A Study of the Food Practices, Economic Position, and Conception of Health on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation

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A STUDY OF THE FOOD PRACTICES, ECONOMIC POSITION, AND CONCEPTION OF HEALTH ON THE PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION

BY

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A STUDY OF THE FOOD PRACTICES, ECONOMIC POSITION, AND CONCEPTION OF HEALTH ON THE PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Science, and is acceptable as meeting the thesis requirements for this degree, but without implying that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

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KENNETH H. SKOGEN
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The Teton Dakota Indians of the northern Great Plains have stirred the imagination of the people in America since they were first encountered by the early explorers. The frontiersmen found them living in the woodlands of the western Great Lakes where they were settled farmers. As the pioneer settlements moved westward, the Dakotas were driven from the Great Lakes area by the Chippewa who had been supplied with rifles by their assailants and had an unquestioned military advantage. A century of warfare between the Chippewa and the Dakotas finally came to an end when the former group had occupied the woodland farms of northern Minnesota and the latter had migrated on to the plains.

After wandering and fighting as they retreated westward, the Teton Dakotas were gradually transformed from peaceful woodsmen into skilled hunters and feared warriors. They reached the Missouri River in the eighteenth century, and about this time acquired the horse which had diffused onto the Plains from the tribes of the Southwest. They finally crossed the Missouri River in about 1750, and established themselves as the mounted warriors and courageous buffalo hunters who dominated the area for the next one hundred years. Historians have fully recorded how they were the most severe block to the westward expansion of settlements for several generations. While the Black Hills of South Dakota became their spiritual home, they were a mobile
people, following the seasonal movements of the vast buffalo herd. The Teton Dakotas were usually widely distributed in seven great bands occupying most of Dakota Territory west of the Missouri River.

The Teton Dakota warriors were restrained on reservations in western South Dakota following their inevitable defeat by the frontier cavalry. Today many of their descendants are still living in restricted areas. The largest number are found on the Pine Ridge Reservation in southwestern South Dakota where the remnants of the Oglala band, famous for their war chiefs, Crazy Horse and Red Cloud, are presently living. Their reservation experience has not been characterized by refulgent understanding of their conditions and needs. Contrariwise, they have suffered material and cultural losses which have been evidenced in a declining level of community living. Their impoverished economic condition is very apparent, and this is closely associated with the inadequacy of their diet and the continued poor conditions of health and nutrition among the reservation residents. These conditions pose problems which the administrative functionaries on the reservations are attempting to solve, but they need to understand the casual interrelationship of these factors in order to introduce corrective programs.

It is the question of determining the interaction of the Pine Ridge Indians economic position with his food practices and his health that serves as the focus of this study. If family income is excessively low, it obviously could be anticipated that consumption
of food would not provide adequate nutrition, and that the family members would tend to be in poor health. In order to test this hypothesis two small communities on the Pine Ridge Reservation were arbitrarily selected for convenience in obtaining data from the storekeepers operating trading posts in the communities of Wounded Knee and Kyle. It was possible to observe the buying practices of the residents of these communities and to gain the collective results of the storekeepers experience in selling commodities to the Indians. In addition it was possible to obtain a fairly accurate estimate of the income of the families which traded with the storekeepers and an adequate index of their evaluation of their own health. It was assumed that the frequency with which the Pine Ridge people sought medical treatment in a clinic or hospital would provide a good index of his attitude toward his own physical welfare.

The major hypothesis of this study then can be stated as the functional relationship between these three variables: economic position, buying practices, and conception of health. A formal restatement of the major hypothesis would be: The Pine Ridge Indian's contemporary buying practices are functionally related to his economic position in the community and his conception of his own health. The elaboration of this thesis requires a series of steps which are outlined in the following chapters.

Chapter I will briefly review the basic food practices of the Teton Dakota Indians as reported in the literature describing elements
of their traditional culture. This will provide continuity with the past, and show that food patterns provide a definite structuring of the social system based on the kind of socialization that takes place in the immediate family circle as the child is introduced to eating customs. The changes in traditional food patterns during the reservation period will be reviewed and vestiges of the past will occasionally be glimpsed as the history of food practices approaches the present.

Chapter II will attempt to survey the contemporary buying practices of the Pine Ridge Sioux in relation to his income, and from field observations to report some of the non-objective aspects of eating habits which result from the shift from traditional Indian customs to emulation of the standards of western South Dakota ranchers in the light of his meager income. The use of food at special occasions, importance of herbs and roots in traditional beliefs, limitations on credit buying of food, and the distribution of surplus commodities will be discussed as these factors may reflect on the Indian family's position in his community and in society.

Chapter III will discuss the discontinuities which are prevalent in the contemporary culture of the Pine Ridge Reservation as a product of de-culturization. The perplexing problem of a non-agricultural people occupying small parcels of marginal agricultural land on which they are unable to provide even a bare subsistence will be analyzed. The related difficulties with disease and alcohol; limited educational opportunity, employment skills, and recreational
facilities are a function of this basic discontinuity in their economic situation.

The conflict which exists between traditional and modern modes of living on the reservation will be treated in Chapter IV. The accelerated rate of change in the larger society dominated by a nuclear age casts a shadow of unrest over the solemn usages of the Indian's past. As the reservation resident is amalgamated into the contemporary culture of western South Dakota, a myriad of social psychological conflicts become apparent in his behavior.

After reviewing the background for the problem of this thesis, an attempt will be made to investigate empirically the functional relationship between three crucial variables: food practices, economic position, and conception of health. It will also define the problem and derive the major sub-hypotheses, providing a theoretical model for the analysis of the problem.

In the companion Chapter V a review of the literature provides a theoretical basis for the study. Starting with social psychological theories of motivation for human behavior and ending with principles of social change, the search will be made in the context of the elements of the social system as outlined by Loomis.* The ultimate theoretical framework attempts an elaboration of Loomis'

theory of the social system, by prefixing a theory of behavior and appending a theory of social change.

The statistical analysis of the data collected in a field study of two communities on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation will be presented in Chapter VI. The schedules obtained from the reservation respondents contained questions which revealed the interrelationship of an antecedent variables - the contemporary food practices; an intervening variable - economic position; and a dependent variable - conception of health. The working hypotheses designed to statistically test the association between these variables are stated in null form, and the chi-square test of significance differences is utilized to reject those hypotheses in which a positive association is assumed.

Chapter VII explains certain conclusions and implications resulting from the significant findings of this study. These results are stated tentatively, since it is essential to recall that reservation conditions are undergoing some far reaching changes. The reservation food practices might logically be assumed to be closely related to the health of the residents, but changes in the individual's economic welfare can vitally change this relationship in the future.
CHAPTER I

"TRAVELING INTO AN UNKNOWN LAND"

Over two hundred years ago a small group of the westernmost bands of the Sioux Nation were slowly forced into the Great Plains region along the Missouri River. These were the people who had encountered the final major battle with the Chippewa at the outpost of Kathio, located on the southwestern shore of Mille Lacs Lake in north-central Minnesota. The ancestors of the Teton Sioux, who had lived for centuries in the wooded areas near the Great Lakes, were now to encounter a new homeland devoid of forests and which was poorly adapted to primitive agriculture. They moved on foot and with their dog travois, but within a short period the "sacred animal," the white man's horse, was acquired, and their way of life was rather quickly transformed from a farming economy, utilizing the products of the forest, to a hunting economy, utilizing the horse and the buffalo which grazed in great herds on the northern plains. Today the Teton Sioux comprises one of the largest and most colorful divisions of the Indians in North America, known to all Americans as the Sioux Tribe.

The distinctive mode of life which characterized the Indian culture of the American plains has been designated by Robert H. Lowie:

The Plains people, then, were typically large-game hunters, dependent for a considerable part of their diet on buffalo and using buffalo hides and deerskins for clothing and receptacles. Unlike the Basin and Plateau tribes to the west,
they made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits. Houses of stone or adobe, such as are still inhabited by the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, were wholly absent. During at least part of the year the Plains Indians lived in conical skin-covered tents (tipis); these were larger than the similarly shaped tents of the Mackenzie River region to the north and further differed from them and from the occasionally skin-covered Eastern woodland tents in having a special arrangement for a smoke vent. Characteristic was the seasonal grouping of tipis in a large circle.1

As the people of the Teton Dakota band made the transition from the forest and lake country to the prairieland, they adopted new methods of acquiring a livelihood. Their traditional food habits had to be adjusted to the availability of different sources of food. They began to become more and more heavily dependent upon hunting the buffalo, the flesh of which was cut into strips and dried. Buffalo meat was supplemented by deer, antelope, and small game. In the autumn they hunted the ducks, geese, and small game birds which were plentiful at that time of the year, and the women would gather chokecherries, sandcherries, and wild plums in the Sand Hills region. The preservation of these foods by the dehydrating rays of the sun was wisely combined in the nutritious and concentrated food, wasna. This form of pemmican was prepared by laboriously pounding dried meat with chokecherries, and then stuffing this hot pemmican into buffalo bladders. The Indians would go to great lengths in preparing this special dish and the children looked forward to eating this special food with eager anticipation. Wasna was a fine food "gritty to the

teeth from the crushed chokecherry pits but enriched by the nutty
taste of the kernels, and most pleasing to the taste of the Indians."^2

The food quest occupied a significant part of the time and
energy of the Dakota people, requiring them to migrate in a seasonal
cycle that was determined by the movements of the buffalo herds, and
demanding cultural patterns that were in conformity with the demands
of their natural environment. The hunting of the buffalo was the
essential institution, but it was supplemented by the gathering of
the fruits, seeds, and herbs which grew naturally in the area. These
basic economic activities were associated with the patterned behavior
in all other areas of the Dakota culture. In this chapter, the major
areas which require more detailed discussion are (1) buffalo hunting
and (2) food gathering and (3) ramifications of the food quest in the
total culture pattern.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BUFFALO IN TETON CULTURE

The Indians of the Great Plains region depended primarily on
the buffalo for their livelihood, preferring hunting activities to
that of farming and the raising of grain. These great herds of buffalo
profoundly shaped the way of life for these early Americans.

Indeed, in a few other areas of the world has a single animal
played so conspicuous a role in the culture of a people.

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^2Mari Sandoz, These Were the Sioux, New York: Hastings House,
Publishers, 1961, p. 31
Although the Tetons hunted all game animals, it was the buffalo that furnished the means of supplying nearly every national want.3

As more and more white settlers moved into the Indian country, these vast herds of buffalo diminished in size and today only a few small herds can be seen scattered throughout this expansive region, some privately owned, while others are under the protection of the United States Government.

For decades, the American frontiersmen considered much of the land between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains uninhabitable. After the Civil War, the Homestead Act lured many a settler into this region where these large herds roamed. Many of these settlers left their comfortable homes in Europe to seek a new life in this strange, new land. Into this new land these sturdy and stalwart pioneers came, some by ox carts, others by covered wagons, while others walked amidst the scorching sun by day and the coolness of the breeze by night, filling this void with great numbers of new settlers. The Indians of the Plains had been in command of this land for centuries and now they were faced with a new group of people who had left the European shores to seek a new life in a strange and big land.

The disappearance of the buffalo is generally emphasized as a cause of war on the plains, perhaps too much so. As early as the close of the 1850's, when the buffalo could still darken the earth and their gigantic mirages fill the sky, numbers of Indian leaders foresaw the finish of buffalo hunting. The question was not if the buffalo would vanish, but when. Some thought soon; some thought not for 100 years. It was the former who usually associated themselves with the treaty factors, anxious to make a deal for the sale of land and mineral rights that would subsist their people through the coming time of change.4

The Army had been fighting a defensive war, safeguarding the trails of the frontiersmen, protecting isolated villages and maintaining peace among rival tribes. It now, however, embarked on a grandiose offensive designed to subjugate the aboriginal inhabitants of the region and prepare the way for the advancing tide of civilization.

As the buffalo became progressively scarcer, the competition for good hunting territory, horses, and guns became keener; and as European trade goods came more and more to be used, the desire for these modern conveniences, obtained in exchange for buffalo hides, drove men to greater efforts.5

With the coming of the frontiersmen, the end of the vital buffalo hunts that the Indian treasured most dearly could be predicted. The Tetons fought bravely to delay their inevitable defeat in an unequal contest, for upon its outcome depended the Indian's future existence. An early western commander, Philip Sheridan, wrote back in 1878,


We took away their country and their means of support, broke up their mode of living, their habits of life, introduced disease and decay among them, and it was for this and against this that they made war. Could anyone expect less.\(^6\)

As the horizons of the American frontier grew in greater perspective revealing the settlers' expansionist motives, and with the Indian territory becoming smaller and smaller before his very eyes, one disheartened chief said of the white man, "We were happy when he first came. We first thought he came from the Light; but he comes like the dusk of the evening now, not like the dawn of the morning, he comes like a day that has passed, and night enters future with him."\(^7\)

The Indians watched the actions of these "strange people" with the very deepest feelings, even evoking the Great Spirit to intercede in his behalf. With longing, sorrowful eyes, they gazed upon the horizon. With the rising of the sun, each day brought a new influx of settlers adding more and more toil and struggle to their domain. As these new settlers took over more and more land, gaining a stronger foothold for themselves, the Indians, attempting to ward off any future aggression, could stand it no longer, as recorded in one historical account.


\(^7\)Ibid., p. 354.
A most damaging blow in this double action was suffered by the fort's beef herd which had been grazing nearby under a guard of a sergeant and ten men. The Indians shrewdly maneuvered a buffalo herd into the area, drove them among the cattle, and stampeded the combined animals. At least two hundred beef cattle, sorely needed for the post's meat supply, were irrecoverably lost.\footnote{Dee Brown, \textit{Fort Phil Kearny, An American Saga}, New York: G. P. Putnam' Sons, 1962, p. 210.}

But "death on the prairie" continued to take its toll in needless buffalo slaughter. The Indians wept as they saw their land and subsistence being taken away from them. The settlers had newer weapons of conquest, not the least of which was a new giant emerging on the prairieland, drawing cars behind it, carrying new settlers, new equipment. The Iron Horse had come to this open land to carry away the buffalo hides. The Age of Steel was upon the Indian.

The building of the Santa Fe, Union Pacific and other railroad lines across the plains suddenly created a new sort of market—a market for buffalo hides and meat, which were in demand in the eastern cities. There followed the most disgraceful slaughter of animals the world has ever seen. The hide hunter set forth, pitiless, unscrupulous, absolutely fearless, and as picturesque a figure as the continent ever produced. Each hunter had his corps of skinners and his transport system. Skillful hunters could keep a force of skinners steadily busy.

The favorite weapon was the old sharps' .50 caliber rifle, shooting 125 grains of powder and 600 grains of lead... The hunters acquired an almost miraculous skill with this heavy, large-bore rifle.

In doing his killing the hunter worked his way to a hiding place on top of a bluff or perhaps in one of the buffalo's own wallows. With his cartridges in his hat beside him or spread conveniently on the ground, he methodically shot the
herd down, one by one. Buffalo have very dim sight and rely on their noses to warn them of danger. So far away that his scent could not be carried, the hunter killed at his ease. The reports of the gun seldom frightened the quarry. Nor would they flee when one of their number was stricken. Stupidly sensing that something was wrong, they would paw the ground, bellow and snoot, but remain to be killed.

It was nothing for a hunter to kill one hundred and fifty to two hundred animals in a day...After the hunter came the skinners. Two skinners worked with a team of horses. A knife would split the skin down the belly and up the legs. Hitched to one edge of the hide the horses would pull it off. The hides were baled and carried to shipping points...

To the Teton Sioux, the buffalo was a sacred animal, a wakan. His very existence depended upon this "king of the prairieland." For many centuries this animal roamed the open ranges, and for centuries the Indians hunted the buffalo for without it many tribes in the Great Plains region would have found it impossible to survive. The most wakan animals were the rare albino buffaloes which were "difficult to kill because they generally remained in the center of the herd. They were considered a gift from the Great Spirit and were the center of complex procedures and ceremonies. Many professional buffalo hunters who killed thousands of buffaloes never saw a white one."

The Sioux looked upon the buffalo not only as a sacred animal but one that would supply their basic necessities of life. They

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universally accepted the belief that the "buffalo was made by the Creator especially for their use, and certainly when they are plentiful in number they can get along quite comfortably with very little use." When one considers the myriad ways the Indians utilized the buffalo, it is not strange that these early Americans held firmly to the belief that this was the very source of goodness and survival.

It is interesting to note the symbolism that characterizes this animal of the prairieland, for the Sioux understood this animal far deeper than any concept that the white man held. The Sioux interwove the symbols of the buffalo with the universe, thus creating a deep respect for this animal, every part which was used for a purpose.

The buffalo was to the Sioux the most important of all four-legged animals, for it supplied their food, their clothing, and even their houses which were made from the tanned hides. Because the buffalo contained all these things within himself, and for many other reasons, he was a natural symbol of the universe, the totality of all manifested forms. Everything is symbolically contained within this animal: the earth and all that grows from her, all animals, and even the two-legged peoples; and each specific part of the beast represents for the Indian, one of these "parts" of creation. Also the buffalo has four legs, and these represent the four ages which are integral conditions of creation.  

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HORSE IN BUFFALO HUNTING

In the Sioux society and culture, the horse played an important role. This animal became directly responsible for the revitalization

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of the Sioux cultural values. The Sioux came to be known also as the "Horse Indians," and they were consciously adapting these animals to meet their vital needs. However, by adopting the horse to perpetuate their livelihood, the Sioux unwittingly fell heir to a variety of consequences.

In order to see Plains Indian horse culture in proper world perspective, however, we must remember that it lacked significant features associated with Mongol and Turkish horse breeders. The Asiatic nomads gained subsistence directly from their herds - by eating the flesh of their animals and milking their mares. Few of the Plains Indian tribes ate horse flesh except in times of famine, even the Comanche used it as a distinctively subsidiary food; and no American natives ever dreamed of milking mares. The economic utility of horses in our area, then, lay in enabling riders to kill large numbers of big game animals more rapidly and efficiently than was otherwise possible and in facilitating transport.

More horses did mean more buffalo killed, greater transport facility, and improved military position, but also less fodder for each animal, frequent migrations, and the attraction of alien raiders. 13

The high value that the Sioux placed on the horse was a determining factor in changing their entire war pattern.

A new reason for war had suddenly appeared. As the horse became incorporated into the Sioux way of life, the need became more and more significant. An economic race with keen competition was developed, and it must be kept in motion if the new security was to be maintained. War made this possible. 14


Before the Tetons acquired the horse their hunting methods were quite different. They were required to live in austerity, and it was only by laborious dexterity that they obtained any success in the hunt.

Before the arrival of the horse, Indians had patiently stalked this plentiful game on foot, creeping up to a herd disguised in animal skin. Often, sentries were posted for miles, and at a signal they waved robes and shouted to stampede the buffaloes over cliffs or into corrals. Sometimes the dry prairie grass was fired to set the animals in motion.

Some of these methods survived after horses reached the plains tribes. Once mounted and armed with guns, however, Indians suddenly found hunting easier and more profitable.¹⁵

George Catlin, a vivid portrayer of Indian life, has related an account of the horse and its profound impact upon the Indian's cultural values. From a lone hunter on foot to the mounted hunter, the transition of the Teton way of life was dramatically adjusted.

The horse being the swiftest animal of the prairies, the rider on its back is able to come alongside of any animal; and at the little distance necessary to throw his arrows, the first arrow is generally fatal, being sent with such force as to penetrate the heart of that huge animal the buffalo, and oftentimes their arrows are sent quite through the animal's body, leaving a wound resembling that of a gun shot.

The bow used for this purpose is very short, being more convenient for handling on horseback, and generally not more than two feet and a half in length, but made of great strength and with much ingenuity: the main part frequently one entire piece of bone, but more often of wood, and covered on the back with buffalo's sinews, so closely glued together as seldom to come apart.

Besides the bow, a long lance is often used and perhaps with more deadly effect in the chase than the arrows, for the Indian, with his horse trained to "approach," easily rides near enough to the side of the animal to give the fatal lunge of his lance, which seldom fails to reach the heart, tumbling the animal instantly to the ground.

In battle and in the chase, the Indian always has dragging behind his horse a long cord of raw hide, which is attached to its neck; a different thing from the lasso. The object of this cord is, in case he is thrown from the horse, by the horse falling or stepping into holes, he may grasp hold of it and recover his horse, and be again upon its back. This is called by the French, l'arret (the stop), and by some travellers and writers, larriette.16

The basic material needs of the buffalo hunters of the Great Plains region were readily satisfied, for the giants of the prairies furnished the Indians with an "inexhaustible source of food, shelter, and clothing; horses were for the catching (stealing); and not even guns were necessary for killing buffalo - it could be done better with bow and arrow. So the Sioux, Blackfoot, and Crow saw little sense, really, in the dull drudgery of beaver hunting.17

When the early Spanish explorers first saw the giant buffalo on the open ranges, they called them "Indian cattle"18 and the Indians, after being introduced to these new explorers, "began to steal horses

17 Walter O'Meara, The Last Portage, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962, p. 120.
from the Spaniards and to capture and tame those that had gone wild, they became expert riders and used their mounts in hunting.\textsuperscript{19}

Hunting has had a profound impact on the life of the Indians. These people of the Plains would go out each morning in bands, sometimes whole tribes to try their luck on a day's catch. Sometimes they were successful, while at other times, they would come back empty-handed, realizing that starvation may come to them very suddenly. An American anthropologist, Margaret Mead, tells how closely knit the Indians were to one another in one of her intensive accounts.

The political history and political measures of the tribe show a perpetual fear of description, the fear of the loss of individual bonds, of the breaking of the bonds which held the many gentes in one camp circle, owing allegiance to one set of tribal fetishes. Numberless intergentile arrangements were made - one gens kept the pipes for a ceremony, another gens let them. A hereditary tribal official controlled the importance of the kin groups in the buffalo hunt so that all might advance together upon the buffalo herd.\textsuperscript{20}

When these early primitive people came to the shores of North America from across the Bering Strait, little did they realize that within the interior of this vast land they would find animals upon which they could depend primarily for their livelihood. Their culture and values changed as they adapted themselves to the New World with its varied and strange surroundings.

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid.

There is little doubt that the Asian emigrants, here-
after referred to as the American Indians, came unknowingly to
the New World in pursuit of big game - the cold-steppe bison,
the horse, the wooly mammoth, the musk ox. These early hunters,
armed with elaborate projectile weapons and excellent projec-
tile of flint, and aided by the cooperation and interest of the
whole tribe, were sensibly following the well-marked trails
left by these large, grazing animals. As would be expected,
the trails led to grassy glades, water, and salt licks and, ran
through mountain passes or across the lowest divides of the
mountain ranges. The first comers were very smart to follow
these trails.21

An early Sioux chief revered deeply by his own people, saw in
the cultural traits of the Indians a tradition that they had carried
on for centuries, as they killed the buffalo to receive their basic
necessities of food, shelter, and clothing. Let us listen with deep
respect and honor as this beloved Chief relates to us his account of
a buffalo hunt.

White Cloud says that the Indians still prefer the bow
and arrow to the gun for hunting buffalo. That the animal is
easily killed, and the arrow does it with great certainty and
that they can fire, or rather shoot, from the saddle much
easier with the bow than with the gun. That the motion of the
gun is liable to be unsteady, and therefore to shoot over,
while with the bow they have no difficulty. They also prefer
to hunt on horseback, as they must follow the buffalo as they
hunt. They usually advance at the rate of ten to twenty miles
per day, cutting, drying, and packing their meat as they go.
All these Nations, I find, expect to go out for the June and
September hunts. The hide in the spring is good for shoes,
and for tent covers and for rawhide. In the fall the hide is
preserved with the hair for robes. The only drawback is the

21Paul S. Martin, Digging into History, Chicago: Chicago
Natural History Museum, 1959, p. 10.
constant fighting of these Indians with each other, which endangers the lives of those who engage in the hunt.\textsuperscript{22}

The Indians varied in their methods of hunting throughout our country. Each tribe had their own particular method by which they would pursue their hunting endeavors. In the Great Plains region, however, the Indians were somewhat uniform in their hunting procedures.

It remains true that the Plains Indian at any period we can clearly grasp are not so sharply set off from the Woodland peoples as there are from the Basin or the Southwestern tribes. Nevertheless, the effective ecological exploitation of the buffalo created something distinctive, and the cultural complex resting on the basis obviously antedated the horse, the fur trade, or any other White influence. On the fact rests the justification for speaking of an aboriginal culture area.\textsuperscript{23}

And in a further investigation of the Indian hunting procedures, Lowie says:

The more distinctive aboriginal Plains methods, then, were impounding and driving down a cliff; they could be combined with each other, i.e., a corral could be built below the cutbank down which the beasts were stampeded, but if the height was considerable the enclosure below was unnecessary since the buffalo would be crippled or killed without it. Both methods could also be combined with either the use of horses or the firing of grass to force the animals into the required path. In either case artifice was needed to start the herd in the proper direction, and great care had to be taken lest the beasts scent their enemies. Since the survival of the people might hinge on success in the chase, the directors of the


undertaking issued orders that had to be implicitly obeyed, on pain of severe punishment by the police. Also retreats were performed to promote the objective.

The drive down a cliff requires no explanation, but impounding does. It involved the construction of a corral with an opening approached between two converging lines. These were formed by a solid fence in the vicinity of the entrance, but farther away these would be merely rock piles or bundles of brush at intervals; indeed, men and women sentries would string out for miles, screaming and waving robes (or in later times blankets) to frighten any animals that might try to escape outside the lines. First of all, scouts had to locate the herds, which then had to be lured within the fatal angle. Among the Assiniboin a skillful mimic covering his body with a robe would imitate the bleat of a buffalo calf as he advanced ahead of the herd into the desired direction... It is said that as many as 600 or more buffalo could be killed by such techniques. Driving down a cliff was also practiced, sometimes with a pound below, by the northern tribes, but it is not clear what techniques preceded the surround among the Arapaho and the southern tribes generally. 24

As the white settlers converged upon the Great Plains, they also encountered obstacles with buffalo hunting that they did not suspect would take place. The men are on their horses, waiting, the buffalo are coming closer, the dust is growing thicker, the sky is being filled with earthen clouds, growing darker and darker and at times, the riders are having a difficult time to even see the sun. The buffaloes sound furious. The earth is shaking, rumbling, as these shaggy animals come closer and closer. The settlers on their horses catch a glimpse of the madness that now confronts them. The stampede is getting closer. The riders strike the horses with the reins giving way to the angry herd that numbers into the thousands.

The men have advanced closer to the buffalo now and all of a sudden one of the ambitious riders shouts, "Get ready for the hunt," and so with rifles aimed, the hunt is on.

Now, speaking of buffaloes, I must be allowed to say a few words of myself, and some of my own exploits, amongst buffaloes on the prairie country... At the mouth of the Yellow Stone River, on the banks of the Missouri, two thousand miles above St. Louis, where the American Fur Company have a large factory, or trading house, I was residing with Mr. McKenzie, the chief factor, when it was announced one morning by one of his men, that a large herd of buffaloes had arrived during the night, and were then grazing on a beautiful plain across the river, and but two or three miles distant.

McKenzie instantly resolved that he "wanted some meat" and invited me to join the hunt, for which he turned out some five or six of his best hunters on horseback, and himself took the lead, with a small and exceeding light and short single-barrelled fowling piece in his hand.

They furnished me with a tremendously tall horse, called "Chouteau" (for what reason I never knew), said to be a very good animal in the chase. Several others of his men were ordered to follow at a proper distance, with one-horse carts, to bring in the meat, and we all moved off, somewhat like a regular caravan.

When we had arrived within half a mile or so of the unsuspecting animals, we were called a halt, to decide upon the best mode of attack; that decided, all hands started off upon a gallop, at the signal given, ready to make the dash as soon as the animals took the alarm. This done, the dust was rising, and we were in the midst of them!

McKenzie, Major Sanford, and Chardon were the most experienced, and consequently the most successful in the melee. The repeated flashes of their guns I distinctly saw, as they seemed to be buried in the moving mass of black and dust. These men were hunting "for meat," and of course, were selecting the fattest and the sleekest of the young cows for the purpose, but I had quite a different ambition; I saw in the crowd the back and horns of a huge bull towering so high above all the throng that I resolved upon his scalp or nothing.
I made several desperate lunges with old "Chouteau" into the various openings which seemed to afford me a chance of coming near to him: and as often was closed in and jammed along with the moving mass, no doubt with a most imprudent risk of my life; for hundreds on hundreds were plunging along behind me, and ready to have trampled me to death in a moment if I had lost my balance.

I at length saw my way clear, and made a desperate rush for his right side, that I might get my shot from the proper point.

My gun was a doubled-barrelled fowling piece. My first shot seemed to have no effect, but the second one brought him down upon his knees, and the herd passed on. I was swept along a great distance before I could extricate myself from the throng, having no further ambition than the capture of the overgrown, and in fact, grant of the band.

When I got relieved from the herd, I reloaded and rode back to my noble prize, who had risen up, and stood balancing his huge carcass on three legs, one of his shoulders being broken. His frightful mane was raised and his eyes bloodshot with madness and rage, as he was making lunges at me, and tumbling partly to the ground at each attempt.

It is impossible to describe the demoniacal look on the enraged animal when he bristled up and was just ready to spring upon me. While I was engaged in the operation, McKenzie and Sanford came riding up to me, and laughing most excessively at me for attacking a poor old bull which scarcely the wolves would eat. I claimed a great victory nevertheless, and was perfectly satisfied with my first exploit.25

The Sioux, as a rule, hunted for pleasure occasionally, but for most purposes, they killed the buffaloes only when they needed the hides or to gather a new supply of meat. The Indian knows the choicest tidbits of every animal and how to cook them to his taste. The great fall hunts yield him the fullest enjoyment of his appetite.

In an extract from an annual Indian report covering a four year period, we note that in events there was a similarity throughout the Sioux Nation, as accounted by the Indians at Fort Peck, Montana, a reservation in the northeastern section of the state.

1881: - The Indians had a fair hunt last fall and winter, a large hunting party remaining out in the buffalo country till early January when they returned with an abundance of dried meat and plenty of good buffalo robes which they sold to the traders at a good price. Good robes were sold to my knowledge for $12.00.

Early in July all the Indians who had horses went across the river 30 to 100 miles southwest, where they found buffalo in abundance. A large majority of the Indians remaining out during July and August, they claimed to have killed and dressed 4500 buffaloes during this hunt...

1882: During the past year, my Indians have had a great deal of trouble finding buffalo, on account of the white hunters and foreign Indians trespassing on their hunting grounds. My Indians secured but few robes last winter and nearly all the meat they lived on was taken from the carcasses of buffalo killed by white hunters, they wanting the robe only and making very little use of the meat. The traders paid very liberally for robes the entire winter.26

The Montana winters are cold and snow lies deep on much of the prairieland from fall to spring. The hardships that many of these Indians faced were often very difficult and starvation, oftentimes, stared them in the face, unknowing what the future had in store for them.

1882: - Heretofore, this people was expected to hunt and provide for their own subsistence for at least two-thirds of the

year, the government furnishing supplies for about two-thirds. While the buffalo roamed in large herds over these vast plains, it was an easy matter to subsist, and according to the Indian way of living, they lived in luxury and there was no incentive for them to work; but now the game had practically disappeared, for between the Indian and the white hunters the buffalo are a thing of the past in this northwest. Neither the Department nor the Indian anticipated such a sudden disappearance of the game; therefore, no adequate provision has been made for their subsistence during the present fiscal year.27

Conditions were widespread throughout the Sioux Empire. Each tribe at times suffered drastically, as noted in an agency's report from the Blackfoot Reservation in northwestern Montana.

1884: When I entered upon the duties of agent, I found the Indians in a deplorable condition. Their supplies had been limited and many of them were gradually dying from starvation. I visited a large number of their tents and cabins the second day after they had received their weekly rations... All bore marks of suffering from lack of food but the children seemed to have suffered the most; they were emaciated that it did not seem possible for them to live long, and many of them have since passed away. To feed these Indians, about 2300 in number, from April 1 to April 30, I had...only one and a half ounces bacon, three and a half ounces beef, and less than five ounces flour per day for each individual. I had no beans, rice, homing salt, nor any other articles of food except sugar, tea, and coffee (of which I had only enough for the sick and infirm). In the forepart of May I was reduced to such a state that I was compelled to issue over 2000 pounds of bacon which had been condemned by a board of survey the past winter, but which I found not to be in as bad condition as had been supposed. In the latter part of June and forepart of July, so great was their destitution that the Indians stripped the bark from the saplings that grow along the creeks and at the inner portion to appease their gnawing hunger. The buffalo on which these people formerly subsisted is now extinct and they will be compelled to rely upon the food furnished them by the government until they can be taught to support themselves by civilized pursuits.28

27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
Additional reports from the Indian country indicate how important it was for these people to hunt the buffalo even though the number of buffalo was diminishing in size rapidly.

In the early part of last June I called the chief and head men together and told them that it was necessary that all should go to hunt buffalo; that our provisions would not reach at all. They went, but many went reluctantly... Some returning report the buffalo scarce and scattering; that the grass... is burnt off, and that there is no feed for the buffalo on their reservation; that the white hunters occupy all of the country south of the Missouri River.29

The reports that came directly from the Indian country speak for themselves. The pressure that was brought upon the spirit and emotion was perhaps greater than upon the living economy and the suspicion is that many deaths after the buffalo had faded from the prairieland were due to non-material factors. The Indian was now confronted with a bleak and dismal outlook.

No longer could he look forward to the long hunting expeditions so dear to him, but what was worse all the worthy aspirations and ambitions sanctioned by his culture were thwarted. It was not merely unemployment he faced, the economic order of his tribe collapsed. This bore hardest upon the youth. Drinking, gambling and petty intrigue were now the only outlets to self expression. Even with enough government food to keep body and soul together, the Indian was staring ahead into an unknown void.30

Buffalo hunting virtually belonged to every part of the Sioux people. The buffalo was their staff of life. The Sioux Nation lived by the buffalo and without these "wakan" animals, they would have been

29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
left helpless as they battled forces of nature on the wide open plains. In the present-day complexities of living, "civilization rests upon millions of machines, so in those days the civilization of the Sioux rested squarely upon the humped shoulders of millions of wild, sloggy cattle."  

As western civilization becomes more and more complex, there is often-times a failure to understand the austerity of the Indian folklore and way of life. In non-Indian society today

"we tend to take the machine as the standard for everything. Among us, the most admired, the most successful, the most envied men are those who are most like machines; men who are efficient, punctual, serene, standardized, men who can produce work of a given quality in huge quantities, who can harness the powers of nature and turn raw materials into wealth. We think like the Sioux, only we think about different things. We imitate the machine; he imitated the buffalo."

During their buffalo hunting sojourns, the Tetons observed a rigid code of discipline. From the chief on down, there was a sense of belonging to the group. No one was left out, but each person was obligated to share in the responsibilities that formed part of the group. "In all things regarding their hunting operations and traveling, they preserved order, kept together and were respected and somewhat feared by neighboring bands."

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32 Ibid., p. 15.

From the buffalo the Teton deprived almost all of their basic necessities for living, and they could not have survived the rigors and taxing demands of the prairie had it not been for the buffalo. Yet even more than subsistence, the buffalo provided an opportunity to enhance their artistic ability as well as offering the Tetons the essentials of life.

The buffalo's flesh was their chief food; its hide supplied them with clothing, bedding, tents, with the bags in which they packed their personal belongings, with the horse gear used in their hunts, with the bull-boats or coracles used in crossing their rivers. Its bones were made into many implements; its hooves gave them glue; its sinews were their bow-strings, their thread, its blood was used for paint; its horns were shaped into spoons and cups and ornaments and weapons; its hair stuffed their pillows, their saddle-pads; its tallow, mixed with ochre, anointed their faces, its very dung was used for fuel. 34

Buffalo hide was used for outer robes, as well as for leggings and other small gear. Buffalo hide, however, was too harsh for general use. Elk and moose hide also were seldom used, since though soft, they were very thick and difficult to drape. Tanned buckskin was the preferred material. 35

The buffaloes have been created for the use and happiness of the Indian tribes, who exist almost entirely on their flesh, clothing themselves and constructing their dwellings with their skins, and converting almost every part of these useful animals to the supply of their various wants and comfort. Their tongues, when cured, are amongst the greatest luxuries, and equally so the hump (or fleece, as it is familiarly called) on the shoulders; and the rest of the flesh throughout the animal about equal to the best of beef; of their skins their comfortable dwellings are made, and their beautiful robes, as


already explained. Their sinews are used for strings to their bows and many other purposes; the bones of the shoulders form the trees for their saddles; their brains are used for dressing their skins; the bones of their legs are broken up for their marrow, which resembles and equals the richest of butter; and their hoofs are boiled up for glue, which they use in the construction of their beautiful bows and other weapons... One can easily imagine that here is the easiest and most independent region for the Indians to live in; and it is here, and from these causes, no doubt, that the healthiest and most beautiful races of men are found that are to be met within America, or perhaps in the world... It is over these interminable carpets of green, dotted with flowers of all colours, where the Indian gallops on his wild horse - his wants all supplied, and his mind as free as the air he breathes, that man, in the unshackled freedom of his nature, extends, and has extended his hand in friendship, to all strangers in his country, before he has been ensnared by the craft and cunning of the mercenary white man.36

Buffalo meat was the staff of life and constituted the largest item of diet. Folklore credits the Indians with making use of every part of the animal, and in fact, he did in times of scarcity; in times of plenty he enjoyed only the choice parts, like the tongue and hump, and discarded the rest. The hide of the buffalo provided material for clothing and moccasins, for bed covers, for "bull boats" used in stream crossings, and for every kind of container. Dressed hides sewn together and stretched over a conical framework of poles formed the familiar tepee, which provided an easily transported yet comfortable year-round shelter. Hoofs, horns, and bones found a variety of uses - ceremonial trappings, cooking utensils, awls, chisels, hide scrapers, and other tools. Intestines and bladders were used to carry water. Sinews furnished rope, thread, and bowstrings. Hair was put to a wide range of utilitarian purposes. On the treeless prairie even the droppings were burned as fuel. Occupying so prominent a place in material culture of the Teton's, the buffalo loomed significantly in the Teton's conception of the universe and in their body of religious beliefs and practices. For the Plains Indians the disappearance of the buffalo was a catastrophe.37


In summary it can be argued that the buffalo affected all areas of the Sioux life. This big, ugly, shaggy animal represented life itself. He provided all that was necessary for food, shelter, and clothing. His migrations decided where and how the people of the Plains were to live. When the buffalo disappeared from the American frontier, the roving life of the Plains Indians also disappeared. They hunted the buffalo, surrounding the herd on three sides and running them over a cliff, or before the coming of the horse, they would often put on robes and disguise themselves as some animal. Bow and arrow was used profusely, but even here we see a change from the traditional with the introduction of the rifle and the coming of the white man to the vast Great Plains region. The buffalo was used for food and many household objects, ornaments, and trinkets were made from these animals. We can readily see that the buffalo was vastly important to the Plains tribes. Around it developed the social, cultural, and religious aspects of Indian life. With the passing of time, and sad as it may seem, the buffalo is now a dream of the past, and many fond ambitions and aspirations that the Indians had are now only a part of their rich and glorious past.

FOOD CHARACTERISTICS AMONG THE SIOUX PEOPLE

The siouxan Tribes depended upon the herbs and roots that were found on the prairieland for much of their cooking. After the Teton moved into the Great Plains region, they continued to use methods
similar to other tribes in the preparation of their food. The cooking of herbs and roots served a two fold purpose: (1) it provided food for the family; and (2) medicine that the Indian could use to ward off or check any illness. Thus the Sioux utilized many of the basic plants in their new environment which served them so well.

What determines the kind of food economy that a given people will follow? This depends on many things which, however, may be divided into two classes of factors: availability of the raw material in the environment; and knowledge of how to obtain the raw material and how to prepare it for food. Few foods are eaten without any preparation whatsoever. Because our knowledge of agriculture today far surpasses that of the American Indians, we can and do raise many foods in the United States which were totally unknown to them. Most of these were brought over by the colonists from Europe and many came ultimately from the Middle East or southeastern Asia.

Nonetheless, many of the plants first domesticated by American Indians were imported into the Old World, after the discovery of America, and continued to play an important part in the diet of Europeans, Asians, and Africans. Of these, maize, is probably the most widespread. A number of foods eaten by Indians contained poisons which had to be extracted before they could be consumed. The amount of experimentation necessary to acquire the vast knowledge of plant and animals that they possessed was enormous. This took many millenia, because knowledge came slowly to peoples without writing or other adequate means of keeping records or conveying information other than by word of mouth.38

Many plants that are common to our woods, fields, and marshes, provided food staples not only for the Indians, but to the white people as well. Modern day agricultural and farming practices do not stress the importance of natural foods which these early people utilized.

Much of the information about plant foods was recorded in diaries, reports and maps by missionaries, pioneer explorers, and naturalists who accompanied military and fur-trading expeditions.

Once food habits are established, change comes slowly. People the world over prefer one food to another because of taste, not as a result of carefully calculated nutritional values or production costs. Most of us today leave all that to the dietitians and often fail to eat the things our doctors advise. During the Second World War, when canned combat rations first became common, many men complained about the taste, although these foods had been proved by dietitians to be superior to normal diet as most people choose it for themselves. So it was with the Indian. Conditioned from childhood to like certain foods, he continued to seek them because he preferred them. Conditioned to prefer hunting activity and meat to farming and cereals, the Plains Indians of the nineteenth century continued to hunt the buffalo until it was almost exterminated, and then starved in considerable numbers before they turned to farming. They considered beef too "sweet" to be palatable, and sometimes attributed to beef-eating the epidemics of diseases introduced by the White man. Today some of the Plains Indians have returned to raising buffalo on the range, much as we do with cattle.39

The Teton Sioux depended primarily upon the buffalo for their subsistence, however, as far as practicable, they supplemented their meager diet of meat with roots, seeds, greens, and the fruit of native plants. Berry picking was always a favorite activity of Indian children. Little Day relates one of his experiences regarding the gathering of such fruit.

When I went berry picking, I always went with Rattling, and we always took a dog with a travois. This was a big, black male, for males are stronger for pulling a travois. We called him "Long Face" because his face was so long. Nearly everyone had a travois dog.

39 Ibid., pp. 22-23.
We picked cherries and plums and gooseberries in a draw not far from camp. The dog followed us, and we carried deerskin bags. We wore the bags as an apron and picked gooseberries and plums into them. The cherries we picked by hand, bending the tree down and picking the fruit into a calf skin we had placed on the ground. After we had picked the cherries, we called the dog, "Wey, wey, wey," and when he came up, we loaded our bags of fruit on the travois.

Then we went to the plum bushes and spread our calf hides and picked plums into them. We filled one bag with plums and the rest we put in one of the hides. We had no room for gooseberries that day, so we loaded the plums and went home. 40

The Sioux women had a distinctive part to play in performing household duties. Being a mother and rearing a family was the ultimate achievement in the life of any Indian woman. With the advent of winter, autumn was a busy time of the year, for in this season, "women were gathering vegetables and nuts and drying meat in preparation for approaching winter." 41 As the Indian father taught his son to be brave and courageous and to grow up to be a strong warrior and hunter, so the young Indian maiden was taught to be faithful to her household tasks so she would be honored and esteemed by not only the family but by all who knew her.

The gathering of wild plants was principally the work of women. While a woman sometimes gathered alone, she was more often accompanied by other women who were either relatives or friends residing in the same camp or village. Women seem to have gathered in groups more consistently than men, probably for mutual protection against men of hostile tribes. At any


41 Ibid., p. 156.
rate, the woman gatherer shared her plant produce with the other women of the group, and in the form of prepared food, with the other members of the family. Husband probably contributed less to wives' gathering ventures than did wives to husband's hunting forays.\textsuperscript{42}

Wojapi is one of the traditional Indian foods that is served at many community gatherings, both religious and secular. It consists of chokecherries and buffalo berries cooked together to form a sauce-like dish. This is used as topping for cake or some type of baking powder biscuit. This particular dish can also be eaten as a sauce. Serving this special dish at a gathering where white people are present is considered to be an honor for the visitors.

\textbf{THE FOOD QUEST AND TETON DAKOTA CULTURE}

Many of the practices and customs of the Indian people through the centuries have had a profound impact on their thinking and traditional way of life. Many Indian tribes, including those found within the Sioux Nation, believe that eating certain types of meat, such as the heart and the liver, would strengthen them and when the Indian would go into battle, this belief would help him to endure hardships as well as show courage and valor for his bravery as a warrior.

The Santee ate the heart of a mud turtle to strengthen their own hearts and courage. They explained that the heart of the animal was so vigorous it continued to beat even after the

rest of the body was cut to pieces. The leader sliced the heart into four quarters; young men were set around it and made to swallow it. If a young girl killed a turtle, she too was made to eat the heart. In 1935: 'Nowadays no one eats the heart, that's why we are all cowards.' But that summer Julia Owens gave one to her son, saying, "Now we will see who is the bravest. Eat some of this heart." 43

As the Indians acquired more and more horses, some through midnight stealing, others through bartering with white settlers, their war pursuits played into almost every major aspect of their livelihood. "Hunting, trapping, and berrying, manufacture of maple sugar and rice, defense of the village, honors, ..." 44 played a prominent role in their cultural relationship with one another and also in their contacts with other tribes.

Although buffalo was the primary meat comprising the Indian diet, other animals were also included which gave the Indian family a greater variety of food. The bones of the buffalo were not wasted and some of these were utilized in the form of digging sticks. This was a fairly common tool found among the Sioux, although they were primarily hunters and not agriculturists.

Bison was the chief game sought, with deer, antelope, elk, and smaller mammals of secondary importance. The usual weapon of the hunters, pedestrian still, was the bow and arrow tipped with a small, triangular flint point. Turtle bones, clamshells, and fish remains form only a small percentage of the food refuse; and curved bone hooks show the manner of obtaining the fish.

44 Ibid.
Charred corncobs of eight and ten rowed varieties, and occasional squash or pumpkin seeds, are direct evidence of at least two important domestic food plants. Probably beans were also grown. How productive the tillage methods were we do not know, but the pits in which surplus crops were presumably stored are neither plentiful nor large. Bison scapula hoes are commonly found; beyond removal of the spine and sharpening of the broader end, they show little modification. Bone digging stick tips and the curious scooplite hoes or spades (or trowels?) fashioned from part of the frontal bone and attached horn core of the bison seem to have been rare or absent, but since the latter, at least, is a fairly common tool at both earlier and later sites in the region, further investigation or evidence not yet reported in print may show that it should be included here.45

After the Indians had acquired the horse, "dried meat and the everlasting pemmican could be kept and moved by the ton. There was a wealth of tools, new clothes, spare time, and new delights."46 The Indians used a stone-headed maul to make pemmican and this tool is still being used today by the Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Although pemmican could be kept for many years, as it consisted partly of dried meat, it often was consumed in a very short while as it was a delicacy among the Sioux people.

Everything on the buffalo was utilized in some way. To throw any part away would have been a serious crime to the Indians. The Indians were taught to be very careful when they shot an animal so it would be killed. This was a symbol of good marksmanship and vital concern within the tribe.


Except for the hoofs and bones, the whole buffalo was consumed. The tongue and nose were delicacies, liver seasoned with gall was enjoyed, and intestines filled with chopped meat were roasted or boiled. The lungs were dried and roasted, marrow of the bones was consumed, blood was cooked in the buffalo rennet until it attained jellylike consistency, and even the hide of the bull buffalo was roasted and eaten. After pulverizing the hardened flesh, the Cheyenne women added melted fat, bone marrow, and powdered, dried, wild cherries. Among Cheyennes pemmican was limited to rather immediate use and was not stored as emergency food for time of privation. Elk, deer, wild sheep, and antelope supplemented buffalo meat, as did young dogs.47

Before the fur traders came to the Sioux Empire, the Indians of the Plains did most of their cooking without the aid of utensils. While some of the tribes found in America, such as the Navaho and the Hopi made excellent pottery which was used for cooking, for the Nomadic Sioux, carrying pottery along with them on their sojourns was not a very practical endeavor. The Teton customs in their preparation of food for their family and guests, if any, has been described.

For a large group, one favorite method of cooking was in a hole in the ground. A pit about two feet wide and two feet deep was dug. If stones were handy, the pit was lined with them. A large fire was built in and above this pit and more stones heated in it. Such a fire would burn for an hour or more until the stones became red hot. After the fire had burned down, the coals and loose hot stones were scraped from the pit without disturbing the lining stones any more than necessary.

A fresh hide from the hunt was used to line the hole. It was laid in, hair side down, and pieces of meat for the feast were placed on the flesh side. The skin was then folded over, so that only the flesh side came in contact with the meat, the hot stones and embers were placed on top of the folded hide,

and the entire hole covered with dirt. Such an 'oven' was then left undisturbed for several hours until the meat was thoroughly cooked. Of course the skin so used was ruined, but that was considered a small sacrifice for the resulting flavor and pleasure of the feast that followed. When no stones were available, the same procedure could be followed without them, but more coals were needed, consequently more fire.

On the eastern fringes of the prairies, where trees grew in variety, the pit was lined with green leaves—sweet ones—maple, sassafras, basswood, or wild grape. For a modern version of this ancient Indian feast, poultry turns out exceedingly well, and so does ham. Instead of lining the hole with a fresh hide, use only the leaves, lay in a stuffed chicken, duck, turkey, or a ham, surround it with potatoes, both sweet and white, carrots, onions, sweet corn, or any vegetable you like. Do not crowd the foods. Cover them with another layer of leaves, arrange the hot stones on top, cover all with wet canvas or wet burlay, shovel the embers back on, then cover it all over with earth so that steam escapes. Go away and forget about it for from three or five hours, depending upon the size of the meat, then come back and dig up your dinner.48

The Sioux were primarily nomadic and therefore, they were compelled to carry their food supplies along with them. This was usually done by "twining buffalo hair bags and mats of whole plant stems... The stems were laid parallel to one another and fastened together with pairs of cords which were twined around each stem at intervals of a foot or so."49 Preparing the food generally depended upon the individual families, but certain foods were widely accepted in their preparation as noted in this account:


When a man brought deer to camp, it was the woman's task to butcher. With the carcass, the hunter brought the heart, liver, kidneys, and pancreas bundled in the paunch which he had previously inverted and cleaned with grass. A matriarch described the preparation of meat:

Rattling Tipi first cut off the front legs close to the ribs, next the rear legs and then removed the takoan, the great sinew running over the backbone from rump to shoulder. The takoan contained the tampco, a delicate section of deliciously tender meat. With this removed, she then split the carcass along one side of the backbone and next cut half just below the ribs making four pieces. The neck and the head were last to be removed, and the remaining hind quarter she hung from a forked pole near the door.

The following morning, Rattling Tipi prepared the quarter for drying. Carefully cutting thin strips, which stretched to an arm's length and were about three hands wide, she stuck three dowels of sunflower stalk crosswise on each strip, one at the middle and one at each end. When all the strips of meat were ready, she took them outside and placed them over the drying rack, a long pole supported by two sturdy forked poles.

Racks were made high enough to prevent the dogs from jumping up and stealing the meat. Boys would sometimes tie a knife to a stick, cut the meat from the pole and run away with it. Then we had to take a whip after them and thrash them if we could catch them, and we whipped them hard. Girls never did this for girls didn't steal - they knew what happened to the boys when they were caught. But the dogs were really more meddlesome than the boys.

Magpies often pecked the meat along the pole so that it broke in two and fell to the ground. If we failed to see this in time, the dogs made a feast.

When the flies were too thick, we hung the meat inside over a rawhide rope stretched between several lodge poles. By putting wet sticks over the fire to make it smoke, the flies would stay away. When it rained, we dried meat inside but it took much longer. In sunny weather it took about three days to thoroughly dry and when one side was dried it had to be turned over. As the meat dried, the shrinking often caused the sticks to bend and break, so they were thrown away. When the meat was hard it was ready to be cut up into papapuze (dried jerked meat) and stored.
Before storing, papapuze had to be folded to fit a parfleche. The meat was folded on a piece of deerskin and another skin was placed over it, upon which the woman tramped to flatten the meat with her weight. When it was thoroughly compressed, the dried meat was placed in a parfleche and stored at the edge of the tipi. Pieces were cut off and cooked as needed.

Women prepared papapuze in a variety of ways. Sometimes it was broiled by placing a piece the size of a hand on coals, which had been spread with a stick. Slices of papapuze might also be boiled in a paunch kettle. Filled with water into which heated stones were dropped with a forked stick, the buffalo's stomach was supported at the corner with sticks to make a serviceable cooking pot. Six hot stones about the size of the fist were usually sufficient to bring the water to a boil. Paunch boiling was generally done outside in both summer and winter. Sharpened sticks were used to remove the meat. 'Boiled meat was always best, for there was soup to go with it.'

Broiled papapuze was the basis for making wakpapi or pemmican. After the meat had been cooked on the coals, water was sprinkled on it. Then with a granite meat pounder, the papapuze was pulverized in a rawhide bowl where it was mixed with bits of fat to taste. The pemmican was next fashioned into patties which could be eaten immediately or, being quite dry, stored well, especially when frozen.

Dried cherries and grapes, crushed with pits and seeds, were commonly mixed with pemmican. These, too, might be stored, either as patties in a paunch bag or frozen during the winter. Pemmican made from buffalo meat was considered the most desirable.

Meat was also roasted, especially large cuts such as the ribs. These were suspended by a cord from a tripod placed over the fire so that the meat hung several inches above the coals. By using the extended end of the skewer as a handle, the meat could be swung and turned as it roasted.

Many foods were eaten raw. Fresh fruits in season, such as strawberries and grapes, were consumed with relish. The liver and kidneys of all game were especially delectable when uncooked. Boiling, however, was the most popular form of food preparation. The buffalo's brains, the gristle about the nostrils, and the tongue were boiled and recognized as particular delicacies. Roasted buffalo hump was also a favorite, while
soup made from the hoofs or the tail were thoroughly enjoyed. No part of the animal was overlooked. The Sioux were most fond of boiled unborn calves. The lung and pancreas were especially good. Intestines turned inside out, cleaned and filled with strips of meat, were tied at intervals to form sausages. Boiled, and then cut between the ties so that meat and juices could be sucked from the hot sausage, 'Crow guts' were a gourmet's feast.

Seasoning for soups and broths was rare and limited largely to peppermint leaves. Salt was scraped from the edges of dried buffalo wallows and stored in deerskin paunches, but was so scarce that most women did not consider it a condiment and it was therefore not in general use. Honey was considered poisonous by some, while box-elder sap was occasionally mixed with chokeberries in making mush.  

Roots and herbs were used for food as well as for various types of medicine. Missionaries and explorers kept careful diaries about herbs and plant life and naturalists accompanying military and fur-trading expeditions would oftentimes keep accurate records of the things they had observed on their sojourns. It was the buffalo, however which was symbolic of food to the Tetons and they looked upon this animal with great esteem and reverence. Every part of the buffalo was used. Nothing must be wasted. In preparing their food, the Sioux oftentimes used methods that were far different than other Indian tribes. The Sioux culture retained a distinctive characteristic that has become widely prevalent on the American scene representing the epitomy of all Indians in the thinking of many people.

CEREMONIAL USES OF FOODS AMONG THE SIOUX PEOPLE

Food practices formulated a basic pattern for the Sioux regarding socialization. Activities where food was sought, such as the gathering of wild plants and the various techniques of farming, were usually attended by a ritual and ceremony. Oftentimes, these rituals and ceremonies would bind the family closer together and create a pattern of lasting values that has become a part of the traditional way of life for the Indian from generation to generation.

The Sun Dance occupied a prominent place in the life of the Teton Sioux. By accenting all the values of Teton culture, by exerting an enormous social and religious force on every individual, and by strengthening the solidarity of the tribe itself, the Sun Dance created an electric atmosphere which was charged with intense emotion. This was the only life they had known and the only life that they really had any desire to know.

With the proscription of the Sun Dance, the social and religious framework of the Sioux began to give way. No longer could they appeal directly to Wi for personal power and assistance. No longer could they experience the prevailing sense of religious security that came only from the Sun Dance. No longer could the Sun Dance strengthen such values and institutions of Teton society as still existed. The Sioux had been dealt a shattering emotional blow, and their lives began to seem like a great void.51

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This midsummer ceremony of the Plains Indians bears its own name in each tribe by which it is practiced. The term Sun Dance came from the Sioux, since "one feature of the celebration amidst pompous ceremony was to dance in such a position where their eyes would be affixed to the sun."\footnote{George Bird Grinnell, The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Ways of Life, Vol. II, New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1962, p. 211.} Oftentimes, the sufferer would swing from the pole with his eyes toward the sun, not because he was compelled to by the crowd, but usually it was due to some vow that he had made and to go against this would make him lose face with his fellow tribesmen.

Although the Sioux had many ceremonies, dances, and social gatherings, the Sun Dance was by far the most spectacular and prominent. Red Bird, speaking to a noted Indian authority, Frances Densmore, said, "The Sun Dance was our first and only religion."\footnote{Robert M. Utley, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963, p. 16.} As we examine the Sun Dance further, we note that this dramatic event took place each summer and lasted eight days. The first four days were devoted to a number of ceremonies that reinforced various ideals and customs of Sioux society. For the women, fertility and chastity found expression in rituals. For the men, there were rites to dramatize hunting, scouting, raiding, and victory over the enemy. The men's societies took in new members and staged a number of ceremonies. Feasts and giveaways alternated with the ceremonies. During the last four days men who had so vowed danced one of four grades of the Sun Dance--worshipping, supplicating, and communing with the chief god, Wi, the Sun. The fourth grade, danced on the fourth day,
required the greatest self-torture. Suspended from the dance pole by rawhide thongs run beneath their chest and back muscles, often dragging buffalo skulls to increase the weight, the dancers gazed intently into the face of the sun and danced around the pole until the thongs tore through the flesh. Thus each man hoped to establish a direct relationship with Wi, and to gain Wi's power for himself and the tribe.54

As the Indians gathered to participate in this important event, it usually was

the fulfillment of a vow made to some mysterious force in nature. If an Indian be surrounded by his foes, he promises the God in the sun or the Great Spirit that if he be delivered from the hands of his enemies he will, when the time comes (usually full of the moon in June), dance the Sun Dance. If some friend or kin is at the point of death, he makes the same vow; if the Great Spirit will restore his friend or kin to health. In time of sore need he calls on the greatest and most mysterious force of nature for aid, and promises that he will subject himself to physical suffering and torture, fasting and mutilation, if succor is accorded him.55

The use of food at many of these Indian gatherings was an important factor. The Sun Dance was held once a year when the tribe left winter camps and congregated for the summer buffalo hunt. During the Sun Dance period, other ceremonies took place for both the tribe and individual. Social dances were held, the young men and women courted, and warriors renewed their medicine. The aims of the ceremony varied from tribe to tribe.

Secret preliminary rites were first conducted by the priest, followed by instructions to the pledger, preparation of the ceremonial costumes, and rehearsal of painting and songs. As these preparations were in progress, others of the tribe hunted for buffalo, whose tongues and hides were required later in the ceremonies...The pledgers and those associated with him,

54 Ibid.

having denied themselves both food and drink, began the dance and seriously besought the supernatural powers for aid, constantly looking toward the sun or the offerings attached to the central pole...The rites signified the 'rebirth of life on the earth, the return of the season of growth.'

Whenever the Indians had a special ceremony where the entire tribe was gathered, the leader of a war party was usually the one who received some supernatural sanction in a vision. Occasionally, he would be sent to a lonely place far off by himself, in order to receive a vision. He would fast and torture himself in some way, until he dreamed that he saw some supernatural being come to him and promise aid to him in his ventures. Oftentimes, in these visions the guardian spirit would teach the leader magic songs and instruct him in the sacred ritual that he must perform in order to receive any supernatural aid. This aid might be for success on the warpath, for skill in curing a sick person, or for any other purpose that would be deemed desirable.

To the Teton Sioux, Wi, the Sun, was ranked as a prominent chief and a benevolent god. This god became very real to many a Sioux who greatly put their trust in some supernatural power, far beyond their own power.

He, (Wi, the Sun) appeared in material form each day to span the heavens, then rested at night in the underworld. Patron of the four principal Sioux virtues - bravery, fortitude, generosity, and fidelity - his power might be solicited through

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certain offerings and ceremonies. Chief among these was the Sun Dance, in which a dancer might communicate directly with Wi. Red symbolized Wi and stood forth as the great sacred color of the Plains Indians. Blue symbolized Skan, the Sky, who resided everywhere above the ground and could sit in judgment not only upon all humans but also upon all other gods. His immense potency, captured in a fetish (object endowed with supernatural power), prevailed in all matters. Only shamans might possess such a fetish and it could be invested with the power of Skan only through lengthy and intricate ceremony. Maka, the Earth, was the mother of all material things and patroness of all that grew from the earth, of food and drink, and of the tepee. Fetishes made of anything grown from the soil might contain Maka's potency. Her symbolic color was green. Inyan, the Rock, was ancestor of all things and all gods. He was patron of authority and vengeance, construction and destruction, implements and utensils. Anything hard as stone might become a fetish with the powers of Inyan. His symbolic color was yellow.57

Another important ceremonial practice that was prevalent among the Dakota Sioux was a practice known as the Heyoka Cult. This Cult is "apparently quite old, and may well be the oldest of surviving Dakota ceremonial practices. It is found, in almost exactly the same form, among all bands of the Dakota. The Dakota Cult is called Heyoka, after a minor tribal deity of the same name."58

In the Dakota Heyoka Cult one of the familiar tricks is one in which "each performer dips into a boiling pot to retrieve a bison tongue and splash scolding water on each other's backs."59

59 Ibid., p. 255.
In this special Heyoka ceremony,
the leader and others who are to perform the boiling water act
rub their hands, arms, backs, and any other part of the body
which will come into contact with the boiling water with the
juice of one or the other of two plants. The first is icanpe
hu or whiproot...The second plant is called heyoka ta pezuta,
literally, "heyoka his grass-root." Both medicines form a
mucilaginous coating on the skin which protects it from the
scalding water.60

Since the buffalo was considered to be a sacred animal to the
Great Plains Indians, nothing was ever wasted when dressing the buf­
falo, and even in the ceremonials and rites, the meat must be revered
with the deepest respect. A portion of the front thigh was used in
one of their religious worship services. This front thigh had a
special symbolic meaning to the Indian in much the same way that the
wafer in the Holy Eucharist does in the Christian religion.

To a degree, all animals were sacred, and because of
their Wakan character, religious rites were an accepted prelude
to hunting. The Sioux philosophy which conceived man as an
integral part of nature, yet dependent upon animals for power
because of their supernatural affiliation made propitiation all
important. As such, there was no joy in killing, instead, a
sense of gravity prevailed. Hunting was a serious and mystical
business - a combination of skill, organization and power
obtained from the supernaturals. Respect for animals meant that
a pipe should be smoked prior to hunting, symbolizing man's
supplication. Propitiation involved an offering of thanks at
the kill and later small bits of meat at the meal.61.

Since the Teton were a nomadic people, "only small units of
population could be supported in any one place under a strictly hunting

60 Ibid., p. 256.
61 Royal B. Hassrick, The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior
Sioux society had its foundation in small, closely knit family hunting groups. Within the family structure, the women were to prepare the food while hunting was primarily delegated to the men and boys. The Sioux family would attempt to "acquire a sufficient amount of meat and an adequate supply of wild fruits and vegetables to sustain themselves for long periods."

The ceremonial rituals performed an important function in the life of the Sioux. With the buffalo herds diminishing from the prairieland as the white settlers took up claims in the Great Plains region, the Sioux were compelled to give up much of their beliefs and rites and adopt the teachings of the missionaries. The outlawing of the Sun Dance and the Heyoka Cult was accompanied by conversion to Christianity by the missionaries who worked zealously to substitute new values in Teton life. The family became the center of Teton values, and cooperated in gathering food and each member was compelled to do his part in contributing to the welfare of this small essential unit. The Teton family heritage expressed in their self-respect, their determination, and their fortitude the desire to remain knit together as a Nation. The Teton culture, their traditional way of life, and the dramatic impact it made on the American panorama has not

62 Ibid., p. 12.
63 Ibid.
been erased. The heritage of the Dakota Indians will continue to be an enduring monument in American civilization in future generations.
CHAPTER II

"THE GREAT SETTLING"

The Pine Ridge Indians have retained some of their traditional beliefs about food and its use in their reservation communities. Customary food habits may survive in relatively pure form long after other elements of traditional culture have disappeared because they are in a significant degree found in the intimacy of the family situation, and cannot be so readily discerned or criticized by the members of a non-reservation community. The fundamental changes which are affected by the loss of the means of subsistence, or the suppression of food ceremonials, or the establishment of trading posts in the reservation communities, or the meager family income available from the agricultural resources or wage employment in the area - these changes are evident and disastrous for the residents of Indian communities - but they still may not prevent privacy in their customs and values regarding the food selected for the family meals. It is here that they can virtually hide from the coercion of modern mass society, and as it has been noted that many assimilated groups will resist change in food habits long after the more superficial elements of their traditional culture have disappeared. Herskovits has commented: "... there are few phases of culture where conservation is more likely to manifest itself than in the food habits of a people."64 It is obvious

then that food customs are likely to be a significant factor in the buying practices in the contemporary reservation community.

An essential factor in contemporary buying practices is the limitation of income on the quality of consumer goods which may be purchased at the trading post. In many instances the credit policies of the storekeeper are crucial at this point. If the policy is to deny credit, the Indian consumers are likely to make small daily purchases whenever they obtain a small amount of cash, or they may, on the occasion of the receipt of a larger salary or welfare check, purchase a supply of staple items and luxuries which they hope will last until the next payment is made. Credit purchases are customary at the local stores on the reservation but credit is limited by the proprietors, who have a policy of granting credit only in an amount that is adjusted to the family income. Welfare, lease, allotments, or other checks are often sent to the storekeeper who also serves as postmaster and therefore is in a position to know the income of his creditors and even to hold the checks in payment of the debt of his credit customers.

SOURCES OF RESERVATION INCOME

The Pine Ridge Reservation is located in the heart of one of the finest cattle grazing regions of western South Dakota. Range cattle could constitute an important economic asset on the reservation, but a variety of economic factors have gradually forced many of the Pine Ridge residents to sell their land in order to obtain cash to
meet their financial obligations. "At least two-thirds of the land area was devoted primarily to ranching, but less than one-third was controlled by Indian ranchers. The under-utilization of their land resources by the Pine Ridge people resulted from a combination of factors including lack of capital, uneconomic land holdings, leasing policies, and the absence of management skills."

The income distribution of a sample of the Indian ranchers in the Pine Ridge region ranged from low economic status to a fairly high economic position as shown in the table below for the year 1963.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Earned income</th>
<th>Unearned income</th>
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<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
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<td>17.9 2</td>
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<td>2,000-2,999----</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12.6 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000-3,999----</td>
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</tr>
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<td>4,000-4,999----</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000-6,999----</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
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<td>95</td>
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</table>

Mean income-- $5,257.44 $171.24

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66Ibid., p. 10.
The combined total income came from sources such as the sale of crops and livestock, wages, leases to non-Indian ranchers, welfare and other income from employment of the rancher's wife outside the home. The reason that the mean income for the ranchers was higher than the non-ranchers was the ownership of more land and the rancher's wife had a job outside the home to supplement the family income.

Faced with a poor economic structure and hardships, the Indians found it difficult to compete with many non-Indian ranchers, as revealed in this interview by Chief Standing Bear.

I went to see my friend, Chief Black Horn. He said 'conditions last year were very bad. The rations allowed were insufficient. The amount which was supposed to last weeks was actually enough for just one day. If an old person sells a piece of ground the money is placed in the hands of the agent, and rations are at once stopped. When the money has been exhausted, rations are again resumed.' I asked Black Horn why more land was not cultivated by the Indian farmer and his reply was: 'The white farmer can beat us farming because he has tractors. We can't farm extensively so we raise small gardens.'
If our land is not leased to the white man it lies idle.' Then I inquired about the cattle situation. He corroborated what I had heard from others. 'There was a time when all the Indians had plenty of cattle, but after the white man was allowed to bring his stock in on our reservation there was much confusion. We would like to raise cattle, but it is useless to try in the present condition of things.'

Food! Meat! Everyone wanting meat! Yet the Sioux lives in the finest cattle country in the land. The white farmers scattered liberally all through their reservations have fine looking cattle, as well as pigs, chickens, turkeys, and horses. But not the Indian; he is poverty stricken.

The truth is that the Sioux has been dispossessed; there is no reservation. The fence that once surrounded it, defining its territory has been torn down. White cattlemen have been allowed to bring their cattle on Sioux grazing ground on the promise to pay twenty-five cents a head for pasturage. But it was not long after the white man's cattle came that the Indian's cattle began to disappear and the white man's herds began to increase. The Indian's herds have now ceased to exist. My party and I tried to purchase a steer for the feast which we gave for our Indian friends. But no Indian owned one, so we made our purchase from a white man.

We talked of a solution to the cattle question. The country is manifestly a cattle country. The Sioux are not farmers. They can raise cattle and if given a chance will become independent. The logical procedure is to give back their reservation to them. Fence the reservation if necessary, stock the land with cattle and let the Sioux do the rest.67

Many frontiersmen held a very negative attitude toward the Indian and their way of life. This attitude has been prevalent down through the years as revealed from an early report about an appeal for food by a chief of the Sioux as he spoke to a storekeeper in charge of the agency commissary. The storekeepers, without hesitation,

replied dramatically to the Indian, "So far as I am concerned, if your people are hungry, let them eat grass." The sale of land is sometimes used to substantiate the income of the Indian family, yet today, the employment opportunities on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation are very limited. There are a few factories located in various sections of the reservation, but those on the employment rolls are far below the standard for a good work record.

Many Indians receive some type of assistance such as Veteran's pension, Aid to Dependent Children, social security or old age benefits. Souvenirs and Indian articles are additional sources of revenue for some Indian families. There are souvenir shops at Pine Ridge and at the Wounded Knee Trading Post. These articles are made by women in the vicinity of these two communities and they are noted for their outstanding beadwork and artistic designs.

The Plains Indians have a well-developed decorative art in which simple geometric designs are the elements of composition. This art is primarily the work of women. Clothing and other useful articles, made of skins, were rendered attractive by designs in beads and quills. Rawhide bags and parfleche were treated with a peculiar type of painting in many colors. Realistic art was practiced chiefly by men in the recording of war deeds and reached a high degree of excellence among the Dakota and Mandan.

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BUYING PRACTICES AT THE KYLE TRADING POST

The proprietor of the Kyle Trading Post is a comparatively young man who is interested in progress and in making his business a successful endeavor. This trading post had the essential grocery commodities, but some of the shelves and counter show cases were rather empty. The majority of the customers came to the store in the morning or around five o'clock, just about an hour before closing time. Business was always the best during the first half of the month when the government checks came to many of the Indians and hence precipitated the greatest spending period. Many of the grocery orders were rather large and one would think that these commodities would last for a long time. However, since there were often two or three closely knit Indian families living together, these grocery commodities would not last as long as one thought.

Adjacent to the trading post the proprietor provided a lunch counter where a light snack could be purchased. During the lunch hour there was usually a good crowd and on occasion there was standing room only. Utilizing this extra room adjacent to the store brought additional revenue to the storekeeper as well as accommodating people who were working or traveling in the area. Several times a week, the grocery delivery man brought fresh commodities, and these were marked and stocked on the shelves when there were no customers.

The attitude of the customers seemed to be very gregarious and they would visit with one another in addition to buying their
groceries. This was evidently encouraged in such an area where they were far from a large town and had time to discuss things fully. The majority of the customers who came to the trading post were of Indian background, although occasionally non-Indian customers came in as well. The Indian customers were very courteous and were rather reluctant to speak at first. However, once they had won your confidence and you had won theirs, they would further the communication process. Several Indians who came into the store spoke the Dakota language as well as the English.

The proprietor of the Kyle Trading Post had formerly operated on the policy of extending credit to many of his customers. This worked very effectively for a while, but it eventually got to the point where he had to discontinue the giving of credit and operate on a cash basis, except for a small number of good credit risks. Changing to the cash basis provided protection against credit losses but may have decreased the volume of his business.

The day the proprietor went to Gordon, Nebraska, to get meat proved to be a busy day at the store. Purchasing meat was done chiefly on Friday. As soon as the news got around that fresh meat was for sale, customers gathered to buy their choice cuts. One customer bought small cuts of boiling beef which she wanted for soup, while others bought steaks, bologna, and other varieties. In most instances, however, the commodities the Indians purchased at the Kyle Trading Post were similar to those purchased by non-Indians. Staple products
were usually purchased first and if they could afford other goods, they bought the extras that are characteristically found in the middle-class purchase of luxuries.

BUYING PRACTICES AT THE WOUNDED KNEE BATTLEGROUND TRADING POST

The trading post at Wounded Knee serves a very important function in this Indian community as this is the only store in the village. This trading post is very complete, ranging in commodities from well stocked groceries to souvenirs that are made by two women who live in the area. These souvenirs are usually moccasins and neckties for men and necklaces and earrings for women. All of these souvenirs were made from buckskins and trimmed with beads which had been purchased by the storekeeper from Czechoslovakia.

The proprietor of the trading post gave permission to wait on the customers that came into the store, and like the store at Kyle, to sell gas. Each of the permanent Indian customers who traded at the Wounded Knee Trading Post had a sales pad which was kept on file by the storekeeper. Everytime they came in to purchase some commodity the clerk would keep a careful record of the purchase so that there wouldn't be any danger of the customer overcharging onto his account. The proprietor was very conscientious in his dealings with the Indians, and he did not try to gain a monetary grasp on them for his own selfish purpose or interest. If a credit customer was buying too much, the proprietor would call his attention to it and thus aid in helping
him budget his income over the period which he might have needs to
supply.

The school bus would stop at the trading post each morning and
pick up students who attended the Oglala Community School in Pine
Ridge. Many of the students would buy candy, gum, potato chips, small
cakes and a wide variety of cookies. This would be their breakfast
according to the proprietor and his wife.

The Wounded Knee Trading Post was also the local post office,
and this provided an excellent reason for the Indians to come in and
wait for their mail in the morning. While they waited for their mail,
they would chat a while in both the English and the Dakota languages.
As soon as the store opened in the morning customers would come and
wait patiently for their mail and catch up on the latest happenings.

The residents of the Wounded Knee community seemed a little
more traditional than those in the Kyle area. The income in Wounded
Knee was not as great as in Kyle. A missionary on the reservation
who lived in the vicinity of Wounded Knee related that there were two
Indian women who had each received a large check for land leases. As
is customary when someone receives money in the traditional culture,
they were expected to treat each of their relatives and friends. One
of these women received a check for the amount of $2,000 and after
handing much of it to her close relatives and friends it had completely
disappeared within two weeks. The other lady who received a $5,000
lease check from her land called all her friends and close relatives
together and within one week the entire amount was gone. The pro-
prietor of the Wounded Knee Trading Post likewise stated that the
Indians had difficulty in handling money.

The United States Government has aided the Indian by providing
surplus commodities for many poverty stricken families. The allot-
ment of commodities that the family receives is in the form of staple
articles which provide a modest but a substantial diet; properly used
they can prepare fairly well-balanced meals from the food provided.
However, since there may be several Indian families living in the
household, hardships on the families' diet and health conditions are
created. This could result, and it often does, in the children suf-
fering in their school work. Throughout the reservation, inadequate
housing in very prevalent and usually "one-room cabins with 'squaw-
coolers' attached, houses eight children and three adults." This
is typical of the average overcrowded and unsanitary homes in most
Pine Ridge communities.

The economic hardship that the Indian faces oftentimes create
perplexing problems for the Indian family. The meager income that he
receives limits his purchasing of articles and this leads to an emo-
tional handicap as well, as indicated in this early quotation of an
outstanding Dakota leader:

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70 Haven Emerson, M. D., "Indian Health - Victim of Neglect,"
The old Indians today are pictures of lost hope. Many of them travel daily to the agency office and sit there. Day in and day out - sit and wait. The office is where they draw, now and then, a pittance in tribal money. Last year the amount was $7.50 a head for the sick, disabled and all. The agent told us that it came at a most needed time, but what is $7.50 in purchasing power at a trader's store, where prices are two and three times as high as they are off the reservation.71

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Many Indians on the reservation work for the United States Government. Many of these job opportunities are at the agency headquarters which gives them a deeper insight into the administration of Indian Affairs. The state highway department employs Indians in helping to maintain, build, and repair roads. However, since many remain unemployed or underemployed and their economic opportunities are limited, more drastic proposals to solve their problems appear eminent.

No group in the United States will watch the Administration's 'war-on-poverty' with greater interest than the American Indian. Many of their friends, led by the Association on American Indian Affairs, hold that no other segment of the nation has been so consistently left out of major welfare and improvement programs.72

A survey made of the Indians in South Dakota in relationship to the entire United States indicates that the "median family income among Indians in selected Federal Indian Reservation States was


approximately $1,900 in 1959. Although this represents nearly a doubling over 1949, Indian income is still about one-half the median family income for rural farm families in these states.

**Median Family Income**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Rural Farm</th>
<th>Urban and Rural</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>1,794</td>
<td>2,860</td>
<td>4,251</td>
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In 1963 a study was made of the unemployment situation on the reservations in South Dakota. The report indicated that unemployment was "between 13 and 44 per cent, compared to a rate of 4.1 per cent for the state as a whole. On no reservation in the state does an Indian family make more than $2,000 a year, in 1962; the average non-Indian family earned about $4,250."\(^74\)

Oftentimes, the Indians will leave the reservation to seek employment somewhere else. These sojourns will bring him to large cities such as Denver, Kansas City and even Rapid City, which has a large Indian population. However, encountering the pressure to excel, which becomes too great for many Indian people, he soon finds himself back on the reservation, receiving some form of aid from the government. The unwelcome treatment that the Indian receives in many off

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reservation communities is seen by the statement by one South Dakota mayor of a small town.

As I have advised you before we have no intention of making any Indian comfortable around here. . . Anybody who rents them property will have to change his address and I would not want the insurance on building. The people of Chamberlain are opposed to the city being made an Indian town and are opposed to having Indians in our schools. The usual practice seems to be to let the Indians come to the outskirts of a town where they squat in a shack for six months and attempt to live on state welfare. During that time, the state makes sure that their squalor unmitigated - no water, no electricity. Then to get them off the welfare roles, the Indians are given a 'non-residency certificate' which forces them back to the reservation for the Federal role.75

Because of his circumstances, the Indian will often adopt the attitudes of defeatism and will even give himself the feeling of a second rate citizen. Mrs. Louisa Haas, educational specialist in the United States Public Service Indian Health Program says:

Yet, Indian health experts insist the poverty and disease of the Indian do not of themselves account for the high accident rate. They are convinced that a psychological factor is the trigger for many of the accidents. In a large degree, their high accident rate can be traced to the Indian's emotional problems. As a member of a minority, he feels strong hostilities which he would like to turn against the whites but can't. Therefore, he takes it out on himself in accident proneness.76

Indians are sometimes reluctant to go to the government free hospital because the methods in medical practice may be in direct conflict with some of the traditional teachings and habits of the Indian

75Ibid.
way of life. Too often the Indian is regarded from the viewpoint of the dominant culture, thus creating a wrong conception of the Indian's attitude.

The Indian Chief, Standing Bear, made a visit back to the reservation and he was shocked at some of the conditions under which the Indians had to struggle. Inquiring about some of his acquaintances, he

... stopped to see more friends. Three men leaned against the car as they talked. An older one looked thin and weak. A member of the party inquired if he were ill. He replied that he was not ill but that he did not get enough meat to eat. A Sioux, especially an old Sioux, must have meat. They have been raised on meat and their bodies cannot now be denied.

Another day we knocked at the door of a dirt-floored log cabin where a woman lay sick. We asked her if she would not like to go to the nice new hospital just completed at Pine Ridge. She said that nothing could induce her to go there, for she had heard that the patients were not given enough to eat. We asked what she desired to eat and she said a fresh raw kidney would please her. The ladies of our party lost no time in getting the raw kidney, a delicacy of the old Sioux.

Nancy Red Cloud told us that she was in an agency office one cold winter day when an old Indian whose money was on deposit there came in. He told the agent that he would like to have some money, for he had been without food for several days and was hungry. The agent put him off, saying he would see about it. The old Indian, Big Head by name, while sitting in a chair, waiting, toppled over dead, Nancy catching him in her arms. The death was pronounced heart failure by the agency doctor. Nevertheless, so much talk was caused by the agent's treatment of Big Head that he resigned.77

And in another interview, Chief Standing Bear said:

A few weeks ago I went back to my people for the first time in sixteen years. In the intervening time I have lived constantly in the society of white men, ostensibly one of them, but in spirit and sympathy still living with my people, working for them, listening to their entreaties, and trying to help them with their problems. So, almost as soon as I sat in camp on the reservation, many old friends, hearing of my return, came to see me. They greeted me with tears of gladness in their eyes, but with discontent and ejection in their hearts.

I found the destruction of my people continuing; I found conditions worse than when I left them years ago. I knew, of course, that the Sioux were in desperate straits last winter - that they suffered from cold and insufficient food, so my first inquiry was about food. An old-time friend pointed to a house from which he had just come. He said, 'See that meat drying on the line? That is horse meat. I have just had a meal of it.'

Everywhere we went horse meat was drying in the sun. We came to one place - a log cabin near Medicine Root Creek - and there was the usual line of it hung up to dry. A fine young colt had just been killed. My friends came out from the house, trying to be happy to see me. The older people were stalwart, the strength and vigor of their forefathers still apparent. But the young - they showed weakness coming on. Their cheeks were hollowed and their lower jaws drooped down - the inevitable sign of hunger. What will my friends do this winter when the snow drifts high?78

Through the work of the United States Public Health, the health standard of the Indian is improving each year. The Pine Ridge Hospital is a modern, up-to-date structure with the latest in ultra-modern equipment. It has not been easy, however, for the Public Health Service to convince the Indian of some of these newer methods.

Until quite recently, public health work was implicitly premised on the complete rationality of human behavior. This does not mean that earlier public health workers were unaware

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78Ibid.
of values, customs, beliefs, and related matters in determining health action. It was assumed that all one had to do was to inform and enlighten the people in matters of health and they would act appropriately. But as we are aware, the matter is not so simple. The human factor is considerably more complex than was originally envisaged. Future advances will require the consent and the cooperation of the people and will depend on an understanding of how to approach them, how to motivate them, how to help them recognize to understand the problems in the solution of which they are asked to participate. Any such action will be based on knowledge developed through the use of the relevant concepts, tools, and methods of the social sciences.79

The United States Government is trying to alleviate many of the health problems as found on the reservation by constructing new homes in the communities of Pine Ridge, Wounded Knee, Kyle and Manderson. Many of these homes have shutters that are painted with Indian designs, thus adding to the surroundings as there are very few trees and shrubbery in the area.

In a visit to one of the Indian reservations in Montana, a group of people visited the Sioux and the members were invited to stay in the Indian homes for a night. "Most of these were mud-chinked log hovels approximately ten by fourteen feet in which sometimes as many as nine people lived. Some new homes were found, modest substantial structures with clapboard siding. Beside one of them meat was seen drying on racks - exposed to the air in the age-old Indian fashion."80


In studying the culture of other groups, though diversive, it fits into a system that enhances man's knowledge. In culture, race, religion, habits, and language, the Indian was unique.

Health workers should have an intimate detailed knowledge of people's beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and behavior before attempting to introduce any innovation into an area.

It is in this area of determining the pattern or system into which these customs or beliefs fit that social scientists can probably make this greatest contribution to health programs.

These subcultural groups must be carefully defined as programs based on premises, true for one group, will not necessarily be successful in a neighboring group.

These include a determination of the leadership patterns within a community, a definition of the decision makers in a family or larger institution and determination of the status of various groups within the community and the status of the health worker in comparison to these groups.

By indicating the possible effects on other segments of the culture, and by determining the degree to which the concepts embodied by the new program have been absorbed into the existing cultural framework, social scientists would have a significant contribution to make in sensitizing health workers to the possible long range effects of their program.\textsuperscript{81}

The American Indian is meeting the challenge of the culture demands of modern society gradually. There is no one particular answer to the problems that the Indian faces. They are rising to the foreground in competition with the white men. The Indian has his eyes turned to progress and their determination is to work for these aspired goals that will give them recognition and status in our society. Too

often white man expects the Indian to fit into the white man's culture. Once the Indian has established his cultural patterns that are equal to the white man's, he will be able to compete more readily amidst the perplexities of our age. A fifty seven year old Indian from the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana has regretfully stated that "the Indian's democratic right is to be an Indian, if he chooses, instead of a counterfeit white man. There is much pressure on the Indian to make him to be like the white man." Another historian has aptly put it that "from the first retaliation against the white man who was encroaching on their lands, the old nomadic society was doomed to extinction as surely as the buffalo on which it depended."

The Indians are emerging on the horizon with new leadership, determined to make progress and to prove that they can be successful. One of these promising Sioux Indians who has studied the Indian problems determines that something should be done about it. This young, up-becoming Indian leader who has gained the deep respect of his own people is

... a slender, hatchet-faced Indian, who is aggressively helping his long impoverished people into a new era of self-respect. His method is one that might have made even fierce old Sitting Bull stand and cheer; the Sioux are going into business in a big way and taking the land back from the white people - and they are doing it legally and peacefully.

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For years, the hopeless 3,300 Indian residents of the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation lived in hovels along the river bottoms of the Missouri, Moreau and Cheyenne in South Dakota, while white cattlemen grazed their beef herds on 900,000 acres that they leased from the Indians for as little as 10 cents an acre. (Top rental today: 33 cents).

When the Federal Government was building the Oahe Dam on the Missouri River in 1954, the U. S. set aside about $10.5 million for rehabilitation and reimbursement to the people on the flooded land. The Tribal Council, first under chairman Frank Ducheneaux, and since last year under chairman Rivers, they began cancelling the white rancher's leases, turning over 4,200 acres and 100 head of cattle apiece to willing Indian families on a rent and loan basis.

In the oil fields north of Poplar, Montana, there is a sign of progress for the Indian's future. This alone could change the entire economy of the Indian and non-Indian for years to come. "It was learned that but one oil well had been developed on tribal land, although various individual Indians have successful wells on their allotments."85

A Jewish lawyer, Felix S. Cohen, writing about the Teton Sioux in an article "The Erosion of Indian Rights, 1950-53" states:

It is a pity that so many Americans today think of the Indian as a romantic or comic figure in American history without contemporary significance . . . Like the miner's canary, the Indian marks the shift from fresh air to poison gas in our political atmosphere; and our treatment of Indians, even more

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than our treatment of other minorities, reflects the rise and fall in our democratic faith. 86

The Administration of Indian Affairs originated in the late eighteen hundreds but "if any regard is to be had for the meaning of the words, the Administration of Indian Affairs, starts with 1928." 87 In the light of the previous record "of wastage of assets and demoralization of the Indian people, the period 1928-48 was one in which the government faced up to its responsibilities and the Indian people took fresh hope." 88

On the national scene, the Indians have responded through the formation of a National Congress in which they are advocating greater recognition of their rights and individualism.

If the Indians responded in no other way, their success in forming the National Congress of American Indians in 1944, and maintaining it as an active advocate of their interests, would be a measure of their growth. Earlier attempts at forming a national Indian organization had failed. The people had no sense of a common cause, their experiences in organization methods had been negligible; they had only vague notions about the ways of government and the mechanics of legislation, as these are practiced by white men. This was soon remedied by the practical experiences the tribes derived from the governments they established under the Indian Reorganization Act. Parliamentary procedures did not sit comfortable with them at first. Rule of the majority, for most tribes, was alien and hard to accept. But election to tribal office moved some individuals to present themselves as candidates for county and state offices. A few even looked ahead to winning a seat in Congress.

87 Ibid., p. 191.
88 Ibid.
The forming of the National Congress was a logical development in the growing political consciousness of the Indian people.\textsuperscript{89}

Ruth Benedict voices a growing concern for the problems that the Indians are faced with, primarily in racial discrimination, but the basic thought in many situations in her philosophy applies:

The crucial differences which distinguish human societies and human beings are not biological. They are cultural (i.e., they result from learned behavior). . . This is a truism which is often read off to mean that in a reconstruction program we should provide food that the recipients will accept, or plan houses such as they are accustomed to live in. Of course. But . . . in estimating behavior which is culturally our own as well as in estimating that which is alien to us, we must see it as a historical product, man-made, and inevitable partial. . .

These cultural patterns are coherent within themselves . . . This is inevitable, since these cultures are carried by living men and women in their habituated bodies and minds. . . They hold together, and any one item must be taken in conjunction with the whole structure or it has no relevance. Each item is, as it were, a brick in a total structure; and tearing out the bricks indiscriminately, however inconsequential they seem, may bring the whole structure down in ruins. This does not mean that change is impossible, but that changes have to be adapted to the existing building.\textsuperscript{90}

At the 85th Congress were a number of tribal delegates who advocated that the Point 4 Program be established for the Indian people. The problem was to devise the conditions and to bring to bear the stimuli which will induce the Indian people to adopt their customs, attitudes, and technical skills to the necessities of life in the

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.

American community. The language stating the purpose of the resolution reads:

It is declared to be the sense of Congress that this program shall be offered to the American Indian communities without existing termination of federal protection of Indian property or of any other Indian rights as its price; that Indian culture and identity shall not be restricted or destroyed; that technical guidance and financial assistance shall be made available; that the request for assistance shall come from the Indians themselves after each Indian group has studied itself in terms of its own needs; that an impartial effort shall be made to deal with the development of natural resources to maximum capacity, to develop the full capabilities of industrial and agricultural production, of health, and of the resettlement on the initiative of individuals and families in other areas; that technical assistance shall be given to long term general, vocational, technical, and professional education to enable American Indians to share fully in our total American society and to contribute to it; and that older, revered values shall be respected and used as new forms of living are introduced.91

Progress is being made on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. In the center of downtown Pine Ridge, a modern shopping center is now under construction with the first unit comprising the tribal offices and a bowling alley. Phase II will contain the main nucleus of stores and these are to be designed in modern contemporary style, similar to those found in large cities.

The Felix Cohen Nursing Home located on a commanding site in the north end of Pine Ridge is a very modern home for the aged. The Pine Ridge Indian Hospital contains a modern addition with the latest in medical equipment. New homes have been constructed and streets are wide and many are hard surfaced.

A writer of Sioux history tells what these people must do in order to continue to perpetuate their culture.

The contribution which the Indians might have made to the American way has been effectively handicapped, but not completely destroyed. The self-respect which the Sioux may be able to express in terms of their high heritage can prove a mirror for the future dignity and well-being of us all. For there yet exists the chance that the theory of democracy need not be equated with the insidiousness of conformity, but rather with the exhilarating concept of freedom for the nonconformist, whether as an individual or as a group.

Only when the Sioux people demand the right to decide how they shall express themselves, what they shall deny themselves, how they wish to adjust to changing situations, to forfeit security for change - only then can they again become the Vision Seekers.92

Another writer has aptly put it ... 

The Indian has made important contributions to the people of America - in agriculture; in arts and crafts; in medicinal herbs; in hundreds of other ways. It was an Indian Chief Occum-who materially assisted in the raising of funds for the establishment of Dartmouth College. In no other country in the world has a conquered people left so indelible an imprint as this - the Indian names which memorialize him everywhere. States, cities, mountains, rivers - even certain American monies carry his picture. The Indian is still making his contribution - in the terms of good citizens.93

The Indian is meeting his modern problems with a new hope and a democratic spirit. The demands of modern civilizations, the problems, the crisis, and the opportunity of our day are all factors that the


Indian recognizes. He is not a vanishing American as some would like to have him be, but his is a race with a future as well as a rich and dramatic past.

The world is thinking, speaking, and acting on behalf of minorities and in defense of democratic principles. While freedom from fear and want and freedom of speech and worship are granted abroad it should be also an accomplished fact within America. In other parts of the world the silent millions are becoming articulate; in places of poverty a share in the breadbasket and a place in the sun are being demanded. It is to be expected that the Indians who have slowly risen to their present racial independence must of necessity be given every opportunity for full development in the postwar tomorrow.\(^{94}\)

The Indian has much to share with us from his past. He has much to offer for the future. The Indian is a symbol of undying democracy and an outstanding example of a determined democracy. The American Indian will live, not only in the splendor of his past, in the poetry of the legends and his art that expresses so dramatically his rich heritage, but his continued faithful adherence to the ideals of his American citizenship and in the furtherance of building a greater nation.

CHAPTER III

"UPHEAVALS ON THE HORIZONS"

The process of assimilation, enforced by military conquest, initially caused the breakdown of traditional cultural elements, and subsequently substituted gradually a new culture pattern that eventually displaced the old. In the first phase of the process, the Dakota Indians suffered the loss of their food supply, as the buffalo herds were killed and their seasonal cycle of migration was prohibited. Some religious ceremonies were suppressed; the sun dance was emasculated when the climatic self-sacrifice was forbidden, and while carried on in secrecy for a time, finally succumbed to military and missionary opposition. Kinship controls over individual behavior were released in most Dakota camps, by the government's policy of creating phony chiefs, who could negotiate with the treaty commissions, but were unable to dominate the youthful warriors who opposed the bogus agreements. The ultimate destruction of military conquest was life itself. For in their battle to protect their lands against the intrusion of the settlers, the Dakota lost the lives of many of their best real and potential leaders, who were killed or imprisoned, and consequently it was easier to exploit the remnants of the once proud Sioux nation following their military defeat.

In the second phase of the assimilative process some efforts at modernization begin to take place, and this is first noted in the
adoption of those material cultural equipment which was demonstrably superior to or more convenient than the technology of the Indians. Thus the rifle and trade goods were readily substituted for traditional weapons, clothing, and decorations. As soon as the Dakota children could be collected into schools, bribed by food and shelter, the civil service teachers taught them new values that were only suitable to some Utopian but non-existent way of life. The Indian families were given the minimum needs for subsistence agriculture - land, plows, wagons, and rations - but the size of the farming units guaranteed a stable or limited degree of economic progress.

These were some of the most noteworthy changes that occurred on the Pine Ridge Reservation under the pressure of enforced assimilation. They served to shake the foundation of cultural values which had supported and provided a rationale for the norms and goals of Dakota Indian society. In time the shake became a quake and a severe crack grew in the substructure as the value base begins to crumble. As the cultural base was split away from the traditional group norms and goals, the assimilating individual was doomed to a cultural dilemma - there was no consistent path from his inner values to his outer behavior, and he was engulfed in the value conflict.

The road to assimilation was not marked out by the experience of previous travelers, and consequently each step was an adventure, and many false starts were made. The immigrant followed his predecessor's model and progressed step-by-step from one cultural level to
another in his assimilation process, but the Dakota tribes had no
guide or model, and their experiments were extremely disillusioning
as they seemed to be lead by their conquerors from one discontinuity
to another that interrupted their smooth transition from the old cul-
ture to the new. Each of these discontinuities have been verified
in the literature, and needs to be examined in some detail at this
time.

AGRICULTURE AMONG THE TETON SIOUX

The basic economic discontinuity was engendered by the govern-
ment's efforts to turn the attention of the Dakotas away from their
seasonal hunts toward a settled subsistence agriculture. The major
defect in this agrarian program was that they lacked the knowledge,
skills, and social organization essential to agricultural pursuits,
and their land base was in a semi-arid country in which small farming
units were likely to be highly unprofitable.

Almost without exception, the Village group of whites
made at least some attempts to cultivate maize. Of the north-
eran tribes, none have been credited with this practice, except
perhaps the Teton-Dakota. Yet, the earlier observers usually
distinguish the Teton from the Eastern Dakota by their non-
agricultural habits.95

The part of the American West which was idolized by the Indians
was the life of the cowboy. The characteristics of the cowboy were

95 Clark Wissler, North American Indians of the Plains, New
so appealing to the Dakotas that his dress and customs are copied by them and their cattle culture was readily adaptable to the conditions of tribal living.

The Indian males of today dress like cowboys. They wear large hats. Shirts fit close, and the colors are bright. Snaps are favored over buttons. Trousers are tight-fitting denims. High-heeled, narrow-toed boots are common. In haircuts, the crew cut is the choice among the younger men. Long, braided hair is worn only by some of the old-timers, especially the full bloods. A kerchief tie about the neck is standard. All Indians tattoo their skin with ink, usually on the backs of the hands, and the arms. Initials and small designs are preferred.96

Senator Henry L. Dawes initiated an act in Congress in the late eighteen hundreds that had as its primary objective to help the Indian to become established on the land. This law was heralded as the Triumphal Chord in the life of the American Indian, and provided for "allotment of lands in severalty:

...this law authorized the President, whenever in his judgment the time was ripe, to carve up a reservation, allotting to each member of the resident tribe a certain number of acres - the area depending on the character of the land and the family relations of the allottee, but the tract to be of the allottee's own selection - and to issue to him a patent containing a clause under which the Government should hold the allotted land in trust for the allottee for twenty-five years and then give him a patent in fee in exchange for the trust patent. The trust patent itself invested the patentee with all the privileges of American citizenship unaccompanied by any of its responsibilities, and he was expected to utilize the twenty-five years' period in preparing himself for his new status by learning how to earn a livelihood and take care of

his property. This law has been widely acclaimed as the Emancipation Proclamation of the red man.97

Government representative talked enthusiastically of this important act that was to produce a great amount of controversy. The optimism of the White leaders regarding this act spelled gloom and discord for the Indians in the years to come.

Thus in 1887, after much strenuous politicking, the so-called Allotment Act became law, a rope trick designed to make all Indians and their problems disappear and place the broad reservations in the more appreciative hands of white owners. Under this law tribes were to surrender their reservations, fragments of which were to be allotted to individual Indians as small, family-sized farms - from 10 to 640 acres each. The immense reservation acreage left over was to be declared 'surplus' and, after a token payment to the tribe involved, opened to white ownership.

Obviously the Allotment Act would break up the tribes and change all Indians instantly into God-fearing, industrious small farmers indistinguishable from anybody else. In this belief many sincere Indian friends backed the measure, and even General Crook lent his presence to the task of dragooning the plains tribes into going through the motions of accepting it. Since it would also give a massive shot in the arm to the land-office business, land speculation interest promoted the bill with an equal or even greater sincerity.

More than 100 reservations in the United States were established under the allotment act. These reservations comprised an area twice that of Oklahoma. However, many of these reservations were divided into smaller units and sold, but they went along in a desultory way for many years. The Allotment Act was not successful. Eventually, the allottees frequently lost their ragtag and bobtail patches of ground to white ownership. Many of these squatters were utterly dispossessed and some went to stay with relatives in order to have a place to live.

97 Francis E. Leupp, The Indian and His Problem, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, p. 34.
Hundreds of families collapsed into permanent pauper­
dom. The Sioux centering in South Dakota were the hardest hit;
their economic wreckage is evident yet.

The government held the land of the allottees as trust
for twenty-five years by granting him a patent in fee simple.
(The fee simple titles had the effect of putting the land on
tax roles and also made the land subject to alienation.) In
1920, the United States government adopted a policy of renewing
the trust periods, thus continuing the control of the Indian
lands. But the drastic reduction of reservations already
accomplished by the 1920's made Indian poverty chronic, and it
left no room for an expanding Indian population. A great many
of the Indians are extremely poor and they are not adjusted to
the economic and social system of the dominant white civiliza­
tion. Clearly the impatient and repressive policies of the
Allotment Act era had been in tragic error. 98

Although, the government officials attempted to make agricul­
turalists out of the Sioux, they soon discovered that these people
were not adept to farming, but were nomadic in nature. In the area
of the White River on the Pine Ridge Reservation, the government
officials told the Indians that in this area they would find a very
productive soil and plenty of pasture land. These officials had
painted the picture that was far too rosy and realistic for these
Indians.

True, the land was a fine one for Indians to camp in,
but the man in charge of Indian affairs had promised to turn
the Oglalas into self-supporting farmers, and for agricultural
purposes they could hardly have found a worse location than
this one at the head of the White River. The district was
notoriously subject to severe drouths and plagues of grasshoppers,

98 Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., Editor-in-Charge, The American Heritage
and the farm lands were small in extent, poor in quality, and difficult to work. 99

The Indians were introduced to a culture that was far different than their own when they encountered the white men. Since the Sioux were nomadic people they did not raise too many vegetables. Hunting was their primary source of food. As the Sioux moved from the wooded country of the Upper Great Lakes Region, they knew very little about farming and as they encountered their new experiences on the prairieland, they eventually turned to the raising of cattle and sheep, occupations which many find more congenial today.

RELATED DISCONTINUITIES IN THE SIOUX NATION

The Indians suffer seriously from a number of diseases. The amount of disease and disability is particularly appalling when considered in the light of the need for the Indian to secure an adequate living.

Through most of his history, the American Indian has enjoyed health as good as his white cousin's and in some way, better. But in the last century the Indian has suffered grievously: some 350,000 of a total Indian population of 400,000, live on barren reservations in grinding poverty, existing from hand to mouth in crowded, filthy huts with animals and vermin. The scourges that the white man has been most successful in suppressing the especially deadly for the Indian, e.g., diphtheria, tuberculosis, and dysentery. Any Indian born today on a reservation has a life expectancy of only 36 years against a neighboring white child's 61. Half the deaths (and nearly all the premature deaths) among Indians are from diseases that the white man's medicines can prevent or cure.

It was difficult to provide a competent medical staff for the 56 scattered Indian hospitals and 21 health centers. Many of the buildings were very old and outdated. Occasionally, a young doctor fresh from medical school, would dedicate himself to a lifetime of service among the Indians. The United States Public Health Service is now in charge of the Indian's health today.

When Indians live long enough to show their stamina, they seem to have proportionately fewer cases of cancer and diabetes than whites.100

In a study made by two physical anthropologists from the Smithsonian Institute related that the bones of Indians showed definite changes in relationship to the Indian's health.

The gains may have been a more settled way of life, a somewhat more abundant and reliable food supply with a little less effort expended, but aside from a slight increase in height in the later population, and the survival of a few individuals to greater ages, general health seems to have been adversely affected.101

Oftentimes, a poor diet can be traced to a low economic status. An inadequate income makes for insufficient housing which leads to overcrowding and facilitates the spread of disease. The lack of a sufficient diet and uncorrected physical defects contributes to the burden of the Indian and his family. It is apparent that "these conditions are similar to those which existed throughout the United States about 50 years ago."102

100"Indian Health," Time, LXVI, No. 2 (July 11, 1955), pp. 69-70.
101Charles Miles, "Indian Bones Tell Health Story," Hobbies, 68, No. 4 (June, 1963), p. 115.
The belief that Indians are more susceptible to tuberculosis has long been abandoned as a myth. Yet the statistics indicate that the Indian hospitals are crowded with patients suffering from preventable disease. In addition to tuberculosis, "pneumonia, diarrhea, and enteritis among infants and children, and the venereal infections, all of which are preventable or controllable, are the principal diseases involved in the need for hospital treatment."

Indians have lived in fear of such dreadful diseases as smallpox. The United States Government in digging up 2,300 graves for reburial, examined many of them and discovered "most of such isolated graves in that old Indian country, were those of smallpox victims. Dread of this disease among the Sioux was very great and the fear of getting smallpox often led the Indians to a point of hysteria." Another evidence of the malignancy of this dreadful disease among the Dakota Indians is this report: "Whole tribes of Indians have perished from smallpox in the past. Parched with fever, its victims have crawled to the river brink to slake their thirst, and, too weak to make their way back again, have died there, until the river's bank has been lined for miles, with row upon row of ghastly corpses." 

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Many of the diseases that the Indian suffer are due to "inadequate housing, overcrowded living conditions, and malnutrition. These are chief factors that constitute to the Indian's poor health. Indians tend to postpone any medical help until they are in dire need of some aid and until the disease may be severely contagious." \(^{106}\)

Progress is being made, however, in combating tuberculosis on the reservations throughout the United States. The government sanatorium at Rapid City is open to any Indian in South Dakota. However, one of the basic reasons why so few patients choose to go there is because they will be too far from their kinship group.

The government hospitals that are located on the reservation quite often have that "too modern touch" for many Indians. The Pine Ridge Indian Hospital is a very modern structure and the facilities in this hospital rank with some of the best in the country. In addition to the medical services that are rendered so efficiently to the Indians on the reservation, there is also dental work available to these people. The availability of health services does not always mean that they will be adequately used by the Dakotas, and "without sound health, the American Indian stands little chance of bettering his economic status. Yet at present, his rate for such diseases as measles, hepatitis, and dysentery runs three or four times higher than that of the general population. Despite a notable drop in the

\(^{106}\) Angela Mildenberger, "Indian Reservation's Principal TB Source," Grand Forks Herald, (September 6, 1964), p. 3.
tuberculosis rate among Indians over the past decade, it is still four times as great as in the rest of the nation.  

Many Indians, especially the aged tribal members, are reluctant to go to the modern hospital because medical practices are far different from traditional treatments for illness. There exists in many Dakota communities a conflict in values between the traditional ways and modern medicine. Even today there is found on the Pine Ridge Reservation a strong belief in the medicine man by some of the aged Indians. The deeply entrenched beliefs and traditional concepts of diseases and their treatment will often cause a wide spectrum of problems between the Indian and the modern doctor and the two quite often are hindered in their communication because "the language barrier constitutes a wide gulf in communicating ideas, causing serious difficulties and again provoking incidents that break the monotony of daily routine."  

The discontinuities that were wrought in Teton Dakota culture were compounded by the introduction of liquor, which they called "white man's fire water." A report by Chief Standing Bear in the early thirties relate the vices and drunkenness that was prevalent among the Sioux people.


Both sexes of the young are addicts to drunkenness and cigarettes and their language has become profane. These things fill the old Indian with shame. Black Horn said that vices were destroying their young. Self-mastery - which the old Indian knew so well - is weakened and the young have not the strength to deny themselves. When Black Horn was asked if the training of the white man could be offset he answered: "No, they have been taken too far away. Their faith is gone. We are powerless to save them."

It is interesting to note "many whites seem to think the Sioux were tough people, but by nature they were peaceable people. They have learned some bad habits from the whites, such as cursing and drinking. The native Sioux language does not have a cussword in it." Furthermore, the Indian cannot own an establishment where alcoholic beverages are served or sold, yet the non-Indian will operate such an establishment within the proximity of the reservation, thus draining the financial resources that should have been used to buy essential wants for the Indian family, which is "threatened by those very forces in society upon which he is dependent for nourishment and life."

The American Indian has been placed under National Prohibition for "more than a century." After the repeal of the Prohibition Act


in 1933, he remained under it "for another twenty years."\textsuperscript{113} The Federal Government finally repealed these prohibition laws "in September, 1953."\textsuperscript{114} States will vary in their sale of alcoholic beverages to Indians with laws depending upon local option. On the Pine Ridge Reservation alcoholic beverages are forbidden to be sold, but there is some discussion among agency officials that this may change in the near future.

Prohibition laws are modified from time to time and oftentimes these laws become more rigid as they are modified. A good example of this would be the amendment of 1938 as it pertains to the Act of 1892. It reads in part as follows:

Any person who shall sell, give away, dispose of, exchange, or barter any malt, spirituous, or vinous liquors, including beer, ale, and wine, or any ardent or intoxication liquor of any kind whatsoever, or any essence, extract, bitters, preparation, compound, composition, or any article whatsoever, under any name, label, or brand, which produces intoxication . . . \textsuperscript{115}

Nevertheless, alcoholic beverages are widely obtained and consumed in congenial situations that lead to a high rate of arrest for public intoxication, but it isn't only the Indian who lands in jail on a Saturday night after a drinking spree. They are more likely to be identified as problem users of alcohol and arrested, thus casting

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., p. 30.
a shadow of despair on those who belong to the minority group. At a special Toronto Yale Conference in 1939, an authority from the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Washington stated that the great majority of Indians were law-abiding, that their offenses usually were of a minor nature, and that organized crime and gangsterism common amongst white were almost unknown among them. He pointed out that many groups had suffered from a serious dislocation or complete destruction of their native economy; that many Indians have been reduced to a state of perpetual childhood by the institutionalism of the reservation system, to the point where they no longer feel the responsibilities of adults; and that many Indian groups have been reduced to pauperism. No wonder that in order to maintain their self-esteem they have sometimes resorted to drinking and other means of escape.  

The liquor problem was prevalent on the Pine Ridge Reservation even after the people voted to restrict sales because bootlegging at exorbitant prices was very profitable, and prohibition does not alter the cultural habits or values.

The accusations against the Indian for intemperance are mis-directed, since he was an upright, stalwart individual before being introduced to spirituous liquors by the early frontier traders, who sought to gain by taking advantage of the lack of cultural controls which would have prevented excessive use of alcohol.

That the Indians in their native state are drunken, is false, for they are the only temperance people, literally speaking that ever I saw in my travels, or expect to see. If the civilized world are startled at this, it is the fact that they must battle with, not with me. These people manufacture no spirituous liquor themselves, and know nothing of it until

\[116\text{Ibid.}\]
it is brought into their country, and tendered to them by Christians.\footnote{117}{Helen Jackson, \textit{A Century of Dishonor}, Boston, Roberts Brothers, 1885, p. 141.}

In the wave of complicated Twentieth Century living, many of the Tetons are being washed against the rocks of personal misfortune, for they are unprepared to compete in this fast moving age. They are pawns in the mainstream of living, puppets that are manipulated unmercifully, and have little control over their own destiny. "They were almost forcibly introduced to the 'blessings of civilization,' especially to firewater. Its temptations were too much for them and their stamina became impaired by intemperance and idleness."\footnote{118}{Christopher Turner, \textit{We Indians: The Passing of a Great Race}, New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1931, pp. 239-240.}

Alcohol has caused many problems among the Indians. Their economic plight has always been a very poor one and the money that many of them receive is spent on alcohol when it should have been spent on food and clothing for their families.

Many of the Indians had grandeur illusions when performing their sacred rituals. These illusions prompted the Indians to perform these ceremonial with greater stamina. With the introduction of "firewater" by the white man, the Indians partook of this drink, thinking that it would appease their gods in their ceremonial. Rather, it led to drunkenness, carelessness, and economic poverty.
The Teton Dakota's plight can be likened to Dionysian culture of ancient Greece, where values were held sacred as a means of escapism in order to experience far-rewarding aspirations. "The desire of the Dionysian, in personal experience or in ritual, is to press through it toward a certain psychological state, to achieve excess. The closest analogy to the emotions he seeks is drunkenness, and he values the illuminations of frenzy."\textsuperscript{119} The values and desires that the Teton Dakotas held were oftentimes Dionysian in viewpoint and this may be one of the factors that led many of them to accept this type of cultural pattern. However, we must not confuse this particular philosophy with other tribes of the United States since it was confined primarily among the Teton Dakotas.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AMONG THE SIOUX PEOPLE

The Pine Ridge Reservation has modern up-to-date elementary and high schools. In the village of Pine Ridge, the Oglala Community School contains a complex of buildings that would be comparable to many college campuses in our country. The educational system is very thorough in their teachings, and much emphasis is placed on academic subjects, as well as stressing good sportsmanship, cleanliness, and sound moral thinking.

The curriculum in many Indian Service Schools places a strong emphasis on the use of resources, home economics, and health educations.

In 1948 an evaluation of this program was made and while the Indian student devotes much of his time to vocational subjects,

... the fact that the Indian students perform as well as they do on standardized tests in academic subjects, makes it evident that this specialized training has not penalized them, and may even have contributed to their high level of achievement.\(^{120}\)

Opportunities are also available to Indian students to attend colleges and universities of their choice. There are many scholarships available for these students if they wish to avail themselves of the opportunity, yet the percentage of students from reservations is very low.

A few Indians are being graduated from colleges, but there are no Indian colleges or universities, unless one two-year, or junior, college could be so designated. Few of the high schools operated on the reservations by the Government are accredited. That is why so few Indian veterans have availed themselves of the opportunities to attend college offered by the GI bill.

The number of Indians engaged in the professions is practically nil. The reservation schools are staffed with white teachers, the reservation doctors are white, and the reservation Indian lawyer does not exist.\(^{121}\)

Boarding schools have become rather common place within the educational system on the reservations. The overt reason for this is due to the fact that so many of the Indian students live a long distance from the bus line and staying at a boarding school gives them

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\(^{120}\) David A. Baerreis, *The Indian in Modern America*, Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1956, p. 28.

an opportunity to further their education, despite the fact that they
will be separated from their family for a while. The latent function
of the boarding school is to tear the youth from the moorings of his
cultural heritage and the control of his family.

The era of the large boarding school off the reservation started
with the "establishment of the United States Indian Training and In-
dustrial School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1878."\textsuperscript{122} Other schools
were established at "Chemawa, Oregon in 1880; Genoa, Nebraska; Haskell
Institute at Lawrence, Kansas; and Chilocco, Indian Territory, all in
1884."\textsuperscript{123}

To acculturate these young Indian students to our modern educa-
tional system was not always the easiest task. Many of these Indian
children came from a strong traditional background and expecting them
to change their environment rapidly was very different for most of
them. In addition to the academic program that these schools offered,
they would also stress manual labor, providing part-time instruction
and part-time maintenance labor. In addition, these vocation goals
were forced upon the unwary students and "military discipline upheld
this practice."\textsuperscript{124}

\textsuperscript{122} Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle, Indians and Other Ameri-
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid., pp. 110-111.
Another type of school that became prevalent on the reservations was the day school. These schools operated on schedules very much like the government schools, except that the students were permitted to come home each evening. These day schools usually included the first six grades and sometimes included grades seven and eight. Many of these day schools are operated by the missions located on the reservation and supported by the mission board from the church's general headquarters. These mission operated day schools meet the state requirements, and they are interested in developing the student for future educational needs as well as their spiritual growth.

The native ability of the Indian people was studied several years by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the University of Chicago. In comparing intelligence tests of Indian children and white children of a rural area in the Middle West, the Grace Arthur Point Performance Scale and the Good-enough "Draw-a-man" tests were used with the Hopi, Navajo, Sioux, Papago, and Zuni Indian children. These same tests were given to white school children to compare their scores with the Indian children.

The highest average I.Q.'s of children ages six through eleven were made by Hopi children of Arizona. One group of Hopi children had an average I.Q. of 112 and a second group had 111, both on the Arthur Scale. These two groups measured 111 and 117 on the Goodenough test.

The Middle Western children scored an average I.Q. of 103 on the Arthur test and 101 on the Goodenough.

Pine Ridge Sioux children had a range of from 101 on the Arthur to 114 on the Goodenough. The Zuni children ranged from
100 to 112 on these two tests. Papago children ranged from 100 to 109.

Every Indian group had a higher average on the Goodenough test than the white children.

For the first time it was possible to say, as a matter of objective finding, that Indian children were worth educating. 125

In 1942 Willard W. Beatty, Director of Indian Education said: "A school program is only valid when it satisfies the needs of the people being educated." 126 He made a field study that lasted over a four year period regarding the Indian youth following the completion of their schooling. This investigation was limited to boarding school students, but there are similar patterns with other students as well. After completing four years of schooling, these Indian young people either remained at home or returned there within a short time after graduation. Students who had been trained in vocational courses as a rule did not pursue their trades, but found their way back to their home communities. 127

Every possible opportunity is provided to aid the Indian student to receive an education. The school program is diversified so it will meet the needs of those who are interested in a vocational program and marketable craftwork. The Bureau of Indian Affairs supervises all schools, making certain their curriculum is standard and oftentimes superior to non-Indian schools. The reservation schools try as much as possible to serve the needs of each reservation so the greatest number of students may be reached to better their future. 128

125 Ibid., p. 118.
126 Ibid.
127 Ibid.
128 Ibid., p. 119.
The story of the Indian educational program on the Pine Ridge Reservation shows what has been done, and more specifically what the Indians thought of the program.

In the early thirties, the high school grades had been added to the boarding school with shop work in carpentry, painting, auto mechanics, shoe repairing and simple agriculture. This reservation and its educational program was made the basis of a careful study by an anthropologist and a social analyst during 1938. There was a follow-up of each of the graduates as well as the vocational students who had dropped out before graduation. There were 128 boys and 111 girls. This of course, was a time of economic depression in the country as a whole, and of drought in the Dakota area. The assumption back of the trade training at the school, was that it would fit the children for off-reservation employment. The study revealed that two-thirds of the boys and 84% of the girls never left the reservation, although their training did not qualify them for any work on the reservation, except employment by the government, which was theoretically trying to get out of being sole supporter for the Indians. Many of those who did leave, returned; those who did not, were not for the most part enrolled in non-reservation boarding schools seeking further training. Of the girls, those who permanently left the reservation did so to marry men of fractional degrees of Indian blood, who were already making their homes away from the reservation. The conclusion of the study was that the existing program was not realistic, and a revised program was recommended, which coincided with the efforts being made by Extension, Forestry, Irrigation, and other Divisions of the Service to interest the Indian in the exploitation of their own reservation resources.129

In 1950, a study was made at Pine Ridge to reach every boy and girl who had graduated from, or had studied at a Federal, Mission, or Public high schools, and also those who had attended day schools, but who had not proceeded to high school. The purpose of this study was

to see how successful this program was to the reservation health and economic needs of the individual Indian. One effective and objective measure that was made "was the discovery that Indian ranchers showed a greater number of the desirable characteristics of a successful rancher, the closer their homes are to a Federal day school."\textsuperscript{130}

The Indian Reorganization Act has clearly defined the Bureau of Indian Affairs policy with respect to their educational programs and the expectations of their teachers. These primary objectives are:

1. To give students an understanding and appreciation of their own tribal lore, art, music, and community organization.

2. To teach students, through their own participation in school and local governments, to become constructive citizens of their communities.

3. To aid students in analyzing the economic resources of their reservation and in planning more effective ways of utilizing these resources for the improvement of standards of living.

4. To teach, through actual demonstration, intelligent conservation of natural resources.

5. To give students first-hand experience in livestock management, use of native materials in housing and clothing, in subsistence gardening, cooperative marketing, farm mechanics, and whatever other vocational skills are needed to earn a livelihood in the region.

6. To develop better health habits, improved sanitation, and higher standards of diet with a view to prevention of trachoma, tuberculosis, and infant diseases.

\textsuperscript{130} Ibid., p. 32.
7. To give students an understanding of the social and economic world immediately about them and to aid them in achieving some mastery over their environment.

8. To serve as a community center in meeting the social and economic needs of the community.

9. To provide the training necessary to obtain and hold a job away from the reservation area for those students who desire and need such training.

The methods for achieving these objectives were similarly set forth:

Teachers in reservation schools try to orientate their program around the needs of the local environment, instead of following a rigid prescribed course. Emphasis is placed on the spontaneous use of English, group discussions, and other informal methods of classroom learning. Teachers in Indian schools are with the Indian a good part of their time so they must aim to attempt to understand more fully the Indian viewpoint and Indian culture. They are expected to be community leaders and to be conversant with the problems of the rural economy and eager to elevate and dignify the rural life.\(^{131}\)

As we study the educational attainments of the Indians, we must realize that the Indians are not without opportunity. The Bureau's program has not disregarded the idea of helping the Indian. But the Indian must be helped to help himself and often times, due to political maneuvering, the spending of government money is not always utilized effectively.

But opportunity as defined by non-Indians means something else in the Indian's definition. Generally, for the Indian, it means nothing but a lot of hard work. In this light, the government often subsidizes Indian failures. Opportunity and vision go hand in hand for the non-Indian who wants a secure position

\(^{131}\)Ibid., pp. 20-21.
for the future. But the Indian is satisfied with one pay check, and then will leave a job. 132

Educational training was initiated upon the Indian by the white man and too often, this led to a discontinuity on the part of the Indian. Instead of accepting this new learning, the Indian oftentimes rebelled, because it was against his traditional way of life. He was being forced by the government and the white man's laws to accept something that he himself could not digest at times. A former superintendent of the Pine Ridge Agency, who now represents the people of South Dakota in Congress, said: "It is said that cleanliness is next to Godliness, but for us Indians education is next to Godliness. The hope of the Sioux people does not rest in treaties and handouts from the government, but in the education of our boys and girls." 133

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES ON THE PINE RIDGE RESERVATION

The employment opportunities on the Pine Ridge Reservation are limited and the problems of the people are largely economic and social. There are several fish hook factories located on the reservation in the communities of Pine Ridge and Wounded Knee. These factories employ a number of community residents but their employment rolls are far below their population, and steady work is difficult to coordinate with traditional cultural values:

133 Ibid., p. 109.
Generally, Indians will not look for permanent work off the reserve, nor will they stay with jobs for any length of time. For this reason, men with business interests are reluctant to hire such unsteady help. The average able-bodied male works perhaps longer and then live awhile on unemployment compensation. Income from whatever source is mismanaged.\textsuperscript{134}

The Pine Ridge residents may receive money from the lease of their land to white ranchers. Some receive a substantial amount from land sales, oftentimes this money may be spent in a very short time. After their money is gone, the Indians apply for relief, and they are soon back where they started. "These practices are not isolated occurrences; they are general. Divorces are stopped and engagements made on the strength of impending land sales."\textsuperscript{135}

The skills which the Indians have to offer in the employment market are readily exploited, and when they attempt to market these skills in non-reservation employment, they find that there is considerable prejudice which blocks their efforts to move into the dominant middle-class society. Much of the problem is directly attributable to the attitudes in the business community of the South Dakota town or city.

Public officials who shirk responsibility where Indians are concerned prevent the Indians from being treated like others, and close off the road of their progress. The practice of some public officials in communities where Indians have become firmly established uproots the families and sends them back to the Reservation. These officials are only creating future headaches

\textsuperscript{134}Ibid., p. 111.

\textsuperscript{135}Ibid., p. 112.
for themselves by not trying to solve the problems of these families in the cities, for more and more Indians will be leaving the reservation.\textsuperscript{136}

Economic difficulties encountered by the Pine Ridge Indians when they leave the reservation in search of employment present a very dull picture. There may be an assistance program, but frequently they are thrown unprepared into the competitive employment areas in which he has little chance for anything more than temporary success. Even those who have accepted the "success orientation" must possess initiative and ambition to succeed in the non-Indian economic world. At the same time economic forces of great power are pushing into the mainstream of the business culture.

It is estimated that the resources of the Indians at Pine Ridge will support less than half the tribal population.

The reservations are too small for the growing population and the major reason the Indians are now in the city is largely an economic one. Development of air fields, depots, and other industries presented a much needed opportunity for wage earning. This had a double effect. It gave the Indian some foundation for feeling wanted and needed in the community, as well as an experience in living in close association with whites. However, this experience for the Indian has not always been a successful or happy one.\textsuperscript{137}

The problem, once again, is that there are cultured discontinuities here which prevent the youth of Pine Ridge from moving smoothly from patterns of living that provided meaning to his life, to the modern "culture of youth." In fact, it is difficult for many Indian

\textsuperscript{136} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{137} Ibid.
youths to compete in the white culture because of the cultural strides being too great to take in one step. The impact with white society is too taxing and the Indian develops an attitude of withdrawal from the mainstream of activities. However, where the Indian youth can compete among themselves, they show a great deal of endurance and many times they are highly successful. The strong emphasis on the material things that make for happiness and success within the white culture overwhelms the Indian youth who find themselves facing this material type of achievement and not being able to compete successfully, adding to their frustrations and defeat.

RECREATIONAL FACILITIES ON THE PINE RIDGE RESERVATION

Lack of adequate employment opportunities on the Pine Ridge Reservation is associated with limited recreational facilities. Thus, the Pine Ridge youth has more leisure time and less to do with his leisure than is the case even in rural South Dakota communities where the common complaint of youth is that there is nothing to do. Some limited attempts to provide recreational facilities have been made. Near the small community of Oglala there is a new youth camp that is being financed by various organizations throughout the United States. The Jewish group, B'Nai B'rith, have given money for the construction of small cabins with each one named after a famous Indian chief. However, this camp does not have any residence director as yet, so vandalism seems to be rather prevalent in the area, and this is not the kind of leisure time activity for which it was designed.
Throughout the Church's work among the Indians, provisions are made to provide recreational services. Oftentimes, these facilities are very limited due to the taxing load of the personnel and also the lack of money with which to develop an effective program. "Yet the influence of missionary education has been beyond all proportion compared to the meager equipment of the schools and the appropriations for their support. Through these institutions, with the esprit de corps and personnel peculiar to themselves, the missionaries have been able to reach the children and often through the children the adults."\textsuperscript{138} Where missions have provided community centers and parish halls, they take the responsibilities in providing organized recreational activities. Among the recreational activities that are found on the reservation are tribal dances, rodeos, movies, hunting, swimming, sports and other social gatherings.

**SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF DECULTURIZATION**

As the Dakota Indians experienced more and more contact with the frontiersmen their entire scope of living began to deteriorate. The buffalo was fast vanishing from the great prairielands, and his religious ceremonies were suppressed by the white invaders, substituting in its place the rituals of the Christian creeds. The military took over the agency post and submission to its rule became mandatory. As the Indians became better acquainted with the advancing frontier

\textsuperscript{138} Ibid., p. 72.
society, he was taught new values, and material substitutions were made that completely modified his economic system.

With all these changes coming into pre-eminence in the life of the Dakota people, the foundation of their cultural values, which had supported and provided a rationale for the norms and goals of the Dakota Indian society were severely shaken. As these cultural values change from the traditional group norms and goals, the individual finds himself caught in a cultural dilemma that could very easily spell his gloom.

The government attempted to turn these hunters of the prairies into agriculturists. The major defects in the agrarian economy was that the Tetons lacked knowledge, skills and social organization which were essential to agricultural pursuits. They were primarily nomadic, and since they were not in one place very long, farming and the raising of crops could not be very successful.

Disease was prevalent among these people. Smallpox was especially feared because it was deadly for the Indian, and the introduction of other diseases such as tuberculosis, dysentery, and diphtheria was much more virulent in the conditions of trival living than to the non-Indians. Tuberculosis is still the number one disease among Indians, and the death rate from this disease is five times greater than among other Americans. There is still some reluctance on the part of the Indian to use the hospitals and other medical facilities on the reservation because there may be language barriers, there
is a conflict in values between the Indians' traditional ways and modern medicine.

The traditional Dakota are appalled by the drunkenness and vices that are weakening the younger generation. The youth do not have the goals or values which encourage moderation. Lack of controls in the use and purchase of alcoholic beverages, oftentimes, is a disruptive force that leads to serious emotional problems with the Indians.

Educational opportunities are adequate on the reservation, but they may not offer the student a chance to prepare himself for living in the larger society. A greater understanding on the part of the teachers is required to help the Indian student with his problems. Day schools and boarding schools are maintained by the government and various missions working on the reservation, but these schools have not resolved the major complexity that the traditional students are faced with in the acculturation of the technique ways of modern industrial civilization.

Recreational activities on the reservation are limited. Social and religious groups are conducting summer programs that help many children to gain an insight into a wider range of cultural activities. Coupled with the lack of employment skills and opportunities, the reservation offers little for the young people to do, and many of them get into trouble with the law.
The Teton Dakota Indians has much to offer, and some of these discontinuities can be solved by working together with those who can learn to appreciate their cultural contribution. The demands of modern civilization, the problems, the crises, and the opportunities of modern society are becoming more fully recognized by the Indian. He is not a vanishing American, but rather he is a member with a proud heritage with a future as well as the past. The American Indian is a symbol of undying democracy and an outstanding example of a determined democracy.
CHAPTER IV

"THE PROBLEM AND METHOD OF PROCEDURE"

The discontinuities observed in the life of the Pine Ridge resident are symptoms of a basic conflict in values between the contemporary cultures of the Indian and the non-Indian society. This value conflict is rooted in the history of first contacts, warfare, conquest, and enforced assimilation which have followed the policy of domination by the frontiersmen over his Indian adversaries. The goal was subjugation rather than cultural pluralism, and consequently the Dakotas have resisted and passively opposed changes in their traditional values system. Nevertheless value changes were forced on them, and some new values were adopted because of changing reservation circumstances, until most people in the communities studied are marginal, i.e., accepting both value system, at least in principle, but lacking fully consistent ideological integration of these two value systems within their personality structure.

The future of the Dakota Indians is bleak because of the conflict in values which persists in their thinking, and the next generation does not seem to be developing integrated attitudes which encourage assimilation. The case is further complicated by the fact that the "culture of youth" is non-conforming, and it seeks out the urban "culture of excitement," and finally it is associated with a
"culture of poverty." Each of these culture conflicts will be considered as evidence of the basic value conflict between two worlds.

The complexities of the Twentieth Century are gradually infiltrating the Dakota Indian way of life. They have acquired some desire for the products of the American economic system, but has often been unable to comprehend the means of obtaining these modern conveniences. Furthermore, their confusion is compounded by having to grope their way through the "paper culture" of government bureaucracy.

The white man as officeholder is, in many ways, a more perplexing and perverse figure to the Indian than the individual conqueror, or fur trapper, or explorer. Under the panoply of European formality the government representative communicated with the Indian leaders, but too often the form, and the spirit were not in close juxtaposition. The Indian, valuing the spirit rather than the recorded form, which in his litterless society was, for the most part, superfluous, could not cope with the legalisms of the white man. Nor could an alien government sympathize with, let alone understand, the plight of a race organized into categories that had no parallel in the white bureaucratic machinery.139

DEFINITION OF PROBLEM

After surveying briefly the situation on the Pine Ridge Reservation which has arisen out of historical circumstance, it is apparent that there are a penthora of social and economic problems which remain unsolved. In selecting from this range of unsolved problems it was determined that the basic question of health would be explored. It was assumed that contemporary food practices would necessarily

influence the individual's conception of his own health; and that, at the same time, the direct relationship between food practices and conception of health might be disrupted by economic position, and these three variables were selected for study and operationally defined as follows:

BUYING PRACTICE: This includes a selected list of associated activities which were observed and recorded on a survey form that was prepared by the owners of trading posts on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. The food practices included on the survey were chosen for their possible influence on diet and health.

ECONOMIC POSITION: This pertains to that level in the community where income is the determining factor in social status because it establishes the purchasing power of the individual. By position I am referring to a relative place, situation, or standing one has in a given community based directly on his current income.

CONCEPTION OF HEALTH: This refers to the Indian's actual idea of health that he has of himself and not necessarily what others think. Although, attitudes play an important part and oftentimes this can influence the Indian's viewpoint and attitude. By conception I am referring to an "idea" or "general notion," representing the universal use of the term "health," and comprehending those essential attributes that are associated with "health" and not specific health standards that can be pinpointed. The essential character of conception is that it suggests universal usage in contrast to any particular objective health measure or standard.

The Indian's conception of his own health may be influenced by the economic position in the community in which he lives. In this study of the Indian's food practices, economic position, and his conception of health, an attempt was made to study certain economic variables in relationship to the Indian's health. If these variables
did relate to the Indian's health, an attempt was made to find out what influence it plays in the overall welfare of the individual.

The data collected for this study was from two small communities located on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. There were one hundred and forty-two contacts made. Of these one hundred and forty two, sixty seven were from the community of Wounded Knee and the remaining seventy five were from Kyle. The information collected in this study was to aid in the understanding of the health role of the individual and the food purchasing practices.

As the Indians bought commodities at the store, it was attempted to discover how these commodities would have a determining influence on the Indian's conception of health. Buying habits were assumed to reveal attitudes which determined a person's health standard and in many cases, this will, in turn, determine the welfare of the family in general.

The major literature used in this project has dealt primarily with the Sioux Indians, although, reference to other Indian groups has been made to supplement information on food practices. The variables which may have a determining influence in establishing certain norms and standards of morale regarding the individual's health were selected after a careful study of this literature.

The working model of significant factors in this study contain the following variables:
An attempt was made to measure the Indian's customers' attitudes as they came into the trading post to aid in determining the following:

1. the purchasing of articles,
2. who does the buying in the family,
3. when do they shop for their groceries,
4. the type of purchase they use,
5. whether it is cash or credit or both,
6. the type of purchase of alcoholic consumption,
7. the importance of hunting,
8. the attitude that the Indians have toward credit buying,
9. do they raise their own vegetables for canning and also for selling,
10. do they stand around and talk a great deal,
11. are any special foods used in their ceremonials and beliefs regarding their health practices,
12. does the family have a balanced diet,
13. is shopping an everyday procedure or is it a semi-weekly affair,
14. how much of their income is spent on food.

The economic position evaluated in this study was based on the storekeeper's viewpoint in relationship to the Indian's income. The evaluation of conception of health was based on the storekeeper's viewpoint and also the records of the clinic and hospital at Pine Ridge.

The methods used in this study were somewhat varied. By working in the trading posts at Kyle and Wounded Knee and observing the Indians as they came in to do their buying, the author gained an
invaluable insight as to what articles they purchased, as well, as an opportunity to greet them and carry forth a casual conversation.

Another valuable procedure used was the field contact method. This method gave the author an excellent opportunity to contact the clergymen on the reservation. Valuable assistance was given by the Episcopal clergymen. An opportunity was extended to the author to visit some of the homes of the parishioners, attend their religious services, and receive information from the clergymen as it pertained to the project. Approximately forty per cent of the Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation adhere to the teachings of the Episcopal Communion, forty per cent of the Indians adhere to the Roman Catholic faith, and the remaining twenty per cent are equally divided up among other Protestant groups that are active in missionary work on the reservation.

One of the citizens from Kyle and the author toured the southern part of the reservation, in the Batesland region. On this trip there was ample opportunity to visit with the ranchers, dine with them at mealtime, and inspect some of their ranch buildings and land.

THE MAJOR HYPOTHESIS

The major hypothesis of this study is that the Teton Sioux contemporary buying practices are functionally related to his economic position and consequently influences his conception of health as observed on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.
THE WORKING HYPOTHESIS

The working hypothesis which can be analyzed statistically are presented here in null form.

1. In the Indian culture, there is no significant difference between the individual's conception of health and the buying practices.

2. There is no significant difference between the individual conception of health and economic position.

3. There is no significant difference between the economic position and buying practices.

4. The association between the conception of health and the buying practices is not changed by introduction of economic position as an intervening variable.

METHOD OF PROCEDURE

The chi-square test of significant differences will be utilized to accept or reject these hypotheses as demonstrated in the following dummy models.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Buying Practices (Y)} \\
\text{Conception of Health (X)} & \quad X \text{ high } Y_1 & X \text{ high } Y_2 \\
& \quad X \text{ low } Y_1 & X \text{ low } Y_2
\end{align*}
\]
Conception of Health (X)

Economic Position (T)

\[ \begin{align*}
H & \quad X_{\text{high}} \quad T_{\text{high}} & \quad X_{\text{high}} \quad T_{\text{low}} \\
L & \quad X_{\text{low}} \quad T_{\text{high}} & \quad X_{\text{low}} \quad T_{\text{low}}
\end{align*} \]

Buying Practice (Y)

\[ \begin{align*}
H & \quad T_{\text{high}} \quad Y_1 & \quad T_{\text{high}} \quad Y_2 \\
L & \quad T_{\text{low}} \quad Y_1 & \quad T_{\text{low}} \quad Y_2
\end{align*} \]

SUMMARY OF THE SURVEY

In this project it can be speculated that certain conclusions and implications will result from the significant facts uncovered in
this study. However, it is first of all essential to remember that reservation conditions change and several years from now the trend may vary rather dramatically as things on the reservation are undergoing some far-reaching changes. Time with its circumstances may play an important role in determining the future of the Pine Ridge people.

However, there are certain conclusions which can be formulated from the current facts. The Lakota Language is still used very prevailingly throughout the Pine Ridge Reservation, such as at tribal meetings, church gatherings, and visiting with other Indians in their homes and in the stores. A great majority of the Indians are bilingual and this is due partly to the accultration with the white man. The strength of a person's culture can often times be determined by what degree that person or group of persons have retained their native tongue.

The conclusions from this study may not be a hundred per cent concrete. However, it is safe to say that on the Pine Ridge Reservation there are changes taking place that will affect the economy of the Oglala Sioux Indians. As a person studies the diet and food practices of these people, we can see how the present day buying practices differ from what it has been in the past. The Indian's conception of health is the attitude that he has of himself and not necessarily what others think of the Indian. However, attitudes that
the Indian has played an important part in determining his personal welfare now and in the future.
CHAPTER V

"THEORETICAL FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM"

The people of Pine Ridge are actors in an ethnic social system which is changing as the pressure of the dominate society forces them to assimilate. Each individual inhabitant of a reservation community performs in his status-roles in conformity with group norms in order to achieve the ends or goals which he has chosen for himself. As a person his function in the social system will be rooted in the basic social psychological process. His cognitive view of the world in which he lives provides the motivation for social action, and this Weltanschauung serves as the foundation for values, beliefs, and attitudes. When these are consistent and predictable the social system exhibits internal stability - the status-roles, norms, and goals are standardized and static. The coercive force emanating from the dominate society toward assimilation is directed at changing the goals of the Indian social system, and the reverberations spread to create conflicting norms, and status-roles in the reservation community. Ultimately, the contradictions imposed upon the social system are felt by the individual, and result in conflict in his system of values and confusion in his cognitive view of the world that appear as systems of personal disorganization in his behavior. "The disruption of the traditional Weltanschauung and values of the individual may result in
new modes of adaptation to the anomic conditions. Merton has broadly
categorized these reactions as conformity, innovation, and rebellion.\textsuperscript{140}

The application of this generalized statement of theory to
food habits of the Pine Ridge Indians requires elaboration in these areas:

1. The social system. What are the functions of the
acquisition, distribution, preparation, and eating
of food in the organization of the Pine Ridge
"communities?\textsuperscript{141}

2. The cultural change. What value conflicts regarding
food consumption arise in the assimilative process?\textsuperscript{142}

3. The personal and social deviations. What dysfunctions
are observed in the use of food which may symptomatically appear in the individual's conception of his
own health?\textsuperscript{143}

A. THE SOCIAL SYSTEM IN THE PINE RIDGE COMMUNITY

Loomis states that a social system is composed of the patterned
interaction of actors. Its members are influenced through the shared

\textsuperscript{140}Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomia," in
Sociological Analysis, by Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, New York:


\textsuperscript{142}Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, Sociological Analysis,

symbols and expectation of this patterned structure. In order to fully understand the systems within a given society, attention must be directed on the uniformities of the interaction within that society. Careful analysis must be made to understand the social interaction within a particular social system. Elements within a given system, however, do not always remain the same for any given period of time, except by abstraction. Processes within a social system change as time changes. Processes are merely tools by which you can measure and analyze the workings of a social system. The kinds of processes are pertinent to an analysis of a social system. (1) The specialized elemental processes which emphasize separate elements, (2) The comprehensive processes involving several or all of the elements within the social structure. Structural-functional analysis of a social system is accomplished by combining one structural element with its particular elemental functional process. There are conditions within a system which serve to control the functioning of the whole system. Within the Dakota Indian society there are definite patterns of behavior by its members which in many ways are far different from the cultural patterns of the non-Indian society.

The cultural practices by which food was acquired, distributed, prepared, and consumed were firmly established and highly institutionalized in the traditional Dakota social organization. As previously discussed, the buffalo hunt provided a distinct set of norms by which the individual hunter could achieve the goals of providing
sustenance for himself and his family as well as achieve some degree of recognition for his success in the hunt. The status-role of the hunters was ranked nearly on a par with the warrior, and the skilled hunter was accorded honors in the tribal ceremonies and counsels.

A social system has certain specific goals which it attempts to accomplish. In order to attain these specific goals there must be beliefs, values, and sentiments essential to the system that are important to accomplish these goals. These elements form a foundation for all the actions that take place within the social system. Societies are comprised of individual actors, and each actor views his universe based upon the beliefs, values, and sentiments of his social system.

Coordination of the actions of the individual within a system is achieved through allocating actors to the status-roles. The modified conditions for action within a social system, its structural-functional categories, and the comprehensive processes which are used in this study follow the theoretical formulations proposed by Loomis:

(1) The conditions of action involve three specific factors: territory, size, and time;

(2) The elements and elemental processes with its structural-functional categories present the Dakota social system as an ongoing concern with its changes and alterations. These element processes are made up of the following: (a) beliefs and knowledge, (b) values, (c) sentiment, (d) norms, (e) sanctions, (f) status-roles, (g) power, (h) rank, (i) facilities, and (j) goal achieving;

(3) The comprehensive processes involve the socialization and communication within the social system and the systemic
linkage with its relationship with one another, and the results that occur from that linkage. Other master processes that were used in this survey were boundary maintenance, social control, and institutionalization.

B. CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE INDIAN CULTURE

Members within a social system usually have specified goals. Actions within the Dakota Indian system relating to their food practices include their nomadic way of life, hunting, and the gathering, preparation, and the consuming of food. These are goals of the food quest that relate back to the Dakota knowledge and beliefs, values, and sentiments. These three elements are called the "basic building blocks" of a social system, and they furnish the basic guides for the interaction of the system's members.

The imposition of direct military control over the Dakota tribes which occurred at the beginning of the Reservation period accelerated the process of assimilation and consequently injected the Indian Social System with disruptive forces which were too great to resist. They could not insulate themselves against the cultural shock of military domination. The Reservation period was characterized by a series of new adaptations that were superimposed from the outside by the combined bureaucratic power of army officers, government officials, and legislators. All were at odds on some issues, but they could ultimately attribute their opinions to a fictitious public opinion which spoke loudly and carried a very small stick.
The initial power was in the elected governmental representatives, which they abdicated on most occasions to the military and the bureaucrats. These mercenaries found the locus of power in the Dakota Social System was in the patriarchal kinship systems and, they simply divested the permissive leader of his authority, and substituted the authority of the Indian Agent who, in turn, measured his success in terms of the discipline maintained by direct corporal punishment, imprisonment, and the threats of starvation. But it was also essential for the agent to expand his control over the socialization of the children which had been a primary function of the kinship group. Many Indian children were taken from their parents and sent to boarding schools; the pressure to strip the child from his traditional family mooring varied from mild coaxing to kidnapping. Once the Indian child was socialized in the ways of the dominated social system, he could return and serve as an interpreter for his people. This added another string to the bow of control held by the Agent, for he now held the allegiance of those who were most aware of the dominate society and could interpret it to their tribesmen.

The power struggle ended when the Agent was in a position to control the master processes of socialization and communication within the Dakota Social System. Now the system began to change and this change was apparent on two levels: the individual or personality level and the cultural level. The social psychological elements - cognitions, motivations, action tendencies, and attitudes - form one basic
foundation for the establishment of the individual personality. On the cultural side, the Weltanschauung is subdivided into knowledge, beliefs, values, and sentiments which form the second pillar of the social system. These foundation flocks are tied together by the socialization and communication processes, and hence the Indian Agent was able to simultaneously undermine both of these fundamental configurations by controlling the socialization and communication processes.

In the behavior of individual actors in a social system it is the personality substructive that began to fail to support the traditional status-roles of Dakota culture. Some individuals were alienated from their tribal culture and began a gradual adaptation to the dominant society, but these were the exceptions, and they were unable to establish a path that was readily available to the majority. They simply deserted to the enemy and were exiled from their family and friends. Eventually they left the Reservation and were lost in the assimilative anonymity of the dominant society. The residue who remained behind were confused actors - marginal men - who would search for the best of both possible worlds, but ultimately a great many fell prey to the hosts of symptomatic disorganization which haunt the reservation community. Some would retreat into the traditional roles, and find status in preserving something of the glory of the past, while most were modifying their status-roles to fit the demands of an exploited subculture with the larger society of western South Dakota.
It was, for example, possible for some of the old role of the buffalo hunt to be re-enacted in the cattle drive, and some of the Dakota young men traded their roles as buffalo hunter for the role of the cowboy. Likewise the status-roles of Dakota warrior could be modified by some young men to conform to the status-role of the Army private.

C. THE PERSONAL AND SOCIAL DEVIATIONS IN THE INDIAN CULTURE

The schism of the Weltanschauung away from the traditional norms and goals in the Dakota Indian Social System was accompanied by a variety of socially disorganizing configurations. The quake was felt right down to the very bottom of their culture system, and the resulting conflict in values between the traditional and modern ways of life was apparent in the confusion exhibited in knowledge and beliefs and the aggressive expression of emotion within the kinship groups. The basis of the norms was destroyed and anomie (normlessness) characterized the patterned interaction within the Reservation community. The deviant modes of adaptation to this normless condition tended toward (1) conformity, (2) innovation, or (3) rebellion.

The difficulty of achieving the goals of the social system is complicated by the action of the agents of the dominate culture in forbidding some of the traditional goals and the means of obtaining the goals. It is evident, for example, that the Dakota food quest was severely restricted by the destruction of the buffalo herds, and the
Indian Agents' prohibitions against leaving the Reservation. Some goals are virtually eliminated, some become covert, and retained in secret cults which attempt to preserve customary values, some are compatible with the goals of the dominant society, and finally, acquiring the new cultural equipment and material of the dominant society tends to become a goal of trade and economic advantage. In the latter instance new facilities were substituted for the loss of the food supply, and thus the government ration of beef replaced the buffalo. In fact, some early issues of beef cattle were actually killed from horseback by the Indians imitating the traditional buffalo hunt.

The problem from the viewpoint of the individual in approaching an assimilating social system is depressing. He must choose between the traditional and modified social roles, which are guided by an *anomic* system of norms, and attempt to reach goals which are extremely complicated. A few exceptional people can make sense out of this situation, but they are likely to be those who are able to obtain some rank created by the government, learn to understand the legal sanctions imposed by the dominant society, and cooperate with the new power structure superimposed by the conquerors. A second larger group maintains their cultural continuity by retaining traditional status-roles, ranks, sanctions, and by devotion to the finest values of their ancestors are able to achieve limited goals that are compatible with those of the dominant society. The vast majority of the Dakotas were
unfortunately subjected to a social control system which forced them to conform to norms which were unclear, and the result was anomie, and the profusion of systems of social disorganizing dysfunctions which characterized all phases of the Dakota culture during the early Reservation Period.

Returning once again to the beginning, the superimposition of military control on the traditional Dakota power structure set in motion two essential disruptions: (1) the alienation of the personality from the system of status-roles; and (2) the schism of the Weltanschauung from the norms and goals. As these two pillars of their social system began to crumble, the destruction reverberated throughout the social system - goals were eliminated, facilities destroyed, and status-roles modified, and all of these dysfunctions tend to create a violent breakdown of the norms, and the result was anomie. Thus the assimilative process is ultimately productive of attempts at adaptation to deviant conditions: (1) conformity - a few people accepting the new goals of the superordinate society and the means of achieving these goals; (2) innovation - the older people may tentatively accept the new system, but they reject the means of obtaining the goals; and (3) rebellion - the vast majority reject both the reigning goals and means of attainment.
CHAPTER VI

"STATISTICAL ANALYSIS"

The purpose of this chapter is the formulation and testing of the hypothesis that the Teton Sioux Indian's contemporary buying practices are functionally related to his economic position and consequently with his conception of health as observed on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. The procedure followed here will be to divide the analysis in two parts. First, to show by frequency tables and chi-square tests the contrasts and similarities between the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee. In the frequency tables we shall see a contrast in the two communities that will determine which one is more traditional. In the chi-square tests, we shall find both in Kyle and Wounded Knee that attitudes toward conception of health and their economic position to be about the same. Second, considering the two communities together, to formulate hypotheses regarding the relationship of the selected variables, test them and present the results of the test.
I. COMPARISON BETWEEN WOUNDED KNEE AND KYLE

A. Frequency Tables

TABLE I. Annual income of families in the Wounded Knee and Kyle communities, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th></th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-999</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000-1,999</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>37.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000-2,999</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>31.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000-3,999</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000-over</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean ($\bar{x}$): 1,522.15  
Mode (M): 1,500.00  
Standard Deviation: 849.15  

Total Income: $101,984.00  

In surveying the income in the two communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee, income was classified in five distinctive categories, ranging from zero dollars to four thousand and over. The total sample from both Kyle and Wounded Knee was 142 entries, 67 families in Wounded Knee and 75 in Kyle. The total yearly income for the Kyle community was $126,200.00 and $101,984.00 for the Wounded Knee community. The difference between them was $24,216.00.
In both cases the majority of income were in the range of $1,000 to $2,999.00, but the average income in Kyle ($1,682.66) was greater than that in Wounded Knee ($1,522.15). That is, families in Kyle had a little higher annual income than in Wounded Knee. The symmetry of frequency distributions in the two communities differed as follows: (1) the curve in Kyle was slightly to the right (since its mean was greater than the mode: $1,082.66 - 1,500.00 = 182.66); (2) whereas the curve in Wounded Knee was approximated the normal, (because the discrepancy between its mean and mode was only 22.15). The implication of this fact is that the income distribution of Kyle approximated the modern income type more than that of Wounded Knee. Although Wounded Knee community had a higher proportion of the lowest income group (25.4%) than Kyle (17.3%), included in this category in Kyle were five families with no visible income\(^1\) and no one in Wounded Knee whose income was zero. In addition, the community at Kyle had 1.3% over four thousand dollars whereas at Wounded Knee there was no income over $4,000.00. Kyle had a higher percentage of incomes in the class interval between $3,000.00-$3,999.00 than Wounded Knee (3.0%). Accordingly, the standard deviation of income in Kyle (909.09) was greater than that in Wounded Knee (849.17).

From the above analysis it is apparent that the distribution of income in the Kyle community was less traditionally Indian than the

\(^1\)NOTE 1: Five people had no income due to moving away from the area, getting financial help from their relatives.
distribution in Wounded Knee even though both of these two commu-
ties were still in typical low-income patterns.

TABLE II: See page 131

In classifying the traditional ways of the Indians, five dis-
tinct categories could be evaluated in these two communities regarding
their Indian heritage. From the above table it was found that there
were 4% of the respondents in Kyle belonging to the category of "many
traditions gone," but none in the community of Wounded Knee; that Kyle
had a greater percentage of "Indian ways weak" (16%) and of "Average
Indian ways" (50.67%) than Wounded Knee, (7.5% and 20.90). Contrari-
wise, it was also discovered that Wounded Knee had a greater amount
of Indian ways (Fairly strong-37.3%, strong-34%) than Kyle (29.23% and
zero). These facts indicated that Kyle was more of a transitional
community. It is interesting to note that the men in Kyle lead the
women in regard to their traditional ways (29.79% vs. 28.57%),
whereas, in Wounded Knee, the women were more traditionally oriented
than the men as it was related to the Indian culture (37.30% and
34.30% vs. 34.38% and 12.50%). That is, men in Kyle and women in
Wounded Knee were more conservative. Relatively speaking, even though
Kyle was a more white-adapted community, it still had 29.33% people
in "Fairly strong Indian ways" and 50.67% in "Average Indian ways."
(Wounded Knee had 71.60% in the strong Indian ways and 20.90% in the
latter category). So it would be fair to conclude that both Kyle and
Wounded Knee are still largely in the buying practice of traditional
Indian ways.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th>Combination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No. %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many traditions gone</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td>2 4.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian ways weak</td>
<td>5 15.62</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Indian ways</td>
<td>12 37.50</td>
<td>2 5.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly strong Indian ways</td>
<td>11 34.38</td>
<td>14 40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Indian ways</td>
<td>4 12.50</td>
<td>19 54.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32 100.0</td>
<td>35 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Classification of the categories of traditional Indian buying practices was based upon the following ten questions which were tabulated in accordance with the storekeeper's viewpoint about Indian purchasing practices in their trading posts: when do Indians shop for their groceries; is shopping an everyday procedure or is it a semi-weekly affair; the type of purchase they use, whether it is cash or credit or both; alcoholic consumption; the attitude that the Indians have towards credit buying and towards government commodities; do they raise their own vegetables for canning and also for selling; any special foods that they buy which would be used for ceremonials and beliefs regarding their health practice; does the family have a balanced diet; do they have the habit of speaking to one another in the store and to any strangers that are around; and their appearance in Indian clothing.

a. Do they shop everyday? TABLE III. Page 133

Examining the total column of the table, the majority of the people in both communities did their shopping several times a week (43.0%), while 40.8% shopped frequently and only 16.2% almost everyday. The people in Wounded Knee, both men and women, shopped more frequently than people in Kyle (79.1% vs. 40.8%). One of the reasons for this phenomenon may be that people in Wounded Knee are still retaining more traditional ways than in Kyle. The other may be due to lack of sanitary conditions as well as refrigeration equipment in the homes of Wounded Knee. The homes in Wounded Knee of many
TABLE III. Traditional buying practices according to survey of the Indians in the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do they shop everyday?</th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Combination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequently (3-4 times a week)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several times (1-2 times a week)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost everyday (5-7 times a week)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
respondents were extremely primitive, lacking all modern conveniences. As a result, they need to shop for food more often.

b. When do they do their buying? TABLE IV. Page 135

Both in Wounded Knee and Kyle the majority of the Indians who came to the trading post did most of their shopping in the morning. But at Wounded Knee the morning and late afternoon shoppers were rather evenly distributed, with the morning shoppers having a little higher ratio (49.2% vs. 41.8%); at Kyle there were 60% of the people shopping in the morning, but only 1.3% in the late afternoon. It is interesting to note that in Kyle twenty-seven women did their shopping throughout the day, whereas, in Wounded Knee none of the women were recorded as shopping throughout the day. Only 2.1 percentage of men in Kyle shopped in the late afternoon, but in Wounded Knee the percentage was as high as 65.6%. Out of 142 entries, 54.9 were classified as early morning shoppers and the other two categories, shopping throughout the day and the late afternoon, were 24.7% and 20.4% respectively. Consequently, most of the Indians in Kyle and Wounded Knee did their buying in the morning.

c. Type of Purchase. TABLE V. Page 136

In regard to the type of purchase in these two communities, Wounded Knee had a higher proportion of shoppers regarded as poor credit risks by the storekeeper than Kyle, (83.6% vs. 4.0%). This might be partly due to the fact that the traditional ways in Wounded Knee are greater than in Kyle, and partly because the former possesses
TABLE IV. Traditional buying practices according to survey of the Indians in the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1964

<p>| When do they do their buying? | Wounded Knee |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
|------------------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                              | Men          | Women     | Combination | Men          | Women     | Combination | Men          | Women     | Combination | Men          | Women     | Combination | Men          | Women     | Combination | Men          | Women     | Combination | Men          | Women     | Combination | Men          | Women     | Combination | Men          | Women     | Combination |
|                              | No.  %       | No.  %    | No.  %      | No.  %       | No.  %    | No.  %      | No.  %       | No.  %    | No.  %      | No.  %       | No.  %    | No.  %      | No.  %       | No.  %    | No.  %      | No.  %       | No.  %    | No.  %      | No.  %       | No.  %    | No.  %      | No.  %       | No.  %    | No.  %      | No.  %       | No.  %    | No.  %      |
| Morning                      | 5  15.6      | 28  80.0  | 33  49.2    | 44  93.6    | 1  3.6     | 45  60.0    | 78  54.9    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Throughout the day           | 6  18.8      | 0  0.0    | 6  9.0      | 2  4.3      | 27  96.4   | 29  38.7    | 35  24.7    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Late afternoon               | 21  65.6     | 7  20.0   | 28  41.8    | 1  2.1      | 0  0.0     | 1  1.3      | 29  20.4    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Total                        | 32 100.0     | 35 100.0  | 67 100.0    | 47 100.0    | 28 100.0   | 75 100.0    | 142 100.0  |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Purchase</th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Combination</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Combination</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor credit</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>83.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash-credit</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>80.9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash promptly</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a lower average income than the latter. The vast majority of customers in Kyle are cash-credit: this forms a total of 73.3% or fifty-five people out of a possible seventy-five. The prompt payment of cash was 22.7% in Kyle, but in Wounded Knee it was only 7.5%. These results were undoubted because the trading post operator in Kyle had eliminated many of his charge customers to adopt "cash" or "cash-credit" types of purchases in order to give his business a stronger economic position.

d. Alcoholic Consumption. TABLE VI. Page 138

Alcoholic consumption has been a problem in most Reservation communities and in this survey 42.3% used no alcoholic beverages. Of the 57.7% who did consume alcohol, the Kyle community had a larger percentage than Wounded Knee, (73.3% vs. 40.3%). This fact suggests that people in Kyle have accepted this exotic culture item more strongly than the people in Wounded Knee. Observing separately, in Kyle more men drank than women (78.7% vs. 64.4%) and this was also true in the community of Wounded Knee, (62.5% vs. 20.0%). While the comments on why more men drank in this country than women commonly attribute it to the monotony and lonesomeness of the terrain, it is probably more the consequence of social attitudes in this society that drinking for men is more acceptable than for women.

NOTE 2: See page 128.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alcoholic Consumption</th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Combination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most-much</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average to Little</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
e. Attitude towards credit buying and government commodities.

TABLE VII. Page 140

In Wounded Knee the highest percentage, both men and women, was the positive attitude - "good" (76.1%), but in Kyle the "average" group (56.0%) received the most frequent response. This phenomena may have resulted from the fact that these two communities emphasized two different types of purchase. Wounded Knee was more credit and Kyle more cash oriented. In both of these communities, women had a higher percentage in the "good" category than men (88.6% vs. 62.5% in Wounded Knee; 39.3% vs. 27.7% in Kyle). With respect to "indifferent" attitude, the percentage in Kyle was evenly distributed between men and women, whereas in Wounded Knee there was no woman in this category. Based upon the above analysis it is possible to conclude that women are more desirous of credit buying and government commodities.

f. Vegetables and Canning. TABLE VIII. Page 141

It is interesting to note that the distribution of vegetable raising and canning of fruits and vegetables is approximately the same in both instances. The proportion between men and women in both Kyle and Wounded Knee is very close. Out of the 142 people questioned, 106 raised little or no vegetables, (74.7%). Only eight people (5.5%) raised vegetables that could be classified "good." The reason so few of the people in the communities raise vegetables might be due to the

NOTE 3: See page 134.
### TABLE VII. Traditional buying practices according to survey of the Indians in the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Their attitude towards credit buying and towards Government Commodities</th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Combination</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Combination</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Combination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indifferent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE VIII. Traditional buying practices according to survey of the Indians in the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do they raise many vegetables and do they do much canning?</th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Combination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little to None</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average-Fair</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
fact that drought and climatic conditions result in a high proportion of crop failures.

**g. Any Special Ceremonies. TABLE IX. Page 143**

In regard to any special ceremonial beliefs concerned with the use of food, the majority of the people in Kyle (93.3%), mentioned that they didn't observe some rituals. However, in Wounded Knee 39 respondents (58.2%) mentioned some type of ritual connected with food. This fact indicates that Wounded Knee in this aspect was also more in touch with traditional ways than Kyle, men were more apt to be non-observants of ritual than women. Food rituals would most frequently be associated with such ceremonies as baptism, weddings, births, deaths, and special holidays.

**h. Are their groceries and diet balanced? TABLE X. Page 144**

Out of the 142 entries made in our survey, 104 (73.2%) were classified as "little to none," 11 people (7.7%) as "average" and 27 people (19.1%) as "good." It means that both in Kyle and Wounded Knee people's groceries and diet might be inadequate because they were living in a situation of poverty. Comparing Kyle and Wounded Knee, the former had a higher proportion in the first category than in the latter. The families in Kyle had a relatively higher level of living, and still felt more dissatisfied with their diet than those in Wounded Knee. In both cases, however, there was a fairly even distribution among the women and the men.
TABLE IX. Traditional buying practices according to survey of the Indians in the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do they have any special ceremonial beliefs regarding the use of food?</th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Combination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>84.4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE X. Traditional buying practices according to survey of the Indians in the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Are their groceries and diet balanced?</th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Combination</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Combination</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Combination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little to None</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
i. The habit of speaking to one another. TABLE XI. Page 146

Approximately two thirds of the Indians in this study (64.1%) speak to strangers while they come into the trading post. However, in the "poor-none" category, 35.9% were rather quiet in this regard. Usually, men seem to be more aggressive socially than women, and yet in Wounded Knee the majority of women were better in meeting strangers than the men. Not quite half of the people in Kyle had the habit of speaking to one another in the store and to any strangers that were around, while in Wounded Knee three-fourths of the respondents had this trait. It might be implied that personal relationships in Wounded Knee were stronger than that in Kyle.

The reason for Wounded Knee people speaking more to one another may be related to the fact that the proprietor of the Wounded Knee Trading Post was also the postmaster, and many people came into the store to wait for their mail. While they were waiting, there was a better chance for them to gossip with one another both in the English and the Dakota language.

Another reason may be that the storekeeper in Wounded Knee permits his permanent customers to buy things on credit. Everytime they came into the store to purchase some commodity, the clerk would keep a very careful record. If a customer was buying too much, the proprietor would call his attention to this, thus encouraging people to talk with one another. Whereas in Kyle the people just went shopping and paid cash, and there was more of an independent attitude on their part.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do they have the habit of speaking to one another in the store and to any strangers that are around?</th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Combination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>81.3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor-None</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
j. The appearance of the Indian clothing. TABLE XII. Page 148

As to the distribution of appearance in the Indian clothing, the majority of people in Wounded Knee belonged to the category of "more Indian dress" (83.6%), while in Kyle the ratio wasn't quite so high (57.4%). But there was a larger ratio in Kyle than in Wounded Knee in the "average Indian dress" (29.3% vs. 8.9%) category. The people in Wounded Knee dress in more conservative clothing more than in Kyle. However, in both communities, "least Indian dress" was a relatively insignificant classification, and this may mean that even people in Kyle are still retaining Indian dress in a certain degree.

In both Kyle and in Wounded Knee, women out number men in the category of "more Indian dress," again suggesting that the women in Indian society were more conservative than the men.

(3) Health Attitude of Storekeeper's Viewpoint.

TABLE XIII. Page 149

According to the two trading post operators estimate, the Wounded Knee people had a brighter outlook on life in regard to their health than the people in Kyle: 50.7% people in Wounded Knee belong to the "very good, bright" category and 41.8% to the "cheerful, complain little" category, whereas in Kyle only 16.0% to the first category and 9.3% to the second. In contrast, no one in Wounded Knee is in the category of "looks on dark side" or in the "wants sympathy, pity" category, but in Kyle there are 25.3% and 32.0% in each category respectively. Looking through the two communities as a whole, women's
TABLE XII. Traditional buying practices according to survey of the Indians in the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appearance in Indian Clothing</th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Combination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least Indian Dress</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Indian Dress</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Indian Dress</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XIII. Distribution of the health attitude from the storekeeper's viewpoint as found in the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Combination</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very good, bright</td>
<td>13 40.6</td>
<td>21 60.0</td>
<td>34 50.7</td>
<td>6 12.8</td>
<td>6 21.4</td>
<td>12 16.0</td>
<td>19 24.1</td>
<td>27 42.9</td>
<td>46 32.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheerful, complains</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very little</td>
<td>18 56.3</td>
<td>10 28.6</td>
<td>28 41.8</td>
<td>4  8.5</td>
<td>3 10.7</td>
<td>7  9.3</td>
<td>22 27.8</td>
<td>13 20.6</td>
<td>35 24.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makes the best of</td>
<td>1 3.1</td>
<td>1 2.9</td>
<td>2 4.5</td>
<td>6 12.8</td>
<td>2  7.1</td>
<td>8 10.7</td>
<td>7  8.9</td>
<td>3  4.8</td>
<td>10  7.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>things</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looks on the</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
<td>14 29.8</td>
<td>5 17.9</td>
<td>19 25.3</td>
<td>14 17.6</td>
<td>5  7.9</td>
<td>19 13.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark side of things</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wants sympathy,</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
<td>13 27.6</td>
<td>11 39.3</td>
<td>24 32.0</td>
<td>13 16.5</td>
<td>11 17.5</td>
<td>24 16.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not heard from</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
<td>3 8.5</td>
<td>3 3.0</td>
<td>4  8.5</td>
<td>1  3.6</td>
<td>5  6.7</td>
<td>4  5.1</td>
<td>4  6.3</td>
<td>8  5.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32 100</td>
<td>35 100</td>
<td>67 100</td>
<td>47 100</td>
<td>28 100</td>
<td>75 100</td>
<td>79 100</td>
<td>63 100</td>
<td>142 100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
attitude seem to be better and brighter than the men's (42.9% vs. 24.1%).

To sum up, we can conclude that Wounded Knee people were more optimistic than those in Kyle; that in both communities men seem to be more pessimistic than women. The explanation for the latter phenomena is partly due, to the role of men in Indian society as the supporter of his family, for which he originally took a rather heavy responsibility, but now the man's role as provider of the material needs of his family has declined and, consequently, the status of the female has begun to take on greater importance as she was able to share the responsibilities. As a result of this status change, the husband may have lost his original prestige in the family and became more pessimistic. In regard to the fact that Wounded Knee people are more optimistic than those in Kyle, this must be interpreted with these considerations: "Wounded Knee is a traditional community which has more traits that are typical of traditional Dakota Indian culture, and adhering to the integral Indian values, they have fewer conflicts in cultural adjustment." Kyle is a transitional community which has been diffused with some of the western culture from outside the reservation that makes it more nearly resemble South Dakota rural society, although retaining some traits related to the reservation residence. Under this cultural transition and conflict the people in

---

Kyle are facing the problems of selection and adjustment to new culture values.

(4) Annual Clinic and Hospital Visits of Families in the Kyle and Wounded Knee Communities. TABLE XIV. Page 152

In the Kyle community there was a greater percentage of "frequent" clinic visits (33.3%) and a lesser ratio in the "not heard from," (18.7%) classification than those in Wounded Knee, (10.4% and 35.8%). This phenomenon indicates that residents in Kyle pay more attention to the clinic visits which are, in a comparative sense, an index of a more modern attitude toward the conception of health. In other words, Wounded Knee people are more traditional in regard to the clinic visits. In both communities women are more enthusiastic in using these medical services than men. The percentage of women in the "frequent" classification is (28.6%), in "not heard from" (22.2%), while the percentages of men in both categories are (17.7%) and (30.3%) respectively.

(5) Summary of Significant Differences of Percentages Between the Communities of Wounded Knee and Kyle.

TABLE XV. Page 153

As a result of the summary above, it may be concluded:

(1) The average income in Kyle was greater than that in Wounded Knee.

(2) In the respect of traditional Indian way buying practices, Kyle was a more white adapted community than Wounded Knee.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th>Combination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequent</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrequent</td>
<td>31.2%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasional</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very seldom/never</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not heard from</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XV. Summary of significant differences of percentages between the communities of Wounded Knee and Kyle, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th>Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INCOME</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-999</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>The average income in Kyle was greater than that in Wounded Knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000-1,999</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000-2,999</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000-3,999</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000 and above</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TRADITIONAL INDIAN WAY BUYING PRACTICES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In this aspect, Kyle was a more white adapted community than Wounded Knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many traditions gone</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian ways weak</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Indian ways</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly strong Indian ways</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Indian ways</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HEALTH ATTITUDE OF STOREKEEPER'S VIEWPOINT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The people in Kyle were more pessimistic than those in Wounded Knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very good, bright</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheerful, complains little</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makes the best of things</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looks on dark side</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wants sympathy and pity</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not heard from</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ANNUAL CLINIC AND HOSPITAL VISITS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The people in Kyle paid more attention to clinic visits than those from Wounded Knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequently</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrequently</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasional</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very seldom/never</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not heard from</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Tables I, II, XIII and XIV
In regard to health attitude of storekeeper's viewpoint, the people in Kyle were more pessimistic than those in Wounded Knee.

As to the annual clinic and hospital visits, the people in Kyle paid more attention to clinic visits than those from Wounded Knee.

B. Chi-square Test

In the following section the general hypothesis that the Teton Sioux Indian's contemporary buying practices are functionally related to his economic position and consequently with his conception of health as observation on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation will be tested by means of chi-square technique. First, testing the significant difference between the two communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee; second, considering the two communities together to formulate some subhypothesis regarding the relationship of the selected variables.

(1) Indian attitude
   (a) Conception of Health

SUBHYPOTHESIS: Based on clinic and hospital visits there is no significant difference towards the individual's conception of health between the two communities of Wounded Knee and Kyle.

The chi-square test reveals that the sample data support the hypothesis that there is no significant difference toward conception of health between the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee.4

NOTE 4: \( x^2 \) Table taken from Statistical Methods for Social Scientists by Lillian Cohen, page 172. From the \( x^2 \) table, the five per cent level of significance places the rejection region at 3.841 with one degree of freedom.
TABLE XVI. Individual's conception of health between Kyle and Wounded Knee communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conception of Health</th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>39.08</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35.92</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: O - observed frequency

E - expected frequency

\(\frac{(O-E)^2}{E} = x^2\) - Chi-square ratio

(b) Economic position

Subhypothesis 2 - Based on actual income, there is no significant difference in economic position between the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee.

NOTE 5: High refers to "frequent" and "somewhat frequent" clinic visits.

Low refers to "occasional" and to "not heard from" clinic visits.
TABLE XVII. Economic position between Kyle and Wounded Knee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>(O-E)^2</td>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>(O-E)^2</td>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>(O-E)^2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31.69</td>
<td>0.054</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28.31</td>
<td>0.061</td>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0.115</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>43.31</td>
<td>0.039</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>38.69</td>
<td>0.044</td>
<td></td>
<td>82</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>142</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x^2 = 0.198</td>
<td>D.F. = 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The chi-square ratio for economic position between the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee reveals that the sample data support the hypothesis that there is no significant difference in economic position between the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee.

(2) Storekeeper's attitude

(a) Conception of Health

SUBHYPOTHESIS: From storekeeper's viewpoint, there is no significant difference toward individual's conception of health between the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee.

NOTE 6: High indicates an income of $1,600 or more
Low indicates an income under $1,600
TABLE XVIII. Conception of health between Kyle and Wounded Knee\(^7\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(\frac{(0-E)^2}{E})</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(\frac{(0-E)^2}{E})</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(\frac{(0-E)^2}{E})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42.78</td>
<td>13.22</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38.22</td>
<td>14.80</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>28.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>32.22</td>
<td>17.55</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28.78</td>
<td>19.65</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>27.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>142</td>
<td>(x^2 = 65.22)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[D.F. = 1\]

The alternative hypothesis, that from storekeeper's viewpoint there is some significant differences toward the conception of health between the Kyle and Wounded Knee is accepted.

(b) Economic Position

SUBHYPOTHESIS: From storekeeper's viewpoint, there is no significant difference in economic position between the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee.

NOTE 7: High based on superior to average attitude
Low based on below average attitude
TABLE XIX. Economic position between Kyle and Wounded Knee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th></th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0 E</td>
<td>(O-E)^2/E</td>
<td>0 E</td>
<td>(O-E)^2/E</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>24.30</td>
<td>14.39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7.40</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>43.30</td>
<td>12.54</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The null hypothesis is rejected whereas the alternative hypothesis, that from the storekeeper's point of view there is some significant differences about economic position between the Kyle and Wounded Knee communities is accepted.

(c) Buying Practices

SUBHYPOTHESIS: From storekeeper's viewpoint, there is no significant difference between buying practices in the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee.

NOTE 8: The low, average, and high income is based on the storekeeper's figures as to what each customer received.
### TABLE XX. Buying practices between Kyle and Wounded Knee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buying Practices</th>
<th>Kyle</th>
<th>Wounded Knee</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(0-E)^2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>38.03</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36.97</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D.F. = 1

Rejecting the null hypothesis, the alternative hypothesis that from the storekeeper's point of view, there is some significant differences about buying practices between the Kyle and Wounded Knee communities is accepted.

**NOTE 9:** Based on Table II. First three categories belong to modern ways and the last two belong to traditional Indian ways.
TABLE XXI. Summary of significant differences of chi-square tests between communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee

|                               | L.S. | D.F. | $x^2$ | $x^2_{0.95}$ | Finding  \\ 
|-------------------------------|------|------|-------|--------------|---------- \\ 
| Indian attitude conception of health vs. communities | 0.05 | 1    | 3.84  | 3.01         | Accepting $H_0$ \\ 
| Economic position vs. communities | 0.05 | 1    | 3.84  | 0.198        | Accepting $H_0$ \\ 
| Storekeeper's attitude conception of health vs. communities | 0.05 | 1    | 3.84  | 65.22        | Rejecting $H_0$ \\ 
| Economic position vs. communities | 0.05 | 2    | 5.99  | 63.13        | Rejecting $H_0$ \\ 
| Buying practices vs. communities | 0.05 | 1    | 3.84  | 25.55        | Rejecting $H_0$ \\ 

Source: Tables XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX

(3) Summary of significant differences of chi-square test between communities of Wounded Knee and Kyle. TABLE XXI. Page 160

From this summary table the results based on Indian attitude lead to acceptance of the null hypothesis, that is, there is no significant difference about conception of health and economic position between the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee. Based upon the storekeeper's viewpoint, the null hypothesis is rejected, and the alternative hypothesis that there are some significant differences
about conception of health, economic position and buying practices between the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee is accepted. The reasons for this contrary finding resulted partly from the different attitudes of the storekeeper's, their perspectives are apparently colored by personal feelings, and their lack of objectivity. Their viewpoints certainly have been affected by white culture so that the storekeeper's attitude contrasts sharply with the traditional Indian attitude.

III. Test of significant differences

4. Conception of health and buying practices.

*SUBHYPOTHESIS 1*: There is no significant difference between the individual's conception of health and buying practices.

**TABLE XXII. Individual's conception of health and the buying practices**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buying Practice</th>
<th>Conception of Health</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>(O-E)^2</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37.52</td>
<td>0.0072</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>34.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>36.48</td>
<td>0.0074</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>x^2 = 0.0305</td>
<td>D.F. = 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:**

O - observed frequency
E - expected frequency
\[(\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}) = x^2 - Chi-square ratio\]

D.F. - Degree of freedom
The null hypothesis would be accepted, i.e., the two variables are independent. The implication of this result is that the sample data support the hypothesis that there is no significant difference between individual's conception of health and buying practices in the communities studied.

(b) Conception of health and economic position

SUBHYPOTHESIS 2: There is no significant difference between the individual's conception of health and his economic position.

TABLE XXIII. Individual's conception of health and economic position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Position</th>
<th>Conception of health</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(O-E)^2</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>29 31.26</td>
<td>31 28.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60 0.34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>45 42.74</td>
<td>37 39.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>82 0.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>142</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x^2 = 0.59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D.F. = 1

Table XXIII reveals the finding from the statistical test indicate no significant difference between the individual's conception of health and his economic position, and thus the variables are relatively independent.
(c) Economic position and buying practices

SUBHYPOTHESIS 3: There is no significant difference between economic position and buying practices.

TABLE XXIV. Individual's conception of economic position and buying practices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buying Practice</th>
<th>Economic Position</th>
<th>Economic Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The implication of this result is that the sample data support the hypothesis that there is no significant difference between the economic position and buying practices in the sample studied.

(d) Conception of health, buying practice and economic position

SUBHYPOTHESIS 4: The association between the high conception of health and buying practices is not changed by introduction of economic position as an intervening variable.
TABLE XXV. Economic position and high conception of health, buying practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buying Practice</th>
<th>High Conception of Health</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The null hypothesis would be accepted. This means that the finding from the statistical test indicates the association between the high conception of health and buying practice is not changed by introduction of economic position as an intervening variable.

SUBHYPOTHESIS 5: The association between the low conception of health and buying practices is not changed by introduction of economic position as an intervening variable.
Table XXVI reveals the finding from the statistical test indicate the association between the low conception of health and buying practice is changed by introduction of economic position as an intervening variable. In other words, the null hypothesis has been rejected.

In further analysis of this case, the relationships among those variables can also be determined by means of phi-coefficient. Assuming that there is an original association between the independent variable (buying practice) and the dependent variable (conception of health). When an antecedent test variable (economic position) is introduced, if the partial relationship between dependent and independent variable will not disappear, a casual relationship is posited.
TABLE XXVII. Relation between individual conception of health and buying practice, by economic position.

(Original relationship)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buying Practice</th>
<th>Conception of Health</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$0 = -0.015$

(Tested relationship)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Position</th>
<th>Buying Practice</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$0_1 = 0.000$  $0_2 = 0.204$

In the table of original relationship the division of buying practices into groups, modern and traditional, revealed little difference between people having high conception of health and those having low conception of health, but it was statistically significant for low income groups. Since the value of the phi-coefficient in both the
income partials was higher than in the original relationship between buying practice and conception of health, this variable was a contingency in which the value of the phi-coefficient was increased in both of the partials by the introduction of the intervening test variable. It was thus possible to conclude that buying practices were more associated with income than with conception of health.

TABLE XXVIII. Summary of $x^2$ test of significant differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>L.S.</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>$x^2$ 0.05</th>
<th>$x^2$</th>
<th>Finding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual's conception of health and buying practices</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>0.031</td>
<td>Accepting $H_0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual's conception of health and economic position</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>Accepting $H_0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic position and buying practices</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>1.408</td>
<td>Accepting $H_0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High conception of health, buying practices, and economic position</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>Accepting $H_0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low conception of health, buying practices, and economic position</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>4.97</td>
<td>Rejecting $H_0$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI

NOTE: $H_0$ = Null hypothesis

$x^2$ 0.05 = Tested chi-square ratio

$x^2$ = Computed chi-square ratio

L.S. = Level of significance

D.F. = Degree of freedom
(e) Summary of $x^2$ test of significant difference

TABLE XXVIII. Page 167

From this summary table, the finding of the subhypothesis, with the exception of the last one, leads to acceptance of the null hypothesis, and these results support the main hypothesis that the Dakota Indian's contemporary buying practices are functionally related to his economic position and his conception of health as studied on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.
CHAPTER VII

"CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS"

The general hypothesis of this study that the Teton Dakota contemporary buying practices are functionally related to economic position and conception of health as studied in two communities on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation is supported by the following conclusions:

1. There is little or no objective evidence of any significant differences between the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee in economic position, or conception of health. (Table XXI)

2. There is an apparent difference between the two communities in economic position, conception of health, and buying practices from the viewpoint of the storekeeper. This difference probably reflects the storekeeper's evaluation and attitude toward the customer's buying practices more than the actual situation. (Table XXI)

3. In the total sample from the two communities there is no significant difference between:
   
   (a) The individual's conception of his health and his buying practices. (Table XXII)
   
   (b) The individual's conception of health and his economic position in the community. (Table XXIII)
   
   (c) The individual's economic position in the community and his buying practices. (Table XXIV)

4. The analysis of partials reveals that when the sample is divided into two groups on the basis of high and low conception of health the relationship between economic position and buying practices is not significant but it is significant for the group with a low conception of their health. (Tables XXV, XXVI)
5. The introduction of economic position as an intervening variable between buying practices and conception of health increases the value of phi-coefficient in partials, and particularly in the category of low conception of health indicating that economic position is a condition which has a greater effect on making the individual have a poor conception of his own health, than it has in influencing a good conception of health. (Table XXVII)

While this evidence lends confidence to the fact that the hypothesis of this study is essentially correct, there are some qualifications that need to be stated:

1. The process of gathering the data was not as effective as had been planned because the technique of getting information from the storekeepers may have been in error. The opinions and knowledge of the storekeepers did not always coincide with other sources of information.

2. The time and money available for this study provided practical limits on the size of the sample and the number of communities in which information could be obtained.

3. The communities selected for observation provided only slight contrast, and it may be that others would have given a better basis for comparison.

4. The trading posts were clearly different in their mode of business operations, and thus the clientele in each case probably represented a biased sample of the people living in the community.

5. Indirect measurements and information were frequently necessary and may not have been as accurate as more direct evidence.

6. The findings of the study listed above might, finally, be confined to the sample of respondents interviewed, as there is no clear evidence that they have a more general application to other reservation areas.

The primary contention of this study has been that the individual's evaluation of how well or ill he thinks he is will be related
to his buying practices and his economic position in the community. Economic position was discovered to be a prior and associated factor with buying practices in determining the individual's conception of his health. Exactly what does this mean? Stated in the more simple terms it means that when the people in this study went to buy food in the trading post, they were more likely to feel ill, if they were poor. The explanation for this fact can be found in the analysis of their social system. There is no conclusive proof, but it appears that when the customer (status-role) buys food in the store he is conforming to expectations (norms) of his group as well as the dominate society represented by the storekeeper, and this situation generates a value conflict for the economically deprived person in getting food (goal), and thus he rationalizes the conflict by illness. The poor conception of his own health permits him to shift to the sick role which holds less individual responsibility satisfying the material needs of his family.

The role of the illness has been legitimized in the reservation culture as a reasonable justification for economic privation, and the residents of the reservation community conceives of his own health in the context of his economic position. His conception of his own health may depend then upon the various positions he occupies in the informal groups in which he acts, as well as the formal relationships he is forced to accept in his contacts with the representatives of government bureaucracies and the large society. It appeared evident
that the Indian's behavior in both the formal and informal groups were governed to a significant degree by expectations concerning how a person should act held by other people in these groups. Thus, the expectations of the storekeepers, stemming from their values and beliefs, influenced the overt actions of their customers when they came into their places of business, but in more traditional groups the informal expectations of their fellows tended to be more influential.

If the Dakota individual conforms to the group expectations, he may report that his health is good regardless of his actual physical condition. Successful achievement of prescribed expectations in the economic area apparently was not alone sufficient to give the man a favorable conception of his health. It seems reasonable to suggest that other social considerations such as education and social participation must accompany high net worth in order to increase the chances of a better self-conception. Integration in social groups that symbolize the professed beliefs and values of the individual might be one of the most crucial elements in encouraging this improved attitude, since there was in traditional Dakota culture a strong emphasis on kinship loyalty and concensus.

While the individual's conception of health did not seem to be related to his buying practices, it may be greatly influenced by his conformity to expectations regarding the type of food he consumes. It is apparent that traditionally the Teton Dakotas were adversely
affected by eating foods which were tabooed by the group. If they consumed foods that were considered undesirable, they were likely to feel ill. Additional study in this field may reveal a significant relationship between food expectations and health.

Finally, this study suggests another possible area that requires further investigation. A person's conception of his health may be influenced by the esteem he is accorded from other community members. If he accepts the values of the reservation community, and attempts to conform to their basic orientation, but fails to gain acceptance, recognition, or prestige, he may be in a contradictory cultural situation that encourages personality disorders, that results from the anomie that pervades the whole social system. Fundamentally, the problem of the individual personality in the Indian culture is this perplexity - how can the person achieve a degree of personality stability in a social system that is being wrecked by the corrosive forces of assimilation.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Malan, Vernon D. The Dakota Indian Economy. Bulletin 509, Agricultural Experiment Station, South Dakota State University, March, 1962.


APPENDIX A
### Survey Sheet

**NAME:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) Customer's Attitude</th>
<th>(2) Who does the buying?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good - Bad</td>
<td>Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy - Average</td>
<td>Woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3) When do they shop?</th>
<th>(4) Type of Purchase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morning</td>
<td>Credit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noon</td>
<td>Cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(5) Alcoholic Consumption</th>
<th>(6) Attitude Toward Credit Buying</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little</td>
<td>Bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Much</td>
<td>Indifferent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(7) Do they speak Lakota to</th>
<th>(8) Importance of hunting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little</td>
<td>Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Much</td>
<td>Much</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(9) Do they sell vegetables for income?</th>
<th>(10) Attitude toward Government Commodities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>Bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Much</td>
<td>Indifferent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(11) Any special foods that they buy?</th>
<th>(12) Are their groceries balanced?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(13) Does the family use the food for ceremonials? If so, what?</th>
<th>(14) Any strange beliefs in regard to food and health?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(15) Do the Indians speak to one another when they wait for mail?</th>
<th>(16) Will they speak to strangers?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(17) Is there much canning done?
   Little
   Average
   Much

(19) Do their clothes indicate some pride in appearance?
   Yes
   No
   Somewhat

(21) Do they shop every day?
   Yes
   No
   Almost

(18) How much of their income is spent on food?

(20) Does the family have a balanced diet?
   Yes
   No

(22) Do they speak Lakota among
   Some
   Little
   Much

COMMENTS: Any additional information that you feel would be important would be greatly appreciated. All information will be held in the strictest of confidence.
### TABLES IN THESIS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TABLE XIII.</strong></td>
<td>Distribution of the health attitude from the storekeeper's viewpoint as found in the communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1964.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TABLE XV.</strong></td>
<td>Summary of significant differences of percentage between the communities of Wounded Knee and Kyle, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1964.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TABLE XVI.</strong></td>
<td>Individual's conception of health between Kyle and Wounded Knee communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TABLE XVII.</strong></td>
<td>Economic position between Kyle and Wounded Knee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TABLE XVIII.</strong></td>
<td>Conception of health between Kyle and Wounded Knee from the storekeeper's viewpoint.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TABLE XIX.</strong></td>
<td>Economic position between Kyle and Wounded Knee from the storekeeper's viewpoint.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TABLE XX.</strong></td>
<td>Buying practices between Kyle and Wounded Knee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TABLE XXI.</strong></td>
<td>Summary of significant differences of chi-square tests between communities of Kyle and Wounded Knee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TABLE XXII.</strong></td>
<td>Individual's conception of health and buying practice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TABLE XXIII.</strong></td>
<td>Individual's conception of health and economic position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TABLE XXIV.</strong></td>
<td>Economic position and buying practice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TABLE XXV.</strong></td>
<td>Economic position and high conception of health, buying practice.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XXVI. Economic position and low conception of health, buying practice.

TABLE XXVII. Relation between individual conception of health and buying practice, by economic position.

TABLE XXVIII. Summary of $x^2$ test of significant difference.
APPENDIX B
Funds Obligated for Indian Health Activities

Estimated Distribution by Specified State

Fiscal Years 1955 and 1960-1963

South Dakota
1963: $4,167,670
1962: 3,898,350
1961: 3,488,840
1960: 3,296,890
1955: 1,467,320

Patients Treated and Dental Services Provided
Fiscal Years 1962 and 1963
Division of Indian Health

Dental Clinicians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patients Treated</th>
<th>Services Provided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen 1962</td>
<td>14,467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14,704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62,266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63,010</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Contract Dentists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patients Treated</th>
<th>Services Provided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen 1962</td>
<td>3,526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16,871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12,542</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Rates per 100,000 estimated population)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Dakota (Indian)</th>
<th>South Dakota</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-52: 121.2</td>
<td>1959: 29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954-56: 93.9</td>
<td>1960: 35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-57: 110.3</td>
<td>1961: 28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-58: 124.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-59: 125.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-60: 137.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-61: 138.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Death rates - Gastritis, Duodenitis, Enteritis (except diarrhea of the newborn)


(Rates per 100,000 estimated population)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Dakota (Indian)</th>
<th>South Dakota (All races)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-52: 37.0</td>
<td>1959: 5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954-56: 32.9</td>
<td>1960: 4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-57: 43.7</td>
<td>1961: 3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-58: 54.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-59: 58.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-60: 49.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-61: 38.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Death Rates - Malignant Neoplasms

and all races - 1961, by Specified State

(Rates per 100,000 estimated population)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Dakota (Indian)</th>
<th>South Dakota (All Races)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-52: 77.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954-56: 75.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-57: 78.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-58: 102.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-59: 111.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-60: 113.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-61: 113.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959: 144.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960: 146.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961: 142.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(Rates per 100,000 population)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Dakota (Indian)</th>
<th>South Dakota (All races)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-52: 37.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954-56: 54.0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-57: 52.9</td>
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<td>1956-58: 36.2</td>
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<td>1957-59: 40.1</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1958-60: 58.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-61: 64.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959: 122.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960: 123.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961: 114.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Death Rates - Diseases of Heart


(Rates per 100,000 Population)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Dakota (Indian)</th>
<th></th>
<th>South Dakota (All Races)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-52:</td>
<td>128.8</td>
<td>1959:</td>
<td>331.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>1954-56:</td>
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<td>167.8</td>
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<td>337.2</td>
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<td>191.2</td>
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