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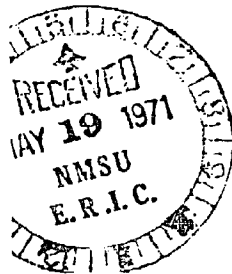
ABSTRACT

It was the purpose of this study to describe and analyze the differences in value systems of the Dakota Indians and Western Civilization, and to suggest a probable explanation for the religious practices of present-day (1958) Pine Ridge Reservation residents (28 families) as a result of the conflict in values between the 2 societies. The method used to accomplish this was based on the assumption that the Pine Ridge Indians would express their primary values in response to a series of questions based on ideas commonly held in either the traditional Dakota or modern American culture. In this attempt to describe the value system of the Dakota Indians and to suggest an explanation for reservation religious practices, a shift was noted from the traditional Dakota values to the modern values of Western Civilization. This study revealed that the Dakota Indians had, to a large extent, lost the old system of social values which gave purpose and direction to their lives. Reactions to this state of affairs varied with each individual. The born maintenance of traditional values to rejection of all Dakota values and full acceptance of non-Indian values. The assumption of positions at either extreme may provide a relatively stable personality adjustment, but the individual who vacillates between the 2 value systems is likely to search for some sources of meaning in group-approved and recognition-giving activities, such as are available in marginal religions. (LS)

Bulletin 472 Feb. 1959

RURAL SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
SOUTH DAKOTA STATE COLLEGE, BROOKINGS

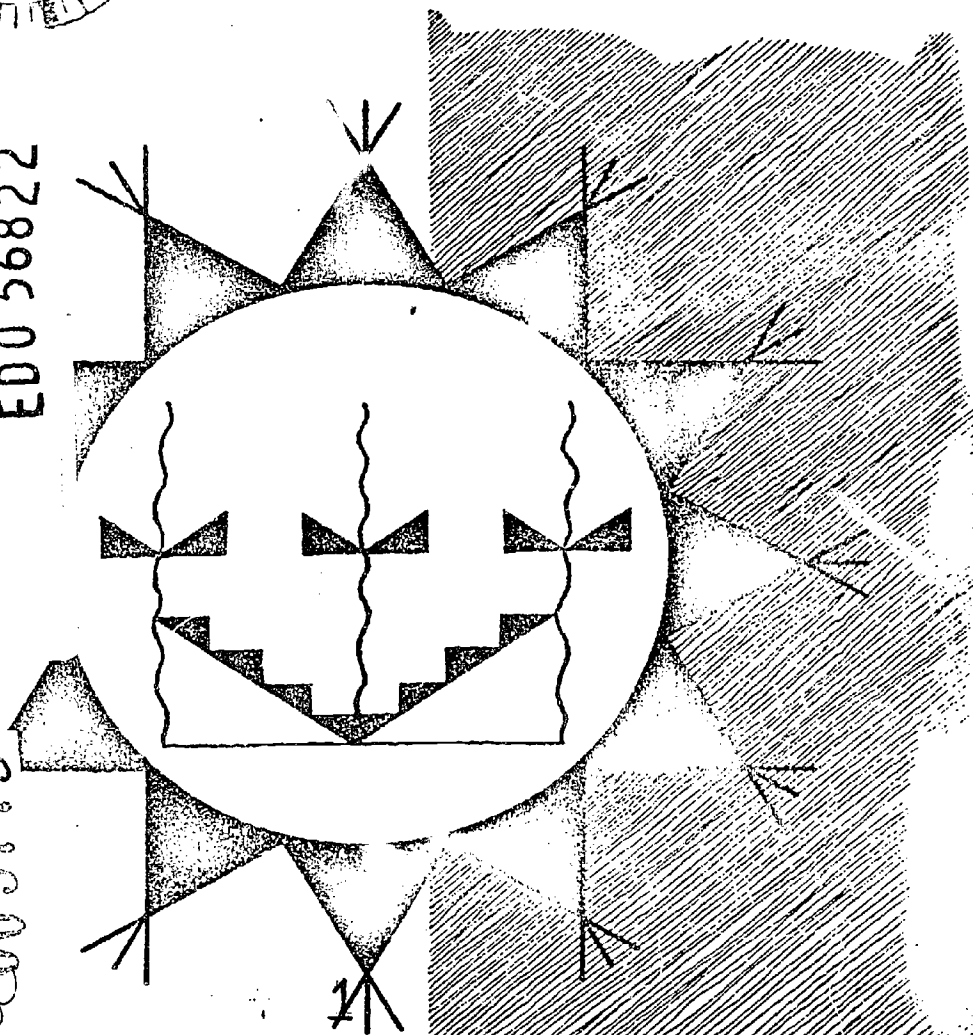
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THE DAKOTA INDIAN RELIGION

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DAKOTA RELIGION

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The Dakota Indian Religion

A Study of Conflict in Values

Vernon D. Malan and Clinton J. Jesser¹

I. Introduction

Religious beliefs have exerted substantial influence on the values of the Dakota Indians. In earlier days religious folklore infused every area of their daily lives. When the missionaries introduced Christianity to the tribes on the Great Plains, important changes began to take place. Values which conflicted with customary beliefs were interposed, but many of the traditional values were retained. In some cases, accommodation of conflicting values was attempted in marginal religious activities which combined elements of both the old and new religions. In other cases, the conflicts appeared insurmountable, and some individuals sought escape or succumbed to apathy.

A study of the present day values of these people requires some understanding of their traditional religion. Thus, Part II of this bulletin

is designed to provide a systematic analysis of the religious background of the Dakota Indians. There are some of the myths and legends, and the beliefs, practices, and ritual which dominated Dakota thinking at the time of initial contact with the Christian missionaries. In Part III the subsequent changes in Dakota values are discussed and analysed in historical perspective and in terms of the value conflicts which have resulted from the contact of these two different culture patterns. Statistical evidence from a study of two communities on the Pine Ridge Reservation is presented to support the cultural conflict thesis. Implications of the study are suggested in Part IV.

¹Associate Rural Sociologist and Graduate Assistant, respectively, South Dakota State College Agricultural Experiment Station.

II. Traditional

About 250 years ago, the Teton Dakota Indians arrived on the Great Plains after being driven from the Minnesota woodlands by the Chippewas. They gradually moved west of the Missouri River, although they moved throughout the northern plains in pursuit of buffalo. While in Minnesota, they had been agriculturalists, but upon acquiring horses they changed from an agricultural way of life to that of the nomadic hunter.

The Teton bands traveled in bands, all united by kinship: the Sans Arc, Blackfoot, Minnekaonsia, Two Kettle, Hunkpapa, and Ojibwa. Those living on the Pine Ridge Reservation today are descended from the Oglala and Brule bands. During the period between 1850 and 1855 the Teton Dakota acquired most of the traits which are considered typical of plains culture—kinship bands, Soldier's Dance, Sun Dance, geometric pottery, horse and travois, and economic dependence on the buffalo.² All of these traits are bound together in their life pattern which they symbolized in the circle, the stage for their drama. Any attempt to describe the Teton which fails to consider the unity of their culture cannot be completely accurate.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the Dakota Indians had extensive contacts with missionaries, frontiersmen, government travelers, and explorers; and these people recorded their impressions and descriptions of the

II. Traditional Dakota Indian Religion

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The Tetons traveled in seven bands, all united by kinship: Brule, Sans Arc, Blackfoot, Minneconjou, Two Kettle, Hunkpapa, and Oglala. Those living on the Pine Ridge Reservation are descended mainly from the Oglala and Brule bands.

During the period between 1700 and 1850 the Teton Dakotas acquired most of the traits which we consider typical of plains Indian culture—kinship bands, Soldier Society, Sun Dance, geometric decorative art, horse and travois, tipi, and economic dependence on the buffalo.² All of these traits were bound together in their life pattern, which they symbolized in the camp circle, the stage for their cultural drama. Any attempt to describe the Tetons which fails to consider the unity of their culture cannot be completely accurate.

During the first half of the 19th century the Dakota Indians had extensive contacts with missionaries, frontiersmen, government officials, travelers, and explorers; many of these people recorded their impressions and descriptions of the Indian

way of life. These accounts are used in this section, describing the traditional religion of the Dakotas, but are modified and systematized in accordance with more recent anthropological investigations. This description serves as background data for the study of cultural values which will follow. It is from this matrix of beliefs and practices that the values of the Dakota Indians were derived and which provided sacred sanctions for their value system.³

Myths and Legends

The background information of much of the Teton value system can be discovered in the stories told by the grandfathers to their grandchildren. These traditional myths and legends of the older generation were used to inductate the younger generation with the basic values of Dakota society. The way in which the young Dakota derived moral lessons from this mythic material is illustrated by several typical stories.

A popular didactic story among the Dakotas concerns the mouse people who stored beans for their winter use. It was considered inhumane, wicked, and unjust to steal the beans without putting back some corn or other food, so that the

²Clark Wissler, *North America: Indians of the Plains*, p. 164.

³It is possible to understand Part III without reading this section if one is already familiar with traditional Dakota religious beliefs.



victims of the theft would not starve.

A certain woman plundered the storehouse of some Hintunka people (bean nice). She robbed them of their entire food supply without giving anything in return. The next night this woman heard a woman in the woods crying and saying:

"Oh, what will my poor children do now?"

It was the voice of the Hintunka woman crying over her hungry children.

The same night the unjust woman who had done the wrong had a dream. In her dream, Hunka, the spirit of kinship of all life, appeared to her and said:

"You should not have taken the food from the Hintunka people. Take back the food to them, or some other in its place, or else your

own children shall cry from hunger."

Next morning the woman told her husband of this vision, and he said,

"You would better do as Hunka tells you to do."

But the woman was hard-hearted and perverse, and would not make restitution for the wrong she had done.

A short time afterward a great prairie fire came, driven by a strong wind, and swept over the place where the unjust woman and her family were camping. The fire consumed her tipi and everything it contained, and the people barely escaped with their lives. They had no food nor shelter; they wandered destitute on the prairie, and the children cried from hunger.¹

The pipe, symbolic of peace and truth, held an important place in the mythology and ritual of the Dakotas. A man who touched the pipe to his lips was taking an oath that his word could be trusted.² In the Sun Dance preparation ritual the spiritual leader said to the scouts:

You have taken up the holy pipe, and so you must now tell us with truth all that you have seen. You know that running through the stem of the pipe there is a little hole leading straight to the center and heart of the pipe; let your minds be as straight as this Way. May your tongues not be forked. You have been sent out to find a tree that will be of great benefit to the people, so now tell us truthfully what you have found.³

¹Melvin R. Gilmore, *Prairie Smoke*, pp. 127-129.

²James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, XIV, p. 1,063.

³Joseph E. Brown, *The Sacred Pipe*, p. 73.

A story once heard Dakotas concerned an old man who went out alone and stood on a bluff overlooking the Missouri River. From his location, the view of the prairie, his mysterious river could be seen to the far horizon. At that spot the old man had a great wisdom and spiritual gift.

As the old man thought and considering the festivities of life and the mystery of earth and sky, he went out upon the prairie. Wolves trotting toward him. When they reached the river, they plunged in and swam to the other side, all but one who was too enfeebled by age to swim. He struggled against the swift current of the river.

This old wolf sat down on the bank of the river and waited for his companions as they came. They trotted away out of sight to the other side. When they appeared from sight, the old wolf muzzled toward the sky and fully sang in a man's lowing song:

All o'er the earth I
I've journeyed far
My spirit haste and
I'm nothing, nothing
I'm nothing, nothing

Missouri River, flow
Thou sacred water
My spirit haste and
I'm nothing, nothing
I'm nothing, nothing

After the old wolf sang, he wearily made his way to the top of a hill and lay down in the warm sunshine, in

all cry from here.

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Gilmore, *Prairie Smoke*, pp.

hey, "The Ghost Dance Reli-
the Sioux Outbreak of 1890,"
Bureau of Ethnology, XIV, p. 1,063.
Brov - *The Sacred Pipe*, p. 73.

A story once heard among the Dakotas concerned an old man who went out alone and stood on a high bluff overlooking the Missouri River. From his location the grandeur of the prairie, hills, and the mysterious river could be viewed to the far horizon. At this beautiful spot the old man had come to seek wisdom and spiritual guidance.

As the old man thus sat meditating and considering all the manifestations of life and power and mystery of earth and sky, he spied out upon the prairie a group of wolves trotting toward the river. When they reached the river, they plunged in and swam across to the other side, all but one who was now too enfeebled by age to dare try his strength against the swift and powerful current of the river.

This old wolf sat down upon the bank of the river and watched his companions as they swam across and trotted away out of sight on the other side. When they had disappeared from sight, he raised his muzzle toward the sky and mournfully sang in a man's voice the following song:

All o'er the earth I've roamed,
I've journeyed far and wide;
My spirit haste and go,
I'm nothing, nothing now,
I'm nothing, nothing now.

Missouri River, flow,
Thou sacred water flow;
My spirit haste and go,
I'm nothing, nothing now,
I'm nothing, nothing now.

After the old wolf had sung this song, he wearily made his way to the top of a hill and lay down in the warm sunshine, in the shelter of a

rock, and there waited until his spirit went away.³

When the old men of the Dakotas found their strength ebbing with age, and felt that they could no longer follow the path of the warrior, they would often go alone to contemplate on the wisdom of their ancestors, and methods of teaching these values to their children. Sitting there in solitude they mused on brave deeds of the past, recalled their companions who had gone from them, and in their loneliness they would sadly sing this "Song of the Old Wolf."

As we all know, animals frequently played an essential part in Dakota legends. Helpfulness and consideration of others were values frequently stressed in these stories.

There was once a handsome young Teton, whose wife's father disliked him and plotted against him. He dug a pit within his lodge, covering it with skins. Then he invited his son-in-law to a feast. The son-in-law met a wolf, whom he saluted, asking him the way to the village. The young man was persuaded to recline on the skins, which gave way, precipitating him into the pit. The father-in-law and his two single daughters covered the skins with earth, and removed their tent elsewhere on the morrow, when all the people started on a journey. After some days, the Wolf who had met the man went to the deserted camping place in search of food. On reaching the place where the accident (?) had happened, he heard a human cry. So he dug away the earth, removed the

³Gilmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-128.

skins, and found the man whom he recognized. The wolf pitied him, and said, "As you did not kill me when we met, you shall now be saved." So he howled, and very soon many wolves appeared. They found a lariat, which they lowered into the pit, and by grasping the other end with their teeth, they pulled the man up. He was very grateful, promising never to harm a wolf. Just then a weeping woman appeared, gazing in surprise at the man, as he was very thin, looking like a ghost. She was his wife, and her heart was soon made glad when he told her of his rescue.⁸

Many pleasant stories were told regarding the cheery meadow lark which the Tetons liked to call "the bird of promise." Children took great delight in birds, insects, and all living creatures with which they were naturally familiar. It was not unusual for them to use living creatures for subjects of talk and play.

One little girl of the group was talking to the other children, her companions, about the meadow lark. As is quite common with Indians, even children, she made some drawings to illustrate her talk. On a wide bare place in the trail which wound its way across the prairie, she had drawn these pictures in the dust. In a circle about four feet in diameter she had drawn a representation of a camp circle of tipis. Among the tipis she had drawn the figures of dogs, as they would be seen usually in an Indian camp. Outside the circle she had drawn the figures of ponies, just as ordinarily they would be found grazing outside the camp circle.

Farther away she had drawn some figures of buffaloes. And some

distance away up the trail on the other side, she had drawn a meadow lark on the wing as if it were up in the sky. A faint circle was drawn about the figure of the bird. From the center of the circle of tipis a zig-zag line was drawn to the meadow lark in the sky.

The little girl was teaching her companions the relationship of living things in this world. She said: "The bird of promise is our friend. It likes to be around our dwellings, and likes to see our people happy. While it has been flying about over the prairie and about the camps of our people, it has been observing us and all living things on the earth. At daydawn it flies circling upward into the sky, when the light of the rising sun lights up the earth and sparkles on the dewdrops on the grass and the flowers. So it goes up and tells Wakantanka what is needed by our people, and by the animals and the trees and the flowers and all living things. And it comes back singing songs to tell each one of all these living beings what Wakantanka is going to do for that one on that day, whether tree or flower or human being, and even all living beings. If I have been well-behaving, I am glad and eager to hear what the bird of promise will sing to me when he comes back. But if I have been ill-behaving, I am afraid to hear what he will sing to me."⁹

The Dakota myths and legends frequently dwelt on the origin of their homeland. A typical explanation given for the formation of the

⁸James O. Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, X, p. 478.

⁹Gilmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-150.

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badlands was that two tribes fighting over fertile land were rebuked by the Great Spirit who caused the lands to roll and shake. "The Great Spirit had taken away the lands that had caused warring among His children and had left to those He spared the evidence of His power and His punishment."¹⁰ In all of these stories, as well as in all other myths and legends of the Dakotas, frequent admonitions were given to the youth to work hard, speak wisely and honestly, never complain, and be brave. These were among the chief values emphasized in Dakota society.¹¹

Ceremonial Religion

Every religion includes three essential elements: (1) specific emotional responses; (2) certain practices and beliefs, and (3) ceremony and ritual associated with these responses. These components of religion may be regarded as forming an inseparable whole. The basic element in religion seems to be an emotional response to the supernatural. A person may, for example, have personal or intuitive experiences which cause him to feel that he should be honest. This specific feeling is reflected in his belief in honesty and avoidance of dishonest practices in his group activities. The belief and practice of honesty will usually be shared with other members of the group and will be reinforced by religious ceremonies. In order for these ceremonies to be meaningful, some of the ritual should be designed to teach habits

of honesty. In other words, the conditioning of ceremonial ritual reinforces the belief and practices of honesty, and belief and practice are in turn based on the profound feeling that honesty is good and right.¹²

Emotional Responses

The religion of the Dakotas was based on an emotional response to a great power or spirit which inhabited everything in nature, their visible as well as their invisible world. Consequently, almost everything could become an object of worship. Special homage was rendered to the sun and the earth and the four cardinal directions, but under proper circumstances sacrifices were made to almost any material object.¹³ There is some doubt concerning the Dakota belief in a supreme *Great Spirit* or all-powerful superhuman being, although this character is often attributed to the Dakota *Wakan Tanka*. But the idea of a supreme spirit may have been introduced by early missionaries in an attempt to accommodate the beliefs of the Dakota and Christian religions. For example, such may have been Lynd's purpose in describing the Dakota *Great Spirit*:

Their ideas concerning the Great Spirit appear to be that He is the

¹⁰M. E. Gridley, *Indian Legends of American Scenes*, pp. 100-101.

¹¹Marie L. McLaughlin, *Myths and Legends of the Sioux*, pp. 11-200.

¹²Frank Boas, et. al., *Anthropology in North America*, p. 259.

¹³Paul Beckwith, "Notes on Customs of the Dakotas," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1886, p. 253.

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creator of the world, and has existed from all time. But after creating the world and all that is in it, He sank into silence, and since then has failed to take any interest in the affairs of this our planet. They never pray to Him, for they deem Him too far away to hear them, or as not being concerned in their affairs. No sacrifices are made to Him, nor dances in His honor. Of all the spirits, He is the Great Spirit; but His power is only latent or negative.¹⁴

The Siouan word *wakan* is apparently related to the widespread belief in some invisible force that animates the universe. *Wakan* was not stable, but could shift its focus from object to object, animate or inanimate. Under certain circumstances sacred places, equipment used in ceremonies, or human beings were for a short time endowed with supernatural power.¹⁵

A stick or a stone is *wakan* and is used as an amulet; a place, and is used as a sacred grove; a formula, and by faithful repetition it will accomplish what is inaccessible to the techniques of everyday routine. Or it may be persons of particular attainments or in particular circumstances that are *wakan*: A seer who can foretell events or bring about wonderful cures, a warrior who has killed an enemy, a menstruating woman, the dead. Different civilizations regard as *wakan* different objects or aspects of life, sometimes in narrowly limited designated objects, sometimes very unsystematically, almost pantheistically. They are at one only in the universal recognition of the existence of this wonderful power. Always, moreover, the manipula-

tion of this wonderful power, and the beliefs that grow out of it, are religion. They are elaborated by specifically religious techniques.¹⁶

The essential meaning of *wakan* was not definitely "sacred" or "holy" but "wonderful." Knowledge of the language supports this statement. *Wakanya*, an oft-used adverb, meant "wonderfully"; and *wakan washteya* was the usual way of expressing the superlative.¹⁷ Like Christians, the Dakotas recognized spirits representing both good and evil. The divinities of good, however, were not necessarily deemed superior objects of worship. In fact, there was skepticism regarding the power of certain beneficent spirits. They were often considered weak and pretentious because of their inability to control the activities in the world. On the other hand, there was much greater respect accorded the power of evil divinities whose special delight was to exterminate man or to make him miserable. These demons of the darkness wan-

¹⁴J. W. Lynd, "History of the Dakotas," *Minnesota Historical Collections*, II, pp. 145-146.

¹⁵Ruth Underhill, "Religion Among American Indians," *Annals*, CCC XI (May, 1957) p. 128.

¹⁶Ruth Benedict, "Religion," in *General Anthropology* Franz Boas (ed.), p. 629.

¹⁷Boas, *Ibid.*, p. 630. The reference continues: "The most important things the White man brought were all compounded by the use of this adjective: *Mhecakan*, a sword; literally, 'wonderful knife.' *Shunwakan*, horse; literally, 'wonderful dog.' *Mazawakan*, a gun, literally 'wonderful iron.' *Miniwakan*, whiskey; literally, 'wonderful water.'

dered over the earth came and destroying the One such spirit, the *Thun* governed simply by the create misery, could st anyone at any time with could even destroy the kota nation. Other evil travelers to obscure strangled them and torters until they lay down and died; caused the bu seized by panic "and with their noses to the dering it impossible to tortured the Dakotas in ger by bringing herds near the camp, which t er started to pursue the drove the herds away."

The beliefs regarding man were based on the of the human body.

The first is supposed of the body, and dies wi The second is a spirit w remains with or near th other is the soul which the deeds of the body, posed by some to go to others, to the west, after the body. The fourth al with the small bundle deceased, kept by the r it becomes a roving, r bringing death and d enemy whose country

The place of abode of men apparently wa established. They bel third soul was immort concern themselves g final place of residen some Dakota also be

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ness and destroying the unwary.
One such spirit, the Thunder Bird,
governed simply by the desire to
create misery, could strike down
anyone at any time with his fire. He
could even destroy the whole Da-
kota nation. Other evil spirits lured
travelers to obscure places and
strangled them and tormented oth-
ers until they lay down in despair
and died; caused the buffaloes to be
seized by panic "and run for days
with their noses to the wind, ren-
dering it impossible to follow; and
tortured the Dakotas in their hun-
ger by bringing herds of buffaloes
near the camp, which they no soon-
er started to pursue than the spirit
drove the herds away."¹⁸

The beliefs regarding the soul of
man were based on the four spirits
of the human body.

The first is supposed to be a spirit
of the body, and dies with the body.
The second is a spirit which always
remains with or near the body. An-
other is the soul which accounts for
the deeds of the body, and is sup-
posed by some to go to the south, by
others, to the west, after the death of
the body. The fourth always lingers
with the small bundle of hair of the
deceased, kept by the relatives until
it becomes a roving, restless spirit,
bringing death and disease to the
enemy whose country it is in.¹⁹

The place of abode of the souls
of men apparently was not clearly
established. They believed that the
third soul was immortal, but did not
concern themselves greatly with its
final place of residence. Evidently,
some Dakota also believed in the

power to converse with the spirits
of the dead.²⁰ Lynd claims that they
frequently made feasts to these
spirits in order to elicit information
about distant relatives and friends.
"Assembling at night in the lodge,
they smoke, put out the fire, and
then, drawing their blankets over
their heads, remain singing in uni-
son in a low key until the spirit
gives them a picture."²¹

If it can be reconstructed from
our fragmentary knowledge of their
religion, the Dakota afterworld was
probably a poorly defined shadowy
place much like the Old Testament
Sheol. It was certainly not the
"happy hunting grounds," appar-
ently the Christian ideal for an In-
dian heaven. As the soul departed
on its last journey into the unknown,
the mourners supplied food and
goods for it. The Tetons, likewise,
kept the forelock of the deceased's
hair, which permitted his "ghost"
to retain his usual place in the
household circle. The following ex-
planation of Teton burial practices
was given by Dorsey:

Long ago the people buried some
men on a hill and then removed
camp to another place. Many win-
ters afterwards a man visited this
burial place, but all traces of the
graves had disappeared. So many
men came and dug far down into
the hill. By and by one said, "A
road lies here." So they dug in the
direction and made a fire under-
ground. And there they found a

¹⁸Lynd, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-156.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 155-156.

²⁰Dorsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 484-485.

²¹Lynd, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

tunnel large enough for men to walk in by stooping, with many similar intersecting ones. They followed the main one and finally came to a place whither a strange animal, the Wabianksica, had dragged the corpses. For this reason the Lakota became unwilling to lay their dead in the ground, so they began to bury on scaffolds which could not be reached by beasts of prey. At the present day the Teton gives three reasons for not burying in the ground: (1) animals or persons might walk over the graves; (2) the dead might lie in mud and water after rain or snow; (3) wolves might dig up the bodies and devour them.²²

There was no sharp division between the spirits of human beings and of animals, plants, and natural phenomena in Dakota beliefs. All things possessing life or giving life were treated with equal respect. The Dakota hunter who killed an animal for food felt that only the outward form of the immortal spirit was consumed; and if the remains were disposed according to the accepted ritual, the spirit would then return in new dress to serve him again. It was believed that the spirits in all things could help or harm the individual, depending on the observation of proper behavior toward them.²³

Reported in the literature on the Teton Dakotas is a wide variety of other religious conceptions relating to death. Several additional examples may be cited:

In order that the ghost may travel the ghost road in safety, it is necessary for each Lakota during

his life to be tattooed either in the middle of the forehead or on the wrists. In that event his spirit will go directly to the "Many Lodges." The other spirit road is said to be short, and the foolish one who travels it never reaches the "Many Lodges." An old woman sits in the road and she examines each ghost that passes. If she can not find the tattoo marks on the forehead, wrists, or chin, the unhappy ghost is pushed from a cloud or cliff and falls to his world. Such is the lot of the ghosts that wander o'er the earth. They can never travel the spirit road again; so they go about whistling, with no fixed abode.²⁴

The Starry Land across the heavens, known to us as the "Milky Way," is called by the Indian, "The Way of Souls." The long branch is believed to be the path along which the good pass on to the Wakan Tanka, but the shorter one is the path for the wicked, fleeing along which, in their thoughtless haste they fall over, and are precipitated into a frightful abyss. There the helpless beings find themselves in torture such as can not be described, and are made to endure the sufferings of a still worse, and "second death."²⁵

These versions of the afterlife also illustrate the differences in beliefs found from one Lakota band to another.

The commission of a serious crime such as the killing of another Dakota required that the guilty per-

²²Dorsey, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

²³Underhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

²⁴Dorsey, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

²⁵Frances Halley, *Once Their Home*, p. 224.

son atone for his misdeed. If he succeeded in appeasing the vengeful relatives of the victim, and if he made sacrifices to the spirits, the murderer was considered redeemed and could once again eat, drink, and speak in the fellowship of his people.²⁶

The circle was a sacred symbol among the people of the Dakota. Everything in nature—the earth, the moon, the sky, the plants, and the human body—was round except stone, and stone was the implement of destruction.

The edge of the world is a circle; hence the circle is a symbol of the world and of the winds which travel to us from all points on the edge of the world. The sun, the moon, which mark the day and the night, travel in circles in the sky; therefore the circle is a symbol of these divisions of time and of the year, and so on of time.²⁷

The Dakotas believed that the circle of nature was created by supernatural to be used by their daily lives; their tipis were made round; in camping, the lodges are set in a circular pattern; in ceremonial activities, they sit in a circle and move in a circle. Since the circle was a symbol of the tipi, it suggested the shelter, the comfort of home and the security of the family. In decorative art, the divided circle stood for the world; the circle filled with blue, the sun; filled with blue, the sky; and divided into four parts, was the four winds.²⁸

son atone for his misdeed. If he succeeded in appeasing the vengeful relatives of the victim, and if he made sacrifices to the spirits, the murderer was considered redeemed and could once again eat, smoke, and speak in the fellowship of his people.²⁶

The circle was a sacred symbol among the people of the Dakota nation. Everything in nature—the sun, the earth, the moon, the sky, trees, plants, and the human body—was round except stone, and stone was the implement of destruction.

The edge of the world is a circle; hence the circle is a symbol of the world and of the winds which travel to us from all points on the edge of the world. The sun and the moon, which mark the day and the night, travel in circles above the sky; therefore the circle is a symbol of these divisions of time, and of the year, and so of all time.²⁷

The Dakotas believed that the circle of nature was created by the supernatural to be used by them in their daily lives: their tipis are made round; in camping, their lodges are set in a circular line; in ceremonial activities, their people sit in a circle and move in a circle. Since the circle was a symbol of the tipi, it suggested the shelter and comfort of home and the security of the family. In decorative art, the undivided circle stood for the whole world; the circle filled with red was the sun; filled with blue, it was the sky; and divided into four parts, it was the four winds.²⁸

Those individuals who were believed to have received special powers from the supernatural were the shamans or medicine men of the Dakotas. There was a sharp distinction between the shaman possessing supernatural powers for treatment of the sick and controlling the elements and the other lay members of the band. Most important was the inspiration received by the "holy" man from vision quest and ordeal. The average Indian might also hope for the visitation of spiritual power, but his experience with the supernatural was less intense and prolonged. Moreover, the shaman was usually provided with several powers resulting from contact with more than one spirit, and he might also have learned some sleight of hand with which to accompany exhibitions of spiritual power. Although the medicine man did not obtain this role by inheritance or memorized ritual, the son or relative of a shaman was more likely to be inclined to specialize in such spiritual activities than other members of his band.²⁹

The vision played an important part in the concept of disease cure, especially in the case of some powerful ailment that refused to yield to simple treatment. The Dakota medicine man made no attempt to treat a severe sickness unless he had

²⁶Henry H. Sibley, *Ironface: The Adventures of Jack Frazier, Frontier Warrior, Scout and Hunter*, eds. T. C. Bleyen and S. Davidson, p. 200.

²⁷Gilmore, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

²⁹Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

first received the remedy in a dream; but, once he received his vision he felt obligated to give treatment with medicinal herbs, sweat bath, and ceremony.³⁰ One of these practitioners is quoted by Densmore.

In the old days the Indians had few diseases, and so there was no demand for a large variety of medicines. A medicine-man usually treated one special disease and treated it successfully. He did this in accordance with his dream. A medicine-man would not try to dream of all herbs and treat all diseases, for then he could not expect to succeed in all nor to fulfill properly the dream of any one herb or animal. He would depend on too many and fail in all. That is one reason why our medicine-men lost their power when so many diseases came among us with the advent of the white men.³¹

The shaman's chief function was curing illness thought to result from the malign influence of a foreign body which had entered the patient. The therapeutic value of his treatment largely depended upon relieving the patient of the fear caused by the supposedly evil influence. Thus the shaman used rubbing, blowing, smoking, and other ceremonies and occasional trickery in order to convince the patient that the evil spirit had been dispelled.³² Clearly, modern scientific medical skill was lacking, but the procedure around the sick had a sensible rationale.³³ Thus it may be said that:

The medicine-man was a true benefactor of his people in that his

work was founded upon and promoted the Indian ideal of brotherhood, and all service rendered to fellow beings was for the good of the tribe. Such wisdom and "magic power" as he had achieved must be shared, as were food and clothing, with his fellow man. He made no charge for his helpfulness in ministering to the sick, for the comforting songs he sang; nor for the strength he gave them; and when a medicine-man was called, he never was known to refuse the summons.³⁴

The other members of the Dakota nation, those not specializing in the treatment of illness, were still quite concerned with obtaining the influence of a guardian spirit to watch over and guide their health and destinies. Generally, young men sought supernatural aid through a vision, and it was possible for anyone to have a spirit appear in a dream, promising him help in emergencies in return for a special offering, prayer, or observance of taboos. For example, the devotee received instructions from the spirit to compose a secret "medicine" song or to gather articles in a sacred bundle known only to himself and his guardian spirit. A man's "medicine" was guarded with his life, for it was considered a very powerful aid against

³⁰William T. Corlett, *The Medicine Man of the American Indian and His Cultural Background*, p. 121.

³¹Frances Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music*, pp. 244-245.

³²Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

³³Halley, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

³⁴Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, p. 203.

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ing Bear, *Land of the Spot-*
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enemies. In order to maintain its po-
 tency, the favored man could not
 violate any of the obligations made
 when acquiring the "medicine," and
 any idiosyncrasy in his behavior
 might be attributed to the displeas-
 ure of the guardian spirit.²⁵

In time of danger or despair, the
 spiritual well-being of the Dakota
 warrior depended on his guardian
 spirit. In all of nature, the Dakota
 could find mystic influences on
 whom he might rely for succor and
 guidance. As a result, the Indian
 had a profound spiritual affinity
 with nature, a feeling accurately
 captured by Francis Parkman, the
 historian.

Among those mountains not a
 wild beast was prowling, a bird
 singing, or a leaf fluttering, that
 might not tend to direct his destiny
 or give warning of what was in
 store for him; and he watches the
 world of nature around him as the
 astrologer watches the stars. So
 closely is he linked with it that his
 guardian spirit, no unsubstantial
 creation of the fancy, is usually em-
 bodied in the form of some living
 thing—a bear, a wolf, an eagle, or a
 serpent; as he gazed intently on the
 old pine tree, might believe it to
 enshrine the fancied guide and pro-
 tector of his life.²⁶

Practices and Beliefs

The emotional responses in Da-
 kota religion were associated with
 definite practices and beliefs. There-
 fore, whenever anyone had been in
 contact with supernatural power,
 he must voluntarily withdraw from
 human society and refrain from
 bodily activities, so that he might

protect uninitiated members of the
 group from possible danger, since it
 was believed that his power might
 injure the unblessed. Particularly,
 seclusion for the purpose of avoid-
 ing spiritual contamination was
 most important during the life crises
 of birth, puberty, and death. It was
 thought that when these uncontrol-
 lable biological events occurred,
 the Indian was subject to an un-
 usual power from which all must be
 safeguarded.²⁷

For example, an expectant moth-
 er retired to a prepared lodge where
 she was attended by skilled female
 relatives who had ceremonially pro-
 tected themselves. Even before the
 birth, songs were composed and a
 pole with eagles' down attached to
 the top was dedicated in the infant's
 future home. Shortly after the birth,
 the mother brought the infant
 home, and then the transfer of char-
 acter, naming, and ear-piercing
 ceremonies were held.²⁸

Occasionally, young children
 were selected for the *Hunka* cere-

²⁵DeCost Smith, *Indian Experiences*, p.
 131.

²⁶Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail*, p.
 222.

²⁷Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

²⁸Dorsey, *op. cit.*, p. 482. "The ceremony
 transferring character was usually as fol-
 lows: Should the infant be a boy, a brave
 and good-tempered man, chosen before-
 hand, takes the infant in his arms and
 breathes into his mouth, thereby com-
 municating his own disposition to the
 infant, who will grow up to be a brave
 and good-natured man. It is thought that
 such an infant will not cry as much as
 infants that have not been thus favored.
 Should the infant be a girl, it is put into
 the arms of a good woman, who breathes
 into its mouth."

mony, if they were believed to be sinless. Singing and praying, a council of great formality and solemnity gathered. In its ceremonials, the spirits invoked were to keep the child pure, free from the vices of men, in order that his saintly life might provide a perfect example to his people. The necessity of living a life of unquestioned morality is emphasized in the advice to the child elected for *Hunka*. The honor accorded the child allows no one "to presume upon him in the slightest, much less to offer an insult to him." In order that "this person of the elect, may be distinguished from others of the tribe, he wears his paint in narrow, perpendicular, even stripes." If one were challenged regarding his position, he would ask: "How many times have you been made a *Hunka*, and by how many horses?" At each *Hunka* ceremony, horses were presented and given to the unfortunate as an act of mercy.³⁹ Giving away goods in honor of others provided both the giver and receiver with additional prestige. As in our culture, the most disinterested type of charity was exhibited by giving to someone who clearly was not expected to give another gift in return. The charity gift was most suitably given in honor of children who were involved in *Hunka*, or in naming and ear-piercing ceremonies as well.⁴⁰

When the young Dakota female reached the age of puberty, she was considered ready for marriage and childbirth, another important life crisis. Thus she had to seclude herself from the camp circle in order

that the strong supernatural influence might not endanger the men in the camp.⁴¹

At puberty, the young men were likewise ready to be initiated into adult society, and had to seek supernatural aid to guide their careers and ensure success. Parkman's description of the vision quest of a young Dakota from a family renowned for their warlike exploits is vivid.

When a very young man he submitted to the singular rite to which most of the tribe subject themselves before entering upon life. He painted his face black; then seeking out a cavern in a sequestered part of the Black Hills, he lay for several days, fasting and praying to the Great Spirit. In the dreams and visions produced by his weakened and excited state, he fancied, like all Indians, that he saw supernatural revelations. Again and again, the form of an antelope appeared before him. The antelope is the graceful peace spirit of the Ogallalla, but seldom is it that such a gentle visitor presents itself during the initiatory fasts of their young men. The terrible grizzly bear, the divinity of war, usually appears to fire them with martial ardor and thirst for renown. At length the antelope spoke. He told the young dreamer that he was not to follow the path of war; that a life of peace and tranquillity was marked out for him; that henceforward he was to

³⁹Halley, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-219.

⁴⁰Jeannette Mirsky, "The Dakota" in *Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples*, Edited by Margaret Mead, p. 412.

⁴¹Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

guide the people by his c protect them from the c own feuds and dissensi were to gain renown by enemy; but greatness of kind was in store for hi

The seclusion and fa numerous ordeals we gious practices that n onstrated the youth's also helped gain the sp The vision, as Parkm suggests, usually follo ard form: an animal ap man guise, and this g gave instructions in songs, told where feti found or how they co and taught the neces holy man provided gu supplicant, interprete nation, and warned ppropriate or false spir

The guardian spirit ferred great power o warrior, permitting l from the enemy by strength or even by l visible like a ghost or spirit also helped the rior to obtain imple constructed according scription and charged power, and provided cial paints for the p body. These favors w upon the proper p several rituals: vap ings, chants, and pra

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Mirsky, "The Dakota" in *Co-
and Competition Among Prim-
ples*," Edited by Margaret
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op. cit., p. 128.

guide the people by his counsels and
protect them from the evils of their
own feuds and dissensions. Others
were to gain renown by fighting the
enemy; but greatness of a different
kind was in store for him.⁴²

The seclusion and fasting, and the
numerous ordeals were vital reli-
gious practices that not only dem-
onstrated the youth's courage but
also helped gain the spirits interest.
The vision, as Parkman's account
suggests, usually followed a stand-
ard form: an animal appeared in hu-
man guise, and this guardian spirit
gave instructions in the form of
songs, told where fetishes could be
found or how they could be found,
and taught the necessary ritual. A
holy man provided guidance to the
supplicant, interpreted the halluci-
nation, and warned against inap-
propriate or false spirits.⁴³

The guardian spirit usually con-
ferred great power on his favorite
warrior, permitting him to escape
from the enemy by great skill or
strength or even by being made in-
visible like a ghost or the wind. The
spirit also helped the Dakota war-
rior to obtain implements of war,
constructed according to divine pre-
scription and charged with spiritual
power, and provided him with spe-
cial paints for the protection of his
body. These favors were dependent
upon the proper performance of
several rituals: vapor baths, fast-
ings, chants, and prayers.⁴⁴

Throughout adult life, numerous
other practices, taboos, and pro-
scriptions of a religious nature con-
tinued to govern the Dakota. Reli-
gion permeated every aspect of

Dakota life, including visual art.
The drawings usually provided a
personal history or the artist's ex-
ploits and accomplishments, and, of
course, many pictures depicted
some supernatural experience or
force.⁴⁵ In conjunction with such
essential activities as the hunt the
divinities were thanked or suppli-
cated by proper sacrifices. On more
important occasions, such as the
Sun Dance, religious ceremonies
lasted several days and included
purification in the steam bath, fast-
ing, silence and seclusion, self-tor-
ture, and sacrifice.⁴⁶

The Tetons were constantly faced
with the possibility of sudden death
in warfare. Members of a dead war-
rior's family reacted characteristi-
cally to his death. The mourning
family distributed the deceased's
weapons and horses to relatives and
friends, and they might publicly
honor him by giving away their own
belongings until their lodge re-
mained almost bare. The females in
the family indicated their grief by
pathetic wailing, cutting their hair,
wearing old and ragged clothing,
and even gashing themselves with
knives. The body of the dead war-
rior was painted, dressed in his best
clothing, draped in robes, and
placed on a scaffold for burial.⁴⁷

"Parkman, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

"Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

"Dorsey, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

"Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

"Dorsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 435-437.

"Paul Beckwith, "Notes on the Customs
of the Dakotas," *Annual Report of the
Board of Regents of the Smithsonian In-
stitution*, 1886, p. 25.

The death of a relative was followed by a ceremony designed to retain his ghost. Something that belonged to the deceased, such as a lock of hair, was placed in an elaborately decorated receptacle and hung from a frame outside the lodge. Then for a few months the relatives prepared for a great feast, denying themselves necessities, and avoiding all evil, in order to prevent sickness or suffering which the spirits may use as retribution for non-compliance with the religious rules. Food and "feast lodges" were prepared, long sticks were placed in the ground to represent the ghost, and gifts contributed by relatives were exhibited around the poles. After the feast had been ceremonially carried out, the ghost departed in luxury needing the care of his bereaved relatives no longer.⁴⁸

Ceremony and Ritual

Many Dakota ceremonies were held at appointed times when a number of hands could come together for the common purpose of seeking the aid of the supernatural spirits. These gatherings were usually held in the late summer when food was plentiful in the camp circles.⁴⁹ Much of the time was spent in ceremonial dancing and singing. The meaning of the ceremonial was denoted by the content of the songs and the form of the dance. Although many songs were social or recreational, such as those devoted to fighting, hunting, praise, brotherhood, or love, they usually possessed some supernatural or "inspirational" elements.⁵⁰ The best songs

were composed in visions in accordance with the instructions of a guardian spirit.⁵¹

The rites and ceremonies of this annual summer convocation culminated in the elaborate Sun Dance, consisting of a series of preparatory and devotional rites merged into the semblance of a unified whole.⁵² The preliminary rites included the choice of a mentor to prepare the candidate, the purification of the candidate in the sweat lodge,⁵³ the lament or cry for a vision,⁵⁴ the erection of the altar and the installation of the buffalo skull, the meditation and consecration of the candidate, and finally, the mentor's instructions

⁴⁸Halley, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-216.

⁴⁹Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁵⁰Densmore, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵²Paul Radin, *The Story of the American Indian*, p. 316.

⁵³Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 31. This rite is explained as follows: "The rite of the *oni-kara* (sweat lodge) utilizes all the Powers of the universe: earth, and the things which grow from the earth, water, fire, and air. The water represents the Thunder-beings who came fearfully but bring goodness, for the steam which comes from the rocks, within which is the fire, is frightening, but it purifies us so that we may live as *Wakan-Tanka* wills, and He may even send to us a vision if we become very pure."

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 44. "Every man can cry for a vision, or 'lament': and in the old days we all—men and women—"lamented" all the time. What is received through the "lamenting" is determined in part by the character of the person who does this, for it is only those people who are very qualified who receive the great visions, which are interpreted by our holy man, and which give strength and health to our nation."

to the candidate on rules of behavior.⁵⁵

The Sun Dance proper, a collection of disjointed but yet spiritually unified ceremonies of devotion to deities, was divided into two periods, each usually requiring four days. During the first period, the camp was organized; each tipi was assigned its traditional place in the camp circle, and the heralds and marshals were appointed. Old friends and relatives were reunited in harmony and communion by smoking the pipe. Selection was made of the children who were to participate in the "carpiencing" ceremony or in the procession to the sacred tree. The females who wished to serve as attendants to the candidates or to chop the sacred tree were also chosen. Towards the end of the first phase, the women selected for these honors were permitted a feast in the dance lodge. Finally, the mentors of the candidates went to a nearby hill to sing and pray to the spirits of the four winds.⁵⁶

At sunrise on the first day of the second four-day period—called the holy time—a symbolic charge of the warriors against the evil spirits of the site of the ceremonial camp, accompanied by war cries and shooting of arrows, freed the grounds of evil gods, in order that the sacred lodges could be erected in the ceremonial camp. The older men, selected for their knowledge of traditional ritual, supervised the location of the sacred lodges and the Scouts searched out a special cottonwood tree and marked it with

visions in accordance with instructions of a

ceremonies of this convocation culminate in the Sun Dance. Series of preparatory rites merged into a unified whole.⁵² Rites included the fast to prepare the purification of the sweat lodge,⁵³ the vision,⁵⁴ the erection of the lodge and the installation of the candidate, the meditation of the candidate, and the mentor's instructions

p. 214-216.

p. 133.

p. 22.

Story of the American

p. 31. This rite is explained: "The rite of the onipotency utilizes all the Powers: earth, and the things of the earth, water, fire, and represents the Thunder which fearfully but brings the steam which comes within which is the fire, and it purifies us so that Wakan-Tanka wills, and leads to us a vision if we desire."

Every man can cry for a vision; and in the old days the women—"lamented" all that was received through the vision determined in part by the person who does this. These people who are very sensitive receive the great visions, interpreted by our holy man, and strength and health to

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red spots on four sides. A dancing area was built in a circle of forked poles in the ground and covered with pine boughs, and when this work was completed a buffalo feast completed the day's activities.⁵⁷

The ceremonies relating to the capture and trimming of the sacred tree occupied the second day of the holy time. The capture of the tree by the warriors was followed by binding sweet grass, sage, and buffalo hair wrapped in chokecherry sticks to the fork at its top. The procession to bring the tree to the ceremonial camp was formed while the warriors counted *coup* on the tree; the purest female then cut it down, and ritually declared it sacred, thus enabling the procession to carry the sacred tree into the ceremonial camp where it was then trimmed and painted.⁵⁸

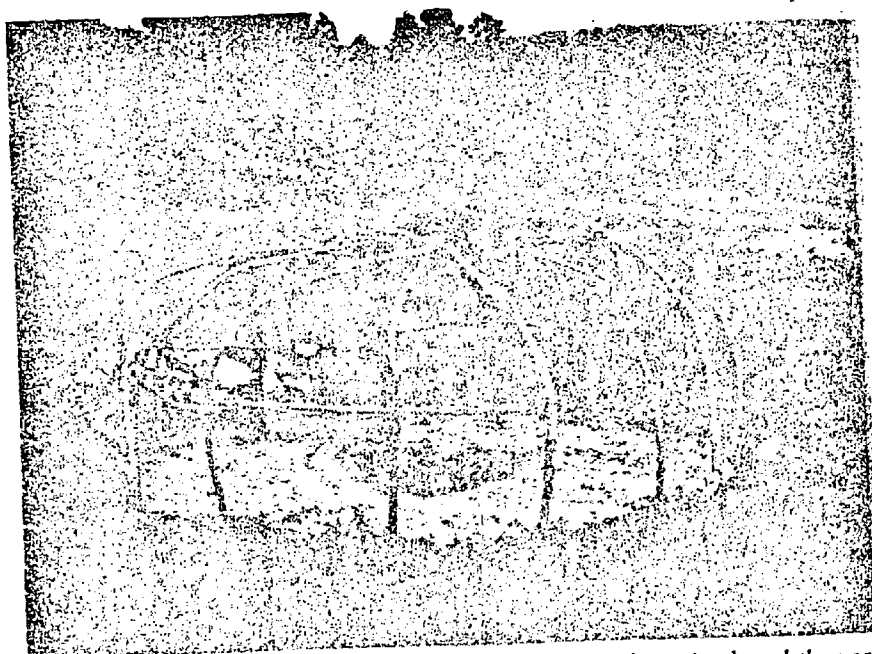
The next step was the raising of the sacred tree and the victory dance, which leveled the ground for the great dance to the sun. In the meantime, the candidates assembled in the sacred lodge to smoke, burn sweet grass, compose their own songs, and purify themselves with prayers and sweat baths. On the fourth morning of the holy time, the whole camp dressed in their most beautiful costumes and greeted the rising sun from a hill top close by. The young warriors then raced their ponies down the hill

⁵²Paul Radin, *The World of Primitive Man*, p. 176.

⁵³*Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

⁵⁴Embree, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.

⁵⁵Radin, *The World of Primitive Man*, *op. cit.*, p. 178.



The sweat lodge played an essential part in traditional Dakota ritual, and they are still occasionally seen on the Pine Ridge reservation.

and around the sun lodge. They were followed by the women and children who thereupon gathered to watch the procession of warriors carrying the buffalo head from the sacred lodge to the dancing area.⁵⁰ The children chosen for the "ear piercing" ceremony were called out, and this rite was performed. The final rite was the climatic ordeal of the candidates—their captivity, torture, and escape—as they danced gazing at the sun.⁵⁰ This ordeal was described by General Curtis, Commander at Fort Sully in the 1880's in these words:

On yesterday, June 1st, the dancing was delayed at intervals to allow tortures to be inflicted. Two or

three men stood over the devotee with needle and knife, very quietly performing penance, according to the customs of all these sacerdotal rites, as follows: First, they cut the arms in several places by sticking an awl in the skin, raising it and cutting out about half an inch; this is done on both arms, and sometimes on the breast and back. Then wooden setons (sticks about the thickness of a common lead pencil) are inserted through a hole in the skin and flesh. Then cords or ropes are attached to these sticks by one end, and to the pole at the other end, the victim pulling on the ropes till the seton sticks tear out the flesh and skin. I saw one with two setons

⁵⁰Embree, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

⁵⁰Radin, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

thus attached to his breast till it seemed to draw the three inches, and finally nearly his whole might to the seton.

One, painted black, ropes attached at once. The out is done in the dance, then carried on in the time of jerks, by jerk, jerk, jerk, and then and front all facing the form of supplication. One setons attached to four of head bones. These were and suspended to his flesh that raised each head several feet off the ground. He did to tear them out, but they not break the skin. One of weights (each at least pounds weight), not tearing their own weight or more devotee gave a comrade to take hold of the rope at the setons. While these thus tortured, their females came in and had pieces

thus attached to his breast, pulling till it seemed to draw the skin out three inches, and finally requiring nearly his whole might to tear out the seton.

One, painted black, had four ropes attached at once. The pulling out is done in the dance, the pulling carried on in the time of the music by jerk, jerk, jerk, and the eye, head and front all facing the sun in the form of supplication. One had four setons attached to four dry buffalo head bones. These were all strung and suspended to his flesh by ropes that raised each head some three feet off the ground. He danced hard to tear them out, but they would not break the skin. One came off the weights (each at least twenty-five pounds weight), not tearing out by their own weight or motion, the devotee gave a comrade a horse to take hold of the rope and tear out the setons. While these were being thus tortured, their female relations came in and had pieces cut out of

their men. Still as soon as the victim could be prepared, the music was renewed, and the dismal dance went on, victims' bodies now mingled with blood, paint and setons.⁶¹

The Sun Dance as a whole fuses the vision quest and a series of prestige-getting patterns which appealed greatly to the Dakota people. The cooperative activities of warfare, hunting, and sharing were symbolized in all the ceremonies; and the role of the proven virgin suggesting that women, too, could achieve high status, was of great significance.⁶² The religion of the Dakotas was epitomized in these collective symbols of the Sun Dance: the various dances and taboos, the regalia, and elaborate ritual.⁶³

⁶¹Pond, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-238.

⁶²Mirsky, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

⁶³Edward Sapir, *Culture, Language and Personality*, pp. 127-128.

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III. A Study of Dakota Values

It is an axiom in modern sociology that the integration of human societies is a product of the thinking of man; that is to say, it is not the result of man's physical or biological traits. Man's thinking has produced interests, purposes, and goals, and acceptable means of achieving them. When these values are shared by a group of people, consistent and predictable behavior is possible, and the individuals are psychologically bound together in an association of "like-thinking" members. It is this common and uniform thinking and behavior of a group of people that enables us to identify a "culture."

The shared behavior in the culture of any group of people is supported by a governing moral code. The code comprises a number of values which embody the expected and desirable ways of achieving the socially established goals. These moral values consciously or unconsciously govern much of the behavior of the members of the association. Some values, considered more important than others, are rigidly enforced and the sanctions imposed upon violators are strict and harsh. These core values make up the moral code or value system of a people. But as we know, values often express ideals, which make clear what the behavior of the individual ought to be; thus they may not always be consistent with actual behavior. Yet, despite such inconsistency, observable behavior is usually a reasonable reflection of the accepted value system, especially in well-integrated societies.

The anthropologist . . . sees culture as a goal-oriented system. These goals are expressed, patterned, lived out by people in their behaviors and aspirations in the form of values—objects or possessions, conditions of existence, personality or characterological features, and states of mind, that are conceived as desirable, and act as motivating determinants of behavior.⁶⁴

A value system may then be defined as an established cluster of accepted behavior patterns for achieving the goals which the community has prescribed as constituting the "good way of life." A consistent value system facilitates the smooth functioning of group activities, and as it decreases friction among group members creates a sense of well-being in their minds.

Each society has a unique value system. Thus when an individual in any society says that he is doing the "right" thing, he simply means that he is conforming to the value system of his group. The Dakota Indians, for example, fought to preserve their homeland from intruders because this was the only "right" action consistent with the values of the society to which they belonged. When they were forced to surrender to the Army of the United States, they were faced with a new value system incompatible and irreconcilable with their own.

The frontiersmen expressed the culture of 19th century Western

⁶⁴George D. Spindler, "Education in a Transforming American Culture" *Harvard Educational Review*, XXV (Summer 1955) p. 145.

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Civilization of which the values were different from those of the Dakotas. These white men, a varied group demonstrating the vigorous inconsistency of Western culture, were convinced that they were fully justified in aggressively imposing their value system on others. As a result, the Dakota people were not only forcibly exposed to a contradictory value-system, but also subjected to intense value conflicts.

Purpose of the Study

It is the purpose of this study to describe and analyze the differences in the value systems of the Dakota Indians and Western Civilization,⁶⁵ and to suggest a probable explanation for the religious practices of present day Pine Ridge Reservation residents as a result of the conflict in values between the two societies. The method used to accomplish this purpose is based on the assumption that the Pine Ridge Indians will express their primary values in response to a series of questions based on ideas commonly held in either the traditional Dakota or modern American cultures. If in answering these questions, the respondents tend to approve the values of both cultures, the hypothesis is that they are more likely to exhibit some form of marginal religious behavior⁶⁶ as a result of the unresolved value conflict.

Thus, restated, the hypothesis of this study may be expressed as follows: The responses of Pine Ridge residents to a series of questions based on traditional Dakota culture,

and modern American culture, reveal conflicts in those values expressive of marginal religious participation. Answers indicating approval of both value systems suggest greater participation in religious activities, but those indicating approval of one value system suggest lesser participation. This thesis can be summarized in a formula:

Dakota Values + American Values → Value Conflict → Marginal Religious Participation⁶⁷

The rest of this bulletin is organized on the basis of this hypothesis. The next sections deal with the traditional value system, the effect of American values on Dakota society, and the forms of adjustment to value conflict found in marginal religions. A report of the findings regarding the value choices and religious participation of Pine Ridge residents follows and the last section suggests some social implications of this study.

⁶⁵Western Civilization in this study refers to the form of culture possessed by the frontiersmen on the American Great Plains.

⁶⁶Marginal religious activity refers to any spiritual belief or practice which combines elements of traditional and Christian religions.

⁶⁷This formulation is not a true mathematical equation, but rather a description of logical relationships. American values are regarded as dominant and Dakota values subordinate. Marginal religious participation is one of many possible methods of adjustment to value conflict.

Values in Dakota Society

The religion of the Dakotas, apparent in every function of their daily life—in their literature and art, as well as their whole socio-economic complex—established patterns of expected ethical behavior. Thus it would be impossible to disentangle religious behavior from the setting of Dakota society. Especially during the periods of a life crisis, such as birth, puberty, sickness, or death, religious rites contributed to social stability, as they served the functional purpose of integrating the total culture pattern.⁶⁸ Such integration is suggested by the concept of *wakan*, which represents the power of the spirits: "Every object in the world has a spirit and that spirit is wakan." This force is greater than mortal mankind; immortal, it binds and unifies the whole world into a complete circle.⁶⁹

This religious view of the world exerted considerable influence upon the individual in Dakota society, shaping his ethical beliefs and behavior into a common pattern and permitting only slight deviations between ideals and practices. Thus the seven behavioral norms which are described in this section represent the ideal values and action of the Teton Dakota society.

Generosity

As early as 1820 the Dakotas were characterized by Schoolcraft as "a brave, spirited, and generous people."⁷⁰ The ideal of generosity was

highly valued, and appeared to be based on the fact that the benefit of the group was unconditionally valued above that of any individual.⁷¹ This communal principle may have arisen from necessity. Since migratory people needed a safe minimum of property, but not more than they could carry with them, these people who engaged in the buffalo chase were dependent upon the generosity of the luckiest and most able hunters. Generosity thus became such an important focus of training and prestige that the most despised man was he who deviated even slightly from the ideal sharing pattern.⁷²

During times of general abundance in the Dakota camps, there were no cases of individual privation. The weak, the aged, and even the indolent were all permitted to share in the spoils of the buffalo hunt, and as long as there was any food in the camp even the helpless old woman would not perish from starvation. The idea that the food belonged to a single individual could not even be expressed in the Dakotan language. It was not possible to say "my meat" or "my buffalo"; rather one said, "the meat that is in my tipi." The possessive pro-

⁶⁸J. H. Steward, *Theory of Culture Change*, pp. 139-141.

⁶⁹Radin, *The World of Primitive Man*, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

⁷⁰Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal*, edited by Mentor L. Williams, p. 202.

⁷¹Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, *American Indian and White Children*, p. 111.

⁷²Erick H. Erickson, "Observations on Sioux Education," *The Journal of Psychology*, VII (January, 1939), p. 117.

noun used to express "my horse" implied a foritism rather than These attitudes suggest a guistic expression was ated by behavior. She in need, those with a not have to be reminding of their obligation to share would have as "not a true Dakota

The trait of generosity apparent in the practice. Every caller was ever courtesy-food even if he had just was graciously accepted, and what was immediately was taken consumption. This *wateca* was taken it was returned with phrase of thanks and shelter was, of of the hospitality to all relatives. Ships were widely ship included not circle, but the whole Therefore, as a exclusive "code of things were mutual

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to be the benefit of additionally valuable individual.⁷¹ The principle may have been since migration a safe minimum more than they had, these people in the buffalo chase and the generosity and most able thus became the focus of training and most despised and deviated even in the sharing pat-

general abundance in the camps, there was individual privacy, and even if permitted to hunt the buffalo there was any helplessness even the helpless not perish from the fact that the food was shared among individual expressed in the fact that it was not possible to "my buffalo" or "the meat that" possessive pro-

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noun used to express "my tipi" or "my horse" implied an object of favoritism rather than ownership. These attitudes suggested by linguistic expression were substantiated by behavior. Should anyone be in need, those with a surplus would not have to be reminded very often of their obligation to give. Refusal to share would have branded one as "not a true Dakota."⁷²

The trait of generosity was also apparent in the practice of hospitality. Every caller was given whatever courtesy-food was available even if he had just eaten. The food was graciously accepted by the visitor, and what was not eaten immediately was taken home for later consumption. This courtesy-food or *wateca* was taken in a bowl, which was returned with a conventional phrase of thanks.⁷⁴ Sharing food and shelter was, of course, the basis of the hospitality pattern extending to all relatives. Since all relationships were widely extended, kinship included not only the camp circle, but the whole Dakota nation. Therefore, as a result of this all-inclusive "code of kinship," most things were mutually shared.⁷⁵

Integrity

The Dakotas thought that dishonesty of any kind was extremely disgraceful. Moreover, if a man attempted to misuse his authority, or if he inmodestly boasted or swaggered, he was ridiculed for this attempt to misrepresent his importance with the saying, "His face cover is dead." Since the Dakotas indicated modesty by hiding the

face in a robe or by using some "cover" of reticence, this cover was considered "dead" and ineffective when modesty had passed away. Truth was deemed such a highly valued norm that even a young man who boasted of his successful exploits was guilty of an extremely unwise indiscretion.⁷⁶ A person regarded as unreliable and deceitful was referred to in this question: "Did you not see his palate?" The reference is to the striped palate of the trickster in Dakota mythology.⁷⁷

Some essentials of the unquestionably honorable behavior of the Dakotas have been described by General Nelson A. Miles, a prominent frontiersman. He stated that there were no means of securing valuables or highly prized personal equipment, "but for one Indian to enter the lodge of another without being bidden or welcomed would be regarded as a highly dishonorable act, and for one to take that which belongs to another of the same tribe would be looked on as a crime deserving of death."⁷⁸

The Dakota opinion was that there must be no dishonesty in achieving recognition or status.

Any position gained by an individual in his band was due solely to

⁷¹Boas, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

⁷²Ella Deloria, *Speaking of Indians*, p. 47.

⁷³South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, *Indians of South Dakota*, p. 45.

⁷⁴Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, pp. 159-160.

⁷⁵Boas, *op. cit.*, p. 596.

⁷⁶Nelson A. Miles, *Personal Recollections and Observations*, pp. 311-312.

his own abilities and efforts. No attachment or relationship could place individuals or give them power; no luster could be borrowed and no circle crawled into by bowing and paying homage. Every honor gained, from scout to chief, and by those who took the ceremony of Corn Dance or Sun Dance, was gained on the expressed willingness to serve the members of the tribe.⁷⁹

Courage

The traits of bravery and fortitude in the Dakota male were very much admired. Similar respect and esteem were accorded the females for their chastity.⁸⁰ Aggressiveness was predominantly a male characteristic, since trophies and prestige were the rewards of performing feats of bravery against the foe, acquiring potent supernatural aid, giving away property, or inflicting self-torture. The powerful drive for the recognition of courageous acts even caused overly-brave Dakotas occasionally to disrupt carefully planned ambushes or buffalo hunts in order to perform an unusual feat of valor.⁸¹

Naturally, the greatest deeds of courage were performed by the younger warriors who depended on their strength and skill to defend themselves and prevent harm to others. These "braves" were physically able to withstand the torture of the enemy and to move quickly and quietly over long distances in a short time if they were able to escape the enemy. The Dakotas regarded them as we do medieval knights. According to the Dakota code of honor, they had to be kind

to the poor and needy, protectors of the women and children, and trained in true politeness and gallantry.⁸²

The young men could achieve the greatest honors only by engaging in the dangerous activities relating to intertribal warfare. The best training in the virtues of the successful warrior—courage, cunning, and patience—was obtained in the expeditions to drive off the horses of the enemy. Stealing horses was thus an honorable occupation, particularly as a measure of reprisal, since it enriched those who excelled and deprived the enemy of property indispensable to his safety.⁸³ These virtues were of such paramount importance in warfare, that, even in time of peace, youthful warriors played dangerous pranks on the enemy in order to develop their proficiency no less than to test the vigilance of the opposition.⁸⁴ Their stealth and skill in concealment, their wariness in preparing and executing plans, their courageous attack and defense, their sharp hearing and unerring sight, their expert mastery of the horse, and their fearlessness made the Dakotas unequaled warriors and therefore, dreaded enemies.⁸⁵

⁷⁹Standing Bear, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

⁸⁰Fred R. Eggan (Editor), *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, "The Underlying Sanctions of Plains Indian Culture," by John H. Provinse, p. 359.

⁸¹George Devereux, *Reality and Dream*, p. 70.

⁸²Densmore, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

⁸³Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁸⁴Halley, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

Sociability

In Dakota society, fringing, joking, and conversation were particularly desirable to the older people. Group men frequently met in the circle in the evening for smoking and conversation. Reserve and dignity served in council were an attitude of light men informality; and, as Pe noted, in this social circle was not much wit, there a great deal of laughter.

Sociability was an important sublimation of the fight that typified the young warriors. And the patri their years of strenuous hunting and fighting, primarily as peacemakers, vented intergroup conflict on older men, peaceful and silent, were respected for their judgment and ability to better social relations in the camp circle.⁸⁷

In each group there were elderly Dakotas who of the respect of their people for their authentic personalities. These people might have possessed a nominal authority, their position depended on the honors they had through their courage and pride on the warpath. Their membership in a numerous and respected family. They were treated with the dignity but they assumed no outward signs of rank or honor. Respected men did not

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Sociability

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spected family. They might be
treated with the dignity of leaders,
but they assumed none of the out-
ward signs of rank or honor. These
respected men did not necessarily

possess the most property, and in
some cases they even impoverished
themselves in order to ingratiate
themselves with other people by
giving them presents. No sanctions
permitted the leaders to enforce
their authority; therefore it was nec-
essary for them to seek their fol-
lowing through the devotion and
respect of the other members of the
band. A pleasant social relationship
with friends and descendants was
one of the chief means of achieving
and maintaining this influence.⁸⁸

Kinship

The character of the extended
family in Dakota society was an es-
sential factor determining the posi-
tion that an individual held in the
band. The success of a man's pros-
pects depended in large part on a
powerful family that could assist
him in an expedition or help him
settle his quarrels. Moreover, by the
mechanism of adoption and cere-
monial brotherhood, relationships
which resembled a vital kinship
might be established between two
individuals who were unrelated or
very distantly related. This exten-
sion of kinship made the two almost
inseparable: "they ate, slept, and
hunted together, and shared with
one another almost all that they
possessed."⁸⁹

The affection of one member of a
Dakota family for another was per-
haps best expressed in the indul-
gent and watchful care of a mother
for her child. Love of kindred was

⁸⁶Parkman, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206.

⁸⁷Devereux, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁸⁸Parkman, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 220.

also apparent when sickness entered the lodge. The family would devote all their arts and skill to aid their ailing kinsman. They also sought the treatment of the shaman and his supernatural powers. Finally, a close relative might "gather his blanket about him, and without a word or sound pass out of the lodge, and go away up into some mountain or hill, and there stay for days alone," where he would appeal to the spirits "without eating or drinking, but with most sorrowful moaning and wailing," to spare the sick member of his family.⁹⁰ The death of a child had an effect far more poignant than that of any other tragedy that might befall Dakota parents.⁹¹

Mrs. Stephen R. Riggs has paraphrased a lament of a Dakota mother which is a fine example of parental tenderness and devotion:

Me choonksheel Me choonksheel
(My daughter, my daughter) alas, alas, my comfort has departed, my heart is very sad. My joy is turned to sorrow, and my song to wailing. Shall I never behold thy sunny smile? Shall I never hear the music of thy voice? The Great Spirit has entered my lodge in anger, and taken thee from me, my first born, and my only child. I am comfortless and must wail out my grief. The pale faces repress their sorrow, but we children of nature grieve out our anguish.

The light of my eyes is extinguished; all is dark. I have cast from me all comfortable clothing, and robed myself in skins, for no clothing, no fire, can warm thee, my daughter. Unwashed and uncombed I will mourn for thee,

whose long locks I can never more braid; whose cheeks I can never again tinge with vermillion. I will cast off my tangled hair, for my grief is great. *Me choonksheel me choonksheel!*

How can I survive thee? How can I be happy and you a homeless wanderer to the spirit-land? How can I eat if you are hungry? I will go to the grave, with food for your spirit. Your bowl and spoon are placed in your coffin, for use on the journey. The feast for your playmates has been made at the place of your burial. Knowest thou of their presence? My daughter! My daughter!

When spring returns, the choice of ducks shall be your portion, sugar and berries also shall be placed near your grave. Neither grass nor flowers shall be allowed to grow thereon. Affection for thee will keep the little mound desolate, like the heart from which thou art torn. My daughter, I come, I come—I bring you parched corn; oh, how long will you sleep?

The wintry winds wail your requiem. The cold earth is your bed, and the colder snow your covering. I would that they were mine. I will lie down by your side, I will sleep once more with you. If no one discovers me, I shall soon be cold as thou art, and together we will sleep that long long sleep from which I can not wake.⁹²

When anything important happened to her children, the mother was always present to share their pain or pleasure. That is one measure of the closeness of the Dakota mother to her family.

⁹⁰Halley, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

⁹¹Kunigunde Duncan, *Blue Star*, p. 182.

⁹²Halley, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-199.

The friendly and loving elements of the family unit were with only slightly less in the whole band. There was no quarreling over property; very little greed; equality of rights were primary traits of their relationships. Indeed, the functioning of their cooperative system was thought by the Dakotas to be the very basis of their way of life.⁹³

Self-control

Although the Dakotas were usually characterized by the men as fierce and unmanly, the evidence indicates that their experience with the tactics of the United States forces in the West they were able and dignified in their conduct towards not only friends and strangers.⁹⁴ For instance, Carver, one of the explorers who had first observed them, stated that the Dakota Indians were "very circumspect and deliberate in every word and action," nothing hurried "them into intemperate warmth." He was of the opinion that they were "restrained, cautious, taking care not to do on any account whatever the things."⁹⁵

Also, the requirements of additional Dakota religion required the individual to manage his actions carefully, except during certain ceremonial activities some emotional release was usually expected. True, religious experiences usually occurred in an impressionistic dream-fantasy, but the instructions received

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Blue Star, p. 182.
198-199.

The friendly and loving attachments of the family unit were found with only slightly less intensity in the whole band. There was little quarreling over property, and also very little greed; equality and justice were primary traits of all social relationships. Indeed, the smooth functioning of their cooperative kinship system was thought by the Dakotas to be the very basic value in their way of life.⁹³

Self-control

Although the Dakotas were usually characterized by the frontiersmen as fierce and unmanageable, the evidence indicates that before their experience with the aggressive tactics of the United States military forces in the West they were hospitable and dignified in their demeanor towards not only friends but also strangers.⁹⁴ For instance, Jonathan Carver, one of the explorers who had first observed them, stated that the Dakota Indians were "extremely circumspect and deliberate in every word and action," and that nothing hurried "them into any intemperate warmth." He went on to remark that they were "remarkably cautious, taking care not to betray on any account whatever their emotions."⁹⁵

Also, the requirements of the traditional Dakota religion encouraged the individual to manage his actions carefully, except during certain ceremonial activities when some emotional release was normally expected. True, religious experiences usually occurred in a highly impressionistic dream-fantasy, but the instructions received by the

visionary were always designed to discipline his behavior in his conscious life. Ritual itself, as in all religion, is a system of routinizing and controlling behavior, and such is the view that can be taken of the Dakota religion.

He appears to deem the senses everything, the ideal nothing; and though there is no more imaginative being in existence than the Indian, yet it seems an essential idealism, having reference only to reality. He will play with ideas in a practical form—follow the most fantastic trains of thought with a ready vigor and strong originality; but the train vanishes, and the amusement is over. Express as truth a single thought beyond his reason, or in apparent conflict with the evidences of his senses or his own hereditary beliefs and a stereotyped expression of incredence will invariably pass over him.⁹⁶

The practical nature of the Dakota religion, suggested in the above remarks by a missionary, was also to be seen in their reasons for worship. The reason for sacrifice or prayer was always a real life situation or crisis. A warrior desiring success on the warpath approached the proper deities by self-sacrifice, preceded by fasting, penance, and purification. Or if death appeared in his family, he propitiated the spirits of darkness by fasting and sacrifice.⁹⁷

⁹³Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

⁹⁴Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁹⁵Jonathan Carver, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America*, pp. 237-238.

⁹⁶Lynd, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 170.

Wisdom

Knowledge of the world in which they lived was an all-inclusive Dakota value, reflecting their reverence for everything in nature. They regarded all living plants and animals "as partners in the wonderful and mysterious quality of life." A major portion of their children's education was devoted to the world of living things. They were taught botany, zoology, geography, and conservation of resources in a practical way suited to Great Plains living. The preservation of the balance of nature, rather than the exploitation of a species of plant or animal for temporary gain, was a major goal in Dakota values.⁹⁸

Their enlightened ideas concerning propriety in social relationships might be considered additional evidence of Dakota wisdom. The foresight and discretion of the older tribal members, to which the young warriors deferred, frequently prevented trouble from arising between rival bands and even between the Dakotas and hostile groups. Schoolcraft recorded an occasion on which he was warned of approaching danger by an elderly leader. The old man gave Schoolcraft his gun and accoutrements and said, "Take my gun also, as I perceive you have none of your own and depart with it to the land of your countrymen, but linger not here, lest some of my young men who are panting for the blood of their enemies, should discover your foot steps in our country, and fall upon you."⁹⁹

The patterns of cooperative liv-

ing in Dakota society were well designed to keep individual conflict at a minimum, but this did not mean that strict conformity was demanded in all areas of human life. There are certain areas, such as warfare, the vision quest, and the formation of friendship societies, in which individual initiative was clearly stressed. Thus the warriors were able to achieve a degree of spiritual freedom which would not have been possible in a society entirely dominated by stereotyped formulas of group living.¹⁰⁰

The behavioral norms and social and religious values of the Dakota Indians were intricately bound together in their total value system. Mythological and ceremonial elements reinforced basic beliefs which, in turn, were internalized by the individual members of Dakota society. When these beliefs appeared in the attitudes and actions of the majority of these people, they could be regarded as the behavioral norms and values.

Values in

Western Civilization

The value system of the Dakota Indians described in the preceding pages is consistent and functionally integrated. But the value systems of Western civilization, on the contrary, are only loosely associated and vary greatly from one group to another. Internal consist-

⁹⁸Gilmore, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁹⁹Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

¹⁰⁰Radin, *The Story of the American Indian*, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-309.

ney of values may likewise be unimportant. The difference between Dakota and Western society is evident in the values suffered by those Dakota who are marginal to the two cultures.

In this section, the relationship between the "technic-order" of Western society and the "moral order" of Dakota society is examined.¹⁰¹ A brief analysis of the technic-order in very general terms will be followed by a discussion of the moral order. The first part of this section will be devoted to a study of the contacts of the moral order with the technic-order of Western civilization.

The Technic-Order

The characteristics of the technic-order of Western civilization are in sharp contrast to those of earlier societies and are more firmly established, and it is difficult to determine at exactly what point the simple society is transformed into civilization. For the purpose of this study the distinction between simple and complex societies is based on the attachment of individuals to a civilization to interterritorial groups rather than to small kinship groups. In the technic-order of civilization the main control is the overall state or other controls may operate on a local basis. The social control is the technic-order of civilization.

The bonds that control the activities of men in the technic-order do not rest on the basis of the good life; they are characterized by a foundation of material sentiments; they can

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ney of values may likewise be relatively unimportant. The contrast between Dakota and Western society is evident in the value conflicts suffered by those Dakotas who are marginal to the two cultures.

In this section, the results of the contact between the "technic-order" of Western society and the "moral order" of Dakota society will be examined.¹⁰¹ A brief analysis of the technic-order in very general terms will be followed by a discussion of the moral order. The final part of this section will be devoted to a study of the contacts of the Dakota moral order with the technic-order of Western civilization.

The Technic-Order

The characteristics which distinguish Western civilization from earlier societies are not definitely established, and it is difficult to determine at exactly what point a simple society is transformed into a civilization. For the purposes of this study the distinction between a simple and complex society is based on the attachment of the members of a civilization to interest and territorial groups rather than attachment to small kinship groups. In civilization the main focus of control is the overall state, although other controls may operate on a limited local basis. The system of control is the technic-order, explained by Redfield as follows:

The bonds that co-ordinate the activities of men in the technical order do not rest on convictions as to the good life; they are not characterized by a foundation in human sentiments; they can exist even

without the knowledge of those bound together that they are bound together. The technical order is that order which results from the mere utilization of the same means. In the technical order men are bound by things, or are themselves things. They are organized by necessity or expediency.¹⁰²

Members of the moral order are bound primarily by common and shared values, but in the technic-order their values may be different as a result of their varied associations in society. Thus, for example, business values may conflict with religious values, family values may conflict with community values, political values may conflict with values of personal friendship, and so on. These value conflicts, end products of the dynamic forces of civilization, complicate Western civilization immeasurably.¹⁰³

The transition from a simple moral to a complex technic-order has resulted in a change from a well-knit social system to "a multitude of social groups, competitive interests, poorly defined social relationships, social anonymity, a confusion of norms, and a vast extension of impersonal control agencies designed to enforce rules which increasingly lack the moral force which rules receive only when they grow out of emotionally felt community needs."¹⁰⁴ The technic-order is fur-

¹⁰¹This terminology is borrowed from Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*, p. 15.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁰³Robert MacIver, *The Web of Government*, p. 430.

¹⁰⁴Thorsten Sellin, *Culture Conflict and Crime*, pp. 59-60.

ther characterized by ways that are rational, expedient, and utilitarian; purposive change and individual gain are considered more important than hewing to tradition. Since relationships are impersonal in the technic-order, laws are necessary instruments for maintaining order. Change from a predominantly moral order to a technic-order is rarely pleasant. Most of the cultural contacts suggest the difficulty of assimilation, because extermination or eviction or subjugation is the rule and conversion the exception.¹⁰⁵

The Moral Order

The moral order is the primary source of unity in small early groups. In folk or tribal societies, the essential order is based on "the organization of human sentiments into judgments as to what is right."¹⁰⁶

The moral order is the foundation of all societies and remains in command as long as the value system is based on sentiments, such as love of tradition, respect for family, and communion with nature. Through the process of social interaction, common understanding of what is right develops and expectations become structured. These values comprise a moral order, and adherence to the norms of this order tends to coordinate men's activities. Since man is greatly dependent on other men for his existence, a breach of the moral code is considered a grievous wrong, a threat to the welfare of the whole group.¹⁰⁷

The moral order is usually found in preliterate, non-specialized, culturally homogeneous groups. Kin-

ship was typically the basis for social organization in such groups. Through the intimacy and warmth of their primary relationships, the members internalize the moral values and the individual strains toward consistency in all areas of life.

One cannot but admire the well-rounded life of the average participant in the civilization of a typical American Indian tribe; the firmness with which every part of that life—economic, social, religious and aesthetic—is bound together into a significant whole in respect to which he is far from a passive pawn.¹⁰⁸

The highly integrated and consistent value system is a significant factor in the apparent lack of individual deviation in early societies. The individual knows that the single set of norms shared by all members of his society guides him to the only acceptable ways of behaving. He is not faced with an alternative value system or with contradictory norms therefore deviation would require radical change from tradition and serious consequences for the individual.

It is difficult to distinguish between religious and other activities in a society dominated by the moral order. In such a society, religion is inextricably interwoven with every pattern of individual behavior. In fact, it may be inaccurate to ind

¹⁰⁵Redfield, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁷William G. Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁸Edward Sapir, "Culture, Genuine and Spurious," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIX (January, 1924), p. 414.

cate religion merely as one area of Dakota life, since religious rituals and beliefs had permeated the whole range of their social activities. Thus in their overall value system there was a delicate interdependence which demanded strict adherence to all subordinate values. One value could not be laid aside in lieu of another, because both were harmoniously synthesized in the unified moral order.

Phases of Culture Contact

In his analysis of technic and moral orders, Redfield describes the logic of historical change from early to modern societies. Meeker has described the historical contact between the moral order of the Dakota Indians and the technic-order of Western civilization. From the non-Indian point of view, three periods of such contacts are indicated. (a) "Rising action" from 1700 to 1850 was devoted to the fur trade, but relations between the Teton and frontiersmen became more and more strained because of immigration. (b) The "crisis" from 1851 to 1878 was one of warfare resulting from the conflict over control of Dakota hunting grounds and destruction of game. (c) The "falling action" from 1878 to the present found the Dakotas restricted to reservations and forced to begin the process of organizational assimilation.¹⁰⁹

Rising Action (1700-1851). The culture of the Dakota Indians has been evolving for many generations before their first contacts with Western civilization. Their culture

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Rising Action (1700-1851). The
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before their first contacts with
Western civilization. Their culture

was geared to the soil and climate
of the upper Midwest, and the eco-
nomic conditions of their way of
life. They had worked out ways of
meeting emergencies, and could
easily adapt themselves to a new
environment on the Great Plains or
to a new pattern of horsemanship
and buffalo hunting.¹¹⁰ The Dakota
hunter aspired to perfection in or-
der to be assured of the health,
courage, and good fortune which he
needed to face his dangerous tasks.
Thus the Dakota religion was neat-
ly tailored to provide the spirit
with the power that enabled one to
become a man among his people.¹¹¹

The introduction of an alien re-
ligion such as Christianity was cer-
tain to create confusion for both the
Dakota Indians and the Christian
missionaries. The latter were suspi-
cious of their "red brothers" and
were highly doubtful of their own
safety. Before he rested easily in a
Dakota village Reverend John Wil-
liamson had to be assured that the
Dakotas never broke "the laws of
hospitality by killing a fellow
guest."¹¹²

The lack of understanding result-
ing from differences in language, re-
ligious beliefs, and social practices
was partially overcome by the Da-
kota regard for the sacredness of all
religions. They listened reverently
when men of God preached in an
unknown tongue or sang their

¹⁰⁰H. Seudder Mekeel, *A Short History of
the Teton-Dakota*, p. 140.

¹¹⁰Stanley Vestal, *New Sources of Indian
History*, p. 315.

¹¹¹Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

¹¹²Winifred W. Barton, *John P. William-
son: A Brother to the Sioux*, pp. 88-89.

strange, mournful old-time hymns.¹¹³ Father De Smet gives an interesting example of the Dakota regard for the little understood Christian religion.

Then he invited me to speak again to the Great Spirit, (to say grace), I began in the name of the Father and of the Son, etc., and immediately all present lifted up their hands toward heaven; when I had concluded they all struck the ground. I asked the chief what they meant by this ceremony. "When we lift up our hands," said he, "we signify that all our dependence is on the Great Spirit, and that he in his fatherly care provides for all our wants: we strike the ground to signify that we are only worms and miserable creeping beings in his sight."¹¹⁴

The success of early missionary activities among the Dakotas was limited by cultural and physical difficulties which caused these devoted ministers no end of misery. Reverend Stephen Riggs recorded that his request to the Dakota warriors to join his church was rejected in these words: "Your church is made up of women; if you had gotten us in first, it would have amounted to something, but now there are only women. Who would follow after women?"¹¹⁵ Another difficulty arose over the conflict between the Christian and Dakota marriage practices.

Shortly after the arrival of these men, Mr. Williamson preached a strong sermon on the duty of Christian marriage. At the close, he called upon all who were ready to come forward and be united in marriage. A number came forward in

a bunch. Upon counting them he found that there were sixteen men and fifteen women. It took some time to get them paired off so he could tell which was the odd man. He asked the man, "Where is your wife?" He replied, "She is not here. She is in the tent. She does not want to get married, but I do." The man was quite disappointed to learn that it took more than one to consummate a marriage ceremony. The other couples were happily married.¹¹⁶

The actions of the fur traders, often a cause of considerable concern to the early missionaries, created further difficulties. The traders frequently married Indian women according to tribal traditions, but they failed to obtain the sanction of the church. They were unlikely to promote a stable family, moving about the vast territory and using liquor as a means of promoting their trade.¹¹⁷ In this latter practice the trader has been described as going to the Indian camp, and giving the liquor gratis; and "after making the Indians drunk, he trades with them, dilutes the rum with water, and ends by getting all they have for very little."¹¹⁸

Another source of great difficulty between the missionaries and the Indians was the continued treat-

¹¹³Bernard De Voto, *Across the Wide Missouri*, p. 225.

¹¹⁴Reuben G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XXVII, p. 152.

¹¹⁵Stephen R. Riggs, *Mary and I: Forty Years with the Sioux*, p. 89.

¹¹⁶Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.

¹¹⁷Grace L. Nute (ed.) *Documents Relating to Northwest Missions, 1815-1827*, p. 156.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 170.

ment of illness by a medicine man. The missionaries regarded the "medicine" of the Dakotas as mere heathen superstition. The "holy man" of the Dakotas understood the medicinal value of various herbs which were used for their therapeutic value. The missionaries were unwilling to recognize their effectiveness, despite the favorable testimony of the surgeons and others that cases abandoned as hopeless by medical authorities, the medicine man might effect a remarkable cure.¹²⁰

It must be admitted that there was a misunderstanding but it was often apparent in the ranks. For example, the missionaries disapproved the mourning practices which followed the death of a Dakota warrior. The old Dakotas chided them for intolerance: "The ducks, geese and the deer," "when one is killed, make a cry about it, and the sorrow by. The Dakotas, too, wild animals, make a groan over a dead friend—their sorrow, and it becomes a brood over it, and it becomes a brood over it, and it becomes a brood over it." Another example of intolerance is found in the superior to a request from a missionary.

Since you went so far to be present at the superstition of the Indians in their attitude toward a sick child, it would be better and it would have been better with your pastor to have inveighed against

on counting them he ere were sixteen men women. It took some them paired off so he ich was the odd man. man, "Where is your lied, "She is not here. ent. She does not want d, but I do." The man disappointed to learn more than one to con- marriage ceremony. couples were happily

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ment of illness by a native medicine man. The missionaries regarded the "medicine" of the Dakotas as mere heathen superstition.¹¹⁹ The "holy man" of the Dakotas understood the medicinal properties of various herbs which were used for their therapeutic value. But the missionaries were unwilling to recognize their effectiveness, despite the favorable testimony of army surgeons and others that even in cases abandoned as hopeless by the medical authorities, the Dakota medicine man might effect a remarkable cure.¹²⁰

It must be admitted that not only misunderstanding but bias was often apparent in the missionary ranks. For example, the missionaries disapproved the mourning practices which followed the death of a Dakota warrior. The old men of the Dakotas chided them for their intolerance: "The ducks and the geese and the deer," they said, "when one is killed, make an outcry about it, and the sorrow passes by. The Dakotas, too, like these wild animals, make a great wailing over a dead friend—they wail out their sorrow, and it becomes lighter; but you keep your sorrow—you brood over it, and it becomes heavier."¹²¹ Another example of such intolerance is found in this reply of a superior to a request for guidance from a missionary.

Since you went so far as to be present at the superstitious rites of the Indians in their attempt to heal a sick child, it would have been better and it would have accorded better with your pastoral dignity to have inveighed against the per-

formance and to have enlightened those poor blind ones by some argument within their comprehension, rather than to have refused coldly to remain to the end. A miraculous healing performed by a holy missionary would have been a still better argument. Why did you not stop all the uproar? Why did you not throw yourself on your knees? Why did you not with tears call the name of the Lord for this child? Instances are not lacking when God listened to His faithful ministers in such cases for the redemption of the savages.¹²²

As a supplement to their religious proselytizing, the missionaries usually conducted schools for the Dakota children. In some cases, the Indian parents resisted attempts to take the children to the schools; they ridiculed or reproached those who learned to read; or they asked that their children be paid for attending. This idea apparently occurred to them when they learned of the custom of rewarding students for regular attendance.¹²³

The material values of the trader and missionaries were sources of additional distrust among the Dakotas, who were unaccustomed to accumulating goods for mere possession. To the Dakota, accumulation stood for selfishness and lack of self-restraint, since all goods were tacitly available for distribution to any member of the band who needed them. Non-Indian values, on the

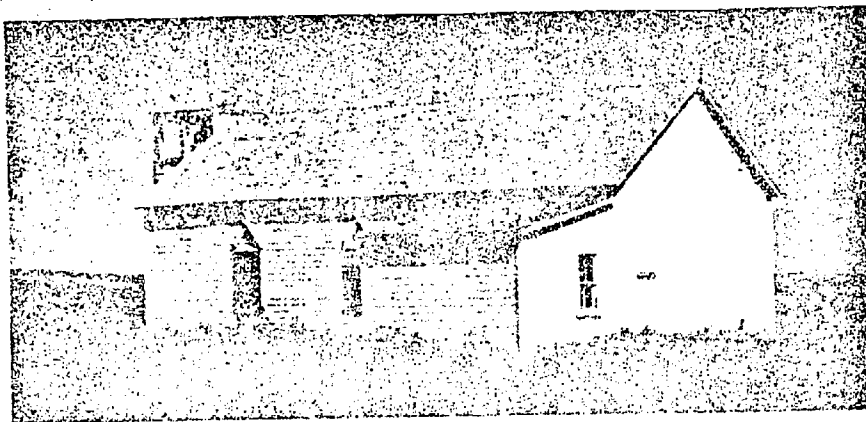
¹¹⁸Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.

¹¹⁹Beckwith, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-246.

¹²⁰Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

¹²¹Grace L. Nute, *Documents Relating to Northwest Missions, 1815-1827*, p. 239.

¹²²Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 121.



The small churches or missions located in nearly every community serve as a reminder of the work of the early missionaries.

other hand, made it possible for a man to accumulate beyond any foreseeable needs, and even to covet and destroy land held by the Indians: such greed, writes one Dakota, "fathered the cruelty which the Indian suffered. Yet, the amazing thing is that the Indian is the one who bears the charge of being cruel."¹²⁴

Further, when the Dakotas discovered that Christianity was an exclusive religion, requiring them to relinquish the practices of their ancestral faith, they steadfastly opposed it. At first, they showed their opposition by refusing to send their children to school, distrusting any missionary enterprise, or resisting passively. Later, their hostility crystallized and became an organized determination to drive the missionaries out of their territory. Generally, however, they attempted to discourage the missionaries by stealing their horses and killing their cattle. But this line of treatment failed to dislodge the more persistent and devoted missionaries, such

as John Williamson, who held on for over 4 years, although at times he was reduced to hauling firewood with milk cows.¹²⁵

Crisis (1851-1878). Contrary to much that has been written about them, the Dakotas did not fight to gain territory or conquer other peoples. In fact, as has been indicated, their ideological goals being social harmony and peace, all the warriors respected the symbols of peace, despite their anxiety to prove their bravery in battle.¹²⁶ They fought not for wealth or power, but only for prestige and glory. Like any proud people, if they were ridiculed, treated with condescension or disrespect, the Dakotas would fight to maintain their honor. On the other hand, if they were approached as friends and equals, they were unsurpassed in courtesy and hospitality.¹²⁷

¹²⁴Standing Bear, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.

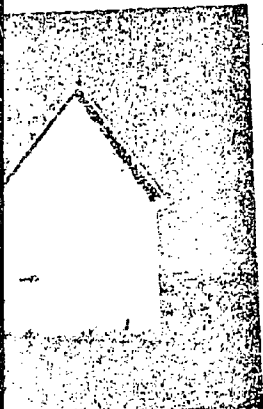
¹²⁵Riggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

¹²⁶Standing Bear, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

¹²⁷Vestal, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

The Great Plains ground between their frontier and the settlers threatened hunting grounds and game. Then the kota warriors became a righteous crusade, their way of life as fighting men, and their efforts at extinction.¹²⁸ But themselves, the individuals. Few were brave enough to pursue a sustained campaign. True, they brought them victory, honor among the tribes, and the respect of the white men, but in the long run, the fight against the presence of the brave moving United States cavalry.¹²⁹

The leader of the movement lacked real authority over large groups of men, instead on his own, he attracted a small band of men who would ride expeditions against the leader who lost was not himself. He was discredited, he "should be killed in fight." When he was killed in fight, his comrades praised him because "they killed him" simply to avenge him, or vindicate some brave deed, the death of an all-powerful



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ar, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.
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The Great Plains became a battle-ground between the Dakotas and their frontier antagonists only after the settlers threatened to seize their hunting grounds and destroy their game. Then the cause of the Dakota warriors became in their minds a righteous crusade to preserve their way of life; and their reputation as fighting men was made during their efforts to prevent their own extinction.¹²⁸ But, unfortunately for themselves, the warriors fought as individuals. Few leaders were effective enough to perfect a planned and sustained campaign against the enemy. True, their skill as warriors brought them victory in many battles, honor among their own people, and the respect of the opposition; but in the long run it was ineffective against the stubborn persistence of the harassed, and slow-moving United States frontier cavalry.¹²⁹

The leader in Dakota warfare lacked real authority to command large groups of men. He depended instead on his courage and skill to attract a small number of followers who would ride with him on limited expeditions against the enemy. A leader who lost some of his men and was not himself wounded or killed was discredited, for it was felt that he "should be in the thick of the fight." When a brave leader was killed in fighting the enemy, his comrades praised his bravery, and, because "they came home without him" simply wished to "revenge him, or vindicate themselves by some brave deeds."¹³⁰ The conception of an all-powerful and supreme

chief was largely a non-Indian idea, based on the fact that government officers and traders wished to transact business with the clans through one person. But, according to the Dakota culture, the only person who might exert anything like coercive leadership was the "holy man," and even his powers were limited to certain special areas of life.¹³¹

During this period of warfare, a few outstanding men did appear as temporary symbols of resistance. Their authority increased by virtue of their ability to resist and, occasionally, by the recognition accorded them by the government commissions who needed someone to sign a treaty, or, somewhat later, by the Indian agents who wanted the younger braves kept under control. At the same time, any Dakota who was so arrogant as to assume leadership in order to promote himself with the American army, or so cowardly as to refuse to fight for his people in the "battle of treaty writing," might lose not only his position but his life at the hands of one of the Dakota warrior societies.¹³²

One of the Dakota leaders who became a symbol of resistance during this critical period was Sitting Bull. He "never lost an opportunity to impress his hearers with the idea that they all owed a duty to their children—that of preserving the In-

¹²⁶Standing Bear, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹²⁷Vestal, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

¹²⁸Stanley Vestal, *Warpath*, p. 261.

¹²⁹Gideon H. Pond, "Dakota Superstitions," *Minnesota Historical Collections*, II (1890), p. 216.

¹³⁰Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173, and Vestal, *New Sources of Indian History*, pp. 201-202.

dian lands for the peace and enjoyment in the years to come."¹³³ His shrewdness and perseverance in dealing with his antagonists became a legend among the Dakotas. The following anecdote is typical of the stories related about him:

On one occasion the Major (McLaughlin) told the chief that since he was married to two women, he would have to get rid of one, as he had promised to live like the White man, with one wife. Sitting Bull said that he could not do that because he liked both of his wives and would not know which one to give up. The Major called his attention to the fact that Sitting Bull had agreed to live the ways of a White Man, and said, "Didn't you agree to live like a White man?" "Yes," said Sitting Bull, "I agreed to do that, and I will do it. I will live just like a White man: you give me a White wife and you can have both my Indian wives." This was said with a twinkle in his eye and with a slight grin of sarcasm, which left the Major without much further to say.¹³⁴

Another humorous story has been recorded regarding Sitting Bull's leadership and advice at the Council at Fort Laramie in 1868. The young warriors were feasted with pork that had been marked with a government inspector's stamp in indelible blue ink. The old chief pointed to the stamp and remarked:

"It is well known that white men eat each other. This is strange flesh they offer us. I have hunted all my life, but I have never seen an animal with flesh like that. You can see in this camp how many of the white soldiers are tattooed. Well, look at

the tattoo marks on the meat! Perhaps this is the flesh of some white man they have given you. Do not touch it."¹³⁵

Throughout this period of crisis, the Plains Indians were recognized by the military officers who opposed them as among the best cavalrymen in the world. The Indians were excellent horsemen, daring fighters, and unequaled scouts. They were familiar with all the tactics of frontier warfare. They were highly skilled in the use of the bow and arrow, since they made their living shooting running buffalo from the bare backs of their ponies.¹³⁶ They had at first approached the strangers from the East as friends rather than hostiles; only after it was too late to prevent the great tide of migrants from overrunning the land did they begin to defend home and fireside.¹³⁷

Although they fought valiantly, the Dakotas lacked the discipline and organization, as well as the material, of the United States Army. They fought as volunteers, to distinguish themselves by courageous acts, and they lost because they could not for long sustain a unified opposition. Then, again, when the American Army failed to do so, internal strife and the threat of starvation defeated them. Toward the end of this period, jealousies and rivalries were particularly evident be-

¹³³Usher L. Burdick, *The Last Days of Sitting Bull*, p. 17.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

¹³⁵Vestal, *New Sources of Indian History*, op. cit., p. 197.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 322.

¹³⁷Standing Bear, op. cit., p. 169.

tween the bands who settled at agencies and accepted annuities from the government and the and independent hunting bands persisted in their refusal to surrender. The "agency folks" were trusted and scorned as "captive the white man."¹³⁸

Falling Action (1879 to the present). According to their standards (and perhaps even Caucasian standards) the culture of Teton Dakotas was in many ways utopian. They were, as Haberty written, "pious without priests and honest without laws or wise and eloquent without schools. Everyone shared equally in good times and bad. Practiced moderation, they were contented. By their own values, we must conclude, they were certainly a very happy people.¹³⁹ But after their defeat and confinement on reservations, the good old life began to slip away. Some of the older men, serving the trend away from their culture, resisted the pressure for change. The speech of one of the patriarchs illustrates their concern for the future:

God sees you. Guard the Black Hills and also this Reservation. Do not let white men fool you. Take care of your head and take care of your people. Be wise, be patient. Try to get along with the people of this island (the United States). Do not make these people as well as ourselves. We do not wish to fight them. Hold fast what we have. Love your people there are many helpless—old folks and orphans.

marks on the meat! Perhaps the flesh of some white man has been given you. Do not

At this period of crisis, the Indians were recognized as warriors by officers who operated among the best cavalry regiments of the world. The Indians were excellent horsemen, daring and unequalled scouts. They were familiar with all the details of frontier warfare. They were skilled in the use of the bow and arrow, since they were always shooting running game. The bare backs of their horses showed that they had at first appeared to the strangers from the East as rather than hostiles; but it was too late to prevent the influx of migrants from overland and they began to die of starvation and fireside.¹³⁷

They fought valiantly, but they lacked the discipline and organization, as well as the material resources of the United States Army. They were as volunteers, to distinguish themselves by courageous deeds. They lost because they could not long sustain a unified front. Then, again, when the army failed to do so, in the face of the threat of starvation they were defeated. Toward the end of the period, jealousies and rivalries were particularly evident between the bands.

Ward, *The Last Days of the Frontier*, p. 17.
 137. *Sources of Indian History*, p. 169.

tween the bands who settled at the agencies and accepted annuities from the government and the free and independent hunting bands who persisted in their refusal to surrender. The "agency folks" were distrusted and scorned as "captives of the white man."¹³⁸

Falling Action (1879 to the present). According to their own standards (and perhaps even Caucasian standards) the culture of the Teton Dakotas was in many ways utopian. They were, as Haberly has written, "pious without priests; just and honest without laws or jails; wise and eloquent without schools." Everyone shared equally during good times and bad. Practicing moderation, they were relatively healthy and contented. By their own values, we must conclude, they were certainly a very happy people.¹³⁹ But after their defeat and confinement on reservations, the good old life began to slip slowly away. Some of the older men, observing the trend away from their culture, resisted the pressure for change. The speech of one of these patriarchs illustrates their concern for the future:

God sees you. Guard the Black Hills and also this Reservation. Do not let white men fool you. Use your head and take care of your people. Be wise, be patient. Try to get along with the people of this Island (the United States). God made these people as well as ourselves. We do not wish to fight them. Hold fast what we have told you. Never forget these words.

Love your people there are many helpless—old folks and orphans.

Take care of them. Be good friends to good men: good men are your friends. Use all your mind to look out for the future of our young folks. Be fair with the Grandfather, and try to make a good bargain and a fair agreement for both parties. Never let the Sacred Pipe go out, and when you pray to Wakan Tanka with this peace-pipe, He will hear you. Do not step out of the Indian road; that is the road Wakan Tanka made for us. See that your children learn those things which the Grandfather wishes them to know. Try to secure a good agent and a good Commissioner of Indian Affairs. As we live now, everything comes through them; keep them satisfied. Be thoughtful, think every day. These are my words.¹⁴⁰

The missionary schools which had been established during an earlier period only began to be effective when the Dakotas were confined to reservations. Reverend Stephen Riggs had by this time produced a Dakota-English dictionary which greatly facilitated the learning of English in these schools.¹⁴¹ Obviously, some educational attainments were accompanied by the loss of older values which had formerly served as a basis of Dakota character structure. The special vision experience in the life of the Dakota boy was not replaced by any equivalent educational practice or values, and this serious deficiency became an important cause of demoralization among the ado-

¹³⁸Vestal, *New Sources of Indian History*, op. cit., p. 329.

¹³⁹Haberly, op. cit., p. 64.

¹⁴⁰Vestal, *Warpath*, op. cit., pp. 231-232.

¹⁴¹Riggs, op. cit., p. 146.

lescent school boys.¹⁴² The result was often similar to the case cited by Reverend Williamson:

In the early school at Yankton Agency my most promising pupil was John Owanka, a lad of sixteen, who soon learned to read the Dakota Bible. He was much interested and wanted to prepare for baptism.

The time came for the annual sun dance. By taunts and threats the managers induced him to offer himself as one of two self-immolators to the sun. For three days and nights, without a bite of food or a drop of water, with cords run through the flesh of his back and pulled up tight to a pole above, he danced in his tracks until his weariness was so great he would throw his weight on the cords in his back, causing the blood to run down to the ground. When he completed his time, he was so far gone he lay down and in a day or two died. But according to the sun priests, he was rewarded by having his name heralded as a hero in the spirit land.¹⁴³

Many missionaries, teachers, and government officials, disturbed by the persistence of traditional cultural practices, strongly advocated the prohibition of the Sun Dance. This, they hoped, would weaken the traditional band organization, destroy the influence of the older leaders, and hasten the pacification and anglicization of the Dakotas. In 1881, they were successful in getting the Sun Dance abolished by government decree.¹⁴⁴

But it soon became evident that teachers and pupils would be compelled to disregard government edicts and regulations. If any lasting changes were to be effected, it was

necessary to compromise with tradition and place old customs in new settings.

One picturesque feature connected with the school was the calling of the time for school by an old man who had been "*cyanpaha*" or crier for heathen ceremonies and dances. He was converted and wanted some Christian work to do. Mr. Williamson told him he could be crier for the school and for church services. He took a pride in his position and performed his duties with faithfulness and ability. He would be on hand early every morning and wait until Mr. Williamson told him it was time for school. Then he would start around the camp and call on the children and young people to come to school, not always in the same set phrase, but with remarks varied to suit the occasion, and all in a sort of rhythmic chant which was more musical than any school bell.¹⁴⁵

Reverend Williamson, realizing full well that confinement in school was irksome to Dakota youth trained for the free life of the hunt, and that educational success depended on some steadfastness of effort, had to bargain with them to stay in school for a certain time, even if it was only a few weeks.¹⁴⁶

But the effect of these compromises was soon destroyed by a new ruling of the Indian Bureau sent out in 1886: "In all schools conducted by missionary organizations it is re-

¹⁴²Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

¹⁴³Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

¹⁴⁴Warren Cardwell, *An Introduction to the Modern Oglala Sioux*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁴⁵Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 134.

quired that all in given in the English instruction in the will not be permitted protested against editorial in the

Time was when the whole of civil Indian to wear gifts the Government dreds into bree couldn't wait for character and th It bagged its ga glowed with sa next morning's civilized by-bree warpath dressed breech clouts.

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The work of Dakotas was cl this missionary tire Bible was language of churches were tive pastors w on the mission people.¹⁴⁸ But tianity, the Dak about some Ch wherever they church custom tribal pattern church, for ex honor of some both this indi

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op. cit., p. 131.

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cit., p. 102.

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quired that all instruction shall be
given in the English language. In-
struction in the Dakota language
will not be permitted." Dr. Riggs
protested against this order in an
editorial in the *Word Carrier*:

Time was when it was considered
the whole of civilization to get an
Indian to wear breeches. By large
gifts the Government civilized hun-
dreds into breeches. Government
couldn't wait for the slow change of
character and the growth of ideas.
It bagged its game in breeches and
glowed with satisfaction until the
next morning's sun showed their
civilized by-breeches Indians on the
warpath dressed in their ancestral
breech clouts.

Now there is a new patent meth-
od in vogue in Washington. It is the
"all English" method, don't you
know.

It is just like the old "breeches
method," adopting an incidental
result, valuable though it be, in
place of spiritual regeneration and
character building. English will
come, but not in this way.¹¹⁷

The work of Christianizing the
Dakotas was closely associated with
this missionary education. The en-
tire Bible was translated into the
language of the Dakotas, new
churches were established, and na-
tive pastors were trained to carry
on the missionary work among their
people.¹¹⁸ But in accepting Chris-
tianity, the Dakotas had reservations
about some Christian doctrines, and,
wherever they could, reinterpreted
church customs to emphasize old
tribal patterns. Donations to the
church, for example, were made in
honor of someone, in order that
both this individual and the giver

could participate in the resulting
prestige that had been customary in
the earlier "gift-giving" ceremonies.
The Christian concept of giving in
order to acquire merit in heaven or
to compensate for past misdeeds was
largely ignored or simply not under-
stood.¹¹⁹ LaFarge has noted how
the Dakotas integrated their old
wisdom with the social activities as-
sociated with the Christian religion:

The Dakota worked to gather
goods in order to give them away:
e.g., in the Ghost Ceremony in
memory of the . . . In so doing
prestige was gained or maintained
in the group. In the teachings of
Christ the Dakotas found parallels
with their own ideals. And social
prestige was above possession of
goods. The Dakotas brought their
own idea of giving into the Chris-
tian practice (at least ideal) of shar-
ing. The development or coming
in of the cash wage practically cur-
tailed opportunities for replenish-
ing stocks of goods after a Give
Away, but the practice of giving to
the church and through the church
remained, and the practice of re-
membering the dead in church serv-
ice became firmly fixed.¹²⁰

It is difficult to assess the cultural
effects of the Dakota conversion to
Christianity. Some evidence sug-
gests that the acceptance of Chris-
tian principles did not change any-
thing but their superficial character-
istics and in no way interfered with
their basic value orientation. Back-

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 154-155.

¹¹⁸Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

¹¹⁹Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, p.
360.

¹²⁰LaFarge, *The Changing American In-
dian*, pp. 163-164.

sliding was common, as indicated in Reverend Williamson's observations:

Old heathen habits arise and draw the people back into the old ruts. Their social customs and amusements are largely heathenish. If they turn aside from these to seek recreation among white people, the ballroom and the saloon lead them into vices more destructive than their old heathen ways.¹⁵¹

Many examples may be cited to illustrate the persistence of older religious values among those individuals converted to Christianity. A young Dakota woman might refuse to teach her Sunday School class during her menstruation for fear of supernatural danger to her boy pupils. Some older men were fearful of hospitals because the female nurses were known not to seclude themselves during these dangerous periods.¹⁵² The sacred pipe might not be handled by the uninitiated for fear of some disaster.¹⁵³ The invention of some unusual instrument might even be attributed to the efforts of a supernatural visitant.¹⁵⁴

On the other hand, some changes did occur which demonstrated that the mold of religious traditions was beginning to crack. The children were learning to speak English, and could not be induced to use the language of their parents. White settlements were moving to the very door of the tipi, and honest and devoted teachers and government employees were influential in pointing out the discrepancies between the material wealth and the cultural values of some of the intruders on the

reservation. Perhaps fundamental changes in the Dakota value system were not entirely perfected, but changes in outward appearance were brought about gradually through the efforts of faithful missionaries.¹⁵⁵

From the very beginning of their contacts with the technicways of the frontiersmen, the Dakotas voluntarily surrender some of their original cultural traits. In the early phase, the substitution of new equipment and technology in the material area of their culture increased Dakota strength and expanded their cultural influence. Then, as they proceeded to engage in warfare with the frontier soldiers, their tribal organization began to disintegrate, and they became a nation of warriors and quarreling groups. The basic theme of the Sun Dance was centered around an aggressive desire to preserve themselves from disintegration.¹⁵⁶ After being conquered and confined to reservations, the Dakotas were forbidden to practice many of their old beliefs; and so they turned to passive resistance, temporarily or superficially changing their ways when coerced, but retaining underneath many of the basic values of their traditional culture.

¹⁵¹Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

¹⁵²Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹⁵³Sidney, J. Thomas, "A Sioux Medicine Bundle," *American Anthropologist*, XLIII (1941) p. 608.

¹⁵⁴Boas, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

¹⁵⁵Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190.

¹⁵⁶Radin, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

Marginal Religious Practices

The astonishing fort played by the Dakota Indians time when in the last year crumbling resistance against invaders they were suffering starvation and disorganization, pathetic story of sacrifice and devotion.¹⁵⁷ The older beliefs, which were unified in the Sun Dance, provided a reason for continuing the hopeless struggle in a desperate situation is presented by one of the survivors who had survived the ordeal.

There is a great deal of what a man believes, and if a man's belief is changed for the better, he will know it. The Sun Dance was our first and greatest religion. We believe that the sun has a mysterious power greater than any others, which is represented by the sun, one form of representing the sun. Thus we made sacrifices to the sun, and our wishes were granted. The Indians were longer in the old days than we would not say this change to throwing away the old ways, there may be other reasons for the old times the Sun Dance was held annually and was held with eagerness. We had true faith at that time there came a year when the sun died. There was a period of darkness, and from that day on the new religion came to the Indians, the white man's religion. We thought about it, as we are about the ways of the white man. In the old days our faith was strong.

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Marginal Religious Practices

The astonishing fortitude displayed by the Dakota Indians, at a time when in the last years of their crumbling resistance against the invaders they were suffering from starvation and disorganization, makes a pathetic story of sacrifice and devotion.¹⁵⁷ The older religious beliefs, which were unified by the Sun Dance, provided a reason for continuing the hopeless struggle. The desperate situation is graphically presented by one of the older men who had survived the ordeal:

There is a great deal in what a man believes, and if a man's religion is changed for the better or for the worse he will know it. The Sun dance was our first and our only religion. We believe that there is a mysterious power greater than all others, which is represented by nature, one form of representation being the sun. Thus we made sacrifices to the sun, and our petitions were granted. The Indians lived longer in the old days than now. I would not say this change is due to throwing away the old religion; there may be other reasons, but in the old times the Sun dance was held annually and was looked forward to with eagerness. I believe we had true faith at that time. But there came a year when "the sun died." There was a period of darkness, and from that day a new religion came to the Indians. It is the white man's religion. We are timid about it, as we are about the other ways of the white man. In the old days our faith was strong and our

lives were cared for; now our faith is weaker, and we die.¹⁵⁸

To many Dakotas, the very existence of their nation was intimately associated with the preservation of traditional religious practices. Undoubtedly, the introduction of the Christian religion produced some spiritual conflict; but generally it was felt that the "faith of their fathers" could be the only firm basis for group survival. This feeling developed inevitably. At first the traditional religious leaders temporarily inclined toward Christianity; but after observing discord among missionaries and hypocrisy among lay Christians, they resolved their conflict by adhering even more strongly to their old religion.¹⁵⁹ The famous chieftain Red Cloud has been credited with asking the embarrassing historic questions at a council in the Black Hills with the commissioners of the Government, after the invocation had been given: "Which God is our brother praying to now? Is it the same God whom they have twice deceived, when they made treaties with us which they afterward broke?"¹⁶⁰

Theory of Transitional Religion

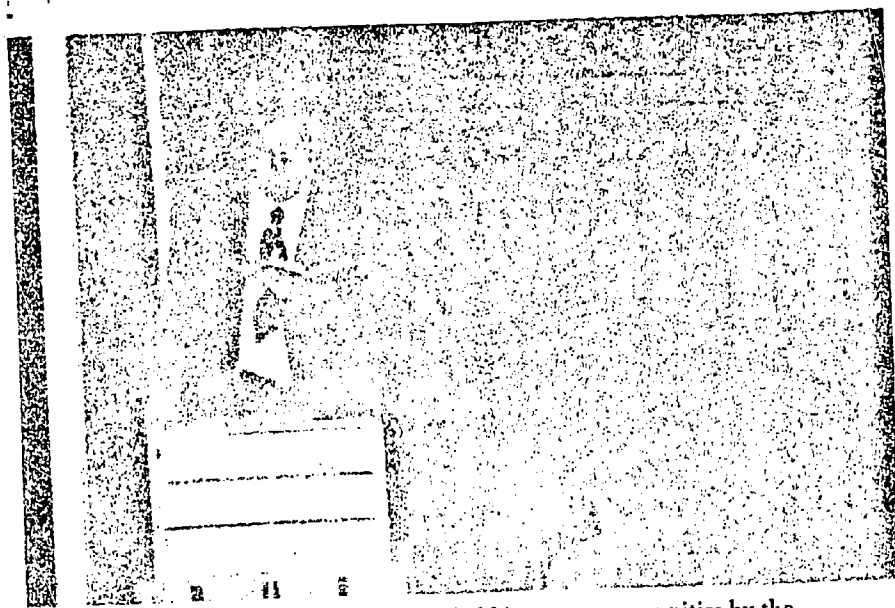
The social organization of the Dakota Indians was based on related kinship groups. This organization began to disintegrate during the reservation period. Some new cultural

¹⁵⁷P. E. Byrne, *The Red Men's Last Stand*, p. 208.

¹⁵⁸Densmore, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁵⁹Warren K. Moorehead, *The American Indian in the United States: 1850-1914*, pp. 187-188.

¹⁶⁰Halley, *op. cit.*, p. 100.



Tent meetings are occasionally held in some communities by the smaller evangelistic denominations.

practices, relatively compatible with Dakota culture, were voluntarily accepted; but the Dakotas were also coerced into adopting a few non-Indian customs which were sufficiently incompatible to block effective response to their native culture practices.¹⁶¹ For example, buffalo hunting customs, well adjusted to the pre-reservation economy, were forcibly replaced by the issuance of agency rations as the basic means of subsistence. The Dakotas, however, did retain in the events of ration day some of the old gregarious and ceremonial activities which had been considered an important part of the hunt. But shooting slow-moving domesticated cattle from horses back or holding ceremonies to attract the herd were clearly unsatisfactory responses to a difficult situation.¹⁶²

Such cultural conflicts, imposed upon a conquered people, cause them to search for some satisfying activities that will provide their lives with a degree of meaning and security. The theoretical contention of this study is that marginal religious activities have provided just such an accommodation to these value conflicts with the culture. The Ghost Dance appeared about 1890 and was followed by the Peyote and Yuwipi cults. These attempts at religious accommodation to conflicting cultures share many common elements: (1) they include traditional Dakota rites, or the usual su-

¹⁶¹J. S. Slotkin. *The Peyote Religion*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁶²James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. 14, pp. 1,066-1,067.

pernatural means for earlier, more favorable; (2) they emphasize solidarity in ceremonial activities; (3) they stressed collective, non-violent acquiring supernatural the individual vision a success in life; (4) the aestheticism in their social and their art; (5) they new ethical system which the predominantly norms of peacefulness, but and self-support with behavioral norms; (6) the ritual cures for contagion which, only recently were taking a great toll of life.¹⁶³

The Ghost Dance

In the 1880's the Dakotas were predisposed to a religious movement which would deliverance from their distress. Their game, their cattle were dying from drought and disease, and they were threatened with starvation. In addition, it must not be forgotten that they were a nation of warriors, the red warriors, the American warriors in their memory, and the general grave grievances of the official guardians.¹⁶⁴ The influence of Christianity was superficial and transient; there was no organized movement among the Western Indians.¹⁶⁵ As a result of these conditions, the acceptance of a militant doctrine like the Ghost Dance was a foregone conclusion.

pernatural means for restoring an earlier, more favorable environment; (2) they emphasized social solidarity in ceremonial and recreational activities; (3) they substituted collective, non-violent means of acquiring supernatural power for the individual vision as a basis for success in life; (4) they revived estheticism in their social activities and their art; (5) they developed a new ethical system which combined the predominantly non-Indian values of peacefulness, brotherly love, and self-support with traditional behavioral norms; (6) they provided ritual cures for contagious diseases which, only recently introduced, were taking a great toll of Dakota life.¹⁶³

The Ghost Dance

In the 1880's the Teton Dakotas were predisposed to accept any religious movement which promised them deliverance from their great distress. Their game animals and their cattle were dying because of drought and disease, and the bands were threatened with starvation. In addition, it must not be forgotten that they were a nation of imprisoned warriors, the recent conflicts with the American army still fresh in their memory, and bearing several grave grievances against their official guardians.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, the influence of Christianity was very superficial and transitory, since there was no organized church among the Western Dakota Indians.¹⁶⁵ As a result of these conditions, the acceptance of a nativistic militant doctrine like the Ghost Dance was a foregone conclusion.

As a central doctrine, this cult provided supernatural means for the salvation of all their problems: the coming of a messiah who would overthrow the domination of the United States Government, destroy non-Indian society and culture, and renovate the world according to Indian ideas.¹⁶⁶ As an additional benefit, for the faithful performance of religious duties, the organizers of the dance promised to ward off disease for the whole kinship group.¹⁶⁷

Purification in the sweat bath, as James Mooney has observed, was an essential preliminary devotional and sanitary ritual of this dance.

The sweat bath is in frequent use, both as a religious rite of purification and as a hygienic treatment. Like everything else in Indian life, even the sanitary application is attended with much detail of religious ceremony. Fresh bundles of the fragrant wild sage are strewn upon the ground inside of the sweathouse, and a fire is kindled outside a short distance away. In this fire stones are heated by the medicine-men, and when all is ready the patient or devotee, stripped to the breech-cloth, enters the sweathouse. The stones are then handed in to him by the priests by means of two forked sticks, cut especially for the purpose, and with two other forked sticks he puts the stones into the hole already men-

¹⁶³Slotkin, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹⁶⁴Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, p. 194.

¹⁶⁵Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

¹⁶⁶Slotkin, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁶⁷Mooney, *op. cit.*, pp. 786-787.

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conflicts, imposed on people, a cause for some satisfying will provide their free of meaning and theoretical contention that marginal religion have provided just accommodation to these with the culture. The appeared about 1890 ed by the Peyote and these attempts at re- accommodation to conflict- share many common they include tradi- tions, or the usual su- the Peyote Religion, pp.

"The Ghost Dance Re- Sioux Outbreak of 1890," of the United States ology, Vol. 14, pp. 1,066-

tioned as having been dug in the center of the lodge. Water is then passed in to him, which he pours over the hot stones until the whole interior is filled with steam; the blankets are pulled tight to close every opening, and he sits in this aboriginal Turkish bath until his naked body is dripping with perspiration. During this time the doctors outside are doing their part in the way of praying to the gods and keeping up the supply of hot stones and water until in their estimation he has been sufficiently purified, physically or morally, when he emerges and resumes his clothing, sometimes first checking the perspiration and inducing a reaction by a plunge into the neighboring stream.¹⁶⁸

Mooney's description continues:

Before going into the dance the men, or at least the leaders, fasted for twenty-four hours, and then at sunrise entered the sweat-house for the religious rite of purification preliminary to painting themselves for the dance. The sweat-house is a small circular framework of willow branches driven into the ground and bent over and brought together at the top in such a way that when covered with blankets or buffalo robes the structure forms a diminutive round-top tipi just high enough to enable several persons to sit or to stand in a stooping posture inside. The doorway faces the east, as is the rule in Indian structures, and at the distance of a few feet in front of the doorway is a small mound of earth, on which is placed a buffalo skull, with the head turned as if looking into the lodge. The earth of which the mound is formed is taken from a hole dug in the center of the lodge. Near the sweat-house, on

the outside, there is frequently a tall sacrifice pole, from the top of which are hung strips of bright-colored cloth, packages of tobacco, or other offerings to the deity invoked by the devotee on any particular occasion.¹⁶⁹

After the purification ceremony, the dancers were painted by the medicine men: "The design and color varied with the individual, being frequently determined by a previous trance vision of the subject, but circles, crescents, and crosses, representing respectively the sun, the moon, and the morning star, were always favorite figures upon forehead, face, and cheeks."¹⁷⁰ After being painted, the Teton were robed in sacred ghost shirts decorated to ward off enemy bullets. The protective virtue was believed to reside in bird figures which had been revealed by a supernatural power—the eagle, magpie, crow, or sage-hen. This idea derived from the early Dakota belief that the designs on their shields turned enemy arrows aside.¹⁷¹

The actual dancing was preceded by the planting of a small tree in the center of the circle. An American flag or colored streamers floated from the top of the tree, and the priests of the dance sat at its base.

At a great dance at No Water's camp on White river near Pine Ridge, shortly before the arrival of the troops, a young woman standing within the circle gave the signal for the performance by shooting

¹⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 822.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 822-823.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 823.

¹⁷¹Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

into the air toward points four sacred after the old primitive bone heads, and dipping of a steer before beginning the dance. These were creased up and tied to the tree, together with gaming wheel and peculiar staff or wand. Another young woman, same one, remained in the tree throughout during a sacred redstone out toward the west from which the medicine appear.

At the beginning men and women, sitting in a large circle around a plaintive chant was which a vessel of sor was passed around everyone had partake signal by the priest rose to their feet, joined began to chant the and move slowly around from right to left.¹⁷²

As described by formerly a trader at Pine ey, the rites continued

The dancers first facing the sun, while standing facing them and waved over the "ghost stick," a staff long, trimmed with feathers of the same thus waving the stick faced the sun and prayer, after which up to form a circle and the dance began

The Ghost Dance tied the doctrine of religion with special my

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of a steer before being brought to
the dance. These were then gath-
ered up and tied to the branches of
the tree, together with the bow, a
gaming wheel and sticks, and a
peculiar staff or wand with horns.
Another young woman, or the
same one, remained standing near
the tree throughout the dance, hold-
ing a sacred redstone pipe stretched
out toward the west, the direction
from which the messiah was to
appear.

At the beginning the performers,
men and women, sat on the ground
in a large circle around the tree. A
plaintive chant was then sung, after
which a vessel of some sacred food
was passed around the circle until
everyone had partaken, when, at a
signal by the priests, the dancers
rose to their feet, joined hands, and
began to chant the opening song
and move slowly around the circle
from right to left.¹⁷²

As described by J. F. Asay, for-
merly a trader at Pine Ridge Agen-
cy, the rites continued as follows:

The dancers first stood in line
facing the sun, while the leader,
standing facing them, made a pray-
er and waved over their heads the
"ghost stick," a staff about six feet
long, trimmed with red cloth and
feathers of the same color. After
thus waving the stick over them, he
faced the sun and made another
prayer, after which the line closed
up to form a circle around the tree
and the dance began.¹⁷³

The Ghost Dance songs embod-
ied the doctrine of a messianic reli-
gion with special mythology, archa-

ic customs and modes of life. Moon-
ey has translated several of these
songs, the following serving as a
fine example:

The whole world is coming.
A nation is coming, a nation is
coming.
The Eagle has brought the message
to the tribe.
The father says so, the father says so.
Over the whole earth they are
coming.
The buffalo are coming, the buffalo
are coming.
The Crow has brought the message
to the tribe.
The father says so, the father says
so.¹⁷⁴

This song expresses the hope of
the Ghost Dancers for the return of
the buffalo and the departed dead.
Supposedly, the messages are
brought by the eagle and crow, sac-
red birds of the religion.¹⁷⁵

At the climax of the ceremony,
the participants became ecstatic *en
masse*. Some fell into a trance and
had visions of buffalo herds; others
"saw" scouting expeditions and a
happy camp life. These manifesta-
tions of the older ways of life were
accompanied by fantasies of animal
visitants, characteristic of the Da-
kota visions generally experienced
by the adolescent vision seeker as
well as by participants in the Sun
Dance. Although the ethical doc-
trines of the messianic religion were
ignored, the Dakota dancers did in-
corporate some of the teachings of
the missionaries into the philoso-

¹⁷⁰Mooney, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-324.

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 915.

¹⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 953.

¹⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 1,072.

phy of the ceremony. Previously, the crucified Christ, for example, would have been rejected by the conquered Indians; but now He would return as an avenger of the wrongs which had been done them, serving much the same purpose as their guardian spirits. In these ways, the Ghost Dance was effective during this great crisis in unifying some basic Christian beliefs with those of the pre-existing Teton system of religion.¹⁷⁶

The conditions responsible for the end of the Ghost Dance were: (1) the failure of the messiah to appear and bring about the anticipated world renovation (and there was no reinterpretation of doctrine to account for this failure); (2) the prohibition of Ghost Dance rites by government officials concerned with maintaining their control of the Dakota Indians during the years 1890-91; and (3) the violent suppression of a few hostile groups by the United States Army at the height of the disturbances, such as the massacre at Wounded Knee. As a result, the Dakotas became resigned to subordination; they accepted a program of accommodation and gave up hope of actively opposing the superior non-Indian forces.¹⁷⁷

Peyote Cult

The rise of the Peyote cult followed upon the failure and suppression of the Ghost Dance. The conditions which had formerly produced a militant, nativistic movement now generated a peaceful transitional religious program. But, as Barber has observed, "The Ghost

Dance and the Peyote cult may in part be understood as alternative responses to a similar socio-cultural constellation."¹⁷⁸ The reduction of rations, crop failures, starvation, and overall frustration were still the basic problems.¹⁷⁹

Peyotism is named after the part played in Indian church services by the mescaline bean of a cactus plant that grows in Mexico and the Southwestern United States. The communion of the Peyote meeting is the passing of the beans in a solution prepared from them to the communicants at the service. Chewing the Peyote bean induces a trance-like condition and provides a temporary feeling of well-being, release from anxiety and physical pain. The Peyote service also includes native rituals, chants, and practices modified by some Christian symbols (such as the cross and altar) and the professed recognition of Christ. In short, in doctrine and ritual, the Peyote cult selectively incorporates Christian and native religious elements.

The transitional nature of this religious movement is evident in its provision of a cultural organization to which the Indians could show allegiance and of a supernatural means which could help them adjust to difficult existing conditions.¹⁸⁰ The idea of super-

¹⁷⁶Lowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-196.

¹⁷⁷Slotkin, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁷⁸Bernard Barber, "A Socio-Cultural Interpretation of the Peyote Cult," *American Anthropologist*, XL (December, 1941), p. 674.

¹⁷⁹Frank Fiske, *The Taming of the Sioux*, p. 156.

¹⁸⁰Slotkin, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

natural assistance was common in Dakota and Cheyenne. Thus the meaning of the spiritual power provided aid in war could not be changed. It could be used to encourage in righteous living. Then, an Indian of this vision and courage. Moreover, this cohesive force which replaced the old which, disintegration effective in combat. It opposed the total abstinence necessary for peaceliving. Indeed, the of Peyotism are all monotheistic.

The activities of the Peyote services are the actual communion. For example, the Dakota collectivism in social transmission into the Peyote Church. The nature of the Peyote the emotional participants, all of the important functions activities and their individual service. In addition members as each as brothers each other during economic need or wise, visiting and encouraged.¹⁸¹ All these were important in traditions in tradition

the Peyote cult may be understood as alternative to a similar socio-cultural situation.¹⁷⁸ The reduction of failures, starvation, and frustration were still the same.¹⁷⁹

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cit., pp. 195-196.

ibid., p. 20.

Barber, "A Socio-Cultural Inquiry of the Peyote Cult," *American Anthropologist*, XL (December, 1942), p. 674.

See, *The Taming of the Sioux*, pp. 1-2.

natural assistance through revelation was common to both native Dakota and Christian religions; thus the meaning and direction of the spiritual power that had provided aid in war or hunting could not be changed. Now, instead, it could be used to encourage success in righteous living. Peyotism was then, an Indian combination of native vision and Christian ethics.¹⁸¹ Moreover, this cult provided a cohesive force which partially replaced the old kinship system which, disintegrating, was no longer effective in controlling behavior. It opposed the use of liquor, since total abstinence was believed to be necessary for peaceful and upright living. Indeed, the ethical doctrines of Peyotism are much like those of all monotheistic religions.¹⁸²

The activities accompanying the Peyote services are as significant as the actual communion. For example, the Dakota emphasis on collectivism in social organization is transmitted into the organization of the Peyote Church. The collective nature of the Peyote rite heightens the emotional reactions of the participants, all of whom are given important functions in the religious activities and permitted to make their individual contributions to the service. In addition, the congregation members are expected to treat each as brothers and sisters, helping each other during times of crisis, economic need or sickness; and likewise, visiting and gift-giving are encouraged.¹⁸³ As explained earlier, these were important social obligations in traditional Dakota society.

The total effect of Peyotism is probably greatest on those suffering from disintegration of their established personality structure, a direct result of social isolation. The individual who has suffered such personality disorganization may satisfy his need for gregariousness in the small, intimate groups which constitute the basic structure of the Native American Church. If he behaves acceptably and shows solidarity with these groups, he will be spiritually rehabilitated—his personality reorganization will receive group approval as it conforms to group standards. Thus this Indian Church substitutes a new set of social roles for the unattainable traditional status system.¹⁸⁴

As we have seen, Peyotism, as a marginal religion, is compatible with traditional Dakota culture. The curative powers attributed to Peyote, the vision-producing effect of its use, the anti-dominant group theme in the religion, and the reaffirmation of in-group feelings in spiritual and aesthetic activities indicate the desire to recapture or maintain old ways of life.¹⁸⁵ But Peyotism has also adapted a few Christian religious characteristics. Such Christian values as open confession of sin, brotherly love, care of

¹⁸¹ Underhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-132.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136. Peyotism also permitted the Indians to reject the subordinate status usually accorded Indian converts to Christianity.

¹⁸³ Slotkin, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁸⁵ Malcolm J. Arch, "A Functional View of Peyotism in Omaha Culture," *Plains Anthropologist*, VII (October, 1956), p. 25-26.

family, self-reliance, and avoidance of alcohol reflect some degree of acceptance of the culture of Western Civilization.¹⁸⁶

The recreational function of Peyotism serves well as a morale booster. The Peyote meeting is an important leisure-time activity for those who enjoy visiting. On the day after the actual meeting, the time is usually spent in joking, gossiping, storytelling, and eating. These activities provide a reasonable balance to the staid and ritualized Peyote service.¹⁸⁷

The influence of rural life and a lower economic position is seen in the organization of the Native American Church. Its practice of denominationalism and temperance work, accompanied by a varied assortment of social activities, is similar to that of most rural churches in the Great Plains area. Even the use of the term "church," with all its connotations, signifies an attempt to put Peyotism on the same level of dignity as Christian denominations and to accommodate to their pattern of religious organization. The use of biblical quotations in the Peyote services, likewise borrowed from rural churches with fundamentalist doctrines, reflects the sensitivity of a marginal religion to the opinion of the dominant religious groups in the area.¹⁸⁸

Yuwipi Cult

"The only continuing cult of the Dakota religion is the Yuwipi meeting . . . This cult worships manifestations of four chief Dakota gods, and invokes supernatural power for curing the sick and oc-

asionally for finding lost articles."¹⁸⁹ The power of the "priest," the medicine man, is based on a vision in which a spirit deity appears before him and gives him the key to curing illness, finding lost articles, predicting the future, or performing some amazing feat. Celebrated priests may be called from great distances to work their miracle cures, and they are usually well paid in gifts of cash or, more frequently, food, clothing, horses, and other goods.¹⁹⁰

Its reliance on elements of the traditional Dakota religion suggests that the Yuwipi cult is entirely vestigial; but it has undergone amalgamatory changes. It has, in fact, adapted to modern reservation conditions to the point where it may be thought of as a marginal practice, implying a fusion of "pure" Dakota religion with the new needs of people. Unlike Peyotism, the cult has not established itself as an organized church with officials and a polity; rather it functions on an informal basis and at irregular times according to the needs and desires of the participants.¹⁹¹

The transitional character of these marginal religious cults, the Yuwipi and the Native American Church, is indicated by the fact that the present day reservation Indians have not become so firmly attached to any one form of religion

¹⁸⁶Slotkin, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

¹⁸⁷Arth, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

¹⁸⁸Slotkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

¹⁸⁹Gordon MacGregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, p. 98.

¹⁹⁰Cardwell, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁹¹Macgregor, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

that they are suspicious of Christians. Christian ministers and national church leaders on reservation may disapprove of Yuwipi, but they call their church members to respect for or even to participation in these native cults. Several affiliations may be held simultaneously by one individual in a family; however, there is no fee for all the members of a community to join the same church because of the value placed on common kinship. Since the beliefs of all religions are thought to be compatible, the basic Dakota values of sharing and cooperation, the churches tend to perpetuate these values and utilize them to their advantage. They may hold special gatherings, which members usually attend, but they are not required to and there are no opportunities to visit with friends. The native gift ceremonies following the death of a relative may be attended or even encouraged by the Christian church. Thus it is not easy to maintain kinship.¹⁹²

Contemporary Values at Pine Ridge Community

In order to test the validity of this study hypothesis of this study, investigation was conducted at Pine Ridge Reservation in the summer of 1957.¹⁹³ Two sites selected for this study have been given the ger-

finding lost arrow of the "priest," is based on a animal deity and gives him illness, finding the future, an amazing feat. may be called to work their they are usually of cash or more clothing, horses,

elements of the religion suggests cult is entirely has undergone changes. It has, in modern reservation point where it may a marginal practice of "pure" with the new Unlike Peyotism, established itself as church with officials whether it functions on and at irregular to the needs and participants.¹⁹¹

al character of religious cults, the Native American attributed by the fact day reservation become so firmly the form of religion

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or, *Warriors Without*

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that they are suspicious of all others. Christian ministers and denominational church leaders on the reservation may disapprove of Peyote or Yuwipi, but they cannot forbid their church members to show respect for or even to participate in these native cults. Several religious affiliations may be held simultaneously by one individual or by one family; however, there is a tendency for all the members of a community to join the same Christian church because of the value placed on common kinship association. Since the beliefs of all religious sects are thought to be consistent with the basic Dakota values of sharing and cooperation, the Christian churches tend to perpetuate these values and utilize them to their own advantage. They may promote social gatherings, which some non-members usually attend if food is served and there are ample opportunities to visit with friends and relatives. The native gift giving ceremonies following the death and funeral of a relative may also be tolerated or even encouraged by the Christian church. Thus the Dakota find it easy to maintain plural memberships.¹⁹²

Contemporary Values in 2 Pine Ridge Communities

In order to test the validity of the hypothesis of this study, a field investigation was conducted on the Pine Ridge Reservation during the summer of 1957.¹⁹³ Two communities selected for this investigation have been given the general design-

ation of "traditional" and "transpositional".¹⁹⁴ A map showing the location of the 37 families in the two communities is presented in figure 1.¹⁹⁵ The families from which no interviews could be obtained for reasons of unavailability or uncooperativeness are indicated in figure 1 by an X.

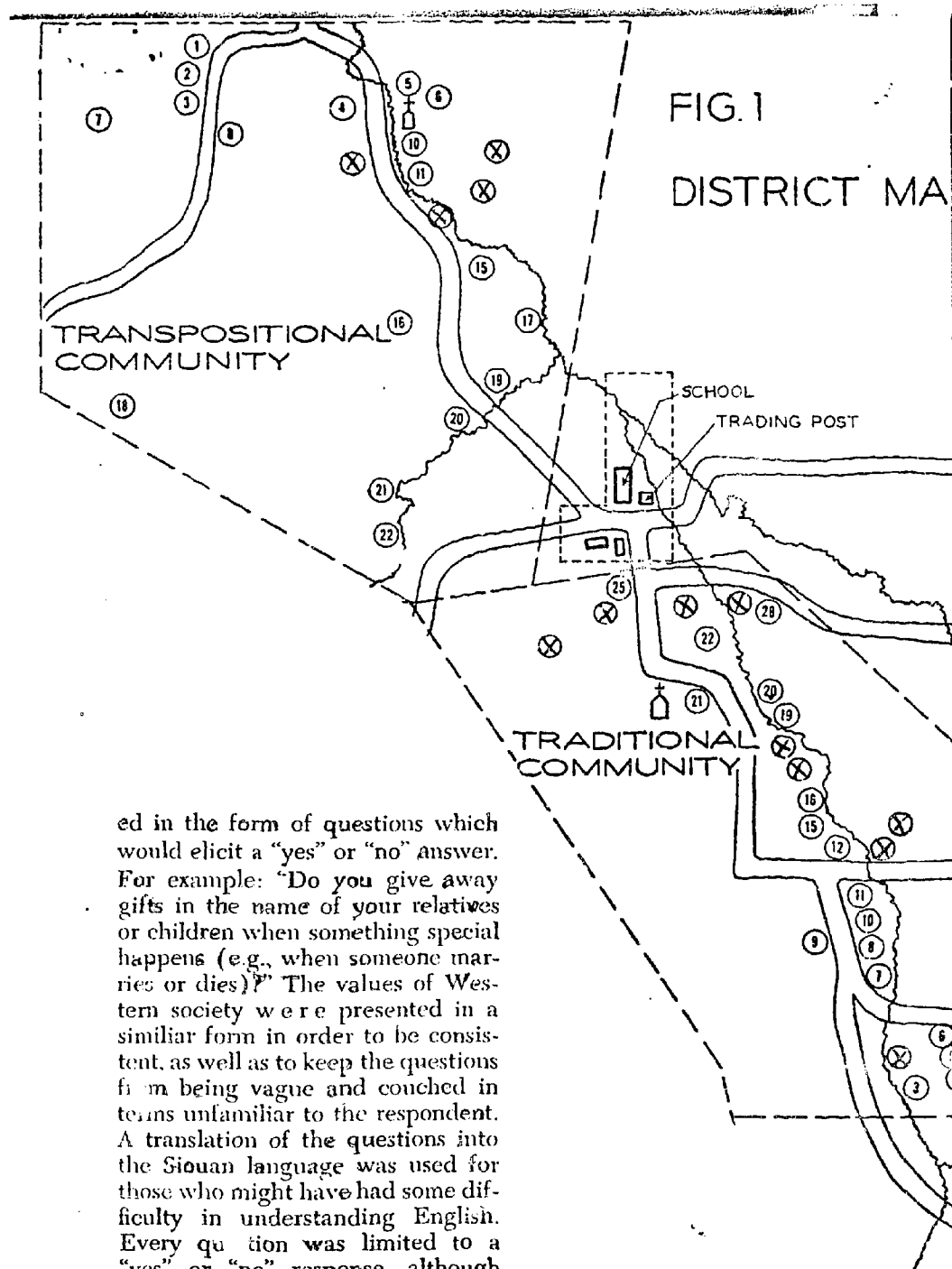
The questions on the schedule were based on the value system of traditional Dakota society and contemporary Western Civilization. Sixteen items concerning beliefs or modes of action (eight based on Dakota values, and eight on Western values) were selected and present-

¹⁹¹Cardwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

¹⁹²The hypothesis stated in Section I.I, may be repeated: The responses of Pine Ridge residents to a series of questions based on traditional Dakota culture and on modern American culture reveal conflicts in those values expressive of marginal religious participation. Answers indicating approval of both value systems suggest greater participation in religious activities, but those indicating approval of one value system suggest lesser participation.

¹⁹³The traditional community has more traits that are typical of traditional Dakota Indian culture, and the transpositional community more nearly resembles South Dakota rural society although retaining some traits related to reservation residence. A more detailed description of these communities is given in Vernon D. Malan's *The Dakota Indian Family*, pp. 7-12.

¹⁹⁴The limited number of cases may not be extremely meaningful in and of themselves, but they tend to lend support, although not conclusively prove, the hypothesis of the study. For a detailed discussion of the limitations of the method of the study see Clinton J. Jesser's *The Changing Traditional Value System of the Dakota Indians*, pp. 78-84.



ed in the form of questions which would elicit a "yes" or "no" answer. For example: "Do you give away gifts in the name of your relatives or children when something special happens (e.g., when someone marries or dies)?" The values of Western society were presented in a similar form in order to be consistent, as well as to keep the questions from being vague and couched in terms unfamiliar to the respondent. A translation of the questions into the Siouan language was used for those who might have had some difficulty in understanding English. Every question was limited to a "yes" or "no" response, although

"don't know" responses or questions were also noted on the scale. At the same time, additional information was obtained from respondents regarding their attendance and participation in wipi and Peyote meetings, as sought in times of sickness or trouble. An exact copy of the questions is given in Appendix I.

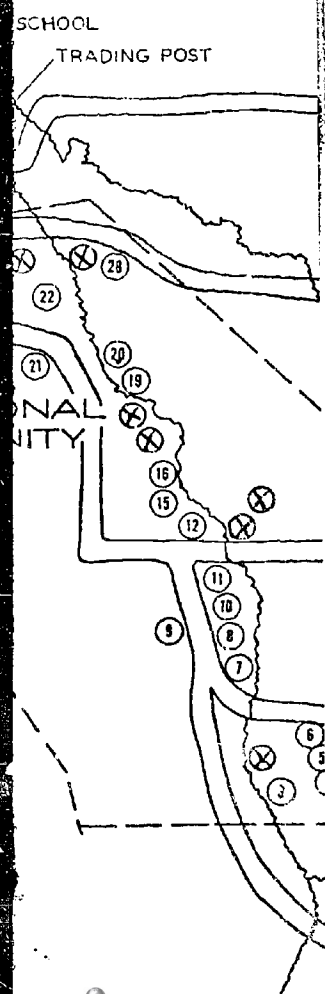
The answers elicited from respondents have indicated either approval or disapproval of a Dakota Western value. Since the values of the two systems appear to be largely contradictory, approval of both value systems is expected to be associated with greater participation in certain marginal religious activities. A consistent pattern of responses would indicate approval of one system to the exclusion of the other, and a respondent with a mixed pattern of replies would be likely to engage in the Peyote or wipi meetings.

Religious Participation

Consideration should first be given to Dakota participation in religious activities of the traditional Catholic churches in the study area. All the respondents were members of either the Catholic or Episcopal church; table 1 indicates that most of them were regular in the activities of the churches.

Some possible explanations for their endorsement of these churches are: (1) the respondent's church has adapted to the needs of the people who are in an extremely isolated situation; (2) the church itself has compromised with

FIG. 1
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"don't know" responses or qualified replies were also noted on the schedule. At the same time, additional information was obtained from the respondents regarding their church attendance and participation in Yuwipi and Peyote meetings, and aid sought in times of sickness or trouble. An exact copy of the questions is given in Appendix I.¹⁰⁶

The answers elicited from respondents have indicated either approval or disapproval of a Dakota or Western value. Since the selected values of the two systems appear to be largely contradictory, approval of both value systems is expected to be associated with greater participation in certain marginal religious activities. A consistent pattern of responses would indicate approval of one system to the exclusion of the other, and a respondent with this pattern of replies would be less likely to engage in the Peyote or Yuwipi meetings.

Religious Participation

Consideration should first be given to Dakota participation in the activities of the traditional Christian churches in the study area. Nearly all the respondents were nominal members of either the Catholic or Episcopal church; table 1 indicates that most of them were relatively active in the activities of these two churches.

Some possible explanations for their endorsement of these Christian churches are: (1) the reservation church has adapted to the needs of people who are in an extremely isolated situation; (2) the church itself has compromised with indig-

enous Dakota values; (3) the Indians have accommodated some church practices to the values of their old religion; (4) the church meeting provides an opportunity for social gathering and visiting and offers spiritual security to individuals who can identify themselves with and belong to a well-established social group; (5) some Christian values are similar to Dakota values, e.g., generosity and chastity; (6) the authorities of the church, priests and ministers, reveal a sincere and personal concern for individuals, and as they work closely with the people, demonstrate their devotion to the Indians' welfare.

At the same time, reservation Indians seem very little concerned to abide by dogmatic denominational restrictions. During the course of a few months, it is not uncommon for them to attend church meetings of the only two reservation denominations, Catholic and Episcopal, the tent meetings occasionally held in the community by a visiting evangelist of some other denomination, and participate in Yuwipi or Peyote services. Loyalty to a single church does not seem to be so important as the need for social activity provided by attendance at all of these various meetings. Moreover, some individuals change their denominational affiliations at frequent intervals. In some cases, changing churches may also be associated with personality disintegration, since the disorganized individual may unconsciously

¹⁰⁶A detailed discussion of the methodology of this study is available at the Rural Sociology Department, South Dakota State College, Brookings.

Table 1. Church Attendance, Preference, and Loyalty*

Selected Characteristics	Percent
Attending Church	98.0
Frequency of Attendance: (Adults)	
Whenever possible and whenever held	75.7
Once a month or /and seldom	21.6
Do not attend	2.7
Frequency of Attendance: (Children)	
Children attending	67.6
Children not attending	2.7
Have no children now or never had	24.3
No response	5.4
Church Preference:	
Catholic	54.0
Episcopal	46.0
Church Loyalty:	
Changed churches within the last year	6.0
Have not changed within the last year	94.0

*37 respondents in study.

be seeking some means of working out a reasonable adjustment to his value conflicts.

Acceptance of Dakota and Western Value Systems

The answers to the questions on the schedule were analysed and compared in the following ways in order to observe any possible associations that may exist between the responses and other related conditions: (1) selected characteristics of the respondents in the two communities were compared with the number of expected responses in the Dakota and Western value system; (2) selected characteristics of the respondents answering three or less questions in the Dakota value system as expected were compared with those answering four or more as expected; (3) selected characteristics of respondents participating in marginal religious activities were compared with non-marginal res-

pondents; and (4) marginal and non - marginal respondents were compared with respect to the number of expected responses they gave to the Dakota and Western value systems.

The characteristics selected for investigation, because they appeared to be meaningful to the study of values and were essential to the conditions of Dakota living, were education, Indian ancestry, age, and socio-economic scores.¹⁹⁷ These factors were compared with the average number of expected responses to the Dakota and Western value systems and the number of respondents answering three or less and four or more questions as expected on the Dakota value system (see table 2).

¹⁹⁷Based on the short form of Sewell's Socioeconomic Status Scale. See William H. Sewell, "A Short Form of the Farm Family Socioeconomic Status Scale," *Rural Sociology* VIII (1943), pp. 161-170.

Table 2. General Characteristics

Selected Characteristics
Education (Average number of years)
Indian Ancestry (Per cent of total)
Age (Average years)
Socio-economic Scores
Average Number of Expected Responses on Dakota Value System
Average Number of Expected Responses on Western Value System
Number of Respondents Answering Three or Less Questions as Expected on Dakota Value System
Number of Respondents Answering Four or More Questions as Expected on Dakota Value System

*37 respondents in study.

There was a significant percentage of replies that indicated a greater acceptance of Western values. The average acceptance was 90.7% for Western values and 9.3% for Dakota values. The ages indicate that the Western society have gained complete acceptance, so expressed attitudes reflect actual values of the respondents. At the same time that Dakota values indicating less acceptance than a few decades ago. Nevertheless, questions relating to generosity received more acceptance (65.9%) than others (36.5%).

There were some significant differences between the communities in regard to education, ancestry, age, and socio-economic scores, as indicated. The older age and high Indian ancestry in the

Table 2. General Characteristics of the Respondents in the Two Communities

Selected Characteristics	Community	
	Transpositional	Traditional
Education (Average number of years)	7.8	5.3
Indian Ancestry (Per cent of full bloods)	47.4	100.0
Age (Average years)	50.0	59.0
Socio-economic Scores	53.5	47.8
Average Number of Expected Responses on Dakota Value System	3.26	3.66
Average Number of Expected Responses on Western Value System	6.16	6.32
Number of Respondents Answering 3 or Less Questions as Expected on Dakota Value System	12.0	7.0
Number of Respondents Answering 4 or More Questions as Expected on Dakota Value System	7.0	11.0

*37 respondents in study.

There was a significantly large percentage of replies that indicated greater acceptance of Western than Dakota values. The averages were 90.7% for Western values and 49% for Dakota values. These percentages indicate that the values of Western society have gained almost complete acceptance, so far as the expressed attitudes reflect the actual values of the reservation residents. At the same time, it appears that Dakota values may be receiving less acceptance than they did a few decades ago. Nevertheless, the questions relating to sharing and generosity received considerable more acceptance (65.9%) than the others (36.5%).

There were some significant differences between the two communities in regard to education, Indian ancestry, age, and socio-economic scores, as indicated in table 2. The older age and higher degree of Indian ancestry in the traditional

community could be associated with their lower level of formal education. Lack of education, in turn, was a significant factor in the level of economic and social living. All of these general characteristics are indicative of the degree of traditional culture retained in the community. Thus the traditional community exhibited greater acceptance of Dakota values than the transpositional community.

The question may still be posed, "Is there an association between the responses to the two value systems and the two types of community?" A statistical test of significance was employed to determine the probability of such association.¹⁰⁸ The result indicated that the number of questions answered as expected on the Western and Dakota value systems was not directly associated

¹⁰⁸The Chi-square test of significance was used. For an explanation of this test, see Lillian Cohen. *Statistical Methods for Social Scientists*, pp. 120-128.

with the particular community.¹⁹⁹ The association between the respondents answering three or less or four or more questions as expected on the Dakota value system and the community was greater, but not sufficient to provide confidence that this association was not a matter of chance.²⁰⁰

The selected characteristics of these two communities, presented in table 2, were then analysed individually and compared with the number of respondents answering three or less or four or more questions as expected on the Dakota value system (see table 3).

There was greater acceptance of Dakota values among those who had less than eight grades of education, were over 50 years of age, and scored less than 50 points on the socio-economic scale. But when tests of statistical significance were applied to each of these characteristics independently, the results were inconclusive. The association

may have occurred by chance.²⁰¹

These same selected characteristics were then compared with those respondents who stated that they had participated in either Peyote or Yuwipi meetings, the evidence used to measure participation in marginal religious activities (see table 4).

Statistical tests of significance were applied to determine the probability of association between each characteristic and those who had participated in marginal activities. In each case the statistical test did not reveal scores below the 5% significance association; therefore the indication was that the observed association could have oc-

¹⁹⁹The chi-square (χ^2) value was .164 with one degree of freedom, far below the 5% level of probability.

²⁰⁰Chi-square (χ^2)=2.269.

²⁰¹The chi-square values were .598 for education differences, .076 for Indian ancestry, 2.6440 for age, and .669 for socio-economic scale scores. These values indicate that there was the greatest change of association between age and acceptance of Dakota values.

Table 3. General Characteristics of the Respondents Answering Three or Less and Four or More Questions as Expected on the Dakota Value System*

Selected Characteristics	3 or Less	4 or More
Education (Average Number of Years)	7.7	6.3
8th Grade and More	10.0	7.0
Less than 8th Grade	9.0	11.0
Indian Ancestry:		
Number of Full Bloods	13.0	14.0
Number of Mixed Bloods	6.0	4.0
Age (Average Years)	49.7	60.2
50 Years of Age and More	9.0	14.0
49 Years of Age and Less	10.0	4.0
Socio-economic Scores (Average)	52.5	51.2
50 Points and More	11.0	8.0
49 Points and Less	8.0	10.0

*37 respondents in study.

curred as chance phenomena. The statistical trends show somewhat greater participation in marginal religious activities among those who had eighth grade education, were over 50 years of age, and scored less than 50 points on the socio-economic scale. These trends are in agreement with the trends shown in table 3 concerning acceptance of Dakota values.

Those respondents who participated in marginal religious activities (Peyote or Yuwipi) showed a considerably greater extent of

Table 4. General Characteristics of the Respondents Answering Three or Less and Four or More Questions as Expected on the Dakota Value System*

Selected Characteristics	3 or Less	4 or More
Education (Average Number of Years)	7.7	6.3
8th Grade and More	10.0	7.0
Less than 8th Grade	9.0	11.0
Indian Ancestry:		
Number of Full Bloods	13.0	14.0
Number of Mixed Bloods	6.0	4.0
Age (Average Years)	49.7	60.2
50 Years of Age and More	9.0	14.0
49 Years of Age and Less	10.0	4.0
Socio-economic Scores (Average)	52.5	51.2
50 Points and More	11.0	8.0
49 Points and Less	8.0	10.0

*37 respondents in study.

Table 5. Responses to the Question: "Do you participate in marginal religious activities?"

Responses	Marginal Respondents	Non-Marginal Respondents
Yes	10	10
No	10	10
Don't Know	10	10
Total	30	30

cured as chance phenomenon.²⁰² The statistical trends in table 4 did show somewhat greater participation in marginal religious activities among those who had less than an eighth grade education, were full bloods, were over 50 years of age, and scored less than 50 on the socio-economic scale. These results were in agreement with the findings given in table 3 concerning acceptance of Dakota values.

Those respondents who participated in marginal religious activities (Peyote or Yuwipi) accepted the Dakota value system to a considerably greater extent than the non-

marginal respondents. In table 5, it will be noted that the acceptance of Western values is extremely high for both marginal and non-marginal respondents, and that the former indicated a slightly higher percentage of acceptance than the latter. The major distinction, however, was in the percentage of marginal respondents who accepted four or more of the Dakota values.

The association between marginality and total expected responses

²⁰²For education and participation in marginal religious activities $X^2=.020$; for Indian ancestry $X^2=.019$; and for socio-economic scale scores $X^2=.234$.

Table 4. General Characteristics of the Respondents Participating in Marginal Activities*

Selected Characteristics	Marginal Respondents	Non-marginal Respondents
Education (Average Number of Years)	7.5	7.4
8th Grade or More	3.0	14.0
7th Grade or Less	5.0	15.0
Indian Ancestry:		
Number of Full Bloods	7.0	20.0
Number of Mixed Bloods	1.0	9.0
Age (Average Years)	63.0	52.5
50 Years of Age or More	6.0	19.0
49 Years of Age or Less	2.0	10.0
Socio-economic Scores (Average)	47.8	53.0
50 Points or More	3.0	16.0
49 Points or Less	5.0	13.0

*37 respondents in study.

Table 5. Response to the Value Systems and Participating in Marginal Activities.

	Western Value System	Dakota Value System	Respondents Answering 3 or Less Questions as Expected for Dakota Value System		Respondents Answering 4 or More Questions as Expected as for Dakota Value System	
			No.	%	No.	%
Marginal Respondents	52	33	1	12.5	7	87.5
Non-Marginal Respondents	179	95	18	62.0	11	38.0

to the value system was found to lack confidence on a statistical measure of significance.²⁰³ On the question of association between marginality and the number of expected responses to the Dakota value system, the differences between those who participated and those who did not participate were found to have a statistical significance.²⁰⁴ Consequently, it could be concluded that the number of questions answered as expected on the Dakota value system was related to marginality: the greater the amount of Dakota values adhered to, the greater the attraction of marginal activities. This result is especially applicable to an area undergoing a transition in values, one in which non-indigenous Western values are more readily accepted than indigenous Dakota values.

In summary, the statistical measurements reported in this chapter indicated a high degree of acceptance (90.7%) of Western values

but only an average acceptance (49%) of Dakota values. Association between education, Indian ancestry, age, and socio-economic scores and the traditional and transpositional communities was apparent but not statistically significant. Likewise, there was insufficient statistical evidence to support the conclusion that these selected characteristics were associated with participation in marginal religious activities. However, significant association was discovered between marginal religious participation and the degree of acceptance of the Dakota value system. Such an association indicates that the more the individual accepts the values of Dakota society along with Western values, the more likely he is to develop value conflicts which he attempts to resolve in marginal religious activities.

²⁰³ $\chi^2=1.164$.

²⁰⁴ $\chi^2=4.310$.

IV.

In this attempt to value system of the and to suggest an reservation religion shift was noted from Dakota values to the of Western Civilization, most of the value culture are still influenced. Dakota practices completely vanished. But values are accepted with consensus than Dakota, leading to the expressed behavior which was schedule questions.

Actual adherence these values could by observation over period of time. But not feasible, nor did in the scope of the ing that the response according to their ex is likely that their be somewhat contrary. ample, it is impossible in the old Dakota to conform at all these norms of dealing with economic and accumulation we can speculate reservation communities to profess value accordance with the

If a Dakota individual with the problem basis of conflicting prior, he may become develop attitude apathy. The sanctional culture may

only an average acceptance of Dakota values. Association between education, Indian age, and socio-economic and the traditional and transitional communities was apparently not statistically significant. Otherwise, there was insufficient statistical evidence to support the conclusion that these selected characteristics were associated with participation in marginal religious activities. However, significant association was discovered between marginal religious participation and the degree of acceptance of the Dakota value system. Such an association indicates that the more the individual accepts the values of Dakota society along with Western values, the more likely he is to develop value conflicts which he attempts to resolve in marginal religious activities.

=1.164.
=4.310.

IV. Implications of the Study

In this attempt to describe the value system of the Dakota Indians and to suggest an explanation for reservation religious practices, a shift was noted from the traditional Dakota values to the modern values of Western Civilization. At present, most of the values of Dakota culture are still influential, and old Dakota practices have not completely vanished. But Western values are accepted with greater consensus than Dakota values, according to the expressed attitudes to the behavior which would follow from schedule questions.

Actual adherence to the norms of these values could only be checked by observation over an extended period of time. But this check was not feasible, nor did it come within the scope of this study. Assuming that the respondents did act according to their expressed values, it is likely that their behavior would be somewhat contradictory. For example, it is impossible to be generous in the old Dakota fashion and to conform at the same time to these norms of Western society dealing with economic competition and accumulation of wealth. Thus, we can speculate, these people in reservation communities find it easier to profess values than to act in accordance with these beliefs.

If a Dakota individual is faced with the problem of action on the basis of conflicting norms of behavior, he may become discouraged and develop attitudes of malaise or apathy. The sanctions of his traditional culture may begin to disin-

tegrate under the influence of the coercive force of the new value system can entirely replace the old, the individual may find the old values destroyed. Thus he will flounder without the regulation of either society. This condition of lack of values, as has been indicated, is accompanied by a breakdown of the individual's sense of attachment to his own society. When this marginal position is found among a group of people of similar cultural traditions, the society itself becomes normless and marginal.

This study has revealed that the Dakota Indians have, to a large extent, lost the old system of social values which gave purpose and direction to their lives. Reactions to this state of affairs will vary for each individual from stubborn maintenance of traditional values to rejection of all Dakota values and full acceptance of non-Indian values. The assumption of positions at either extreme may provide a relatively stable personality adjustment. But the individual who vacillates between the two values systems is likely to search for some sources of meaning in group-approved and recognition-giving activities, such as are available in marginal religions.

No attempt has been made to reveal the extent of loss of values in the respondents or their society as a whole. It has been suggested that a transition has been taking place in the values which are vital to the continuation of the reservation communities. The decline in influence of old Dakota rules and beliefs has

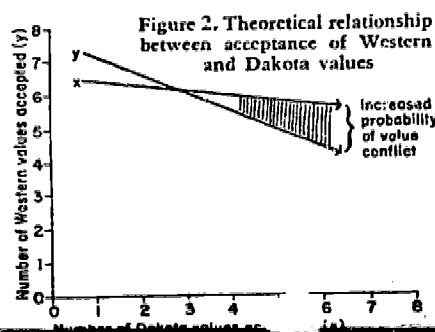
invited disintegration of a formerly stable culture pattern. Because the values of generosity, integrity, courage, sociability, kinship, self-control and wisdom—all integral elements in the old social structure—no longer find complete expression in the present-day reservation culture, life for the Dakota people has lost meaning. But some remnants of the old value system still persist in the sharing and sociability patterns of the marginal religions.

Since the Dakota people have been cut off from their traditional religion, they have not been able to replace this loss in conventional Christian denominations. The principal difficulty has been the relatively firm insistence of the churches on the virtues of the value system of Western civilization. To the Dakotas, however, Western values lack the vitality and meaning necessary to replace their traditional values. Superficial acceptance of non-Indian ideas of correct behavior is not strong enough to motivate them to pursue these norms in practice. Moreover, it is not uncommon for the older residents of reservation communities to reflect nostalgically on "better times" in the past. They feel that conditions have been getting worse for their people instead of better. Undoubtedly, this tendency to glorify the values of the old culture makes them reluctant to accept new values which seem to lack vitality in comparison with those which guided their lives in times past.

The statistical findings of this study can be summarized in a dia-

gram indicating the theoretical relationships between the two sets of values. Acceptance of Western values (x) remains relatively unchanged no matter how many Dakota values are accepted. But acceptance of Dakota values (y) increases markedly with only a slight decrease in the number of Western values accepted. Value conflicts, measured by participation in marginal religious activities, had significantly greater probability of occurring when the individual accepted four or more Dakota values. This result, obtained from a limited sample in two communities on the Pine Ridge Reservation, supported the hypothesis of this study.

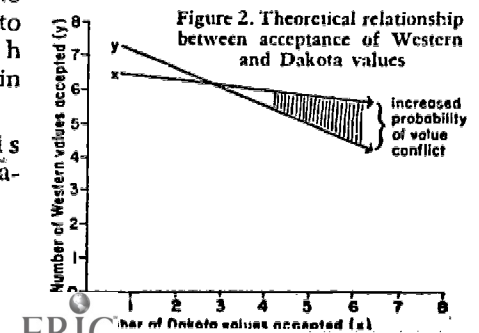
Present studies of social values are likely to be limited in scope, significance, and validity because of the difficulties inherent in the measurement of elusive attitudes, and so additional research would be highly desirable. Some areas which require study are: (1) value integration—relating more integrally ideational and behavioral phenomena; i.e., synthesizing what is believed with what is done; (2) value quantification—indicating some measurement of degree to which respondents adhere to Dakota and Western values; (3) value change—discovering the principles of culture which are directly related to change in values.



1. Do you feel that you...
2. If you were badly in...
3. Do you give away gift...
4. Do you believe in pla...
5. Would you say that...
6. Do you believe in sa...
7. Do you think it sho...
8. Do you think a man...
9. Do you feel that a p...
10. If someone harme...
11. Do you think it is...
12. Do you think that...
13. Do you feel that a...
14. Do you think it is...
15. If you wanted wi...
16. If your child went...
17. Which church do...
18. Have you change...
19. Do you attend:
 - Sunday mor...
 - Mass
 - Prayer meet...
 - Sunday Scho...
 - Special Serv...
 - Picnics, sup...
 - Benevolent
 - Guilds, circ...
 - Instruction
20. Do your children...
21. Have you attend...
22. Who would you...
23. When you are i...

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Appendix I.

Old and New Moral Code

1. Do you feel that you should receive recognition from others when you give money or food or help to those who need it? Yes, No.
2. If you were badly in need of food and someone gave you enough food for your own need, would you share it with other needy relatives? Yes. No.
3. Do you give away gifts in the name of your relatives or children when something special happens (e.g., when one marries or dies)? Yes, No.
4. Do you believe in pledging a part of your income to the church and the work of the church? Yes, No.
5. Would you say that your first responsibility is to see that your own family (i.e., your wife and children) is adequately clothed, fed and housed? Yes, No.
6. Do you believe in saving money for emergencies? Yes, No.
7. Do you think it shows a man's bravery when in battle a man becomes so bold as to touch an enemy (count coup)? Yes, No.
8. Do you think a man is braver if he fights in the front lines in war rather than one who supplies those in the thickest fight? Yes, No.
9. Do you feel that a person who lies about you should have it held against him for the rest of his life? Yes, No.
10. If someone harmed a member of your family, would you forgive them without trying to get even? Yes, No.
11. Do you think it is necessary for a man to bear pain himself as long as he can before he asks for help or relief from someone else (e.g., dancing with the thongs in one's flesh in the Sun Dance)? Yes, No.
12. Do you think that the "hard times" on the reservation (such as poor living conditions, lack of food, or sickness) are something that must come to you to test your strength or endurance? Yes, No.
13. Do you feel that an able-bodied man should maintain a regular job if it is at all possible? Yes, No.
14. Do you think it is the parents' responsibility to keep their children busy and out of trouble? Yes, No.
15. If you wanted wisdom would you fast and pray in order that it would come to you? Yes, No.
16. If your child went against your wishes, would it help if you reasoned with him? Yes, No.
17. Which church do you go to?
18. Have you changed churches within the last year? Yes, No.
19. Do you attend: Frequency

Sunday morning services -	.....
Mass -	.....
Prayer meetings -	.....
Sunday School -	.....
Special Services (e.g., Easter, Christmas, Weddings) -	.....
Picnics, suppers, parties, etc. -	.....
Benevolent drives by your church -	.....
Guilds, circles, brotherhoods, youth groups -	.....
Instruction classes -	.....
20. Do your children attend?

Bible summer schools and camps -	.....
Instruction classes -	.....
21. Have you attended a:

Yuwipi meeting? Yes, No.	.....
Peyote meeting? Yes, No.	.....
22. Who would you go to for help when you are sick?
23. When you are in trouble or have a problem, who do you turn to for advice?

Appendix II.

Questions Based on Dakota Indian Value System

Question	Number of Respondents		
	Yes	No	No Response
Do you feel that you should receive recognition from others when you give money or food or help to those who need it?	17	18	2
If you were badly in need of food and someone gave you enough food for your own need, would you share it with other needy relatives?	26	10	1
Do you give away gifts in the name of your relatives or children when something special happens (e.g., when one marries or dies)?	30	7	0
Do you think it shows a man's bravery when in battle a man becomes so bold as to touch an enemy (count coup)?	13	14	8
Do you think a man is braver if he fights in the front lines in war rather than one who supplies those in the thickest fight?	18	11	8
Do you think it is necessary for a man to bear pain himself as long as he can before he asks for help or relief from someone else (e.g., dancing with the thongs in one's flesh in the Sun Dance)?	10	22	5
If you wanted wisdom would you fast and pray in order that it would come to you?	13	22	2

Appendix III.

Questions Based on Western Value Systems

Question	Number of Respondents		
	Yes	No	No Response
Do you believe in pledging a part of your income to the church and the work of the church?	35	1	1
Would you say that your first responsibility is to see that your own family (i.e., your wife and children) is adequately clothed, fed and housed?	35	0	2
Do you believe in saving money for emergencies?	36	1	0
Do you feel that a person who lies about you should have it held against him for the rest of his life?	8	26	3
If someone harmed a member of your family, would you forgive them without trying to get even?	31	4	2
Do you feel that an able bodied man should maintain a regular job if it is at all possible?	36	0	1
Do you think it is the parents' responsibility to keep their children busy and out of trouble?	32	0	4

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System

Number of Respondents

Yes	No	No Response
17	18	2
26	10	1
30	7	0
13	14	8
18	11	8
10	22	5
13	22	2

Systems

Number of Respondents

Yes	No	No Response
35	1	1
35	0	2
36	1	0
8	26	3
31	4	2
36	0	1
32	0	4

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