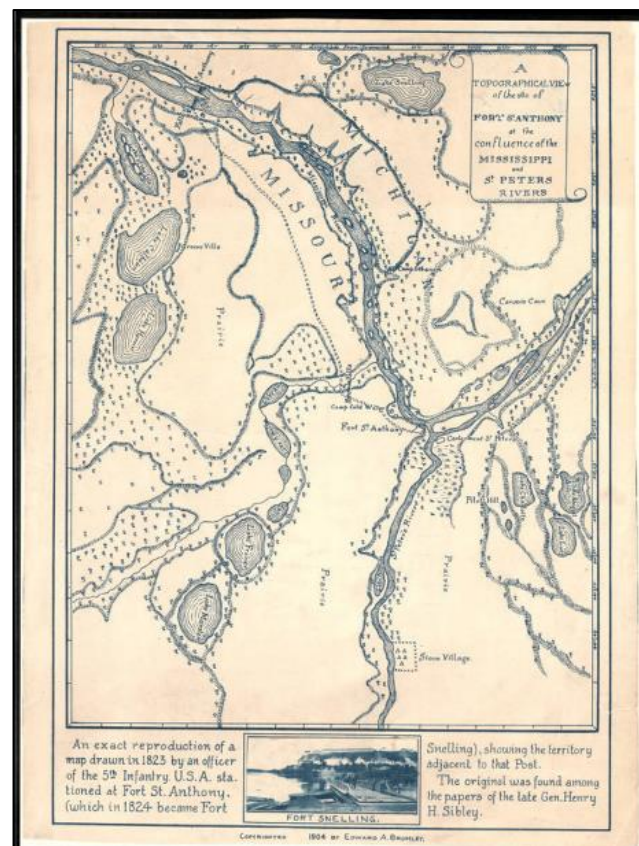
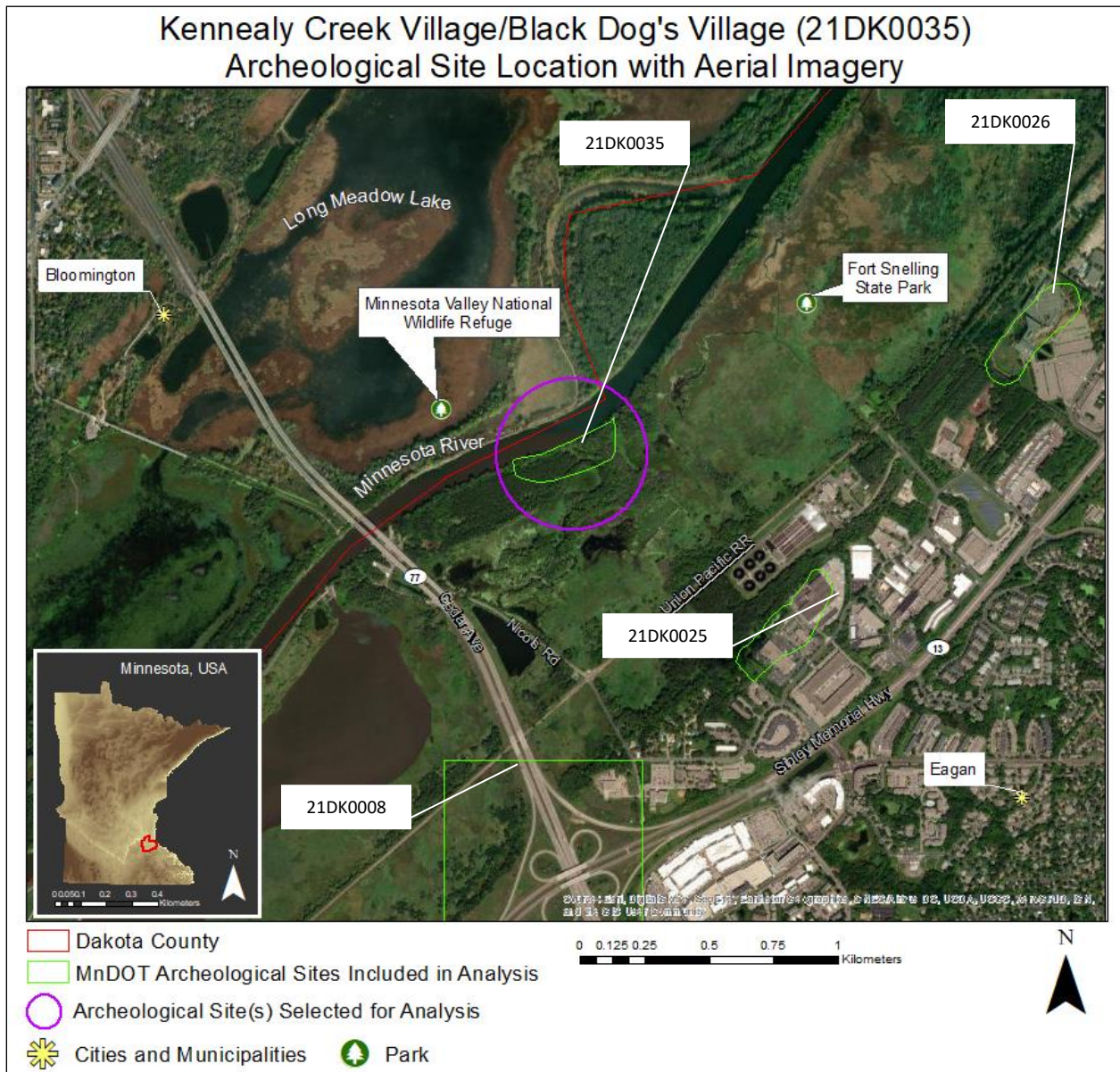


Figure 5.8 – Map entitled “A Topographical View of the site of Fort St. Anthony at the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peter’s Rivers” showing Sioux Village location in the Black Dog Creek area (unattributed map in the Minnesota State Archives from Henry H. Sibley papers, no date [George 1999]).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: Theodore H. Lewis made note of the habitation site during his survey of the area for the NWAS in 1881 (Winchell 1911), though it

was officially documented in 1991 as “an early nineteenth-century habitation identified as a Dakota occupation” (George 1999: 4) during a MSPATCRMP reconnaissance survey carried out for the construction of a MnDNR multiple use trail (Radford and George 1993). Unfortunately, cultivation at and around the area of 21DK0035, and erosion along both *Çokanç Haņska* and the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, has resulted in soil disturbance, and the development of a park trail through the site has significantly disturbed site 21DK0035.



Map 5.15 – Aerial imagery of site 21DK0035.

***21DK0036 – Gun Club Lake Outlet**

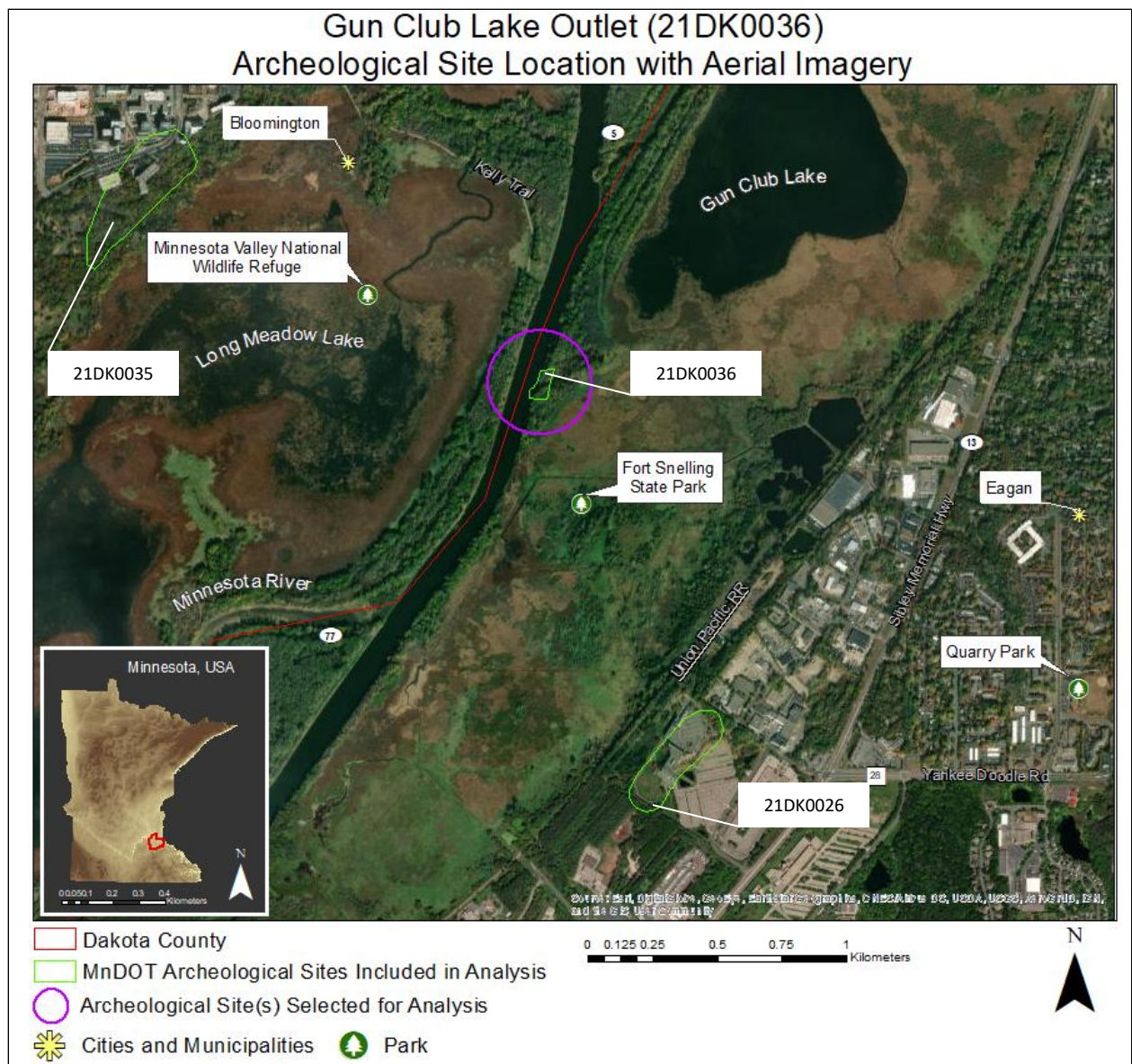
The Gun Club Lake Outlet site (21DK0036) consists of a contact period artifact scatter with a documented Eastern Dakota component. The site is located on a floodplain on the south bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, which forms the northern edge of the site. Due to proximity to known Eastern Dakota sites in the region (21DK0008, 21DK0025, 21DK0026, 21DK0035, 21DK1, and 21DKx), it can be inferred that the site has similar cultural affiliations to those sites located near 21DK0036. 21DK0036 is located near a small island, *Wita Wakpaŋ* – “sacred island” – on the right/south bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, slightly upstream from the present-day Mendota bridge, and it was here that Henry Sibley quarried stone for his trading post (Durand 1994: 116). According to Gary Cavender,

Because of the topography of the land and because of the coming together of two great rivers (Minnesota and Mississippi) it is called ‘Mdote’ or the throat of the waters, and they named a town after it—Mendota—although it is pronounced altogether different...In our Creation myth we the Dakota, the Seven Fires of the Dakota, came from the belt of Orion—the seven planets of the belt of Orion, the seven stars—and arrived at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers, and so in some respects it is our Eden, and the land around there is sacred as well (qtd. in Westerman and White 2012: 213, sidebar).

Located on the right/south bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* near 21DK0036 and the mouth of the brook between Mendota and St. Paul at present-day Lilydale is another Dakota place name site known as *Siha Haŋska Wakpadaŋ* – “longfoot creek” – which Dakota oral history states takes its name from a Dakota man, Longfoot, who was killed along with his wife near the location by the Ojibwe (Durand 1994: 81). While the significance of whom Longfoot and his wife were to Dakota peoples or what happened to them is unclear in available ethnographic sources, the fact that their deaths were profound enough to become a part of Dakota oral history is pertinent to this research, as the event or people was/were of such significance that they not only did they become a part of Eastern Dakota oral tradition and history and resulted in the establishment of a

Dakota place name for the site where their deaths occurred. Thus, *Siha Haŋska Wakpadaŋ* is an example of the fact that “environment” is a broad term that not only encompasses what is traditionally thought of as “natural resources,” but also geographic features, places where events occurred, etc., and that “these lands are more sacred because of the history, because of the myth” (Gary Cavendar, qtd. in Westerman and White 2012: 213).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: A surface examination along the eroded riverbank carried out in 1993 by MHS for DNR State Parks led to the discovery of artifacts in the water (21DK0036 Mn/OSA Files), and it was determined that the site consists of an artifact scatter (Blondo and Reiners 2018). No other investigations have been documented for the site.



Map 5.16 – Aerial imagery of site 21DK0036.

***21DK1 – Kaposia II (contains 21DK0010; overlaps w/ 21DK0026)**

The Kaposia II site (21DK1) is an alpha site with a documented Eastern Dakota component that is part of a historic district that also contains the Grand Avenue Mound Group (21DK0010) and the Silk Mounds (21DK0016) and has been inferred to have been a Dakota basecamp. Both 21DK0010 and 21DK0016 are mound sites that formerly contained three and 11 mounds,

respectively, all of which have been destroyed by development, though one mound at 21DK0016 may still exist.

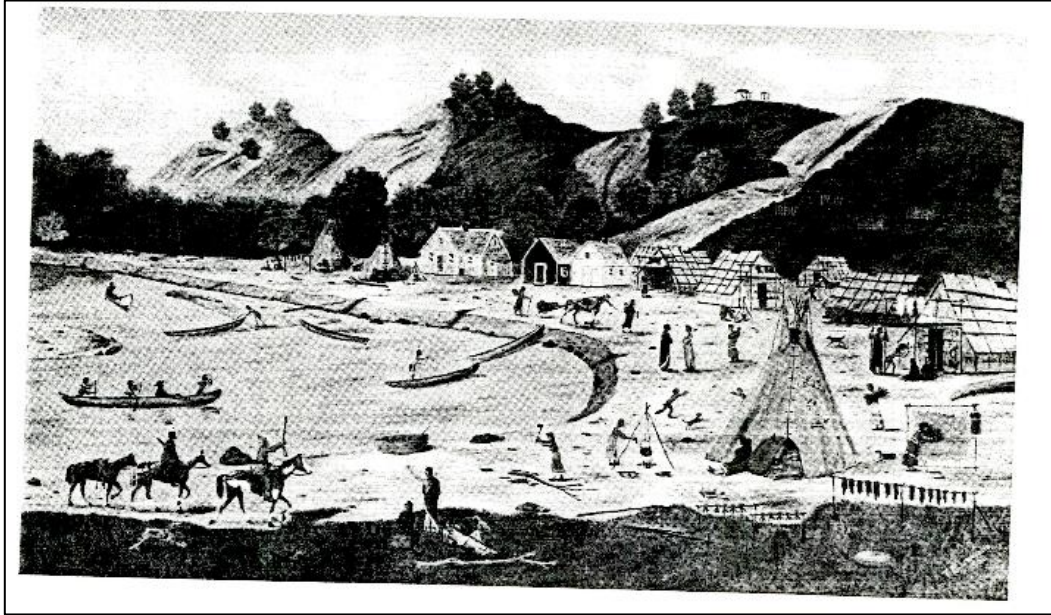


Figure 5.9 – *Kapoza* village circa 1839-1852, drawn sometime in the 1840s by a pioneer artist when the village was located where the Farmers Union Central Exchange was situated in 1963. *Over the Years*, 1963 April, Vol. 111, No. 2, published by the Dakota County Historical Society [21DK1 Mn/OSA file].

Though the location of the Eastern Dakota village of *Kapoza* changed on multiple occasions and for numerous reasons, the Kaposia II site (21DK1) on the western side of the *Haha Wakpa* is known to have been the site of the Little Crow village from 1839-1852. The village of *Kapoza* as it existed at 21DK1 was unique in that not only did Dakota people live there, but missionaries and pioneers as well, and consisted not only of the summer bark lodges and winter teepees of the Dakota, but frame houses for missionaries and voyageurs too. The presence of both traditional Dakota housing and Euro-American frame houses

...can be explained by the fact that Little Crow the Fifth, last chief of the Kaposia band, had received enough education at the Lac qui Parley mission to realize its value and to desire for his people the same opportunity...The frame houses were built as units to carry on this work...places to carry on the tasks of education and the bringing of Christianity to this more or less primitive group (Kuehn 1963: 2).

The burial grounds associated with the village of *Kapoža*, “as in most Indian settlements, were located on the highest points possible” (Lawshe 1956), which at 21DK1 were the bluffs immediately behind the village. A description of the historic Dakota cemetery associated with Kaposia II is provided by an early Euro-American settler.

Our attention before reaching the shore had been attracted by a range of various colored objects elevated on poles about six feet high, extending from tree to tree, on the bluff back of the village. Ascending the hill, which is some two or three hundred feet high, we found it was their cemetery, and the different colors to be boxes, parts of canoes and coffins, covered with red, blue, and other cloths, each containing a dead body; there were thirteen of these, arranged and ornamented according to the taste of these simple people. I observed on one of these scaffolds of the usual size nothing but simply an ornamented Indian cradle. It is said the bodies are kept thus about a year, and then placed on the ground and a roof erected over them, in the manner we saw near by (H. Lewis 1967: 92-93 [original source unknown]).

Although none of the earthworks remain, historic records state that there were four types of burials at Kaposia II – scaffold burials, burials where stakes were driven around the grave “to keep out evil spirits,” Christian burials, and mound burials (Kuehn 1963).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: The remains of the village and burial grounds at 21DK1 have been destroyed by amateur archeological endeavors, as well as by sand and gravel processing activities, which has left little cultural and artifactual materials to be studied due to these destructive nature of past activities at the site. In 1963, some of the remains which had been scavenged from the burial grounds associated with Kaposia II (21DK1) were reinterred out of respect. The Farmers Union Central Exchange also placed a marker on the old Kaposia village site at 21DK1 in commemoration of the historic site.

Kaposia II - Indian Village (21DKI) Archeological Site Location with Aerial Imagery

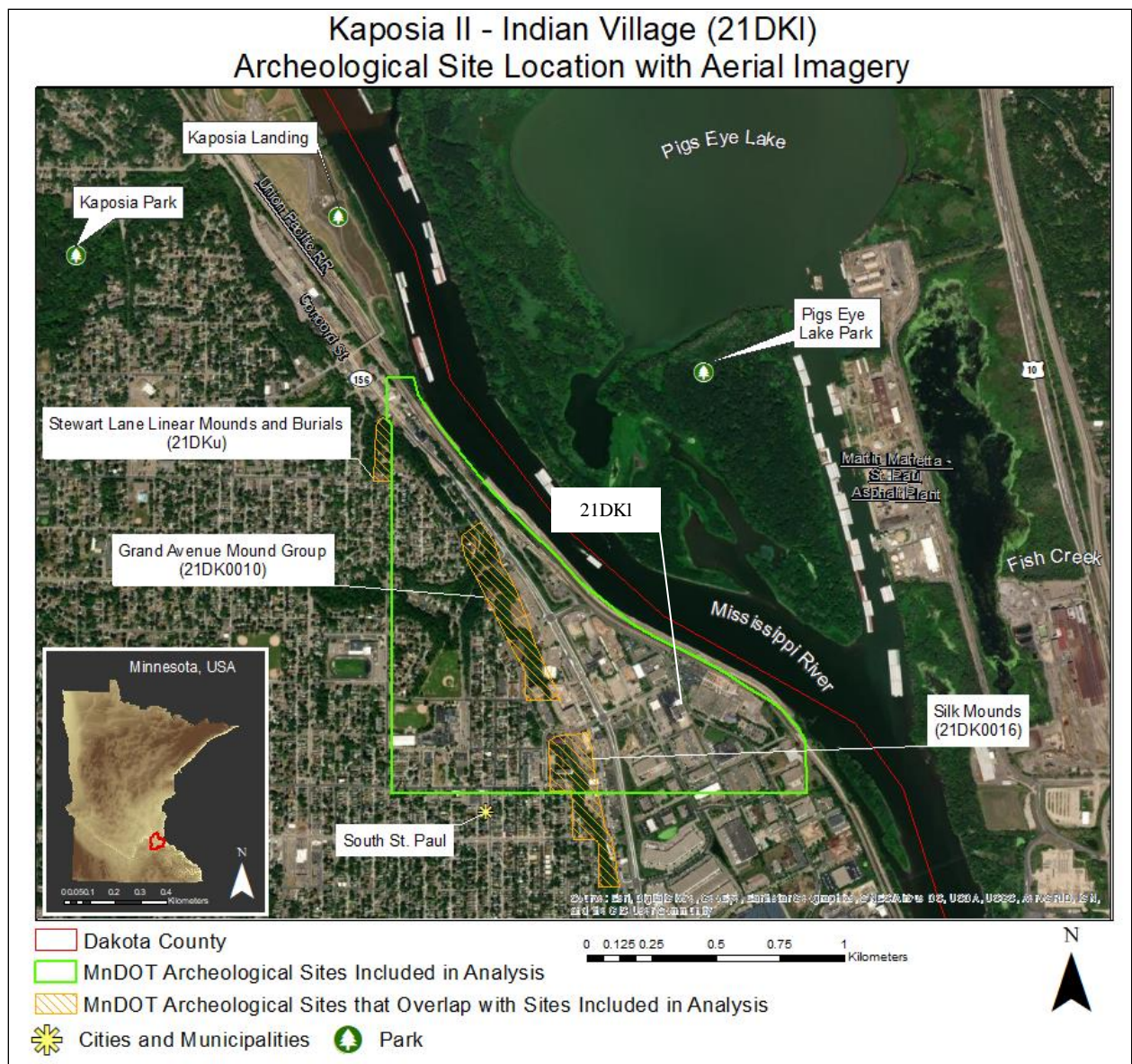


- Dakota County
- MnDOT Archeological Sites Included in Analysis
- Archeological Site(s) Selected for Analysis
- ✱ Cities and Municipalities
- 🌳 Park
- 🏠 Historic District

0 0.5 1 2 3 4
Kilometers



Map 5.17 – Aerial imagery of site 21DKI.



Map 5.18 – Aerial imagery of site 21DKI with the archeological sites that are contained within and/or overlap with it.

***21DKx – Penichon’s Village/Good Road’s Village/Nine Mile Creek Village**

The Penichon Village site (21DKx) is a multi-component site located on the south bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* about seven miles above *Haha Mdote* (Fort Snelling) near the mouth of Nine Mile Creek (M. Eastman 1849: 40). It was the site of a small historic Lower Sioux Dakota habitation which was occupied from 1823-1840, and although the village was swept away in the flood of 1826, it was later rebuilt (Blondo and Reiners 2018; Smith 1967: 5). The 1835 Taliaferro

maps show it as “Penichon’s village” on the north side of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* seven miles from Fort Snelling by water (Lawrence Taliaferro, Journal, April 26, 1926; Roberts et al. 1993: 31); according to Featherstonhaugh in 1836, Penichon’s Village was “about three leagues from the fort [*Snelling*]” and though apparently there were dwellings, “this also [*as there were previous villages*] was deserted by the band” (Featherstonhaugh 1970 [1847]:); Mary Eastman described the village of Good Road as “on the banks of the St. Peter’s about seven miles from Fort Snelling” (M. Eastman 1949: 40; Roberts et al. 1993: 31); in 1850 Goodhue described this as Good Road’s village, nine miles by land from Ft. Snelling on the east side of the river, and it was still known as Good Road’s village in 1853 (Babcock 1945; Roberts et al. 1993: 31).

Known as *Titaŋka Taŋnina* – “old village” or “ancient village” – it is said to be the oldest of the Lower Sioux villages, the one from which many of the Indians moved to Wapasha’s village at Winona (Babcock 1945: 139; Durand 1994; Folwell 1956, 1961; Lawrence Taliaferro, Journal, April 26, 1926; Lt. Thompson’s Map [Figure 5.9]; Roberts et al. 1993: 31; Westerman and White 2012). *Titaŋka Taŋnina* (21DKx) was originally occupied by the *Mdetan(ka) Toŋwan*, an extinct branch of the *Mdewakanŋtoŋwan* who formerly lived at Mille Lacs, occupied this site/area as early as 1689 and before, as recorded by Nicolas Perrot (Bray and Bray 1993: 256; Durand 1994: 92; Featherstonhaugh 1970 [1824]; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Smith 1967; Westerman and White 2012). Around 1780, Chief Wapasha moved to this place, making a village totaling over 400 lodges, though the village dwindled sharply prior to 1800 as Red Wing and Wapasha moved with their followers to other sites down the Mississippi (Durand 1994: 92).

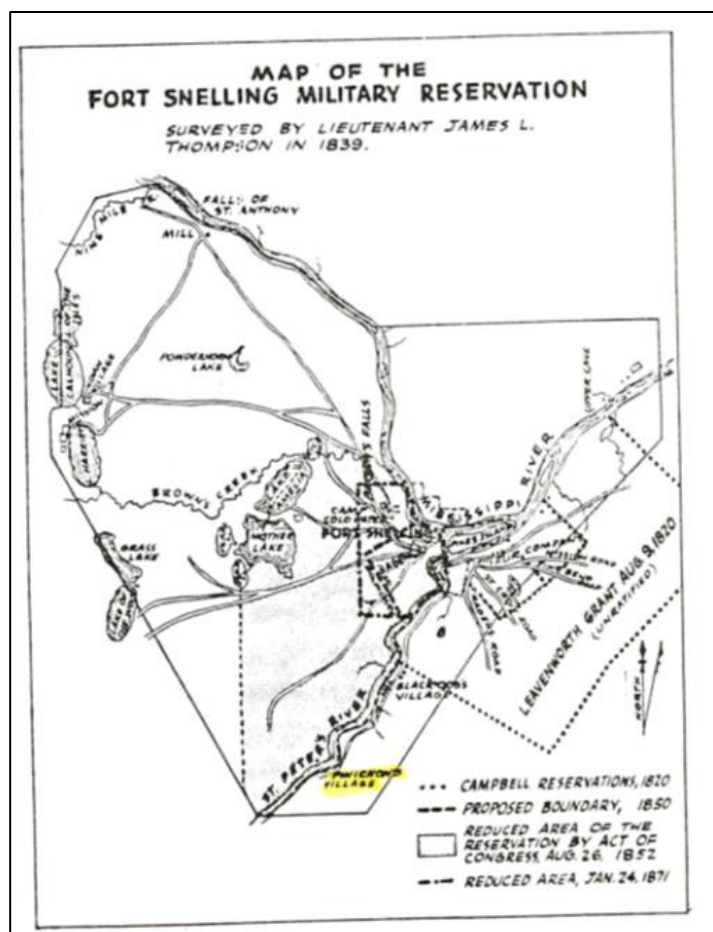


Figure 5.10 – Survey map of the Fort Snelling Military Reservation drawn by Lieutenant James L. Thompson in 1839, which also shows the locations of Dakota villages around Fort Snelling (Folwell 1956: 425).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: In 1993, as part of the Lower Minnesota River Valley Cultural Resource Study and Interpretive Plan for the Minnesota Valley State Park and Trail Program, a review of records, which included 21DKx, was carried out by Norene Roberts et al. (1993). Although no intensive investigations were undertaken at this time, like the villages of *Ohąnska* (Black Dog's) and *Hęyate Otońwe* (Cloudman's), 21DKx offers opportunity for archeological study and interpretation, and proposed signage installation would permit visitors to obtain insights into Dakota culture as it was at the time of the habitation of the village site (Roberts et al. 1993: 5; Smith 1967) and would also hold potential to contribute to Dakota archeology. A preliminary field visit was conducted in 2017 by Blondo Consulting, LLC

revealed that the site has been heavily disturbed by a gravel company and agricultural practices and the potential for intact deposits is low and no further work was conducted for site 21DKx (Blondo and Reiners 2018: 31-32).



Map 5.19 – Aerial imagery of site 21DKx.

GOODHUE COUNTY

The Red Wing Region – The Red Wing area is well-documented in both ethnographic and historic records as having been the area where the dynastic *Hupahu Ša* (Red Wing) lineage villages were

located and are frequently found on historic maps of the region (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Featherstonhaugh 1970 [1847]; Folwell 1956; Keating et al. 1824; Long 1978; Upham 2001; Westerman and White 2012). Additionally, LeSueur’s post from around 1695 was located on “an unnamed island above the mouth of the Cannon River” (Westerman and White 2012: 48), likely on the southern tip of *Tiŋta Wita* (Prairie Island) to trade with the Dakota, which demonstrates that there should be proto-contact Dakota sites at the island (Schirmer 2023, personal communication). Although there is ethnographic and historical evidence of the region having been occupied by historic Eastern Dakota peoples (ibid.), and it is here where it would most expect some clear and numerous Eastern Dakota sites, the record is deplorably lacking. Moreover, early historic items were found at the Bartron site (21GD0002) which may indicate an Eastern Dakota component, though they were largely disregarded by archeologists at the time (ibid.).

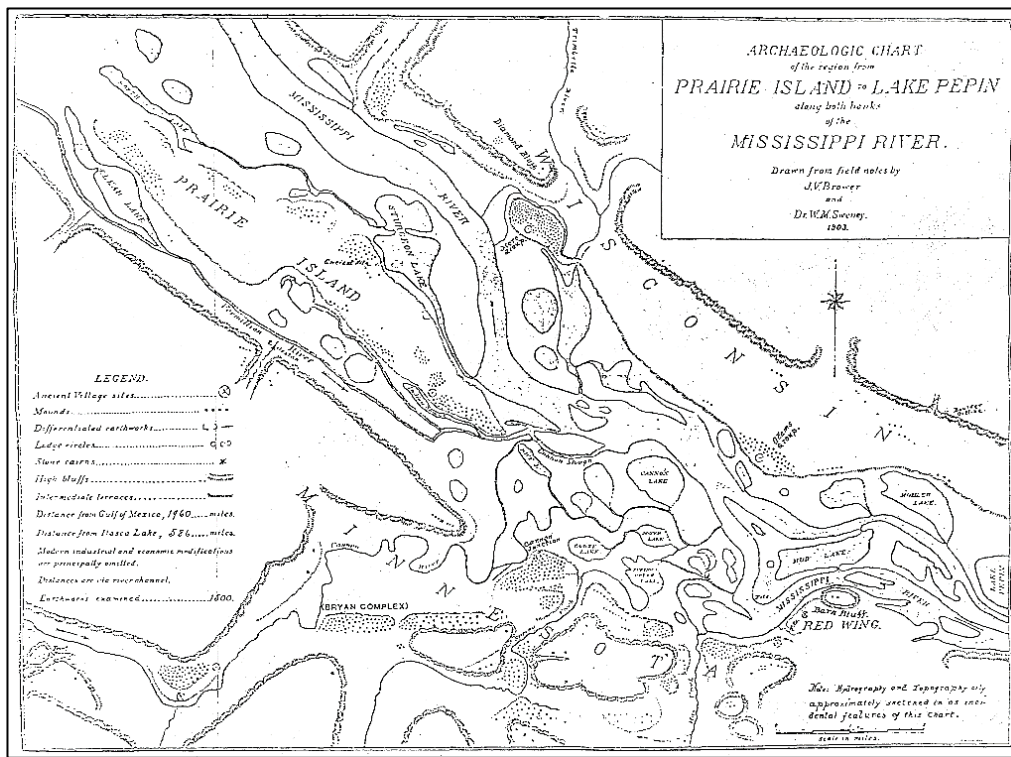


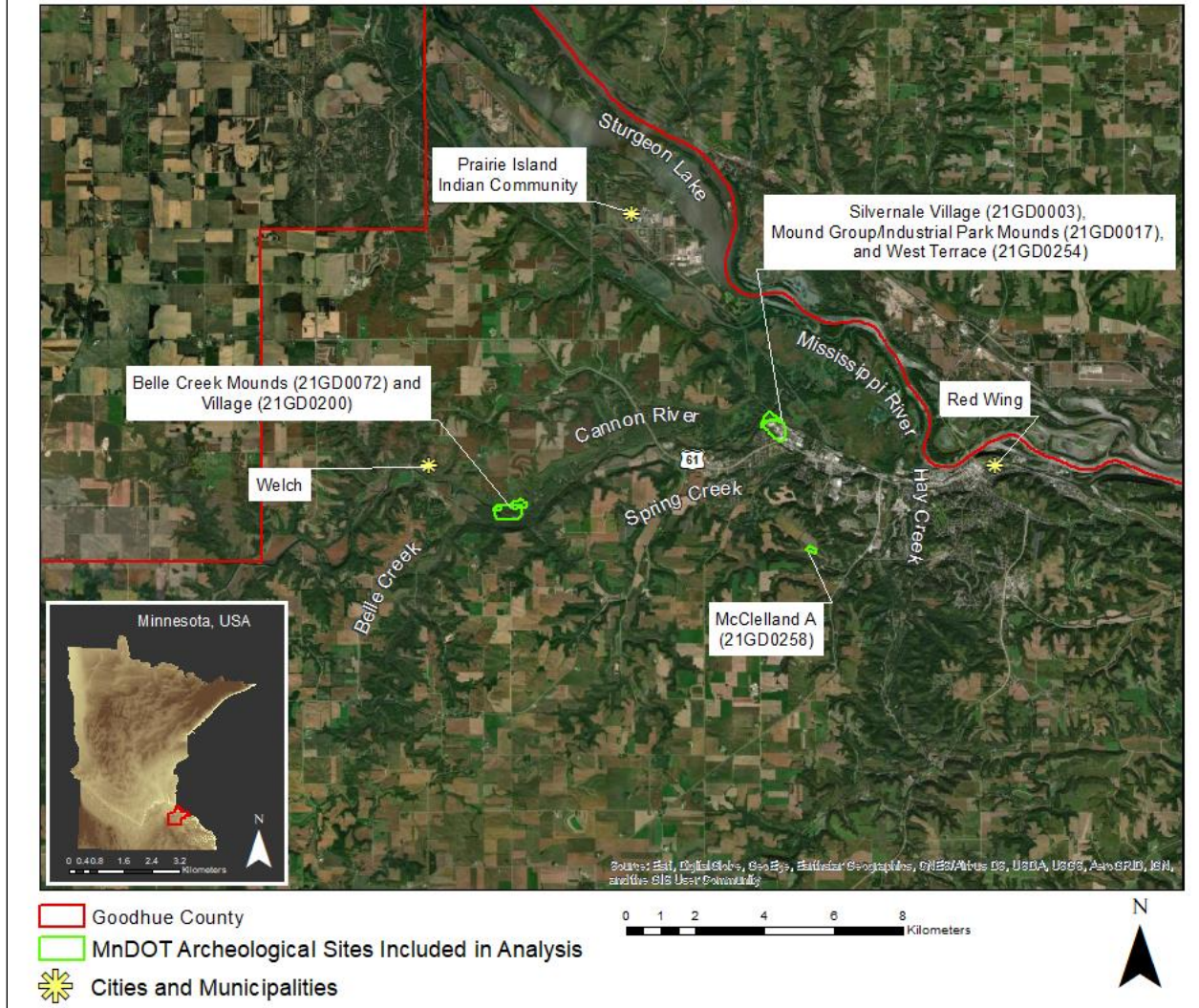
Figure 5.11 – Archeological sites of the Red Wing area as illustrated by J. V. Brower (Brower 1903).

The Silvernale Village and Mound Group sites belong to the Silvernale Complex (21GD0003, 21GD0017, and 21GD0022), which is part of a culture phenomenon in southeastern Minnesota and western Wisconsin which is, “an example of a settlement cluster that has undeniable Mississippian influences within its greater ceramic assemblage” and has “a presence of Plains-oriented cultural groups, leading to a common interpretation of the Red Wing Locality as a node of regional interaction” (Fleming 2009: 5). Clark Dobbs coined this culture phenomenon as the Red Wing Locality.

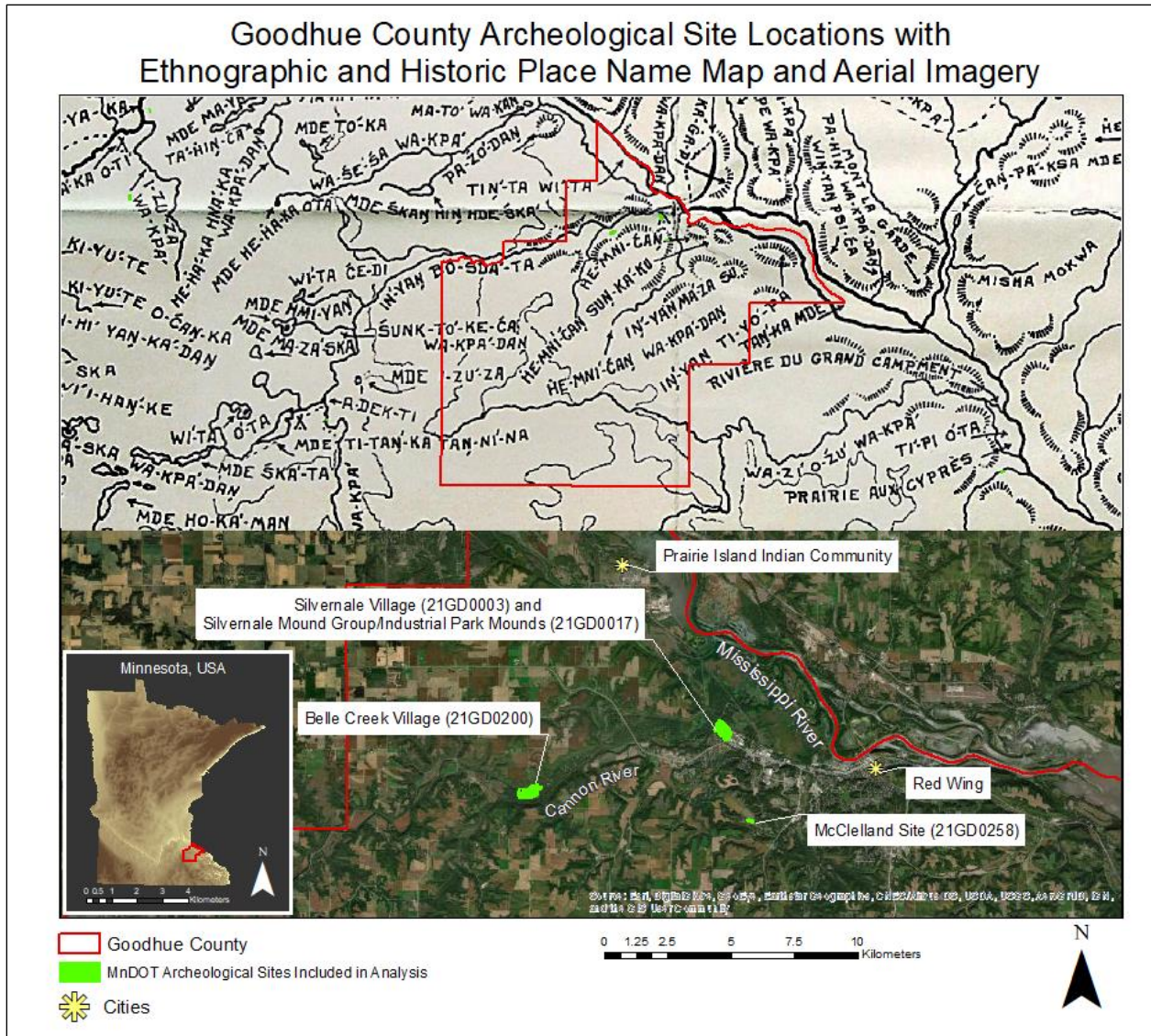
A bird’s eye view of the region reveals that the dominating features across the landscape are rivers, streams, and backwater sloughs. Water now defines the limits of the Red Wing Locality, and once defined the locations of the major villages. Even in the altered landscape of the modern day, riverine and wetland resources are vastly abundant. There is no doubt that these resources of animals, plants, and transportation were among the reasons Late Precontact people established communities along the creeks and rivers that flow among the rugged, towering bluffs of the region (Fleming 2009: 11).

The Silvernale phase (ca. A.D. 1050 – 1250) is representative of a localized cultural development unique to archeological sites in the Red Wing Locality which resulted from the participation of inhabitants of the Locality in “intensive interaction among several regional cultural traditions” (Dobbs and Schirmer 2002: 2). The 58-square-mile Locality contains more than 2,000 mounds and earthworks, eight major villages, and dozens of smaller secondary sites. According to Dobbs, “The Locality is the most northern center of Mississippian interaction in eastern North America and is the largest cluster of Mississippian-related sites north of Illinois” (Dobbs 1991: 3).

Goodhue County Archeological Site Locations with Aerial Imagery



Map 5.20 – Aerial imagery map of Goodhue County and the archeological sites in it which are included in this analysis.



Map 5.21 – Aerial imagery map (bottom) and Durand’s adapted ethnohistoric map (top) of Goodhue County and the archeological sites in it which are included in this analysis.

***21GD0003/0017 – Silvernale Village and Mound Group**

Located in the headwaters of the *Inyan Bosdata Wakpa* (Cannon River) on a low outwash on the southern bank of the river near its confluence with the *Haha Wakpa*, is the Silvernale site complex, which consists of two separate but related areas: a village proper (21GD0003) and large mound group (21GD0017) that surrounded the village to the south-southeast. Although the Silvernale Village site (21GD0003) does contain a documented Eastern Dakota component, the

Silvernale Mound Group (21GD0017) does not. The Silvernale mounds (21GD0017) are situated on a lower terrace, while the Spates Mound Group (21GD0022) is situated on a higher one, on the *Inyan Bosdata Wakpa*. Although Lewis notes a significant about of mounds were not initially mapped on the lower terrace (21GD0017), they are visible in the 1938 aerial imagery, and are a vast mound group, numbering 324 in total (not including the AP Anderson Park Mounds (21GD0016), where there is good evidence of at least 30 additional mounds that were not mapped by Lewis, but some of which were relocated in 1993 by high precision photogrammetry), which once consisted of hemispherical, elongated, flat-topped rectangular, and effigy mounds (Gibbon 1979), and formerly spread across more than 100 acres of “adjacent low and middle glacial terrace above the mouth and delta of the Cannon River into the Mississippi River” (Schirmer 2004: 1). The AP Anderson Park Mounds (21GD0016), a Woodland earthwork site (21GD0016 site form) are also a part of this group, though they were artificially separated from the rest of the group in historic times by the road that would eventually become Highway 61 (Schirmer 2022, personal communication). Therefore, the 25 mounds at 21GD0016 need to be included in the total number of mounds, making the total mounds associated with the Silvernale sites 342. In all, there are about 500+ mounds found in the locality of the Silvernale Village (21GD0003) and Mound Group (21GD0017).

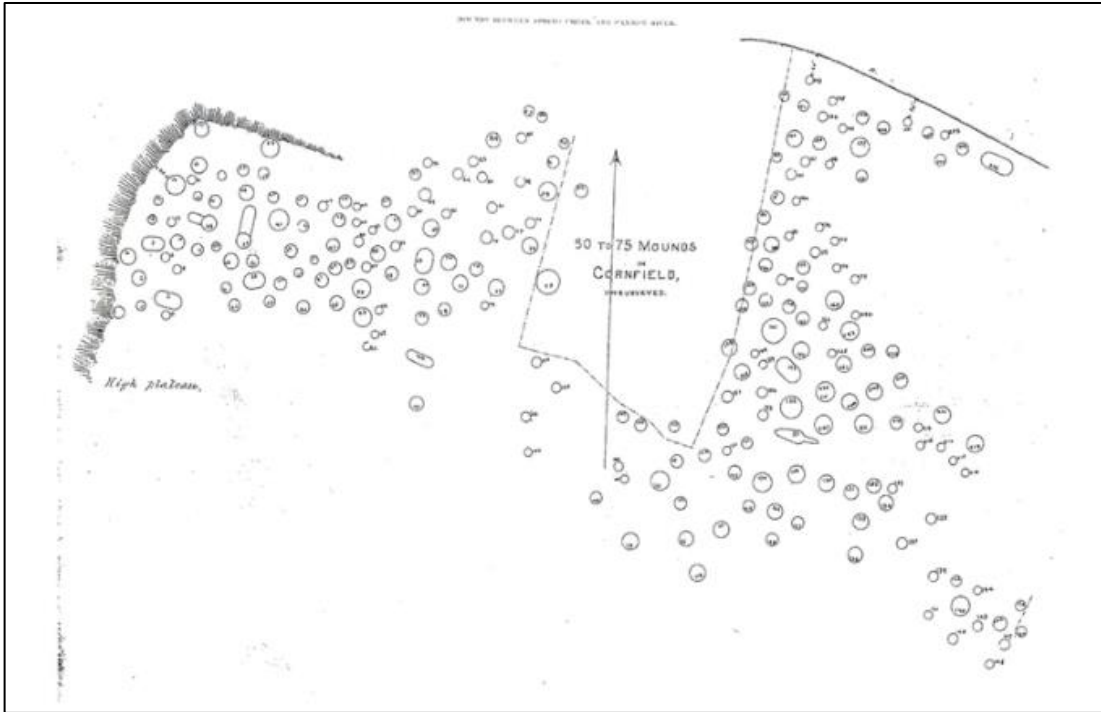


Figure 5.12 – Silvernale Mound Group (21GD0017) as surveyed by T. H. Lewis in 1885 and mapped in Winchell (1911: 156a).

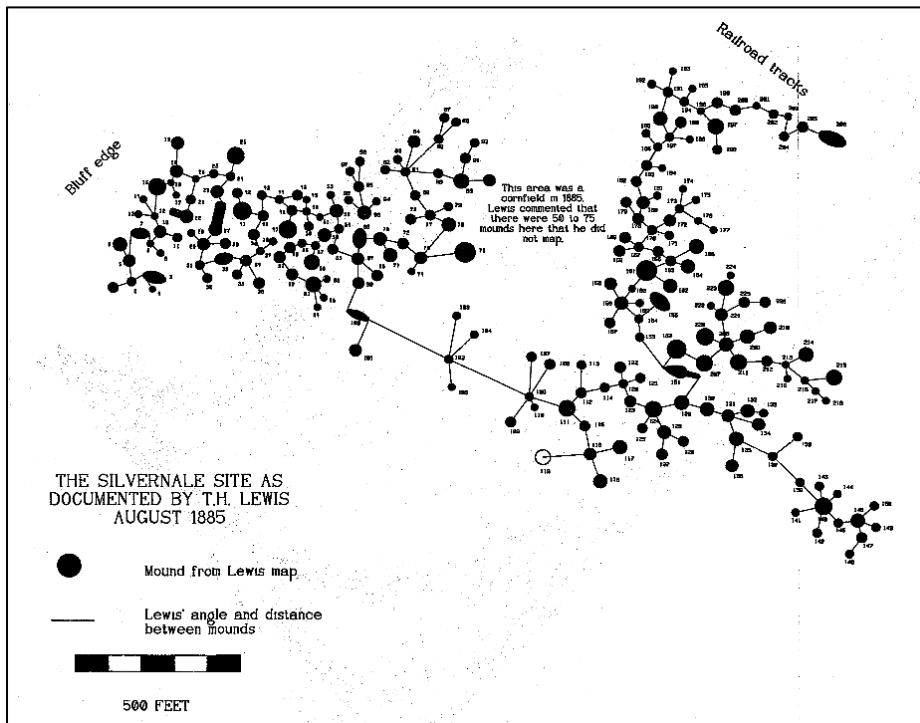


Figure 5.13 – Redrafted version of Lewis's maps of the Silvernale Mounds (21GD0017) (Dobbs 1991).

Utilized at numerous times by different cultural groups, the Silvernale Village (21GD0003) was “one of the earliest and largest of at least nine large village sites inhabited between ca. A.D. 950 and 1400 at the junction of the Cannon and Mississippi Rivers” (Dobbs and Schirmer 2002: 2), and once spanned ca. 30 acres. “The rivers that move through the area define the locations of the large villages, which are located for the most part on prominent terraces that overlook the Mississippi River or one of its main tributaries” (Fleming 2009: 70). Around the time of occupation, the location of the Silvernale Village (21GD0003) would have been right at the head of *Tan̄ka Mde*, rather than its present location several kilometers downstream. This original precontact location would have allowed easy access to the resources that *Tan̄ka Mde* could provide, and was also a strategic position, for it made it possible to monitor traffic along the *Iñyan̄ Bosdata* from Minnesota’s interior (Fleming 2009: 24). The site is a large segment of a once larger precontact and contact village, the latter of which was likely Chief Red Wing’s village of *He Mni Çan̄* (Durand 1994; Westerman and White 2012), that has an Eastern Dakota cultural affiliation.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: For the past 100 years sites 21GD0003 and 21GD0017 have been moderately disturbed by agricultural cultivation and commercial construction activities. In 1882, construction of the Chicago and Great Western Railroad line bisected the village area into roughly equal northern and southern halves; in the early 1970s development of the Red Wing Industrial Park began; construction of the Durkee-Atwood plant from 1974 to 1977, which led to the destruction of many mound remnants at Silvernale and most of the village area south of the railroad tracks; and development of the Cannon Valley Trail (CVT) began in the mid-1980s. Although jointly conducted salvage excavations were carried out in in the 1970s in the northern section of the Silvernale sites by Hamline University, Carleton

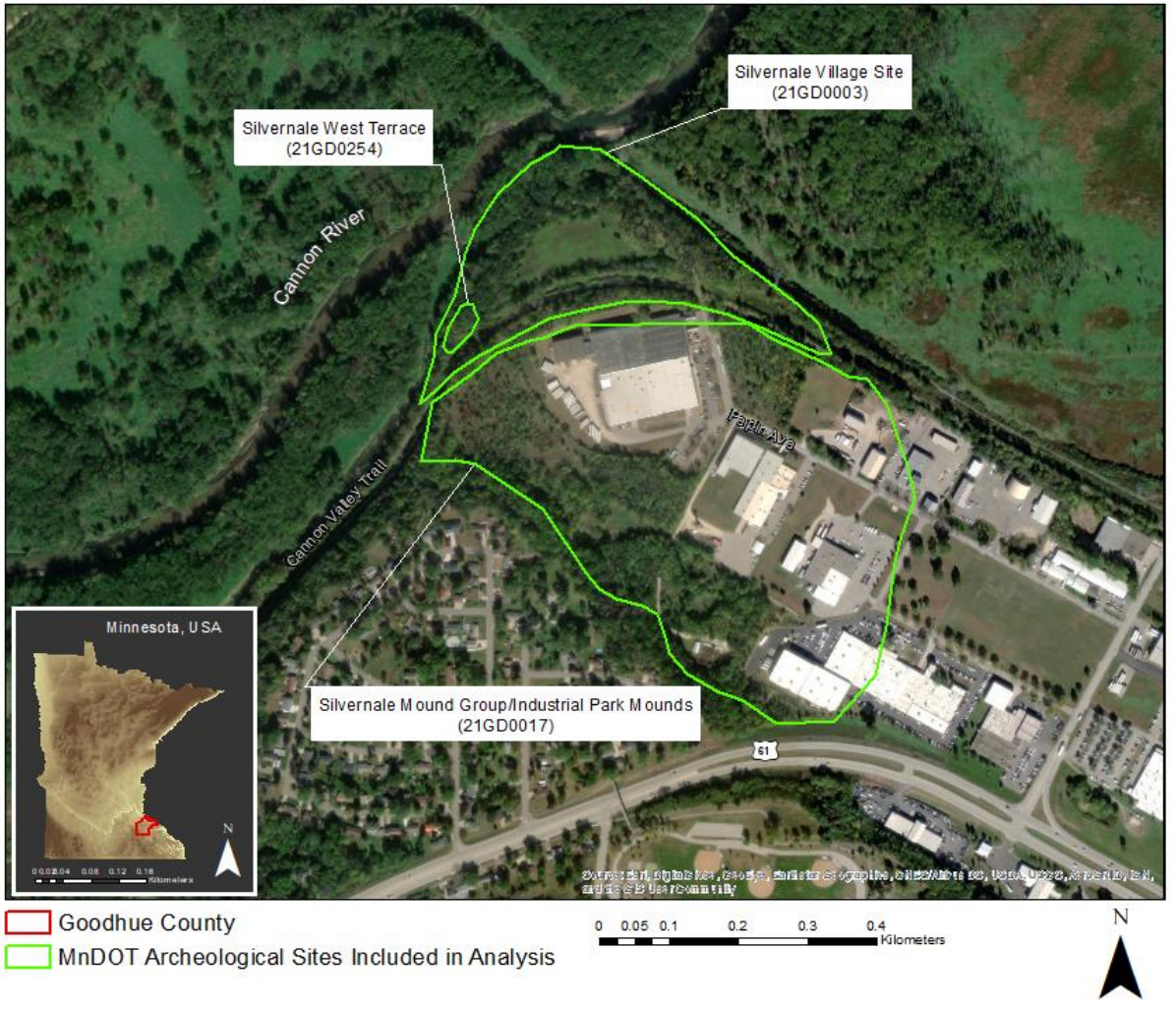
College Summer Institute, and the Minnesota Archaeological Society under the guidance of Christina Harrison (1993, 2003), the collection has been held by several institutions and has yet to be properly processed or analyzed. In 1999 an eight-acre portion of the village area located north of the CVT was donated to the Trail for purposes of preservation, research, and stewardship. To ensure that Silvernale sites 21GD0003 and 21GD0017 would receive appropriate study and public interpretation, the Trail commissioned a study to plan for the proper management of the site(s). These CVT-sponsored studies determined that the Silvernale sites were more intact than previously thought (Schirmer 2004: 3). Additionally, in the soil resistance map, over a dozen large, well-defined anomalies consistent with semi-subterranean house basins and 75+ smaller anomalies consistent with storage/refuse pits were distinctly visible. Several large, amorphous anomalies were also located in the eastern part of the area investigated at this time.

The Silvernale mound group was mapped by T. H. Lewis in 1885 during the Northwestern Archaeological Survey (NWAS). Although the mounds were under cultivation at the time of the survey, thus obscuring 50 to 75 of the mounds, Lewis mapped 91 mounds on the upper terrace and 226 on the lower terrace. In total, Lewis surveyed and mapped a total of 317 mounds on the two terraces of the Silvernale site, which makes Silvernale one of the largest mound groups in Minnesota (Wilford 1947). However, except for numbers 1 and 9, all the mounds at 21GD0016 have been destroyed by the construction of Anderson Park (21GD0016) in Red Wing, Minnesota, though in more recent LiDAR, they are more clearly visible (Schirmer 2023, personal communication). Unaware of the presence of the habitation area at the time of the NWAS survey, Lewis did not include the Silvernale Village (21GD0003) on the Hill/Lewis maps. The first documentation of the village component of the Silvernale complex was in 1903, when it

was included on a map of sites in the vicinity of *Tanka Mde*, created by J. V. Brower and W. M. Sweney (Brower 1903).

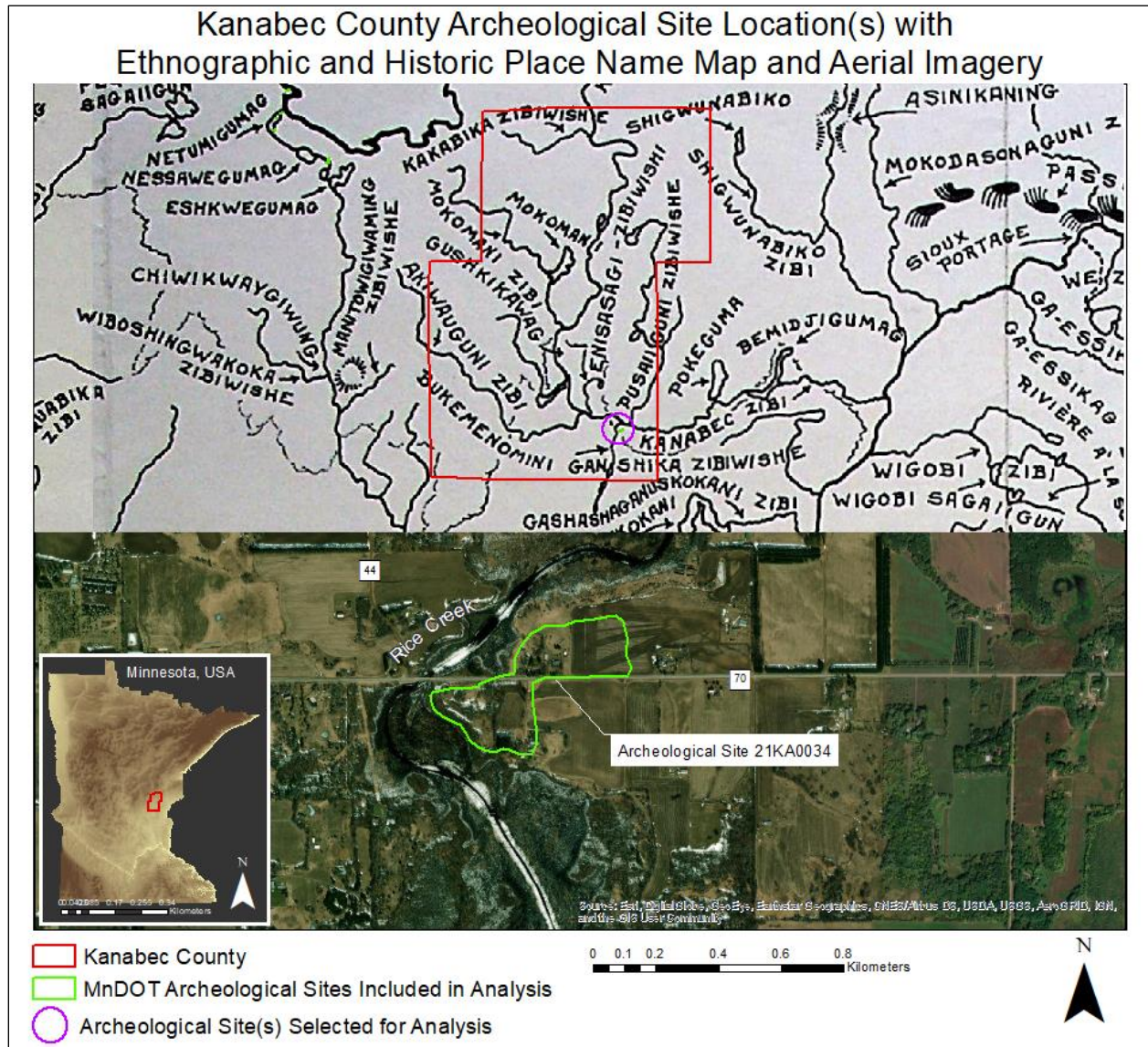
The first formal investigations at 21GD0003 and 21GD0017 were carried out by Lloyd A. Wilford of the University of Minnesota in the summers of 1947 and 1950. He conducted limited excavations of the village area north of the railroad tracks in the “eastern part of the field,” and of Mound 36, located on the lower terrace, as well as Mound 45 located on the upper terrace. Wilford’s work at sites 21GD0003 and 21GD0017 identified Middle and Late Woodland, and Oneota components at the sites, which he interpreted to primarily be associated with the Ioway/Otoe people, prior to significant and permanent Dakota presence in the area (Wilford 1947 and 1950). Also recovered during Wilford’s work at the Silvernale sites were beads and “tinkler cones” associated with a historic Dakota component. Under the direction of Ronald C. Schirmer, Minnesota State University, Mankato (MNSU) hosted four seasons of field schools (2003, 2004, 2005, and 2006) at the Silvernale site(s) (21GD0003/0017). To date, only results of the 2003 season have been reported, however, excavations revealed the presence of pit features, thought to be refuse pits and/or semi-subterranean houses, and a surface feature at 21GD0003. The surface feature consisted of a midden that overlay an undetermined number of subsurface pit features, which established, “without a doubt,” the presence of multiple locations at the Silvernale site, “an earlier one on the eastern end and a later one on the higher ground on the western end of the village” (Schirmer 2004: 18). The extensive excavations carried out by Schirmer’s field school students determined that Silvernale is an aggregation village, and that there is evidence that people ancestral to Dakota, HoChunk, Ioway/Otoe, and Hidatsa were all at this site (Schirmer 2022, personal communication).

**Silvernale Village (21GD0072),
 Silvernale Mound Group/Industrial Park Mounds (21GD0017),
 and Silvernale West Terrace (21GD0254)
 Archeological Site Locations with Aerial Imagery**



Map 5.22 – Aerial imagery of sites 21GD0003, 21GD0017, and 21GD0254.

KANABEC COUNTY

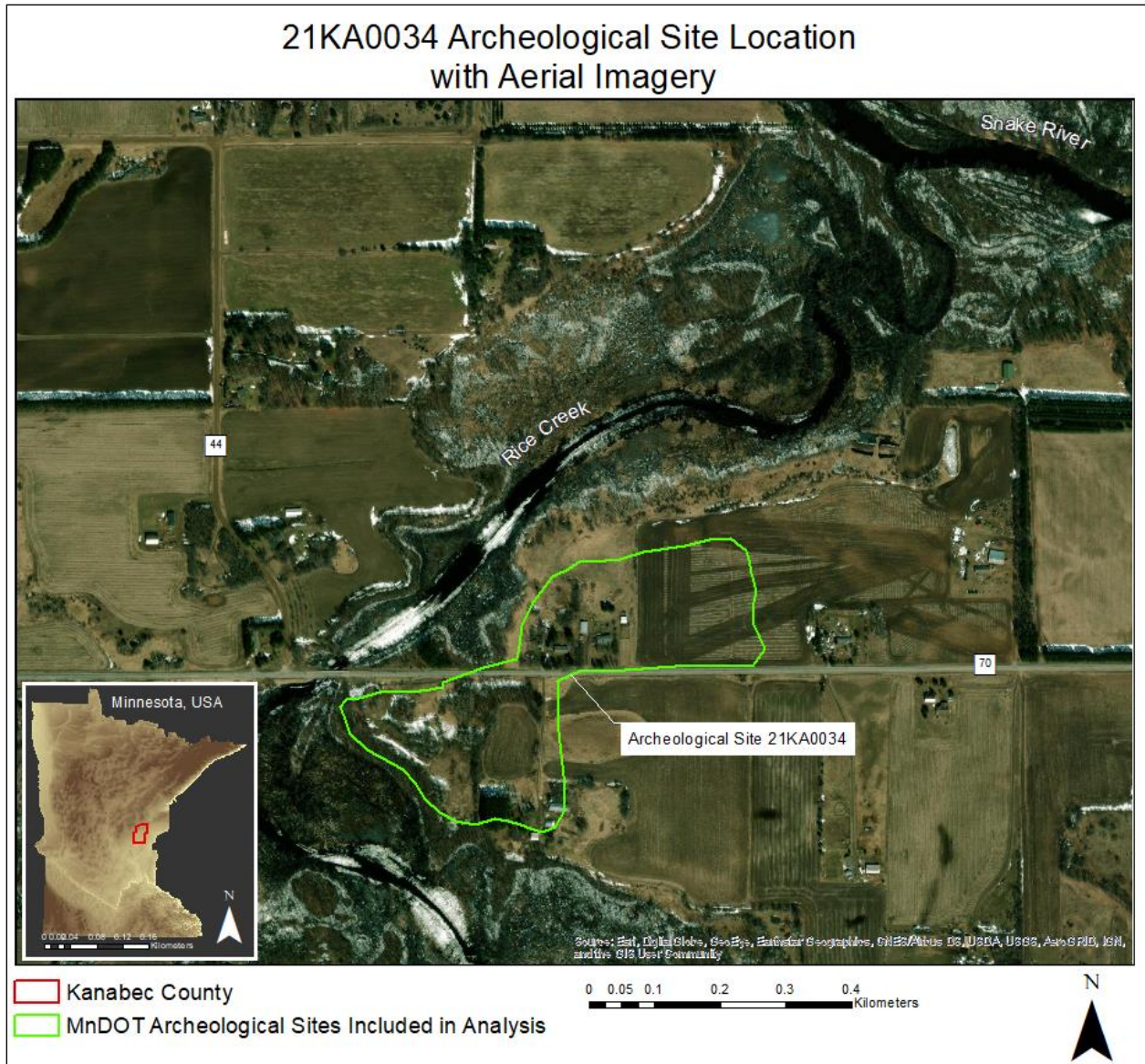


Map 5.23 – Aerial imagery map (bottom) and Durand’s adapted ethnohistoric map (top) of Kanabec County showing the archeological site included in this analysis.

*21KA0034

Site 21KA0034 is a multi-component site with documented Middle Woodland, Eastern Dakota, and Ojibwe components located on an undulating ridge overlooking the Rice Creek Valley (named for its wild rice [Upham 2001 [1969]: 267]). Because site 21KA0034 is located on private property for as long as the site has been known, very little work has been done at the site.

The landowners told archeologists of local reports that Chippewa burials had been found during work on State Highway 70, and that as children, they had collected numerous projectile points (21KA0034 Mn/OSA Files). The whole area has been plowed, and development construction has destroyed much of the site. Numerous quartz flakes have been recovered from plowed areas when surface reconnaissance has been done at the site. At the time of the current investigation, no further investigations are known to have been done at 21KA0034 otherwise. While there is a documented Eastern Dakota component at the site, there doesn't appear to be any data to back up that attribution, which is an issue that goes beyond the scope of this analysis at this time.



Map 5.24 – Aerial imagery of site 21KA0034.

LAC QUI PARLE COUNTY

***21LP0012 – Huggins School Site**

The Huggins School site (21LP0012) is a multi-component mortuary and habitation site that has been inferred to have been an American Indian camp/temporary use site that has both Eastern Dakota and Ojibwe components. The site is located on a terrace on the east bank of the *Inkpa Wakpadaŋ* (Lac Qui Parle River) in a cornfield on the Lokken Farmstead. (21LP0012 Mn/OSA

Files). The site consists of a depression (the nature of which is not elaborated on in any reports or the site form) and debris on a knoll in a field that represents the Amos Huggins historic homesite which was built in 1861.

There are also remains of an old oxcart trail, possibly associated with the Minnesota Valley Trail. The site of Amos Huggins' homestead served as a Dakota Sioux school and a Lac qui Parle sub-agency. The buildings associated with the Huggins homesite were burned down during, or shortly after, the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, just a year after they were built.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: Field surveys were carried out by Scott F. Anfinson of the MHS for the MMCHYARS in 1985-1986 for a project which involved the CSAH 20 replacement of Bridge 4955 in a new location and the realignment of the approaches (S. Anfinson 1986). In 1985, field survey located the previously unrecorded prehistoric habitation site 21LP0012 in a field east of Bridge 4955; "ceramics" recovered indicated Late Prehistoric Cambria affiliations (S. Anfinson 1986: 109, 1987: 138). The location of the historic Amos Huggins Cabin site, which served as a Dakota Indian school and a Lac qui Parle sub-agency from 1861-1862, was also confirmed, "evidenced by a depression on a small wooded hill just east of the existing bridge" (S. Anfinson 1987: 138-139). The prehistoric site being in the same location, "evidenced by surface finds of lithics and ceramics in the plowed field immediately south of the cabin depression" (Anfinson and Peterson 1989: 134).

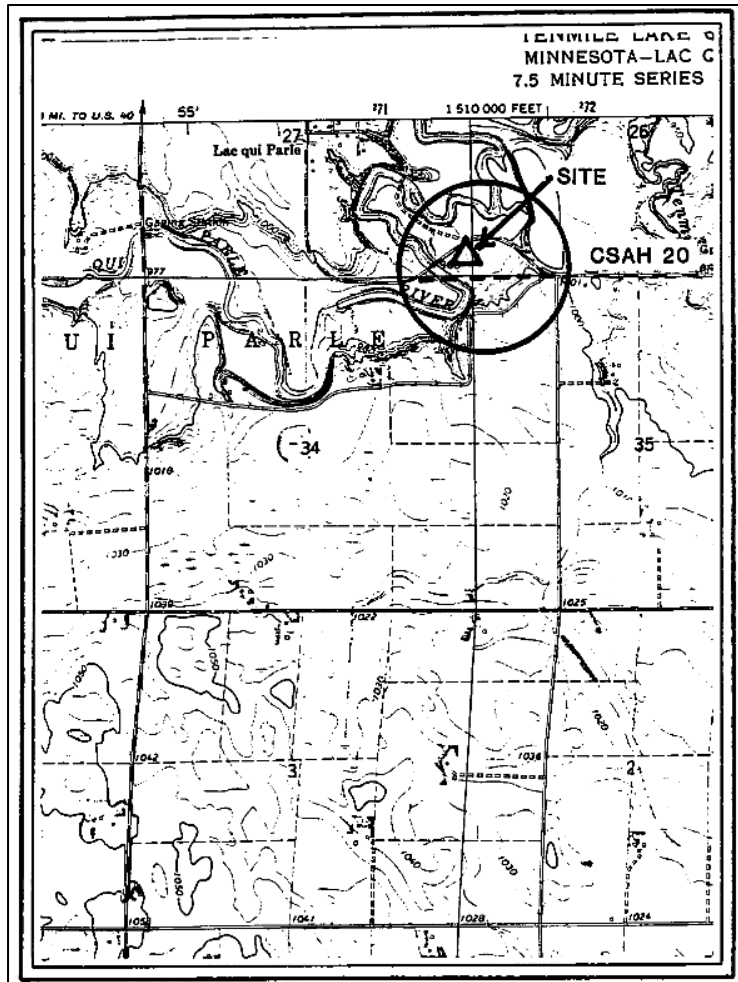
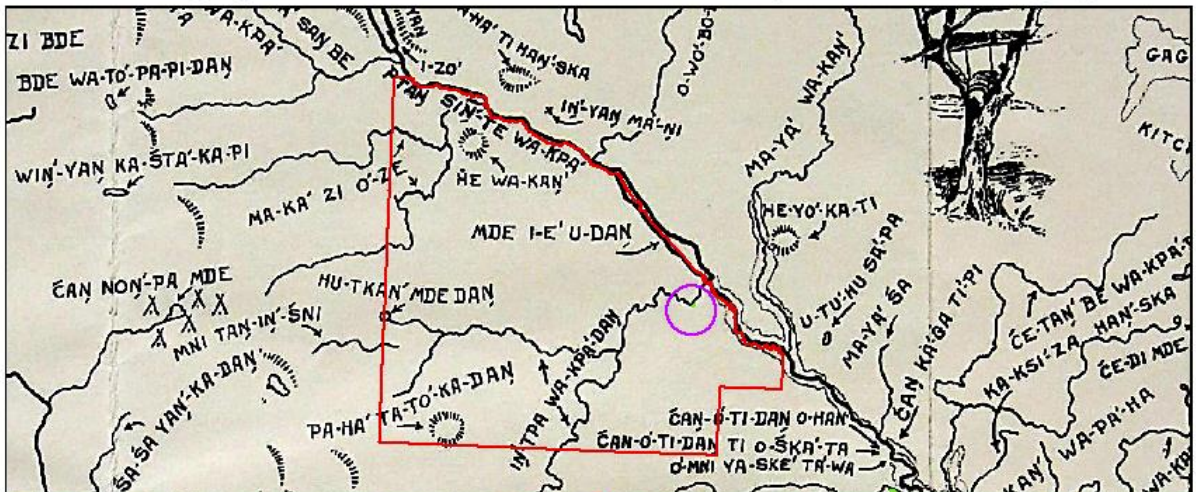


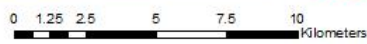
Figure 5.14 – Lac qui Parle County CSAH 20 project, southeast of Lac qui Parle showing proposed alignment (dashed line) and the Huggins Cabin Sites (21LP0012) (USGS Lac qui Parle 7.5) (S. Anfinson 1986: 111).

In 1987, Scott F. Anfinson and Randy J. Peterson of the MHS completed a surface reconnaissance over the entire proposed realignment and shovel tests were excavated in the wooded areas immediately east and west of the river and on the high bluff 1500 feet (about 457.2 m) east of the river (Anfinson and Peterson 1989: 134-135). The shovel tests were negative at all locations, though additional lithics and pottery were found during surface reconnaissance at the Huggins Cabin site (ibid.).

Huggins School, Huggins Cabin (21LP0012) Archeological Site Location with Ethnographic and Historic Place Name Map and Aerial Imagery



- Lac qui Parle County
- MnDOT Archeological Sites Included in Analysis
- Archeological Site(s) Selected for Analysis
- ✱ Cities and Municipalities 🌲 Park



Map 5.25 – Aerial imagery (bottom) and Durand’s (1994) adapted ethnohistoric map (top) of Lac qui Parle Counting showing the archeological site in the county which is included in this analysis.

Huggins School, Huggins Cabin (21LP0012)
 Archeological Site Location with Aerial Imagery



Map 5.26 – Aerial imagery of site 21LP0012.

MILLE LACS COUNTY

The area of *Mde Wakąj* (Mille Lacs Lake) “is a cultural landscape, a place where history and the human past are more visible than in most parts of Minnesota,” and “Mille Lacs is, and has always been, at the meeting of the Northeastern Plains and the Eastern Woodlands. The effects of this location are apparent in both the natural and human histories of the Locality” (Mather 2000: 1, 8). Additionally,

Archaeological excavations of sites in this region have located evidence of fortified villages on Lake Ogechie dating as far back as a thousand years. All these places have been the site of important archaeological discoveries from the Dakota era at Mille Lacs and have also been associated with later Ojibwe villages. It would make sense if the distribution of Ojibwe at Mille Lacs mirrored those of earlier Dakota. Hennepin stated that when the Issatis left Mille Lacs to hunt buffalo to the south, there were eighty houses of people, suggesting a population over one thousand strong. He implied that they all lived in one great village, but more likely they encompassed a number of settlements at Mille Lacs and in the surrounding region (Westerman and White 2012: 58-59).

Archeological investigations into Native American connections to the *Mde Wakan* area culminated with the establishment of the Mille-Lacs-Kathio State Park in 1957, which “contains rich archaeological resources that reflect 9,000 years of human habitation, including the site of the great Dakota village of Izatys” (Upham 2001: 371), and the designation of the Kathio National Historic Landmark in 1964. The entirety of three sites (21ML0011, 21ML0012, and 21ML0016) included in this analysis, and part of one site (21ML0002), fall within the boundaries of the Mille Lacs-Kathio State Park. Wilford aptly points out: “Since the excavation at Aquipaguétin Island was undertaken solely because Kathio is the best identified Dakota site in the state, it is obvious that the Kathio focus represents the culture of the Dakota, at least of the Santee Dakota, if the identification is correct” (Wilford 1937: 276 [Mather 2000: 11]). According to historic and ethnographic records, “Kathio was the name of the great town of the Nadouessioux which Du Luth visited, in 1679,” though the name was mistranslated and/or its true pronunciation was misstated (Brower 1901: xv).

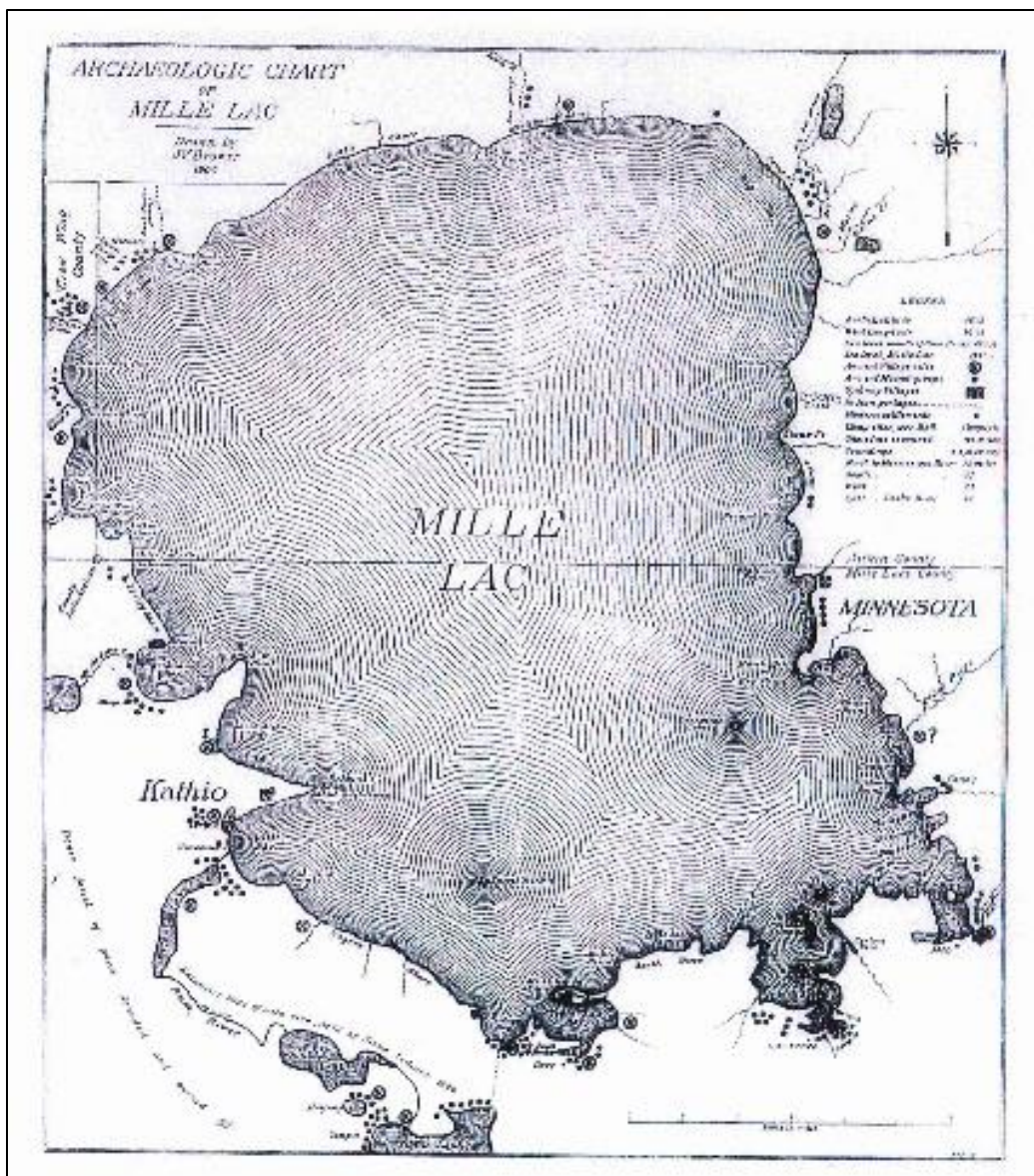
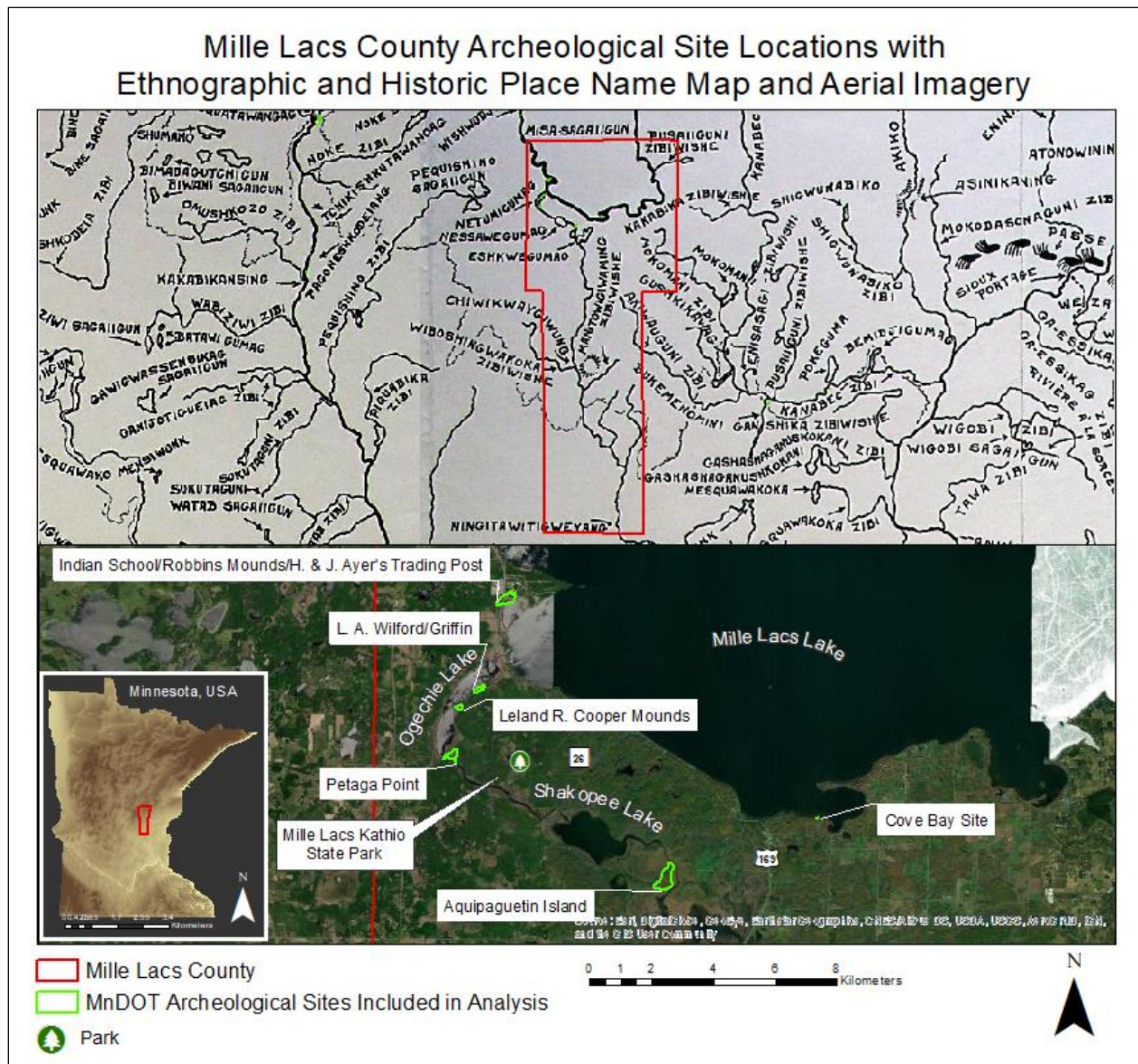


Figure 5.15 – J. V. Brower's "Archaeologic Chart of Mille Lac" (Brower and Bushnell 1900).



Map 5.27 – Aerial imagery map (bottom) and Durand’s (1994) adapted ethnohistoric map (top) of Mille Lacs County showing the archeological sites in the county which are included in this analysis.

***21ML0002 – Aquipaguetin Island**

The Aquipaguetin Island site (21ML0002) is a multi-component site with probable Prehistoric, Late Woodland, Kathio, and historic Dakota and Ojibwe cultural components; the Prehistoric components consist of an habitation, a village, and mounds, and the historic components consist of the Dakota village of Kathio and Ojibwe burials (21ML0002 Mn/OSA files). Later components also present at this side include historic period sugar camps and farmsteads, though

these remain largely unexplored (Mather 2000: 63⁶⁷). The Aquipaguetin Island site (21ML0002) is located on a height of land, which was periodically an island in the past, to the southwest of *Mde Wakanj* where the Rum River or *Mdote Mini Wakanj* – “confluence (or outlet of a lake) of spirit waters” – empties from *Mde Wakanj*, through Ogechie Lake and Shakopee Lake into Lake Onamia (no Dakota name could be found for any of these) (Durand 1994). The isthmus on which 21ML0002 is located juts from the west into a wetland area between Shakopee Lake and Lake Onamia, with the *Mdote Mini Wakanj* flowing from northwest to south-southeast through the wetlands to the east of the peninsula, then entering Lake Onamia. Much of the lake is timbered and has not been disturbed by agricultural activities and thus offers very good potential for the discovery of house forms.

For late prehistoric peoples in the *Haha Wakpa* headwaters region of Minnesota, wild rice was one of the “abundant crops...which was known to have been an important food resource for the native Indian populations during the historic period” (Johnson 1969: 31). Wild rice once grew throughout the surrounding wetlands, and resource processing sites associated with the plant were “commonly found on rice lake inlets out outlets where there is easy access to the rice beds for canoes and where the topography offers a fairly high, level ground for camping” (Johnson 1969: 31). While Lake Onamia is “another of the especially productive wild rice lakes,” and there are threshing pits present at the Aquipaguetin Island site (21ML0002) to support this, 21ML0002 “...appears to be primarily a large village site” (ibid.: 34). Thus, the Aquipaguetin Island site (21ML0002), along with the Cooper sites (21ML0009/0016) (as well as the Upper Rice Lake site [21CE0004], the Nett Lake site [21KC0001]), have late prehistoric components which not only “...happen to be located on lakes with substantial wild rice stands but

⁶⁷ Also, Mather 1999c, Peterson 1986, and Streiff 1987, but I have not included these in my references (Mather 2000: 74)

show occupation as village sites and not merely temporary camps” (E. Johnson 1969: 32). However, there is evidence that the same rice harvesting activities occurred at these more perpetual habitation sites as are also seen at temporary rice harvesting camps; the Aquipaguetin Island site (21ML0002) and the Cooper sites (21ML0009/0016) show surface depressions of recent (i.e., historic) rice harvesting pits used by the Ojibwe of the nearby Vineland community on *Mde Wakay* (E. Johnson 1969: 32).

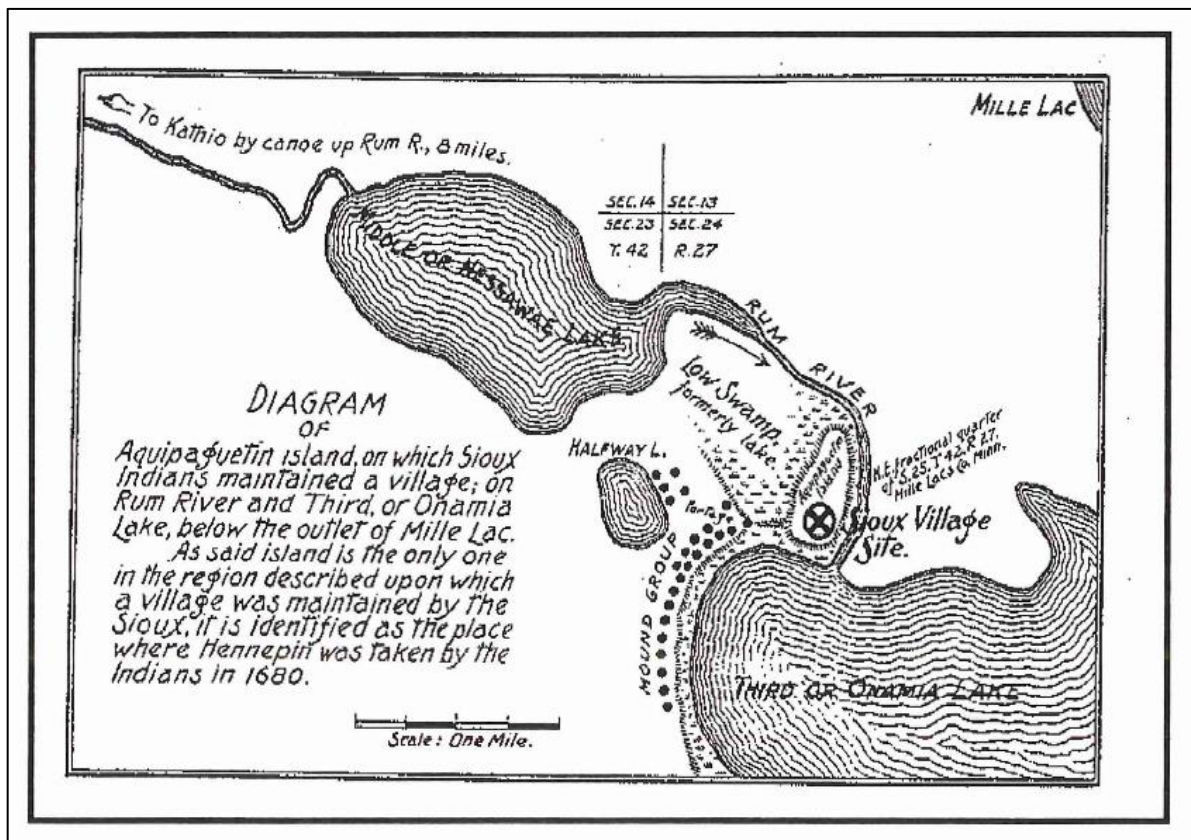


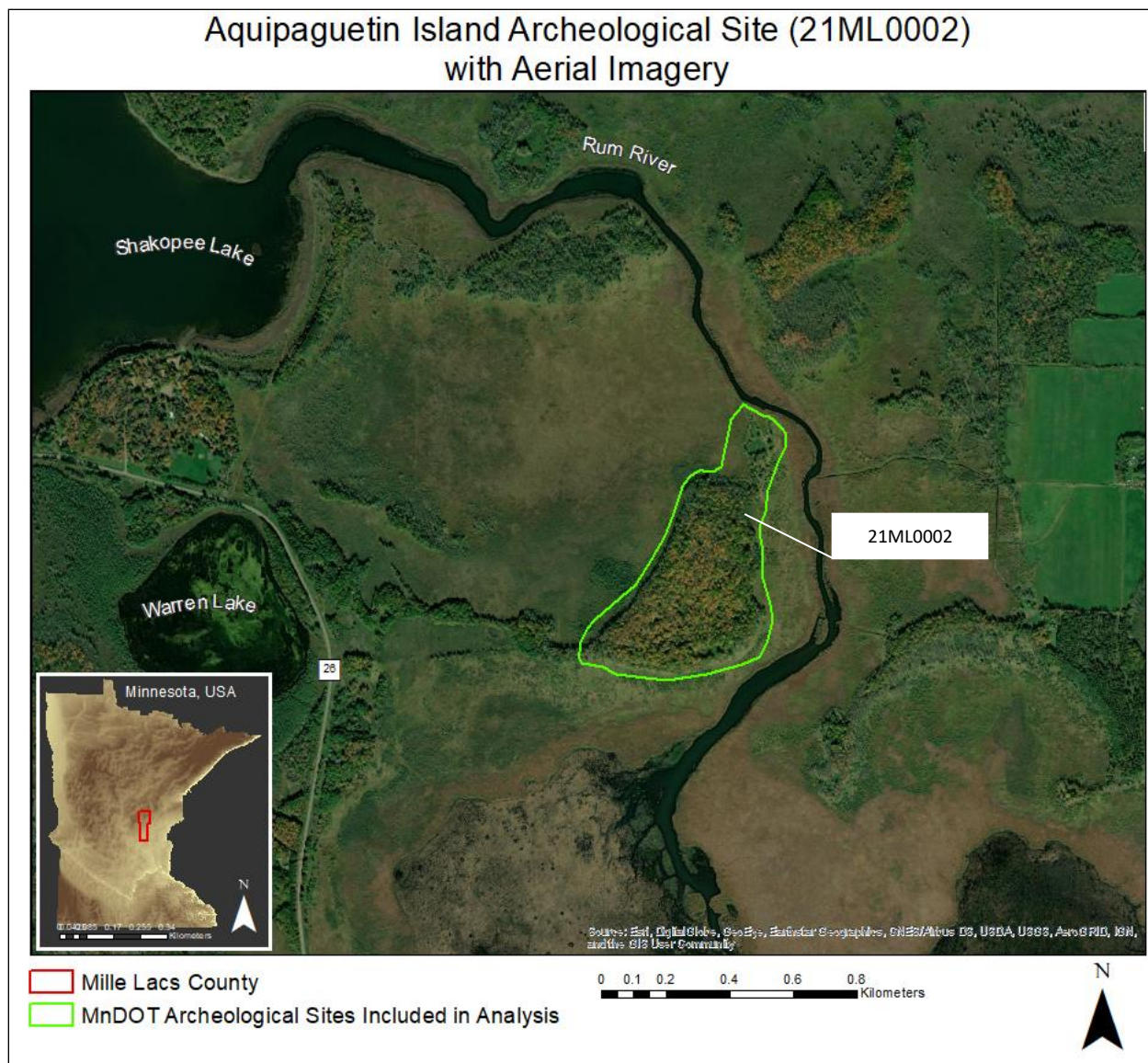
Figure 5.16 – Jacob Brower’s map of Aquipaguetin Island, based on his explorations of the Mille Lac area (Brower and Bushnell 1901: 126).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: Antiquarian explorations of 21ML0002, as well as other sites in the region, were carried out by Dr. Wesley Hiller of the Minnesota Archaeological Society in 1936. Hiller, who referred to Aquipaguetin Island as the “Father Hennepin” site, noted approximately 20 mounds around the path leading to the site, presumably

on the shore of Lake Onamia (Mather 2000). However, archeological reports available at the time this analysis was conducted show that the Aquipaguetin Island site (21ML0002) remains unexcavated except for brief testing conducted by Lloyd Wilford (Mather 2000). Jenks' (1933) and Wilford's (1949b[?]) investigations at the Aquipaguetin Island site (21ML0002), supplemented by mound excavations at other sites in the area, primarily defined the Kathio Culture. "Since the excavation at Aquipaguetin Island was undertaken solely because Kathio is the best identified Dakota site in the state, it is obvious that the Kathio focus represents the cultures of the Dakota, at least of the Santee Dakota, if the identification is correct" (Wilford 1937: 276). Furthermore, in 1965, archeological investigations by University of Minnesota began to test the assertion made by Wilford (1955: 136) that his Kathio Focus represented the late prehistoric Mdewakanton Dakota at *Mde Wakay* (Birk and Johnson 1988).

A very interesting and reliably historic locality, identified and named by Brower, is Aquipaguetin island, a tract of hard ground about a half mile long and a quarter of a mile wide, in the northeast part of section 25, Kathio, enclosed by Rum River on the east, the western part of Third or Onamia Lake on the south, and a swamp on the west and north. In a Sioux village there, Aquipaguetin, the band leader, lived, who adopted Hennepin as his son and befriended him during his enforced stay in the vicinity of Mille Lacs from May to September in 1680, excepting their midsummer absence on a great hunting expedition far down the Mississippi (Upham 2001: 373-374).

Moreover, from the late prehistoric cord-marked pottery and Eastern triangular projectile points produced from his test excavations at the site, Wilford accepted that 21ML0002 was the "village" where Hennepin stayed the winter in 1680 (Wilford 1944: 329-330).



Map 5.28 – Aerial imagery of site 21ML0002.

***21ML0006 – Indian School/Robbins Mound Group**

The Indian School/Robbins Mound Group (21ML0006) is a multi-component prehistoric habitation site and burial mound group which contains 16 mounds, and an historic trading post site. The Indian School/Robbins Mound Group site (21ML0006) has a documented Eastern Dakota component, as well as Middle and Late Woodland, and historic Ojibwe and Euro-American components (Mather 2000: 2), which is in accordance with early-historic accounts

such as Hennepin's and Du Luth's that indicate that the Mille Lacs region was the home of Eastern Dakota peoples, and was "probably one of dense population prior to the movement of the Chippewa Indians into the territory" (Cooper 1965). 21ML0006 is located along the edge of a glacial terrace parallel to the northwest shore of Vineland Bay in *Mde Wakaj*. J. V. Brower provides a description of the area where the site is situated:

There is a small estuary there called Robbins Bay. The Sioux villagers at that locality were advantageously domiciled at good fishing waters adjoining a terraced shoreline that gradually rises to an elevation of fifty feet above the level of Mille Lac, where a heavy forest of pine is interspersed with deciduous timber. Canoe landings at Robbins Bay are convenient, and indications are present there showing that a small portion of the ground was under cultivation. The Sioux lodges were scattered along the picturesque border of Robbins Bay, centering very near where now stands the house occupied by Mr. David H. Robbins. Immediately in the rear of Mr. Robbins' residence and extending along the ridge southward there is located a group of mounds. One mediocre embankment is situated near the central portion of the group with outlines slightly curved (Brower 1901: 95).

The house that Brower mapped in 1900 was that of David H. Robbins, as he stated, who homesteaded the area in 1874, and in the early 20th century H. Ayer established a trading post and numerous other buildings at the site (21ML0006 Mn/OSA files). The Indian School/Robbins Mound Group site (21ML0006) is located within the Kathio Historic District.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: The Robbins Mounds were first recorded in 1898 by J. V. Brower and D. I. Bushnell, who mapped 16 mounds at this location (Brower 1901; Brower and Bushnell 1900; Halloran and Mather 2000). However, the site has been subjected to over a century of construction and development, which has greatly affected the nature of the site. The first archeological investigations at the Indian School site/Robbins Mound group (21ML0006) were conducted by Lloyd Wilford (1949a, 1949b) of the U of M during two visits in 1949. Wilford's initial description provides insights into the condition of the site at that time: "At the Indian School at the [Ayers] Trading Post there is evidence of a village site in the

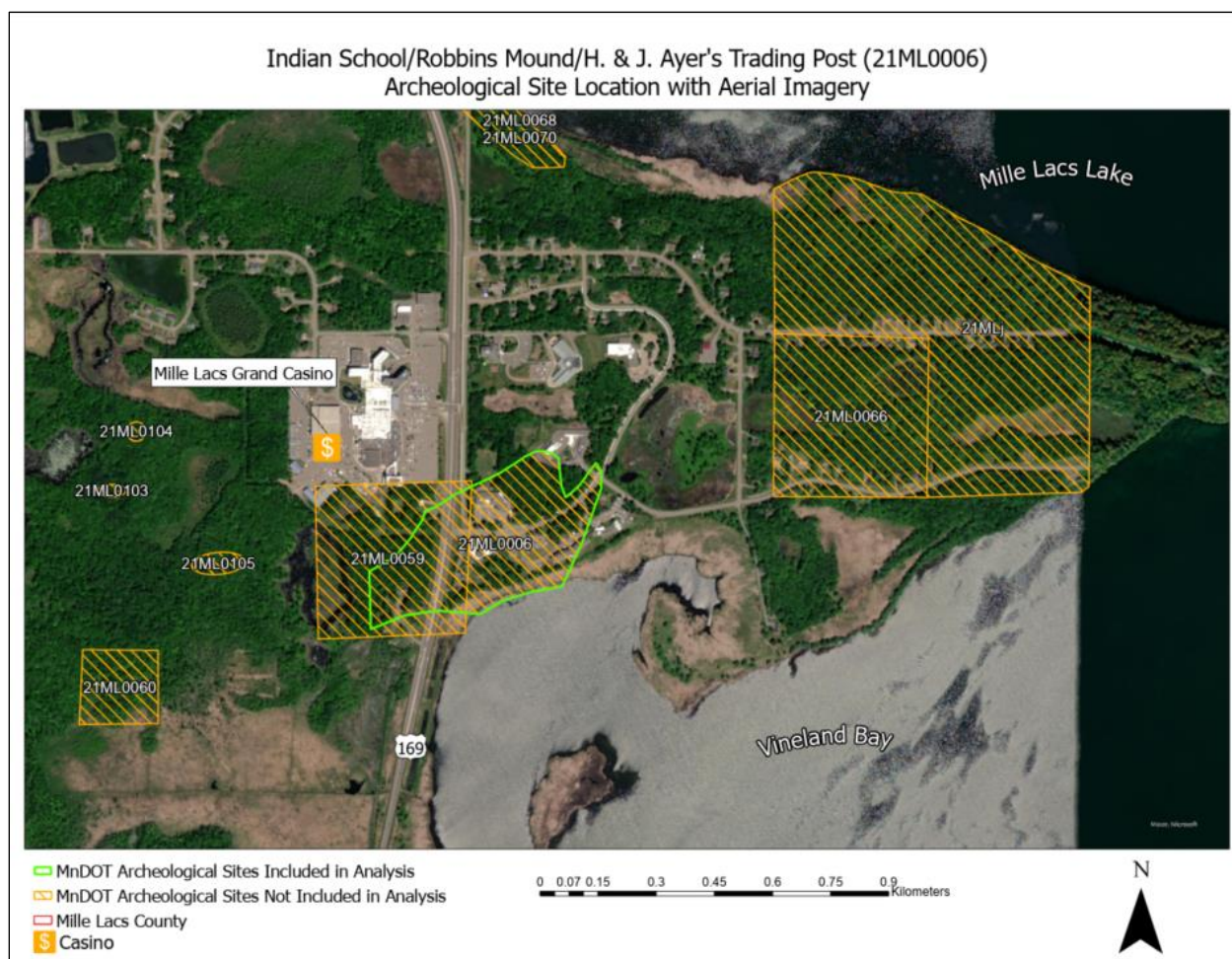
garden between the school and the lake. Mrs. Ayers and I collected sherds here and it will be permissible to dig here” (Wilford 1949a). Excavations carried out later in 1949 on “...the sloping bank southeast of the schoolhouse,” led to the recovery pottery which indicated occupations during the Middle and Late Woodland periods (Wilford 1949b: 27-30).

Archeological investigations in 1983 brought to light the past destruction of Ojibwe graves within and around Vineland Bay, as well as the recovery of Sandy Lake ceramics and lithic debitage (Halloran and Mather 2000; Streiff 1983). Grant E. Goltz conducted a survey in 1996 with the intent to locate surviving remains of the Robbins Mounds. Immediately west of the existing government center, he found three mounds, and another five mounds in the vicinity to the west of T.H. 169 (Goltz 1996). Goltz (1996) also recorded an area of disturbed mounds to the south of the Little Flower Mission (which is not a documented archeological site), which is located within site 21ML0006 (Goltz 1996; Halloran and Mather 2000).

In response to the accidental disturbance of human remains during sub-surface construction activities for the Mille Lacs reservation in 1997, Mark J. Dudzik of the OSA carried out an investigation of 21ML0006. It was discovered that two burials, which were separate features, had been impacted, though portions of each burial feature were still present in the walls of the construction excavation. Apart from the identification of the feature as a burial, no additional investigation of the second burial feature was undertaken. The remains were reinterred at their original location three days after their discovery (Dudzik 1997; Koenen 1997).

In 1999, the remaining three mounds at 21ML0006 were removed during the construction of the road leading to the casino (Foth and Van Dyke 1999). Recovered pottery and lithics dated to Isle, Vineland, Wahkon and Bradbury Phases (A.D. 600-1700), as well as St. Croix, Brainerd, Onamia, Kathio, and Ogechie, the latter two of which are ancestral Dakota pottery types (Gibbon

2012). Also in 1999, a Phase I archeological reconnaissance survey and an oral history documentation were undertaken by Teresa Halloran and David Mather of Loucks Associates at the property situated within the site area of 21ML0006 and located on Vineland Bay of *Mde Wakan* in the Vineland Community of the Mille Lacs Reservation. Although previous archeological investigations at 21ML0006 had determined that landscaping and construction had significantly disturbed the site, it was deemed possible that graves or human remains were still present at the site (Halloran and Mather 2000). Additionally, many of the Ojibwe tribal elders interviewed for the oral history documentation, and who had lived in the area since childhood, recalled being told as children that there were historic Ojibwe burials present at the south and west ends of the school and between rows of apple and plum trees that used to grow there. Because of this, it was decided that the western one-third of the project area would be avoided during excavations to prevent further disturbance of burials. It was recommended that the proposed construction be kept away from the hilltop where the old school was located and out of the extant mature trees, as those areas were found to contain artifacts, and likely burials as well, and appeared to be relatively undisturbed (Halloran and Mather 1999).



Map 5.29 – Aerial imagery of site 21ML0006, with overlapping and surrounding sites.

***21ML0009/21ML0016 – Cooper Village and Mound Site(s)**

The Cooper Village (21ML0009) and Mound (21ML0016) sites are a multi-component habitation site (21ML0009), and an earthwork and cemetery site (21ML0016), both of which contain a documented Eastern Dakota component, as well as components dating to the Woodland and Contact periods. The Cooper Village/Mound site (21ML0009/0016) occupies a point of land on the west-central shore of Lake Ogechie (there is no known Dakota place name for this lake) on a narrow upland terrace approximately 40 meters (131 feet) wide and curves along the base of an upland ridge for about 200 meters (656 feet). There are five known mounds associated with the Cooper Village and Mound sites (21ML0009/0016) (though more were likely extant at one

point in time), as well as a stockade, which is evidenced by a quadrangular-shaped outline on the point of land which extends to Lake Ogechie. The Cooper Village site (21ML0009) is one of at least four sites – the Bryan site (21GD0004) (Dobbs 1984: 49-48; Dobbs 1987a; Dobbs 1991; Winchell 1911: 171-174), the Belle Creek site (21GD0072) (Marcucci and Wiitanen-Eggen 2023 unpublished field notes from summer 2023 excavations) and the Browns Valley site (21TR0019) (Johnson 1991: 16; Lewis Notebook 8: 20-21; Winchell 1911: 308-309) – in the states that have evidence of a palisade, which at this site is a rectangular enclosure which measures about 105 by 290 feet (Cooper 1965: 5).

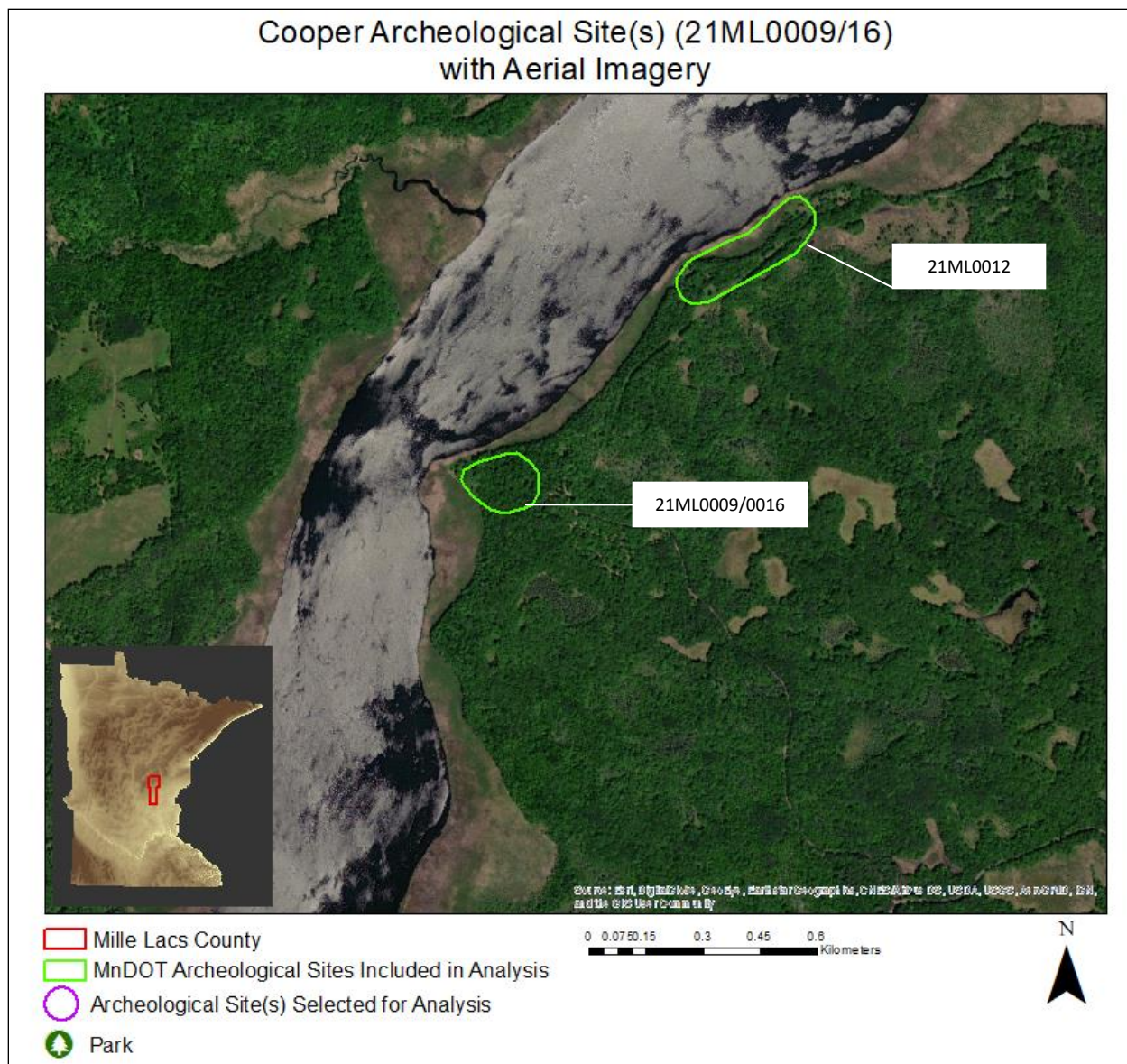
Both the Cooper sites (21ML0009 and 21ML0016) are located within the Kathio National Register Historic District and the Kathio National Historic Landmark. These historic districts were established based on the identification of the area as the traditional homeland of the Eastern Dakota peoples and as the location occupied by the Dakota when the first European explorers visited them in the 17th century (Radford et al. 2002: 118 [Weiss 1976]). The Cooper Village/Mounds sites (21ML0009/0016) are a contributing element to the importance of these historic districts “as it represents the latter part of a continuum of cultural development by American Indian peoples in the Mille Lacs Lake area through millennia of time,” and the individual listing of the Copper Village site (21ML0009) on the NRHP based on “its importance in defining the Woodland period in central Minnesota” (Radford et al. 2002: 118).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavation: During a general reconnaissance of the site area of sites 21ML0009/0016 in 1965, Leland Cooper of the U of M noted that the mounds, which were not excavated at this time, were “clearly in evidence and a quadrangular-shaped outline involving the point of land which extends into the lake suggested a possible stockade” (Cooper 1965: 2). Additionally, visible to the south of the outline were “shallow pits of some size

with well-marked elevated borders which excited interest” (ibid.). It was discovered that these bowl-shaped depressions, which were dispersed throughout the village area, had been lined with clay and subsequently fired were located, as well as circular outlines, and though were initially thought to be the remains of wild rice cache pits, were found to be human burials; a total of six of these burial pits were found (Cooper 1965: 4). The stockade feature, which was roughly rectangular, measured approximately 290 feet (88.4 meters) and roughly 105 feet (32 meters) wide. Near the center of the north line of the stockade was a break suggestive of an opening for access to the lake, and at the northwestern corner of the enclosure was a clearly indicated extension believed to have been a lookout structure (Cooper 1965: 5). Along the southern outline of the stockade, and for much of its western length four well-marked depressions surrounded by ridges of earth were visible; they were square with rounded corners, and on the southern border of each a break in the outline was visible, again suggestive of an entrance. Cooper (1965) believed these contiguous square structural features to be the remains of houses due to the discovery of a somewhat central fireplace, sherds of a cord-impressed vessel found in and scattered around the fireplace, and the border of what he believed to be a storage pit (Cooper 1965: 8).

Data from excavations carried out by Gordon Lothson, Leland R. Cooper, and Jan Streiff of the U of M in the 1960s suggest that the village portion of the Cooper site (21ML0009) was occupied from about 800 years ago until contact with French explorers and subsequent warfare with the Ojibwe (Johnson 1974). During excavations of Mound 1 at the Cooper Mound Site (21ML0016), archeologists encountered human remains of more than 50 individuals. Although no known individuals were identified in the human remains recovered during four other archeological investigations carried out throughout the 1960s, “[b]ased on the associated

funerary objects and manner of interment, these individuals have been identified as Native American. Based on material culture, manner of interment, and village subsistence practices, the Cooper site has been identified as a Mdewankanton Dakota occupation dating after 1670 A.D.” (Federal Register, Volume 63 Issue 75 [Monday, April 20, 1998]: 4). At the request of the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council (MIAC) and the Minnesota State Archeologist, the human remains (some partial) recovered from this mound were reinterred in June of 1988; “the remains were placed into the pit and a religious ceremony was conducted by Dakota Elders” (Radford and George 1990: 109).



Map 5.30 – Aerial imagery of sites 21ML0009 and 21ML0016.

***21ML0011 – Petaga Point (overlaps with 21ML0063)**

Petaga Point (21ML0011) is a multi-component site located at the outlet of Lake Ogechie, which is “a major wild rice producing lake” (Johnson 1969: 34), on the *Mdote Mini Wakanj* (Rum River). 21ML0011 has a documented Eastern Dakota component, as well as an upper Woodland period component and a lower, earlier Archaic period component. Petaga Point (21ML0011) is the type-site for Onamia, Kathio, and Ogechie pottery, three of the pottery series essential to

understanding the archeology of central Minnesota (Caine and Goltz 2009). The Petaga Point site (21ML0011) is located within the Kathio National Register Historic District and the Kathio National Historic Landmark and is one of a series of sites within these historic districts that are associated with precontact development of Native Americans in the Mille Lacs Lake area of Minnesota. It is interesting to note that the name of the site appears to correlate with the Dakota term *pteġa* – “a marsh, a low place, a swampy place” (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 427; Williamson 1992: 427), which provides linguistic support for the Dakota connection to the site.

It has been purported that Petaga Point (21ML0011) is an example of one of the larger villages that were part of the Blackduck-Kathio-Clam River Continuum archeological complex, a variation of the typical ephemeral, shifting residential camps utilized by small, autonomous family groups (Gibbon 2003). Bleed (1969) has also described in detail features associated with “late pre-historic and historic wild rice processing activities [*which are*] scattered over the entire point” (Johnson 1969: 34). This type of [habitation] site is also seen at 21ML0002. The impressions of four other house features, at least one of which was also burnt, were also identified at the site during Johnson’s field work excavations.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: The site area of 21ML0011 was part of a farm owned by the Moore family and artifacts had been collected by members of that family in the 1920s and 1930s from the fields where the picnic area is now located. Reports of copper artifacts in the Moore family collection spurred initial efforts to conduct professional archeological excavations at Petaga Point (21ML0011) (Radford et al. 2002: 109).

The first documented archeological excavations at Petaga Point (21ML0011) were conducted by Leland Cooper of the U of M in 1965 as part of a development examination for Mille Lacs-Kathio State Park, during which, Cooper located features indicative of both

precontact and contact components (Cooper 1965). testing led to the identification of a mound, as well as possible Archaic and Middle Woodland components, the former of which was evidenced by two major horizons, indicative of two separate occupations, and the latter by rim sherds and lithic artifacts recovered (ibid.: 10).

Archeological investigations were carried out again in 1966 by Peter Bleed and Elden Johnson of the U of M, during which they identified three major periods of occupation (Bleed and Johnson 1966). The Late Archaic period was evidenced by copper and lithic tools typical of the period. Though small, the Middle Woodland component was represented primarily by the presence of St. Croix Stamped pottery, other lithic tools and possibly by double-ended copper awls. A Late Woodland component was determined based on the discovery of pottery representing Onamia, Kathio, Sandy Lake, Ogechie and Checked-Stamped, in addition to large samples of typical Late Woodland projectile points (Bleed and Johnson 1966). Bleed and Johnson's 1966 excavations also located various features, including burials, ricing features, rock concretions, and a mass/concentration of ash and partially burned logs, which was discovered to be the corner of a semi-subterranean house floor at the end of the field season; the rectangular structure had burned, which left behind ash and charred logs in position outlining the house dimensions (Bleed and Johnson 1966). Along with ongoing constructive activities in the area of the site, the discovery of the charred log feature in 1966 spurred Elden Johnson to continue archeological investigations at Petaga Point (21ML0011) the following year. Johnson's 1967 investigations concentrated on the feature of ash and charred logs, and excavations revealed that it was the remains of a Late Prehistoric rectangular semi-subterranean house dating to the Wahkon phase (1000-1300 A.D.). This house feature was also found to be outlined by a line of post molds, had an additional 2-meter (2.1 yards) entrance passage and contained an offset main

fire pit located toward the entrance. Following 1967 excavations at 21ML0011, archeological work at Mille Lacs-Kathio State Park during the last three decades of the 20th century were oriented toward reconnaissance surveys or mitigation of park-related developments. Although an accession record indicates that approximately 100 artifacts were recovered during this later work at the park, almost no information exists concerning this work (Radford et al. 2002: 109).

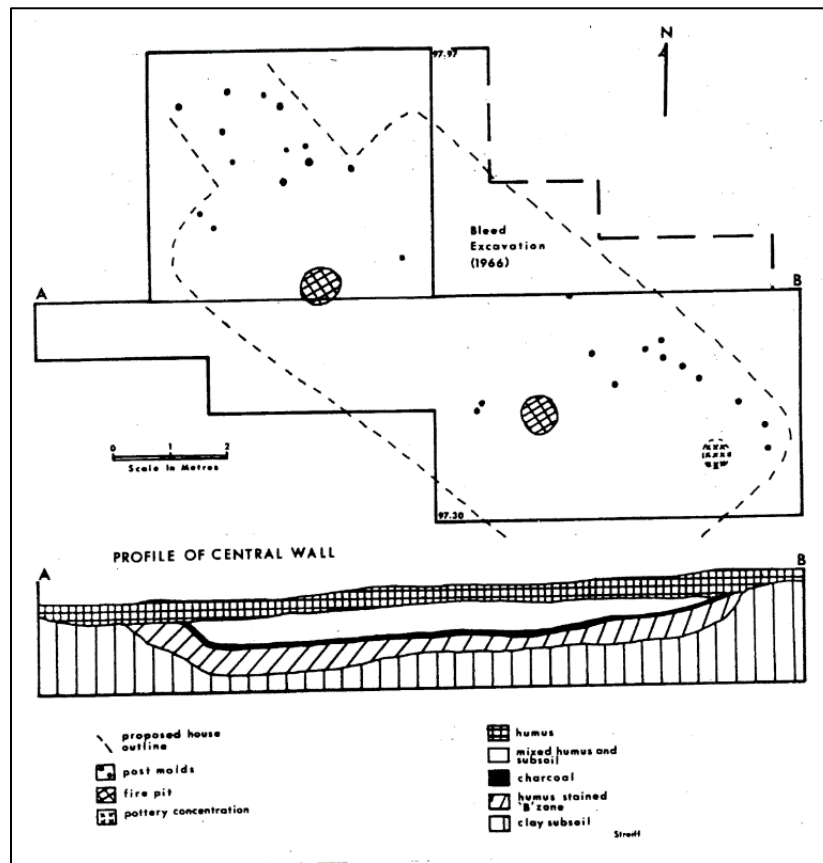


Figure 5.17 – Planview and profile of burned house feature excavated in 1967, reproduced from Johnson (1971) (Mather and Cummings 2010).

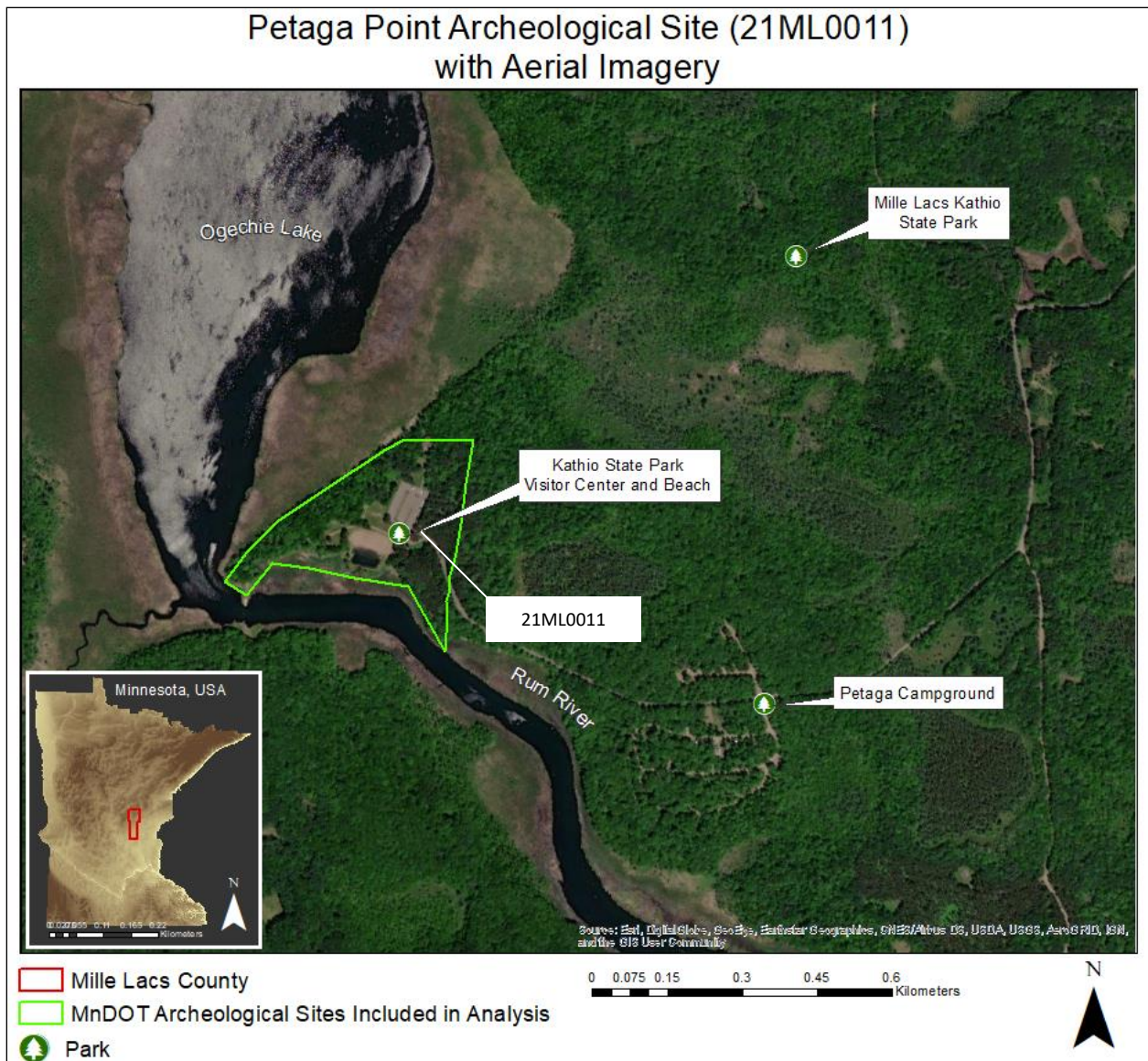
In 1995, archeologists (Radford 1995) from the MHS working for MNDNR Parks and Recreation monitored construction activities for the installation of an electrical line that was to run from the Interpretive Center area to a new campground area. Although no artifactual materials were noted during construction activities, which were monitored by archeologists, in 1995, several mound-like features were identified during a preliminary visit to the site with Jim

Jones of MIAC; Jones recommend a course for the power line trench that would avoid the possible mounds and that an examination of the mound features be conducted to determine if they were cemetery related. Surface survey was conducted, and intensive testing consisted of shovel testing and the excavation of formal units. The expansion of the Interpretive Center in 1995 required intensive testing of the area immediately at the structure. Although the formal excavation units dug in 1999 by David S. Radford (Radford et al. 2002) working for the MHS for State Parks demonstrated that archeological deposits had been subjected to significant damage, the recovery of cultural materials, including Malmo phase pottery, from the excavation units substantiated the presence of Middle Woodland occupation at 21ML0011, which had first been identified in 1985 when Malmo and Brainerd sherds were recovered from a single test unit excavated by the MHS (Radford et al. 2002: 110). Based on the results of the 1999 shovel test units, which demonstrated the presence of Precontact period artifacts right up to the foot of the building footings and the presence of four probable mound features in a wooded area that had not been developed, the site area of 21ML0011 was expanded to include the Interpretive Center (Radford et al. 2002: 110).

In 2009, as part of the “Kathio Artifact Inventory and Analysis Project,” Christy A. Hohman-Caine conducted an inventory and analysis of the collections from the Mille Lacs-Kathio State Park, which included those from Petaga Point (21ML0011). The descriptive analysis was based on rim sherds from accession numbers 578 (Bleed’s work in 1965) and 635 (Johnson’s work in 1976) and included a review of decorated and non-rims. Caine asserted that while the difference in the total number of rims indicated that Bleed’s publication “included only some subset of the ceramics that were included in the present analysis,” it was clear that in

general, the profile for 21ML0011 was similar, in that Onamia and Kathio types predominated (Caine and Goltz 2009: 3).

A public outreach archeology program conducted for the Kathio State Park by Seppo H. Valppu (2011) in 2010, during which soil samples were collected from an undisturbed excavation baulk left from those earlier excavations and submitted for macro-botanical analysis. Analysis of the soil samples showed: 1) subsistence activities at 21ML0011 could have included harvesting or processing berries and cherries; 2) although previous soil analysis showed the presence of wild rice utilization in the area, wild rice remains did not appear in these samples; and 3) what the overstory and understory were like during the occupation of the site and what materials were available for the construction of dwellings and utilization of local food sources (Valppu 2011).



Map 5.31 – Aerial imagery of site 21ML0011.

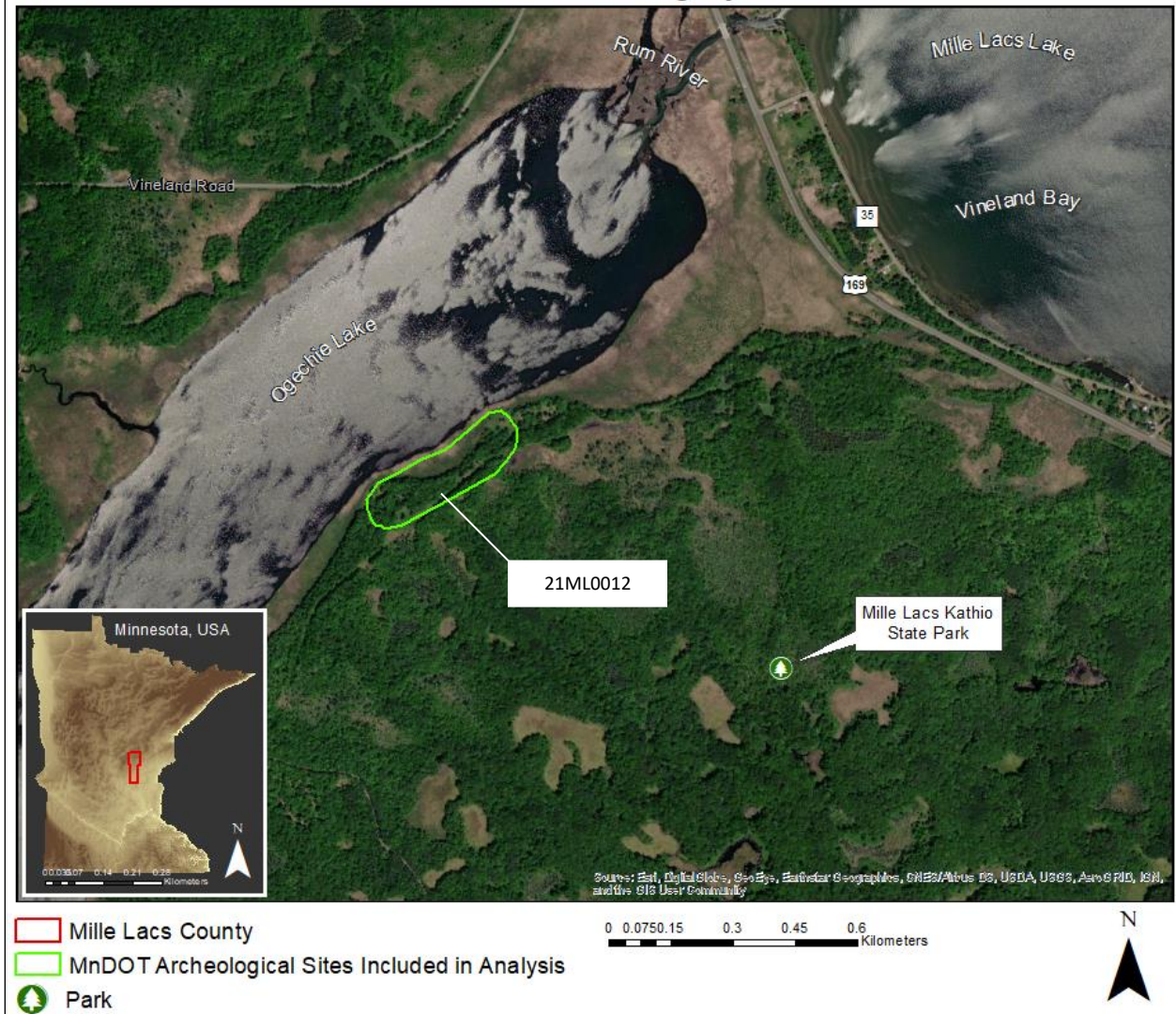
***21ML0012 – L. A. Wilford Site**

The Wilford site (21ML0012) is a small habitation site, probably used as a ricing camp, which is located along the shoreline on a low outwash deposit on the east bank of Lake Ogechie (no known Dakota place name), although it has been suggested that 21ML0012 is an example of year-round Woodland villages (Gibbon 2003: 28). There are historically documented Eastern Dakota, Ojibwe, and French components at the Wilford site (21ML0012). Along with the Cooper

sites (21ML0009/0016), the Wilford site (21ML0012) provide evidence of direct associations between French introduced trade goods and locally produced aboriginal material culture. This evidence finally provided a definite connection which could be used to associate previously defined pre-Euro-American pottery with the historically identified Dakota, a finding which had eluded researchers since Brower (Radford and George 1990: 114).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: Surveyed and tested by Leland Cooper in 1965, when the site was discovered, and David Webster in 1971, test excavations demonstrated that the site is fairly large, and consists of a camping/cooking area near the beach and possibly a village area, and mounds further back on a ridge. During testing, immense amounts of pottery were recovered from the site, which may have been occupied about the same time as the Cooper village site (21ML0009). Semi-subterranean houses (like those seen at Silvernale [21GD0003]) as well as rectangular trench and post houses were observed, as well as trade items of 17th to 19th century French and Indian contact. In 1975, under the direction of Elden Johnson, excavations carried out by U of M summer session field school students at 21ML0012 proved the site to be a late prehistoric and “protohistoric” habitation site that also contained early French-contact materials in direct association with an assemblage dominated by Sandy Lake and Ogechie pottery. Trench and post and semi-subterranean house types, and numerous shallow basin-shaped pits were noted at the site, and significant zoological/botanical remains were also recovered.

L. A. Wilford Archeological Site (21ML0006)
with Aerial Imagery



Map 5.32 – Aerial imagery of site 21ML0012; incorrect site number in map title, though correct site is shown in map.

MORRISON COUNTY

21MO0033 – Twin Oaks

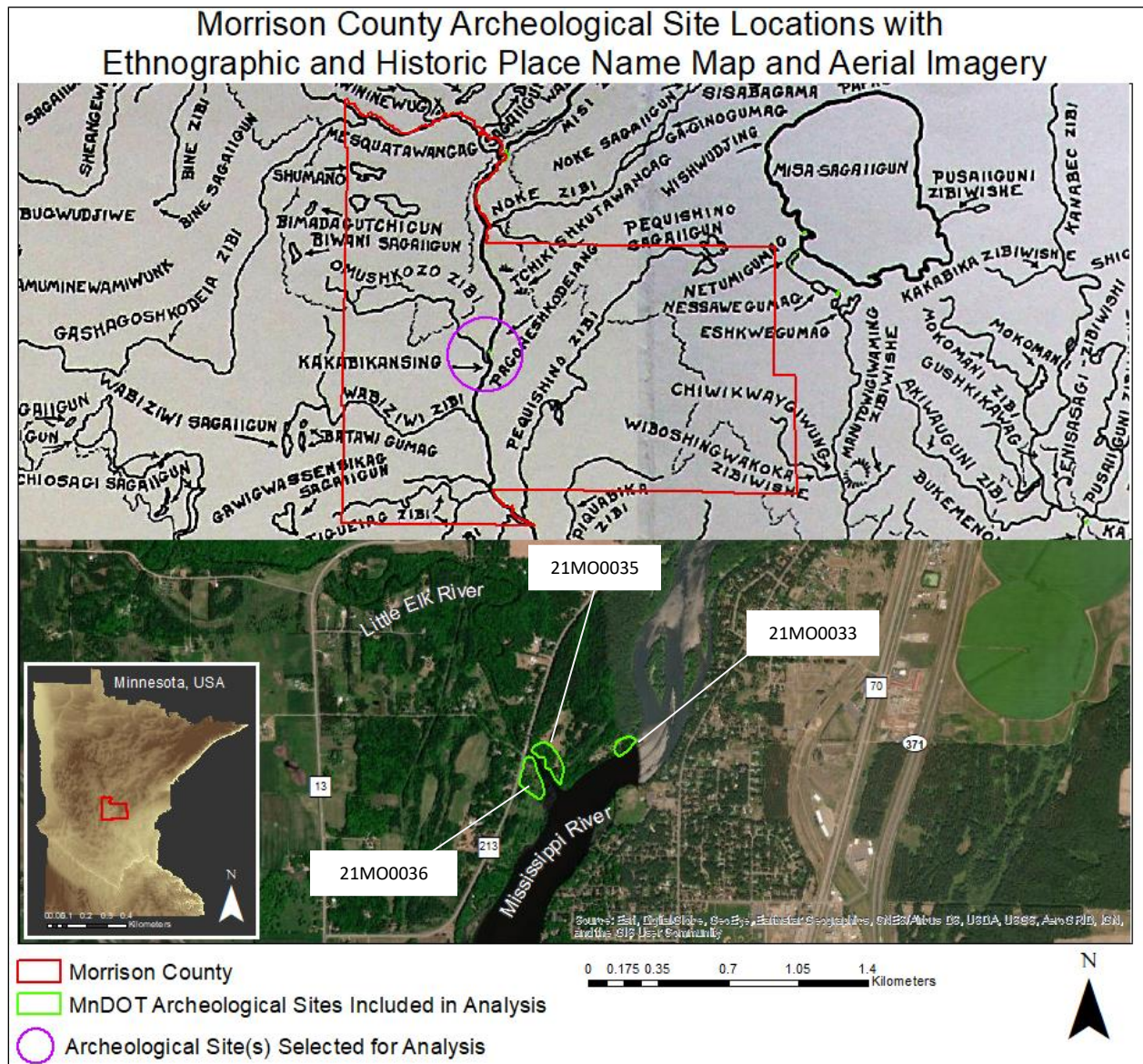
The Twin Oaks site (21MO0033) is located on a floodplain north and west of the confluence of the Little Elk River (no Dakota name could be found for this river) and the *Haha Wakpa* and extends north along the west bank of the *Haha Wakpa*. 21MO0033 is a multi-component site

with Pre-Contact, Contact (mid-1800s), and Post-Contact components; it consists of a prehistoric Woodland Period artifact scatter, an historic Ojibwe dwelling, and includes rock quarries and historic rock carvings. The Twin Oaks site (21MO0033) is located on the Little Elk Heritage Preserve (LEHP) and is situated near the site of the Little Elk mission, which was established at the request of Ojibwe chief *Bagone-giizhig* – “Hole-in-the-Day.” Also contained on the LEHP is the 21MO0020 fort, which consists of the remains believed to have been the cabin of Ojibwe chief Hole-in-the-Day I, a Methodist-Episcopal mission site, explorer Joseph Nicollet’s camp site, Major Ashley Morrill’s barn site, an 1850s-era quarry, and a milling site. Ownership of the Little Elk archeological collections and records was transferred to the Morrison County Historical Society (MCHS) in 2005.

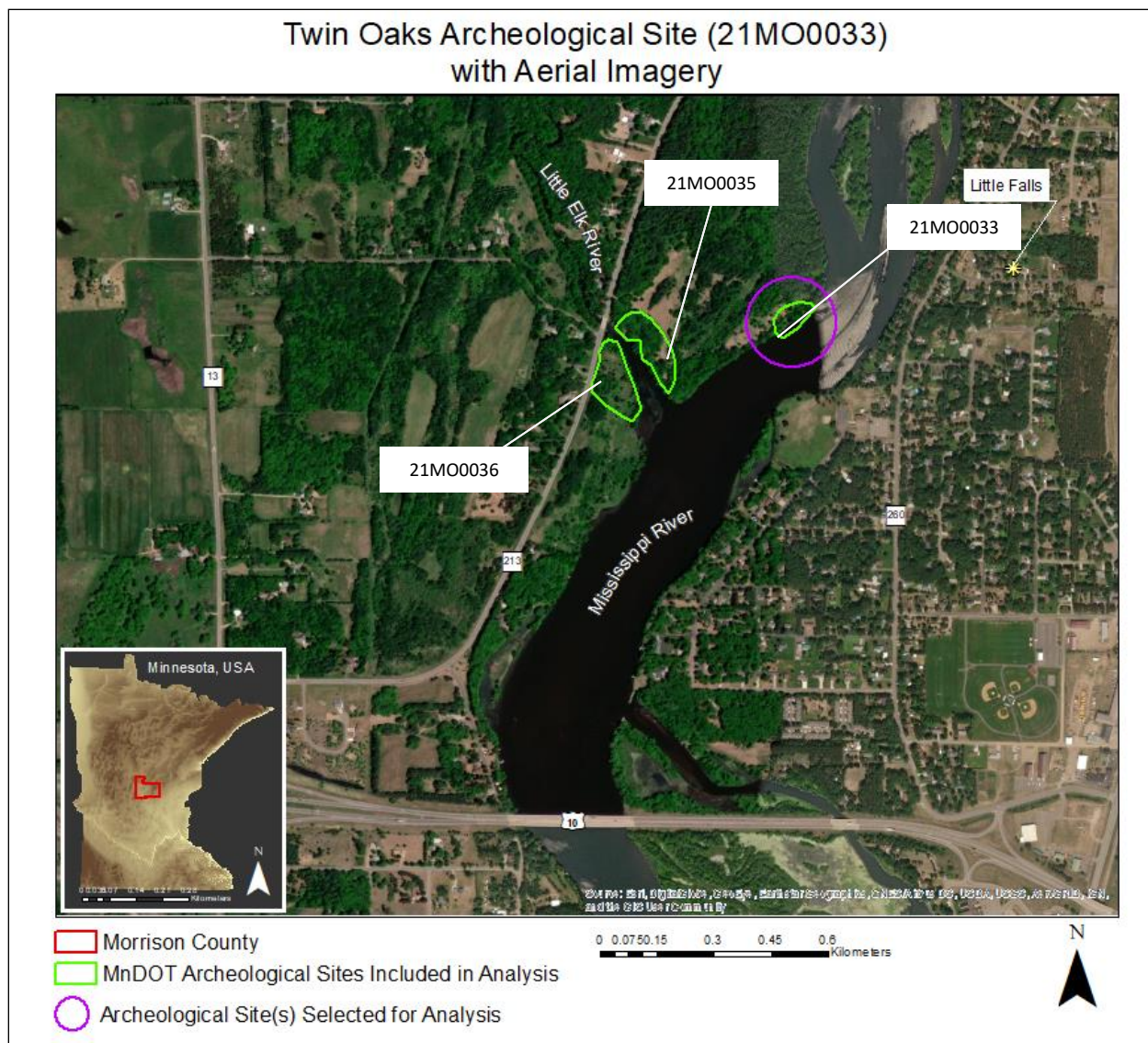
Although there is no documented Dakota component at the Twin Oaks site (21MO0033), located less than ½ of a mile away from it are two sites – 21MO0035 and 21MO0036 – which do contain documented Eastern Dakota components and are included in this analysis, and a review of the Mn/OSA files for all three of these sites revealed that they were formerly known collectively as 21MO0033 (21MO0033 Mn/OSA Files). Therefore, based on this and the proximity of 21MO0033 to these archeological sites that have documented Eastern Dakota components, it is quite possible that the Twin Oaks site (21ML0033) has an undocumented Eastern Dakota component. Moreover, this situation reifies the persistent/reoccurring theme throughout this analysis – that there is a distinct lack of knowledge regarding Dakota archeology – which is an issue that needs to be addressed and improved upon.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: The Twin Oaks site (21MO0033) is marked by a rocky earth mound, which formal testing carried out by Douglas Birk of IMA Consulting, Inc. in 19787 found to be the probable remains of a log structure and stone fireplace

(Birk 1991: 70). Records left by missionaries of the former Little Elk mission indicate that they had helped build a cabin for an Ojibwe elder at the Little Elk, Chief Hole-in-the-Day, who maintained a village at the location of 21MO0033, and it has been speculated that the historic component of 21MO0033 represent the chief's cabin (ibid.).



Map 5.33 – Aerial imagery (bottom) and Durand’s (1994) adapted ethnohistoric map (top) of Morrison County showing the archeological sites in the county which are included in this analysis.



Map 5.34 – Aerial imagery of site 21MO0033.

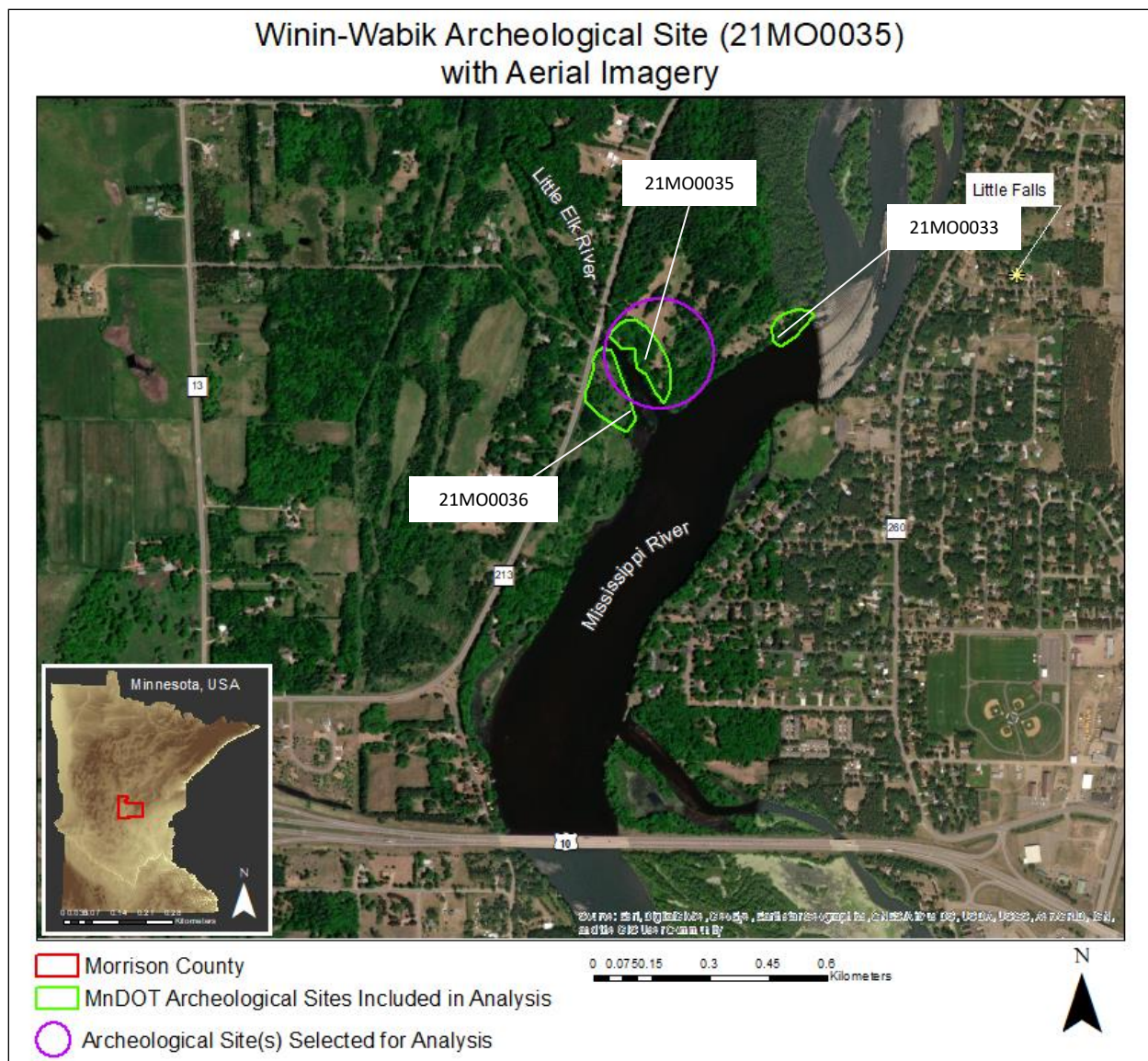
***21MO0035 – Winin-Wabik**

The *Winin-Wabik* site (21MO0035) is a multi-component rock art site located north of the city of Little Falls, Morrison County on a floodplain and low terrace along the north bank of the Little Elk River at its confluence with the *Haha Wakpa*. The site is also located within the boundaries of the Little Elk Heritage Preserve (LEHP). Both Eastern Dakota and Ojibwe components have been documented at 21MO0035, though the details pertaining to the Eastern Dakota component at the site were not ascertainable from the review of Mn/OSA files, reports of past archeological

investigations (Birk 1991; Ward 1997), etc., and do not seem to be justified by the present data – which is, of course, part of the problem. Materials recovered from the site indicate both “early” Native American as well as historic use of the site area, and includes features that are possible ancient and historic stone quarries, a possible old portage trail, historic “signature” petroglyphs (i.e., personal names carved into the rock in recent times), and numerous borrow pits and other ground surface alterations left from late 1800s developments. A log cabin and two small outbuildings are also located in the site area. Rocky exposures of schist and near-black slate, some of which is marbled with occasional veins of white quartz, at the mouth of the Little Elk River and which extend for a short distance up along the *Haha Wakpa*, where they coincide in part with the Little Elk Rapids. It is from these rock formations that the *Winin-Wabik* site (21MO0035) takes its name, for Ojibwe peoples saw a visual resemblance between the quartz intrusions and layers of animal fat, and thus named the rock *Winin-Wabik* or “fat rock” (Brower 1902: 122).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavation: Although Joseph Nicollet sketched a small waterfall on the Little Elk River at this location in 1836, rock quarrying and dam construction in the western and central portions of the *Winin-Wabik* site (21MO0035) and the old falls, west of the Little Elk Historic Preserve log cabin (Birk 1991: 69; Ward 1997: 8). In 1997, The Morrison County Public Works contracted IMA Consulting, Inc. archeologists led by Jeanne A. Ward to conduct a Phase I cultural resource survey of two areas along County State Aid Highway 213 (CSAH 213); surface reconnaissance and pedestrian surveys carried out were based on field observations, current at the time, and results of prior surveys, including those made by Anfinson in 1985 and by IMA archeologists in 1987 (Ward 1997: 6). Cultural materials were recovered from the CSAH project APE that were indicative of a Native American component and included

a deposit of lithic debitage that consisted primarily of white quartz, which “may have been quarried from bed rock exposures in the site area,” FCR (fire-cracked rock), animal bone, a very limited amount of grit-tempered pottery, and possible features though to be large borrow pits or quarries (Ward 1997: 8). While it was assumed that these features were the product of Post-Contact development activities, this interpretation is not elaborated on in Ward’s 1997 report. It was recommended that steps be taken to avoid impacts on the site, and that the ditch-bank within the area of the *Winin-Wabik* site (21MO0035) be stabilized to eliminate the ongoing effects of erosion. Any stabilization efforts would likely require the mitigation of the cultural resources (Ward 1997: 13).



Map 5.35 – Aerial imagery of site 21MO0035.

***21MO0036 – Little Elk Mill Complex**

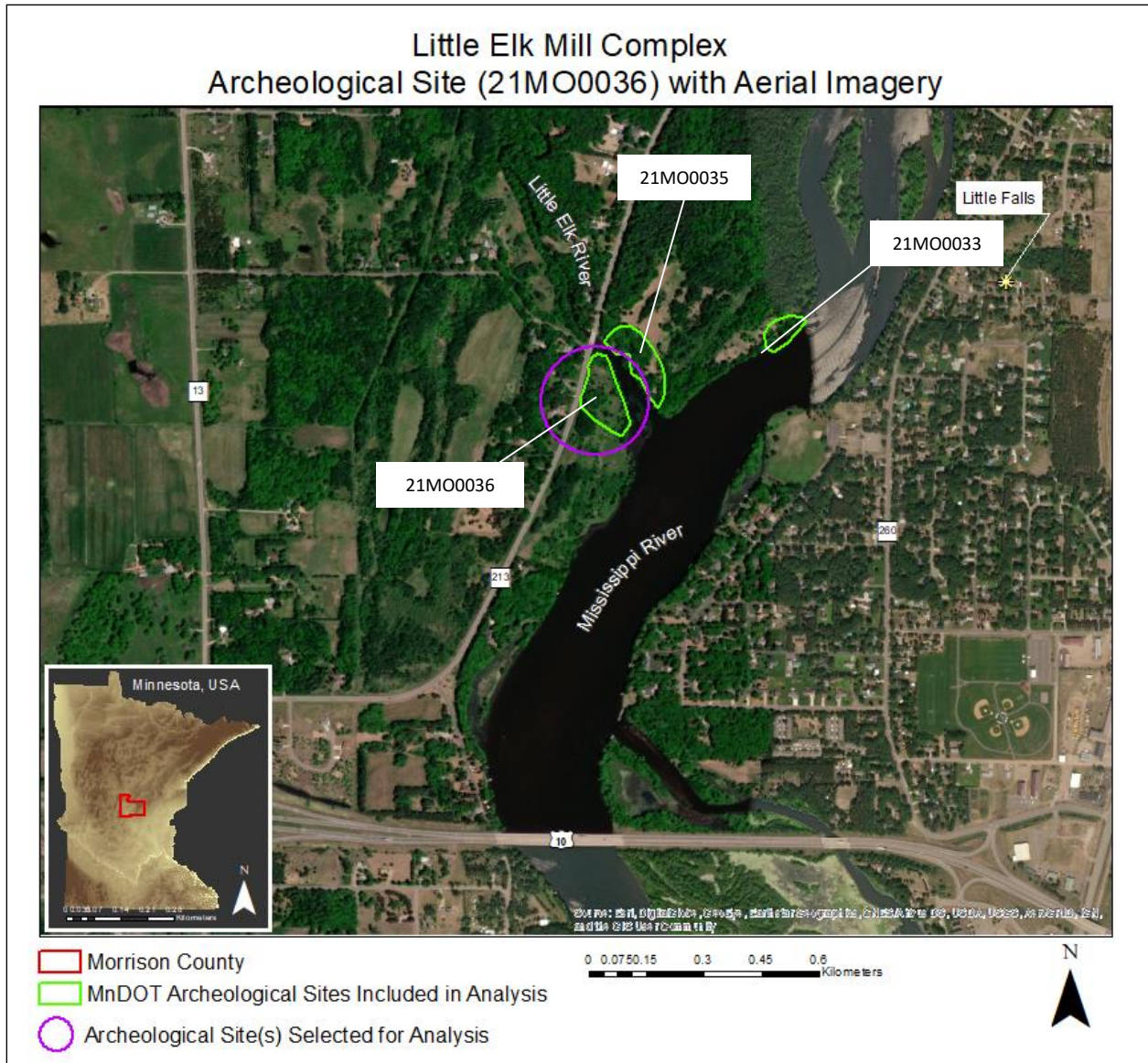
The Little Elk Mill Complex site (21MO0036) is a multi-component site that lies along the southern banks of the Little Elk River and the *Haha Wakpa*. Prehistoric Native American materials that suggest the site area functioned as a portage, fishery, and/or lithic processing station, as well as extensive evidence of 19th and 20th century structures and activities (mill, townsite, and farm). In the 1850s, the area of 21MO0036 was the nucleus of a settlement, as

evidenced by extensive quantities of historic materials primarily related to architectural, household, commercial, and farming debris. Although both Eastern Dakota and Ojibwe components have been documented at the Little Elk Mill Complex site (21MO0036), the attribution of an Eastern Dakota component at 21MO0036 represents the same problem discussed above for 21MO0035; the cultural affiliation is not elaborated on in the Mn/OSA files, nor in reports from past investigations conducted at the site. Furthermore, based on reports from investigations at 21MO0036, it appears that there has been an emphasis on analysis of the Euro-American component at the site.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: In 1985, Scott Anfinson conducted an archeological investigation for the replacement of the Little Elk bridge, which included part of the site area of 21MO0036. The area of the site that fell within the area of potential effect contained a deposit of lithic debitage with FCR and possible features, which included a large borrow pit or quarry; the relevant debitage was predominantly white quartz, which may have been manuported from bed rock exposures in the site area (Birk 1985). Shovel testing around 21MO0036, southeast of the bridge, recovered an array of late 19th century artifacts, some of which reflected a conflagration. In 1987, systemic shovel testing carried out by Douglas Birk resulted in the recovery and/or observation of other historic materials (Birk 1987). It is likely that these late 19th century artifacts are representative of the Ojibwe component at the site since the Dakota had been forced out of the area starting in the 17th century into the 18th century.

In 1997, David W. Kluth of the Leech Lake Heritage Sites Program conducted a Phase II archeological evaluation of five sites (21MO0036, 21MO0147, 21MO0148, 21MO0149, and 21MO0150) for MnDOT in association with proposed reconstruction of CSAH 213 in Morrison County, Minnesota (Kluth et al. 1989). Excavation units were placed in areas found in earlier

1997 investigations to have high artifact concentrations. While it was not possible to determine the age of the prehistoric components at the site due to lack of recovery of diagnostic cultural materials, it was of interest that quartz was either the dominant raw material or the only raw material, which “may indicate temporally comparable prehistoric occupations, as a preference for locally available Quartz is being exhibited” at the site (Kluth et al. 1998: 9). While no “pre-Territorial historic” intact deposits were found to exist within the APE of the project, the only deposits located at the site in the project area dating to the 1890s, and no earlier deposits were located, Kluth’s excavations “demonstrated that the areas located within the APE are contributing elements and should be preserved (Kluth et al. 1998: 13).



Map 5.36 – Aerial imagery of site 21MO0036.

NICOLLET COUNTY

*21NL0073 – Traverse des Sioux

The Traverse des Sioux site (21NL0073) (which contains 21NL0005 [Old Traverse des Sioux Mounds], 21NL0060 [Dodd Road East/Gault Road], 21NL0061 [Dodd Road West], and 21NL0070 [History Center]; overlaps with 21NL0050 [McLeod]), is a multi-component site located on the left or western side of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* which has been used by people

throughout pre-contact and contact times. The Minnesota River Valley “is immensely rich in prehistoric cultural resources,” and “It is noteworthy that every stream located in the project area [eight-mile stretch of T.H. 169 near St. Peter] has at least one site located at or near its confluence” (Beving Long and Henning 1996: 12). In addition to an Eastern Dakota component, Paleoindian and Woodland Period occupations have been identified at 21NL0073, and in historic times it was the site of a missionary station and multiple fur trading establishments, as well as a mid-19th century townsite, a late-19th century farm, and was where an 18th century historic Dakota village was situated (Clouse 2001, qtd. in Steiner 1995). 21NL0073 is within the present-day city of St. Peter.

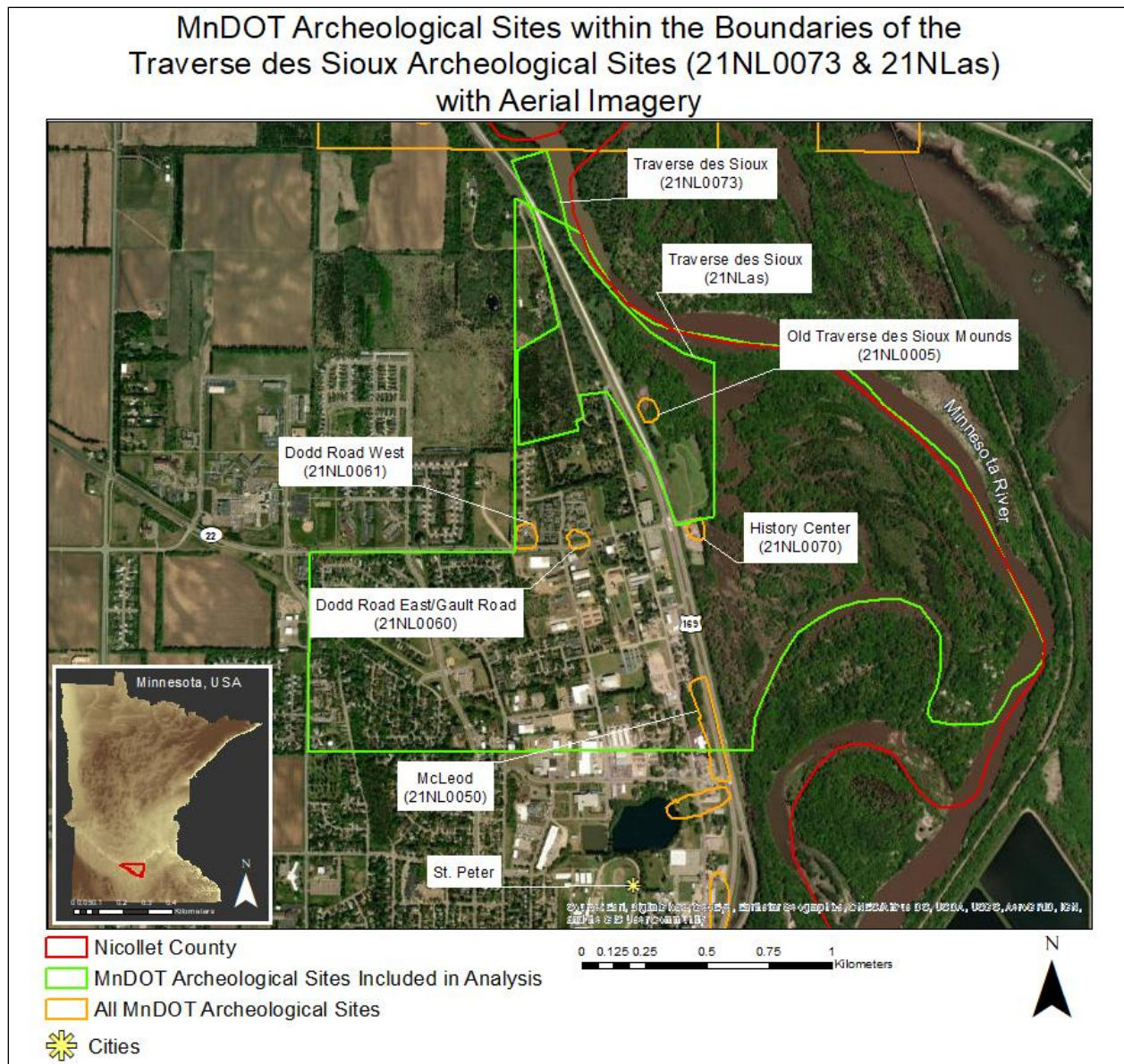
As discussed in preceding chapters, *Oiyuwege* (Traverse des Sioux) is a good example of environmental influence on the lives of past peoples; situated on a long, fairly high terrace immediately above the floodplain of the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, it “...was a landmark for the Dakotas, for here their ancient trail from the western plains to forests of eastern Minnesota crossed the Minnesota River. The best and most convenient ford was found here” (Hughes 1969: 84). The geographic setting of *Oiyuwege* also made it a natural location for the villages of Dakota peoples, as well as other Native Americans (Hughes 1969; Smith 1967). The site of Traverse des Sioux (21NL0073) or *Oiyuwege* eventually also became an advantageous spot for traders, such as Louis Provencalle or La Blanc who established a trading post around 1810 on the west side of the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, as well as Alexander Faribault around 1826, and Martin McLeod built a post on the east side of the river across from La Blanc or Provencalle (Smith 1967: 17-18). Additionally, in 1843, Protestant missionaries Stephen and Mary Riggs, Robert and Agnes Hopkins, Thomas L. Longly, and Jane S. Williamson established a Native American mission on the river terrace between the ford and the village of *Maza Śa* (Red Iron), which consisted of three

white frame buildings. The mission was utilized until the removal of Dakota peoples in 1853 (ibid.), after which “Speculators and *bona fide* settlers rushed to take advantage of the newly opened land” (Beving Long and Henning 1996: 9; emphasis in original). Traverse des Sioux was also the location where U.S. representatives along with 35 chiefs of the *Wahpetonwan* and *Sisitonwan*, including chief *Maza Ša*, signed the 1851 Treaty of Traverse des Sioux (Diedrich 1989). “Research on the treaty and subsequent efforts at the site have shown that the site has become symbolic...in a manner inconsistent with the site’s history. Embellishment of the historical facts has led to the creation of the site as a sacred place” (Steiner 1995, qtd. in *Archaeology in Minnesota: 1999 Project Report Summaries*: 32).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: In 1993, the MHS conducted the first archeological research at 21NL0073 under the direction of Elizabeth Steiner. Phase I reconnaissance of the greater site area and Phase II testing of the mission building resulted in the expansion of the known period of occupation of the site to as far back as 9,000 years ago, reestablished the location of six burial mounds (21NL0005), and identified elements of all the components mentioned above, apart from the 18th century Dakota village, (Steiner 1995). Also in 1993, the MATHARS and MHS conducted an investigation of T.H. 169 between St. Peter and Le Sueur (Peterson et al. 1994). As there was potential for the existence of previously unrecorded historical properties within the project area, Barbara Beving Long and Dale R. Henning of Rivercrest Associates, Inc. carried out an additional field review which revealed that one of the four of the construction locations was located within the boundaries of the previously defined National Register District of Traverse des Sioux and resulted in the identification of three previously unrecorded American Indian habitation or limited use sites: the Rogers Creek site

(21NL0066), the Barney Fry Creek site (21NL0067), and the Sorensen site (21NL0068) (Peterson et al. 1994: 345).

Archeological investigations were carried out in 2000 under the direction of Robert Clouse, Head of the Archaeology Department at the Minnesota Historical Society with the intent to evaluate the potential impact from proposed construction activities on contributing elements of the National Register site Traverse des Sioux Historic site (21NL0073). Shovel testing and excavations revealed the undisturbed, *in situ* nature of archeological deposits that contained mid-19th century Euro-American material culture as well as artifacts in deeper layers that were the product of pre-contact American Indian occupations (Clouse 2001). Construction methods were designed to prevent adverse effects from the intended improvements (*ibid.*).



Map 5.37 – Map with aerial imagery of Traverse des Sioux Site (21NL0073) with the archeological sites that are contained within and/or overlap with it.

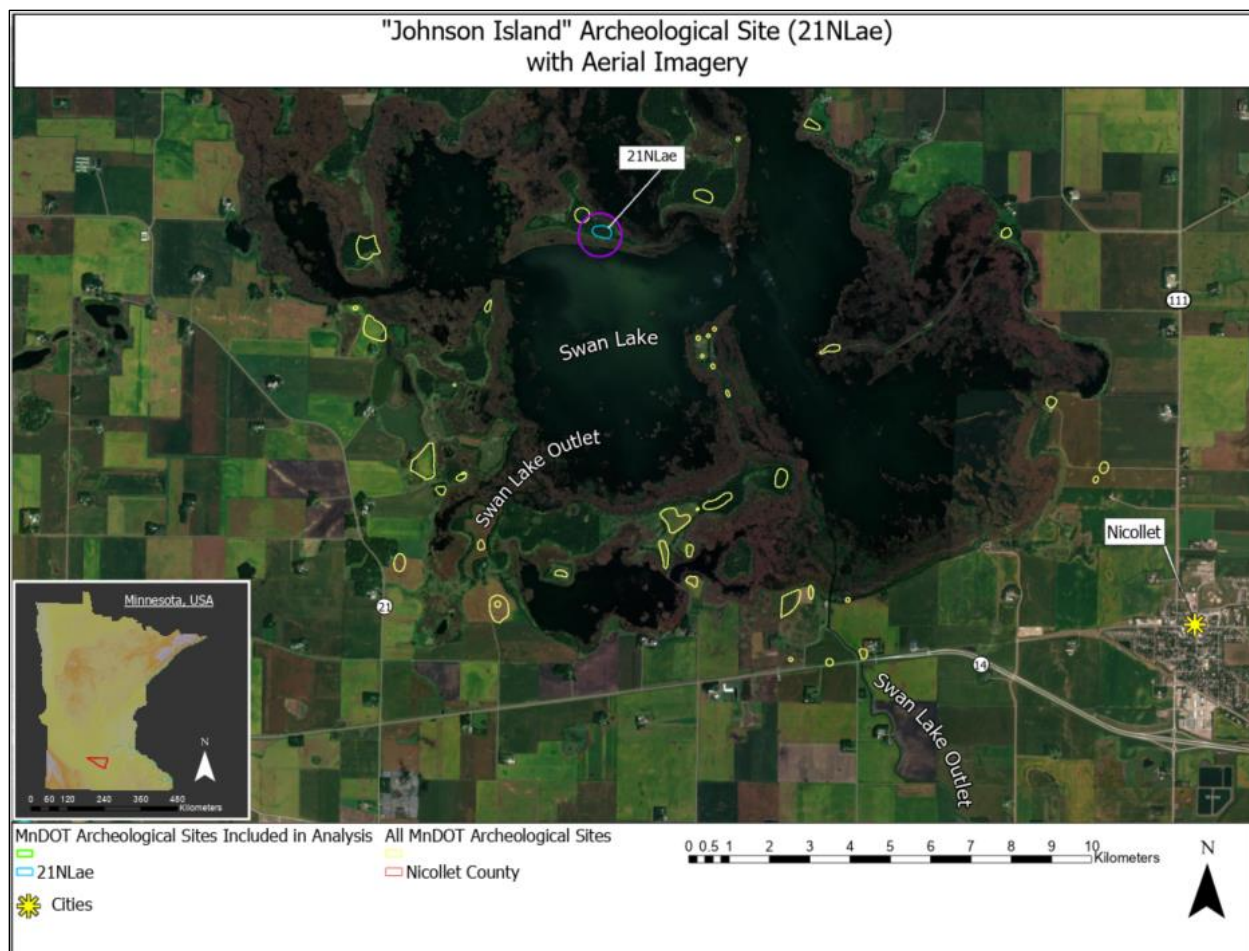
21NLae – Johnson Island

Although the Johnson Island site (21NLae) lacks a documented Eastern Dakota component, as very little work has been done at this alpha site, the limited research which has been conducted at the site (Wormke, unpublished thesis) it contains historic – 1820s to 1840s – Native American archeological data that is undoubtedly Dakota, and may be associated with the village of the

mother of chief *Istah̄ba* (Schirmer 2023, personal communication). Nicollet writes the following of his first trip to *Maġa Tan̄ka Ota Mde* (Swan Lake), in which the island is located:

We left Middle Lake...and set out for Swan Lake by a route that zigzags to avoid the swampy places...This [astronomical] station is on the SE shore [of *Swan Lake*], a mile from the knoll, the summit of the high ground that serves as a burial place for the Sisseton who frequent this lake...These islands number seven; one [Anderson], is large...Now some families of Indians occupy these islands, to live on the *tipsinna* [*Psoralea esculenta* or *Priarie turnip*] and a little hunting ...The old mother of Sleepy Eyes has come herself on canes to offer me a present of duck already cooked and skinned, which they were without doubt about to eat when they learned of our arrival. Here are the barbarians who take food from their mouths to help the traveler! (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 51-52; emphasis in original).

It is possible that the above island where the *Sisitorwan̄* of *Istah̄ba* had their primary summer villages, is that of *Wita Tan̄ka* – “large island” – (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994: 42, 116; S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 126). No Mn/SPHO files exist for this alpha site from which to obtain further information about it.



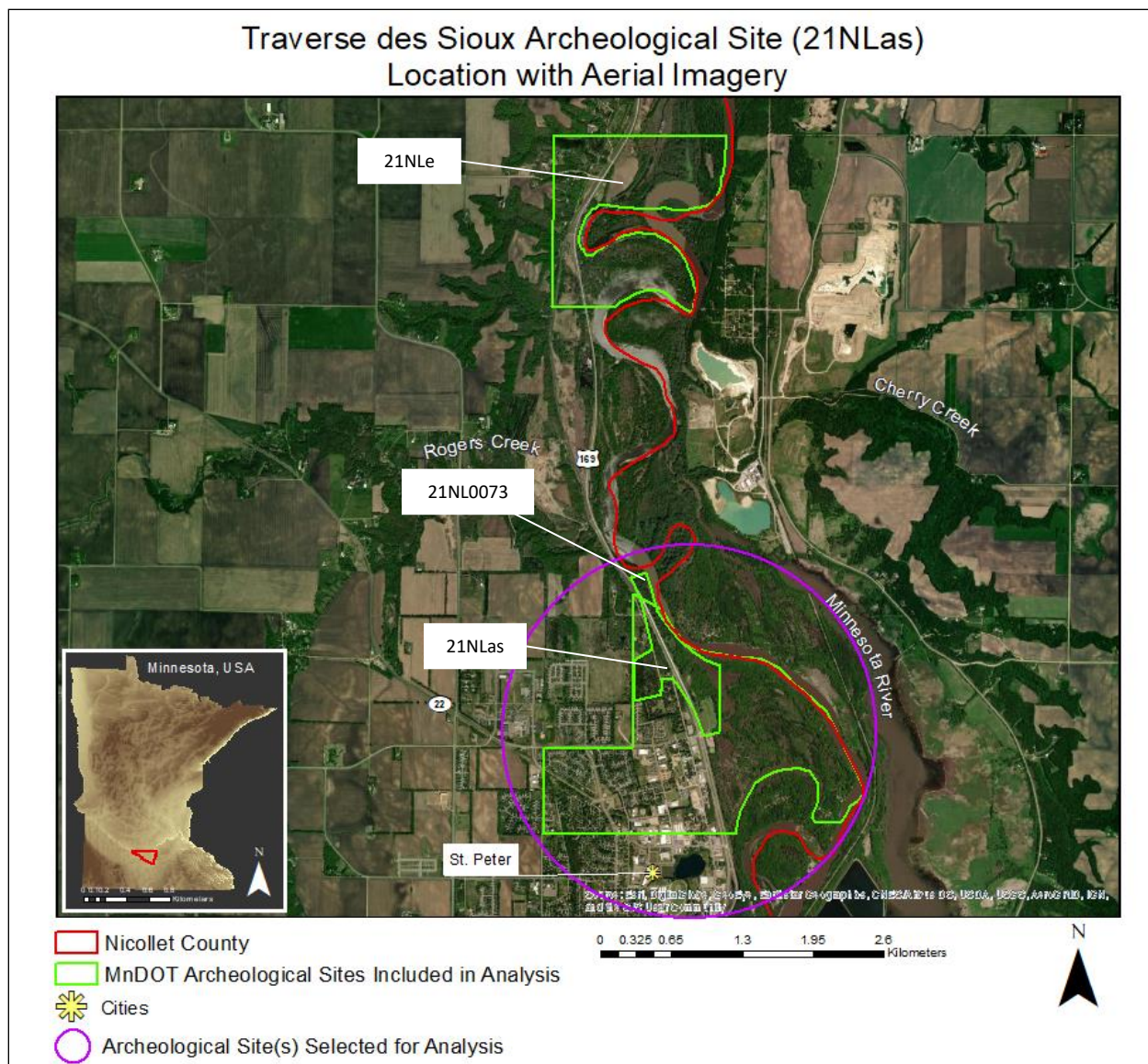
Map 5.38 – Aerial imagery of site 21NLae.

***21NLas – Old Traverse des Sioux**

The “Old Traverse des Sioux” site (21NLas) (which contains 21NL0005 [Old Traverse des Sioux Mounds], 21NL0060 [Dodd Road East/Gault Road], 21NL0061 [Dodd Road West], and 21NL0070 [History Center]; and overlaps with 21NL0050 [McLeod]) is a multi-component site located to the north of the city of St. Peter at the great bend the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, which was formerly known to Euro-Americans as “The Crescent,” and which has a documented Eastern Dakota component. Traverse des Sioux “was originally important for what its name signifies – the place where the ancient Sioux trail crossed the river. That made it the natural site for Indian villages, then for fur posts, and finally for white settlement” (Smith 1967: 17). *Sisitoywan*,

Wahpetonwan, and occasionally *Wahpekute* Dakota often lived near Traverse des Sioux or *Oiyuwege*. It is within the present-day city of St. Peter.

According to Smith (1967: 17), “Old Traverse des Sioux” (21NLas), which encompasses 21NL0073, was the site of the village of the band of *Wahpetonwan* Dakota led by *Maza Ša* (Red Iron), which was “located on the west side of the river a short distance south of the ford” (ibid). The *Wahpetonwan* village at *Oiyuwege* had formerly been located downstream from Traverse des Sioux on the right bank (cardinal east) of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* near the present day city of Ottawa, during which the village was known as the White Rock Village or *Maya Skadaŋ*, was located on the downstream right or cardinal east bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* from Traverse des Sioux or *Oiyuwege* (Bray and Bray 1993: 48n17; Durand 1994: 47; Hughes 1969: 94; Long 1978). However, “In the 1830s the village appears to have relocated across the river to Traverse des Sioux” (Westerman and White 2012: 124), where it remained until their removal with the signing of the 1851 Treaty of Traverse des Sioux (Diedrich 1989; Durand 1994; Smith 1967; Westerman and White 2012). Therefore, it is possible that site 21NL0073 (or 21NLas) represents the village of *Maza Ša*. Details about the village of *Maza Ša* are discussed in the preceding chapters.

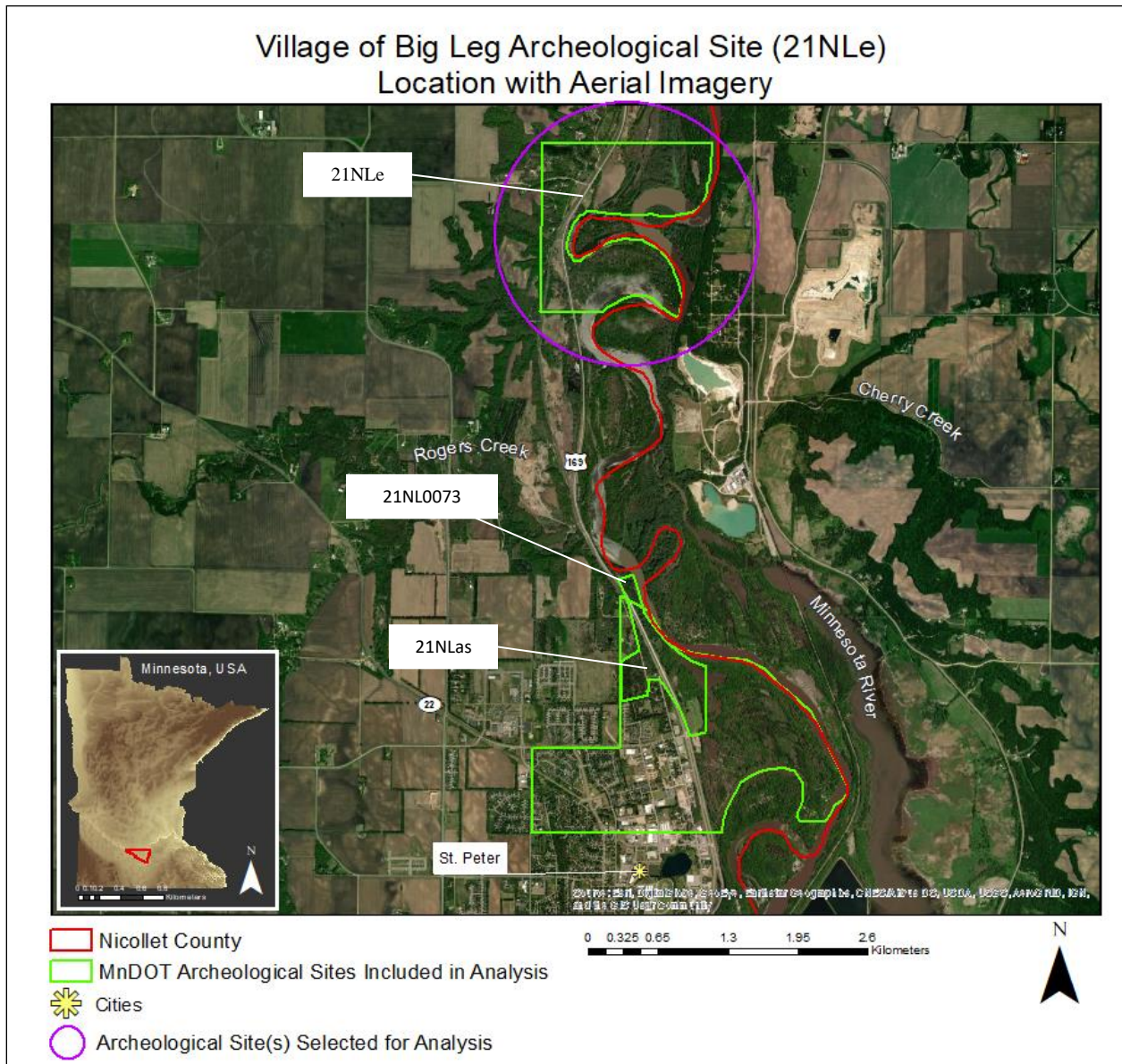


Map 5.39 – Aerial imagery of site 21NLas.

***21NLe – Village of Big Leg**

North of Traverse des Sioux located at a bend in the *Mini Sota Wakpa* in Lake Prairie Township is alpha site 21NLe, which was first documented in 1829. It is believed to have been where the village or base camp of a band of *Wahpetonwan* led by Big Leg in the 1830s (Smith 1967: 16). In 1835, George Featherstonhaugh “...passed the village of *Wahgonakay*, or ‘Big Leg,’ the band inhabiting which were gone to gather wild rice” (Featherstonhaugh 1847: 298). However, as an

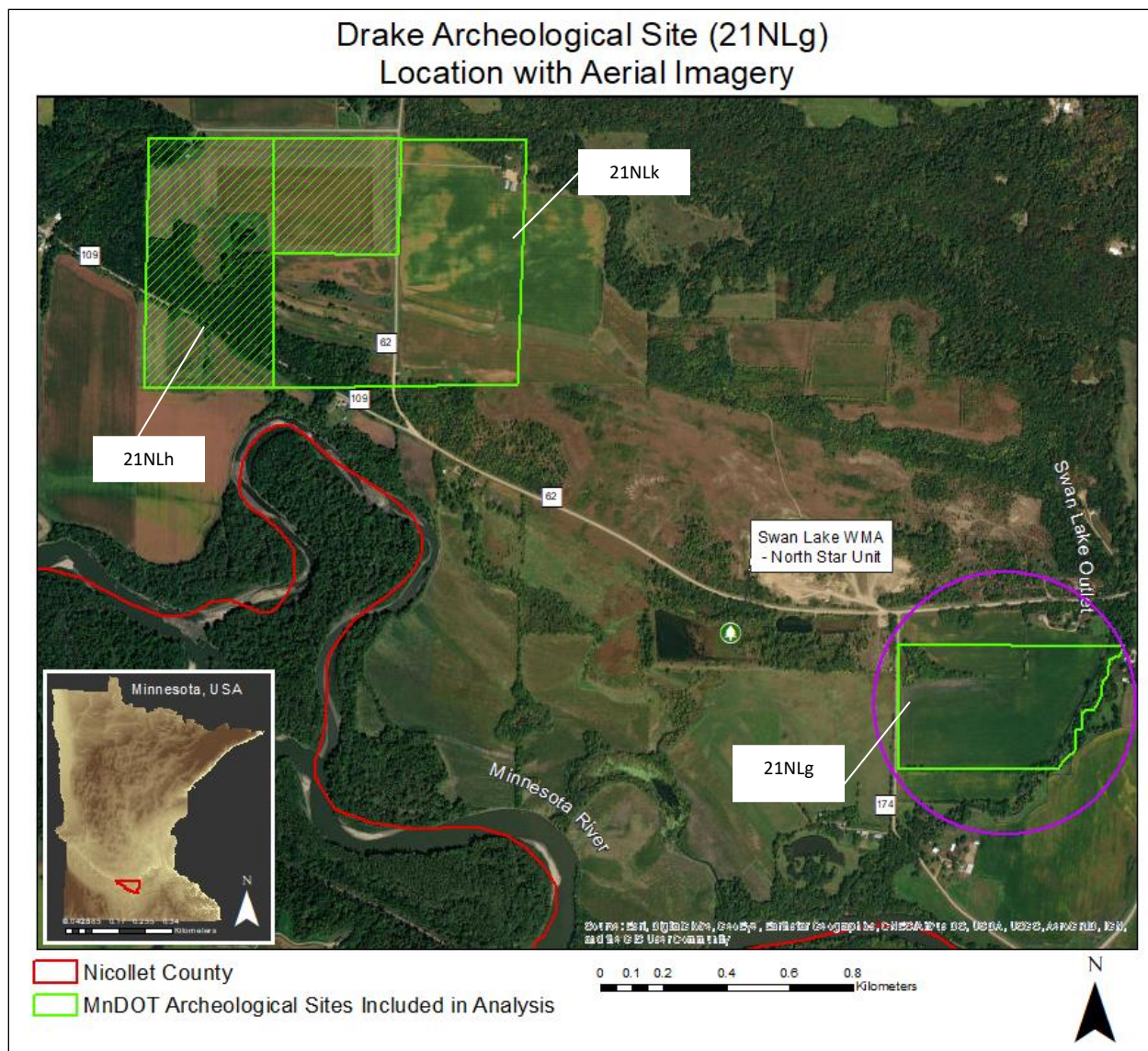
alpha site, little to no information could be found about 21NLe, nor could any reports from archeological investigations, if they have been conducted, be located. Furthermore, although there is a documented Eastern Dakota component at 21NLe, no other ethnographic information pertaining to this village or *Wahgonakah* himself could be found at the time this analysis was conducted.



Map 5.40 – Aerial imagery of site 21NLe.

***21NLg – Drake (within 21NLM [Eureka])**

The Drake site (21NLg) is an alpha site located along the *Mini Sota Wakpa* at Swan Lake Outlet that has a documented historic Eastern Dakota component, though it does not appear that any archeological investigations have been conducted at 21NLg that would corroborate this, and only a single account of a local oral history could be found. In a memo written by Lloyd A. Wilford for Nicollet County dated to 1941, a village site was reported at the Drake farm opposite Judson, and that “Drake [*the landowner*] knew of no village but reported that historic Sioux visited the area and had some tree burials there when Whites first came” (21NLg Mn/OSA file). No other information related to 21NLg could be found at the time this analysis was conducted.

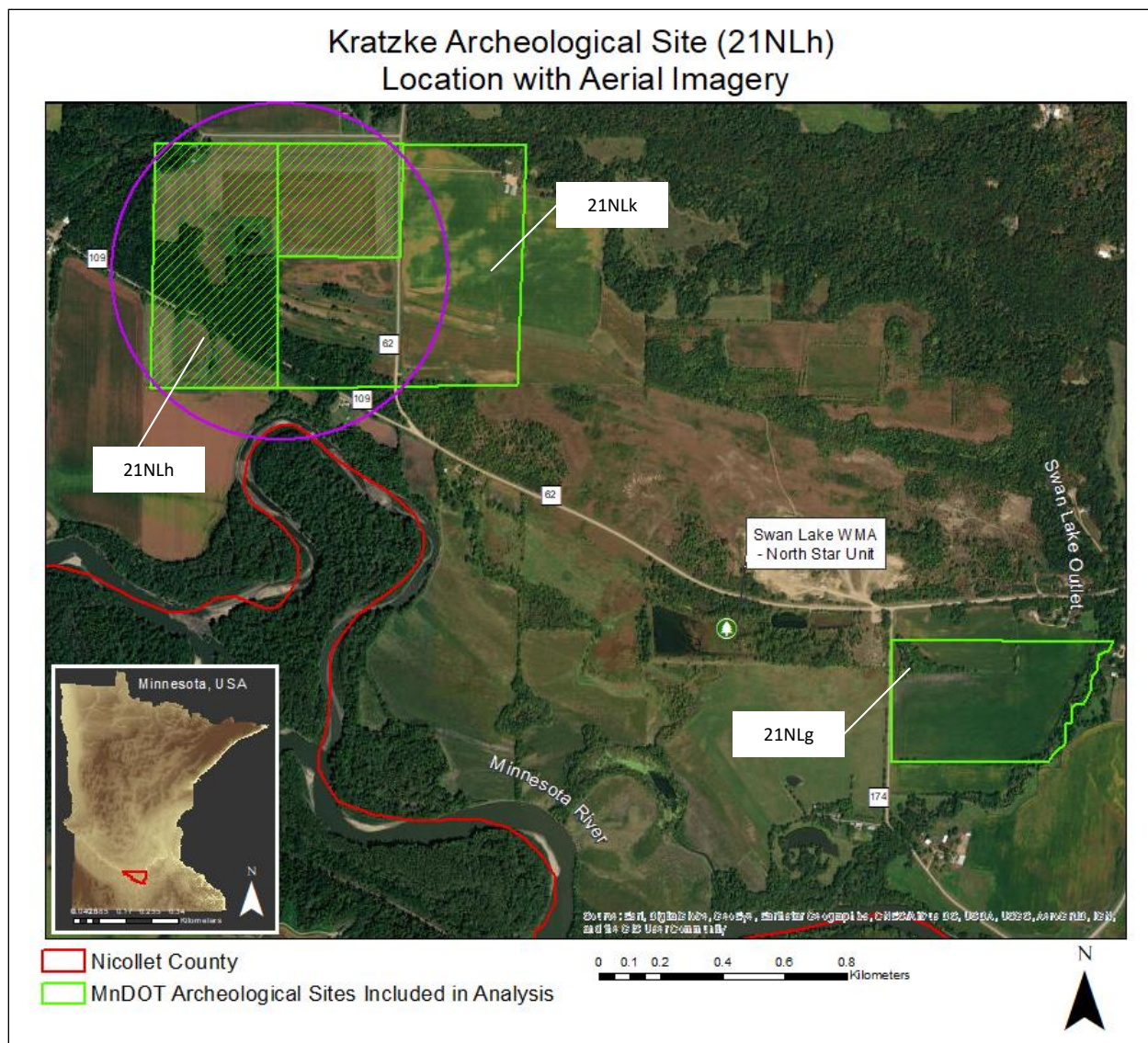


Map 5.41 – Aerial imagery of site 21NLg.

***21NLh – Kratzke**

The Kratzke site (21NLh) is an alpha site located along the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, upstream from 21NLg on the same bank, that has a documented historic Eastern Dakota component. 21NLh overlaps with 21NLk. It does not appear that any archeological investigations have been conducted at 21NLh, and the only mention of the site is in a memo made by Lloyd A. Wilford on Nicollet County dated May of 1941, in which, it was relayed to him by the landowner of the Drake property that “burials also were noted on Kratzke farm farther west” (21NLh Mn/OSA

File). It is unknown if any other investigations have been undertaken at or near site 21NLh, however, it appears that the site is not located on private property, which leaves open the possibility to conduct investigations of the area of the site. However, ethnographic and historic data provide support the fact that the area where the site is located was within the territory of Eastern Dakota bands in historic times, and since it was common for Dakota cemeteries to be situated near their summer villages (Westerman and White 2012), it is possible that there may have been an associated Dakota village nearby, an hypothesis which may be supported by the fact that the boundaries of the two sites overlap. Additionally, if 21NLh is in fact the site of a Dakota a burial site, which would inherently limit the type of archeological investigations that may be conducted at it, there remains the possibility to conduct non-invasive investigations (e.g., GPR, electrical resistivity testing, etc.) which may confirm the presence of burials at the site.

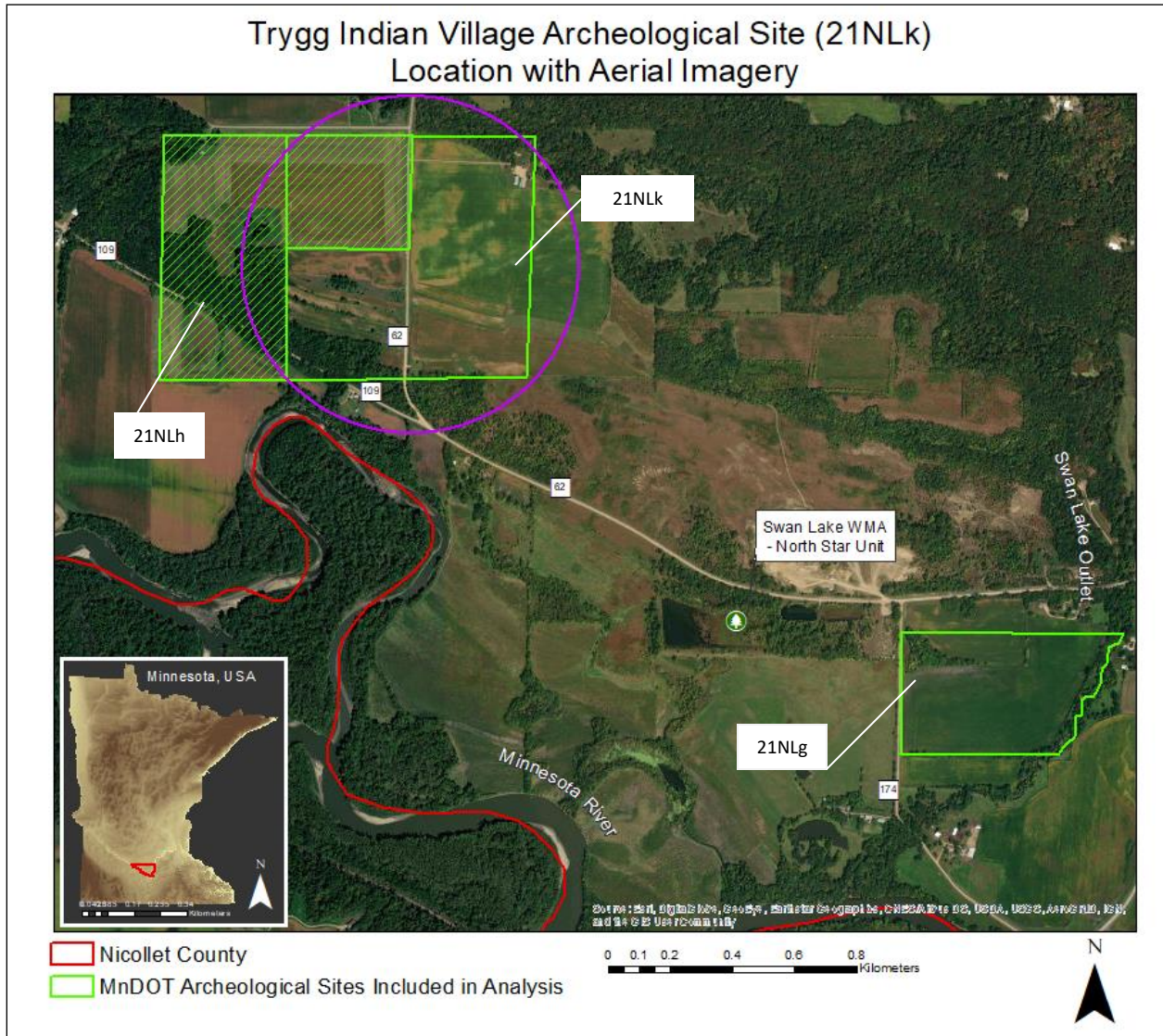


Map 5.42 – Aerial imagery of site 21NLh.

***21NLk – Trygg Indian Village**

The Trygg Indian Village alpha site (21NLk), which overlaps with the Kratzke site (21NLh), is located to the northeast of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* and southeast of Swan Lake or *Mağa Tanjka Ota Mde*. The Trygg Indian Village site (21NLk) has a documented Eastern Dakota component, which is assumed to be related to an historic Eastern Dakota habitation site, though it appears that this designated cultural affiliation is based off an historic map of central-southern Minnesota (Hughes 1929) which is included with the state site information for the site. There is no official

Mn/OSA file for 21NLk. At the time of this analysis, no archeological reports on investigations at the site, nor any ethnographic documentation related to the “Trygg Indian Village,” could be found to provide further information about the Trygg Indian Village site (21NLk). However, that does not necessarily mean that the site holds no potential for further investigation.



Map 5.43 – Aerial imagery of site 21NLk.

POLK COUNTY

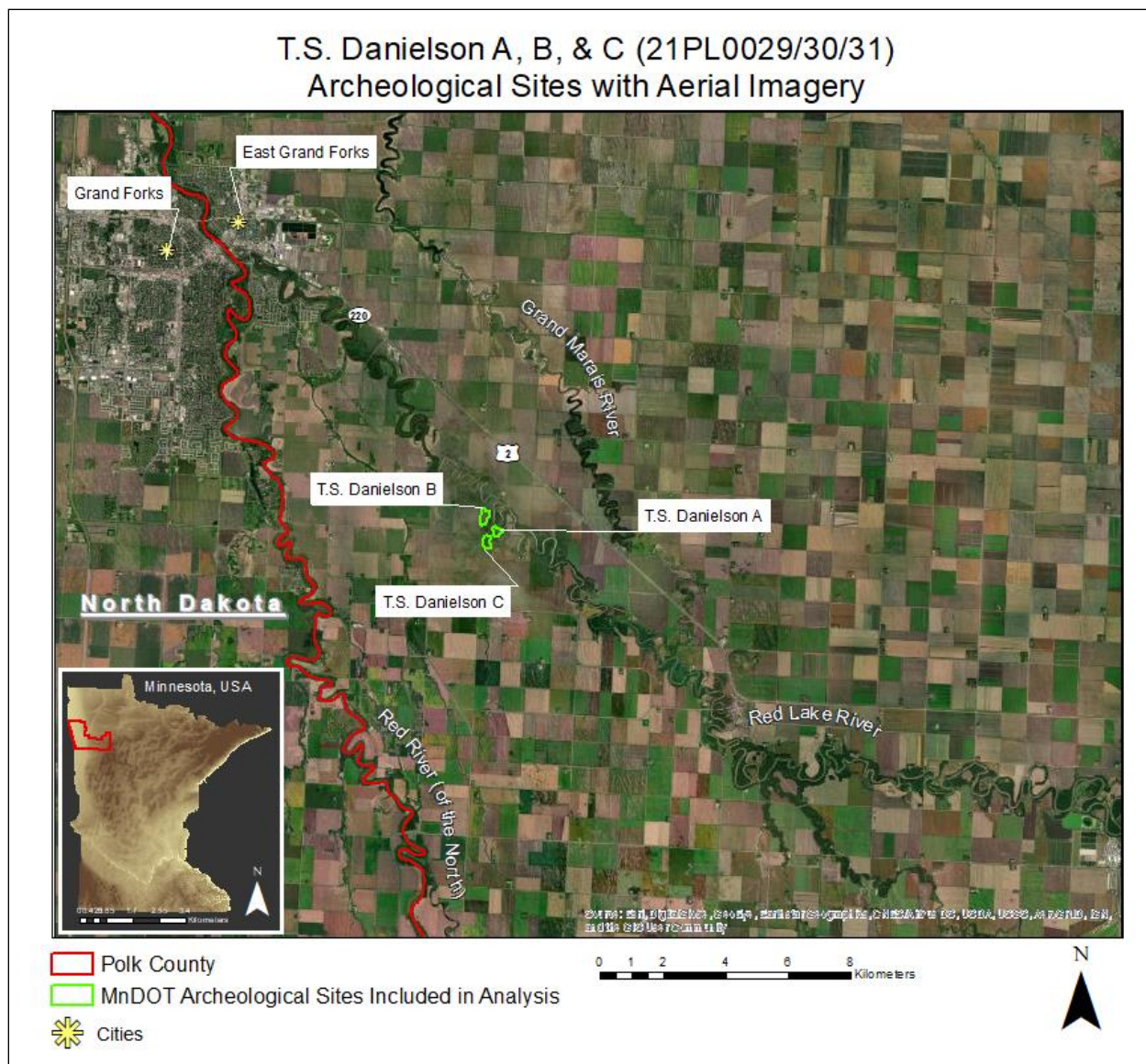
***21PL0029, 21PL0030, 21PL0031 – T.S. Danielson – A, B, and C (respectively)**

The T.S. Danielson sites A, B, and C (21PL0029, 0030, 0031) are multi-component artifact scatter sites which are located on a floodplain just over a mile to the east of the Red River, southeast of the present-day city of Grand Forks on Burnham Creek in Polk County. The T.S. Danielson – A site (21PL0029) is in a lowland that is flooded every spring and is bordered on the east and north by woods and the Red Lake River directly to the west. T.S. Danielson – B site (21PL0030) is at the edge of the uplands overlooking the floodplain of the Red River about 1/8th of a mile away. The site is bordered by a road to the west, by a farm to the north, and by a slough and the Danielson homestead to the south. Both of the fields where T.S. Danielson sites “A” and “B” are located were sold in 1995, but Beedy, a descendant of the deceased former landowner, was reassured that the new owner would allow him to continue his project, “Because there could be archeological material under the homestead property, which is still owned by my grandmother, I will try to retain legal rights to that material so that I maintain control over any materials when the property is sold. I would not like to see anything destroyed if any new landowners do construction” (21PL0030 Mn/OSA Files). Each of the T.S. Danielson sites (A, B, and C) have been described by Beedy as artifact scatters suggestive of habitation sites based on the cultural materials recovered during surface collections (see appendix for a list of the collected artifacts).

While Eastern Dakota and Sandy Lake components have been documented at each of the T. S. Danielson sites (21PL0029, 21PL0030, 21PL0031), it is noted on each of the Mn/OSA Files that the cultural affiliations were made based on artifact style/cross dating that were carried out by an amateur archeologist, which lends some question to the veracity of these designations due to the [lack of] qualifications of the individual who made them. That said, further analysis of the artifacts recovered from the sites could be carried out by a professional archeologist in the future,

which has the potential to confirm the Eastern Dakota component at the site, as well as contribute to our understanding of Dakota archeology in Minnesota.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: At each of the T.S. Danielson sites (21PL0029, 21PL0030, 21PL0031) only amateur archeological investigations have been carried out by Mark T. Beedy, a family member of the landowner, and had been limited to surface collection which has been ongoing since 1981. Each of the sites has been actively farmed, and each year more materials are exposed due to agricultural plowing and weather. Beedy describes the diagnostic artifacts collected from The T.S. Danielson – A site (21PL0029) as “saw toothed” rim sherds and small triangular points (21PL0029 Mn/OSA Files). Potentially diagnostic artifacts collected from The T.S. Danielson – C site (21PL0031) include what is assumed to be Sandy Lake pottery, small triangular points, and historic glass, an ax head, and farm machinery. A possible fragment of a human skull was discovered, which led the informant to suspect a burial in the area of the site (21PL0031 Mn/OSA Files). Heavy rains in the spring of 1994 caused a slope along the field to wash out, after which several pieces of Catlinite were found in the same area of the field, and they all fit together forming a slab (21PL0031 Mn/OSA Files). These were examined by Dr. Fred Schneider at the University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, who identified the piece as being “a tobacco cutting surface dating back to aprox. 500 ybp” (ibid.). Beedy intended to have the fragment of human bone examined by Dr. John Williams at the University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, and while it is unclear if this occurred, Beedy noted, “If it is human, this could be a burial site, which could have legal consequences...I will continue to monitor the field for additional surface exposures of artifacts so that they will be preserved from agricultural destruction” (ibid.).



Map 5.44 – Aerial imagery of sites 21PL0029, 21PL0030, and 21PL0031.

POPE COUNTY

***21PO0047 – Barsness Site 1**

The Barsness Site 1 (21PO0047) (formerly alpha site 21POf) is a habitation and burial mound site that has a potential enclosure feature that is located between *Mde Ska* (Pelican Lake) and *Mde Skotpa* (Lake Minnewaska) (Durand 1994: 52-53. Unfortunately, there is little to no information available which pertains to the Barsness 1 site (21PO0047), and it appears that no

archeological investigations have been undertaken at it, as no site form exists for 21PO0047, and the only mention made about the site as it existed as alpha site 21POf is a brief note about it on that “site form” (refer to site form appendix). However, the site does have a documented Eastern Dakota component, and while the nature of it is unclear as there are no reports from archeological investigations at the site, there are numerous features on the surrounding landscape which have Dakota place names, such as Lake Minnewaska or *Mde Škotpa* – “good water” – the present-day name of which is of Dakota origin (Durand 1994: 53). According to Upham, this name was given to the lake by white settlers, which, “with its grandly picturesque basin and inclosing bluffs, is the most noteworthy topographic feature of the county” (Upham 2001: 465). Winchell wrote of *Mde Škotpa*,

This lake, according to statements of citizens of Glenwood, was originally designated by an Indian name, meaning *Dish lake*, because of its being in a low basin. After that, when the [*Ojibwe*] chief White Bear, was buried in a high hill on the north shore, it was called *White Bear lake*. After a time it was changed to *Lake Whipple*, from Bishop Whipple, of Faribault, and by act of the state legislature in 1883 it was again changed to *Minnewaska*, or Good-water (Upham 2001: 465; emphasis in original).

The Barsness Site 1 (21PO0047) is near numerous other bodies of water which are part of Dakota oral history and oral tradition. For example, to the west of the site is the Chippewa River *Maya Wakan Wakpa* – “of remarkable or wonderful bluffs” (Durand 1994: 47). According to Upham (2001), the Chippewa River was “quite probably so named by these observing people in their admiration...for the beautiful and noble panorama here spread around them” (Upham 2001: 105). The present Dakota name for the Chippewa River in Minnesota was also given because the country of their enemies, the Ojibwe, extended southwestward to the headwaters of this stream, in Douglas County at Chippewa lake; “As the Chippewa river of Wisconsin received its name from war parties of this tribe descending it to the Mississippi, likewise the river in Minnesota

was named for this tribe, whose warriors sometimes made it a part of their ‘war road’ to the Minnesota valley, coming with their canoes from Leech Lake and Mille Lacs by the Crow Wing, Long Prairie, and Chippewa rivers” (Upham 2001: 105).

Also, near the Barsness 1 site (21PO0047) to the east is the Crow Wing River or *Kaŋgi Suŋ Wakpa* – “crow wing river” – as well as *Maġa Wakpa* (Durand 1994: 37). However, the Dakota naming for the Crow Wing River is unique in that, “The south branch retains the name Crow River from its mouth to *Kaŋdiyohi* – “where the buffalo fish come” – in the boundless prairies (Durand 1994). The north branch is considered to be another river, the *Maġa Wakpa* – “goose river” (ibid.). The name for the crow is *Uŋci Sicadaŋ* – “Bad Grandmother” – “because it will steal corn and other items” (Nicollet qtd. in Durand 1994: 37). The *Kaŋgi Suŋ Wakpa* also functioned as a means of marking territory between the various tribes in Minnesota. “The Crow River northwestward to the Sauk (Sac) and beyond was a no-man's land between the Dakota and Ojibwa. By common consent, the neutral Menomonee were allowed to hunt in this dangerous frontier. This area became the best hunting grounds as the contenders never entered unless heavily armed and prepared for war” and was therefore also referred to “Hostiles on Mutual Hunting Grounds” (Durand 1994: 37-38).

Barsness Site 1 Archeological Site (21PO0047*)
with Aerial Imagery

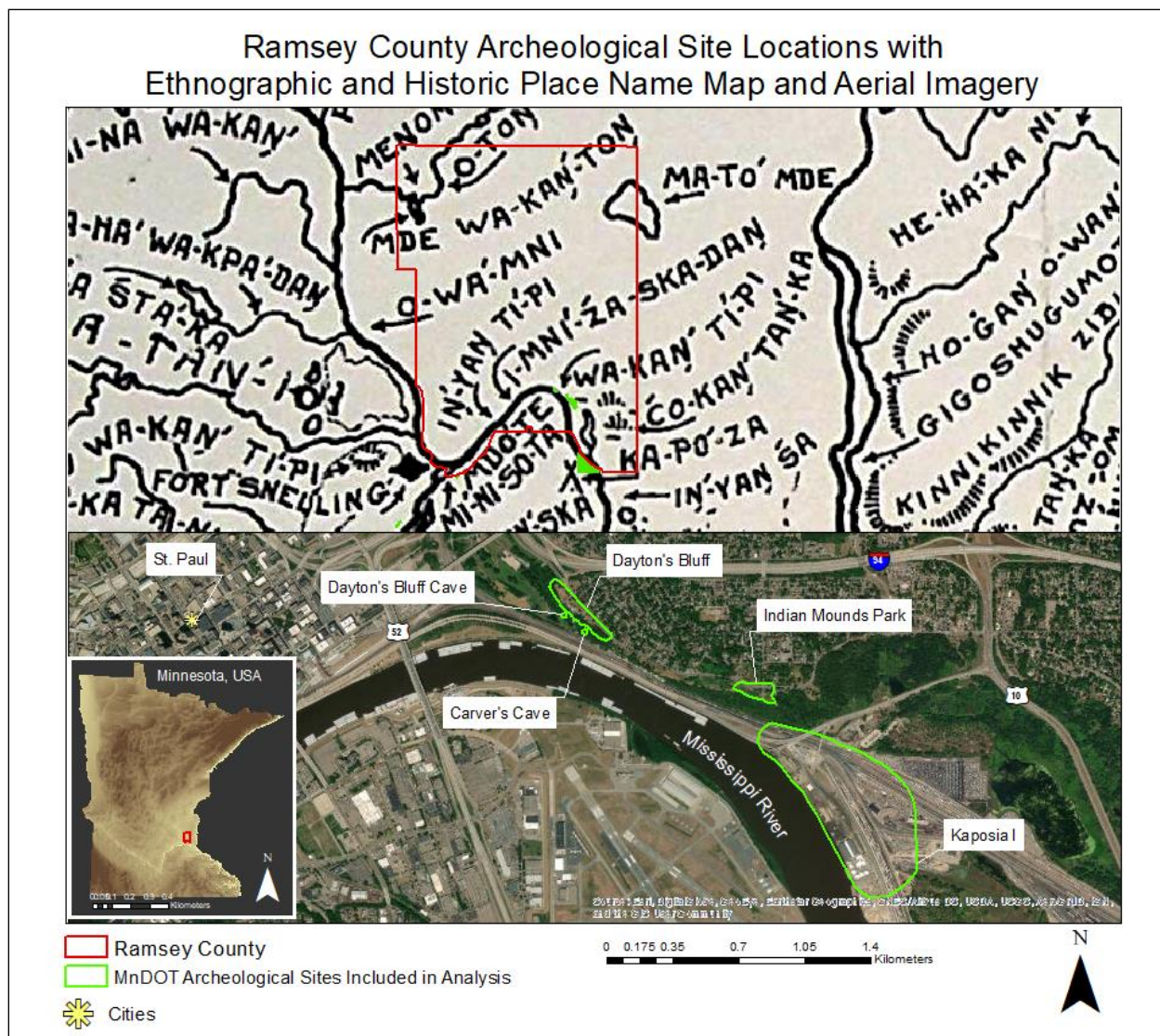


Pope County
 MnDOT Archeological Sites Included in Analysis
✱ Cities
🌲 Park

0 1.75 3.5 7 10.5 14 Kilometers
*Formerly 21POf

Map 5.45 – Aerial imagery of site 21PO0047.

RAMSEY COUNTY



Map 5.46 – Aerial imagery (bottom) and Durand’s (1994) adapted ethnographic map (top) of Ramsey County showing the archeological sites in the county which are included in this analysis: Dayton’s Bluff (21RA0005), Indian Mounds Park (21RA0010), Kaposia I (21RA0017), Carver’s Cave (21RA0027), and Dayton’s Bluff Cave (21RA0028).

21RA0005 – Dayton’s Bluff

The Dayton’s Bluff site (21RA0005) is an earthwork and cemetery site that formerly consisted of 32 mounds which were situated on Dayton’s Bluff (no Dakota name could be found for it) overlooking the *Haha Wakpa* and above *Wakan Tipi* (Carver’s Cave). The Dayton’s Bluff (21RA0005) burial mounds originally dated to the Woodland period, though they were continually used for burials throughout the contact period (Terrell 2003: 22-23 [Carver 1956

[1778]:86; Parker 1976: 91-92]). Although there is no documented Eastern Dakota component at 21RA0005, both ethnographic and historic records support Dakota connections to the site, as the region in general is thoroughly integrated into both Dakota oral history and tradition. Moreover, “Ethnohistorical information on the Santee as well as archaeological data indicate that they had occupied the state for an extended period of time prior to the arrival of Euro-Americans...During the initial contact period, the Mdewakanton occupied the Lower Minnesota River valley” (Terrell 2003: 26).

Regarding the scaffold burials on the bluff, Schoolcraft wrote:

It is known also that these nations place their graves in places most obtrusive, and exposed to the veneration of their people, and at the same time these graves must be so near the families, that they can watch over their preservation, and continued their attentions to the dead; such as to make offerings to them; to give them something to eat, to smoke, and to talk to them from time to time. Under these considerations, no place could better meet the sentiments of the Mendewakantons (Mdewakatonwans) than that of the plateau, or level, or flat above the cave...Therefore, it was that the three villages carried thither their dead placing them upon scaffolds constructed at an elevation out of reach of the wolves, and of profanation from animals. But they never placed their dead in the cave, which was merely a place for the sports of their children. (1847: 97 [Woolworth 1981: 20]).

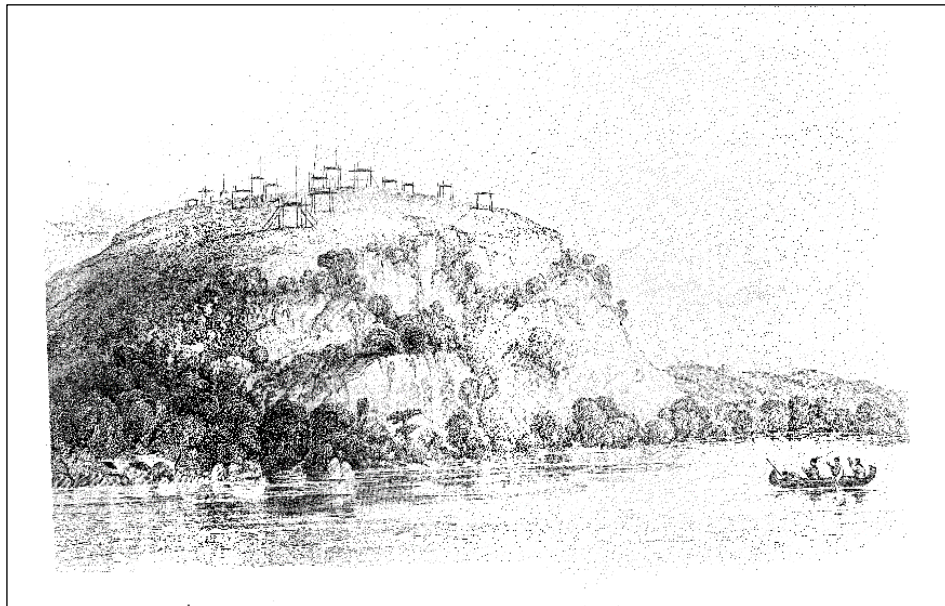


Figure 5.18 – Seth Eastman’s drawing of Dakota scaffold burials, Dayton’s Bluff, circa 1838.

T. H. Lewis wrote about the Dakota scaffold cemetery on Dayton's Bluff:

The spot has long been noted as the burial place of several bands of Dakota. As long since as 1766, when Carver was here, this cemetery, was ancient; and although these savages had then as they now have, no fixed abiding places—pursuing a nomadic life, and dwelling in tents but a few months of each year—yet every spring, from the distance sources of St. Peter's and the Mississippi, to this sacred spot they gathered, bearing their dead. The bodies were conveyed here bound up on buffalo skins, and were deposited on scaffolds or hung in the branches of trees...in any mode agreeable to the wishes of the deceased before his death. If it was impossible to convey the body to the cemetery before decomposition, the flesh was consumed by fire and the bones preserved for burial rites. The friends and relatives often visited the spot till the corpse began to decay. They then shook hands with it and bade it a last farewell, although they continued annually to visit it. There are numerous mounds in this vicinity, in which probably, were deposited the bones when all else was dust. (Poatgaiter 1967: 93-94, qtd. in Woolworth 1981: 26).

Thus, although it cannot be certain, and many people argue not likely, that the mounds above *Wakan Tipi* were originally built by the ancestral Dakota, the mounds and cave below them have been a culturally and spiritually significant place for Dakota people for a prodigious period of time.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: Although the site is now legislatively protected, the construction of Interstate Highway 94 and a scenic overlook has resulted in the complete destruction of the Dayton's Bluff mounds (21RA0005) above *Wakan Tipi*, and very little archeological work has been done at the site. In May of 1862, 21 mounds were documented at the Dayton's Bluff site (21RA0005) in a survey made by Alfred J. Hill and William Wallace of the MHS Archaeological Committee, with the goal to make "very careful measurements" of mound outlines and heights, though the work was put on hold when "other things took precedence and we enlisted in the Union army three months later" (Hill n.d.: Mound Records No. 4, Entry 280). Winchell (1911: 265) quotes Alfred Hill's description of the site,

...aboriginal traces were discovered a few inches below the surface of the street...They consisted of a fireplace (which I saw) formed by three small boulders blackened by smoke, with ashes between them, and close by an old human skeleton, in connection with which was a fragile clay pipe, and no other relics that I saw or heard of" (ibid.). During his examination of the mounds "of the upper group of Dayton's bluff, I.e., those here distinctively called the Dayton's bluff group (Winchell 1911: 266).

The Dayton's Bluff mounds were all quite small, under two feet (0.6 meters) high. Hill also found human bones, decayed wood, charcoal and ashes, mussel shells, broken pottery, arrow-heads, and other chipped implements, and in the mounds were found boulders, one of granite being 20 inches in diameter (Winchell 1911: 266). T. H. Lewis resumed the survey of the mounds at 21RA0005 in 1879 and completed their mapping in 1881. A photo exists from 1881 of one small mortuary vessel, which was excavated by T. H. Lewis from the upper mound group on Dayton's Bluff (Figure 5.20).

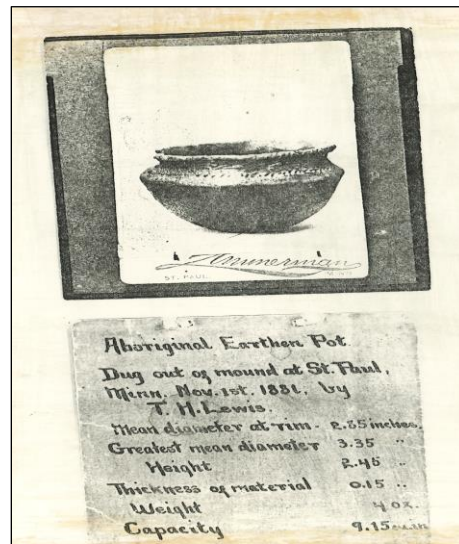


Figure 5.19 – Photograph and description of one small Native American mortuary vessel, “probably from the Middle Mississippian period,” which was excavated by T. H. Lewis from the upper mound group on Dayton's Bluff in 1881 and has survived (Woolworth 1981: 56-58).

***21RA0010 – Indian Mounds Park (within in 21DK1; overlaps with 21DK0016)**

The Indian Mounds Park site (21RA0010) is a multi-component earthwork and cemetery site that once consisted of at least 19 prehistoric burial mounds – of these, 15 were round, two were “bi-

conical,” and one that was ovate – which had been “built over many centuries by at least three distinctive cultures” (Woolworth 1981: *i*, 30). 21RA0010 has a documented Eastern Dakota component, and the area was continually inhabited by Dakota peoples. Situated in what is now Indian Mounds Park (no Dakota name could be found for this), the mound group at 21RA0010 overlooks the *Haha Wakpa* to the southwest, *Çokaŋ Taŋka* (Pig’s Eye Lake) to the east-southeast, and a large marsh.

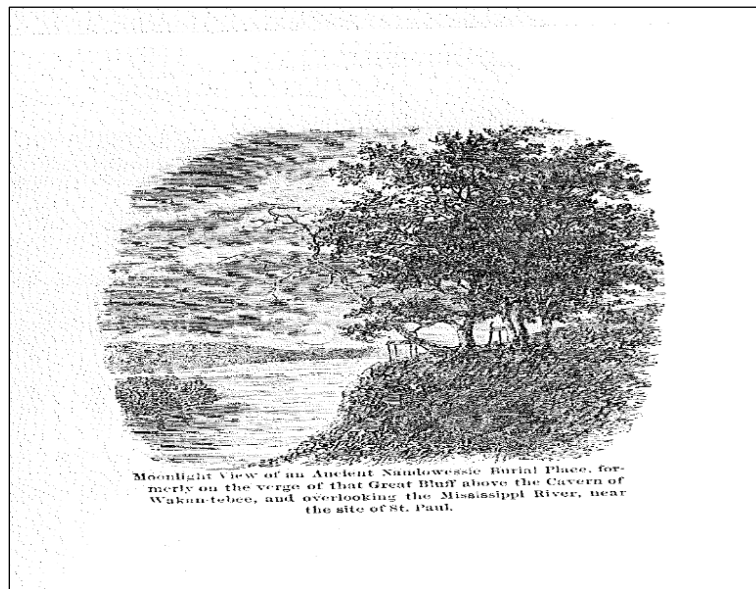


Figure 5.20 – Colonel Hankin’s view of Indian Mounds Park (21RA0010), 1869.

Jonathan Carver arrived at the sacred burial site which is now Indian Mounds Park (21RA0010) in November of 1766, and described his arrival at the high white bluff or *Imniza Ska Day* – “little white rocks” or “white cliff or rock” – which is the present-day city of St. Paul (Durand 1994: 30; Peterson and LaBatte 2023: 145), that overlooks the *Haha Wakpa*, and contains Carver’s Cave in its base, and the burial scaffolds on its top:

Near the cave [*Carver’s*] is the burying place of the Mottobautowa band (Mantantonwan band of the Mdewakatonwan) of the Naudowessee (Sioux or Dakota). A few months before I came here dyed [*sic*] and was buried [*sic*] the chief of this band. I went to see his grave. It is impossible for me to describe all the hierglyphicks [*sic*] and significant marks of regard and distinction this people

have paid to the memory of the deceased grandee, much more than I have ever seen of the kind among any nations I have passed through (Parker 1976: 92).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: Past sub-surface investigations into the mounds at 21RA0010 revealed a variety of burial forms when 15 of them were excavated between 1856 and 1883; primary extended burials, primary flexed burials, secondary “bundle” burials and cremations were encountered. Some of the mounds had been erected over sub-surface burial pits or chambers, most of which had secondary burials placed within the layers of fill over them. Others in the group contained only secondary burials. It is quite likely that there were many secondary “bundle” burials placed within the completed mounds by means of pits excavated into them.

In 1856, as an antiquarian pursuit, Edward D. Neill supervised a “primarily superficial exploration” of Mound 9 (Woolworth 1981: 32). Alfred J. Hill and William Wallace (as well as other antiquarian members) surveyed and mapped the 21RA0010 mound group in 1862, and it was discovered that two of the mounds, and perhaps others, had been damaged by Neill’s investigations; only 16 mounds remained, with Mounds 17 and 18 having been destroyed by the construction of Mound Street (Woolworth 1981: 32).

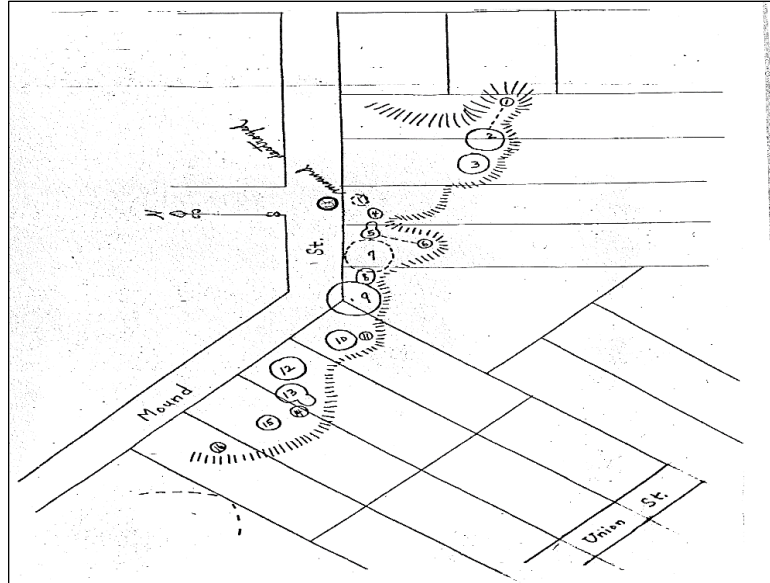


Figure 5.21 – Alfred J. Hill’s map of the Indian Mounds Group, 1866 (Woolworth 1981: 31).

Like the work at 21RA0005, investigations at 21RA0010 were interrupted by the Civil War but were resumed following the 1865 conclusion of the war. Under instruction from the Archaeological Committee, Alfred J. Hill and William H. Kelly excavated portions of four mounds (Mounds 3, 5, 8 and 9) in 1866 and 1867. Numerous trenches were dug and, the contents of which are in the table below. Further excavations initiated at the site by Theodore H. Lewis and William H. Gross for the Northwestern Archeological Survey from 1879 through 1883 (see table below for mound excavation details).

Year	Mound Number and Form	Details of 21RA0010 Mound Excavations
Edward D. Neill, MHS (1865)		
1856	Mound 9	“Fragments of skull, which crumble on exposure, and perfect shells of human teeth, the interior entirely decayed” (Neill 1858: 208; qtd. in Woolworth 1981: 32).
Alfred J. Hill and William Wallace, Archaeological Committee of the MHS (1862)		
1862	N/A	Interrupted and incomplete.
Alfred J. Hill and William H. Kelly, MHS (1866-1867)		
1866	Mound 8 – elliptical	Several human remains, both fragmentary and whole, and generally mingled together, were unearthed. A layer of red earth that had an irregular outline measuring about 1.5 feet (0.45 meters) by 2 feet (0.6 meters) was revealed, and below that a bone fragment and a broken ceramic pipe were found, as well as numerous closely packed shell or bone beads, believed to have been a bracelet, a few irregular pieces of limestone, human vertebrae, part of a mandible, and a portion of a skull (Woolworth 1981: 33). Also

		found in the mound were small pieces of pottery, wood ashes, and charcoal were found above what developed into a small fire pit, the base of which “lay below the original land surface as it was 5.8 feet below the crest of the mound” (Woolworth 1981: 35).
1866	Mound 9 – conical	Uncovered shell and exposed a continuous layer of packed clay. Below that layer, the mandible of a child.
1867	Mound 5 – “biconical”	The skeleton of a male mingled with the bones of a smaller individual thought to be a female was found at a depth of 3 feet 10 inches (3 meters 25.4 centimeters). The skeletons were laid on their sides facing each other (Woolworth 1981: 35). Hardly any traces of the skulls could be found. The only other discovery within Mound 5 was a piece of stone that was bluish in appearance. Most of the rest of the mound had eroded and fallen down the steep bluff.
1867	Mound 3 – conical	Four human skulls and two femurs were found. The artifacts recovered consisted of fragments of two fresh-water shells and a sharp, angular piece of stone.
Theodore H. Lewis and William H. Gross, Northwestern Archeological Survey		
1879	Mound 1 – conical	Under a heap of 11 mussel shells, three skeletons were discovered.
1879	Mound 7 – conical	Recovery of skeletal remains which were secondary burials and consisted of a skull and decayed bones. Also recovered was limestone, an arrowhead, chipped stone, obsidian and boulders, as well as shell beads, a bone awl, charcoal and ashes, and shell and clay pottery sherds. They also found a round wooden stake 2 feet (0.06 meters) long and 3 inches (7.6 centimeters) in diameter, with a sharpened tip, which extended vertically downward. Below it, they found pieces of wood lying parallel to each other which lay over a shallow depression. On top of the central piece of wood was a series of seven boulders, under which human remains were discovered (Woolworth 1981).
1882	Mound 3 –	Recovery of four skeletons which were primary burials. There were also six skulls in the upper levels of the mound (meter and a half), one child’s skull covered with red clay, a fragmented calcined or burned skull, portions of a skull and other human bones in a calcined condition. Beneath two large boulders were broken human bones that had been gnawed by an animal Lewis thought might have been a wolf (Woolworth 1981: 39). There were also isolated human bones and scattered fresh-water shells.
1882	Mound 4 – conical with an elliptical approach	It contained a single decayed human skeleton, which was a primary burial, and the decayed skull and bones of secondary burials were recovered, as well as two mussel shells about 15 inches above the pits.
1882	Mound 5	At the natural land surface, a decayed upright skull, facing north, and traces of other bones were found covered with two large mussel shells. The mound had an approach or extension to it that was 16 feet (4.87 meters) wide and 2 feet (0.6) high which extended from the mound for 20 feet (6 meters) in a southeastern direction. In the extension a decayed skull oriented towards the center of the mound was found, along with a few mussel shells mixed among the bones.
1882	Mound 6 – conical	Recovery of a mandible, a left humerus, a “crude” chipped tool, and a large mussel shell.
1882	Mound 8	There are no notes on the 1882 excavations or investigations of Mound 8 in Woolworth (1981), though it is noted in Table 1 that it was excavated that year.
1882	Mound 9	There are no notes on the 1882 excavations or investigations of Mound 9 in Woolworth (1981), though it is noted in Table 1 that it was excavated that year.
1882	Mound 10 – conical	A decayed skull and two small projectile points were found together, as were a second decayed skull and three vertebrae. Near the bottom of the mound was a layer of charcoal and wood ashes, and there were many mussel shells scattered throughout the mound fill.
1882	Mound 11 – conical	Contained a few decayed human bones apparently from a single skeleton along with two mussel shells.
1882	Mound 12	A conical heap of boulders was found resting on a floor of irregular limestone slabs, and eight compartments or cists, which “had been formed by placing flat limestone slabs from 2 to 2.5 inches thick on edge” (Woolworth 1981: 42). Various bones but no complete skeletons were in the cists; the cists were filled with black loam, but the bones

		and artifacts were lying on their natural gravel bottoms. Inside the cists with the bones were: mussel shells and projectile points, a perforated bear's tooth, a small piece of lead ore, and a small piece of red clay, a small oval copper ornament flat on one side and convex on the other and had a small hole in each end for a thong or string. All the human bones were in excellent condition but had been gnawed by an animal. With each lot of bones were pieces of gnawed human skulls, "and in four instances, a lower jaw had been placed opposite to the skull fragments" (ibid.).
1882	Mound 13 – "biconical"	Within the first 12 centimeters, five large boulders were found in the form of a circle with a sixth at its center. Under the center boulder was a badly decayed skull. Another skull was found face upwards with leg and arm bones beneath it. Also discovered were two badly decayed skeletons with their heads to the east, and apparently facing each other, which were primary burials.
1883	Mound 14 – conical	The remains of five skeletons were uncovered and associated with them was a projectile point, mussel shells, and spoons made of mussel shells.
1883	Mound 15 – conical	A decomposed skull was located at the center of the mound, and at the base of the mound, was a pit which extended down into the gravel subsoil. At the bottom of the pit were badly decayed remains of three skeletons, numerous mussel shells, and a small projectile point. Above the bones, the pit was filled with clean river sand. More than 100 mussel shells were scattered throughout the mound fill.
1883	Mound 16 – conical	In a shallow pit, portions of three skeletons were found in a layer of black loam. Among them were the bones of a child about six years old, which had been piled together in no apparent order (Woolworth 1981: 59). Associated with the bones were water worn stones about the size of a walnut. A small "crudely" chipped stone tool was found with the bones.
1883	Mound 17	Recovered a mandible, a projectile point, and mussel shells, all covered with thin limestone slabs.

Table 5.1 – Details of excavations of Indian Mounds Park Mounds (21RA0010).

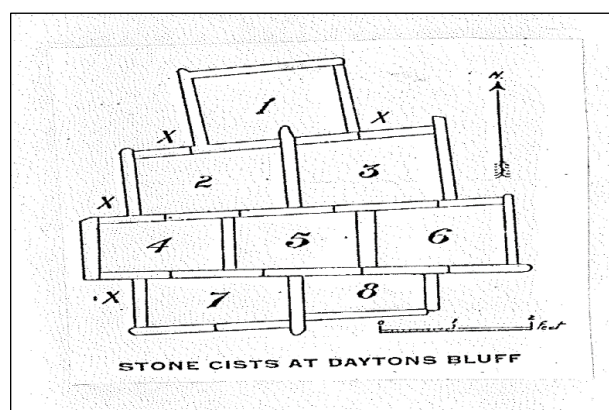


Figure 5.22 – Stone cists, Mound No 12, Indian Mounds Park (21RA0010) (Woolworth 1981: 41).

Unfortunately, while Hill and Kelly's notes, drawings and maps from these investigations were preserved by MHS, most of the artifacts from investigations at site 21RA0010 which were donated to Macalester University have been displaced or disappeared (Woolworth 1981: ii). A consequence of this loss of artifactual material is the lack of a detailed analysis of the pottery that

was recovered from the burial mounds at Indian Mounds Park (21RA0010). Fortunately, a collection of 12 stone artifacts from the Indian Mounds Park site (21RA0010) has survived and is preserved in the Mitchell-Lewis Collection, Archeology Department, MHS (Woolworth 1981: 58).

An historical study and cultural resources survey of Indian Mounds Park (21RA0010) was completed by Nancy L. Woolworth of Woolworth Research Associates in 1981 prior to the rehabilitation of the park. Excavations revealed that “the 1981 park landscape was the result of more than ninety years of consistent alteration. The area in the vicinity of the prehistoric burial mounds in particular, has been extensively changed” (Woolworth 1981: 66). The multiple test pits were dug only in locations where soil disturbances were planned and at considerable distances from the known locations of the 18 prehistoric burial mounds that once stood there. None of the pits revealed significant subsurface cultural features; only a few significant prehistoric artifacts or pieces of lithic debitage were discovered (Woolworth 1981). It was recommended that special cautions be used during the demolition of the limestone retaining walls around the bases of the six remaining mounds and that a professional archeologist should be on hand to monitor the work (Woolworth 1981).

***21RA0017 – Kaposia I**

The Kaposia I site (21RA0017) is a multi-component site with a documented Eastern Dakota component that is associated with the village of *Kapoža*, the semi-permanent village of the Little Crow Eastern Dakota dynasty, which was located south of the Lower Phalen Creek (no Dakota name could be found for this) area and on the east side of the *Haha Wakpa* until it was relocated to the South St. Paul area in compliance with the Treaty of 1837. Although there is no evidence for permanent encampments in the area of 21RA0017, Carver notes lodges in proximity to

Carver's Cave in 1767, and in 1849 a temporary encampment of around a dozen lodges was located on the first terrace above the *Haha Wakpa* near the northern end of Dayton's Bluff (Terrell 2003: 26). Although Dakota oral history and archeological investigations suggest that habitations sites such as Kaposia I (21RA0017) which were downstream from St. Paul were located next to riverbanks where there were sources of fresh water (Arnott 2019: 11), very few archeological investigations have been undertaken at site 21RA0017, though the reason for this could not be determined at the time this analysis was conducted. That said, there is significant ethnographic and historical information pertaining to the site (Anderson 1997; Arnott 2019; Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Hughes 1969; Landes 1968; Peterson and LaBatte 2023; S. Pond 1994; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Terrell 2003; Westerman and White 2012), though this information generally pertains to investigations at other sites in the area.

21RA0027 – Carver's Cave

The Carver's Cave site (21RA0027) or *Wakaj Tipi* – “dwelling of the relatives” or “sacred habitation” – is a petroglyph site which is located at the base of Dayton's Bluff (21RA0005) on the *Haha Wakpa* (Durand 1994: 99). Documented petroglyphs include anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and geometric glyphs on the cave's walls and ceilings. Of the petroglyphs, the most notable were large rattlesnakes “that appear to be moving towards a common point,” and although it does not contain a documented Eastern Dakota component, it is known from Tribal Elders that these are icons of healing, power, and medicine to Dakotas, (Terrell 2003: 65).

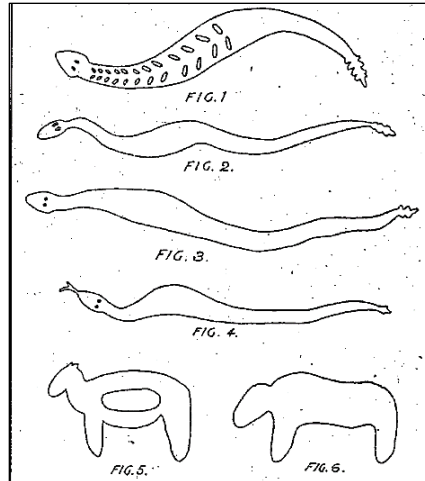


Figure 5.23 – Petroglyphs from Carver’s Cave pictured by Lewis (1898: 41) in his article, *Sculpture in Carver’s Cave, St. Paul, Minn.* “*The Macalester Monthly*,” Vol. I, No. II. (21RA0027 Mn/OSA File).

In Dakota tradition, the giant rattlesnake is an adversary of the Thunderbird, *Wakinyan*, and a subordinate of *Uŋktehi* (Durand 1994: 96, 100, 105). However, the Dakotas believe the cave at 21RA0027 to be an abode of *Uŋktehi* (Terrell 2003: 65), who is often associated with, and depicted as, snakes (Westerman and White 2012: 219), which is indicated by some of the petroglyphs of snakes on the walls within the cave (see Table 5.2 for Lewis’s detailed descriptions of the petroglyphs).

The Dakota name for Carver’s Cave (21RA0027), *Wakan Tipi* – “dwelling of the Great Spirit” or “sacred habitation,” though more accurately translated, “dwelling of the relatives” – implies that the cave was a sacred place, and the presence of petroglyphs, which Dakota people believe to be sacred symbols, within the cave also suggests the importance of the place (Durand 1994; Riggs 1992 [1890]; Westerman and White 2012). Because water is the most powerful medicine in the world to Dakota people, according to Chris Leith, a Dakota elder of the Prairie Island Mdewakanton Dakota Community, the presence of the spring within *Wakan Tipi* adds to its importance as a location of healing (Terrell 2003: 36), as well as the association of water with *Uŋktehi*. Johnathan Carver notes, “The Indians that say that several have attempted to go with a

light and a canoe on this water [*the spring within the cave*] but have been deterred by some frightful appearances of lights shining at a distance and strange sounds which makes them give it the name of *Waukon Teebee*, or in English, the house of spirits” (Parker 1976: 92). Furthermore, caves in and of themselves are believed by Dakota peoples to be sacred places, as discussed throughout this analysis, because they allow one to enter simultaneously into the earth and darkness; darkness is linked to both birth and death, which in turn are linked to Grandmother Earth, and “This is why sweat lodges and vision quests also occur in darkness” (Terrell 2003: 36).

Accounts from Carver’s journals indicate that the cave was known to the Dakotas for many years prior to his arrival and that the area was being utilized as a place of gathering; the dead were brought to the nearby burial ground “when the chiefs meet to hold their councils, and to settle all public affairs for the ensuing summer” (Carver 1956: 65). When Carver returned to the cave in the spring of 1767, he witnessed a council consisting of at least three communities gathered in an encampment near the cave (Parker 1976: 116-117). According to Dakota oral history, after their movement from *Mde Waką* around 1745, “the Mdewakantonwan united in three large villages” which were situated around *Waką Tipi* – one at Pigs Eye Lake or *Çoką Tanka*, that of *Otoąwe Wakpadań* on Rice Creek, and *Mdetą(ka) Toąwań* located at the mouth of Nine Mile Creek or *Iyutapi Napciwaka* or *Takokipa Sni Wożupi Wakpadań* (Durand 1994: 13, 36, 67, 99). The Dakotas who showed Carver *Waką Tipi* were likely members of the village of *Kapoża* (Terrell 2003: 35).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: The cave which is site 21RA0027 was first documented in 1766 by French explorer Jonathan Carver, from whom the cave takes its

name from. Carver also made note of the many petroglyphs in the cave in 1766, which is indicative of the precontact period utilization of the cave.

About thirty miles below the Falls of Saint Anthony...is a remarkable cave of an amazing depth. The Indians term it *Wakon-teebe*, that is, the Dwelling to the Great Spirit...About twenty feet from the entrance begins a lake, the water of which is transparent, and extends to an unsearchable distance; for the darkness of the cave prevents all attempts to acquire a knowledge of it...I found in this cave many Indian hieroglyphicks [*sic*], which appeared very ancient, for time had nearly covered them with moss, so that it was with difficulty I could trace them. They were cut in a rude manner upon the inside of the walls, which were composed of a stone so extremely soft that it might be easily penetrated with a knife: a stone every where to be found near the Mississippi. The cave is only accessible by ascending a narrow, steep passage that lies near the brink of the river (Carver 1956 [1778]: 63-65; emphasis added).

T. H. Lewis visited Carver’s Cave (21RA0027) in 1898 and provided descriptions, which remain the most complete to date, of the petroglyphs therein.

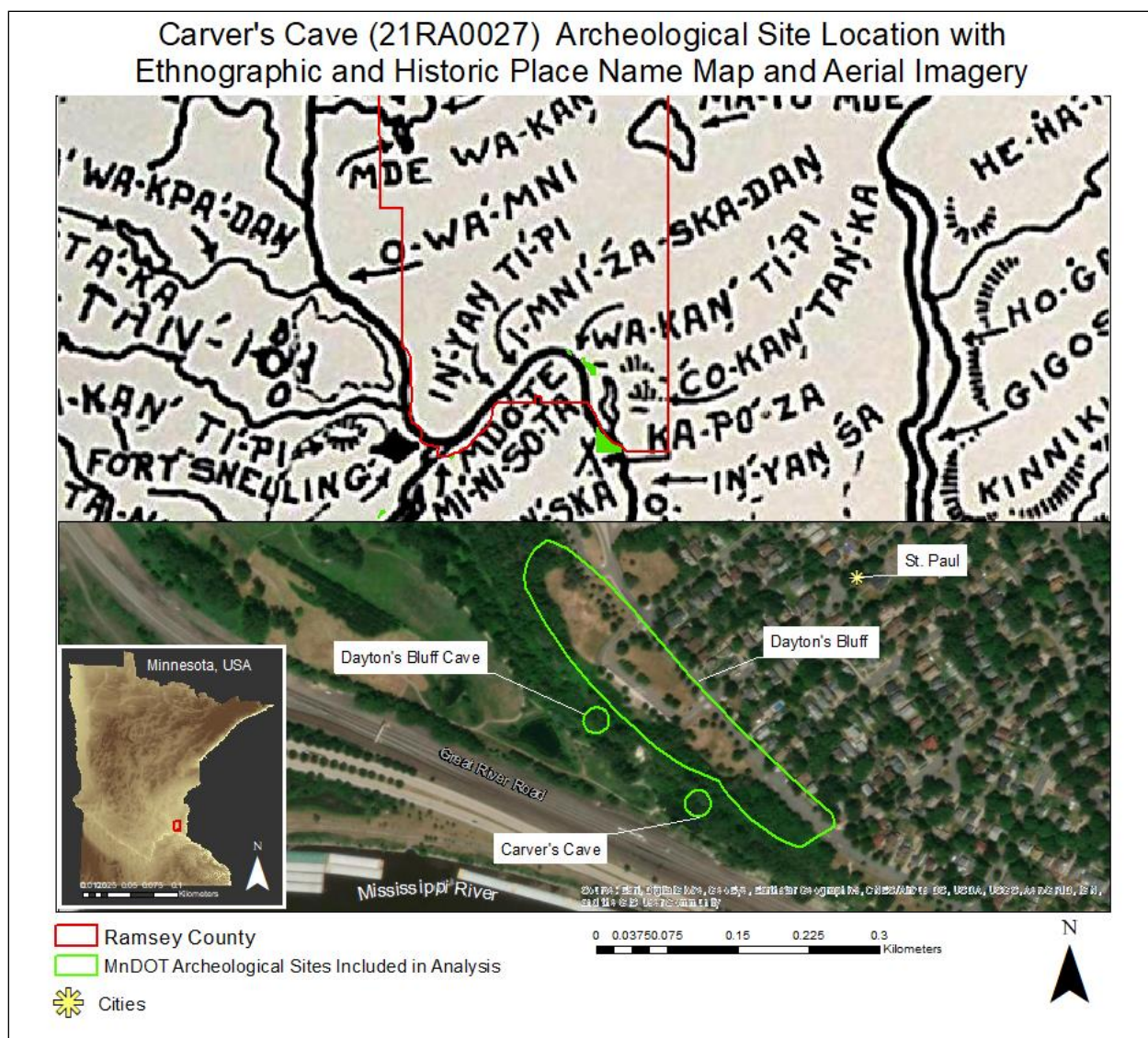
Figure Number	Description of Petroglyphs at Carver’s Cave (21RA0027)
1	Located on the southeast slope of the roof and a little to the right of the entrance, it represents a rattlesnake, 3 feet 7 inches in length and about 2 inches in depth at its widest part. In cutting this figure, portions of the natural surface were left in the form of bosses, which were probably intended to represent the darker colorings on the back of the snake. This was doubtless the “snake” seen by so many of the early visitors to <i>Wakaj Tipi</i> .
2	Located to the eastward of Fig. 1 and parallel with it, but a little lower down from the roof, it also represents a rattlesnake 3 feet 8 inches in length and about 1 ½ inches in depth. The eyes were bosses, as was the case with the others, but in addition, a cavity had been scooped out in the center of each.
3	West of Fig. 1 and a little below it, Fig. 3 also represents a rattlesnake 4 feet 11 inches in length and about 1 ½ inches in depth.
4	This figure probably represents a rattlesnake with but one rattle and a button. Its length was 3 feet 4 inches, depth about 1 ½ inches, and was located directly west of Fig. 3. The forked tongue may be intended to represent speaking rather than hissing.
5	Situated partly between the tails of Figs. 3 and 4, Fig. 5 represents a nondescript animal about 9 inches in length, and the groove as about one-half inch in depth.
6	Apparently representing a bear, it was little over 10 inches in length and about 1 inch in depth. It was located partially between the tails of Figs. 1 and 2.

Table 5.2 – Theodore H. Lewis’s descriptions of the petroglyphs in Carver’s Cave (21RA0027) or *Wakaj Tipi* from his 1878 visit to the cave (Lewis 1898: 40-42).

All four of the snakes were delineated as pointing to, or moving towards, a point directly over the widest part of the cave, Fig. 1 being somewhat in the lead of the others. The heads of the animals were towards the highest part of the entrance, as if traveling in that direction. In addition

to those illustrated, there were others representing men, birds, animals, fish, turtles, and one or two that were intended for lizards. Some of the pictographs were intaglios and other outline figures, and they were clearly of the same style and probable age of those discovered during recent years in caves along the Valley of the Mississippi (Lewis 1898: 40-42).

The state of preservation of the petroglyphs has been severely altered by the repeated re-opening of the cave by various individuals and the nature of the cave itself. As a spring-cut cave located in a sandstone bluff, throughout the time *Wakanj Tipi* has been known, “the cave has undergone repeated episodes of sealing itself with debris from the cliffs and being dug open again by some enterprising individual, about once each generation” (Brick 2001: 17). The construction of the railroad in the mid-19th century, use of the cave by homeless people as a shelter, visitors also carving their names into the walls of the cave and other modern graffiti, the soft nature of the stone, have contributed to the degradation of the petroglyphs at the site, as well as the installation of two metal doors at the mouth of the cave (Winchell 1911; Brown 1926: 24; Snow 1962: 107, 109). Although no visual inspection of the site has been completed since the installation of the protective metal doors, an archeological form completed in 1996 for the property suggests that the glyphs no longer exist (Koenen 1996a).



Map 5.47 – Aerial imagery (bottom) and Durand's (1994) adapted ethnographic map (top) of sites 21RA0005, 21RA0027, and 21RA0028.

21RA0028 – Dayton's Bluff Cave

The Dayton's Bluff Cave site (21RA0028) is a petroglyph site located at the base of Dayton's Bluff (no Dakota name could be found for it) along the *Haha Wakpa* midway between Plum and Cherry Streets, and just northwest of Carver's Cave (21RA0027). Although 21RA0028 does not have a documented Eastern Dakota component, based on Dakota oral history and tradition, and historical accounts which detail Dakota use of the site, it is inferred that the petroglyphs were

made by Dakota ancestors. Dayton's Bluff cave was formed within the same layer of sandstone as *Wakan Tipi*, which is said to be connected to Dayton's Bluff Cave via a grotto in the west side of Carver's Cave and that water flows from one to another (Mattocks 1867: 260), and, like *Wakan Tipi*, contains a spring-fed pool of water. The mouth of the cave is currently covered/obstructed due to an accumulation of rock and debris but was situated within a protective hollow. Like *Wakan Tipi* (21RA0027), Dayton's Bluff Cave (21RA0028) was initially documented during the late 19th century when it was "discovered" by Euro-Americans searching for Carver's Cave (21RA0027), and the first known reference to 21RA0028 is the account of the 1867 Carver's Cave centenary. However, the presence of petroglyphs at both sites (21RA0027 and 21RA0028), "along with oral traditions among Dakota elders indicate that they were also used during precontact times" (Terrell 2003: 22).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: T. H. Lewis was the first person to systematically document the cave at 21RA0028. Lewis was able to decipher nine petroglyphs, all within three feet of the floor, eight of which were on the walls of the cave (Figures 23, Numbers 1 through 8), and the ninth to the right of the entrance (Lewis 1901: 231). Lewis described the glyphs, in numerical order, as: 1) man with uplifted hands; 2) man with uplifted hands; 3) animal; 4) probably a bird; 5) a cross; 6) headless bird; 7) bird with heart; 8) animal; and 9) animal. He noted other, less well-preserved petroglyphs within the cave including several others on both sides of the cave and one on the roof near the back (Lewis 1898a: 38-39).

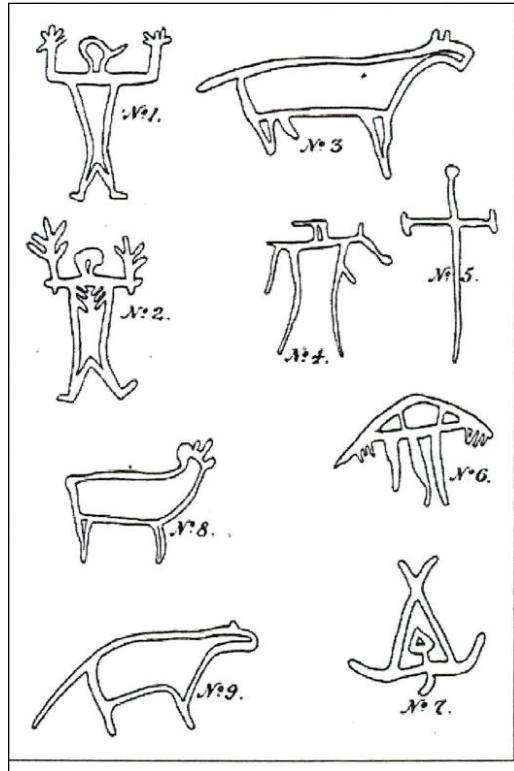


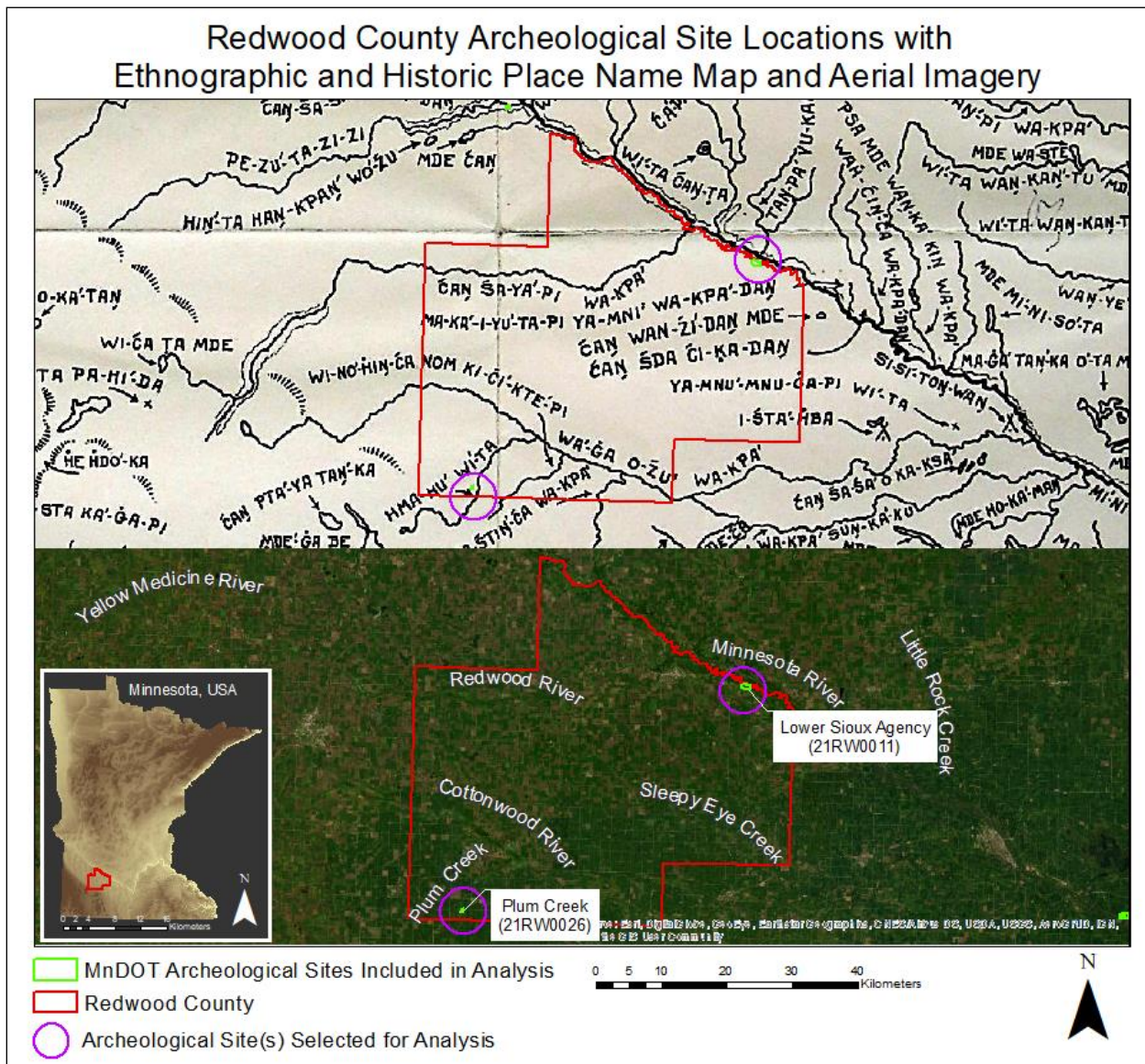
Figure 5.24 – Petroglyphs within Dayton’s Bluff Cave (21RA0028) recorded by Theodore H. Lewis (Winchell 1911 [21RA0028 Mn/OSA file]).

Dakota elders have helped provide further insight into the nature of the Dayton’s Bluff petroglyphs. Chris Leith of the Prairie Island Mdewakantonj Dakota Community identified Figure 1 as a Dakota individual, while Figure 2 was prophetic of the coming Europeans (Terrell 2003: 83). Leith said Figure 4 indicates the return of something; Figure 5 a prophecy of the coming Christians; Figure 6 as a symbol of a change or evolution that occurred in plant life and may signify a mushroom; Figure 7 is an eagle; Figure 9 is a beaver, which is a symbol of health (Terrell 2003: 83). Dakota elder Gary Cavender noted that of the glyphs recorded in Dayton’s Bluff Cave (21RA0028), Figure 8 most closely resembles *Uṅktehi*, but it should have a longer tail like that of Figure 9 (Terrell 2003: 83).

As at Carver’s Cave (21RA0027), a survey and evaluation of 21RA0028 was carried out by The 106 Group in 2002 prior to the construction of the Bruce Vento Nature Sanctuary to

determine eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Due to an accumulation of roughly 20 feet (6.1 meters)-high pile of rock and debris at the base of the bluff, efforts to relocate Dayton's Bluff Cave (21RA0028) were a failure. However, a wide and continual seep of water was noted issuing from the base of the debris pile, and since Dayton's Bluff Cave (21RA0028) contains a spring fed pool of water like Carver's Cave (21RA0027), the existence of this seep supported the conclusion that the cave is in this hollow, though deeply buried and concealed from view (Terrell 2003: 84). Because of the inability to relocate the site, The 106 Group recommended that, if the area around the mouth of Dayton's Bluff Cave would not be impacted by the development of the Bruce Vento Nature Sanctuary, there be a finding of no effect for the site and that no further work be conducted; in the case that the area around the cave mouth should be disturbed and the cave mouth cleared, the evaluation process should be completed. No documentation of the cave since 1962 was discovered during this study. An archeological site form was completed for the Dayton's Bluff Cave property in 1996, but no visual inspection of the cave was carried out prior to the completion of the form (Koenen 1996b).

REDWOOD COUNTY



Map 5.48 – Aerial imagery (bottom) and Durand’s (1994) adapted ethnographic map of Redwood County showing the archeological sites in the county included in this analysis.

*21RW0011 – Lower Sioux Agency

Both Eastern and Western Dakota components have been documented at the Lower Sioux Agency site (21RW0011), which is part of the Lower Sioux Agency Historic District, a site roughly 125 acres in size, and is situated on relatively level upland terraces that terminate along the edges of the Minnesota River Valley. The bluff line and steep slopes of the valley are

truncated by several large, spring-fed ravines that fan onto the broad, alluvial floodplain of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* (Clouse 1996: 5). The site also formerly functioned as a trading post, mission, farmstead, and habitation site; established in 1853 to govern the *Mdewakantowwan* and *Wahpetowwan* bands of Dakota on their reservation, a house for the Indian agent, a stone warehouse, homes for employees, shops, and traders' stores were built (Smith 1967: 30).

The Lower Sioux Agency site (21RW0011) was formerly the federal administrative center for the Lower Sioux Indian Reservation; “treaty allotted goods and cash annuities were dispersed from the Lower Sioux Agency. Medical, technical, and educational facilities were also constructed at the agency to aid and assist the Dakotas in adapting to an agricultural lifestyle (McFarlane and Clouse 1996: 8). With the signing of the Treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota in 1851, the Dakota ceded a total of 24 million acres of their traditional homelands to the U.S. government, and it was agreed that these bands would relocate to the Lower (1853-1862) and Upper Sioux Reservations, which were established as part of the treaties, and were meant to function as administrative centers for relations between the U.S. and the Dakota people in the Minnesota Territory. After their removal from the *Haha Wakpa* until the time of the Sioux outbreak in 1862, several *Mdewakantowwan* villages and a *Wahpekuṭe* village were relocated on the south side of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* in the vicinity of the Agency. The *Mdewakantowwan* villages of *Ta Oyate Duta* (Little Crow I) (21RWg), *Wanṃdi Tanṃka* (Big Eagle), *Makato*, *Wa-sui-hi-ya-ye-dan* (Traveling Hail), *Wakute* (The Shooter), and *Wapahṣa*, and the *Wahpekuṭe* village of *Hushasha* (Red Legs) were established in this area (Hughes 1969; Smith 1967; Upham 2001: 487). Swindled of their traditional lifestyles, delayed annuity payments, crop failures, and game depletion led to tensions between the Dakota and Agency personnel, and it was here that the Dakota launched their outbreak on August 18, 1862, with the Battle of the Lower Sioux Agency

(Smith 1967: 30). The Lower Sioux Agency (21RW0011) was destroyed in a desperate attempt to obtain food and remove non-Dakota peoples from southern Minnesota.

As an integral part of the U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862, the Lower Sioux Agency site (21RW0011) was purchased by the MHS in 1967 to establish the area as a historic site, and in 1971 the Minnesota state legislature established the Lower Sioux Agency Historic District (21RW0011) as a state historic site and was added to the National Register of Historic Places (R. Tiling 1980: 4; McFarlane and Clouse 1996). In the latter part of the 20th century, the Minnesota Valley Historical Society began to place monuments at sites related to the U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862, which included the Lower Sioux Agency.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: Interest in the site led archeological hobbyists to dig at 21RW0011 prior to the conduction of any professional work (Arnott 1998: 27). In order to establish site limits and aid in the interpretation of the site, a series of archeological investigations were conducted at 21RW0011 by MHS archeologists in 1968, 1969, 1970, 1973, 1974 and 1976 (Nystuen 1968; University of Minnesota site survey form in state site file). Under the direction of MHS archeologists Gordon Lothson, Douglas George, and John Azer, field school students from Normandale Community college carried out investigations at the Lower Sioux Agency site (21RW0011) in 1973 which resulted in the identification of intact deposits related to the occupation of agency structures, provided information about the construction methods used for the structures, and indicated that the buildings had been burnt to the point that they were nearly reduced to ash (Arnott 1998: 28; Lothson 1973). Five components were identified at the Agency site, each defined by separate functions: 1) Traders Complex, 2) Central Administrative Complex, 3) Religious Complex, 4) Government Service Complex, and 5) Native American Complex (Clouse 1996: 10; Lothson 1973; Tiling et al. 1973) (see Figure 5.

below). Of these five site components, investigations conducted at the Lower Sioux Agency Historic District have focused on the historic Traders and Central Administrative Complex components of the 21RW0011 site area (McFarlane and Clouse 1996: 10). Even though the Native American Complex archeological component was established to address the various Dakota groups that lived around the Lower Sioux Agency, the Native American Complex at this locus “exists in name only” (ibid.: 16). No formal testing to locate any of the Dakota housing structures at 21RW0011 has been carried out and their exact locations are unknown, and the dispersal of the various Dakota groups living in the vicinity of the Agency in 1862 is the most poorly understood aspect of the history of the site (Clouse 1996:16).

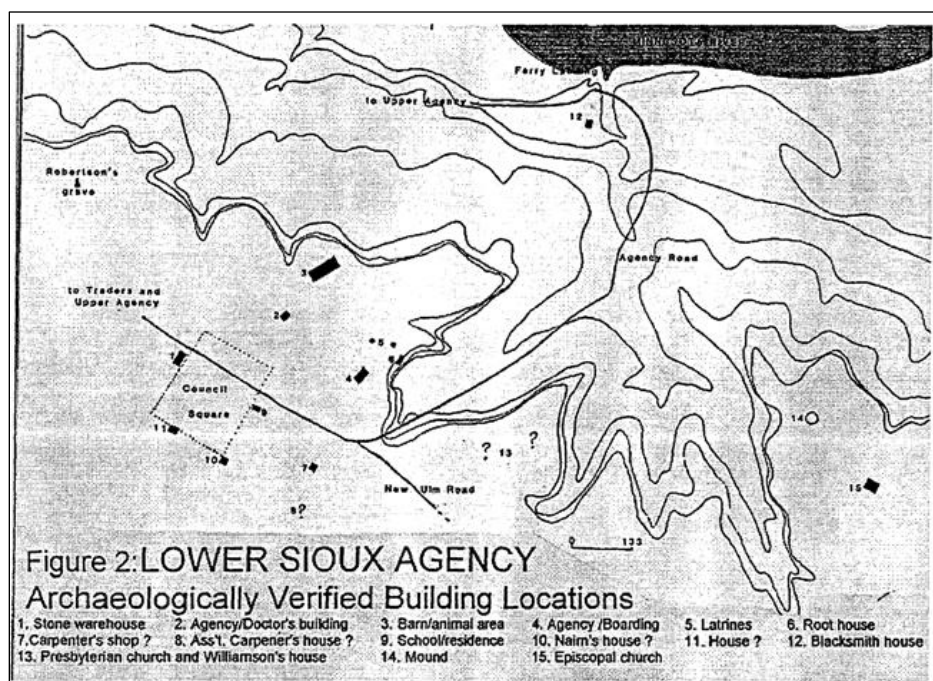
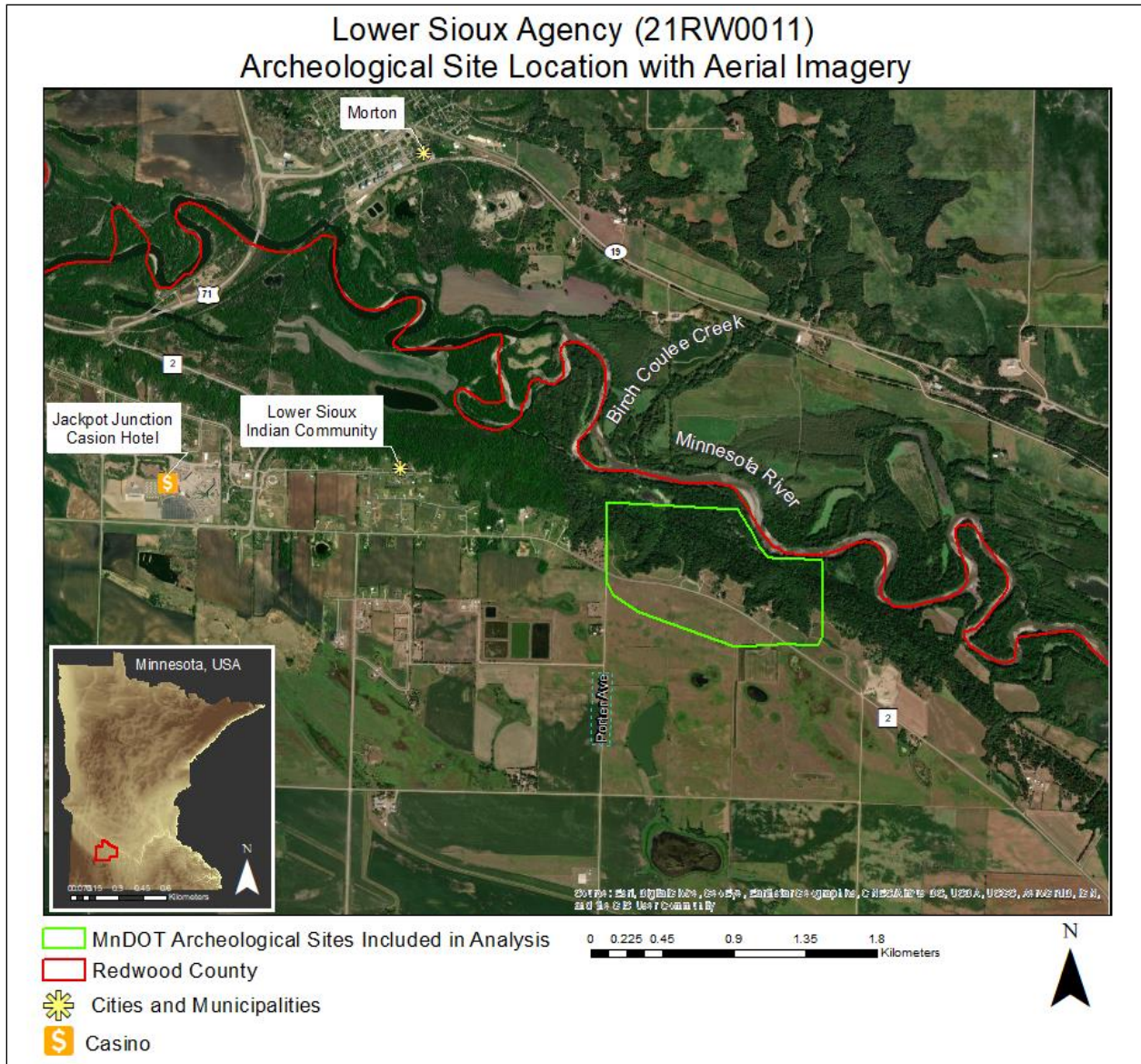


Figure 5.25 – Locations of archeologically verified building locations at the Lower Sioux Agency (21RW0011) which were identified during past archeological investigations (Clouse 1996: 10; Lothson 1973; Tiling et al. 1973).

In 1995, Joe McFarlane and Robert Clouse or the Archaeology Department of the MHS conducted a cultural resource survey for the proposed construction of the Heritage Trail project at 21RW0011 (McFarlane and Clouse 1996: 10). Survey results indicated that the project area had good site integrity. Both prehistoric and historic cultural resources were identified within or

adjacent to the limits of the proposed construction project, which included body sherds that were tentatively identified as either Fox Lake or Lake Benton (McFarlane and Clouse 1996: 28).

Further mitigation work was carried out in 1997 for the relocation of a bridge abutment in the Government Services Complex. Shovel testing around the western bridge abutment located historic materials that dated to the site's period of significance (1854-1862) (McFarlane and Clouse 1996; Arnott 1998: *i*). Artifacts recovered from a test unit established that the area was used for blacksmithing and domestic activities during the agency period (1850s to 1862) (Arnott 1998: *i*).



Map 5.49 – Aerial imagery of site 21RW0011.

21RW0026 – Plum Creek

The Plum Creek site (21RW0026) consists of an artifact scatter and is situated along a bend in Plum Creek in a flat basin with high valley walls, one mile southwest of Walnut Grove, called *Hmahu Wita* by the Dakota for the 100-acre grove of black walnut trees (Durand 1994). This location is the extreme northwestern range of black walnut trees, so to find an extensive grove of

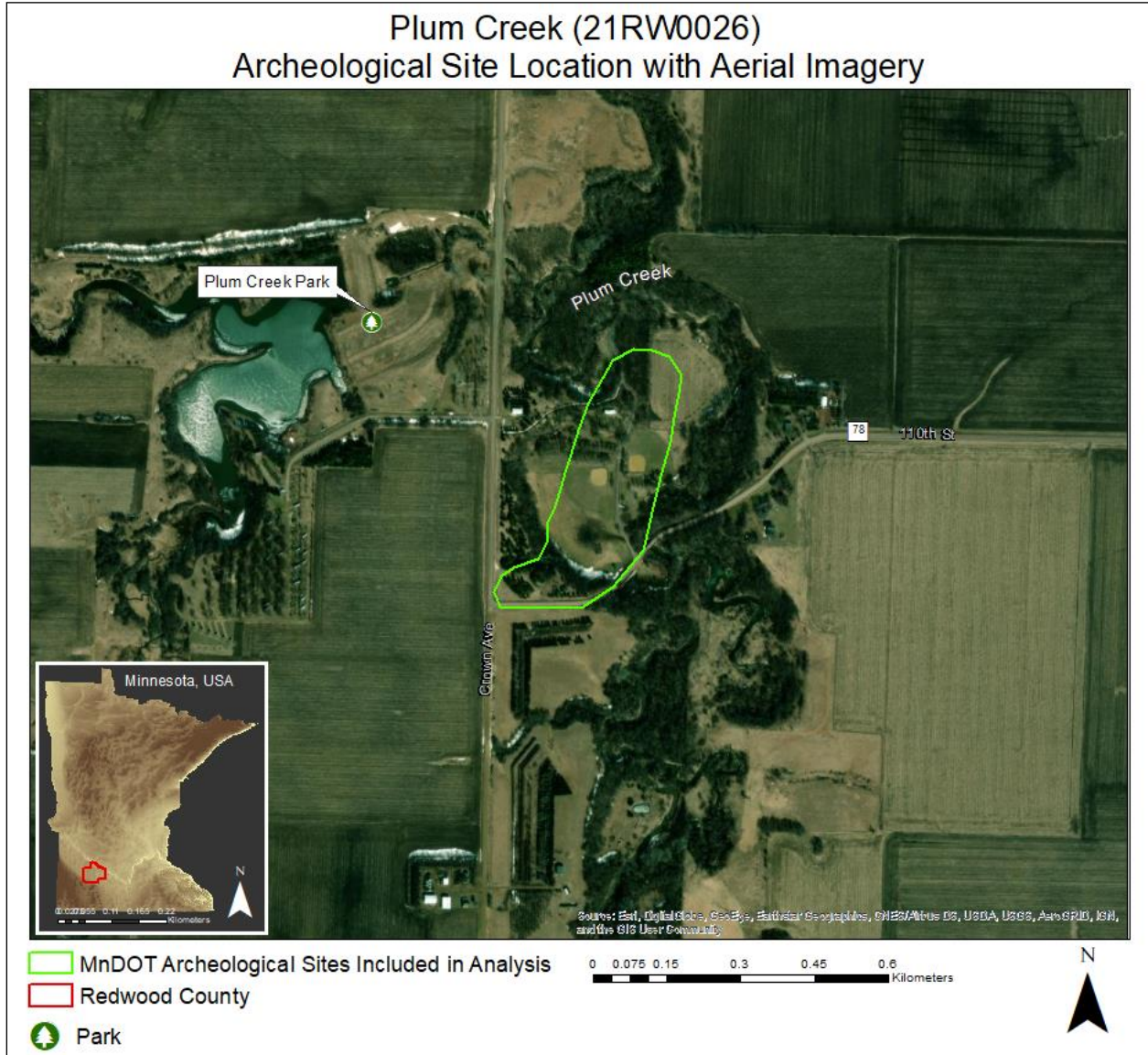
them would be unusual in such a location; while it was either a very unusual or perhaps human-maintained grove, the fact that it was recognized by past Dakota peoples indicates the importance of this resource to them, and suggests that there should be some Dakota sites there or nearby 21RW0026 is bordered to the north and east by Plum Creek, and to the west and south by high bluffs overlooking the wide valley floor of a former outwash channel, which Trow (1978) states was an ideal location for a large prehistoric occupation. “A large village site with Woodland pottery found in virtually every location tested, the Plum Creek Park site was apparently occupied throughout the Middle Woodland period (AD200-800)” (ibid.).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: Though kept in pasture for many years and, excluding the park pavilion and parking lot, which have not seen any major disturbances, the area of 21RW0026 is currently used as a county park. Apart from the removal of fill for the county road at the south end of the park, which left lithic debris and mineralized bison teeth exposed on the blufftop to the southwest, as of 1978, the Plum Creek site (21RW0026) is in generally excellent condition (Trow 1978).

The comparatively minor alterations of the site have left an extensive portion undisturbed, ideal for intra-site analysis of the Middle Woodland component represented here. A large village site with Woodland pottery found in virtually every location tested, the Plum Creek Park site was apparently occupied throughout the Middle Woodland period (AD200-800). The chipped stone materials found in association with bison teeth may also be a part of that cultural period, although the possibility of an earlier Archaic occupation cannot yet be eliminated (21RW0026 Mn/OSA Files).

The exposure of cultural materials during the removal of fill during construction of the county road suggests the presence of additional material below the same road. However, very few reports on investigations at Plum Creek site (21RW0026) exist, and those that do exist consist of statewide archeological survey reports (c.f. Fridley 1981; S. Anfinson 1986) from investigations which were undertaken for CRM purposes; these CRM investigations were carried out for the

purpose of documenting the condition of archeological sites that fell within the APE of construction projects, not with the goal of contributing to the archeological record of Minnesota.



Map 5.50 – Aerial imagery of site 21RW0026.

RICE COUNTY

*21RCac – Wa-fa-coota (Leaf Shooting Village)

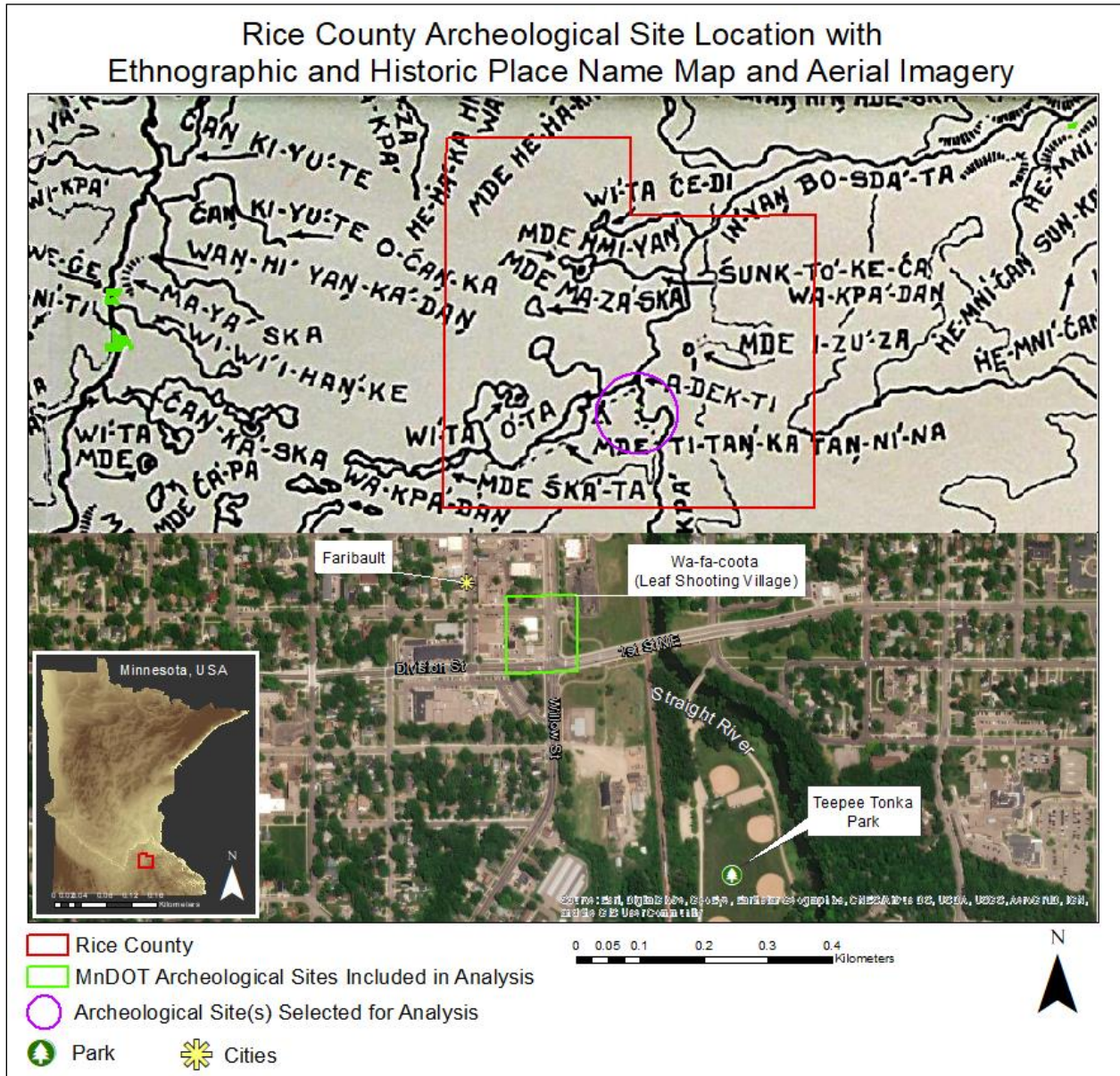
The Wa-fa-coota site (21RCac) is an archeological alpha site that has not (yet) undergone a formal field review; no formal site forms are associated with the site, only historical documents

and maps that refer to an Eastern Dakota *Wahpekuṭe* village, which represents the Eastern Dakota component present at the site, was said to be in the area of 21RCac. The sole historical document which could be found at the time of this analysis that refers to alpha site 21RCac is an article written by R.A. Mott that was published in the “Rice County Herald” in 1857. Mott writes about *Wafacoota*:

The Indians removed from the lake to this place, which they called Wa-facoota or 'The Leaf Shooting Village' and built their village on the point which Mr. Faribault's house now occupies, in 1835. Mrs. Crump counted thirty seven bark roofed houses since her arrival. Mr. Faribault's door yard encloses their burying ground. There rest the bones of Visiting Eagle and family, and one of the chiefs, who was killed at the instigation of Jack Frazer (half breed now in the Territory) because he refused to withhold the patronage of his tribe from Faribault and grant him (Frazer) the monopoly of their trade (Mott 1857).

At the time of the first French encounters with Dakota peoples at *Mde Wakan*, “the speculation is that the Wapekute were in the process of breaking off from their relatives, the Mdewakanton” (Hodge 1912, 2: 890, 891). After the movement of Dakota people from the area of *Mde Wakan*, one of the areas the *Wahpekuṭe* inhabited was the region of Sakatah Lake State Park, which is near 21RCac. In Dakota, the name Sakatah refers to “the sights and sounds of children playing on the hills” or “singing hills”. Therefore, the name of the site may be viewed as a bastardization of the Dakota name for the *Wahpekuṭe* band of Dakota, as well as that of the village, which is alleged to have been located at 21RCac, and due to similarity of the way the words sound, it is possible that the settlers of the city of Faribault merely transcribed what they thought they heard Dakota people saying. The connection of the *Wahpekuṭe* Dakota to the site may be further corroborated by the name of one of the Wahpekuṭe leaders, *Sake Ska* – “white nails” – (Durand 1994: 98), which may be the “root word” for the name of Sakatah Lake, though when the initial

meaning of “Sakatah” mentioned above is taken into consideration, it is clear that may not be the case.



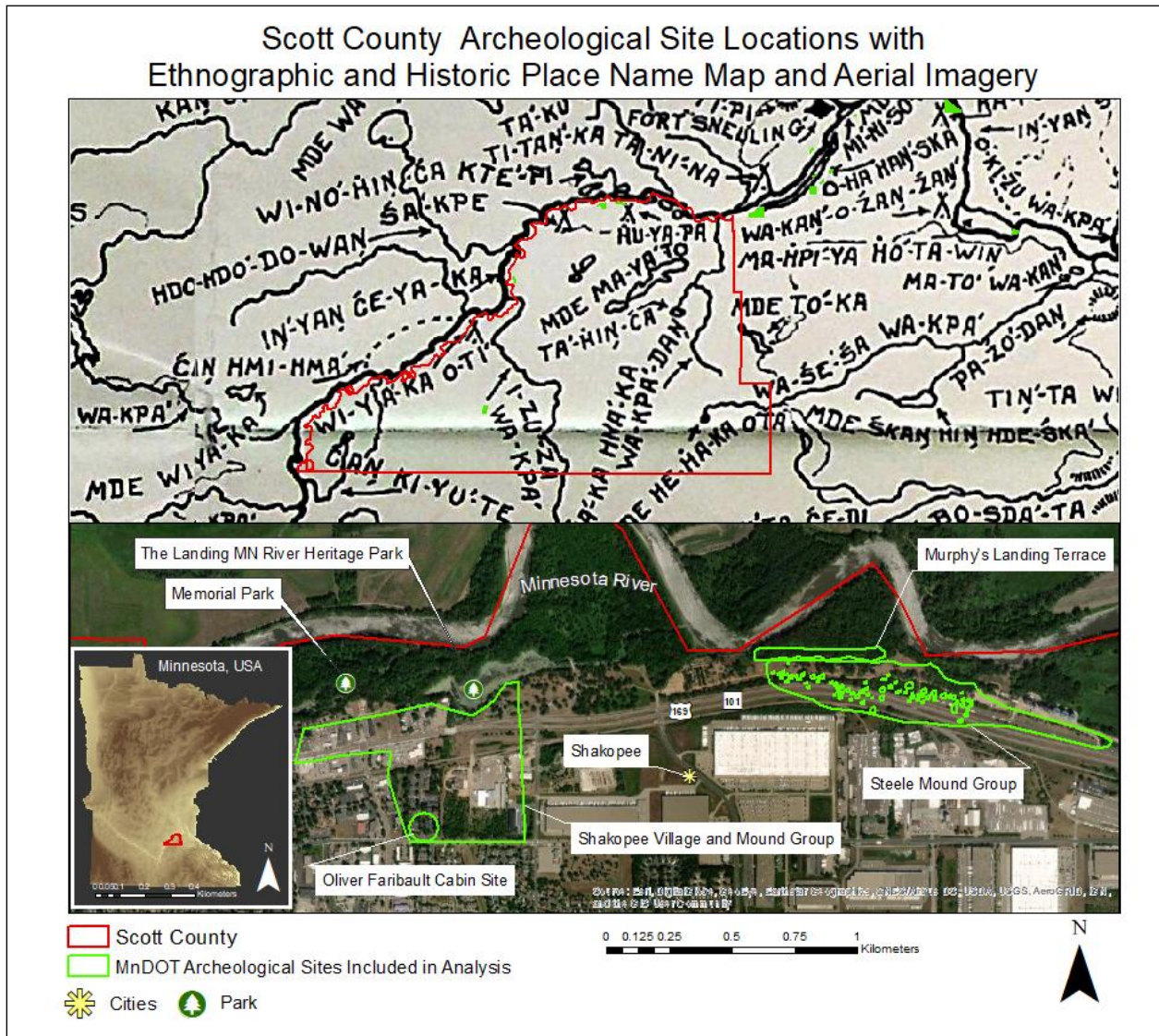
Map 5.51 – Aerial imagery (bottom) and Durand’s (1994) adapted ethnographic map (top) of Rice County showing the archeological site in the county.

Wa-fa-coota(Leaf Shooting Village) Archeological Site Location with Aerial Imagery



Map 5.52 – Aerial imagery of site 21RCac.

SCOTT COUNTY



Map 5.53 – Aerial imagery (bottom) and Durand’s (1994) adapted ethnographic map (top) of Scott County showing the archeological sites in the county included in this analysis.

***21SC0002 – Shakopee Village and Mound Group (contains 21SC0040)**

Named for Eastern Dakota chief *Sakpe*, the Shakopee Village and Mound Group (21SC0002) is a multi-component site that consists of a prehistoric mound group, both Dakota and Euro-American historic habitation, and a mission that is located on a terrace overlooking the *Mini Sota Wakpa* at the east end of the city of Shakopee. The mound group at 21SC0002 formerly consisted

of 28 mounds. The Shakopee Village site (21SC0002) is bisected by a ravine, with a spring running north then north-northeast towards the river. Wilford's (1940) descriptions of the village and associated garden locations, which are based on the writings of missionary Samuel Pond, notes that said spring passed to the south side of the village gardens. The gardens as they once existed were not located within the present site boundaries, but on the northward projection of land within the floodplain of the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, and the spring enters the *Mini Sota Wakpa* to the southeast of the gardens (Aulwes and Jenkins 2013b: 4). C. Johnson (1992) notes numerous patterns regarding the distribution of sites along the Minnesota River:

First, sites occur both on the uplands overlooking the river valley and within the valley on or near the floodplains. Second, there is a major concentration of sites near 21SC36 and 21SC37 on both sides of the river. Finally, sites on the south side of the river tend to be in low-lying areas while those to the north are on upland locations. This is probably due to the location of the Minnesota River meander belt and the need of resident Native Americans to be close to a source of water (Johnson 1992: 9).

21SC0002 was one of the locations of 19th century Eastern Dakota chief *Šakpe*'s village of *Tiŋta Otoŋwe*, which was associated with other Eastern Dakota villages, from at least 1834 until 1853, when it was moved to the Lower Sioux Reservation on the Upper *Mini Sota Wakpa* in Redwood County (Dobbs and Breakey 1989: 7). Prior to its relocation on the Upper *Mini Sota Wakpa* in 1853, *Tiŋta Otoŋwe* is also reported to have moved from the north side of the *Mini Sota Wakpa* to the south side, where it was described by numerous traders and travelers (Aulwes and Jenkins 2013b; Dobbs and Breakey 1989). Although Dakota oral history indicates that the band had been in the vicinity for a long time, when and where exactly the village was settled is not known with certainty (Dobbs 1987; Dobbs and Breakey 1989), and little or no archeological evidence of the village has been recovered (Florin et al. 2013: 24). The Shakopee Village and

Mound Group site (21SC0002) is part of the Shakopee Historic District, which was originally listed on the NRHP in 1970.

21SC0002 was also the location of early Minnesotan Samuel Pond's house, the foundation of which is still extant and is situated on the upper edge of the east side of the ravine. According to Pond, the Dakota people that lived in the area dwelt in teepees within "100 rods" of his door, some much nearer (S. Pond 1986 [1908]). Evidence of activities potentially related to the mission is limited to the discovery of a single projectile point cut from pounded metal (Dobbs and Breakey 1989: 10). The only other permanent structure at 21SC0002 was the log house of the fur trader Oliver Faribault (21SC0040), which was built in 1843 and is located on top of the west side of the ravine and is contained completely within site 21SC0002.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: While the site has been heavily disturbed and is assumed to have been destroyed by farming, residential and commercial development, and highway construction, investigations conducted by Elden Johnson in the 1960s at the mound group to the east of 21SC0002 resulted in the salvage of more than 20 mounds at the site which were in the path of the expansion of Highway 10 (Dobbs and Breakey 1989: 8). Furthermore, although the remains of the village have been "obliterated by the modern town [*Shakopee*], the site should be marked as that of the largest Sioux village on the lower Minnesota River" (Smith 1967: 7).

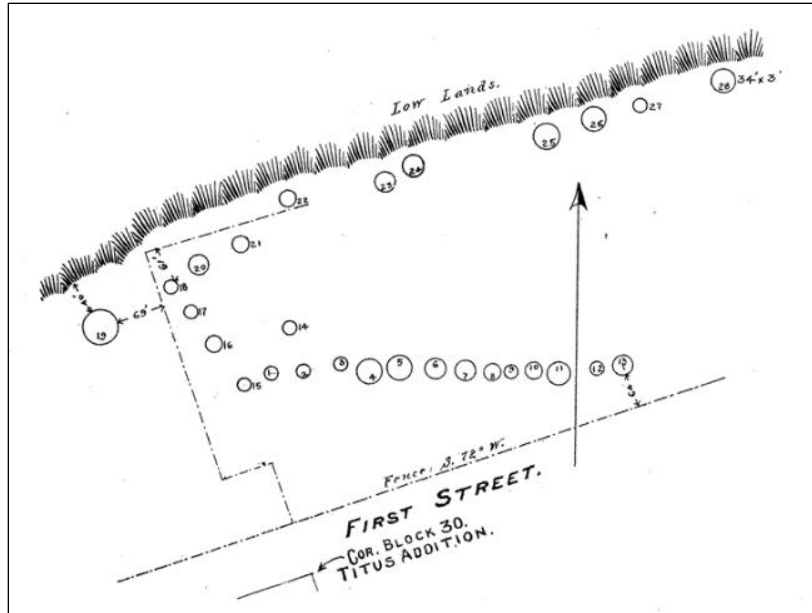


Figure 5.26 – The Shakopee Mounds (21SC0002), recorded by T. H. Lewis (Winchell 1911: 190).

The Shakopee Mounds were first recorded by T. H. Lewis in 1882, when he recorded 13 of the mounds. He visited the mound group again in 1884 and recorded an additional 15 mounds, for a total of 28 circular and conical prehistoric mounds located about 20 feet above the river bottomlands (Winchell 1911). The Pond Mounds (21SC0022) are located one-quarter mile east of 21SC0002. In 1936, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) recorded four burials/graves, which were recorded as being in “good” condition and of Native American origin, and “coincide with the previous description given by one of Samuel Pond’s sons, that four Native Americans were buried in Charles Manalge’s garden in 1858” (Aulwes and Jenkins 2013a: 5). A point of confusion with the Shakopee Village and Mound Group site (21SC0002) involves the presence of historic Dakota burials on the Douglas Kelm property, which is immediately west of the ravine (discussed above) and contains the site of the Oliver Faribault cabin (21SC0040) (Dobbs and Breakey 1989: 9). According to the Kelm family, a group of 10 to 12 historic Dakota burials were located between the northwest corner of their house and Highway 101. There are reports that archeologists from the U of M excavated one or two of these burials (Dobbs and Breakey

1989: 9). However, there is no record of these excavations in Wilford's manuscripts or notes, and "Since Wilford was meticulous about documenting his work, it seems improbable (although not impossible) that he conducted these excavations" (Dobbs and Breakey 1989: 8-9). Therefore, either the excavations were never conducted, or they were done by a private individual who represented themselves as a professional archeologist and was automatically assumed to be from the University of Minnesota (ibid.).

In the 1940s, Lloyd A. Wilford conducted investigations for the U of M around 21SC0002 with the intent to locate and test Chief *Šakpe*'s village site, which he noted to be one of the best represented [Dakota] village sites in historical documents of the time (Wilford 1940 qtd. in Dobbs and Breakey 1989). Although Wilford (1940) noted that the village area had already been destroyed by the construction of the railroad and the pavement of a roadside parking area in the area east of the ravine (ibid.: 2 [Dobbs and Breakey 1989: 7-8), excavations dug in the area south of the Pond mission foundations on the east side of the ravine recovered pottery sherds, a Catlinite pipe fragment, probable British flints, a human foot bone, a few animal bones, several square nails, pieces of crockery, and fragments of broken cast iron (Dobbs and Breakey 1989: 8). However, these excavations failed to recover any substantial evidence of *Šakpe*'s village of *Tiŋta Otoŋwe*. Wilford attributed the limited number of materials recovered to his placement of excavation units and trenches, the potentially brief occupation of the village, that fact that occupation of the village was post-ceramic, and that European technologies had already significantly replaced traditional technologies among the Dakota living at the village (Dobbs and Breakey 1989: 8).

Wilford's 'realization' that the 'traditional' Dakota component(s) at the Shakopee Village site (21SC0002) were affected by the encroachment of Euro-American technologies is significant

and pertinent to this analysis, as it addresses/relates to an ephemeral issue addressed in this analysis: the tendency of past archeologists to dismiss the cultural exchanges between Dakota and Euro-American peoples, and the changes in Dakota culture that occurred as a result of interactions between Dakota and Euro-American peoples. Culture change is inherent in all societies, whether it be the result of interaction between people, adaptation, etc., and it is paramount to remember that culture change does not equate to a loss of culture. That is, for the most part (cultural assimilation and genocide being two examples of involuntary culture change), a group of people select for or against, consciously or unconsciously, how their culture changes; a people's culture remains a part of their identity and/or a representation of a group of people even when it undergoes change. Therefore, aspects of Dakota culture that was 'modified' by past Euro-American influence is still representative of Dakota belief systems [i.e., culture], and should still be interpreted, analyzed, and treated as such.

In 1989, a variety of construction activities directed at stormwater management warranted Phase I archeological investigations since these ground-disturbing activities had potential to impact both 21SC0002 (Shakopee Village and Mound Group) and 21SC0040 (Oliver Faribault Cabin Site), and pre-contact artifacts related to habitation and food-resource procurement had been previously identified within the study area (Aulwes and Jenkins 2013a: 18). Very few artifacts and no features were found that could confidently be assigned to the occupation of Shakopee's village, though a high density of 19th century debris mixed with modern and prehistoric aceramic material was recovered; the debris profile apparently represented mid-1800 architectural and habitation activity (Dobbs and Breakey 1989: 10). Although formal excavations identified two features which "contained dense areas of ash and burned earth along with pockets of charred material...neither would constitute formal hearths" (Dobbs and Breakey 1989: 10).

Samples of both ash and charred material were taken for further analysis, the results of which are unknown at the time this analysis is being written. Although the quantity of discovered materials was low, the results of the investigation suggested a greater concentration of activities on the southern and southwestern margins of Faribault Springs (Dobbs and Breakey 1989).



Map 5.54 – Aerial imagery of site 21SC0002.

***21SC0024 – Steele Mounds**

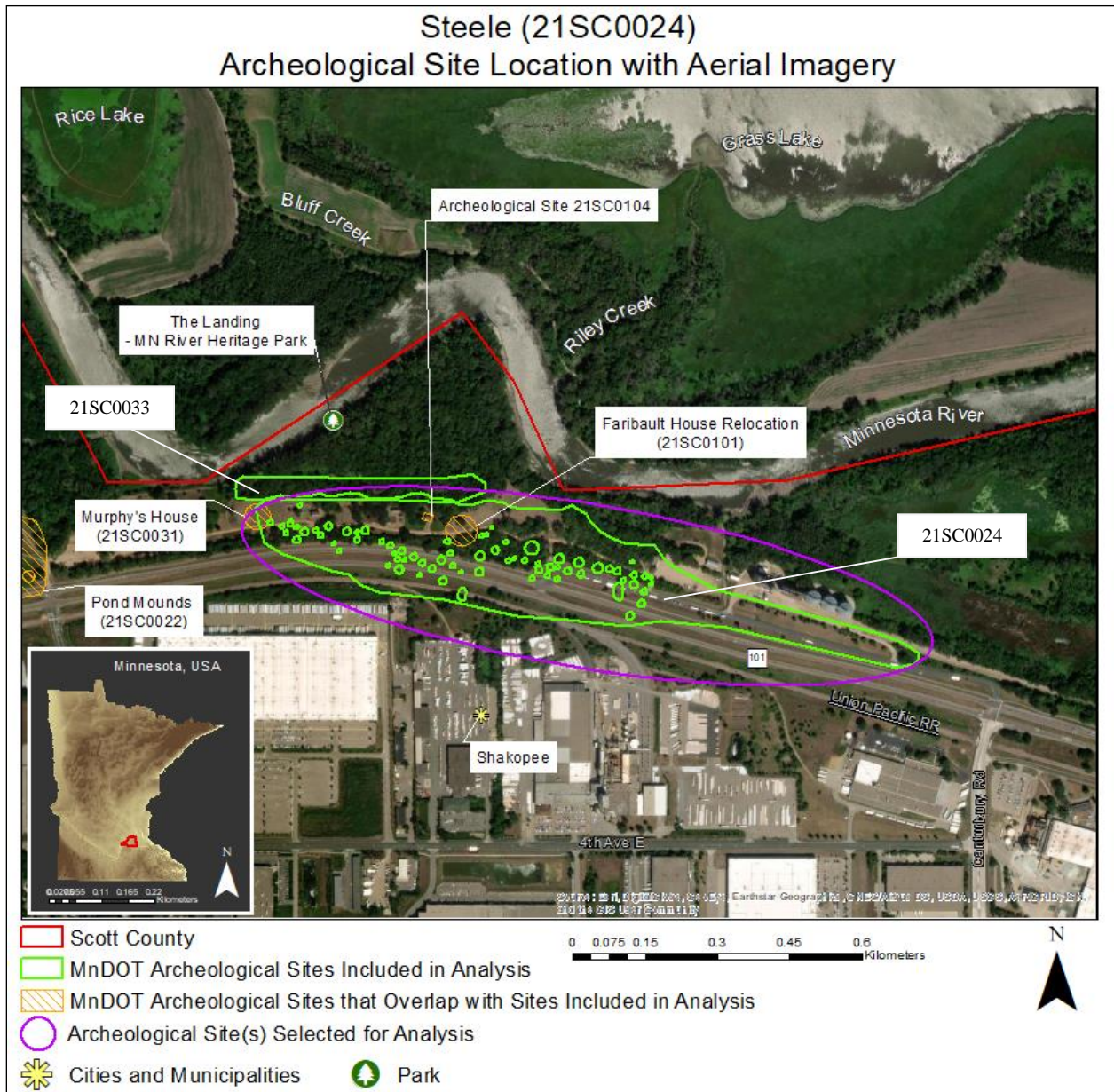
The Steele Mounds site (21SC0024) is a multi-component earthwork and cemetery site situated on terraces overlooking the *Mini Sota Wakpa* that consists of a prehistoric Woodland burial mound group and both precontact and contact period occupations (Aulwes and Jenkins 2013b: 19). The Steele Mound group (21SC0024) is associated with the *Mdewakantowwan* Eastern Dakota contact period village *Tinja Otonwe*, though it was usually referred to it as Shakopee by traders in reference to a hereditary lineage of chiefs associated with the settlement (Durand 1994; Murray 2001: *i*). This village was located on the north bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, though both banks of the river were utilized for numerous purposes. 21SC0024 is individually eligible and contributing to the Shakopee Historic District, which is listed in the National Register of Historic Places (Blondo and Reiners 2019: 7).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: The Steele Mounds (21SC0024) were first recorded by T. H. Lewis in the 1880s. All the mounds at 21SC0024 were circular, apart from two which were linear; of the 111 mounds originally mapped, 25 now remain. Although Elden Johnson and Lloyd A. Wilford conducted excavations of 17 mounds in 1964 prior to their destruction, between 1940 and 1964, early construction of Trunk Highway 101 destroyed 30 burial mounds, and an additional 30-35 were destroyed by the adjacent frontage roads (Blondo and Reiners 2019: 7). Unfortunately, no records of Johnson's and Wilford's 1964 findings have been recovered. While the U of M has field records, descriptions, and partial rough drafts of a site report (author unknown) discussing the excavation of the mounds, the results of those excavations were never published until Constance M. Arzigian and Katherine P. Stevenson published the results in their 2003 book titled, "Minnesota's Indian Mounds and Burial Sites: A Synthesis of Prehistoric and Early Historic Archaeological Data." However, access to this publication was not possible at the time this analysis was conducted.

In 1969, expansion of the right-of-way of Highway 101 threatened 13 of the Steele Mounds (21SC0024), and they were excavated by Elden Johnson and a student crew from the U of M. All the mounds were of the Middle Prehistoric Period (500 A.D. and 800 A.D.), and all were of the Woodland Tradition (Johnson 1988: 15; Lyon et al. 2000: 28). Most of the small circular mounds were constructed over shallow burial pits excavated into the original soil surface, apart from one in which the surficial soils were too shallow and thus the pits were dug into the dolomite (Breakey and Johnson 1989: 9). All the burials were secondary bundles and grave goods were either scarce or absent (Blondo and Reiners 2019), which is typical of secondary burials in Minnesota (Johnson 1988: 19). Additionally, it was found that the mounds were used in historic times, potentially during the ethnographically known occupation of the village of *Tinja Otoywe*, as “Dakota coffin burials were often placed in existing precontact burial mounds, as evidenced by salvage excavations undertaken in the nearby Steele Mounds (21SC24), which yielded several intrusive coffin burials from the mid-nineteenth century” (Murray 2001: 7-11).

Due to the nature of the Steel Mounds site (21SC0024), that is, that it is a cemetery, the focus of most investigations at the site (following Johnson’s 1969 investigations) have been non-invasive and related to the preservation of the mounds and the protection of the burials that remain there. As such, not much information obtained from these investigations has furthered current understandings of the site/contributed to the archeological record of Minnesota. For example, in 2019, prior to the installation of a stormwater diversion pipe intended to stop erosion of, and further protect, the Steele Mounds (21SC0024), an archeological assessment of the proposed alignment, located within the boundary of the known mound group 21SC0024, and an evaluation of the Steel (21SC0024) and Pond Mounds (21SC0022) was conducted by Blondo

Consulting. Geophysical and LiDAR studies were carried out by Archeo-Physics, LLC, and were followed by archeological testing by Blondo Consulting. The results of these studies demonstrated that there were areas of intact soils and cultural materials within the proposed alignment, and the remnant of a mound was found in the soil profile of one of the shovel tests (Blondo and Reiners 2019).



Map 5.55 – Aerial imagery of site 21SC0024.

***21SC0027 – Little Rapids**

Located on the western edge of an area of high ground in the *Mini Sota Wakpa* Valley immediately east of Johnson Slough and south of Louisville Swamp, the Little Rapids site (21SC0027) is a multi-component site that consists of a Middle Woodland mound group and semi-circular earthen enclosure, an historic Euro-American trading post, and is recognized by archeologists as having been an historic Eastern Dakota summer planting village (S. Anfinson 2003: 51; Spector 1993). Over time, “the rich array of plant, animal, and mineral resources near the rapids has attracted many inhabitants” (Cushing 1986, qtd. in Spector 1993: 41). Based on past investigations, the northern end of the site has been identified as the location of the historic trading post, the center of the site as where the Dakota village was situated, and the burial mound group and enclosure are oriented at the southern end of the site.

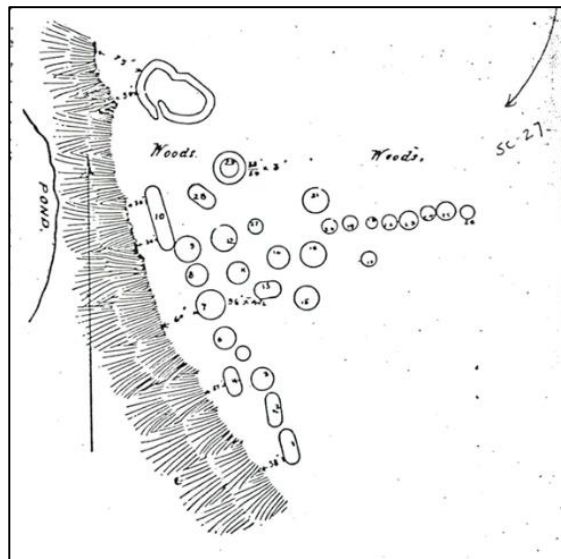


Figure 5.27 – T. H. Lewis’s map and description of the mounds and enclosure at the Little Rapids site (21SC0027) (21SC0027 Mn/OSA files; Winchell 1911: 191).

The Little Rapids site (21SC0027) is archeologically significant as it is one of the few examples of an early- to mid-19th century *Wahpetonwanj* Eastern Dakota habitations sites in the Lower Minnesota River Valley, and *Mini Sota Makoce* in general, that has been positively

relocated and ethnographically identified, received scientific attention, this primarily from archeologist Janet Spector, and which includes both precontact, contact and, historic components (George 1999: 20). From published ethnographic sources it is known that the Little Rapids site or *Inyan Çeyaka Otoŋwe* was the location of a summer planting village of the *Wahpetoŋwan* and, towards the end of its use, was led by chief Iron Walker or *Mazaomani* (Durand 1994: 31; Smith 1967: 11; Spector 1993). It has been suggested by Spector and Whelan (1982) that the Dakota lived at *Inyan Çeyaka Otoŋwe* from approximately 1802 to 1853. Like most Dakota villages in Minnesota, *Inyan Çeyaka Otoŋwe* has a mound group nearby (S. Anfinson 1984), “a silent testimony of the deep connections to place among the Dakota” (Spector 1993: 42). The Little Rapids site (21SC0027) is one of eight mound groups clustered along this five-mile stretch of the *Mini Sota Wakpa*. Additionally, during the period of Dakota occupation at *Inyan Çeyaka Otoŋwe*, “at least seven different traders operated posts in the vicinity” (Roberts and Dobbs 1993: 245). This is supported by the historic record, which indicates that the area of *Inyan Çeyaka* was referred to by several traders as their area of operation (ibid.). However, “Since no maps have come to light on where these posts were, it is possible that the location of these outfits will never be known for sure” (ibid.).

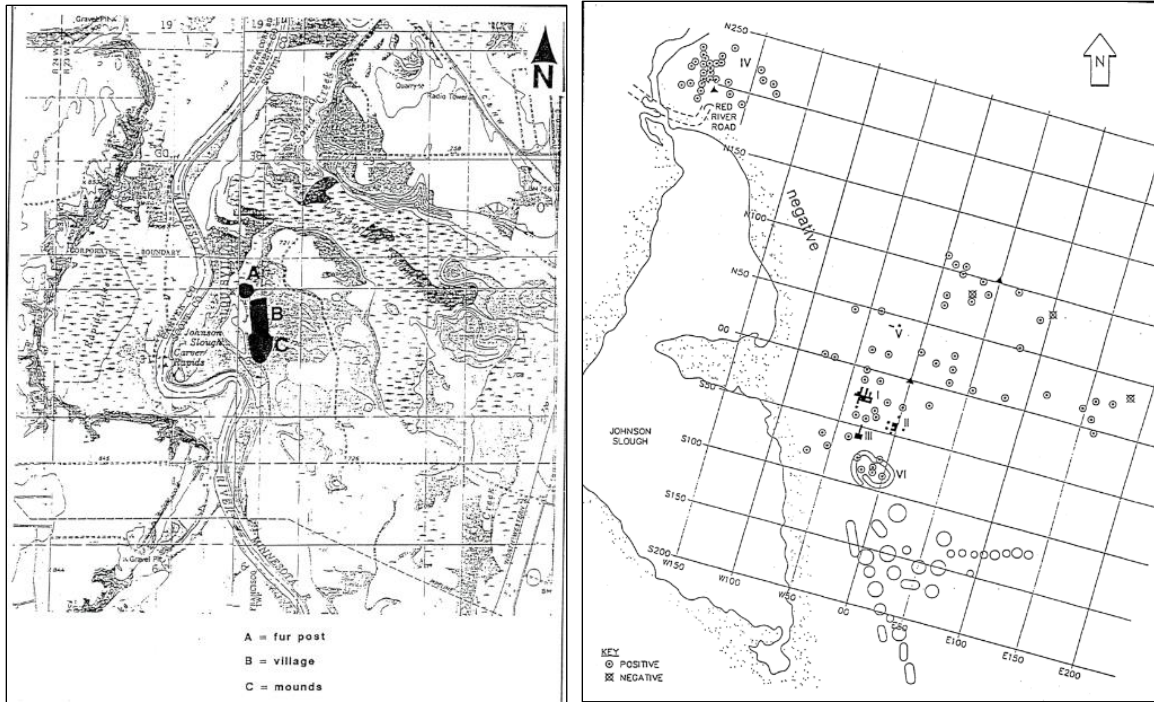


Figure 5.28 – Map of shovel tests, excavation units, and activity areas conducted by Braun Intertec (right) (21SC0027 Mn/OSA files); Figure 5.29 – Map of layout/organization of the Little Rapids site (21SC0027) – 7.5’ USGS topographic quadrangle, Scott County, Minnesota (left).

Unfortunately, most of Spector’s publications pertaining to the site of *Ijyaŋ Čeyaka Otojwe* are inaccessible, with the exception of her primary publication about the site, “What This Awl Means: Feminist Archaeology at a Wahpeton Dakota Village,” which is “a story about a Dakota girl who lost a carved awl handle a century and a half ago” (Spector 1993: 1). Part of this inability to obtain access to numerous reports and publications from investigations at the Little Rapids site (21SC0027) may in part be due to the culturally sensitive nature of the site and/or the archeological significance of the site, leading to the restriction of public dissemination/access to the site location. However, I believe the larger contributing factor to the limited availability of information pertaining to investigations at 21SC0027 is the exclusivity of access to archeological site reports and records in Minnesota. That is, the scientific community distances itself from laypersons and restricts who has access to what, which has the potential to be detrimental to not only Dakota archeology in Minnesota, but to the archeology of Minnesota in general as this

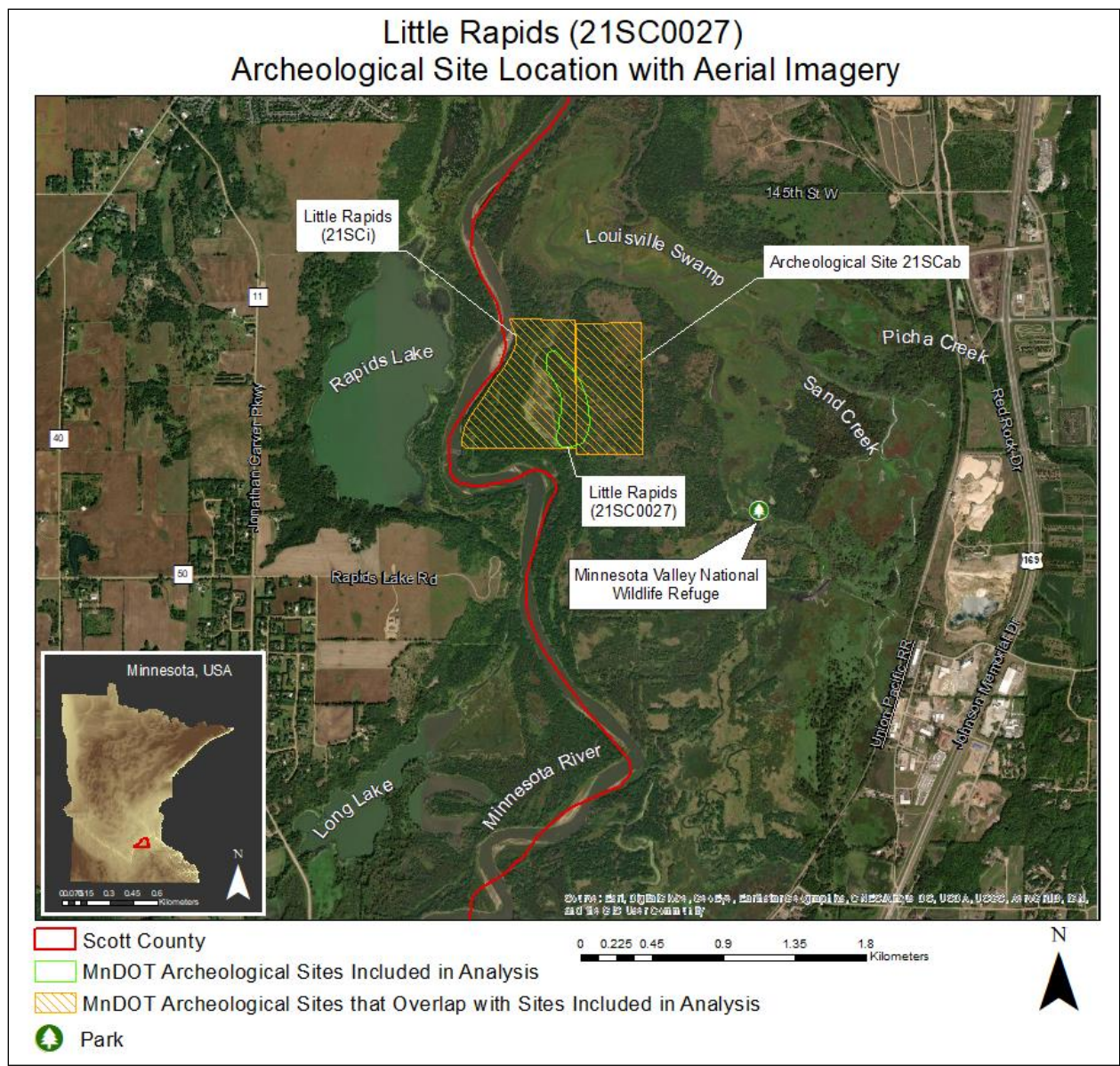
practice not only inhibits further archeological research and understanding, but also, more importantly, impedes Dakota descendants from accessing that information as well. However, archeological site location information is considered protected information under Federal and State law, with the intent being to protect sites from looting. While Dakota people may have retained connections to places such as Little Rapids through oral traditions and histories, accessibility limitations to information related to their ancestral lands and communities hinder their ability to establish and foster more “in-depth” connections with their past, as well as the potential for researchers to contribute to an understanding of “Dakota archeology.”

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: The mound group associated with the 21SC0027 site complex was mapped by T. H. Lewis in 1887 as part of the Northwestern Archaeological Survey (Nwas), during which he mapped a total of 29 mounds, six which were linear and 23 conical, and includes an earthen enclosure, a flat-topped mound and mounds that are “at least partially composed of stone” (Lewis 1889). In 1854, *Inyan Çeyaka Otoŋwe* was surveyed by E.D. Neill, who described the site as “an abandoned ghost town” and it was documented as alpha site 21SCi (21SCi Mn/OSA Files). “The portion of the Minnesota River Valley between just south of Carver Rapids and Chaska was known as Little Rapids during the fur trade era and the notion of treating this stretch of the river as a kind of locale is a rational approach to the discussion of the ancient earthworks concentrated in this area” (Roberts et al. 1993: 15). At least 20 of the mounds have been looted to varying degrees, as well as some of the trading post and village areas.

In 1980, under the direction of archeologist Janet Spector, the University of Minnesota began excavations at 21SC0027 which would continue intermittently throughout the rest of the 1980s. Supplemented by historic records and oral interviews with descendants of Dakota

inhabitants of the village of *Iñyañ Çeyaka Otoñwe*, the data from these excavations led by Spector “furnished detailed information about nineteenth century lifeways at the village, especially those of its female inhabitants” (Forsberg 1998: 25).

In 1992, Norene Roberts of Historical Research, Inc., Kim Breakey of IMA Consulting, Inc., and DNR Parks Specialist David Berg conducted a field inspection was undertaken at 21SC0027 as part of the Lower Minnesota River Valley Cultural Resource Study and Interpretive Plan for the Minnesota Valley Trail (MVT). A review of past investigations found a description of the Little Rapids site (21SC0027) in memo dated to 1956, in which Wilford notes that he “located the mounds nearly all of which have been disturbed,” a discovery which was confirmed during the 1992 field inspection of the site (Roberts and Dobbs 1993:247). However, while investigations carried out in 1992 revealed that the habitation and earthen enclosure portions of the site complex appeared to have been in “excellent condition,” with no evidence of recent looting or other damage (Roberts and Dobbs 1993), it was discovered that Mound 6 or 7, as numbered by Lewis, contained two areas of disturbance, which were thought to have been “fairly recent,” as evidenced by the scarcity of vegetation within the excavation depressions (ibid.). It was recommended that optimal protection of the complex would probably be the elimination of access to the site (21SC0027) since it is “well known to area relic collectors and the trading post and mound sites have been repeatedly looted” (Roberts and Dobbs 1993: 248).



Map 5.56 – Aerial imagery of site 21SC0027.

***21SC0033 – Murphy’s Landing Terrace**

Located on a low terrace on the south bank of the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, Murphy’s Landing Terrace (21SC0033) is a multi-component site that was a precontact and historic Eastern Dakota habitation site, as well as the site of the Euro-American transportation hub of Murphy’s ferry crossing and steamboat landing (now The Landing – Minnesota River Heritage Park). It is believed that the Eastern Dakota habitation site at 21SC0033 was likely the location of one of

Chief *Šakpe*'s villages, though this is not known with certainty as the exact location of the village remains elusive to archeologists (Breakey and Johnson 1989: 9). From a comparison of published ethnographic sources and historic maps, it is suggested here that the Dakota village that was located at 21SC0031 was *Tewapa*, led by Eagle Head, a satellite village to *Šakpe*'s village of *Tinja Otonwe*. The village at Murphy's Landing Terrace (21SC0033) was occupied until 1851 when the Treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota were signed, and Dakota inhabitants of the area were forced to relocate to the Upper and Lower Sioux Reservations (Breakey and Johnson 1989: 6; Winchell 1911: 553-555). From information relayed to him by the landowner at the time, Wilford (1940) provides a description of the 1834 Dakota village:

At the southern edge of the gardens there is an abrupt rise to a higher terrace, which extends east and west to come close to the river at the eastern and western ends of the loop. From the norther edge of the terrace, which faces the river and the fields of the bottomland, the land slopes gently upward to the south, reaching its maximum elevation near the southern border of the quarter section, where there is a low but distinct ridge extending east and west. The village was on this terrace between the northern edge of the terrace and the ridge at the south (Wilford 1940: 2).

While oral histories such as the one above may be found in both published ethnographic and historical records, no archeological data has been recovered which supports it. That said, this lack of Dakota archeology at the site may be due to the oversight of past investigators' preoccupation with the Euro-American component at the site. In 1854, "at the Indian village site, a half mile below the original plat of the town of Shakopee" (Smith 1967: 7), Richard G. Murphy built a ferry crossing about one mile downstream from the City of Shakopee (Breakey and Johnson 1989: 8 [Neill 1882: 295]). "This ferry site and the associated inn built by Murphy form the core of the Minnesota Valley Restoration Project or 'Murphy's Landing' today and with the prehistoric burial mounds located in adjacent Memorial Park, constitute the National Register Shakopee Historic District" (Breakey and Johnson 1989: 8). If this is indeed the case, there is the

possibility that a re-analysis of artifacts recovered from past investigations may provide support for the oral histories described above.

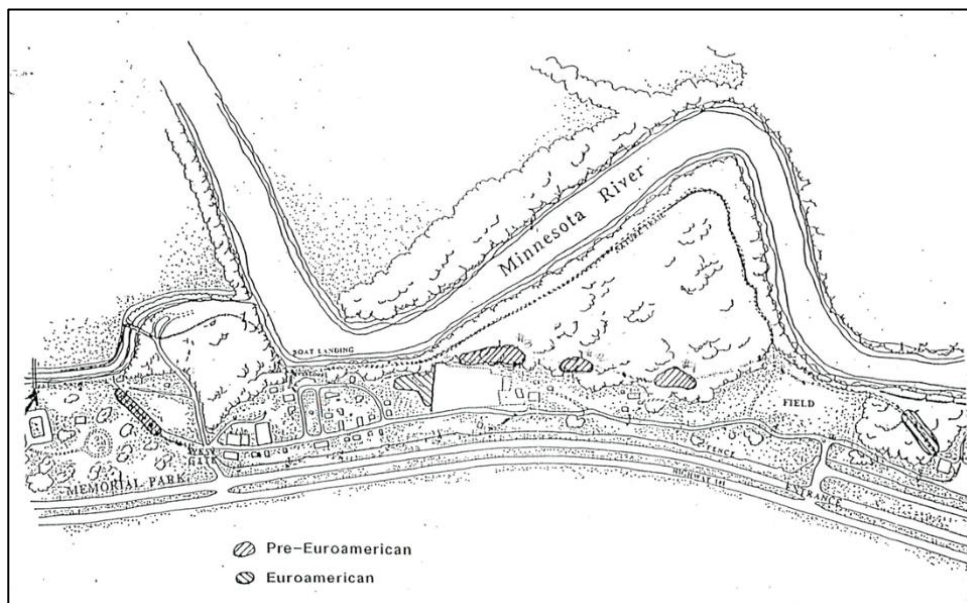


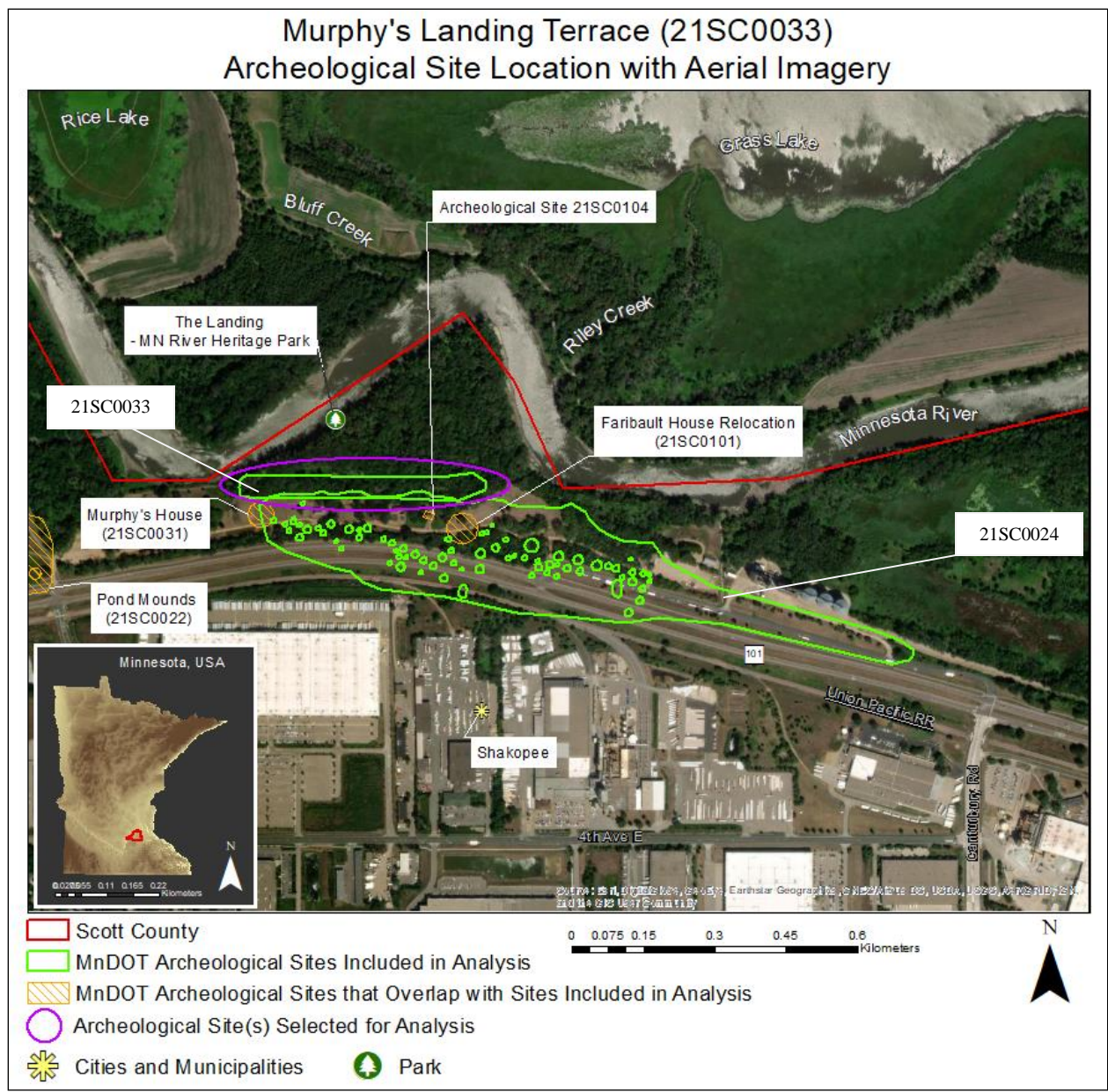
Figure 5.30 – Site loci at Murphy's Landing Terrace (21SC0033) (21SC0033 Mn/OSA files).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: Site 21SC0033 was identified by IMA in 1989 during a cultural resources assessment for the Minnesota Valley Trail (MVT) Corridor (Breakey and Johnson 1989). It was noted by investigators Kim Breakey and Elden Johnson that the configuration of the northern loop of the MVT, the proximity of the river channel, and the low terrace to the east and west ends of the loop fit very well with descriptions of the locations of *Šakpe* summer village and garden, which suggests the possibility that the village lies within Murphy's Landing (now The Landing – Minnesota River Heritage Park) and the Shakopee Historic District (Breakey and Johnson 1989: 11).

In 1993, field research was carried out at 21SC0033 under the direction of Grant Goltz of Soils Consulting and the field crew of All Nations Cultural Resource Preservation (Roberts and Dobbs 1993). Artifacts recovered evidenced three concentration areas and consisted of a total of 67 chert and quartz flakes, a single fabric-marked ceramic body sherd and a Swan River Chert

core, as well as a moderately dense scatter of Euro-American materials just to the west of the pre-contact concentrations. While 21SC0033 was not listed as a contributing element to the Shakopee Historic District at the time, it was evident that construction activities would affect cultural resources at the site, and as 21SC0033 does lie within the Historic district, further evaluations should be taken prior to any further construction activities at Murphy's Landing (now The Landing – Minnesota River Heritage Park) (Goltz 1993).

The Minnesota State Park Cultural Resource Management Program (MSPCRMP) conducted a cultural resource survey in 2001 to expand the previously defined boundaries of the Murphy's Landing site (21SC0033). Shovel tests dug at 21SC0033 in the same general area previously identified by IMA in 1989 (Breakey and Johnson 1989) resulted in the recovery of precontact lithics, and multiple overlapping foundations representative of a series of structural ruins were also identified and mapped (Radford et al.). No other mention is made of archeologically significant Dakota-related cultural materials or information.



Map 5.57 – Aerial imagery of site 21SC0033.

***21SC0040 – Oliver Faribault Cabin Site (within 21SC0002)**

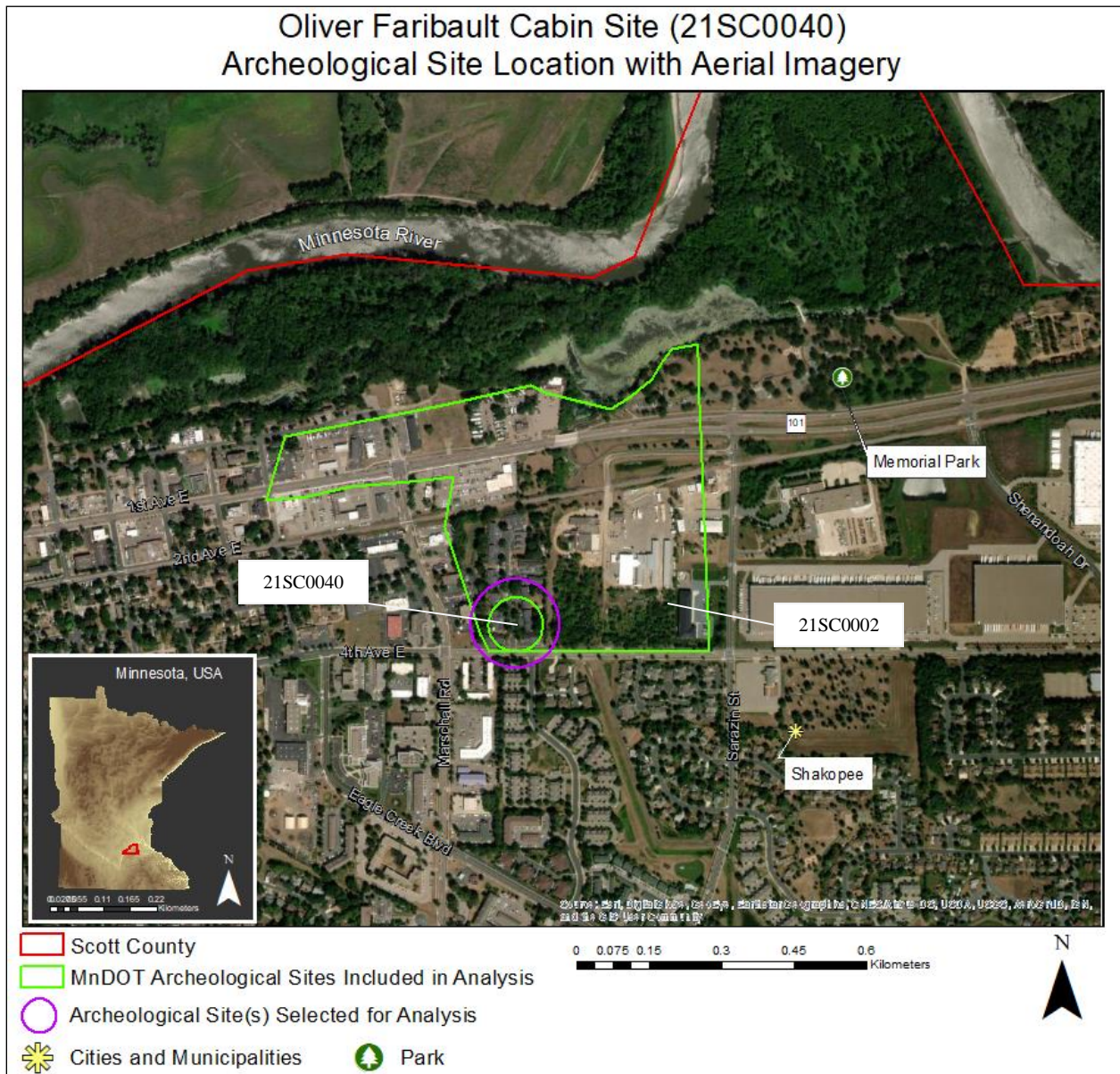
Located within the Shakopee Village and Mound Group site (21SC0002), the Oliver Faribault Cabin site (21SC0040) is an historic structure site, the home of early Minnesotan Oliver Faribault, though the site does have a documented Eastern Dakota component. Although the cabin itself has been moved to the other side of Highway 101, the original location of the cabin

was on the west side of Faribault Springs and is preserved as 21SC0040 within the presumed boundaries of Shakopee's Village in NRHP site 21SC0002 (Florin et al. 2013: 53). As Faribault had close associations with Dakota peoples in the area, it is of little surprise that there is an Eastern Dakota component at the site (21SC0040).

Although Euro-American settlement activities define site 21SC0040 (Aulwes and Jenkins 2013a: 18), the historic site is superimposed on sub-surface archeological cultural material that have documented Eastern Dakota cultural affiliations. State site files indicate that there is a strong oral tradition which states that there are 19th century Dakota burials located on the Kelm property (Koenen 1998). The 1936 WPA (Works Progress Administration) burials survey listed four graves in a fenced cemetery in proximity to the Faribault cabin. Descendants of Faribault, who still own the property, reported in 1989 (Dobbs and Breakey 1989) that the burials, which contained 10 to 12 individuals, were originally in mounds, though the mounds were leveled to fill in the cabin yard (Florin et al. 2013: 24; Lyon et al. 2000: 28). Although no mounds were recorded by Lewis at this site in his 1880s survey, it is possible that intact burials are present on the property (ibid.), and given that 21SC0040 is encompassed by 21SC0002, it is probable that the mounds at the latter site are the ones in question.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: In 1989, contracted with Orr-Schelen-Mayeron & Associates (OSM), Clark A. Dobbs and Kim Breakey of the Institute for Minnesota Archaeology (IMA) conducted Phase I investigations in preparation for a variety of construction activities directed at stormwater management around sites 21SC0002 and 21SC0040. Previous investigations had identified precontact artifacts related to habitation and food-resource procurement within the study area and construction activities had the potential to impact sites 21SC0002 and 21SC0040 (Aulwes and Jenks 2013a: 18). However, at the time of this

investigation, very few artifacts, nor any features, were found that could confidently be assigned to the historic occupation of Shakopee's village, though a high density of 19th century debris mixed with contemporary and prehistoric aceramic material were recovered, and the debris profile apparently represented mid-1800 architectural and habitation activity (Dobbs and Breakey 1989: 10). The Oliver Faribault Cabin site (21SC0040) was established following the 1989 survey (Florin et al. 2013: 24).

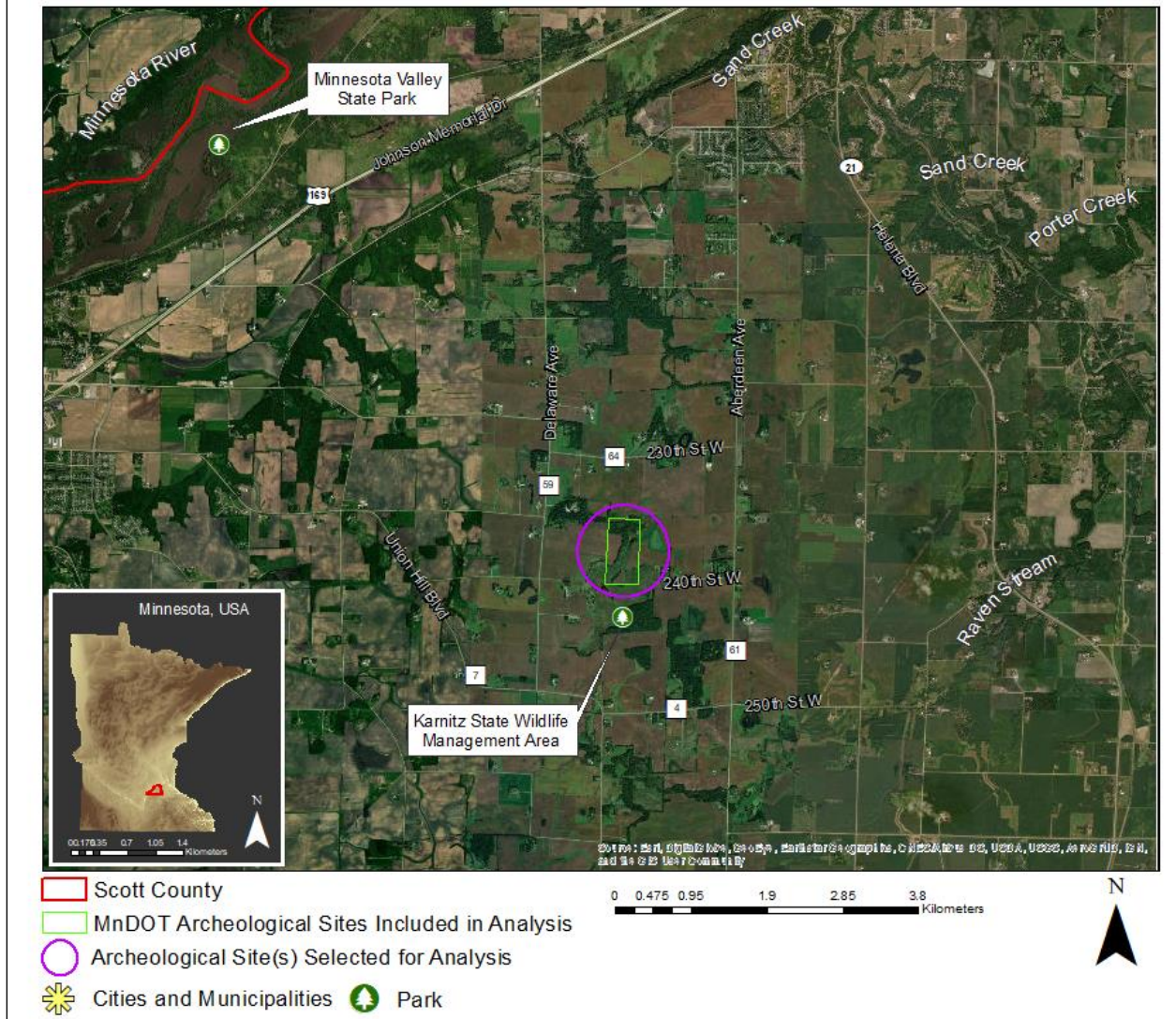


Map 5.58 – Aerial imagery of site 21SC0040.

***21SCae – Robert’s Fur Trading Post**

The Robert’s Fur Trading post (21SCae) is an alpha site that was an historic trading post and has a documented Eastern Dakota component. Around 1850, Louis Robert, “...a noted St. Paul-based trader and steamboat operator,” established a trading post near the present-day Belle Plaine (Smith 1967: 13). Robert was among the various traders that *Ta Oyate Duta* (Little Crow III) blamed as being the leader trader who conspired to defraud the Dakotas leading up to the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 (Diedrich 1989: 71). Although there is a documented Eastern Dakota component at 21SCae, there is a lack of information pertaining to the site, which may likely be due to the inability of past investigators to locate the site of the trading post(s) with certainty. The connection to the Dakota people seems to consist of a single source: “Louis Robert had another post at White Sand Dakota village at Little Rapids which he established in 1850 (unless the reference is to this one)” (Roberts 1993: 250 [*Minnesota Chronicle and Register* 1850]). The location for Robert’s Belle Plaine trading post puts it about two miles south of the *Mni Sota Wakpa* on the east side of Roberts Creek or *Çaŋ Kiyute Wakpadaŋ* (formerly *Riviere au Bois Franc* [“river of the big woods”]) (Durand 1994: 5), above the bluff in the area now transected by Highway 169. However, due to the topographic setting of 21SCae on the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, the historic use of the area of the site by both Dakotas and Euro-Americans, and proximity to other archeological sites with documented Eastern Dakota components as well as ethnographically known Dakota sites, it is entirely reasonable to expect the presence of intact Dakota archeological components at site 21SCae.

21SCae Archeological Site Location with Aerial Imagery



Map 5.59 – Aerial imagery of site 21SCae.

SAINT LOUIS COUNTY

*21SL1248 – Prairie Island

While there is a documented Eastern Dakota component at site 21SL1248 (formerly known as alpha site 21SLak), no information could be found in published ethnographic sources nor historic records tying Dakota people to the site, and the nature of the Eastern Dakota component at the site is not elaborated on in the Mn/OSA files for it. Additionally, little to no archeological

research has been done for research purposes in the area around Prairie Lake or the islands in the lake, though 21SL1248 has been interpreted to have functioned as a habitation and mortuary site (21SL1248 Mn/OSA files). The only identified archeological sites (21SL1248, 21SLaj, 21SLai, 21SLah, and 21SLag) associated with Prairie Lake are concentrated on the west side of the lake.

One of the earliest references to Prairie Lake and River, and Native Americans in the area, is found in Jean Baptiste Perrault's, "Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of a Merchant Voyager in the Savage Territories of Northern American Leaving Montreal the 28th of May 1783". While he does not elaborate on who the Native Americans he refers to are (if he even knew their cultural association), Perrault writes:

Near Christmas, being unable to hold out any longer, we resolved to save ourselves and go to the Riviere au Pins. Although already very weak, we set out, with leggings made of blankets, and descended the Riviere des Prairie, which flows into Lac des Sables (Sandy Lake). We saw there in a bay the poles of a lodge, where the savages had camped before the snow. I went and investigated and found by chance a frame where the savages had left the edges of moose skin, which they had dried there; and as we were hungry we did not pamper ourselves by boiling it, but ate it roasted, and set out to cross the Sandy Lake, and to reach the branch of the Mississippi in order to follow it down (Perrault n.d.: 7).

However, as discussed in the preceding chapters, for the most part Dakota peoples had moved out of this region of the state by the 1750s (Anderson 1997; E. Johnson 1988), thereby making the Eastern Dakota component documented at 21SL1248 dubious. That said, J.W. New, an early settler in the areas of Prairie Lake, recalled that Native Americans lived on Prairie Lake during the height of the logging boom and, around the time of his arrival in 1888, there was "an Indian settlement of 250 or more" in the area (Ewoldsen 1981: 6⁶⁸). According to New (ibid.), the main part of the village was located at the far northern edge of Prairie Lake, and that the large island on Prairie Lake was used as a cemetery, which had "a good many Indians buried there" (ibid.).

⁶⁸ New 1929, unpublished, Floodwood file 2, Northeastern Minnesota Historical Center, UMD.

No mention is made as to the cultural affiliations of the Native Americans he was referring to.

Although historical records purport that the Ojibwe were the dominant Native Americans occupying the area of Prairie Lake, there is evidence of an earlier culture in the area.

Historians agree that the Chippewa have been in Minnesota not more than 300 years and that the Souix [*sic*] occupied this territory before them. there is evidence that before the Souix [*sic*] there were other Indian tribes, and there is something of a conjecture that the vicinity of Floodwood was the seat of one of the aboriginal tribes that preceded the Souix [*sic*], and that until recent times some old mounds existed near Floodwood that had been built by the predecessors or the Souix [*sic*] (Ewoldsen 1981: 10⁶⁹).

These mounds are mentioned again by an early settler of the Prairie Lake/Floodwood area:

Chief Floodwood and several other old Indians told me that their fathers told them that in the long ago Indians lived around Floodwood when this country had no trees. These Indians lived in mud houses or mounds, but they did not know what tribe they belonged to. Mounds were plainly visible in 1888, and for a number of years thereafter near the mouth of the Savanna River and along the west bank of the St. Louis River up to the mouth of the Floodwood River. These mounds varied in size from 6 to 30 feet across the top and from 3 to 5 feet high. The Cedar Yard covered the site of these mounds. The hauling back and forth of various timber products has leveled off these mounds until it is hard to locate them at this time (Ewoldsen 1981: 10-11⁷⁰).

⁶⁹ William E. Culkin, Floodwood file 1, Northeastern Minnesota Historical Center, UMD.

⁷⁰ William E. Culkin, Floodwood file 1, Northeastern Minnesota Historical Center, UMD.

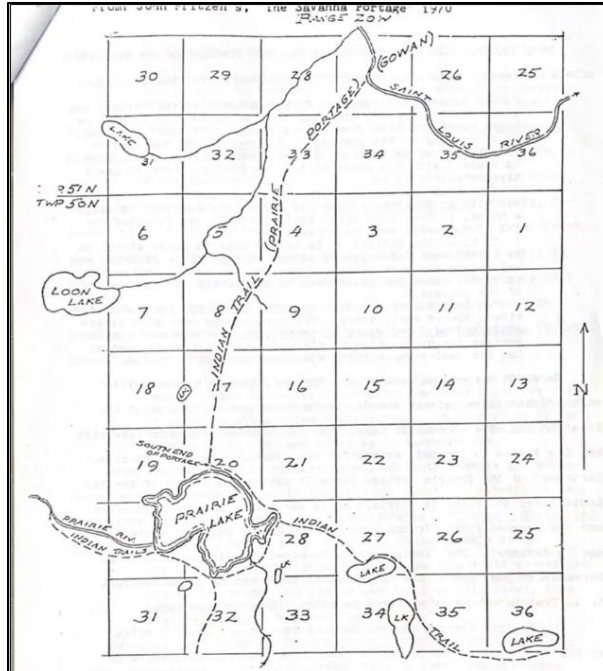


Figure 5.31 – “Prairie portage,” copied from General Land Office (GLO) survey maps 1873 and 1874 (Ewoldsen 1981).

Ewoldsen’s (1981) belief that the mounds date to the Woodland Tradition (2500-300 B.P.) would mean that the earlier culture occupying the area of Prairie Lake, and who built the mounds, was Woodland (ibid.: 11).

Currently, it is unclear whether the apparent sparse concentration of documented/known archeological sites on the western-northwestern side of Prairie Lake is due to lack of archeological investigation, preferential selection of archeological investigation areas, or is a reflection of Native American settlement and/or use patterns. No matter the case, it is undeniable that the area should be subjected to greater archeological investigations, which would help understand the apparent paucity of archeological sites in the vicinity.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: A preliminary archeological report was written on St. Louis County’s Prairie Lake in 1981 by Rachael Ewoldsen, then a student of Dr. Elden Johnson. As part of the report, Ewoldsen (1981) conducted interviews with 20 individuals

to gain insight into local oral traditions and histories. Two of the individuals, Johnny Foot and his mother, Grasshopper, both of whom lived on the west side of Prairie Lake at the time, were said to have been the last Native Americans to live at Prairie Lake, and that Johnny Foot would bring food and other objects to the graves on the big island, “since they were his ancestors” (Ewoldsen 1981: 13). The majority of the interviewees had knowledge of the presence of Native American graves on the “big island” on Prairie Lake, though few of them had first-hand knowledge of the mounds. Informants described the burials on the “big island” as “tent shaped Indian grave houses” [Mr. and Mrs. James Moline qtd. in Ewoldsen 1981] and “wooden A-frame Indian grave shelters” [Lawrence and Dora Ellis qtd. in Ewoldsen 1981] that “had 4 posts laid out in a rectangle with birch bark on top...which looked like a table” [Art and Taimi Tabell qtd. in Ewoldsen 1981], and “wooden Λ shaped covers with shelves inside over the Indian graves” (Ewoldsen 1981: 12-14). According to Art and Taimi Tabell, the graves were dug open in the 1950s by college kids who took artifacts, including bones, and left only empty pits (Ewoldsen 1981: 13). According to Mr. Robert Johnson and sons Curt and Todd, “The north shore of Prairie Lake was occupied by Chippewas. There was a battle between the Chippewa and Souix [*sic*] over this land. On the shore of their property Curt found several arrowheads which had been washed up after a st[r]ong wind. One was white quartz. He also found arrowheads on the Big Island’s shoreline” (Ewoldsen 1981: 16-17). The arrowheads and another stone tool were tentatively identified as similar to Woodland period artifacts.

Prairie Island (21SL1248)
Archeological Site with Aerial Imagery



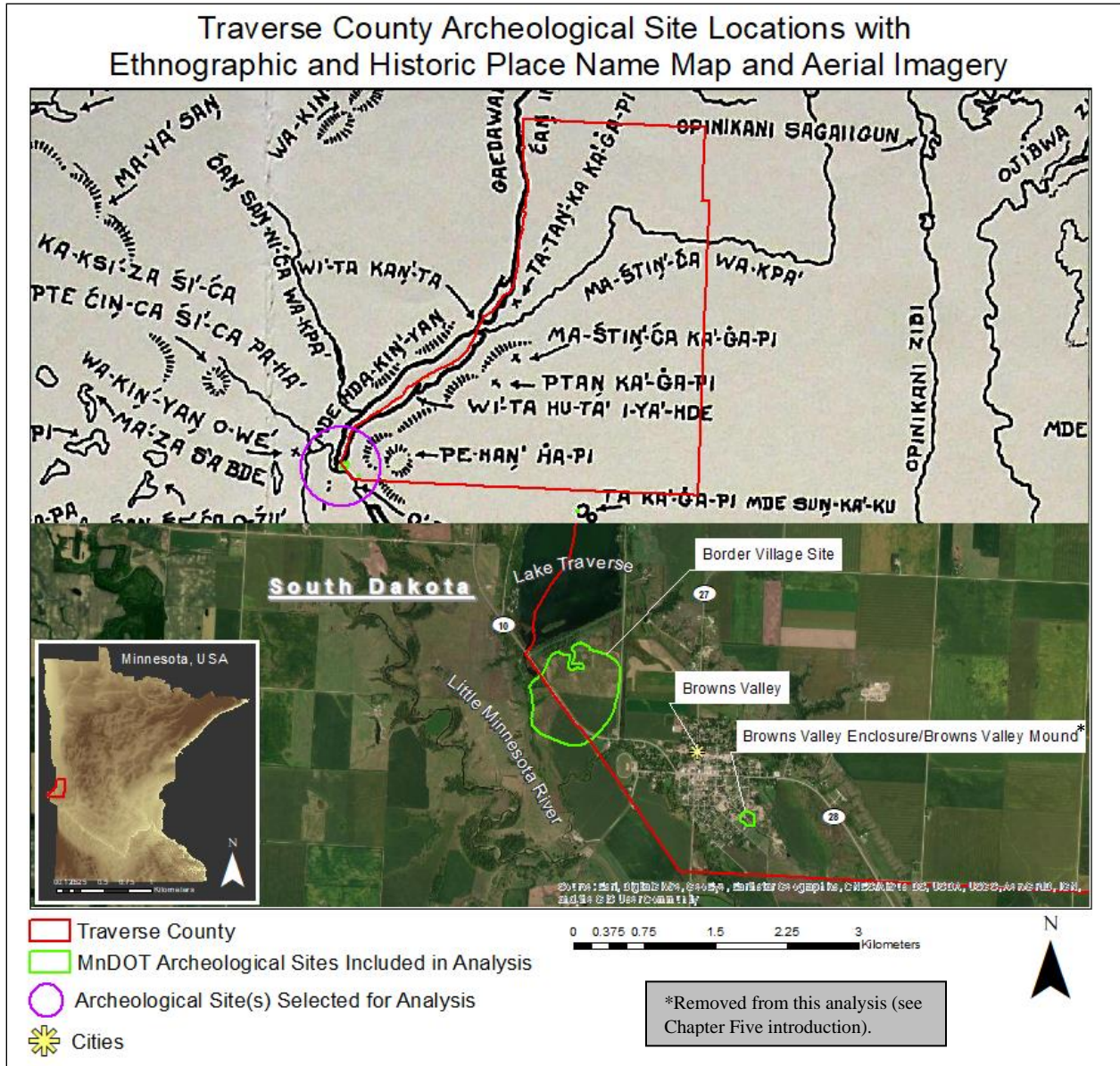
- St. Louis County
- MnDOT Archeological Sites Included in Analysis

0 0.275 0.55 1.1 1.65 2.2 Kilometers



Map 5.60 – Aerial imagery of site 21SL1248.

TRAVERSE COUNTY



Map 5.61 – Aerial imagery map (bottom) and a portion of Durand’s (1994) adapted ethnographic map (top) in Traverse County showing the archeological sites included in this analysis.

21TR0035/39RO0045 – Boarder Village

Located at *Mde Hdakinyan* (Lake Traverse), the Boarder Village site (21TR0035/39RO0045) contains a prehistoric component, represented by a large, prehistoric village which has been assigned to the Late Woodland period and Oneota tradition (21TR0035 Mn/OSA files), though

some sources state that it is described as a “Late Woodland or Sandy Lake site” (: 19). The reason for this discrepancy is unclear at the time, though duly noted. 21TR0035/39RO0045 is approximately one-half mile northwest of the northwest corporate boundary of *Otaka Psiñça* (Browns Valley), Minnesota and is located on a low terrace that is slightly higher than adjacent lands along the headwaters of *Mde Hdakiñyañ*, which makes the area highly susceptible to inundation during the spring and summer, and “the most suitable time for occupation would have been during the winter months” (Beissel et al. 1984: 140). Although there is no documented Eastern Dakota component at this site, literature indicates that the south end of *Mde Hdakiñyañ* was a favored camping ground of historic Dakota peoples, especially for winter villages, and portions of it may also be associated with the village of *Sisitoñwañ* chief Standing Buffalo or *Tatañka Nažin* (ca. early 1800s to 1860s) (Beissel, et al. 1984: ii, 124). Additionally, the discovery of Sandy Lake pottery, which has been linked to Dakota ancestry (Gibbon 2012) at the site suggests the presences of an undocumented Eastern Dakota component.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: A cultural resource survey of all lands held in fee title at the Lake Traverse – Bois des Sioux project was conducted in 1982 by the Archaeology Laboratory at the University of South Dakota. The investigation consisted of a Phase II, 100% pedestrian reconnaissance of all surveyable fee title lands. The presence of cultural remains recovered from a single test pit excavated on Corps of Engineers land at relatively higher ground along the northern edge of the site, where pottery sherds had previously been collected from, indicated the possibility that cultural feature might also be present at the site, even though the geomorphic history of processes operative at the location of the site is not suitable for the presence of deeply buried cultural components (Beissel, et al. 1984: 121-124). Temporally diagnostic artifacts which were recovered included pottery and projectile points, the

latter of which were indicative of Late Woodland cultural complexes. The pottery assemblage was unlike that of any reported in the project region at the time of the investigation. Shell tempering was indicative of a Mississippian influence, while cordmarking was suggestive of an earlier Late Woodland influence; it was suggested that there was an affiliation with Sandy Lake ware (Beissel, et al. 1984: 124). At the time of the investigation, the site was not in any danger of disturbance, though it was recommended that certain areas of the site (those located on Corps lands) should be protected from any future land alterations, and further avoidance of the site would maintain its integrity (ibid.).

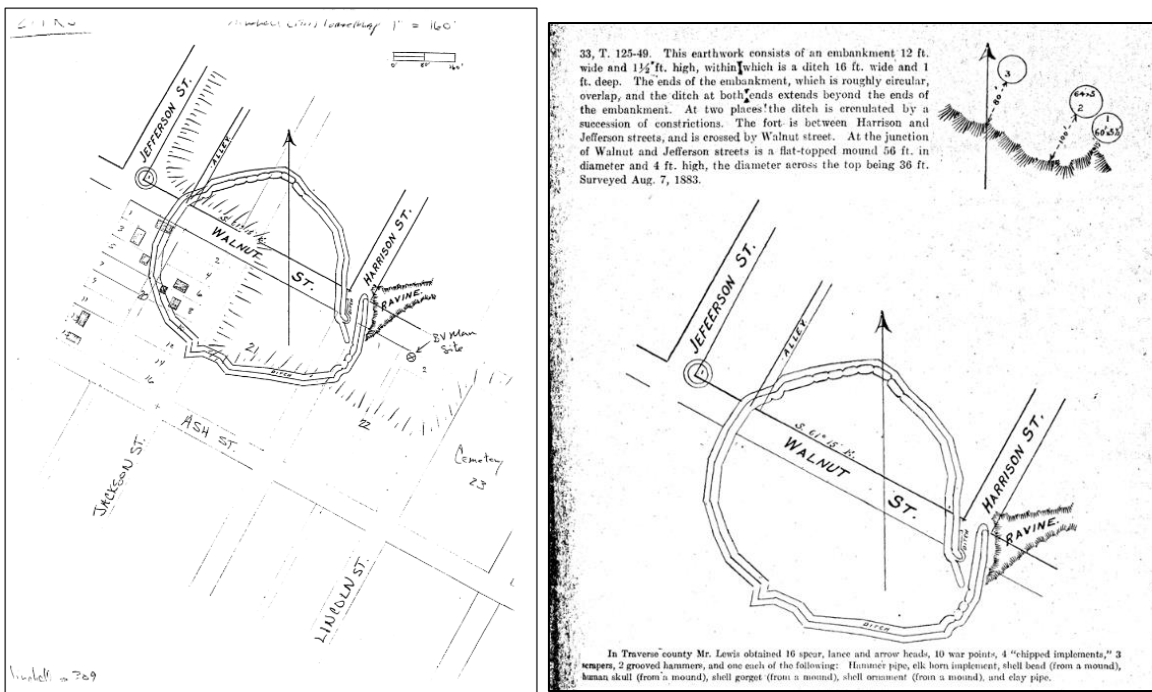
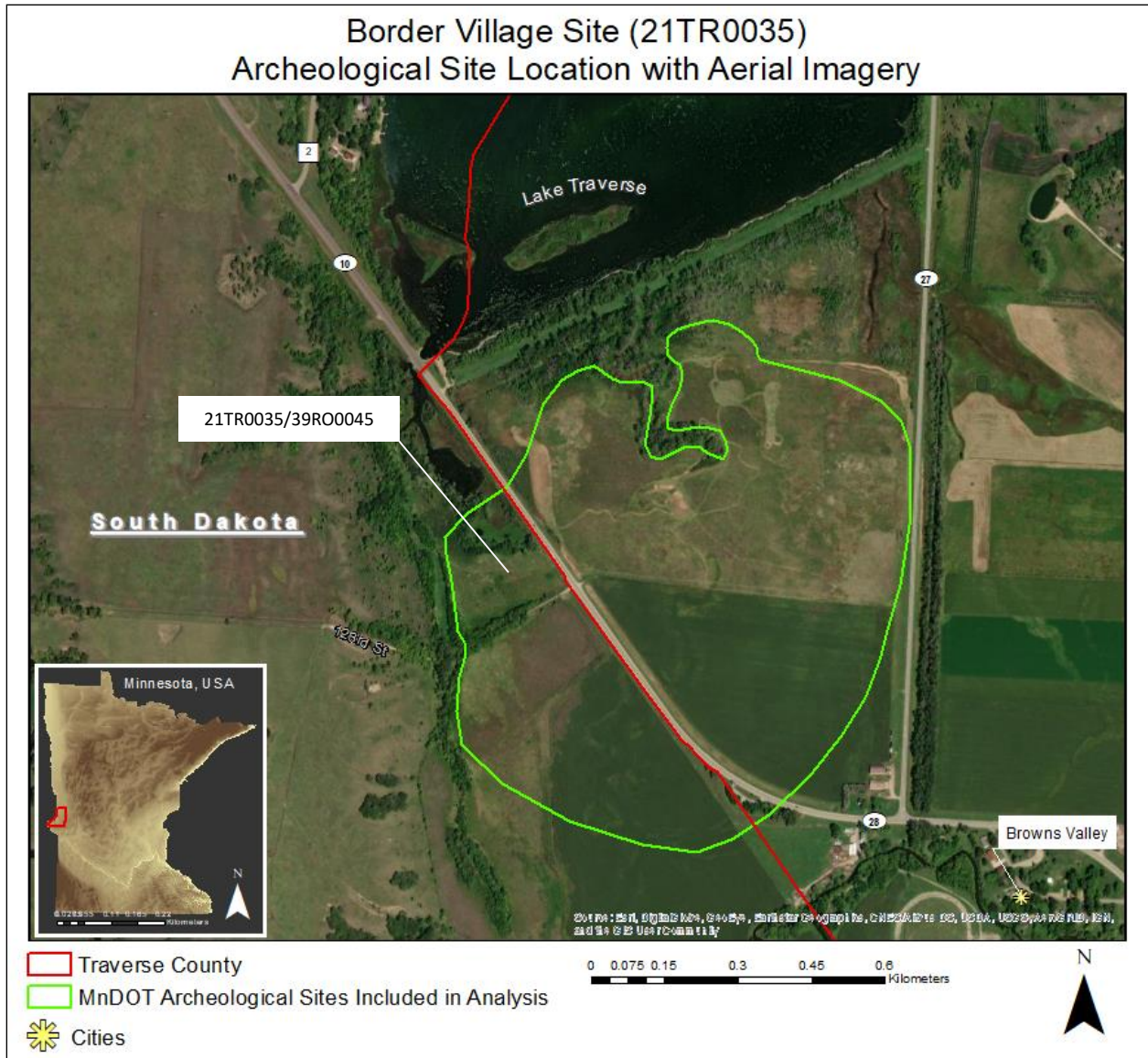


Figure 5.32 – T. H. Lewis’s map and descriptions of the earthwork at 21TR0019 (right) (21TR0019 Mn/OSA files; Winchell 1911: 309); Figure 5.33 – Map of the area of site 21TR0019 (left) (21TR0019 Mn/OSA files);

In 1991, an archeological reconnaissance investigation was conducted at 21TR0035/39RO0045 by Craig M. Johnson of IMA, Inc. to build on earlier work (Lloyd A. Wilford, G. Joseph Hudak, the Statewide Archaeological Survey, Scott Anfinson, and other researchers) in the region. An archival review was conducted, and a total of 135 miles (217

kilometers) were visual pedestrian surveyed, which resulted in the relocation of 30 previously recorded sites and 35 newly recorded sites (C. Johnson 1991). The only cultural materials encountered during this investigation were in a slightly raised area, of which a small portion of this area was inspected. Recovered from this area were several cord-roughened, shell tempered body sherds and lithic debitage; the sherds were similar to those typically associated with Sandy Lake occupations, though they are somewhat thicker than typical Sandy Lake pottery (C. Johnson 1991: 19).



Map 5.62 – Aerial imagery of site 21TR0035/39RO0045.

WASHINGTON COUNTY

21WA0001 – Schilling Site/Archeological District

Located on a terrace on the eastern tip of Lower Grey Cloud Island along the confluence of Mooers Lake and the main channel of the *Haha Wakpa* is the Schilling Site/Archeological District (21WA0001). The Schilling Site/Archeological District (21WA0001) consists of a habitation site and two mound groups, totaling 35 mounds, and has documented cultural

affiliations with Early and Middle Woodland and Mississippian traditions. The site also has an undifferentiated Archaic context which occurs as the habitation component at the site (Madigan and Schirmer 2001: 116). According to Birk (1973), “It is concluded that the total Grey Cloud area eco-system would have been well suited to support small populations of semi-sedentary hunters and gatherers or quasi-agriculturalists” (Birk 1973: 13). Birk (1973) also noted that the best stratified sequence of lithic tools and pottery known in the entire area was found at the Schilling Site/Archeological District (21WA0001), where the sequence begins with a sparse representation of Early Woodland materials and ranges through a heavy sampling of Middle Woodland components, to culminate with a thin layer of Late Prehistoric artifacts (Birk 1973: 14; Johnson 1971).

Although there is no documented Eastern Dakota component at 21WA0001, Gray Cloud Island is known to the Dakotas as *Mahpiya Hota Wiŋ* – “Grey Cloud Woman” – named after “a noted Dakota woman,” though the former or more ancient name was *Wita Noch Puaothak* (orthography unknown) – “medicine wood island” – in reference to a large beech tree, a kind of wood with which the Dakota were not acquainted, that was on the rising ground near an old village (Durand 1994: 42). According to Thomas Forsyth, as relayed by Durand (1994), “This sacred tree was supposed to possess supernatural power, having been placed there by the Great Spirit to protect them” (ibid.: 42). Located to the east of *Mahpiya Hota Wiŋ* on the adjacent prairie is a site the Dakotas call *Ĥe Topa Kte* – “where the Four Horns was killed” – which is possibly a reference to *Uŋktehi* (Durand 1994: 20). Before the Treaty of 1837 was signed, a small village of Dakota broke away from the village of *Çetaŋ Wakuwa Mani* (Little Crow I or *Petit Corbeau*), and under the guidance of a noted medicine man *Wakaŋ Ožanžan* – “Sacred Light” – and moved to Pine Bend along the *Ĥaha Wakpa* north of the present-day city of Hastings and

northwest of *Mahpiya Hota Wiŋ*, though they rejoined *Kapoza* in 1836 after the death of *Çetan Wakuwa Mani* (Birk 1973: 21 [Case 1951: 373]; Durand 1994: 99; Westerman and White 2012: 129). *Wakan Ožanžan* was better known as “Medicine Bottle” because he often carried a small bottle or vial tied around his neck (Birk 1973: 21), though his name was sometimes given as *Nasiampah*⁷¹. Following the mass hangings of the 38 Dakotas at *Makato* (Mankato), *Wakan Ožanžan* and *Šakpe* (Little Six) were executed at Fort Snelling, November 11, 1865, for their part in the U.S.-Dakota Uprising of 1862 (Durand 1994: 99; Westerman and White 2012: 129).

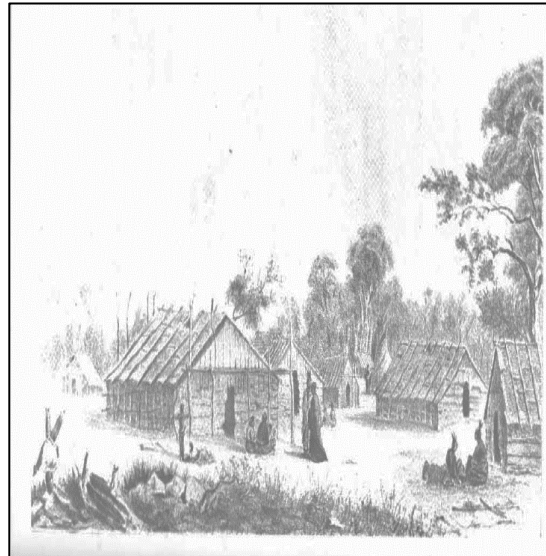


Figure 5.34 – Medicine Bottle's village at Pine Bend in the 1840s (Lewis 1976: 98 [Birk 1973: 20]).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: Although there remains a portion of 21WA0001 that may still be investigated, the site continues to diminish in size each year as the Mississippi River erodes the banks of *Mahpiya Hota Wiŋ*. The construction of the Dam and the placement of the dredged river channel along the shoreline of lower *Mahpiya Hota Wiŋ* have also contributed to the rapid erosion of the sandy soils on the island. At the time of prehistoric occupation, the sandy alluvial deposits of this lower portion of *Mahpiya Hota Wiŋ* would have

⁷¹ Westerman and White (2012) do not give a translation of this name; the closest Dakota words which could be found to this in Riggs' "A Dakota-English Dictionary" come from the root word *na-se'-pa* – “to leak out, escape of itself” (Riggs 1992 [1890]: 334).

been about 13 feet (4 meters) above the level of Spring Lake, a sizeable expanse of water which was produced by the ponding upstream from the Hastings Dam, though in more recent times that level has decreased to 6.5 feet (2 meters).

Near the tip of *Mahpiya Hota Wiŋ*, T. H. Lewis mapped one of the mound groups, consisting of 31 conical mounds, 21 of which were roughly aligned east-west (Winchell 1911), and he mentioned a second group of four mounds “S of 24” in his notes, though he did not map them. While Lewis provided no detailed description of the second group of mounds, he described them as “W. of these 300 yds there were 3 round mds & 1 embankment that are nearly leveled down” (Lewis 1887, Notebook 4: 18-19). Mound 10 was excavated by Lloyd A. Wilford in 1947, but he failed to recover any artifacts or human remains (Wilford et al. 1969: 49 [*Burial Mounds of Central Minnesota*]).

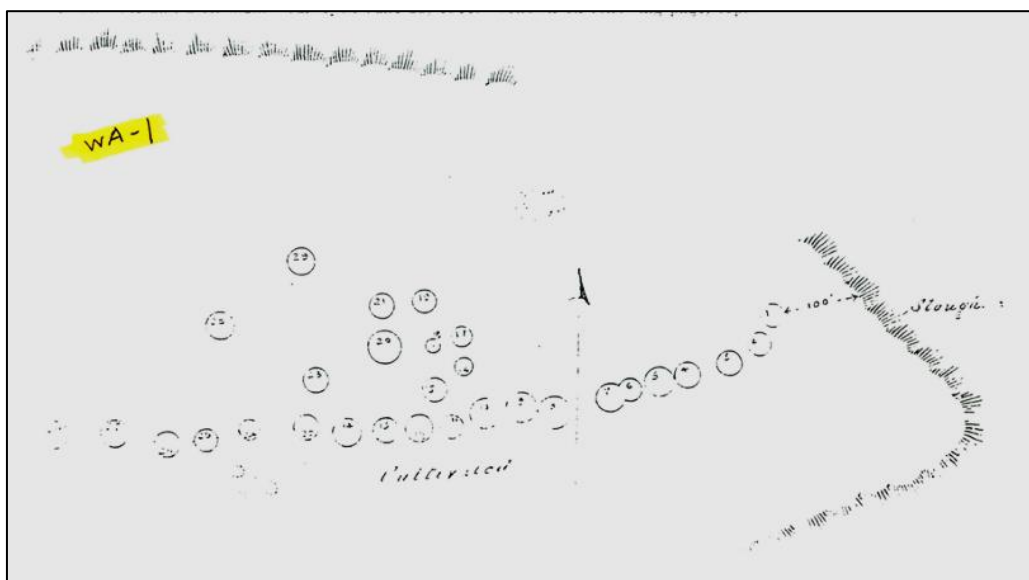


Figure 5.35 – T. H. Lewis’s map and descriptions of the mounds at the lower end of *Mahpiya Hota Wiŋ* (Grey Cloud Island) (21WA0001 Mn/OSA files; Winchell 1911: 269).

In 1955, investigators from the Science Museum of Minnesota (formerly St. Paul Science Museum) conducted a surface reconnaissance survey along the shoreline at the eastern end of the Schilling Site/Archeological District (21WA0001). Investigators collected 17 grit-tempered

pottery sherds and seven lithic artifacts, including a ground celt, two hammerstones, and four knives and scrapers (Birk 1973: 57 [Cooper 1971]). A habitation site presumably associated with the two mound groups was also discovered during this investigation. The formal location of the Schilling site (21WA0001) occurred during excavations carried out by Elden Johnson with students from the U of M at the Sorg site (21DK0001), which led the Science Museum of Minnesota to again conducted excavations at 21WA0001 in 1958 as part of the Spring Lake Archaeology research program. Although a very low density of cultural materials was found, these excavations resulted in the discovery of stemmed projectiles in the lowest levels, with LaMoille sherds found immediately above those, and it was believed that an initial Archaic or pre-ceramic component was present, in addition to an initial Woodland occupation component (Powell 1958).

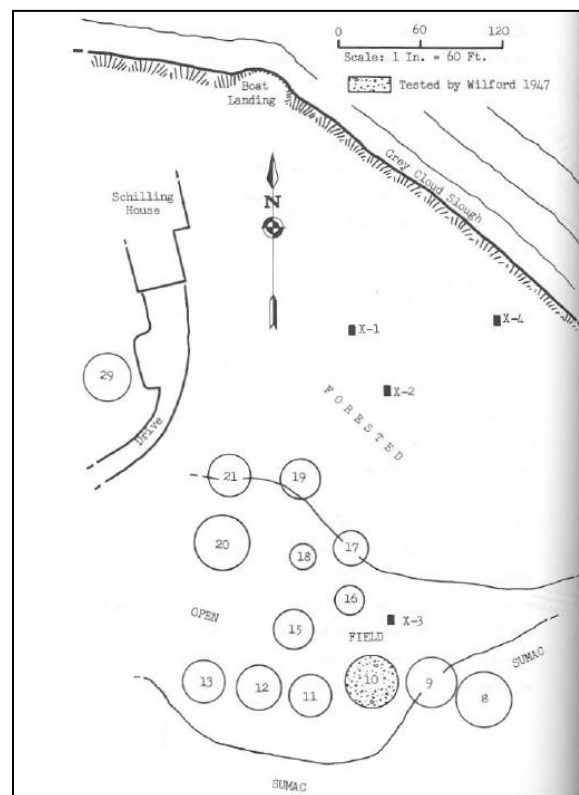


Figure 5.36 – Map of 1947 excavations at the Schilling Site (21WA0001), Mahpiya Hota Wiŋ (Grey Cloud Island) (Birk 1973: 58).

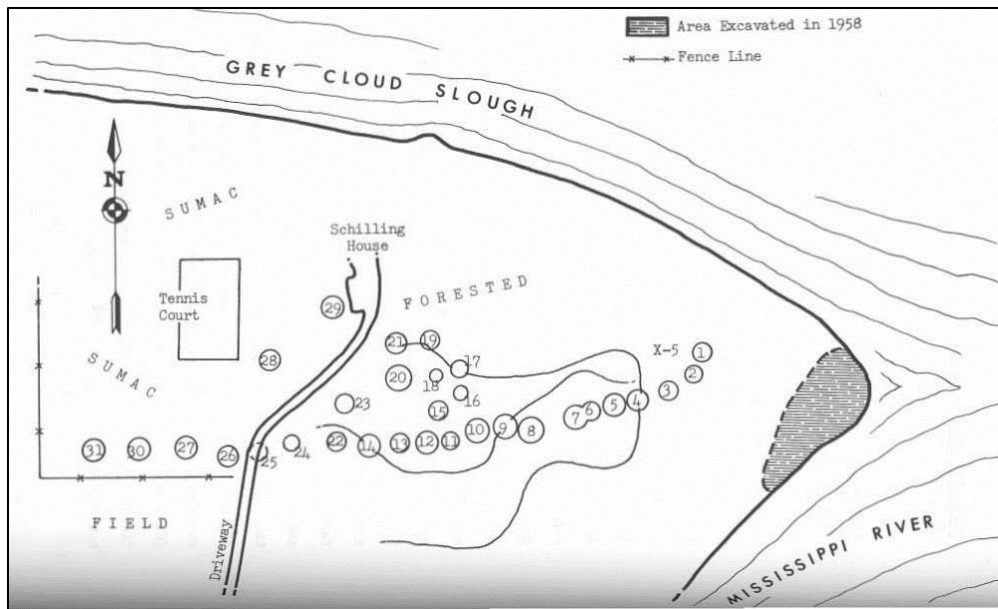


Figure 5.37 – Map of 1958 excavations at the Schilling Mound Group (21WA0001), Lower Grey Cloud Island (adapted from Winchell 1911: 269; Birk 1973: 56).

However, the excavation data from this single season of field work at 21WA0001 were never fully analyzed or published. Shifting focuses and efforts of people involved in these initial excavations,

...left the Schilling Site as one of those not uncommon in North American archaeology – a site that became part of an archaeological oral tradition: mentions as important, cited in publications as ‘personal communication’, listed in the official state site file by number and as ‘Early Woodland’, but existing only in the Science Museum collections and the memories of those who had worked at the site (Johnson et al. 1987: 3).

Additionally, relocation of the museum headquarters, the implementation of a new system of collections storage and curation, and the handling of the Schilling site (21WA0001) data has led to a loss or misplacement of the original excavation unit locations, a reduction in the cultural materials and the soil and charcoal samples collected during excavation, and the loss of field notes kept by the student excavation crew members, as well as the site log (Johnson et al. 1987).

The alarming rate of destruction of archeological and historical sites, especially in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Region, caused by the intensive development of Minnesota’s land and

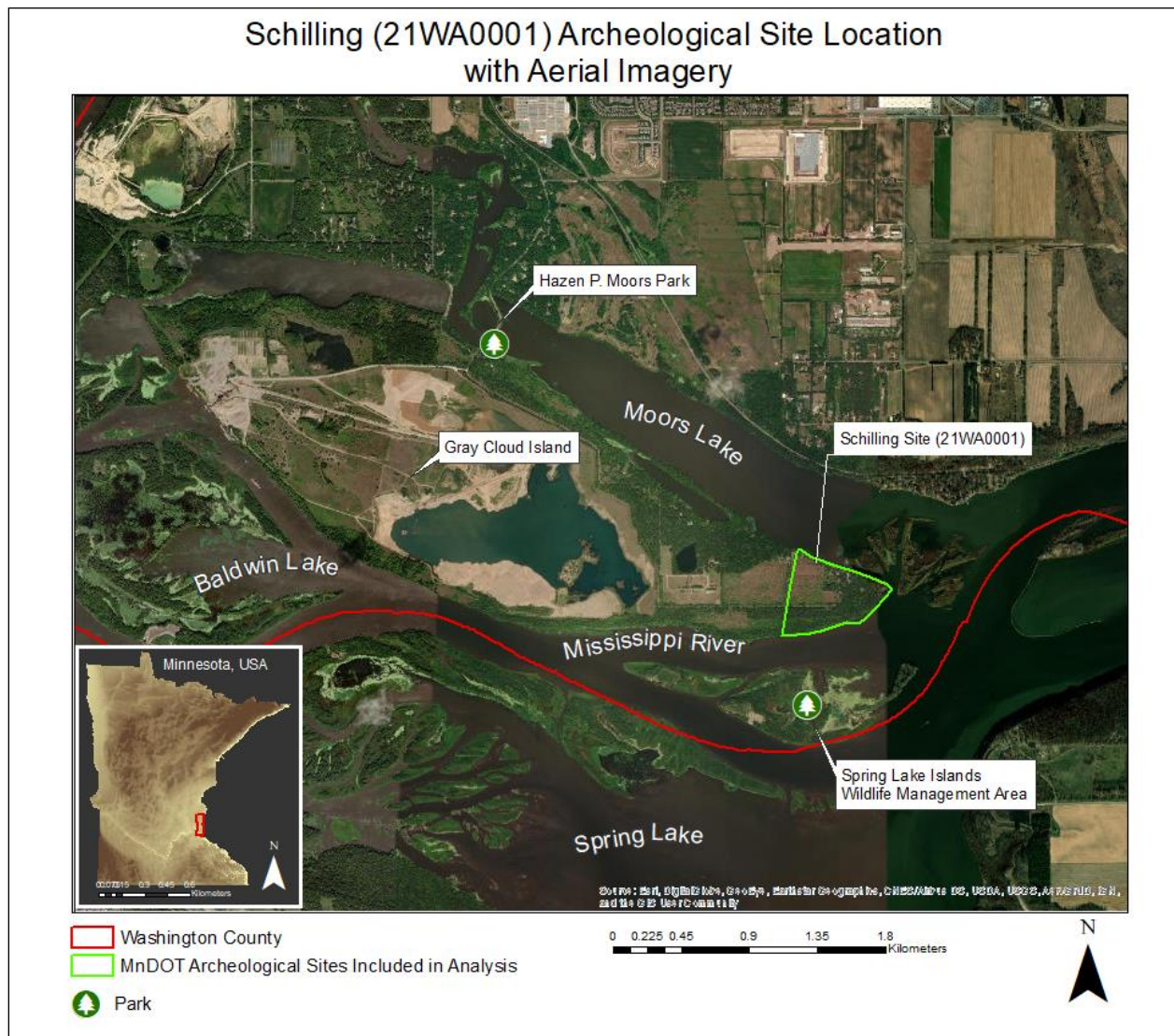
water areas pushed the MHS to carry out an evaluation survey of Grey Cloud Island in 1971 in order to locate and define as many sites as possible on Upper and Lower Grey Cloud Island which were of archeological or historical potential possible (Birk 1973). Under the instruction of Douglas Birk, the survey necessarily involved limited testing at many of the sites on the island, and the mounds themselves were intentionally avoided, though an inventory was made of earthworks that had been noted in previous surveys to determine their statuses at the time of the investigation (Birk 1973: 37). According to Birk (1973) “It should be remembered that our data concerning these sites are largely based on surface observations and should therefore be considered incomplete” (ibid.: 94). Areas that had high archeological potential were selected for excavation, though the recovery of material culture items was rare; those found included a bifacial chert blade or side-scraper, three cord-wrapped-paddle-impressed, grit-tempered pottery sherds, one of which was a Marion Thick rim sherd, and possible FCR (fire cracked rock) (Birk 1973). Near three of the excavation units (XUs 10, 11, and 12), the riverbank dropped off to the water at a lesser angle than was common on the northern shoreline, and it was in this portion of leveled land that yielded the most quantity of surface-collected artifacts at the site (21WA0001). Near two of the excavation units (XUs 6 and 7) 18 unordered circular depressions were found, though the function and/or purpose of these depressions remains unresolved (Birk 1973: 62).

In 1987, Robert C. Vogel, the Historic Preservation Officer for the City of Cottage Grove, had U of M archeologists Elden Johnson, Randall Withrow, and Mary Whelan conduct an analysis of available data on the Schilling Site (21WA0001) for the use in future city planning. Evidence from both the ceramic and lithic analysis of 21WA0001 suggested, though did not demonstrate, an initial pre-Havana component (Withrow et al. 1987). The zoological collection for site consisted of a small (186 elements), poorly curated assemblage, the majority of which,

both identifiable (96%) and fragmentary (97%) was mammalian; no fish remains were identified. According to Withrow et al. (1987), the paucity of non-mammalian species at the island site is rather unusual, and may be suggestive of winter occupation, or possibly that it functioned as a short-term, special purpose encampment of some kind (ibid.: 27). Furthermore, the remains of painted turtle (*Chrysemys picta*) were identified, which is indicative of seasonal hunting between April and September, since the species hibernates underwater from October to March (Withrow, et al. 1987: 28). Though a curious occurrence, no clear conclusions could be drawn from this unique distribution of skeletal remains (ibid.).

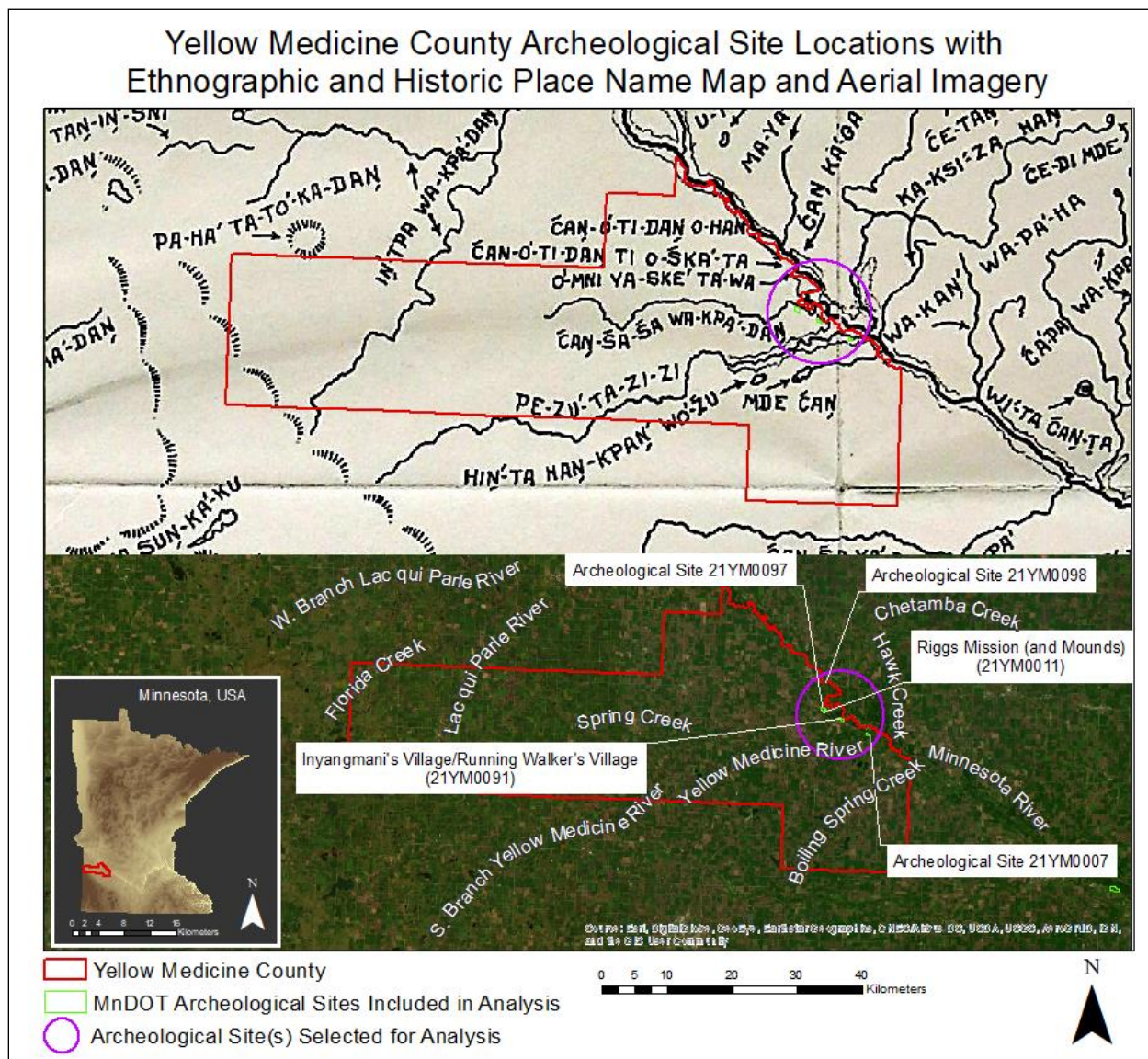
In 1991, Working for the IMA, Inc. Clark Dobbs conducted a review and evaluation of four groups of ancient Native American mounds and earthwork sites – the Schilling Archeological District (21WA0001), the Michaud Mound Group (21WA0002), the Curry Mound Group (21WA0008), and the Grey Cloud Mound Group (21WA0009) – within the city of Cottage Grove as part of the city’s ongoing program of cultural resource management (City of Cottage Grove 1986; Stanley and Vogel 1987). While permission to conduct survey work was obtained for only one (21WA0008) of the sites included in the evaluation, for which a review was completed, a review of the archeology of Grey Cloud Island was conducted, with specific reference to the mounds on the island, and a significant mapping and review project of the geomorphology of the Island and its environs was completed, as well as the development of a management plan for future research and stewardship projects on Grey Cloud Island. Due to the inability to perform a field examination of the mound groups, which was a key component of the project, investigators felt that preparation of an historic context for the mounds of the region would be premature. However, the resultant report would be able to serve as a baseline for further work on and around Grey Cloud Island. Dobbs et al. (1992) specifically emphasized the

value of mound group analysis, as mounds “may be viewed as repositories of a variety of other information” (ibid: 31). It was hypothesized that for a period of time, on at least two occasions, Grey Cloud Island was a focal point for Native American occupation, with presumed seasonal use, and that the mound and village complex at 21WA0001 represents the earliest occupation and 21WA0009 the later one (Dobbs et al. 1992: 39).



Map 5.63 – Aerial imagery of site 21WA0001.

YELLOW MEDICINE COUNTY



Map 5.64 – Aerial imagery map (bottom) and a portion of Durand’s (1994) adapted ethnographic map (top) in Yellow Medicine County showing the archeological sites included in this analysis.

21YM0011 – Hazelwood (Riggs) Mission (and Mounds)

The Hazelwood (Riggs) Mission and Mounds site (21YM0011) is a multi-component site complex which consists of a precontact mound site 21YM0011 and the historic Hazelwood Mission, represented by architectural site YM-MNF-007. The site complex is located on a bluff at the margin of the floodplain adjacent to Hazel Creek (no Dakota name could be found for this

site at the time of this analysis), a tributary of the *Mini Sota Wakpa*, south of the present-day city of Granite Falls. Approximately one-half of the land known as the “former Radnuz property” lies within the recognized site boundaries of the Riggs Mission site (21YM0011/YM-MNF-007). The Hazelwood (Riggs) Mission site was apparently assigned a SHPO standing structure number (YM-MNF-007) without any site-specific field information (Berg and Myster 2002: 5 [Granger 1985]). Artifact scatters at the site contain historic and prehistoric artifacts that may have associations with either component, or earlier and later human activities. The precontact mound component consists of eight circular and two linear burial mounds and are located in the field/yard of the former Riggs Mission, formerly known as the Hazelwood Republic Mission and Agricultural Colony, which was led by missionaries Thomas S. Williamson and Stephen R. Riggs between 1854 and 1862 (Berg and Myster 2002; Westerman and White 2012).

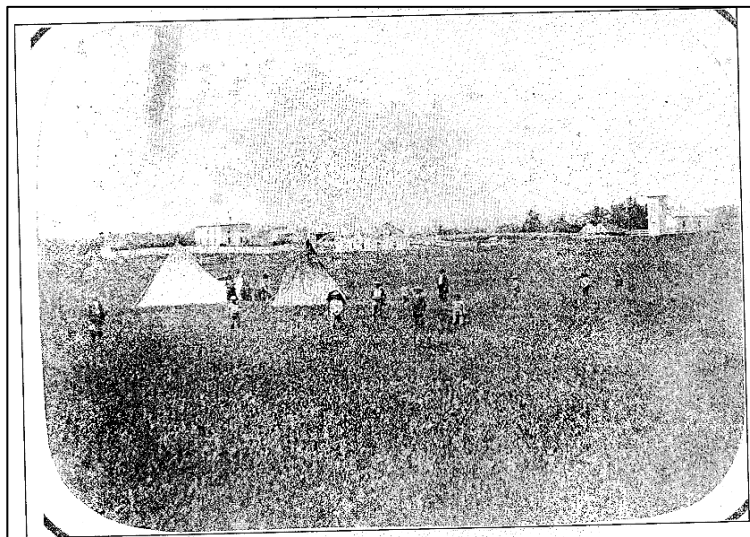


Figure 5.38 – The Riggs’ Mission circa 1860 (photo courtesy of the MHS [Berg and Myster 2002: 11]).

For a brief period of time (1854-1862) the Riggs mission played an important part in the history of Dakota people; members of the Riggs Mission as well as at the nearby Williamson Mission strove to convert Native Americans to Christianity and “Americanize” them (Berg 2007). Therefore, in addition to mission-related artifacts, artifacts recovered from within the

boundaries of 21YM0011 which were associated with Native Americans at the time likely also represent other historic occupations (i.e., Dakota), as well as one or more prehistoric components. As such, analysis of the site as well as others in the area (e.g., 21YM0097) have potential to give insight into prehistoric and/or ancestral Dakota, and historic Dakota, cultural transitions/transformations as they adapted and/or changed in response to environmental and social situations.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: The mounds, which extended northward several hundred feet, were first recorded by Theodore H. Lewis in 1887 (Winchell 1911). However, due to extensive plowing over the mound group over the past 150 years, the surface relief of the mounds are no longer obvious. During a field visit in 1954, University of Minnesota archeologist Lloyd A. Wilford noted that only one mound was still visible (Wilford 1954, County Memo).

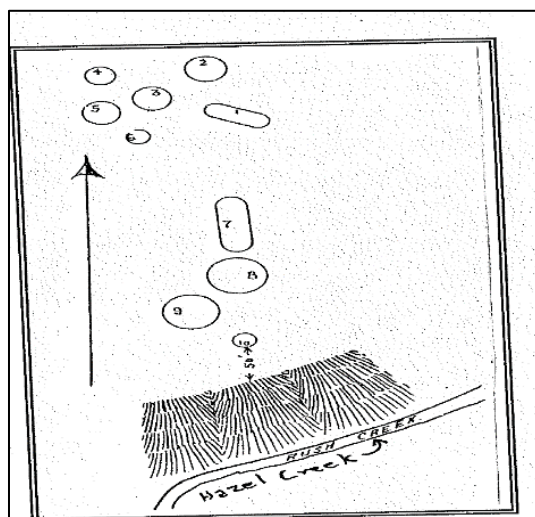


Figure 5.39 – Mound site 21YM0011 (from Winchell 1911: 117 [Berg and Myster 2002: 9]).

In 2001, The Upper Sioux Community proposed to develop parts of an 80-acre parcel in Yellow Medicine County, Minnesota which contained the Native American Cemetery Site 21YM0011; archeologists with the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians were contracted to

conduct a survey of the 80 acres to both relocate the mounds and discover other cultural properties in the area. During Phase I archeological surface reconnaissance conducted by Christy A. Hohman-Caine et al. (2002), it was observed that mound fill still existed and was spread through much of the area of the mound group, as evidenced from a light lithic scatter of debitage which was observed but not collected throughout the parcel; no pottery nor formal lithic artifacts were observed. While burial pits below the original ground surface were thought to potentially still exist (Caine et al. 2002: 12), review of the soil conditions in the fields indicated that any cultural layers had been completely plowed through, which made it impossible to determine the cultural context of deposits nor their association with the mound group. As such, it was concluded that any non-mound materials within the parcel did not meet National Register criteria; no further work was recommended for the lithic scatter. The mound group itself was to be protected and excluded from the area of potential effect of the project. (Caine et al. 2002).

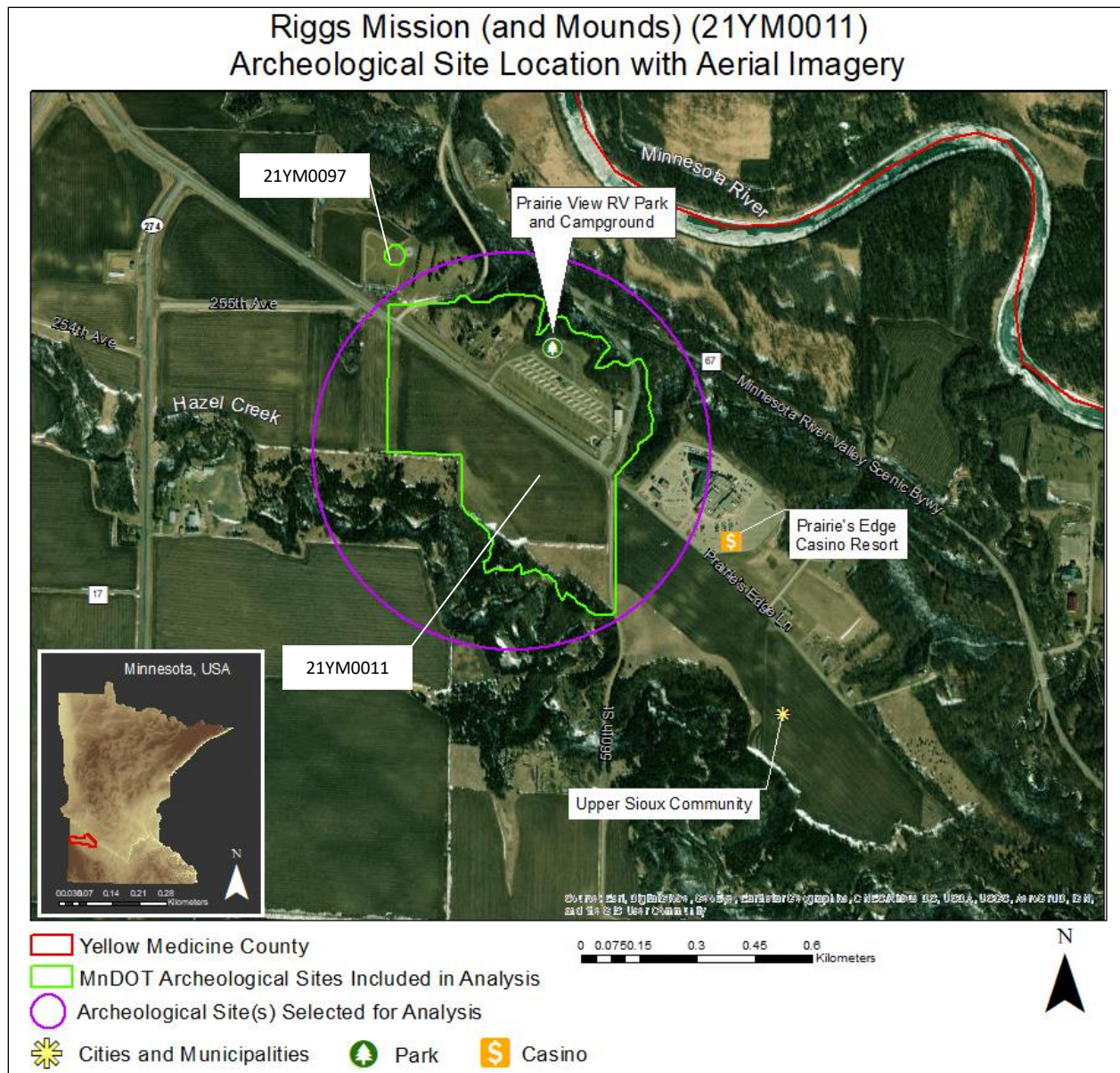
It should be noted that while burial pits and associated cultural materials may exist below the surface, it not only goes against state policy to conduct activities within 50 feet of the mapped edge of a known mound, but such investigations would also be an affront to Dakota beliefs regarding post-burial practices. That said, the mapping techniques that Hohman-Caine et al (2002) used to determine the locations of the mound group at 21YM0011 are one example of non-invasive archeological methodologies that can contribute to an archeological understanding of Dakota belief systems and lifestyles. GPR (ground penetrating radar) and other geophysical investigations are other such methods of non-invasive techniques that can be used to accomplish this. Additionally, the location of the plowed mounds that are no longer visible on the surface using GPS and other such methods not only provide archeologists with cultural knowledge on the socio-spatial relationships of Dakota ancestors as they relate to mound groups and burial

customs but makes it possible for future investigations to analyze how they interacted with the space around and throughout mound groups.

In 2002, an Environmental Assessment (EA) Preferred Alternative written by the Office of the Environment for the Upper and Lower Sioux Communities with assistance from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) requested that the Department of the Interior place two parcels of land which the Upper Sioux Indian Community (USIC) had acquired that year from two private landowners into trust status. As part of the EA alternative, the USIC also proposed various development projects on portions of the parcels. An archeological reconnaissance of the areas of the proposed projects conducted by Richard E. Berg and James E. Myster of the BIA Midwest Office led to the identification of four archeological sites, including the burial mound group at 21YM0011 (Berg and Myster 2002). Due to the distinct possibility that prehistoric habitation sites, historic Dakota (1850s-1860s), and/or unreported archeological properties might be present in the project area, both the SHPO (State Historic Preservation Office) and the BIA agreed that an archeological survey should be completed to determine (or confirm) if any cultural materials were located within the acquired parcels, and that an evaluation of National Register eligibility should also be conducted (Berg and Myster 2002: 4).

Seven concentrations of artifacts and one generalized field scatter were located within the site boundaries of 21YM0011 during the surface survey. Limited shovel testing and formal unit excavations were conducted within two of the concentrations (5 and 6). Most of the artifacts recovered consisted of lithic flakes, the concentrations of which were suggested to have functioned as later-stage tool reduction areas where a variety of items were manufactured as possibly where food preparation occurred (Berg and Myster 2002). A single primary flake of Knife River Flint (KRF) was proposed to indicate contact of some kind to the Upper Missouri

River in the Dakotas where the raw material is found (Berg and Myster 2002: 22). Occupation of the site during the Early Archaic, Late Woodland, and Late Prehistoric (A.D. 500-1700) Periods were suggested based on the recovery of a Logan Creek scraper and part of possibly a stemmed projectile point (Berg and Myster 2002). Two lithic points were found which may be representations of either Madison points, which are associated with the Mississippian culture (A.D. 800-1700) or Fresno points, whose occurrence possible extends from the Late Woodland period into the Late Prehistoric (A.D. 500-1700).



Map 5.65 – Aerial imagery of site 21YM0011.

21YM0091 – Inyangmani’s/Running Walker’s Village/Ean-Manee’s Village

Iyanmani’s Village site (21YM0091; formerly 21YMm) is a multi-component site that contains a documented Woodland period village component as well as an historic Western Dakota component. It is located on a terrace of valley overlooking the Minnesota River Valley, with part of the historic village having been situated on a terrace below the bluff. Although the historic Dakota village component at 21YM0091 has been documented as a Western Dakota village

which was led by “Inyangmani” from 1854-1862⁷², it is suggested here that this cultural affiliation is incorrect, as information found in ethnographic and historic sources state that the *Wahpetonwan* chief at *Mde Iyedan* (Lac qui Parle) was *Iyanmani* – “Running Walker” – (Anderson 1997; Durand 1994; Hughes 1969; Peterson and LaBatte 2023; S. Pond 1986 [1908]). However, according to Thomas W. Milroy, he was one of the first Dakotas to build a village at the new Upper Sioux Indian Agency or Yellow Medicine Agency of *Pežihutazizikapi*⁷³ in 1852, which was located near the mouth of the *Pežihutazizikapi* (Yellow Medicine River), to begin a farm near the Upper Sioux Agency (Art. pp. 59), as he “had recognized the value of farming some time before” (Anderson 1997: 210), and that in 1862, *Iyanmani*’s village was “on top of the high bluff above the Yellow Medicine Agency which was led by Stephen Riggs (Hughes 1969: 75-76). Furthermore, Joseph Nicollet states that in the 1850s there was a *Wahpetonwan* Dakota village at the mouth of the *Pežihutazizikapi* and that it was led by a man called *Iyang Mani*⁷⁴ (Bray and Bray 1993). Thus, while no elaboration for the classification of a Western Dakota component at 21YM0091 rather than an Eastern Dakota one could be found on the site form or in published reports associated with 21YM0091, based on the above information, as well as the fact that there is no support in either ethnographic nor historic sources that the territory of the Western Dakota extended this far past lakes Big Stone and Traverse, where they commonly intermingled with the *Wahpetonwan* and *Sisitorwan* living at those lakes (S. Pond 1986 [1908]), it is highly probable that it does in fact contain one, thus necessitating either a re-analysis of archeological materials recovered during past investigations and/or further archeological

⁷² MN archeological state site form 21YM0091.

⁷³ Also written as *Pajutae* (Art. pp. 59), *Pejuhutazizi K’api* (Peterson and LaBatte 2023), or *Pezi Huta Zi Kapi Wakpa* (Durand 1994: 72).

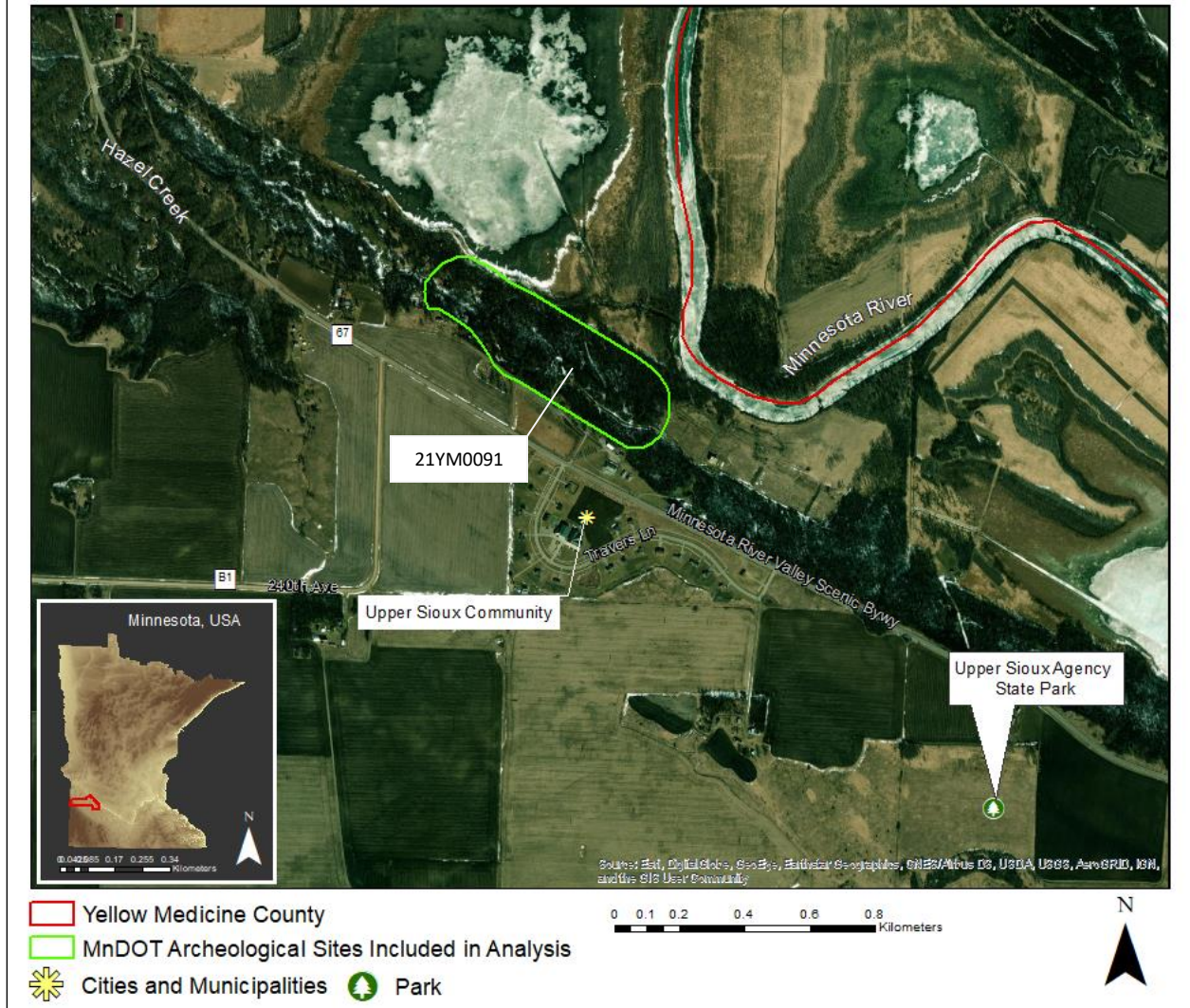
⁷⁴ Euro-Americans spelled his name many ways, such as those noted above, and Samuel Pond wrote it as *Inyangmani*, though this is incorrect as *Inyan* means “stone” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 14).

investigations, both of which have potential to further contribute to our understanding of Dakota archeology in Minnesota.

The *Iyangmani* Village site (21YM0091) is adjacent to, and partially overlaps with, the Gillingham Mound site (21YM0003/0015) which formerly consisted of nine mounds though only one remains and may be superimposed on the associated Gillingham site (21YM0015) which is a prehistoric habitation with a fort, respectively (Berg 1999). The former is a mound site, and the latter is an habitation and fort. The exact size of the village is not known, and the exact location of the village is not clearly indicated in reports (Berg 1999: 8). “Unfortunately, this history does not provide documentation for the field and second village site in the river valley, nor does it explain why *Iyangmani*’s name was replaced with Gillingham village, unless it has something to do with site 21YM3/15” (Berg 1999: 10)]. There is no documented Eastern Dakota component at either of these sites (21YM0003/0015).

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: The terrace on which 21YM0091 is located has been subjected to gravel mining operations which have significantly disturbed the bluff slope. In 1998 Richard E. Berg conducted shovel testing and excavations at site 21YM0091 (formerly 21YMM) which expanded areas encompassed by the historic and prehistoric components (Berg 1999). The Upper Sioux Indian Community, with the assistance of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and Indian Health Service (IHS), planned construction of wastewater treatment lagoons that were to impact portions of both components at 21YM0091, as well as some portion of site 21YM0003/0015.

Inyangmani's Village/Running Walker's Village (21YM0091)
 Archeological Site Location with Aerial Imagery



Map 5.66 – Aerial imagery of site 21YM0091.

***21YM0097**

Site 21YM0097 is a multi-component artifact and lithic scatter site located within the limits of the Upper Sioux Indian Community, situated in farmland about 2000 feet (609 meters) above the Minnesota River Valley and immediately (197 feet [60 meters]) west of the Doncaster/Union Cemetery. The site is a documented historic Eastern Dakota home site which was occupied

between 1854 and 1862. Site 21YM0097 also contains a possible Paleoindian, Archaic, and Woodland period habitation/campsite component (21YM0097 Mn/OSA files).

Site 21YM0097 is located within site 21YM0013, which is a mound group consisting of two mounds. There are at least four identified/documentated habitation sites within a one-mile radius of site 21YM0097, as well as numerous other mound groups. Since 21YM0097 is known to have Eastern Dakota cultural affiliations, and published ethnographic records show that it is well within the traditional historic territory of at least two Eastern Dakota bands (the *Sisitorwan* and the *Wahpetonwan* [S. Pond 1986 (1908)]), it is highly probable that the other sites in the area share the same cultural affiliation, though it has not been thus far documented. According to Berg (2007), “most prehistoric periods as well as historic periods recognized in Minnesota present within a radius of a mile of the site. Some of these site types and time periods are also present at site 21YM97” (Berg 2007: 5). This inference is supported by the many sites in the area that have ethnographically documented Dakota place names. Therefore, it should be possible to make interpretations or inferences about, the archeological record and artifact assemblages at sites within the vicinity; cultural affiliations should be able to be assigned to archeological sites based on ethnographic data and similarities in material culture.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: In 2002, the Upper Sioux Indian Community acquired two parcels of land from two private landowners, though an Environmental Assessment (EA) Preferred Alternative written by the Office of the Environment for the Upper and Lower Sioux Communities with assistance from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) requested that the Department of the Interior place the two acquired parcels of land into trust status. As part of the EA alternative, the Community also proposed various development projects on portions of the parcels and warranted an archeological reconnaissance and Phase I

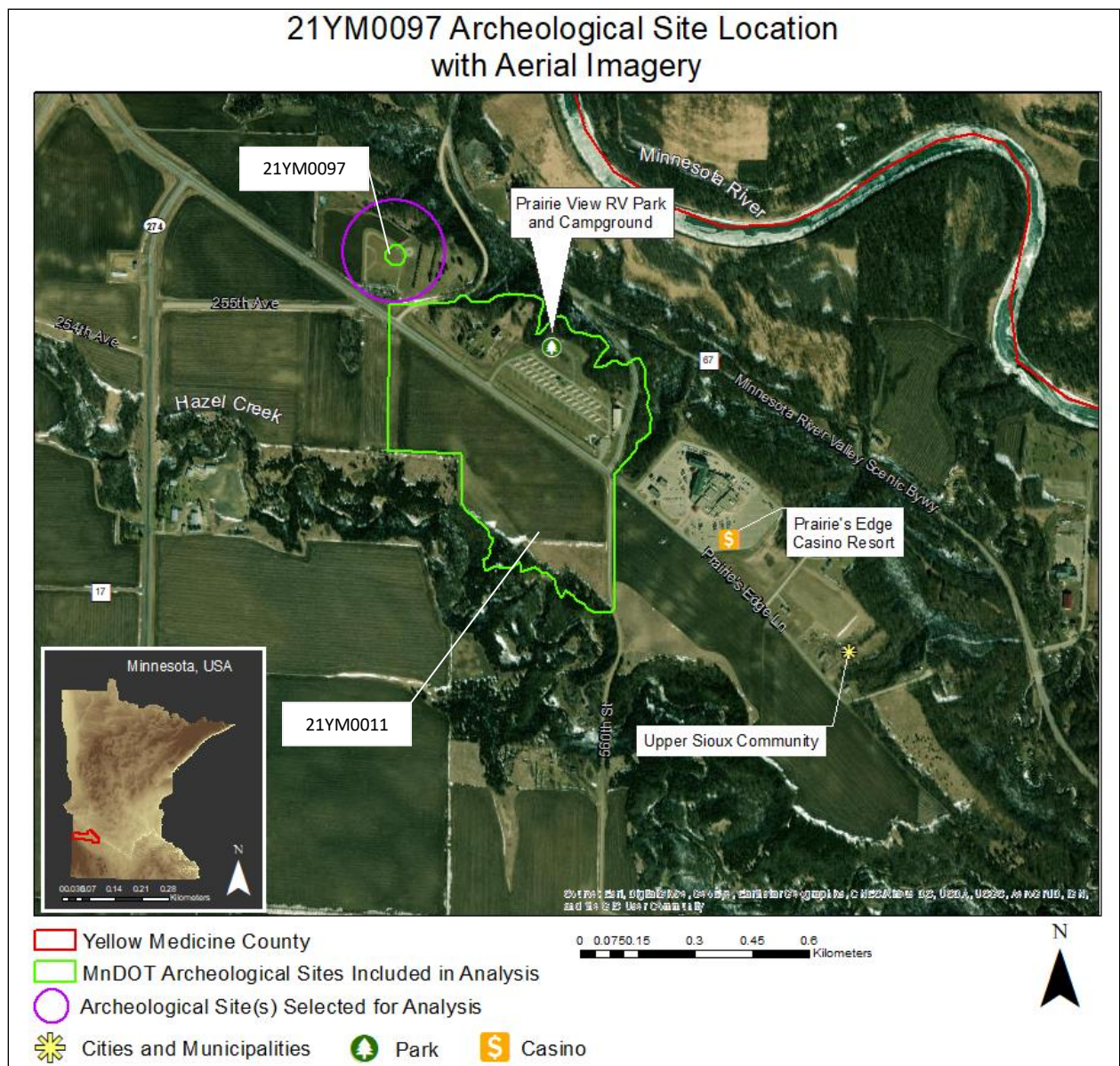
identification survey. During these investigations, which were carried out by the BIA's Midwest Office Regional Archeologist and Assistant Regional Archeologist, an artifact scatter, which became 21YM0097, was one of the four archeological sites identified. Due to the distinct possibility that prehistoric habitation sites, historic Dakota (1850s-1860s), and/or unreported archeological properties might be present in the project area, it was agreed upon by both the SHPO and the BIA that an archeological survey should be completed to determine (or confirm) if any cultural materials were located within the acquired parcels (Berg and Myster 2002: 4). Surface survey found a scatter of prehistoric and historic artifacts in an agricultural field located immediately west of the Doncaster/Union Cemetery. Due to the sprouting of crops in the field at the time of the survey, no shovel testing was done.

Based on the artifacts recovered during the survey, it was suggested that two probable prehistoric occupations are represented at site 21YM0097 (Berg and Myster 2002). The latest prehistoric occupation is evidenced by a St. Croix/Koster point and possibly a disc shaped core. Both point types come from the Late Woodland period around A.D. 600-900 and are represented by the Fox Lake Phase (200 B.C.-A.D. 700) and Lake Benton Phase (A.D.700-1200) in southwestern Minnesota (S. Anfinson 1997). The earliest date for the first occupation may be a Paleoindian campsite represented by a broken lanceolate point, an expediently made unifacial scraper and a tertiary flake. The second occupation would have occurred several thousand years later during the Late Woodland (Middle Prehistoric Period), as evidenced by comparably aged sites to the north and eastern parts of Minnesota and into Iowa. (Berg and Myster 2002).

Following archeological reconnaissance and surveys carried out in 2002 by the Midwest Regional BIA which led to the identification of, and subsequent investigations at, site 21YM0097, a Phase II National Register evaluation for site 21YM0097 was conducted following

the placement of site 21YM0097 and another site (21YM0011/YM-MNF-007) into trust status. As the proposed expansion of the Doncaster/Union Cemetery would impact cultural resources that appeared to have “information important to the history of the Dakota and Minnesota and regional prehistory” (Berg 2007: 8), the archeological investigation performed in 2007 was done in order to evaluate the cultural resources documented at site 21YM0097 during the Phase I investigation (Berg and Myster 2002).

Historic artifacts recovered from surface survey and subsurface investigations were related to architecture, kitchen/subsistence and food service, personal-pharmaceutical, weapons, activities, miscellaneous hardware, electrical, energy and transportation (Berg 2007: 24). Phase II investigations carried out with the intent to evaluate cultural resources at 21YM0097 failed to find evidence of intact subsurface artifact deposits, as excavations did not locate any buried prehistoric features or *in situ* artifacts. The only identifiable tools recovered from the site were an Early-Middle Woodland period projectile point and fragments of two possible Paleoindian projectile points. However, it was suggested that the total number of artifacts and the three concentrations are examples of small groups of prehistoric individuals stopping along this terrace at individual sites or scatterings of groups along the terrace forming numerous encampments at the same time; use of the area of site 21YM0097 was expedient and temporary (Berg 2007). Unfortunately, the results of this cultural resources evaluation indicated that the prehistoric component of site 21YM0097 had lost integrity due to over 150 years of cultivation and destruction or decay. As such, it was concluded that none of the prehistoric components qualified for the National Register (Berg 2007: 45).



Map 5.67 – Aerial imagery of site 21YM0097.

***21YM0098**

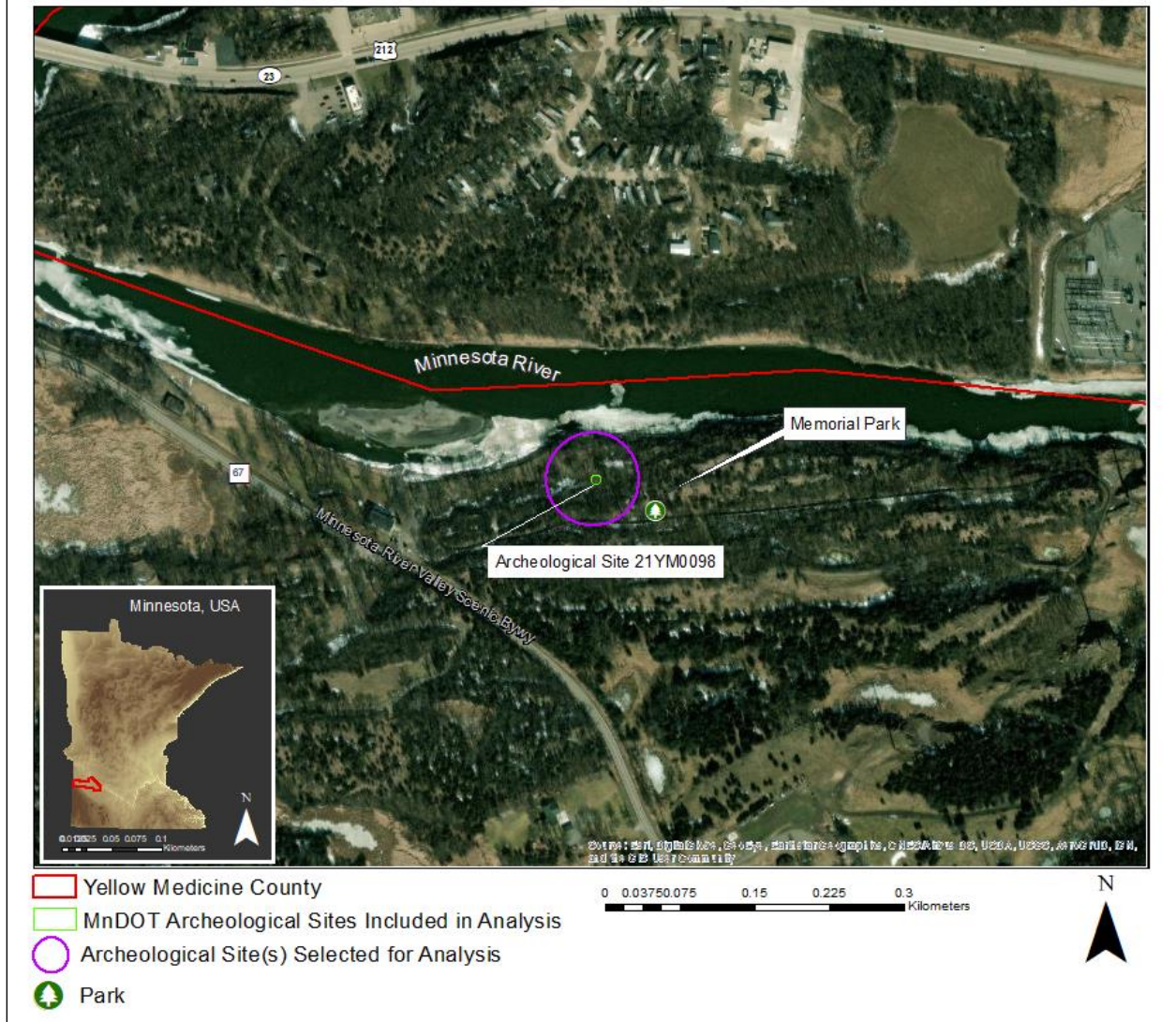
Site 21YM0098 is an unmarked grave of a young Eastern Dakota girl who died during the U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862 (21YM0098 Mn/OSA files). The location of the unmarked grave was reported by a local informant, Mr. Dallas Ross of the Upper Sioux Indian Community. Mr. Ross had been shown the location by his mother, who had been shown the site by her mother, who in turn had been told of the burial by members of her family. “As his mother and grandmother

apparently stayed within the area, they would remain familiar with the area and have had many opportunities to revisit the site, thereby reinforcing the accuracy of the family history” (Schoen 2002).

The identification and documentation of various historic Eastern Dakota village sites in the area, and archeological evidence of prehistoric habitation and burial mound sites that likely have cultural connections to ancestral Dakota in the area, add veracity to the presence of the grave. Archeological evidence and ethnographic documentation of historic and ancestral Dakota preference for the situation of burial sites on terraces adjacent to or in the proximity of major river systems and their tributaries also give credence to the existence and cultural affiliation of the grave. Although subsurface archeological investigation of the grave is not possible, there remains the option of geophysical investigative methods, such as GPR, soil resistivity, or magnetometry, to validate its presence.

Notable disturbances, investigations, and excavations: In 2002, a Phase I archeological investigation was carried out by Christopher M. Schoen of The Louis Berger Group, Inc. for a 0.75-mile segment of a proposed paved bicycle trail in Memorial Park. The unmarked burial located within Memorial Park north of the project corridor was located outside of the proposed project, and the informant stated that they had no concerns about unexpected disturbance of the site by the planned construction of the trail (Schoen 2002). The burial is protected by state and federal legislation, including 43 CFR Part 10, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990 and the Private Cemeteries act (MN Statute 307.08), and if ground disturbing activities are planned in the vicinity of the burial, the Minnesota State Archeologist and the MIAC must be contacted prior to any work (Schoen 2002).

21YM0098 Archeological Site Location with Aerial Imagery



Map 5.68 – Aerial imagery of site 21YM0098.

Conclusion

The review of archeological data for sites with both documented and potentially undocumented Eastern Dakota components to determine if the archeological data reflects the ethnographic data has made it evident that much of what is currently known about past Dakota peoples appears to have primarily come from and/or be based on Dakota related information found in published ethnographic sources and historic records; archeological investigations seem

to have contributed very little to or expanded on this cultural information; of the sites included in this analysis, there are more sites (37 total) for which the non-archeological data provides support for the presence of an Eastern Dakota component at them than there are (29) for which there is archeological justification for an Eastern Dakota component (see Table 5.4 and Table 5.5 below). Thus, it is clear that there is much more to learn about Dakota archeology in Minnesota.

Sites Close to Locations Where Non-Archeological Data Suggests a Dakota Site Should be Present and a Dakota Component is Documented			
Site Number	Site Name	Context	References
21AK0053	Savanna Portage	ED-2 , Oj-2, Fr-1, En-1, US-1	Brower 1901; Gibbon and Williams 1985; Thwaites 1889, <i>Jesuit Relations</i> (1670-1671); Hart 1927; Mn/OSA files; Radford 2016b; Remus et al. 1996; Watrall 1969; Woolworth 1993
21Chai	Dakota War Fortification	US-2, ED-2	Durand 1994; Mn/OSA files; Vogel 1995; Westerman and White 2012
21DK0025	Kennealy/Black Dog Historic Burials I	ED-1	Anderson 1997; Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Mn/OSA files; Peterson 1978; S. Pond 1908, 1940, 1986 [1908]; Westerman and White 2012
21DK0026	Black Dog Historic Burials II	ED-1	Anderson 1997; Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Mn/OSA files; Peterson 1978
21DK0031	Sibley House Complex/American Fur Company (overlaps with 21DK0017)	Pl-1, Br-2, SELW-1, HR-1, ED-1 , US-1, EA-1, TR-1, RA-1	Birk 1993; Bray and Bray 1993; Clouse 1996; Lothson 1986; Mn/OSA files; Peterson et al. 1991; Radford and George 1993
21DK0035	Kennealy Creek Village Site	ED-1 , IC-1	George 1999; Lewis 1881 [Winchell 1911]; Mn/OSA files; Radford and Foss 2018; Radford and George 1993; Winchell 1911
21DK0036	Gun Club Lake Outlet	ED-2	Blondo and Reiners 2018; Gary Cavendar, qtd. in Westerman and White 2012: 213; Mn/OSA files; Radford 1993
21DK1	Kaposia II (contains 21DK0010; overlaps with 21DK0016)	ED-1	Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Kuehn 1963; Lawshe 1956; Lewis 1967; Mn/OSA files
21DKx	Penichon's Village/Good Road's Village/Nine Mile Creek Village	ED-1	Blondo and Reiners 2018; Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; M. Eastman 1849; Folwell 1956, 1961; Keating et al. 1824; Long 1978; Mn/OSA files; Roberts 1993; Westerman and White 2012
21GD0003	Silvernale Village (overlaps w/ 21GD0017)	Sn-1, BE-1, ED-1 , SELW-1	Brower 1903; Dobbs 1991, 1993; Dobbs and Schirmer 2002; Durand 1994; Featherstonhaugh 1970 [1847]; Fleming 2009; Folwell 1956, 1961; Gibbon 1979; Keating et al. 1824; Lewis 1884; Long 1978; Mn/OSA files; Schirmer 2004; Upham 2001; Westerman and White 2012; Wilford 1947 and 1950; Winchell 1911
21LP0012	Huggins School Site	Ca-1, ED-2 , IC-1	S. Anfinson 1986; S. Anfinson 1987: 138-139; Anfinson and Peterson 1989: 134-135; Mn/OSA files

Sites Close to Locations Where Non-Archeological Data Suggests a Dakota Site Should be Present and a Dakota Component is Documented			
Site Number	Site Name	Context	References
21ML0002	Aquipaguetin Island	Oj, ED	Brower 1901; Brower and Bushnell 1900; Birk and Johnson 1988; Durand 1994; Jenks 1933; Johnson 1969; Mather 2000; Mn/OSA files; Wilford 1937, 1944, 1949, 1955; Upham 2001
21ML0006	Indian School/Robbins Mound Group	HR-1, Ka-1, Oj-1, TR-1, Bd-1, Br-1, Ps-1, ED-1 , FR-1	Brower 1901; Brower and Bushnell 1900; Clouse 1993; Cooper 1965; Dudzik 1997; Foth and Van Dyke 1999; Goltz 1996; Halloran and Mather 2000; Johnson 1974; Koenen 1997; Mather 2000; Mn/OSA files; Radford and George 1990; Radford et al. 2002; Streiff 1983; Wilford 1949a, 1949b
21ML0009	Leland R. Cooper Mounds (same as 21ML0016)	SO-1, Ka-1, Ps-1, Oj-1, ED-1	Cooper 1965; Johnson 1974; Mather 2000; Mn/OSA files; Radford and George 1990; Radford et al. 2002
21ML0011	Petaga Point (overlaps with 21ML0063)	LW-1, Ka-1, Bd-1, Ps-1, AL-1, SO-2, O-1, Oj-2, ED-1	Bleed 1969; Bleed and Johnson 1966; Cooper 1965; Gibbon 2003; Caine and Goltz 2009; Johnson 1969; Mather 2000; Mather and Cummings 2010; Mn/OSA files; Radford 1995; Radford et al. 2002; Valppu 2011
21ML0012	L. A. Wilford Site	MW-1, SO-1, LW-1, ED-1 , Oj-1, Fr-1	Gibbon 2003; Mather 2000; Mn/OSA files; Radford and George 1990
21ML0016	Leland R. Cooper Mounds	SO-1, Ka-1, Ps-1, Oj-1, ED-1	Cooper 1965; Johnson 1974; Mather 2000; Mn/OSA files; Radford and George 1990; Radford et al. 2002
21NL0073	Traverse des Sioux	PL-1, ED-2 , Fr-1, US-1, IC-1, EA-1, TR-1	Beving Long and Henning 1996; Clouse 2001; Diedrich 1989; Hughes 1969; Mn/OSA files; Peterson et al. 1994; Smith 1967; Steiner 1995
21NLas	Old Traverse des Sioux	PL-1, ED-2 , Fr-1, US-1, IC-1, EA-1, TR-1	Bray and Bray 1993; Diedrich 1989; Durand 1994; Hughes 1969; Long 1978; Mn/OSA files; Smith 1967: 16; Westerman and White 2012
21NLe	Village of Big Leg	ED-2	Featherstonhaugh 1847; Mn/OSA files; Smith 1967: 16
21NLg	Drake (within 21NLm [Eureka])	ED-2	Mn/OSA files; Wilford 1941, County Memo
21NLh	Kratzke (overlaps with 21NLk)	ED-2	Mn/OSA files; Westerman and White 2012; Wilford 1941, County Memo
21NLk	Trygg Indian Village (overlaps with 21NLh)	ED-2	Hughes 1929; Mn/OSA files
21PO0047	Barsness Site (formerly 21POf)	BR-1, SO-1, ED-2	Durand 1994: 37-38, 47, 52-53; Mn/OSA files; Upham 2001: 105, 465
21RA0010	Indian Mounds Park	MW-1, LW-2, ED-1 , IC-1	Durand 1994; Mn/OSA files; Neill 1858: 208, qtd. in Woolworth 1981: 32; Woolworth 1981
21RA0017	Kaposia I	ED-1 , IC-1	Anderson 1997; Arnott 2019; Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Hughes 1969; Landes 1968; Mn/OSA files; Peterson and LaBatte 2023; S. Pond 1994; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Terrell 2003; Westerman and White 2012
21RCac	Wa-fa-coota (Leaf Shooting Village)	ED-2	Durand 1994; Hodge 1912; Mott 1857; Mn/OSA files

Sites Close to Locations Where Non-Archeological Data Suggests a Dakota Site Should be Present and a Dakota Component is Documented			
Site Number	Site Name	Context	References
21RW0011	Lower Sioux Agency	FL-2, LB-2, ED-1, US-1, EA-1, WD-1 , IC-1, WD-1	Arnott 1998; Clouse 1996; Hughes 1967; Lothson 1973; McFarlane and Clouse 1996; Mn/OSA files; Nystuen 1968; Smith 1967; Tiling 1980; Tiling et al. 1973; Upham 2001; Westerman and White 2012
21SC0002	Shakopee Village and Mound Group (contains 21SC0040)	Ka-1, ED-1 , IC-1, EA-2	Aulwes and Jenkins 2013a; Dobbs 1987; Dobbs and Breakey 1989; Durand 1994; Florin et al. 2013; Johnson 1992; Mn/OSA files; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Smith 1967; Westerman and White 2012; Wilford 1940; Winchell 1911
21SC0024	Steele Mounds	Ka-1, ED-1	Aulwes and Jenkins 2013b; Blondo and Reiners 2019; Breakey and Johnson 1989; Durand 1994; Johnson 1988; Lyon et al. 2000; Mn/OSA files; Murray 2001
21SC0027	Little Rapids	Fr-1, ED-1	S. Anfinson 2003; Cushing 1986, qtd. in Spector 1993; Durand 1994; Forsberg 1998; George 1999; Lewis 1889; Mn/OSA files; Roberts et al. 1993; Roberts and Dobbs 1993; Spector 1993; Spector and Whelan 1982; Westerman and White 2012
21SC0033	Murphy's Landing Terrace	LW-1, ED-1 , IC-1, EA-1	Breakey and Johnson 1989; Durand 1994; Goltz 1993; Mn/OSA files; Radford et al. 2002; Roberts and Dobbs 1993; Smith 1967; Westerman and White 2012; Wilford 1940; Winchell 1911: 553-555
21SC0040	Oliver Faribault Cabin Site (within 21SC0002)	ED-1 , R-1	Aulwes and Jenkins 2013a; Dobbs and Breakey 1989; Florin et al. 2013; Koenen 1998; Lyon et al. 2000; Mn/OSA files; Westerman and White 2012
21SCae	Robert's Fur Trading Post	ED-1	Diedrich 1989; Durand 1994; Mn/OSA files; Roberts 1993; Smith 1967
21YM0011	Hazelwood (Riggs) Mission (and Mounds) ⁷⁵	EA-2, O-1, IC-1, EA-1	Berg 2007; Berg and Myster 2002: 5 [Granger 1985]; Caine, et al. 2002; Mn/OSA files; Westerman and White 2012; Wilford 1954, County Memo; Winchell 1911
21YM0097	N/A	LW-1, FL-1, ED-1 , US-1, IC-1	S. Anfinson 1997; Berg 2007; Berg and Myster 2002; Mn/OSA files; S. Pond 1986 [1908]
21YM0098	N/A	ED-2 , IC-1	Mn/OSA files; Schoen 2002

Table 5.3 – Sites close to locations where non-archeological, or ethnographic, data suggests a Dakota site should be present and there is a documented Dakota component present, 37 total.

Sites with a Dakota Component Where There are Some Details Ascertainable and/or There is Justification for the Dakota Component(s)			
Site Number	Site Name	Context	References

⁷⁵ 21YM0011 is not listed as containing an Eastern Dakota component in the MnDOT GIS dataset nor the Excel spreadsheet of archeological sites in Minnesota, but on the site forms for 21YM0011, it is listed as containing an Eastern Dakota component and is therefore included in analyses.

Sites with a Dakota Component Where There are Some Details Ascertainable and/or There is Justification for the Dakota Component(s)			
Site Number	Site Name	Context	References
21Chai	Dakota War Fortification	US-2, ED-2	Durand 1994; Mn/OSA files; Vogel 1995; Westerman and White 2012
21CW0015	Crow Wing State Park	Br-1, Oj-1, US-1, IC-1, EA-1, ED ⁷⁶	Durand 1994; Folwell 1956, 1961; L. Johnson 1964; Mn/OSA files; Radford 1990; Radford 2004
21DK0025	Kennealy/Black Dog Historic Burials I	ED-1	Anderson 1997; Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Mn/OSA files; Peterson 1978; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Westerman and White 2012
21DK0026	Black Dog Historic Burials II	ED-1	Anderson 1997; Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Mn/OSA files; Peterson 1978
21DK0031	Sibley House Complex/American Fur Company (overlaps with 21DK0017)	Pl-1, Br-2, SELW-1, HR-1, ED-1 , US-1, EA-1, TR-1, RA-1	Birk 1993; Bray and Bray 1993; Clouse 1996; Lothson 1986; Mn/OSA files; Peterson et al. 1991; Radford and George 1993
21DK0035	Kennealy Creek Village Site (on Black Dog Creek)	ED-1 , IC-1	George 1999; Lewis 1881; Mn/OSA files; Radford and Foss 2018; Radford and George 1993; Winchell 1911
21DK1	Kaposia II (contains 21DK0010; overlaps with 21DK0026)	ED-1	Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Kuehn 1963; Lawshe 1956; Mn/OSA files
21DKx	Penichon's Village/Good Road's Village/Nine Mile Creek Village	ED-1	Blondo and Reiners 2018; Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; M. Eastman 1849; Featherstonhaugh 1970 [1824]; Mn/OSA files; Roberts et al. 1993; Westerman and White 2012
21GD0003	Silvernale Village (overlaps w/ 21GD0003)	Sn-1, BE-1, ED-1 , SELW-1	Bray and Bray 1993; Brower 1903; Dobbs 1993; Dobbs and Schirmer 2002; Durand 1994; Featherstonhaugh 1970 [1847]; Fleming 2009; Folwell 1956, 1961; Gibbon 1979; Keating et al. 1824; Lewis 1884; Long 1978; Mn/OSA files; Schirmer 2004; Upham 2001; Westerman and White 2012; Wilford 1947 and 1950; Winchell 1911
21LP0012	Huggins School Site	Ca-1, ED-2 , IC-1	S. Anfinson 1986; S. Anfinson 1987: 138-139; Anfinson and Peterson 1989: 134-135; Mn/OSA files

⁷⁶ Although the MNSU, Mankato Archeology Department Excel document "Archeological_sites_10_22_2020" does not indicate that there is an Eastern Dakota component at the Crow Wing State Park site (21CW0015), the Mn/OSA file for this site indicates that there is in fact an Eastern Dakota component at the site, and a search of historic records support this (Folwell 1956).

Sites with a Dakota Component Where There are Some Details Ascertainable and/or There is Justification for the Dakota Component(s)			
Site Number	Site Name	Context	References
21ML0002	Aquipaguetin Island	Oj, ED	Brower 1901; Brower and Bushnell 1900; Birk and Johnson 1988; Durand 1994; Jenks 1933; Johnson 1969; Mather 2000; Mn/OSA files; Wilford 1937, 1944, 1949, 1955; Upham 2001
21ML0006	Indian School/Robbins Mound Group	HR-1, Ka-1, Oj-1, TR-1, Bd-1, Br-1, Ps-1, ED-1 , FR-1	Brower 1901; Brower and Bushnell 1900; Clouse 1993; Cooper 1965; Dudzik 1997; Foth and Van Dyke 1999; Goltz 1996; Halloran and Mather 2000; Johnson 1974; Koenen 1997; Mather 2000; Mn/OSA files; Radford and George 1990; Radford et al. 2002; Streiff 1983; Wilford 1949a, 1949b
21ML0009	Leland R. Cooper Mounds (same as 21ML0016)	SO-1, Ka-1, Ps-1, Oj-1, ED-1	Cooper 1965; Johnson 1974; Mather 2000; Mn/OSA files; Radford and George 1990; Radford et al. 2002
21ML0011	Petaga Point (overlaps with 21ML0063)	LW-1, Ka-1, Bd-1, Ps-1, AL-1, SO-2, O-1, Oj-2, ED-1	Bleed 1969; Bleed and Johnson 1966; Cooper 1965; Gibbon 2003; Caine and Goltz 2009; Johnson 1969; Mather 2000; Mather and Cummings 2010; Mn/OSA files; Radford 1995; Radford et al. 2002; Valppu 2011
21ML0012	L. A. Wilford Site	MW-1, SO-1, LW-1, ED-1 , Oj-1, Fr-1	Gibbon 2003; Mather 2000; Mn/OSA files; Radford and George 1990
21ML0016	Leland R. Cooper Mounds (same as 21ML0009)	SO-1, Ka-1, Ps-1, Oj-1, ED-1	Cooper 1965; Johnson 1974; Mather 2000; Mn/OSA files; Radford and George 1990; Radford et al. 2002
21NLas	Old Traverse des Sioux	PL-1, ED-2 , Fr-1, US-1, IC-1, EA-1, TR-1	Bray and Bray 1993; Diedrich 1989; Durand 1994; Hughes 1969; Long 1978; Mn/OSA files; Smith 1967: 17-18; Westerman and White 2012
21RA0017	Kaposia I	ED-1 , IC-1	Anderson 1997; Arnott 2019: 11; Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Hughes 1969; Landes 1968; Long 1978; Madigan et al. 2001; Mn/OSA files; Peterson and LaBatte 2023; S. Pond 1994; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Terrell 2003; Westerman and White 2012
21RCac	Wa-fa-coota	ED-2	Durand 1994: 98; Hodge 1912; Mn/OSA files; Mott 1857
21RW0011	Lower Sioux Agency	FL-2, LB-2, ED-1 , US-1, EA-1, WD-1 , IC-1, WD-1	Arnott 1998; Clouse 1996; Hughes 1969; Lothson 1973; McFarlane and Clouse 1996; Mn/OSA files; Nystuen 1968; Smith 1967; Tiling et al. 1973; Tiling 1980; Upham 2001: 487
21SC0002	Shakopee Village and Mound Group (contains 21SC0040)	Ka-1, ED-1 , IC-1, EA-2	Aulwes and Jenkins 2013a; Dobbs 1987; Dobbs and Breakey 1989; Durand 1994; Florin et al. 2013; Johnson 1992; Mn/OSA files; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Smith 1967; Westerman and White 2012; Wilford 1940; Winchell 1911

Sites with a Dakota Component Where There are Some Details Ascertainable and/or There is Justification for the Dakota Component(s)			
Site Number	Site Name	Context	References
21SC0024	Steele Mounds	Ka-1, ED-1	Aulwes and Jenkins 2013b; Blondo and Reiners 2019; Breakey and Johnson 1989; Durand 1994; Johnson 1988; Lyon et al. 2000; Mn/OSA files; Murray 2001
21SC0027	Little Rapids	Fr-1, ED-1	S. Anfinson 2003; Cushing 1986, qtd. in Spector 1993; Durand 1994; Forsberg 1998; George 1999; Lewis 1889; Mn/OSA files; Roberts et al. 1993; Roberts and Dobbs 1993; Smith 1967: 11-12; Spector 1993; Spector and Whelan 1982; Westerman and White 2012
21SC0033	Murphy's Landing Terrace	LW-1, ED-1 , IC-1, EA-1	Breakey and Johnson 1989; Durand 1994; Goltz 1993; Mn/OSA files; Radford et al. 2002; Roberts and Dobbs 1993; Smith 1967: 7-8; Westerman and White 2012; Wilford 1940; Winchell 1911: 553-555
21SC0040	Oliver Faribault Cabin Site (within 21SC0002)	ED-1 , R-1	Aulwes and Jenkins 2013a; Dobbs and Breakey 1989; Florin et al. 2013; Koenen 1998; Lyon et al. 2000; Mn/OSA files; Smith 1967: 8-9; Westerman and White 2012
21YM0011	Hazelwood (Riggs) Mission (and Mounds) ⁷⁷	EA-2, O-1, IC-1, EA-1	Berg 2007; Berg and Myster 2002: 5 [Granger 1985]; Caine, et al. 2002; Mn/OSA files; Westerman and White 2012; Wilford 1954, County Memo; Winchell 1911
21YM0097	N/A	LW-1, FL-1, ED-1 , US-1, IC-1	S. Anfinson 1997; Berg 2007; Berg and Myster 2002; Mn/OSA files; S. Pond 1986 [1908]
21YM0098	N/A	ED-2 , IC-1	Mn/OSA files; Schoen 2002

Table 5.4 – Sites where the archeological data asserts that there is a documented Dakota component present at the site and there are some details and/or justification present in Mn/OSA files which provide support for the documented Dakota component, 29 total.

This review of archeological data for this analysis has shown that reports on archeological investigations at sites with documented Eastern Dakota components typically consist of statewide archeological survey reports from investigations which were undertaken for CRM purposes. While archeological work of this variety does contribute to the archeological record of Minnesota, the problem is that the work is generally low-level research; they were carried out for the purpose of documentation of the conditions of archeological sites that fell

⁷⁷ 21YM0011 is not listed as containing an Eastern Dakota component in the MnDOT GIS dataset nor the Excel spreadsheet of archeological sites in Minnesota, but on the site forms for 21YM0011, it is listed as containing an Eastern Dakota component and is therefore included in analyses.

within the APE of construction projects. As a result, although construction and development activities have the potential to contribute to the awareness of cultural resources, academic research pursuits have generally failed thus far to capitalize on these contributions which have potential to further archeological knowledge to the archeological record. That is, as can be seen from this investigation, the information in archeological reports from CRM projects generally lack insightful information, i.e., justification for the Dakota components inferred from the investigations (see Table 5.6 below), which may be utilized/referenced for academic research purposes and further contribute to our understanding of Dakota archeology in the state. Moreover, since it has been made evident that data from past archeological investigations often lack the ability and/or means to provide support which reflects ethnographic information apropos historic Dakota peoples (see Table 5.7 below), it is clear that there is much more to learn about Dakota archeology in Minnesota.

Sites with a Dakota Component Where No Details and/or Justification for the Dakota Component(s) are Offered			
Site Number	Site Name	Context	References
21AK0053	Savanna Portage	ED-2 , Oj-2, Fr-1, En-1, US-1	Brower 1901; Gibbon and Williams 1985; Thwaites 1889, <i>Jesuit Relations</i> (1670-1671); Hart 1927; Mn/OSA files; Radford 2016b; Remus et al. 1996; Watrall 1969; Woolworth 1993
21DK0036	Gun Club Lake Outlet	ED-2	Blondo and Reiners 2018; Gary Cavendar, qtd. in Westerman and White 2012: 213; Mn/OSA files; Radford 1993
21KA0034	N/A	MW-1, ED-1	Mn/OSA Files; Upham 2001
21MO0035	<i>Winin-Wabik</i>	Oj-2, ED-2 , US-2, IC-2, EA-1, SC-1	Birk 1991; Brower 1902; Mn/OSA files; Ward 1997
21MO0036	Little Elk Mill Complex	Oj-2, ED-2 , US-2, IC-1, EA-1, SC-1	Birk 1985, 1987; Kluth 1998; Mn/OSA Files;
21NL0073	Traverse des Sioux	PL-1, ED-2 , Fr-1, US-1, IC-1, EA-1, TR-1	Beving Long and Henning 1996; Clouse 2001; Diedrich 1989; Hughes 1969; Mn/OSA files; Peterson et al. 1994; Smith 1967; Steiner 1995
21NLg	Drake (within 21NLM)	ED-2	Hughes 1969; Mn/OSA files; Wilford 1941, County Memo

Sites with a Dakota Component Where No Details and/or Justification for the Dakota Component(s) are Offered			
Site Number	Site Name	Context	References
21NLh	Kratzke (overlaps w/ 21NLk)	ED-2	Mn/OSA files; Westerman and White 2012; Wilford 1941, County Memo
21NLk	Trygg Indian Village (overlaps w/ 21NLh)	ED-2	Hughes 1929; Mn/OSA files
21PL0029	T.S. Danielson A	Ps-1, ED-2	Mn/OSA files;
21PL0030	T.S. Danielson B	Ps-1, ED-2	Mn/OSA files;
21PL0031	T.S. Danielson C	Ps-1, ED-2	Mn/OSA files;
21PO0047	Barsness Site 1	BR-1, SO-1, ED-2	Durand 1994: 37-38, 47, 52-53; Mn/OSA files; Upham 2001: 105, 465
21RA0010	Indian Mounds Park	MW-1, LW-2, ED-1 , IC-1	Durand 1994; Mn/OSA files; Neill 1858: 208, qtd. in Woolworth 1981: 32; Woolworth 1981
21RA0017	Kaposia I	ED-1 , IC	Anderson 1997; Arnott 2019; Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Hughes 1969; Landes 1968; Mn/OSA files; Peterson and LaBatte 2023; S. Pond 1994; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Terrell 2003; Westerman and White 2012
21SCae	Robert's Fur Trading Post	ED-1	Diedrich 1989; Durand 1994; Mn/OSA files; Roberts 1993; Smith 1967
21SL1248	Prairie Island	ED-2 , Oj-1, En-2, US-1, IC-1, NL-2	Anderson 1997; Ewoldsen 1981; Johnson 1988; Mn/OSA files; Perrault n.d.: 7

Table 5.5 – Sites where the archeological data states that there is a Dakota component present at the site, but there are no details and/or justification offered in Mn/OSA files which provide support for the documented Dakota component, 16 total.

Sites Close to Locations Where Non-Archeological Data Suggests a Dakota Component Should be Located but Where No Possible Dakota Component is Documented			
Site Number	Site Name	Context	References
21BL0009	Grand Medicine Cemetery	Oj-1, IC-1	Anderson 1997; Bray and Bray 1993; Brower 1901: 56; Gibbon 2012; Mn/OSA files; Ossenberg 1974; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012; Winchell 1911: 364, 367
21BS0003	Lindholm Mounds	Ca-1	Dobbs 1988; Gibbon 2012; Johnson 1961; Johnson and Pratt 1989; Keating et al. 1824; Mn/OSA files; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Upham 2001; Westerman and White 2012; Wilford 1941, 1943, 1946; Wilford 1970; Winchell 1970
21BS0051	Toqua Lakes IV ("Sorenson Field")	Ca-1	Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Harrison 2002; Keating et al. 1824; Mn/OSA files; Upham 2001

Sites Close to Locations Where Non-Archeological Data Suggests a Dakota Component Should be Located but Where No Possible Dakota Component is Documented			
Site Number	Site Name	Context	References
21DK0008	Black Dog Mound Group/Oanoska Mound Group		Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Lewis, Notebook 1, pp. 39-43 [Winchell 1911]; Mn/OSA files; Peterson 1975; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012; Winchell 1888, 1911
21GD0017	Silvernale Mound Group/Industrial Park Mounds (overlaps w/ 21GD0003)	Sn-1	Bray and Bray 1993; Brower 1903; Dobbs 1991, 1993; Dobbs and Schirmer 2002; Durand 1994; Featherstonhaugh 1970 [1847]; Fleming 2009; Folwell 1956, 1961; Gibbon 1979; Keating et al. 1824; Lewis 1884 [Winchell 1911]; Long 1978; Mn/OSA files; Schirmer 2004; Upham 2001; Westerman and White 2012; Wilford 1947 and 1950; Winchell 1911
21GD0258 ⁷⁸	McClelland Site A	O-2	Mn/OSA Files; Schirmer 2022, personal communication
21MO0033	Twin Oaks Site-N. Little Elk-WW (same as 21MO0034)	IC-2	Birk 1991; Brower 1902; Mn/OSA files; Ward 1997
21NLae	Johnson Island		Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Mn/OSA files; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Schirmer 2023, personal communication
21RA0005	Dayton's Bluff		Carver 1956 [1778]:86; Mn/OSA files; Parker 1976: 91-92; Poatgaiter 1967: 93-94, qtd. in Woolworth 1981: 26; Terrell 2002: 22-23; Westerman and White 2012; Winchell 1911: 265-266; Woolworth 1981: 56-58
21RA0027	Carver's Cave		Brick 2001; Brown 1926; Carver 1956; Durand 1994; Koenen 1996; Lewis 1898a; Mn/OSA files; Parker 1976; Snow 1962; Terrell 2003; Westerman and White 2012; Winchell 1911
21RA0028	Dayton's Bluff Cave		Koenen 1996b; Lewis 1898a, 1901; Mattocks 1867; Mn/OSA files; Terrell 2003; Westerman and White 2012; Winchell 1911
21RW0026	Plum Creek		Durand 1994; Mn/OSA files; Trow 1978
21TR0035/ 39RO0045	Boarder Village	LW-1, Ps-2	Beissel, et al. 1984; Durand 1994; Gibbon 2012; C. Johnson 1991; Mn/OSA and SD/SHPO files
21WA0001	Schilling Site/Archeological District		Birk 1973; Dobbs, et al. 1992; Durand 1994; Johnson, et al. 1987; Lewis 1887, Notebook 4 [Winchell 1911]; Madigan and Schirmer 2001; Mn/OSA files; Powell 1958; Stanley and Vogel 1987; Westerman and White 2012; Wilford, et al. 1969; Winchell 1911; Withrow, et al. 1987
21YM0091	Iyangmani's/Running Walker's Village/Ean-Manee's Village	IC-1, LB-1, GO-1, Ca-1, WD-1	Anderson 1997; Berg 1999; Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Hughes 1969; Mn/OSA files; Peterson and LaBatte 2023; S. Pond 1986 [1908]

⁷⁸ Sites marked with an “*” were appended to, though not fully included in, this analysis based on their potential to contain an undocumented Eastern Dakota component.

Table 5.6 – Sites close to locations where non-archeological data suggests a Dakota component should be located/present but where no possible Dakota component is documented at them, 16 total.

CHAPTER 6 – DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This analysis has shown that for Dakota people, the connection was not only to the region which is present-day Minnesota in general, but to specific places (e.g., natural features, village sites, etc.), based on the experiences and knowledge of antecedent and descendant Dakota peoples, which are imbued with meanings that have been passed down through generations via the place names past Dakota people gave to features on the landscape and associated oral narratives. Since “[s]paces are intimately related to the formation of biographies and social relationships” (Tilley 1994: 11), and because Dakota oral traditions and histories are reflections of past interactions with the natural environment(s) of their habited spaces, these places became humanized space. Consequently, Dakota place names and associated oral histories and traditions connected to aspects and/or features of the environmental landscapes of their habited spaces, or toponym, not only functioned to reinforce their connections to certain sites, localities, or regions, but were a means by which they cognized and interacted with the environments of their habited spaces. Therefore, for the intents of this investigation, they have been interpreted as reflections of Dakota belief systems which may aid in the comparative analysis of Dakota ethnographic and archeological data to not only determine if the latter reflects the former, but to also discern if there is a connective or correlational relationship between the natural environment and Dakota belief systems, and thereby generate expectations for the Dakota archeological record in Minnesota.

6.1 – Interpretation

Since the survival of past Dakota peoples significantly depended on the natural resources available in the environment(s) of their habited spaces, it was necessary for them to have a knowledge of how best to survive in it, which thereby contributed to their belief systems and subsequent behaviors that may potentially be seen reflected in the archeological record in some instances. As Binford (2001) states,

...[t]he human capacity for culture itself is both an extension of the concept of plasticity and the source of human behavioral variability, and it means possible an enormous range of different phenotypic behaviors as well as a dazzling array of organizational variety in that behavior...the contribution of culture to any adaptation (the niche state of the moment) lies in the quality of the transmitted information; that is, it adds to knowledge about habitat variables and about the ways in which human actors will behave (Binford 2001: 42).

Therefore, the natural environment(s) of past Dakota peoples' habited spaces can be interpreted as an influence on their belief systems, and subsequently contributed to the socio-cultural milieu which directed part behaviors that led to their humanization of spaces, as well as resulted in their enculturation of the various landscapes in their humanized spaces throughout *Mini Sota Makoçe*.

6.1.1 – Dakota Belief Systems

Dakota belief systems may be interpreted to have essentially been the result of interactions past Dakota peoples had with the natural environment(s) of their habited spaces; they are takeaways from experiences and observations of 'their' natural world which contributed to their survival or demise in it. "Most moral or ethical belief systems operate in a similar way in human society. They stabilize the potential chaos of individualistic decision making and reduce the hazards to individuals wishing to act in social settings and to plan cooperative actions. Beliefs may focus on any phenomena – persons, the environment, the cosmos – or combinations of phenomena" (Binford 2001: 42). Of Dakota belief systems, Stephen Riggs states that besides their deities/spirits, Dakota people

...pray to the sun, the earth, the moon, lakes, rivers, trees, plants, snakes, and all kinds of animals and vegetables – many of them say to everything, for they pray to their guns, arrows – to any object, artificial as well as natural, for they suppose every object, artificial as well as natural, has a spirit which may hurt or help, and so is a proper object of worship...They also pray to the spirits of their deceased relatives, and believe in transformation...and think that many of the stars are men and women translated to the heavens (Riggs 1883: 149).

Furthermore, since subsequent actions and behaviors are generally conducted based on past experiences, those experiences that carry more significance for a people have a greater tendency to contribute to their belief systems and, thus, their future actions and behaviors as well.

Since oral narratives which are associated with and, in the case of place names given to both general and/or particular aspects of the environment by past Dakota peoples are a means by which they and their ancestors have expressed their connection to the land, as well as maintained their collective memories, they were used in this investigation to analyze the influence of the natural environment on Dakota belief systems. That is, they are interpreted here as mnemonics, reflections of the experiences past Dakota people had within the natural environment(s) of their habited spaces and thereby contributed to their belief systems and subsequent behaviors.

Dakota Oral Histories and Traditions

Oral histories and/or traditions which are associated with certain sites or particular locales have the potential to provide a glimpse into the events that helped structure a people's belief system, as they are often references to past events or experiences. "History comes from stories, accounts, anecdotes, legends, traditions and folktales. No matter who gives these accounts, or whether they are written or not, they come from the perspective of the teller and the teller's culture, position, and situation" (Westerman and White 2012: 6-7). Furthermore, "Tied to place by matrilineal animal clan and family memories, their legends connected the people not only to the land, but also to a tribal history whose lessons they must not forget. Similarly, their tales

described the natural world in which the Dakota managed to survive only by maintaining proper relations with other creatures, as is noted in the expression *Mitakuye Oyasin* (all are related)” (Palmer 2008: 102; emphasis in original).

With this in mind, Dakota oral traditions and histories can, and often do, vary between bands, sub-divisions, villages, communities, etc. due to variability in the lived experiences and histories of the members, which may contribute to variance in belief systems. For example, each of the Dakota tribal groups, or the Seven Fires, have their own creation stories as well as distinct histories which are centered within the lands from which they came. As *Wasicunghdinaziŋ* Deksi “Super” LaBatte Jr. states,

We may all call ourselves human; we may all call ourselves American Indians or alternative words; we may all call ourselves belonging to the *Oçeti Šałowin* [*Seven Council Fires*]; we may all call ourselves Dakota. But we don’t all have the same belief systems; we don’t all follow the same protocols; we don’t all have the same cultural, spiritual ways. So, it takes a small mind to criticize others for not following your ways. After the diaspora, we were all raised in unique geographic areas, different eras; were taught different ways from our parents. The answer is acceptance, in order to maintain peace and serenity (Peterson and LaBatte 2022: 76; emphasis added).

Hence, oral narratives have the potential to provide a general idea of how the natural environment contributed to their belief systems, and environmentally derived variability in Dakota cultural information may also be gleaned from oral traditions and histories which are band- or community-specific. While many of the “events” conveyed in oral traditions cannot currently be assessed because the available archeological data are either absent or inconclusive, oral traditions of this variety, that is, those that use mythological narratives to explain how something came to be in the vague past, are unique and informative as some of them are quite specific to a certain location and/or feature of, or occurrence on, the natural landscape.

Although it may not always be possible to validate the events which are in the focus of such Dakota oral histories or traditions with the archeological record, they generally do

contain/impart insightful information about Dakota culture and belief systems, and thus allow for the possibility to make inferences about how the natural environment contributed to the cultural environments of past Dakota peoples. Still, it must be kept in mind that just because narratives which generally fall more soundly within the “folktale” subgenre to those of us who are outsiders, they are still important to Dakota people who believe them to have actually occurred and who hold them as real past events. Therefore, although the events relayed in Dakota narratives – both oral traditions and histories – from which certain place names are the “product” of may not be empirically demonstrable at this time, the potential to use these narratives to analyze how the natural environment influenced the belief systems and behaviors of past Dakota peoples comes from the significance such narratives had, and continue to have, to Dakota people, for what matters is that they believe them to have transpired. Additionally, because Dakota cultural transmission has for the greater part of their history been accomplished through oral histories and traditions, these narratives have been an important part of Dakota culture. Since it is “[t]hrough these stories we [*Dakota people*] are taught how to live, and through these stories we [*Dakota people*] will continue to live” (Westerman and White 2012: 14), these narratives can also be a means by which to interpret Dakota belief systems.

6.1.2 – Dakota Enculturation of the Landscape

The repeated passages of past Dakota peoples throughout the landscapes of their habited spaces became “...biographic encounters for individuals, recalling traces of past activities and previous events and the reading of signs” (Tilley 1994: 27), and which resulted in their enculturation of the landscape. Hence, because Dakota place names and oral histories and traditions are reflections of the natural environment as past Dakota peoples cognized it, and accordingly contributed to their belief systems, the analysis of place names past Dakota people

gave to certain aspects or locales of the natural environment(s) of their habited spaces, as well as the associated narratives, found in published ethnographic sources has provided valuable insight into the relationship between the natural environment and Dakota belief systems; their analysis provide a means by which to elucidate which features of their enculturated natural environment(s) were of greater significance to past Dakota peoples and contributed to their belief systems.

Dakota Place Names

Place names essentially convey that an aspect of the landscape – whether it be a topographic feature or a particular location – was or is of significance for a people, and therefore provide insight into the belief systems of those people. Dakota place name sites included in this analysis include, though are not limited to locations where an event of significance occurred (e.g., a battle, death, treaty, trade, etc.), an area is known for abundance, or lack thereof, a particular natural resource, an area associated with a specific activity (e.g., ceremonial, trade, swimming, quarrying, habitation, spirit), etc. Sheldon Peters Wolfchild, a Lower Sioux Indian Community member and activist notes that Dakota people who have lived so far from their homelands have found places that echoed the importance of those they have known for centuries, and that in finding certain locations, such as *Wakan Tipi* (Carver’s Cave) even in exile, they “made clear the importance of place and the characteristics that made such places sacred, ultimately defining them as traditional cultural places” (Westerman and White 2012: 219-220). Therefore, they gave place names to locations in their habited spaces and/or aspects of the natural environment which contributed to their lived experiences, and thereby their belief systems, which is why these were the primary means of investigation for this analysis of Dakota archeology in *Mini Sota Makoçe*.

It has been made evident that many of the Dakota place names (and associated oral histories and traditions) used by past Dakota peoples often described the natural environment – i.e., were geographic descriptions – which aided in their navigation of the environmental landscapes of their habited spaces, as well as having been a means by which to honor or recall a person, quality, significant experience or event, or simply describe an aspect of the environment. Since geographic references are a method of specifying location on the surface of the Earth and are generally a term which has been successful disambiguated and therefore associated with a certain locality⁷⁹, Dakota place names which are geographic descriptions are one of the best avenues for analyzing how past Dakota peoples’ belief systems were influenced by the natural environment, as well as provide insight into past Dakota lifeways. As George Featherstonhaugh (1847) states, “Upon all occasions the Indians appear to name localities from natural circumstances or incidents, and never to adopt arbitrary or fancy names” (ibid.: 294). For example, many of the names they gave to rivers, lakes, rapids or waterfalls, prairies, woods, etc., were often geographic references to resources which could be found within proximity to such geographic features, such as *Wazi Ožu Wakpa* – “River Where the Pines Grow” – which is the present-day Zumbro River, *Psiŋ Mde* – “Rice Lake” – which is applied to many lakes throughout the state, *Inyaŋ Çeyaka* – “Little Rapids” – known today as Carver’s Rapids, *Waŋhi Okedaŋ Tiŋta* – “Where They Quarry Arrow Flints” – a more recent name for the Prairie of the Arrow, *Çaŋ Inŋpa Wakpa* – “woods at the source or end of a river” – present-day Bois de Sioux River, north of Lake Traverse, and *Çaŋhassen* – “the tree of sweet juice” – which is the present-day city of Chanhassen, etc. (Durand 1994; Peterson and LaBatte 2022; Riggs 1992 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012). Other Dakota place names which are geographic descriptions do just that, describe the aspect of the natural environment itself – e.g., *Owamniyomni* – “an eddy, a whirlpool” –

⁷⁹ <https://www.igi-global.com/dictionary/geographic-reference/42860>

(present-day St. Anthony Falls) (Durand 1994: 111; Riggs 1992 [1893]: 392). Thus, it is evident that the analysis of Dakota place names which are geographic descriptions may be used to determine which natural resources past Dakota peoples exploited or were of significance to them, and, as a result, make interpretations about how the natural environment contributed to the belief systems of past Dakota peoples.

Many Dakota place names (and associated oral histories and traditions) found in published ethnographic sources are references to other aspects of Dakota peoples' lives. For example, they may be a reference to a particular aspect or feature of the natural environment (e.g., *Wanagi Pazodan*⁸⁰ – “spirit of a small hill,” *Pehaŋ Ĥapi* – “where they buried the Crane” – Crane Hill, *Taŋka Bde* – “large lake” – or present-day Lake Pepin, *Iŋyaŋ Taŋkiŋiŋyaŋ* – “lake of the big stones” – or present-day Big Stone Lake, etc.); they may be a reference to and/or reflection of some aspect of their belief systems (e.g., *Çaŋotidaŋ*'s workshop/drinking fountain/abode, *Mde Wakaŋ*, *Taku Wakaŋ Tipi* – “dwelling place of the sacred gods,” *Iŋyaŋ Maŋi* – “Walking Stones”); they may refer to an habitation site or to a particular leader of a village (e.g., Red Wing's villages of *Ĥe Mni Çañ* and *Iŋyaŋ Bosdata Otoŋwe*, Sleepy Eye's village of *Wak Žu Pata*, Black Dog's village of *Ohaŋska*, etc.); or they may be references to an event that carried significance for the people who experienced it (e.g., a battle, the occurrence of a natural phenomenon, an accident, etc.).

Place names which are references to events – e.g., *Winohinca Nom Kiciktepi* – “where the two women killed each other” – (present-day Pell Creek west of Lamberton, MN), *Maĥipiya Ĥotawiŋ* – “gray cloud/sky woman” – (present-day Gray Cloud Island), *Hoksidan Nom Wica*

⁸⁰ According to Durand (1994), “The spirit of a Dakota mother whose only child drowned in the lake during a storm many years ago, often wails at midnight on this hill,” which is a small point at the entrance to Wayzata Bay in Lake Minnetonka (ibid.: 104).

Ktepi – “where the two boys were killed [by the Sauk]” – (present-day Chandler, MN) (Durand 1994: 27, 42, 68) – often not only allude to the lived experiences of past Dakota peoples which have situated them in their cultural environment, but also have an oral history associated with them which provide details about the event(s). “If naming is an act of construction of landscape, constituting an origin point for it, then narratives introduce temporality, making locales markers of individual group experiences” (Tilley 1994: 33). While the object, site, belief, event, individual, etc. to which the Dakota place name refers to may vary, it is clear that whatever it is a reference to was at one point in time of such significance to Dakota people to have become incorporated into the cultural milieu of Dakota people, and it may be inferred that it may be interpreted as reflective of their belief systems. Therefore, the analysis of such place names has the potential to provide insight into the events that helped and/or contributed to the structure of Dakota belief systems.

Moreover, it may be reasoned that the names, as well as the associated oral histories and traditions, utilized by Dakota peoples are exhibitions of their enculturation of the landscape(s) in Minnesota. Because the place names past Dakota peoples established and employed for specific sites, locales, or features of the landscape were more or less references to aspects of the natural environment(s) of their habited spaces, lived experiences their ancestors which were directed in part by the natural environment(s) of their habited spaces, environmentally guided lifeway practices, etc., it is possible in some instances to formulate inferences about how the natural environment(s) of past Dakota peoples contributed to their belief systems and subsequent behaviors. Moreover, there may also be multiple names for a single location used by different groups, which reflects their particular history with that place; like different versions of oral traditions (e.g., origin stories), different names for single places do not trouble Dakota peoples

(or Native Americans more generally) because they recognize that their stories and their names are precisely that – theirs – and they tell their stories, their history, etc.

6.1.3 – Dakota Ethnoarcheology

The comparative analysis of archeological data to the ethnographic data carried out for this investigation in order to determine if the former reflects the latter has shown that in some instances this does occur, particularly in relation to past Dakota lifeways, such as how past Dakota peoples understood and interacted with the natural environment and how they utilized space. Through the analysis of published ethnographic records (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]), it was revealed that in many instances Dakota place names are reflections of the lifeway practices of past Dakota peoples. For example, because Dakota place names are often references to aspects and/or features of the natural environment(s) of their habited spaces, which may be interpreted as reflections of their belief systems, it is therefore possible in some instances to use ethnographic information such as this to formulate inferences about the relationship and/or influence of the natural environment between/on Dakota belief systems.

It has been made evident that in some instances information about Dakota peoples found in published ethnographic sources, such as the names of past Dakota bands, communities, villages, etc., may be used to not only gain insight about the relationship between Dakota belief systems and the natural environment, but that it may also contribute to our understanding of the Dakota archeological record in Minnesota. As Stephen Riggs points out,

In all primitive states of society the most reliable history of individuals and nations is found written in names. Sometimes the removals of a people can be traced through the ages by the names of rivers or places which they have left behind them. The Dakota people, on the other hand, carry with them, to some

extent, the history of their removals in the names of the several bands (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 182-183).

The veracity of this is evident when looking at how the names of Dakota bands in Minnesota changed as they spread out from their traditional homelands around *Mde Wakąŋ*. As discussed in preceding chapters, as past Dakota peoples migrated and split into smaller communities and occupied different environmental regions throughout Minnesota and neighboring states, the environment(s) of their habited spaces will have inherently resulted in varied lived experiences. Therefore, based on the discussion of the “origins” of Dakota band and village names in Chapter Three, it may be inferred that a result of these events may have been environmentally derived variability in Dakota belief systems, and that the names of Dakota bands, divisions, villages, communities, etc. are reflective of this.

Furthermore, the names of Dakota bands, divisions, villages, communities, etc. have the potential to provide a means by which to make inferences about past Dakota lifeways as well. For example, as can be seen from the discussions of Dakota villages and divisions in Chapters Two and Three, there is very little information pertaining to/regarding those of the *Wahpekuŋe* to be found in published ethnographic sources, compared to the *Mdewakąŋtoŋwan* and the *Wahpetoŋwan*, and it may be interpreted that this is due to the lifeway practices (i.e., settlement and subsistence patterns) of the *Wahpekuŋe*. That is, the *Wahpekuŋe* were generally more nomadic and smaller in number compared to the *Mdewakąŋtoŋwan*, *Wahpetoŋwan*, and the *Sisitoŋwan* (for the most part), which may explain why Euro-American explorers, traders, missionaries, etc. rarely encountered *Wahpekuŋe* villages or habitation sites, and in the limited instances where there is a mention of *Wahpekuŋe* settlements, there were no occupants present (Bray and Bray 1993; Featherstonhaugh 1847; Keating et al. 1824; Long 1978). Although most Euro-American explorations of Minnesota were conducted during summer months, which was likely when the

Wahpekuṭe, like the other bands of Eastern Dakotas, were away from their habitation sites hunting on the prairies, there remains the question of why there are essentially no information, let alone names, of *Wahpekuṭe* divisions or communities, let alone villages, to be found in published ethnographic sources. To that point, although the *Sisitoṅwan* were also generally more nomadic than the *Mdewakaṅtoṅwan* and the *Wahpetoṅwan*, though to a lesser degree than the *Wahpekuṭe*, the divisions and/or communities of the *Sisitoṅwan* still differentiated themselves from one another through the use of names which, unlike the *Mdewakaṅtoṅwan* and the *Wahpetoṅwan*, were generally geographic references to an aspect of the natural environment of the division's habited space(s) – e.g., the *Kahmiṅ atonwan* – “Village at the Bend” – which was located “upriver a couple of miles” from where the *Pezihutazizikapi* church once was (Peterson and LaBatte 2023: 151; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 159) – or a reference to particular practice which they were known for. For example, due to their prowess as buffalo hunters, the division of *Sisitoṅwan* who lived near *Otaka Psiṅça* (Browns Valley) were known as the *Amdowapuskiya* – “Dryers on the Shoulder” – as they often moved camp when their meat was not yet dry, so they spread it out on the horses' backs (Palmer 2008: 46; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158-159). Archeolo

Therefore, it may not only be interpreted that the *Amdowapuskiya* were one of the divisions of *Sisitoṅwan* which were more nomadic to have been “named” as such, but that this information is also reflective of their belief systems.

This reasoning may then be conversely applied/extended to those bands of Dakota for whom there is more information about in published ethnographic and historic records. That is, because the *Mdewakaṅtoṅwan* and the *Wahpetoṅwan* were generally more sedentary, it was easier and more likely for Euro-Americans to encounter and interact with them. As Keating aptly points out:

...a hunter, who has no fixed residence, will willingly pass from one part of Indians to another, belonging to the same tribe as he does, and this he will be ready to do at any time; but he who has his lodge, his cornfields, &c. is much more inclined to attach himself to the village in which he lives; and, accordingly, we find that the residences of the Dakotas, on the Mississippi, &c. are still, for the most part, kept up in the same places, where Carver saw them in 1766 (Keating et al. 1824: 398).

Thus, it may be interpreted that because those bands of Eastern Dakota which were more sedentary and had summer villages which they returned to and/or utilized throughout their seasonally directed settlement-subsistence cycles, they generally had more diverse and reliable means of resource acquisition, as well as food production, which in turn facilitated larger populations, and as they had more interactions with Euro-American explorers, traders, missionaries, etc., there is more information pertaining/regarding these Dakotas available in published ethnographic and historic records. Additionally, it is possible in some instances to interpret patterns of past Dakota lifeway practices, and potentially gain insight on the relationship between the natural environment and Dakota belief systems, from the place names given to environmental features such as rivers and lakes; there are numerous bodies of water which the Dakota name for them consist of references to resource exploitation practices – e.g., *Pezihutazizikapi* – “where they dig the yellow medicine” – or the Yellow Medicine River (Durand 1994: 72) – and it was not uncommon for these names to also refer to past Dakota individuals whose territory or habited space encompassed these environmental features – e.g., *Mahpiya Mani Wožu* – “the place where Walking Cloud planted” – which is at present-day Wood Lake off the Wantonwan River (north branch) in Brown County; *Hiŋta Haŋkpaŋ Wožu* – “where the Basswood Moccasin Thong plant their gardens,” *Cegana Wožu* – “Little Kettle’s Planting Ground” – etc. (Durand 1994: 24, 36, 43; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 305, 308, 600).

While it is quite possible that some of the Dakota names for their villages and/or communities in *Mini Sota Makoçe* and the various divisions and sub-divisions discussed may have been given to them or used by outsiders of the communities (that is, members of other Siouan tribes, bands, or divisions, or Euro-Americans), each of these names more often than not “contains a seed that may refer to the tribe’s or band’s origin, or describes a distinguishing characteristic” (Palmer 2008: 43). Therefore, these names may still be used as a ‘guide’ for clues for interpolating how the natural environment of their habited spaces contributed to the belief systems of past Dakota peoples living in *Mini Sota Makoçe*.

Site Organization and Location

Published ethnographic sources and historic accounts and maps often provide information about the locations where past Dakota peoples situated settlement/subsistence sites on the landscape. According to Samuel Pond, apart from those Dakota communities who lived at lakes Big Stone and Traverse, they generally had their summer residences on the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 4), the locations of which “...reflected a way of life heavily dependent on the river for transportation” (Westerman and White 2012: 89).

Additionally, it is often stated that the summer villages of the Eastern Dakota were generally situated on bluffs or uplands, within proximity to rivers or lakes, and in the river bottoms in areas that were likely to flood in the spring, which aided in their horticultural endeavors, as well as at sites which had accessibility to trading posts (Durand 1994; Gibbon 2012; Hodge 1907).

Site Number(s)	Site Name	Function	Mounds	Drainage	Setting
21BS0003	Lindholm (razed)	Burial Mound, Mortuary	2		Lacustrine, Stream, Bluff
21CW0015	Crow Wing State Park	Trading Post, Mortuary	0	Upper Minnesota River	Upland, Hill, Terrace, Junction

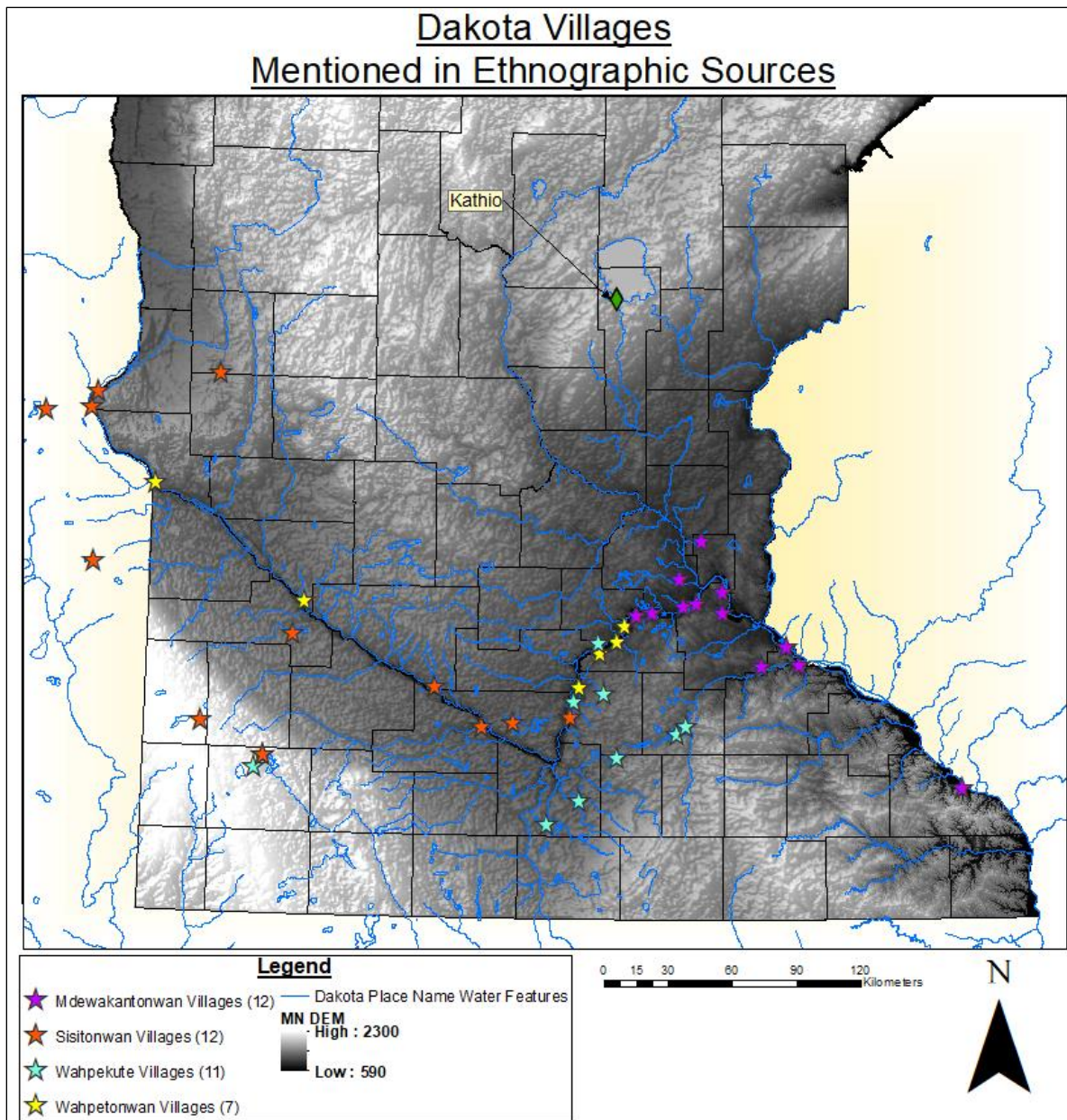
Site Number(s)	Site Name	Function	Mounds	Drainage	Setting
21DK0008	Black Dog Mound Group/Oanoska Mound Group	Mortuary, Burial Mound	118	Minnesota River	Terrace, River
21DK0025	Kennealy/Black Dog Historic Burials I	Mortuary	0	Minnesota River	Bluff, River
21DK0026	Black Dog Historic Burials II	Mortuary	0	Minnesota River	Bluff, River
21DK0031	Sibley House/American Fur Company (overlaps w/ 21DK17)	Trading Post, Homestead, Habitation	0	Minnesota River	Terrace, Bluff, Junction, Hill
21DK0035	Kennealy Creek Village/Black Dog's Village	Habitation		Minnesota River	Stream, Flood, River
21DK0036	Gun Club Lake Outlet			Minnesota River	Flood, Marsh, River
21DKI	Kaposia II (contains 21DK0010; overlaps w/ 21DK0016)	Base Camp		Upper Minnesota River	River
21DKx	Penichon's Village/Good Road's Village/Nine Mile Creek Village	Base Camp	0	Minnesota River	Terrace, Flood, River
21GD0003	Silvernale Village (overlaps w/ 21GD17)	Habitation	0	Lower Minnesota River	Terrace, Junction
21GD0017	Silvernale Mound Group/Industrial Park Mounds (overlaps W/21GD3)	Mortuary, Habitation	226	Lower Minnesota River	Terrace
21LP0012	Huggins School, Huggins Cabin			Minnesota River	River
21ML0002	Aquipaguetin Island	Habitation			In/Out, River, Lacustrine, Isthmus Island
21MO0035	Winin-Wabik		0	Upper Minnesota River	Terrace, Junction
21MO0036	Little Elk Mill Complex	Sawmill	0	Upper Minnesota River	Terrace, Junction, Flood
21NL0073	Traverse des Sioux (contains 21NL5, 60, 61, & 70-overlaps w/21NL50)	Habitation, Mortuary, Ghost Town, Trading Post, Sawmill, Mission	6	Minnesota River	River
21NLas	Old Traverse des Sioux (contains 21NL5, 60, 61, & 70-overlaps w/21NL50)	Habitation, Mortuary, Ghost Town, Trading Post, Sawmill, Mission	6	Minnesota River	River

Site Number(s)	Site Name	Function	Mounds	Drainage	Setting
21NLe	Village of Big Leg	Base Camp		Minnesota River	River
21NLk	Trygg Indian Village (overlaps w/21NLh)		0		Bluff
21PL0029	T.S. Danielson A			Red River	River
21PL0030	T.S. Danielson B			Red River	River
21PL0031	T.S. Danielson C			Red River	River
21RA0005	Dayton's Bluff	Burial Mound, Mortuary	21	Upper Minnesota River	Bluff
21RA0010	Indian Mounds Park	Burial Mound, Mortuary	18	Minnesota River	Bluff
21RA0017	Kaposia I	Base Camp	0	Upper Minnesota River	Terrace
21RCac	Wa-fa-coota (Leaf Shooting Village)	Base Camp		Lower Minnesota River	River
21RW0011	Lower Sioux Agency	Trading Post, Mission, Agency, Farmstead, Habitation	1	Minnesota River	Bluff, Upland, Glacial, Alluvial, Terrace, Junction, Bluff Base
21SC0002	Shakopee Village (contains 21SC40)	Burial Mound, Habitation, Mission	28	Minnesota River	Terrace
21SC0024	Steele	Burial Mound	111	Minnesota River	Terrace
21SC0027	Little Rapids	Habitation, Trading Post	29	Minnesota River	Terrace
21SC0033	Murphy's Landing Terrace	Habitation	0	Minnesota River	Terrace
21SC0040	Oliver Faribault Cabin Site (within 21SC2)	Trading Post	0	Minnesota River	Terrace
21TR0035/39 RO0045	Border Village	Habitation			River, Lacustrine
21YM0091	Inyangmani's Village (Running Walker's Village)	Habitation	0		Bluff, Terrace
21YM0098		Mortuary			Terrace

Table 6.1 – Archeological sites included in this analysis that are located on a River, Bluff, or Terrace setting. Those sites that have green text contain a documented Eastern Dakota component, whereas those sites with blue text are believed, based on this analysis, to contain an undocumented Eastern Dakota component (Mn/OSA files; Witanen-Eggen 2024).

Inferences about the significance of lakes and these major river systems (i.e., bodies of water) to the lifeways of past Dakota peoples may also be made from the ethnographic derived geospatial data created for this analysis, as it can be seen that historic Dakota villages in

Minnesota were generally concentrated around the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers (see Figure 6.1), which coincides with Samuel Pond's (1986 [1908]) statement about mid-19th century settlement patterns. Inferred based on the locations of historic Dakota villages in Minnesota which are mentioned in published ethnographic sources (see Figure 6.1), as well as from the names of these villages, which were often geographic descriptions of their location or association with a particular lake or river.



Map 6.1 – Eastern Dakota villages in Minnesota which are mentioned in published ethnographic sources, shown with a DEM of Minnesota and water features in the state which have Dakota names (Anderson 1997; Bray and Bray 1993; Brower 1901; Durand 1994; S. Eastman 2016; Featherstonhaugh 1847; Folwell 1956, 1961; Hughes 1969; Keating et al. 1824; Landes 1968; Long 1978; Peterson and LaBatte 2012; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Spector 1993; Westerman and White 2012).

Samuel Pond also states that past Dakota peoples had their habitation sites “...located their summer villages in the most secure places, often on islands” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 126), such as at *Wita Tan̄ka* – “large island” – a large island on *Māga Tan̄ka Ota Mde* (Swan Lake) where the *Sisitowan̄* under *Istah̄ba* had their primary summer villages (Durand 1994: 42, 116),

and *Tiŋta Wita* – “prairie island” – known today by the same name given to it by the ancestors of the present-day Prairie Island Indian Community (PIIC) located there. Additionally, although like many Dakotas, they spent the summer months on large buffalo hunts, following the animals across the landscape (Landes 1968), the “Northern” *Sisitoŋwaŋ* spent the winter months on the points and islands in *Mde Hdakiŋyaŋ* (Lake Traverse) (Woolworth 1981: 16), perhaps on *Wita Sica* – “bad, ugly, wicked island” – which is present-day Jensen’s Island, which may have been the historic *Sisitoŋwaŋ* village of *Wita Waziyata Otina* – “Dwellers of the Northern Island” – (Durand 1994: 115; Palmer 2008: 46; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 389). There *Wahpetoŋwaŋ* also had a village on an island in Lake Traverse, which may have been the village of *Wita Otina* – “Dwellers in the Island” – (Landes 1968; Riggs 2004 [1893]: 158; Westerman and White 2012).

Site Number	Site Name	Function	Mounds	Setting
21ML0002	Aquipaguetin Island	Habitation	1	In/Out, River, Lacustrine, Isthmus, Island
21NLae	Johnson Island		0	Island
21SL1248	Prairie Island	Habitation, Mortuary		Island
21WA0001	Schilling Archaeological District	Habitation, Burial Mound	35	Island

Table 6.2 – Archeological sites which are situated on an Island setting (*Mn/OSA files*).

Furthermore, ethnographic records often state that it was common for Dakota habitation sites to be situated near burial mounds/mound groups; 19th century historic accounts of mound locations “often noted their presence on bluffs above Dakota villages, which suggests, conversely, that burial mounds not associated with known villages may be evidence of unidentified village locations” (Westerman and White 2012: 33). The analysis of the archeological data for the sites included in this analysis revealed that this pattern may be seen reflected in the archeological record, as many of the Dakota-related sites are situated on bluffs or terraces and have mounds associated with them (see Table 6.1 above). However, while published ethnographic records often provide some sort of insight into past Dakota lifeways, this analysis

made it clear that it is often very difficult to determine if the archeological data does in fact reflect the ethnographic data.

Name	Translation	County	Notes	References
<i>Hiŋta Haŋkpaŋ Wozu</i>	“where the Moccasin Thong Band plant their gardens”	Yellow Medicine	<i>Sisitoŋwaŋ</i> village – Moccasin Thong Band	Durand 1994: 23-24
<i>Kapoža</i>	“those who travel lightly”	Dakota	<i>Mdewakaŋtoŋwaŋ</i> village – Penichon and Little Crow	Bray and Bray 1993: 43, 255-256; Durand 1994: 40; Folwell 1961: 226
<i>Ĥeyate Otoŋwe</i>	“village set back from the river”	Hennepin	<i>Mdewakaŋtoŋwaŋ</i> village – Maĥpiya Wiçašta (“Cloudman”)	Bray and Bray 1993: 255; Durand 1994: 22, 51; Folwell 1961: 226; Smith 1967: 4
<i>Titaŋka Taŋnina</i>	“old or ancient village”	Hennepin	<i>Mdewakaŋtoŋwaŋ</i> village – Taçaŋku Wašte (“Good Road”)	Durand 1994: 36, 83; Smith 1967: 5
<i>Ohaŋska</i>	“village of the long avenue”	Dakota	<i>Mdewakaŋtoŋwaŋ</i> village – Šuŋka Šapa (“Black Dog”)	Bray and Bray 1993: 255; Durand 1994: 82-83; Smith 1967: 4
<i>Iŋyaŋ Čeyaka Otoŋwe</i>	“little rapids village”	Scott	<i>Waĥpetoŋwaŋ</i> village – Mazomani (“Iron Walker”)	Bray and Bray 1993: 45, 256; Durand 1994: 31; Featherstonhaugh 1847: 298; Folwell 1961: 226; Smith 1967: 11; Spector 1993
<i>Takapsin Toŋwaŋna</i>	“village at the shinny ground (lacrosse ground)”	Scott	<i>Waĥpetoŋwaŋ</i> village – <i>Wakaŋhdi Ohaŋko</i> (“Vivid Lightning” or “The Broken Arm”)	Babcock 1945: 142; Bray and Bray 1993: 46; Durand 1994: 85-86; Featherstonhaugh 1847: 293; Smith 1967: 16
<i>Tewapa</i>	“lily” or “the place of the lily”	Scott	<i>Mdewakaŋtoŋwaŋ</i> village – <i>Huyapa</i> (“Eagle Head”)	Bray and Bray 1993: 44; Durand 1994: 89
<i>Iŋyaŋ Bosdata Otoŋwe</i>	“village of the standing rock”	Goodhue	<i>Mdewakaŋtoŋwaŋ</i> village – <i>Hupahu Sa</i> (“Red Wing”)	Durand 1994: 20, 30; Folwell 1961: 226; Riggs 2004 [1893]
<i>Kiyuksa</i>	“breakers of custom or law”	Winona	<i>Mdewakaŋtoŋwaŋ</i> village – <i>Wapahaša</i> (Wabasha)	Bray and Bray 1993: 255; Durand 1994: 106-107; Folwell 1961: 226; Riggs 2004 [1893]
<i>Oteĥi Otoŋwe Tipi</i>	“village on the thicket”	Brown	<i>Waĥpetoŋwaŋ</i> village	Durand 1994: 67; Riggs 2004 [1893]
<i>Tiŋta Otoŋwe</i>	“prairie village”	Scott	<i>Mdewakaŋtoŋwaŋ</i> village – Šakpe (“Six” or Shakopee)	Bray and Bray 1993: 45, 255; Durand 1994: 76, 89; Folwell 1961: 226; Smith 1967: 6-7
<i>Ti Taŋka Ha/Tipi Taŋka</i>	“large bark habitation”	Brookings, SD	Village known as the “summer lodge”	Bray and Bray 1993: 90; Durand 1994: 92
<i>Uta Pahida</i>	“to gather up acorns”	Lincoln	Chief Lean Grizzly Bear’s territory	Durand 1994: 97; Folwell 1961: 226
<i>Wak Žu Pata</i>	“village at the end of the cottonwood”	Brown	<i>Sisitoŋwaŋ</i> village – Ištaĥba (“Sleepy Eyes”)	Bray and Bray 1993: 53-55, 115; Durand 1994: 102; Folwell 1961: 226

Name	Translation	County	Notes	References
<i>Wakaŋ Ozaŋzaŋ</i>	“sacred light”	Dakota	<i>Mdewakaŋtoŋwaŋ</i> village – Wakaŋ Inaziŋ Wiŋ (Medicine Bottle) at Pine Bend	Bray and Bray 1993: 256; Durand 1994: 99
<i>Ptaŋ Siŋta</i>	“otter tail”	Traverse	Ottertail village at Lake Traverse	Durand 1994: 30, 74
<i>Wiyaka Oti(dan)</i>	“dwellers on the sand” or “little village of Sand River”	Scott	<i>Wahpetoŋwaŋ</i> village	Bray and Bray 1993: 46; Durand 1994: 116-117; Featherstonhaugh 1847: 291, 295; Folwell 1961: 226; Smith 1967: 12, 15; Riggs 2004 [1893]
<i>He Mni Čaŋ</i>	“hill-water-wood”	Goodhue	<i>Mdewakaŋtoŋwaŋ</i> village – <i>Hupahu Ša</i> (“Red Wing”)	Bray and Bray 1993: 255; Durand 1994: 20, 28; Folwell 1961: 226; Riggs 2004 [1893]
<i>Ti Za-ptanŋa</i>	“the five-lodge band”	Deuel, SD	<i>Sisitoŋwaŋ</i> village	Bray and Bray 1993: 65, 95-100; Durand 1994: 6, 23, 97; Riggs 2004 [1893]
<i>Titaŋka Taŋnina or Medatepetonka</i>	“the ancient large village” or “lake of the [two] ancient village”	Rice	<i>Wahpekuŋe</i> village on Cannon Lake – <i>Wamdi Sappa</i> (“Black [War] Eagle”)	Bray and Bray 1993: 123-125, 132; Durand 1994: 53; Folwell 1961: 226
<i>Hokaman</i>	“heron”	Waseca	<i>Wahpekuŋe</i> village –	Bray and Bray 1993: 125-126
<i>Čaŋkaġa Otina Tipi</i>	“dwellers in log (huts)”	N/a	<i>Wahpetoŋwaŋ</i> village	Riggs 2004 [1893]
<i>Wita Otina</i>	“dwellers in the island”	Big Stone	<i>Wahpetoŋwaŋ</i> village	Riggs 2004 [1893]
<i>Wakpa Otoŋwe</i>	“village on the river”	N/a	<i>Wahpetoŋwaŋ</i> village	Riggs 2004 [1893]
<i>Maŋpiya Mani Wožu</i>	“the place where Walking Cloud ⁸¹ planted”	Brown	<i>Wahpetoŋwaŋ</i> village	Durand 1994: 43
<i>Otoŋwe Wakapadaŋ</i>	“rice creek village”	Anoka	<i>Wahpetoŋwaŋ</i> village – tradition states Eagle Head and Good Road were originally from this village.	Durand 1994: 67
<i>Tiŋta Wita</i>	“prairie island”	Goodhue	<i>Mdewakaŋtoŋwaŋ</i> village – <i>Hupahu Ša</i> (“Red Wing”) on Prairie Island	Durand 1994: 89
<i>Cegana Wožu</i>	“Little Kettle’s plangent ground”	Wilmot, SD	Dakota village	Durand 1994: 36
<i>Maya Skadaŋ</i>	“white rock”	Le Sueur	<i>Sisitoŋwaŋ</i> village	Bray and Bray 1993: 48; Durand 1994: 47; Folwell 1961: 226

⁸¹ Durand (1994) state that it was Waling Cloud who had built the bark lodge which the French called “*L’île de la Loge d’Ecorce*” or “Isle of the Bark Lodge.” The Dakotas gave these wooded groves on the prairies the name of *Čaŋ Wita*, that is, “Wood Island” (Durand 1994: 43).

Name	Translation	County	Notes	References
<i>Wayhi Okedan Tiŋta</i>	“prairie where arrow flints are dug”	Le Sueur	Dakota Village of <i>Wamedī Duta</i> (“Red Eagle”) at <i>Tiŋta Maga Bohpa</i> (“prairie where the swan fell to earth”)	Bray and Bray 1993: 47; Durand 1994: 89
<i>Magataŋka Ota Mde</i>	“lake of many swans”	Nicollet	<i>Sisitoŋwaŋ</i> village – Istahba (“Sleepy Eyes”)	Bray and Bray 1993: 49-52; Durand 1994: 42; Folwell 1961: 226

Table 6.3 – Dakota villages, communities, divisions, etc. mentioned in published ethnographic sources and historic documents and maps.

Site Visibility in the Archeological Record

As past Dakota peoples generally practiced seasonal migration settlement/subsistence cycles (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994; Landes 1968), they interacted with the natural environment(s) of their habited spaces in Minnesota in different ways throughout the year, which has resulted in varied visibility of past Dakota lifeway practices in the archeological record. For example, their summer habitation sites and the surrounding areas were often associated with other activity areas such as planting grounds, Medicine ceremonies, Dakota ball games and feasts (Eastman 2022); they were generally hubs around which other seasonal activities revolved, and were therefore utilized the most throughout the year, as they were often resource acquisition “base camps” during the summer, and it was there that they stored caches of food for during the winter (Bray and Bray 1993; Landes 1968; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Spector 1993; Westerman and White 2012). Furthermore, since “...during the winter months camps were made wherever deer or furs were to be found” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 4), the location of their summer habitations sites made it easier for explorers, missionaries, etc. to locate them and gather ethnographic information about them. Hence, based on their locations – on or in proximity to major river systems, i.e., the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers, which are where Samuel Pond (1986 [1908]) states the majority of Dakota villages were in Minnesota – it may be inferred that many of the past Dakota villages which are mentioned in ethnographic records were summer villages, such as

Inyan Çeyaka Otoŋwe (Spector 1993). The Dakota villages included in the Table below were not necessarily all summer villages, though they are ones which were mentioned in numerous published ethnographic sources, such as the journals of 19th century explorers.

Contrariwise to Dakota summer habitation sites which were larger logistical bases, “fixed towns or villages” (Winchell 1911: 397), that facilitated a more sedentary lifeway, the more expedient winter habitation sites, which were essentially hunting base camps, of past Dakota peoples were occupied for comparatively shorter periods of time, during which they lived in the buffalo or deer skin lodges called *Wakeya* which were used during travel and winter (Bray and Bray 1993; Durand 1994: 92; S. Eastman 2016 [1971]; Landes 1968; Riggs 1969 [1887], 2004 [1893]; Spector 1985, 1993; Westerman and White 2012; Winchell 1911), and were suited for a more nomadic lifestyle. A result of their seasonally directed increase in nomadism, and the fact that the ground was frozen and covered with snow, is virtual invisibility of winter habitation and/or hunting base camp sites in the archeological record. It may be argued that this pattern may be seen reflected in, and/or interpreted from, information (or lack thereof) in published ethnographic resources as well, as there is very little data to be found in these records regarding the winter activities of past Dakota peoples. Although there are a handful of examples to be found in published ethnographic sources which refer or pertain to the winter activities of past Dakota peoples, such as resource procurement practices in general, or the general locales and sometimes specific locations where these activities were carried out (e.g., *Mde Owaŋjiti* – “lake where they spend the winter” – probably present-day Timber Lake, Nicollet County [Durand 1994: 52]), semi-nomadic lifeway practices are generally more difficult to identify in the archeological record, which in turn makes it more challenging to determine if the archeological record reflects the ethnographic data. As Gibbon states, “A consequence of the highly mobile

lifeway of these pioneer foragers and their subsistence focus on larger animals is the near invisibility of their remains in the archaeological record...Sites of the lifeway are for the most part scattered, small, artifact-poor, generally nonaccumulative, and located in upland positions overlooking places where game might congregate” (Gibbon 2012: 60).

This “variation” in the visibility of certain lifeway practice-related sites in the archeological record may be interpreted as the reflection of environmentally derived variability in Dakota belief systems which is reflected or “observable” in the archeological record. That is, the significant seasonality of Minnesota’s environment and the variety of resources available depending on the environmental setting(s) induced past Dakota peoples to alter their lifeway practices accordingly, which may be interpreted as an example of environmentally directed variance in belief system-driven behaviors, and may be seen reflected in the archeological record. “Because bands and tribes are defined in part by differing settlement patterns, their presence or absence can sometimes be identified archeologically by the degree of settlement agglomeration or the presence of substantial buildings and large villages. Other material clues to the presence or absence include the presence or absence of the residue of domesticated plant foods” (Gibbon 2003: 21-22). In other words, a lack of evidence is still essentially evidence. Thus, as past Dakota lifeways were in part directed by their belief systems, i.e., seasonally directed semi-nomadism, and there is less evidence of winter and hunting-related activities visible in the archeological record, and this lack of visibility may be seen as archeological evidence for the hypothesis posited for this analysis that environmentally derived variability in Dakota belief systems may be seen in the archeological record.

A lifeway practice of past Dakota peoples which may be interpreted as having been directed in part by the environment(s) of their habited spaces in Minnesota, and thereby an

expression of their belief systems, that is often found in ethnographic data and which has the potential to be seen reflected in the archeological data pertains to the treatment of their deceased, to wit, the secondary interment of their relations' remains in burial mounds after a primary interment in/on a burial scaffold. That is, according to ethnographic data discussed in preceding chapters, in general the preferred spot of past Dakota peoples for the secondary interment of their deceased was on a *paha* or *hé* (a hill or a conspicuous point) near their villages (Bray and Bray 1993; Brower 1901; Catlin 1989: 275; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Westerman and White 2012: 32). For example, it was on the bluffs above *Wakanj Tipi* (Dayton's Bluff Cave – 21RA0028), which was “[t]he common intersection of the roads of communication between the three original villages was” (Durand 1994: 99), where Joseph Nicollet states the Dakota brought some of their dead, “...placing them on scaffolds then later burying them in the adjacent mounds” (c.f. Bray and Bray 1993: 99)⁸², and it was here in 1766 that Jonathan Carver observed that the area of *Wakanj Tipi* seemed to have been “a general place of interment” (Riggs 2004 [1893]: 179). Additionally, “Historical accounts of mound locations in the nineteenth century often noted their presence on bluffs above Dakota village sites, which suggests, conversely, that burial mounds not associated with known villages may be evidence of unidentified village locations” (Westerman and White 2012: 33). Given the potential for this ethnographic data to be reflected in the archeological record, it may be interpreted that sites such as the Kennealy Creek Village/Black Dog's Village site (21DK0035) and the Black Dog Mound Group/Oanoska

⁸² At least 19 burial mounds originally existed on the bluff above *Wakanj Tipi* and 18 more were located along the southeastern bluff less than a mile away (Gould and Rock 2016).

Mound Group site (21DK0008)⁸³, the Kennealy/Black Dog Historic Burials I site (21DK0025), and the Black Dog Historic Burials II site (21DK0026) are examples of this lifeway practice.

Thus, it may be possible to formulate interpretations about Dakota belief systems and subsequent behavioral practices in relation to the connections between the living and the deceased were closely related, as it was not uncommon for past Dakota peoples to have their cemeteries within proximity to their primary or larger (i.e., summer) habitations sites, and further support for this may be seen in the table below, which shows that 23 of the sites included in this analysis have been interpreted as having functioned as habitation sites, with 13 of them also having mounds associated with them, 11 of which contain a documented Eastern Dakota component.

Site Number(s)	Site Name	Function	Mounds	Setting
21BS0051	Toqua Lakes IV (Sorensen Field)	Habitation		Isthmus
21DK0031	Sibley House/American Fur Company (overlaps w/ 21DK17)	Trading Post, Homestead, Habitation	0	Terrace, Bluff, Junction, Hill
21DK0035	Kennealy Creek Village/Black Dog's Village	Habitation	0	Stream, Flood, River
21GD0003	Silvernale Village (overlaps w/ 21GD17)	Habitation	0	Terrace, Junction
21GD0017	Silvernale Mound Group/Industrial Park Mounds (overlaps W/21GD3)	Mortuary, Habitation	226	Terrace
21GD0258	McClelland Site A	Habitation		Upland
21ML0002	Aquipaguetin Island	Habitation	1	In/Out, River, Lacustrine, Isthmus, Island
21ML0006	Indian School/Robbins Mounds/H. & J. Ayer's Trading Post	Habitation, Burial mound, Trading post	16	Lakeshore
21ML0009	Leland R. Cooper Mounds (same as 21ML16)	Burial mound, Mortuary, Ricing, Habitation	6	Lakeshore, Peninsula
21ML0011	Petaga Point (overlaps w/21ML63)	Habitation, Mortuary	4	Upland, In/Out, Lakeshore
21ML0012	L.A. Wilford/Griffin (same as 21ML18)	Ricing?, Habitation	53	Lakeshore, Marsh

⁸³ Although site 21DK0008 does not contain a documented Eastern Dakota component, it indubitably was a site which was utilized by past Dakota peoples on the basis of ethnographic records, as well as the inclusion of "Oanoska" in the name of the archeological site, which was a name for the Black Dog village (Durand 1994).

Site Number(s)	Site Name	Function	Mounds	Setting
21NL0073	Traverse des Sioux (contains 21NL5, 60, 61, & 70-overlaps w/21NL50)	Habitation, Mortuary, Ghost Town, Trading post, Sawmill, Mission	6	River
21Nlas	Traverse des Sioux (contains 21NL5, 60, 61, & 70; overlaps w/21NL50)	Habitation, Mortuary, Ghost Town, Trading post, Sawmill, Mission	6	River
21PO0047	Barsness Site 1	Habitation, Burial mound	1	Lacustrine
21RW0011	Lower Sioux Agency	Trading post, Mission, Agency, Farmstead, Habitation	1	Bluff, Upland, Glacial, Alluvial, Terrace, Junction, Bluff base
21SC0002	Shakopee Village (contains 21SC40)	Burial mound, Habitation, Mission	28	Terrace
21SC0027	Little Rapids	Habitation, Trading post	29	Terrace
21SC0033	Murphy's Landing Terrace	Habitation	0	Terrace
21SL1248	Prairie Island	Habitation, Mortuary		Island
21TR0035/39RO0045	Border Village	Habitation	0	River, Lacustrine
21WA0001	Schilling Archaeological District	Habitation, Burial mound	35	Island
21YM0091	Inyangmani's Village (Running Walker's Village)	Habitation	0	Bluff, Terrace
21YM0097		Habitation	0	Upland

Table 6.4 – Archeological sites in this analysis which have been interpreted to have function as habitation site (Mn/OSA files). which have green text are archeological sites which contain a documented Eastern Dakota component; those with blue text are sites which potentially contain an undocumented Eastern Dakota component.

However, while it is alluring to attempt to make inferences about and/or establish cultural affiliations between archeological descendent and archeological antecedent Dakota peoples at certain sites based on ethnographic data, this is not always possible. For example, it is generally not always possible to positively identify/link burial mounds as archeological antecedent to Dakota peoples, this mortuary practice was not limited to Dakota peoples in this area; “[i]t has been estimated that Minnesota once had some 10,000 burial mounds scattered throughout the state,” and “[t]he burial-mound concept was elaborated as the Woodland cultures grew, and in central and northern Minnesota, burials in mounds persisted until the arrival of Europeans”

(Johnson 1988: 16, 19). That is, while it is known from the ethnographic data that past Dakota peoples typically interred their deceased in burial mounds (following an initial scaffold burial) (Bray and Bray 1993; Brower 1901; Gibbon 2012; Johnson 1988; Landes 1968; S. Pond 1986 [1908]; Riggs 2004 [1893]; Spector 1993; Westerman and White 2012; Wilford 1941; Wilford, Johnson, and Vicinus 1969). Moreover,

...[i]t is also difficult to attribute these [*which may be assigned to the late prehistoric or Late Woodland period*] mounds to the Sioux or Dakota Indians except on a geographic basis. The mounds lack any associated protohistoric or early historic European trade goods, the presence of which would increase the probability of Dakota origins. Trade goods and other historic materials found in the mounds accompanied intrusive nineteenth century Dakota burials and do not date the original mound construction (Wilford, Johnson, and Vicinus 1969: 51).

As such, because past Dakota peoples often ‘repurposed’ then-extant burial mounds, such as at Indian Mounds Park (21RA0010) where “...[t]he many human burials found within the mounds...exhibit a variety of burial forms and appear to have been made over a span of almost 2,000 years between about 200 B.C. to 1800 A.D.” (Woolworth 1981: 46 A), it is unreasonable and risky to assume and/or claim that all the mounds at such sites were originally created and utilized by the Dakotas. Another example of issues related to attempts to link antecedent and descendant Dakota peoples to particular archeological sites based on the ethnographic data are those Dakota place name sites which are associated with their beliefs about rock/stone or *inȳaŋ*, such as effigy and rock art sites, like stone cairns and effigies, pictograph or petroglyph sites, quarry sites, etc., – e.g., *Inȳaŋ Wiçašta Kaġapi* – “large man made of stone” – (Durand 1994: 33; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 201, 248, 568), *Çetaŋ Kaġapi* – “where they made the hawks” – (Durand 1994: 12; Riggs 1992 [1890]: 99, 247-248, 421), Carver’s Cave (21RA0027) and the Stillwater site (21WA0001), as well as the Dakota use of quarry sites such as *Waŋhi Yukaŋ* – “where this is flint or arrowhead” – which is archeological site 21MW0008 (Durand 1994: 104; Riggs 1992

[1890]: 252, 628), and the Pipestone Quarries or *Çanduhupa Śa Kapi* which is archeological site 21PP0002, etc.). However, it is generally not possible to confidently link archeological antecedent and archeological descendant Dakota peoples to these types of sites, which may be attributed to the fact that in many instances there are other archeological components present at most of these sites, some going back more than 1,000 years and which are not demonstrably linked to Dakota ancestry. Furthermore, dating rock features such as this one is notoriously difficult, and “It is not possible at this time to definitely associate Minnesota’s rock art with specific, contemporary Indian peoples” (Dudzik 1995: 3). Hence, the ability of the archeological data to determine if it does in fact reflect ethnographic data is limited in some instances by the abilities of current archeological analysis methods.

Moreover, although sites such as these may have been adopted/incorporated into the lifeway practices and belief systems, and thereby reinforce the importance of such aspects of the natural environments of their habited spaces in Dakota belief systems, that does not necessarily mean that they are of Dakota origin nor that they were the only peoples to which such sites were important. Therefore, it is crucial to maintain an awareness of socio-cultural interactions with and connections to a site throughout the process of interpretation, and it may be argued that an ethnoarcheological approach is well-suited to this. That said, what is important at this time is not to demonstrate, through archeological investigations and published ethnographic records, whether sites such as these are of Dakota origin, but to acknowledge and/or accept that they became important to Dakota people and were incorporated into their belief systems.

Summary

The interpretation of Dakota encultured landscapes and archeological data from specific places noted to be associated with Dakota peoples or their close ancestors, either by

archeologists or historians, revealed several things. Namely, through the examination of Dakota beliefs, traditions, and histories using Dakota cultural information found in published ethnographic sources the immediate links among those aspects of culture and the natural environments in which Dakota people live and have lived are manifest most clearly in place names, or toponyms, which encode culturally meaningful facts on and about their conceived landscapes. Additionally, while it is possible in some places to elucidate reflections of this ethnographic data in the archeological record, there is not much archeological data available at this point in time from which further interpretations may confidently be made.

6.2 – Discussion

This comparative analysis of archeological sites which have been inferred to have Eastern Dakota cultural affiliations to Dakota-related ethnographic data has made it evident that despite the fact that Dakota peoples were all over what is now the state of Minnesota which has been/encompassed their homelands for a vast amount of time, there is very little representation of them in the archeological record. Although it is possible in some places to link historic Dakota peoples to particular regions in some instances and certain archeological sites in others by way of ethnographic data found in published sources, there is very little/comparably less information available and/or to be found in reports from previous archeological investigations which has the ability/potential to make links between archeological antecedent and archeological consequent Dakota peoples.

Minnesota has many thousands of archaeological sites, but only a few thousand have been identified and their locations recorded, and even fewer have been excavated by archaeologists. The ‘data bank’ or collected information we have today is only a sample of the record of prehistoric peoples in Minnesota. As towns and cities grow, as lakeshores continue to be developed, and as modern alteration of the landscape of Minnesota accelerates, the archaeological record continues to

diminish. Thus there is an urgent need for the protection and investigation of undisturbed archaeological sites in Minnesota. Knowledge of the cultural heritage of Native Americans is important to all of us, and the record of human history in Minnesota is an important part of the history of humans on this earth (Johnson 1988: 4-5).

6.2.1 – Data Collection and Analysis

The poignant lack of insightful archeological data about past Dakota peoples in Minnesota was especially discernable early on in this investigation, as it was revealed that there are only 44 archeological sites in Minnesota that have a documented Eastern Dakota component, and there are only eight sites⁸⁴ with a documented Western Dakota component, two of which (21RW0011 and 21YM0091) were included in this analysis. Therefore, the decision was made to select additional archeological sites which I believed to potentially contain undocumented Eastern Dakota components to include in this analysis. Since this process was conducted during the initial stages of this analysis, I lacked the knowledge that I acquired throughout the process, it is probable, if not guaranteed, that there are numerous additional sites, some of which I encountered while I conducted my investigations of published ethnographic records, which likely have the potential to be included in an analysis such as this. However, given time constraints and the overall grand size of the undertaking this analysis has proven to be, it was decided to not go back and incorporate any additional sites that I encountered and which I believed to have the potential to have an Eastern Dakota component into the analysis. It is worth noting that many of these additional archeological sites were ‘discovered’ whilst investigating published ethnographic records (see Table 6. below). A select few of these sites, two of which were

⁸⁴ The Red Rock site (21HE0334); the Kenneth Kivley II (Ft. Greene? John Jacob Astor’s American Fur Post Co.?) site (21LP0015); Pipestone National Monument (21PP0002); the Lower Sioux Agency (21RW0011); the Gillingham sites (21YM00030015); the Homme site (21YM0089); and the Inyangmani’s Village (Running Walker’s Village) site (21YM0091) (Mn/OSA files).

included, though not fully incorporated/included, into the dataset, yet there are a great many more that may be added to this analysis at a later date.

While the paucity of archeological sites which contain documented Eastern Dakota components may be an explanation for this situation, it may be argued that the archeological data available for those limited sites which do contain documented Eastern Dakota is found severely left wanting as there is a definite lack of insightful information to be found regarding Dakota archeology in Minnesota. This is not to say that the archeological work for which these reports have been prepared does not contribute to the archeological record of Minnesota but rather that the problem is that the work is generally low-level research. That is, rather than the meticulous, research-oriented scientific collection of archeological data for purposes of interpretation of past events and cultures, much of the archeological work that has been conducted in Minnesota has been primarily for purposes of CRM (cultural resource management). Furthermore, since CRM work is generally carried out for construction and development projects which are inherently constrained by the nature of these projects – that they are generally limited by finances and a time schedule – it may be argued that the capitalistic consumeristic nature of modern development has inherently directed the field of archeology by promulgating what may be viewed as cavalier carelessness to archeological practices and preferential treatment of archeological data. Even though construction and development activities which require CRM investigations do contribute to cultural resource awareness, academics appear to have thus far struggled to capitalize on these contributions which have potential to further archeological knowledge to the archeological record. This begs the question of what actions must be taken in order to establish and foster a better line of communication between CRM- and research-based

archeological methods, not only for the advancement of the field of archeology, but for the sake of future investigations and research as well.

Although there is a perceived lack of archeological sites with documented Eastern Dakota components which may have been associated with ethnographically documented Dakota place name sites, this does not necessarily mean that the archeological record fails to reflect the ethnographic data. That is, undoubtedly there are numerous factors, such as a general lack of insightful archeological data in reports of investigations, inconsistencies and short-fallings in the interpretation and/or identification of cultural components, lack of explication for classification of cultural affiliations, the nature of the project itself for which the investigation has been conducted, etc., which have contributed to the current situation, to wit, our comprehension of Dakota archeology in Minnesota, as well as the archeological record in Minnesota in general.

6.2.2 – Future Research

With the above issues in mind, it behooves us to remember that skewed, incomplete, lack of, etc., data acquired from past archeological investigations is not fundamentally useless to future research endeavors. As such, although investigations may be directed and/or guided by both the nature of the project or the individual(s) conducting/in charge of the investigation, it is pertinent to conduct archeological investigations in a scientific and holistic manner; we must strive to collect all cultural data to the best of our abilities so that archeologists who may analyze the data in the future for research purposes have the means by which to form interpretations which may contribute to our understanding of the archeological record.

Additionally, it is axiomatic that communication with living Elders and tribal members is indispensable to good archeology, as it is their knowledge of their history which can not only help us to locate archeological sites which they may be connected to, but it can also give us

insight into their belief systems which may aid in our understanding of their presence in the archeological record. To that point, although it is reasonable to infer Dakota connections to many archeological sites based on various data, the contents of the sites that attest to those connections remain only loosely understood and very difficult to extrapolate more broadly, such as in efforts linking old Dakota villages to even older villages and cemeteries with which they share space along the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers. This difficulty may be somewhat resolvable by re-analysis of the contents of previous excavations, however, given the imperfections and imprecisions in previously gathered data, it is not clear that this is truly possible. Instead, it is advisable to undertake new excavations, where possible, using better methods coupled with a more thorough understanding, potentially aided by this analysis as a framework for expectations, of what one is looking for in investigating Dakota archeology – including directly involving Dakota people in the investigation of their own heritage, as “[o]ral records and the archaeological record interact in intricate ways to both reveal and obscure connections between ancient and modern communities” (Echo-Hawk 2000: 285).

Furthermore, it may be argued that this analysis has essentially established a rough model which may be used for future investigations into Dakota belief systems, and their culture in general, and aid and/or contribute to an understanding of Dakota archeology in Minnesota, as this comparative analysis of published ethnographic records and historic accounts to the archeological record of Minnesota has made it clear that while Dakota archeology in Minnesota is drastically under-researched and lacking in general, there is a fair amount of ethnoarcheological work that can be done which has the potential to contribute to it.

Conclusion

This investigation has shown that the natural environment has had an influence on and/or contributed in part to the belief systems of Dakota people living in Minnesota, support for which has been made with numerous examples and expressions of Dakota enculturation of the natural landscape(s) in *Mini Sota Makoçe*, to wit, the connections to certain areas and aspects of the land which are maintained with place names and associated oral histories and traditions. However, while it is possible in some instances to formulate interpretations about the relationship between Dakota belief systems and the natural environment to an extent, it has been made evident that it is generally not possible to discern environmentally derived variability in Dakota belief systems through the use of an ethnoarcheological approach as this investigation failed to provide sufficient evidence to support the hypothesis that the archeological record may be used to support this relationship, as there is not much at all in the archeological record that has clear relevance. Although it is evident that environmental variability in Minnesota contributed in part to the behaviors and actions of past Dakota peoples, as Samuel Pond states, “Although the language, manners, and dress of the different divisions were not precisely alike, they were essentially one people...They considered themselves as forming part of a great people” (S. Pond 1986 [1908]: 4). With this in mind, it is paramount to remember and acknowledge that *Mini Sota Makoçe* is first and foremost a Dakota place; it is a land which is part of a cultural group of people who are unified through their kinship with each other and the land.

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APPENDIX I

Minnesota State Historic Preservation (MHS) Office Arch[a]eology Site Database Metadata

Site Type Descriptions

[DESCRIPT]:

SA – Single Artifact (“find spot”)

LS – Lithic Scatter (a site with only lithic materials; i.e., tools, flakes, fire-cracked rock, etc.)

AS – Artifact Scatter (any multiple artifact site with more than just lithics)

EW – Earthwork (includes mounds, fortifications, ricing pits, tec.)

SR – Structural Ruin
RALN – Rock Alignment
RART – Rock Art (includes pictographs, petroglyphs, boulder outlines)
CEM – Cemetery, Burial (non-mound)
HD – Historic Documentation (e.g., ghost towns, trading posts, etc. in records but no field survey)

SHIP – Shipwreck
SM – Shell Midden
TR – Trail/Road
FEAT – Feature (e.g., pit, depression)
STR – Standing Structure/Building

Site Function
[FUNCTION]:

Agency – Indian Agency
BMound – Burial Mound
Battle – Battleground
Bone – Bone Bed
Butcher – Butchering Site
CCC – Civilian Conservation Corps Camp
Cache – Cache
FMill – Flour Mill
Fac – Factory
Farm – Farmstead
Fish – Fishing
Fort – Fort
GT – Ghost Town
Garden – Gardening

Gather – Gathering
Hab – Habitation (aboriginal camp, village)
Home – Homestead
House – single domestic dwelling
Kill – large mammal kill
LogCamp – Logging Camp
LogDam – Logging Dam
Mine – Mining
Miss – Mission
Mort – Mortuary
Oth – Other
Pglyph – Petroglyph

Picto – Pictograph
Portage – Portage Trail
Quarry – Quarry
Resid – Residential area (recent)
Rice – Ricing
SMill – Saw Mill
Stage – Stage Stop
Sugar – Maple Sugaring
TPost – Trading Post
Trans – Transportation
Wcraft – Watercraft
Wshop – Lithic Workshop

Physiographic Setting
[SETTING]:

Hill – Hilltop
Upland – Undifferentiated Upland
Marsh – Marsh, Swamp, Fen, Bog
Bluff – Bluff Edge
Alluvial – Alluvial Fan
Stream – Intermittent Stream

Junction – Confluence of Streams/Rivers
River – General Riverine
Terrace – Terrace
Flood – Floodplain
Lacustrine – General Lake Area
Lakeshore – Lakeshore
Island – Island

BluffB – Bluff Base
Cove/Bay – Cove or Bay
In/Out – Inlet/Outlet
Isthmus – Isthmus
Glacial – Glacial Beach Ridge
Cave – Cave/Rock shelter
Pen – Peninsula

Ceramics/Pottery
[CERAMIC]:

Bd – Blackduck

BE – Blue Earth

Br – Brainerd

Ca – Cambria
CR – Clam River
FL – Fox Lake
GO – Great Oasis
HL – Howard Lake
Ka – Kathio
LB – Lake Benton

La – Laurel
Lm – La Moille Thick
Ma – Malmö
Oa – Oneota
Og – Ogechie
On – Onamia
Or – Orr

SC – St. Croix
Sg – Sorg
Sk – Selkirk
SL – Sandy Lake
Sn – Silvernale

Lithics
[LITHIC]:

deb – debitage
fcr – fire-cracked rock
ground – ground/pecked stone
lithic – unspecified lithic material
pp – projectile point
tool – other flaked stone tool

These specific types of projectile points are used, if possible, while others may be used if necessary.

AB – Agate Basin
Al – Alberta
Ang – Angostura
bi – bifurcate
BV – Browns Valley
Cl – Clovis
cr – corner-notched
DI – Dalton
Ed – Eden

fl – fluted
Fo – Folsom
Fred – Fredrick
HG – Hell Gap
Hol – Holcomb
lc – lanceolate
Mid – Midland
Ms – Meserve
Oxbow – Oxbow

Par – Parkdale-eared
Pla – Plainview
Pl – Plano
Rd – Raddatz
Sb – Scottsbluff
sn – side-notched
st – stemmed
Steuben – Steuben
tr – triangular unnotched

APPENDIX II

A link to an Excel document of detailed translations of the Dakota place names catalogued in Durand's (1994) ethnographic publication can be found here: [Ethnographic Toponym Site Data2](#).

Those entries with orange text are deities, while those with purple text are the names of Dakota individuals or the name(s) they used for other Native American tribes with which they were known to have interacted with.