Cultural Identities among the Oglala Sioux[1]

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I. Introduction

The Reservation

Pine Ridge Reservation in southwestern South Dakota is the home of the Oglala Sioux. The reservation is equal in area to approximately three rural counties.[2] The landscape is typical of the high plains:

[1] This paper is based, in part, upon observations made during a ten-week visit to Pine Ridge Reservation during the summer of 1961 and upon field work for a like period in 1963 made possible by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago. In addition to the members of this department, I am indebted to Drs. Murray Wax and Ernest Schusky, who corresponded with me prior to and during the field work; to Stephen Feraca, who shared both his intimate knowledge of the Sioux and his hospitality during my visit of 1961; and to Robert V. Dumont, Jr., for similar aid during the summer of 1963. An earlier version of this paper was submitted to the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

[2] The reservation is currently considered by the state to be two unorganized counties, Shannon and Washabaugh, although it was originally subdivided as three. An appreciable amount of land within these areas is now owned by non-Indians. A fourth county, Bennett, formerly a part of the reservation, was opened to homesteading and is now a typical wheat-growing area. Some land in Bennett County remains in Indian ownership and is under the jurisdiction of the tribal government and agency offices. The Bureau of Indian Affairs reported that Pine Ridge Agency had jurisdiction over 1,628,831 acres, or approximately 2,544 square miles in 1960 (Hagen and Schaw 1960, pp. 2–13 n).

rolling grassland marked by creeks lined with dense stands of deciduous trees and bushes, and by ridges with scattered pines. The northern section of the reservation consists of tableland and vast areas of erosion. Most of the land is suitable only for modest ranching, with farming generally difficult, if not impossible, especially in the areas of Indian ownership.

The majority of the Indian population lives scattered throughout the countryside. Most live in log houses or frame shacks. Some live in tents, a few in old car bodies. Few of the "country Indians" live in houses of substantial construction. The vast majority of the rural homes are some distance from paved roads and are without electricity or running water. Kerosene lamps supply light. Many homes use bottled gas stoves for cooking. Virtually all are heated by wood stoves. Most of the rural families haul water from pumps inspected by the Public Health Service, but many rely on creek water.

Pine Ridge town,[3] near the southwestern corner of the reservation, is the site of the vast agency complex of governmental offices, the federal boarding school and high school, and the Public Health Service hospital. The town is likewise the seat of the tribal council and the Shannon County public school system, and the center of much of the missionary activity on the reservation. The town is sharply divided into two sections. To the west of Highway 18 on tree-lined streets stand the government buildings, the schools, the hospital, and the government-built housing for federal employees. To the east stand the churches, cafes, stores, and filling stations. Beyond this "main street" are the makeshift homes of hundreds of "town Indians," and two suburban-style housing projects built between 1961 and 1963 by the tribal government in cooperation with the Federal Housing Authority. They are rented to members of the tribe, screened by the Housing Authority Committee. Approximately half of them were occupied in 1963. The pattern of Pine Ridge town is repeated, in microcosm, in the several small federal installations throughout the reservation.

The Problem

It is commonly agreed that the reservation is the home of "Indians." It is also widely agreed that the majority of the people on the reservation are "Indians." Everyone agrees that either (1) these people live

[3] Both the reservation and the main town, which is the site of the agency, are named Pine Ridge. To avoid confusion, the phrase "Pine Ridge town" is used here. Throughout this paper "*on* Pine Ridge" refers to the reservation and "*in* Pine Ridge" refers to the town.

differently from their non-Indian neighbors because they are Indians, or (2) these people are Indians because they live differently from their non-Indian neighbors. Even the casual visitor to the reservation soon finds that beyond such general statements there is a great diversity of opinions as to just who the Indians are, and why they are considered Indians:

> Today there are probably more people claiming Indian identity than ever before, and on Pine Ridge Reservation, such terms as *Indian, Whiteman, Mixedbloods,* or *Fullbloods* are heard on every hand. At the same time, the question of who is an Indian, or more precisely, who is what kind of an Indian becomes increasingly vague and elusive. . . . We would like to suggest that this seeming confusion and disagreement about definitions of identity is, in itself, an extremely significant datum. [Wax et al. 1964, p. 29]

The Focus

All studies of recent conditions on Sioux reservations have stressed the breakdown of native social groups[4]—the large amount of behavior which is in agreement with neither the traditional nor the introduced normative systems and the resulting uncertainty and instability of both social roles and individual personalities. Yet it is widely asserted that the Sioux have been able to maintain social groups that are somehow distinctly "Indian" and exhibit cultural and psychological patterns that are somehow distinctly "Indian."

Ideally this situation should be studied on two mutually interdependent levels. On the one hand, it is necessary to study patterns of social interaction among all the inhabitants of the reservation in order to determine the frequencies and types of interaction which reveal social boundaries. On the other hand, it is necessary to study the cultural patterns of the people, the sharing of normative patterns, the presumptions about the human condition these patterns make, the conceptualizations about social roles and social groups, etc. While the mutual adjustments of these two levels, and the discrepancies between them, are of interest in a "stable" society, they are crucial to an understanding of the modern Sioux, who have experienced major changes, often of a disorganizing nature, in both these aspects of life. A discussion, for example, of the "marginal man," who is to be found among

[4] A social group is here defined as a number of people who share certain norms of behavior (and agreements concerning the application of these norms, i.e., membership) and whose interactions with each other, guided by these norms, are distinguishable in quality from their interactions with nonmembers of the group.

all the *categories* of people on the reservation, would be incomplete if not based on both social patterns of interaction and cognitive patterns of identity. Further, it is argued that because so much of the behavior of the reservation's inhabitants is significant to them precisely because of its symbolic value in their cognitive systems, a discussion of cultural identities is necessary for an understanding of the events of reservation life.

Unfortunately, the vast amount of systematic data necessary for a thorough study of social interaction is lacking, and much of what is available is marred by the failure to separate these two approaches in discussing Sioux social groups and analyzing the behavior of their members. The social *categories* represented in the cognitive frameworks of the Sioux are too often taken to be identical with the social *groups* sharing norms of behavior.[5]

Therefore this paper will discuss the various typologies of identity employed on the reservation, their logic of classification, and the data

[5] A good example of the difficulties that can follow this method of analysis is "The Aftermath of Defeat" (Useem 1947), a study of "the relationship of degree of Indian blood to acculturation" (p. 8). Based on the premise that "the biological and physiological manifestations of man which have repercussions on the social organization have to be held constant in order to make valid sociological generalizations" (p. 49), this study stratified the reservation universe into five blood groupings: full-blood Indians, and those with three-quarters, one-half, one-quarter, and less than one-quarter Indian blood (rounding off fractions in eighths and sixteenths). Individuals were categorized according to the degree of Indian blood they *claimed* for themselves (p. 10). The author writes: "The importance of blood groups for social organization is the main theme of this thesis" (p. 54). Qualification of terms then follows (all italics added):

> Degree of Indian blood [as used here is] *a bio-social construct.* [p. 9]
>
> It is to be understood that when terms such as "Indian blood" or "white blood" are used, the author does not imply that the actual blood is any different. The terminology is a highly useful way of describing the *racial* types of a person's *progenitors.* [p. 9]
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> Almost without exception, residents of Indian reservations know, *or think they know,* what degree of Indian blood they are. The main reason for this is in determining *legal* status. [p. 10]
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> Indians are *legally* and not biologically a *race.* [p. 70]
>
> In addition to its bio-social basis and legal use, degree of Indian blood also has a *social* connotation. . . . Degree of Indian blood is a popular way of summing up the relative influence of Indian *culture* and white *culture.* Full blood and mixed blood and white are adjectives which indicate *ways of life.* They designate *roles* which members who are *deemed* to have certain biological inheritance are expected to play. [p. 12]

each considers significant in making classifications—the symbols which manifest these identities. It is thus a discussion of conceptual models which structure, and are themselves structured by, the behavior of the reservation's population. The data consist of those items of behavior and circumstance which are defined by the conceptual models as signaling membership in one or another of the typological categories. Following a discussion of the symbols of cultural identity, the analysis will be applied to a discussion of the behavioral complex here called "Sioux Nationalism."

II. Oglalas in The White World

Isolation

As has been pointed out explicitly in one study (Wax et al. 1964) and implied in all other recent studies of Pine Ridge Reservation, the Oglalas live in considerable isolation from their non-Indian neighbors. Geographically the reservation is removed from the densely settled areas of South Dakota and Nebraska. Rapid City is approximately one hundred miles from the agency. Larger cities are hundreds of miles farther away. On the reservation, the vast majority of the population live "out in the communities." The agency town of Pine Ridge is in the southwest corner of the reservation, over one hundred miles from the most distant Indian communities. Moreover, although the rural Indian population is too dense to be supported by the economic resources of the land, it is definitely "thin and scattered" for the purposes of central administration. The current rural residence pattern poses severe problems for such basic governmental organizations as the police and the schools. In addition, it is often noted that the major differences in life style among the Indian population are between the "country Indians" and the "town Indians." It is usually added by white observers that the more rural a community of Indians is, the more traditional it is in its cultural patterns. As expressed by the Bureau employees, the rural Indians are somehow perversely "backward" about coming to the benefits of civilization, or are "deprived" of them because of the fact of their remoteness and could be "helped" more effectively if they were closer at hand. As explained by Wilcox (1942, p. 32) for Devils Lake

> Residents, both Indian and white, use in conjunction with these physical traits [skin color, patterns of hair growth], *social traits* for the *identification* of persons—dress, manner of speech, body movements, and *attitudes*. [p. 13]

The present paper is an attempt to unsnarl these difficulties of analysis.

Reservation, North Dakota, this pattern reflects the fact that the rural population (as opposed to the majority of "town Indians") is living on land that they own and from which they receive lease payments. Hence they are less dependent upon employment for a cash income, and can live where there is less need to conform to the standards of the agency.[6] While it is true that most rural families need less cash than families living in Pine Ridge town (Wax et al. 1964, p. 20), the rural pattern is by no means homogeneous. At one community I visited, the people get almost all their food from the distribution of surplus commodities, from gardens and by gathering wild fruits, and from illegal deer hunting, while in other rural areas some households are deeply involved in a cash economy for such necessities. Because of the size of the reservation, most rural families can as easily shop in the surrounding white farm towns as at the stores around the agency (i.e., in Pine Ridge and White Clay, Nebraska). Wax suggests that many rural families prefer to shop in farm towns, even if farther away, in order to avoid the embarrassing contacts with the mixed-bloods and the "White people who look down on you" to be found at the agency (Wax et al. 1964, p. 35 n). Even if a rural family finds that it needs a greater cash income, the strict demands of living in the agency town can be avoided by seasonal agricultural work in South Dakota and Nebraska, or by sporadic work in an off-reservation town (Mekeel 1936).

A discussion of "remoteness" on the reservation is always a discussion of the distances between whites and Indians, as seen from the *white* point of view. While Pine Ridge is "off the beaten track" for a tourist driving to see the sun dance, it is centrally located for an Indian participant coming from another Plains reservation. While few Indians on the reservation live directly adjacent to paved roads, almost all of them can be reached by cars in all but the worst weather. Indians, with cars that are much less reliable than those of the Bureau, pay much *less* attention to the distances between communities. Similarly many of the "country roads" leading from the highways into "remote" Indian communities bear a surprisingly heavy traffic in Indian cars. The distances traveled on the reservation by Indians while visiting and attending summer dances demonstrate that the "lack of accessibility"

[6] This pattern, and the various attitudes associated with it, have probably been in existence since the first efforts of the last century to get the Sioux to "give up their wild ways and come in to the fort and settle down." Once on the reservation, those who rejected white cultural patterns were (and occasionally still are) said to have "returned to the blanket."

of a community is basically a matter of social contacts and personal motivation and not transportation.[7] Indeed, it is often necessary to know the names of Indian communities on other reservations in the state and in adjoining states in order to follow a discussion of summer travels. Social distance is maintained even when geographic distances are small, whether in the town of Pine Ridge or in one of the agency "outposts" out in the districts. During the summer of 1961 I spent several weeks in the "town" of Allen. While I was living at the federal day school, my social contacts were limited to the families of the school principal (white), the school maintenance man (white), the storekeeper (white), and secondarily to the one teacher in residence (Negro), the tribal policemen, the two bus drivers, and the school cook (all "mixed-blood," i.e. marginal, Indians). This was considered to be the whole town. Although I spent the days with children of the rural Indian families, I never saw any of their parents around the federal buildings, and met them, only nominally, when accompanying the school personnel on bus routes. The situation was drastically altered as soon as I traveled in the company of a local, non-school-affiliated "full-blood." The situation is repeated in each of the other government locations, although it may not strike the visitor as quickly in Pine Ridge because of the size of the non-"full-blood" population there. In Pine Ridge there are many Oglalas who will gladly engage in conversation on the street or in the stores, but most of these people are merely acting out a superficial contact role which is lacking in the repertoire of the average rural Indian. A few of these townspeople can be "white men's Indians" with much relish and consummate skill.

The Basic Cognitive System of the Whites

The primary method of categorization exhibited by the white population of the reservation is based on the concept of blood descent. This scheme of symbolizing behavioral reality has changed during the reservation era less than the analogous Oglala conceptual schemes discussed below. One could speculate that American Indians, even in the case of the Teton Sioux, have not provided a challenge great enough to force a change of this concept, still evident in the thinking of the majority of American society. Even among the personnel of the local Bureau of Indian Affairs agency, for whom the Oglalas are ostensibly the *raison d'être*, the whites are in a position of dominance which does not demand a general readjustment of their concepts to those of their

[7] Visiting is, of course, restricted by the limits of social ties. The major mechanical consideration for those having cars is the amount of gasoline available.

wards and customers. The contact situation has been defined for over a century as placing the burden of acculturation on the Sioux. If the whites on the reservation are to change their framework of blood descent, it will probably be in response to changes in American society generally, rather than in response to the conceptualizations of the Oglalas. The frequent usage made in the spoken English of the Oglalas of such terms as "white man," "full-blood," and "mixed-blood" reinforces the whites in the belief that they are describing Oglala social groups in a realistic manner. The isolation that exists between the white BIA employees and the Oglalas amounts to a situation in which the whole of the Oglala framework, and hence the basic differences between the two modes of conceptualization, are not apparent from the point of view of the whites. Because most members of the white enclave in Pine Ridge are both representatives of the greater American society (and the teachers of Oglala children) and the administrators of federal power, the disruptive influence of their concepts of group membership with respect to the social structure and personality structure of the other elements of the reservation population is disproportionately strong.

Blood descent is a rather straightforward concept which presumes physical ancestry to be the critical dimension of socio-cultural differences. Unlike much of American thinking on Negroes, which sees variations in the degree of Negro blood to be of secondary importance, the use of blood descent with respect to the Oglalas is primarily interested in the variations in degree of Indian blood. Being concerned not only with "race" but "degree of race," they consider the distinction between the categories of full-blood and mixed-blood to be crucial.

Intermarriage between Teton Sioux and whites (the "squaw men") was a historical fact long before the establishment of federally controlled reservations. Certainly some individuals of mixed ancestry had developed styles of life in the prereservation era which synthesized elements of the cultures of the Oglalas and of the frontier. The Sioux recognized the existence of such differences among individuals (see below, p. 221; for a discussion of the question of mixed-blood social groups, see p. 212). For the federal government, which defeated the Teton Sioux and placed them on reservations, social structure was not a concept, and the structure of Teton society was neither recognized nor acknowledged in the struggle to civilize and individualize the Indians. Naturally those individuals who had some familiarity with both cultures and (in many cases) a stake in both societies were of importance to the government. Out of this situation came the pattern of governing according to blood descent. Today the government keeps

census records which try to record the degree of Indian blood (expressed in fractions) of each individual Oglala. Qualification for special legal status depends on a variety of definitions, most frequently on being "of one quarter or more Indian blood." To give an example of the financial advantages of being legally Indian, during the biannual bidding for the contracts to rent Indian-owned land (controlled by the agency), the bids of tribal members are increased (on paper) by an established percentage prior to being considered in competition with the bids of non-Indians. Tribal membership also means access to a whole series of federally operated services, from free education to free medical care. Moreover, for many it offers a potential share in the reactivated Oglala dream of the Black Hills claim against the federal government (Wax et al. 1964, p. 31). The settlement they are hoping for, equal to the value of the Black Hills in 1876 (including the value of all gold and minerals which have been mined there) is astronomical. Such are the real and imagined aspects of reservation life which hinge on the legal definition of one's degree of Indian blood.

Even if the correlation of one's biological and cultural heritage were one to one and immutable in one's lifetime (which it obviously is not), there are several factors of reservation life which would defeat the empirical utility of blood descent as a guide for dealing with the Oglalas on their terms. The relatively high incidence of paternity which is indeterminable (at least to the government census keepers) and the frequency of cases of people who have a series of mates, both with and without legal marriage (the latter known locally in English as "illiciting") obscure the recording of biological ancestry. Blood descent also fails to record differences in the genetic inheritance of full siblings. Several other factors, among them the practice of placing children in the care of people other than the parents and the pattern of adoptions among the Oglalas (which are seldom noted on legal documents) confuse attempts to judge an individual's cultural inheritance in terms of the identity of his parents. Nor does the system allow for the fact that full siblings are born into differing social positions, although in the history of some families these differences have included which language, Lakota or English, the child learns first, whether his childhood friends include non-Indians, and similar factors which affect the cultural identity and orientation of the adult.

For most whites in the area, the use of the terms of blood descent does not imply a purely racial explanation for the underlying behavioral differences. The general criteria used in applying the terms "white,"

"mixed-blood," and "full-blood" are based in part on an ethnocentric evaluation of the behavior of individuals. Before discussing this, however, it must be mentioned that there are some individuals in the surrounding farming communities and among the agency personnel (the few I met were all involved in maintenance of natural resources and agency property rather than in positions relating to Indians) who adhere to purely racial arguments to explain the—to them—strange and unpleasant behavior of the Sioux.

Stereotypes and Symbols of Identity

To the non-Indian personnel of the Pine Ridge agency, the social world of the reservation is explicable in terms of a series of stereotypes. Whites, quite obviously, are "whites," and no further definition is considered necessary, although in fact there are significant differences in the patterns of Bureau personnel, storekeepers, missionaries, and local ranchers and farmers. Socially, agency personnel have virtually no permanent contacts with those local whites who are not officially involved with Indians, and in most cases no contact with the missionaries. Nevertheless, all whites are spoken of as being uniformly industrious, clean, thrifty, sober, law-abiding, etc. Needless to say, it is often quite easy (even for the socially distant Indian) to observe deviations from these ideals. During the summer months the "work" of many of the school personnel could be characterized as marking time rather than as accomplishing something. It is also generally held by whites that the prohibition of alcohol on the reservation (a decision of the tribal council) does not really apply to non-Indians (because, unlike Indians, whites can "hold their liquor"). Alcoholic beverages can be found in the homes of many of the schoolteachers (where "real Indians" are almost never invited); the Pine Ridge town dump, serving federal personnel, contains an extraordinary number of beer cans (where anyone can observe them). Similarly, behavior differing from the other ideals are often notorious subjects of gossip.

Within the Bureau there are a few black employees, who are obviously "Negro": "Everyone knows what that means"; "Negroes are not whites, but they are just like them, at least the ones on the reservation."[8]

[8] The fact that such Negroes are a part of the white (Bureau) society of the reservation, since there are not enough of them to form or be considered as forming a distinct Negro social group and since any real or imagined behavioral differences are overshadowed by the white/Indian contrast, is probably a major attraction of their jobs.

Then there are the Indians. Even in the eyes of those employees who have been on several reservations, they are seen behaving as "Indians," not as "Sioux" or "Oglalas." As everyone on the reservation knows, there are two kinds of Indians: "full-bloods" and "mixed-bloods." The following two paragraphs are a composite of the *stereotypic views* held by many reservation whites (not opinions of the author):

> Full-bloods live in poverty because they don't care, are slow-witted, waste their money on alcohol and no-good relatives, and waste their time on dances and fooling around the countryside in cars they don't maintain. Full-bloods have no respect for personal property, either their own or other people's. Full-bloods are unreliable employees because they are always late (on "Indian time"), are lazy, and can only be given limited responsibilities. Full-bloods prefer to make a living, miserable as it is, by deception, by sexual immorality (through Aid to Dependent Children welfare checks), and by seeking federal and tribal handouts rather than holding down an honest job or putting their land to use. Full-bloods will say one thing but do another, or do nothing. Full-bloods spoil their children with candy and with toys that are soon broken and neglected, but they don't care enough to see that the children are properly fed or get a proper education. Full-blood children go undisciplined.
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> Mixed-bloods, on the other hand, are better employees and often prove satisfactory as bus drivers and school cooks. Many mixed-bloods, at least, desire the bare necessities of electricity and plumbing, and are likely to have food in the house.[9] Mixed-blood children do better in school because their parents, in a limited way, want them to make something of themselves. Mixed-blood politicians are smart enough to fool the full-bloods into electing them, but are basically corrupt and have no understanding of the higher purposes of public office.

Such are the stereotypic perceptions heard daily on the reservation. They are not, of course, systematic. For example, if one wishes to complain about mixed-blood politicians one would comment that the full-bloods, especially the old men, are scrupulously honest (those of former generations being considered saintly for the purposes of such comparisons). Like all stereotypes, they are based on both ethnocentric observations of behavior and largely on false information. Thus, from

[9] One often hears that full-bloods never have food in the house from day to day. While it is true that many full-blood families do not keep large stores of food and many do face shortages of food, the statement is surprising, because most "traditional" Indians make a point of offering whatever food they have to everyone who pays them a *social* visit. The people who make such statements are never *guests* in such homes and, presumably, conclude that without refrigeration it is impossible to store food.

the point of view of the farmer who has "started from scratch" and endured the crises of South Dakota soil and weather, the Indian is a deplorable failure. As an example of the denigrating falsehoods one hears on the reservation, I was told that "full-blood women have no modesty. They'll take a bath in a tub outside the house right in front of everybody." From my observations, I would conclude that any sane[10] "full-blood" would be horrified at the thought of such behavior.

Beneath these stereotypes and the overt use of blood descent based on physical appearances, whites apply various behavioristic methods of categorization while expressing them in terms of "blood." Many aspects of life thus become symbolic of a person's "racial" identity. For the average white, a "white" home contains electricity and plumbing, a bedroom separate from the main family room, rugs and upholstered chairs, a garage, etc. Outside there is usually an attempt at a stand of shade trees and a lawn. For the school personnel of the day schools in the districts, the transplanted suburbia of a half-dozen mass-produced homes of aluminum siding, surrounded by lawns and omnipresent lawn sprinklers and sustained by their ribbons of asphalt and electrical wires, stand in stark contrast to the endless grasslands. Only in the relatively dense agency settlement of Pine Ridge town is it possible to find places where the plains do not strike the eye. The housing of the white agricultural families (who comprise most of the nongovernmental white population) is also marked by many of the same characteristics, expressed in a more rural style. A typical wheat farm may have a stand of one hundred hand-planted shade trees around the house and the complex of farm buildings. Conversely, according to my white informants, Indians are considered to live in shacks which lack characteristic white items. Indian homes are not perceived as being marked by any specific attributes except such negative things as old car bodies and other "junk" around the house (i.e., the absence of "order").[11]

[10] If the various typologies presented in this paper are difficult to follow analytically, they are infinitely more difficult to live with. There are *many* people on the reservation whose psychological adjustments are unstable, and some who can only be described as violently disturbed. My informants claimed that the Public Health Service hospital offered no services for people with "illnesses of the mind," but that sometimes hopeless cases were taken "east river" (to eastern South Dakota) and "locked up in a crazy house." I observed no other evidence that the Public Health Service offered trained psychological counseling.

[11] For an excellent discussion of this type of thinking among federal school personnel, see "The Vacuum Ideology" in Wax et al. (1964).

Family names are another indicator of cultural identity in the system used by the whites, since family names in white society are taken as prime indicators of ancestry. The people with the names of the first French "squaw men" are considered by whites to have "mixed-blood" names, for example, Janis, Pourier, Mousseau. People with these names number in the hundreds. Full-bloods are identifiable by "full-blood" names, for example, Standing Elk, Afraid of Bear, Imitates Dog, Pawnee Leggings.[12]

In the final analysis, economic status and economic behavior often override other indicators of "race" in the eyes of the whites. Those Indians who are economically self-sufficient by operating modest ranches are "not really Indians" despite any physical characteristics or family names. Thus, although the white concepts of race are a cultural fiction, and a fiction that is particularly unsuited to the reservation situation, they are not explicitly recognized as such by most whites. Rather, the negative data are discounted and the various categorizations are not interrelated in order to make the general scheme fit.

To some extent the recognition of economic behavior as crucial is (or more truly, *was*) an accurate assessment of the facts. The value system of the Oglalas, as developed during the period of the "horse culture," contrasts with the values of the BIA and the homesteaders, especially in the realm of economics. To the whites a nuclear family should be economically self-sufficient and should operate on a budget of cash provided by the labor of the "man of the family." Economic competition is considered natural. Hence Indians who attempt to preserve the patterns of economic cooperation among several households rather than use the money to increase the material assets of the nuclear family are "dragged down by their lazy relatives." To the Oglalas, who hold on to the traditional values of sharing, and who practice community generosity patterns and take part in give-away ceremonies, the whites appear stingy and disloyal even to their own relatives. Differences in economic behavior thus imply basic differences in family and community interaction, child-rearing patterns, and attitudes toward the use of material objects and the use of one's time.

One of the major tragedies of the present reservation situation is that such a distinction obscures the fact that the economic patterns of the

[12] Surnames which occur on Pine Ridge Reservation are used here only as examples of one type of cultural label. *No personal reference is intended* to anyone bearing any of the surnames mentioned.

rural Indians are as much a product of the cultural contact as a legacy of plains hunting life. Thus the definition of cultural identity by economic position becomes circular: poverty is a sign of "Indianness." The majority of the Oglalas who have remained on the reservation have chosen to remain in some cultural and social sense "Indian." Thus they are also subjected to the factors which account for poverty on the reservation (most especially the lack of a sound economic base for the concentrated population and the barriers to jobs around the reservation met by anyone classified as an Indian). To the whites, who are unaware of the real issue of cultural identity, the "choice" of poverty by the Indians only supports the conclusion that the Oglalas are inferior, and this inferiority is most often expressed in terms of the concept of race.

Variations in the Cognitive System of the Whites

While the above discussion of stereotypes and character judgments is, I believe, a true reflection of the thought patterns of the most powerful group on the reservation, the white federal employees, some qualifications are necessary. First, although these views appear basically hostile, there are many people who do not feel that they are condemning Indians per se. There is, as there has always been in Indian affairs, a difference between what is communicated cross-culturally and what one feels is being said and done "with one's heart in the right place." Second, there are also some federal employees who take a sincere unofficial interest in Indians, although it is usually of a very limited nature, for example, in the traditional religious ceremonials, and usually does not involve close personal contact with Indians. There are also some federal employees who have little interest in Indians and few strong opinions about them. And there are a few white employees who have formed personal friendships with Indians. The significant point is, however, that such rare individuals must deal not only with conflicting conceptual views and evaluations of the world, but also with a social system structured to prevent such contacts. Moreover, the Bureau employee finds such a position difficult because he is, by the fact of his employment, responsible to an organization which defines itself as being in the thankless and difficult position of determining what is best for Indians.

The members of the other major type of "civilizing" institution, the missionaries, also find themselves in such a position. There is a wide range of denominations and sects active on the reservation. It is

possible on the same day to hear a sermon in which the native shamans are attacked, the concept of psychosomatic illness is introduced, and an explanation that ministers are the proper doctors of the soul and the Public Health Service the proper doctors of the body, or to hear a sermon in which the mystical elements of religion are stressed and the people are urged to stare at a Bible until the divine message comes to them (not unlike the vision quest). And within, at least, the larger churches (Catholic and Episcopal) there is a wide range of attitudes held by individual missionaries. There are, to be sure, some who carry a lot of culturally specific institutional baggage along with their theological teachings, but this does not mean that there are no missionaries who are culturally open-minded and able to relate closely with Indian individuals. Some missionaries have attempted the Lakota language, and a few have mastered it well and are deeply respected for so doing.

Those missionaries who live on the reservation and are actively involved with Indians appear to have a much better understanding of current Sioux social organization and community affairs than does the average Bureau employee. Most missionaries, however, use such terms as "white," "Indian," "full-blood," and "mixed-blood" in some variation of the standard white usage. The advent of Mormon missionaries in the early 1960s presents an interesting case of conceptual "dissonance" which is as yet unstudied.

The Position of Mixed-Bloods

Although all local conceptualizations of Pine Ridge society contrast mixed-bloods with whites and full-bloods, it must be emphasized that those people who are *generally* agreed to be mixed-bloods do not clearly form a distinct social group in the sense that there are distinct full-blood and white social groups. "Mixed-blood" is a term used to describe all those who are somehow standing between the two major cultural traditions, *or* social systems, represented on the reservation. While it has been mentioned that neither of these traditions is homogeneous or static, the possible range of syntheses (seen as being outside of both) is quite broad. As Useem (1947, p. 53) noted for the Rosebud Reservation, the term "mixed-blood" is applied equally to the child of a white and a mixed-blood or a white and a full-blood, or to a person of mixed-blood and mixed-blood or of full-blood and mixed-blood parentage. Thus, if the judgment is made in terms of the cultural

identities *assigned* to the parents, the actual cultural environment of two "mixed-blood" children can vary greatly. A very sizable percentage of the reservation population has been legally defined as "mixed-blood" since the early days, and because of this a person may be, for example, officially of "one-half Indian blood" while having only "Indians" in the last three generations of his ancestry. Assuming no irregularities in paternity or socialization of children, a name of prereservation vintage such as Janis *may* indicate quite a different cultural background from that indicated by a name such as Smith. It is not surprising to find, therefore, different rural communities with differing conceptions of the term "full-blood," and to find that a community may be "full-blood" to those people living closer geographically and socially to the agency while being called "mixed-blood" by those more distant (Wax et al. 1964, p. 41).

It is also generally agreed that Indian federal employees are usually "mixed-blood." There are reasons for this actually being the case: "Here, of course, their legal identity as being an Indian brings them preferment in employment over Whites, while their superior 'know-how' and knowledge of English brings them preferment over Full-bloods" (Wax et al. 1964, p. 31). Yet "full-bloods" employed by the federal government may find themselves forced, by both their employers and their kinsmen, to sever ties with their home communities and thus become "mixed-bloods" by virtue of their employment.

The lack of one clear-cut mixed-blood group serving as intermediaries between the whites and the full-bloods, as is reported for Lower Brule Reservation (Schusky 1960), may be due to the relatively large size of the reservation, the relatively large number of jobs available with, *and outside*, the government, and to the lack of any permanent social control, on this level, in the prereservation social organization of the Oglalas (which might have effected the crystallization of two well-bounded social groups).

It is unwise to assume that all persons or groups with a "transitional" culture necessarily lack a systematized and distinct culture or social system. Yet it is true that many of the people who are recognized as mixed-bloods on Pine Ridge are in a marginal social position. As expressed by an observant rural "full-blood" (legally mixed-blood): "Those mixed-bloods are funny people. When they're with whites they call themselves Indians and when they're with Indians they call themselves Whites." In contrast to both the "whites" and the "full-bloods,"

the "mixed-bloods" on Pine Ridge (in either the narrowest or the broadest application of the term "mixed-blood") do not possess a distinct ceremonial life symbolizing a common cultural identity.[13]

III. The Cognitive Systems of the Oglala World

The Traditional Social Structure[14]

Confusion marks the usage of terms designating the political and cultural groupings of the Sioux, both in the historical and anthropological literature and in the speech of the reservation's inhabitants. The Sioux nation, or *Očeti-Šakowiŋ* ("the seven council fires"), separated in recent centuries into three divisions as follows:

Santee (or Eastern) Division
1) *Mdewakaŋtoŋwaŋ*
2) *Waȟpekute*
3) *Waȟpetoŋwaŋ* (Wahpeton)
4) *Sisitoŋwaŋ* (Sisseton)

Wičiyela (or Middle) Division
5) *Iȟaŋktoŋwaŋ* (Yankton)
6) *Iȟaŋktoŋwana* (Yanktonai)

Teton (or Western) Division
7) *Titoŋwaŋ*

The members of each referred to their own division by the terms "Dakota," "Nakota," and "Lakota," respectively. This term, in its three dialectal variants, means, literally, "friends" or "allies." The three variants are also used to refer to the three dialects of "the Sioux language." Thus the Indians of Pine Ridge are "Lakota-speakers."

The Western Division, composed of the single *Titoŋwaŋ* tribe, appear in the literature as the Teton Dakotas, the Western Dakotas, the Teton Sioux, and the Western Sioux. The *Titoŋwaŋ*, with their superior numbers, their "high plains horse-culture" of the nineteenth century, and their dramatic military clashes with the United States Army, have stood in the minds of the American public as the archetype of all Sioux,

[13] For the best-rounded picture, this study should include a picture of white ceremonial life. It is hoped that some interested reader will undertake it.

[14] The two lists of tribes and sub-tribes which follow are adapted from Howard (1960) and Feraca and Howard (1963). In the lists I have included only those anglicized forms and French and English translations which are commonly found in the literature. The terms used in this paper for the various levels of organization differ somewhat from those in these sources.

indeed, for some, of all North American Indians. The *Titoŋwaŋ* were divided into seven groups as follows:

1) *Oglala*
2) *Sičaŋgu* (in French, *Brulé*, Burnt Thighs)
3) *Itazipčo* (in French, *Sans Arcs*, No Bows)
4) *Sihasapa* (Black Foot)
5) *Minikoŋjou* (*Mnikondzu*, or *Hohwodzu*)
6) *Oohenoŋpa* (Two Kettles)
7) *Huŋkpapa*

The Oglalas were the largest among these sub-tribes.

The Term "Oglala"

"Oglala" means roughly "sprinkling (something) unto oneself or one's own." One man explained to me that when he poured sugar into his own coffee it was "oglala." Other explanations are that the term described the practice of putting ashes on a horse's saddle sores, or that it commemorates a quarrel between women in which they threw ashes (or sand) in each other's eyes. A mimeographed pamphlet put out by the Pine Ridge Agency offers the translations "scatter their own, or those who do not agree among themselves" ("Home of the Oglala Sioux" 1963, p. 4). None of the Indians I talked with gave this second meaning, nor does any other reference I have found. It is, however, easy to find many BIA employees who hold this view of the Oglalas, specifically in reference to tribal politics. The criticism is not unrealistic, although the factors contributing to the constant dissension evident on Pine Ridge as on several other reservations are related to the lack of communication and the lack of conceptual agreement on basic political matters between the Bureau and the Indians (Tax 1961).

The Term Sioux

"Sioux" is a French corruption of a Chippewa term meaning "snakes" or "enemies" (Riggs 1893, p. 176, *Nadouessioux;* Densmore 1918, p. 1, *Nadowe-is-iw-ŭg;* Howard 1960, p. 249 n, *Nátɔwèsiwɔk*). The original meaning was undoubtedly derogatory. Some Oglalas are aware of the derivation of the word. On one occasion I was strongly criticized by an old man for calling him a "snake." His information, most likely, was derived from whites, although I doubt if many of the whites on the reservation share his knowledge. It is, of course, the common term for English speakers to use both on the reservation and in the literature when talking about the descendents of the *Očeti-Šakowiŋ*. It

is unfortunately used for several different levels of prereservation and reservation organization rather indiscriminately. The usage of the term "Sioux" by non-Indians on the reservation suggests little understanding of the complex historical divisions listed above.

"Sioux" is used in this paper to designate the Lakotas, Nakotas, and Dakotas collectively, rather than using "Dakota" to refer to *both* the three divisions taken together and the Dakota-proper, or Santees, as is done by Mekeel, Feraca and Howard, and numerous others.

Current Terminological Usage: Other Indians

The terms used by the Oglalas today to designate membership in Indian groups on various levels are different, and presumably more irregular, than the nineteenth-century terms listed above. This is due both to the introduction of English terminology, which is not in direct correspondence to the earlier native terminology, and which the Oglalas must use in their dealings with whites, and to the reorientation of Sioux political and social units caused by the creation of several reservations.

The Oglalas have no word which translates easily as "Indian." Oglalas refer to other groups among the Lakotas by their respective sub-tribal names, for example, *Sičaŋġu*,[15] *Hunkpapa*, etc. People in other divisions of the Sioux are referred to by either the division name, *Wičiyela*, Santee, or tribal names, for example, Wahpeton, Sisseton, Yankton, etc. Within the various Sioux groups, however, it is becoming common to identify people according to their home reservation, as is done by nearly all whites. Among the official names of the Teton reservation polities, the Oglala Sioux Tribe of Pine Ridge Reservation is the only one to preserve the original sub-tribal name. The Lower Brule Sioux Tribe of Lower Brule Reservation has adopted the common mixed English-French term, Lower Brule, analogous to the original name, *Kul Wičaša* (lowland people) of the *Sičaŋġu* (*Brulé*, Burnt Thighs). Pine Ridge Reservation and the much smaller Lower Brule Reservation are noteworthy because their inhabitants, in each case, are nearly all descendants of one prereservation social unit. Rosebud Reservation, east of Pine Ridge, has many individuals of Oglala ancestry and a few of mixed Lakota-Ponca ancestry. The official name of the reservation group is the Rosebud Sioux Tribe. Similarly, the populations of the two other United States reservations for Lakotas are

[15] The term most often found in the literature and in governmental papers, Brule, is not widely used by the Lakotas themselves (Feraca 1963, p. 1).

known officially as the Cheyenne River Sioux (*Minikoŋjou*, *Oohenoŋpa*, *Itazipčo*, and *Sihasapa* sub-tribes) and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (*Huŋkpapa* and *Sihasapa* sub-tribes and Yanktonai Dakotas).[16]

Informally the Oglalas often refer to people as Rosebud Sioux, Cheyenne River Sioux, or Standing Rock Sioux when speaking English. There is now, and evidently always has been (Mekeel 1943, p. 137), a fair amount of travel between groups. It is not unusual to meet a Lakota (in my experience usually a man) from another reservation who is living on his spouse's home reservation. In designating such a person by the reservation where he is legally an enrolled member, rather than by his original sub-tribe affiliation, the Oglalas indicate the currently important fact of where a person owns or may inherit land and thus the source of any checks for land lease he may receive. On the other hand (presumably in the absence of significant monetary income) a person may come to be recognized by the sub-tribal name of his reservation of residence rather than his reservation of descent. Thus some individuals who move onto Pine Ridge Reservation become "Oglala," and similarly for Rosebud Reservation become "*Sičaŋġu*" (Useem 1947, p. 22), though their origins are never totally forgotten. Moreover, the traditional groupings are not fully understood by many Lakotas, particularly the younger people (Feraca and Howard 1963), and confusion results between such distinctions as Black Foot (*Sihasapa*) and the Blackfoot tribe of Montana, and between the Cheyenne River Sioux and the Cheyennes of Montana. Change is also shown by the fact that some people refer to themselves as "South Dakota Indians." The term "Siouxs" is frequently heard on the reservation, and despite the appearance of the word "Sioux" on virtually every official document, notice, sign, and poster, some Oglalas have difficulty with the unusual spelling.

In spoken Lakota, reference to non-Sioux Indians is also complex. If a person is known to come from a familiar neighboring tribe, the tribal name may be used in either the Lakota or English form, for example, *Šahiyela* or Cheyenne. For more distant tribes the Oglalas use the tribal names used by the BIA, for example, Navajo. Some Indians in distant areas are identified in conversation only by their location. If the tribe is not known, Lakota speakers may use a phrase that means roughly "he's from another tribe." Usually they will refer to a person as "Lakota" when it is obvious that he is not, thus rendering the

[16] All the information on reservations other than Pine Ridge is derived from Feraca and Howard (1963).

meaning "Indian" in a very general sense. When speaking English the Lakotas of course use the word "Indian" widely, although they have an understandably parochial interpretation of the word. The term *Očeti-Šakowiŋ* is now used only rarely, usually with some confusion over its meaning (Feraca, personal communication). In English "Sioux" is used in this sense, although the referent is sometimes restricted to only the Lakotas.

Current Terminological Usage: Non-Indians

The terms now used by the Oglalas to describe non-Indians, and the way in which they are used, also reflect the introduction of one set of categories on top of another during a period of rapid change. The term now universally used for whites is *wašičuŋ*. The French explorer and missionary Louis Hennepin recorded in his journal of his visits among the Sioux in present Wisconsin in 1680 that the principal chief at the time was called "Washechoonde" (Riggs 1893, p. 174). Riggs concludes that "their name for Frenchmen was in use, among the Dakota, before they had intercourse with them, and was probably a name learned from some Indians farther east." It is generally agreed, however, that the term is native to the Sioux language.

Two translations of *wašičuŋ* have been suggested. One possible meaning is "loudmouth" or "one who talks a great deal." This interpretation is perhaps supported by the term *iwašičuŋ*, meaning "mouthy" (Feraca, personal communication). The other meaning that has been suggested is "a person with (supernatural) power" or "a worker of wonders." Evidence for this interpretation is presented by J. R. Walker. He describes a "*sicun*" as "an immaterial God" which can be "imparted to material things by a proper ceremony." The *sicun*-object with its obligatory wrappings make a bundle called a "*wasicun*"[17] (Walker 1917, p. 87). Sword, one of Walker's informants, explains that a *sicun* is a type of spirit which guards its possessor against evil spirits and gives him special strengths and abilities. Each individual acquires a *sicun* at birth, but others could be obtained through visions or ceremonies (Walker 1917, p. 158). This suggests that the term *wašičuŋ* became associated with whites because their superior technology was interpreted by the Sioux as evidence of superior supernatural helpers. Relevant to this is Sword's explanation that he converted from being a shaman, a medicine man, and a war leader to

[17] In the orthography used by Walker (1917, p. 55) *c* is equivalent to *ch* or *č*, and *s* is equivalent to *sh* or *š*.

being a deacon in a mission church because he became convinced after fighting whites that their Great Spirit (*Wakan Tanka*) was "superior" (Walker 1917, p. 158).

Although I have no direct evidence to support this, I suspect that the two meanings of *wašičuŋ* might have been conceptually related in traditional Sioux thought. Practices such as recounting *coups* suggest that being an outspoken person and being a person recognized as possessing strong supernatural helpers were parts of the same behavioral patterns. For brevity, I will gloss *wašičuŋ* as "doers."

The term *wašičuŋ* was applied to the French quite early, and was extended to include other whites. Since the Sioux were not directly involved in the fur trade competition between the British and the French, but instead first met missionaries, explorers, and isolated traders, it is to be expected that differences of nationality among these early visitors would be of secondary importance. During the intensive contact of the nineteenth century, the whites were, of course, "Americans." Riggs, in his 1852 dictionary, defines *Wašičuŋ*, as "*Frenchmen*, in particular; *all white men*, in general" (p. 227). He also lists *Wašičunhiŋča* (literally, "very *wašičuŋ*") as "a Frenchman from France" and *Wašičuŋhokšidaŋ* as "*a French boy*, the common name for the Canadians in the Dakota country, *any one who labors*." As the contacts with whites changed, the term *wašičuŋ* shifted meanings. The name of one of the famous Oglala leaders of the early reservation era, *Wašičuŋ Tašuŋka*, is translated proudly as "American Horse." The general application of the term can still lead to occasional confusion; one man told me that his great-grandfather was "a Frenchman named Billy Thompson."

When the Oglalas first met Negroes they called them *wašičuŋ sapa*, black *wašičuŋ* (Riggs 1852, p. 313; Neihardt 1932, p. 104 [for the year 1876]). As the Sioux came into closer contact with the whites, and as *wašičuŋ* came to be generally translated as "white man," the phrase *wašičuŋ sapa* was abandoned. Williamson (1902, p. 113) gives two Dakota terms for Negro: *wašičuŋ sapa* and "*hasapa*." The second term, *ha sapa*, is the one used today on Pine Ridge. Literally, it would translate "black skins." While "black *wašičuŋ*" is more descriptive of the social and cultural patterns on the reservation (see above, footnote 8), the translation "black white man" is too awkward to be used in speaking English (i.e., with whites who think in terms of blood descent). Although the whites on the reservation never mention degrees of blood in connection with Negroes, the Oglalas attempt to apply blood descent in such cases. In 1961 I spoke to two Negroes employed as

teachers in BIA schools. Both mentioned with embarrassed amusement that the Oglalas expressed great curiosity on this matter, asking each repeatedly when they first arrived if he was mixed-blood or full-blood. The Indians must have had difficulty searching for symbols and behavioral traits which would have been meaningful to their methods of categorization. Virtually all of the few Negroes on the reservation are federal employees following middle-class white patterns identical to those of the "superior" whites.[18] However, many Oglalas speak of Negroes as inferiors, thus gaining some status for themselves out of the racial categories and prejudices introduced by the whites. Black Elk reports that a Lakota mortally wounded in the Battle of the Little Big Horn was named "Black Wasichu" (Neihardt 1932, p. 130). It is very doubtful that any Oglala would today accept the name "Ha Sapa."

Similarly, many Oglalas have an image of Jews as greedy and deceitful, based on the status of Indians as compared to whites and derived from the opinions stated by local whites, rather than from any real observations of Jews. Even here the label is used to categorize behavior: several times I have heard Indians use the verb "to jew" someone. Just as the whites on the reservation use the mixed-blood/full-blood distinction, the Oglalas in their minority position have picked up the divisions in the larger society while showing very little understanding of the bases for such distinctions.

Although all the terms under discussion here, and below, reflect changes in reference due to the influences of the non-Indian conceptual scheme, the shift from *wašičuŋ sapa* to *ha sapa* is the only case of an earlier term being replaced by one which is a literal description of physical, and not behavioral, characteristics.[19]

Current Terminological Usage: Pine Ridge Indians

In discussing the categories of mixed blood and full blood the Lakota speaker uses terms which are not linguistically parallel to those in English, either in origin or in current referents (see Table 1). A speaker who considers himself full-blood might use the term "full-

[18] Many Oglalas are involved with the psychological problem of resisting feelings of inferiority to whites. Their current interpretation of Oglala-white history is another major refuge from such feelings.

[19] The phrase *wičaša ska* (literally, "white man") is occasionally used in conversation with naive whites as a red herring, "to count coup." My informants emphatically denied that the phrase is ever used in ordinary conversation to mean Caucasians. *Wašičuŋ* is the term used when speaking both politely and derisively of whites.

TABLE 1

USAGE OF GROUP LABELS IN ENGLISH AND LAKOTA

	Categories			
	White	*Mixed-blood*	*Full-blood*	*Negro*
English (white speaker)	white	Indian: mixed-blood	full-blood	Negro
Lakota (prereservation speaker)	*wašičuŋ* (doer)	*lakota* (?): *iyeska* (interpreter)	*lakota* (ally)	*wašičuŋ sapa* (black doer)
Lakota (present speaker)	*wašičuŋ* (white man)	*iyeska* (mixed-blood)	*lakota* (full-blood)	*hasapa* (black skin)
English (Oglala full-blood speaker)	white man	mixed-blood, half-breed	Indian, Sioux, full-blood	Negro

blood" in English to make it clear to a white that he dissociates himself from "mixed-bloods." If he does not feel that he will be misunderstood, he will call himself an Indian, implying that mixed-bloods are something else. In speaking Lakota (which almost always means that he is not speaking to a white) he will use the term *Lakota*, "allies."

In speaking of mixed-bloods, full-bloods will use either the terms "mixed-blood" or "half-breed" (or simply "breed"). "Half-breed" is the more derisive phrase, although in some situations neither one could be considered polite. The choice between the two phrases is based on matters of attitude rather than on any desire to indicate differing degrees of "blood." In Lakota there are no aboriginal terms for fractions other than one-half (Riggs 1893, p. 165).

The Lakota term for "mixed-bloods" is *iyeska*. The original meaning of the word was "one who speaks well," i.e., "interpreter" (Riggs 1852, p. 82; Williamson 1902, p. 92) and indicates the position of the early mixed-bloods. Today the term is used to mean "interpreter," but its more common meaning is "mixed-blood." Because it is used primarily in Lakota, and Lakota is often used as a sign of being "full-blood," *iyeska* generally has a derogatory connotation. One woman commented to her husband about the hiring of young men for the lucrative job of fire fighting (in English in my presence): "Yesterday they took three busloads; six were Sioux Indians, the rest *iyeska*."

As mentioned above, mixed-bloods show great situational variation in their use of terms to identify themselves:

> Indians who are themselves Bureau Employees. . . rarely say "we Indians" before Indians, lest some aggressive Fullblood challenge them. They will use the expression before Whites only if forced to do so, as when, for example, they are obliged to represent "the Indian" at a conference. On the other hand, when such persons spoke to members of our study they always implicitly made clear that they considered themselves Indians while at the same time, they always differentiated themselves from "residual families," "backward folks," or, if no words came, by an inclination of the head toward the heart of the reservation and the word, "them." [Wax et al. 1964, p. 34 n]

Another Lakota term, *wašičuŋčiŋča*, "white man's child," was used earlier by the Indians to refer to "mixed-bloods." It is not in common use today on Pine Ridge, perhaps because most of the mixed-bloods today are, in fact, children of mixed-bloods.

Symbols of Identity

Many items in reservation life have become identified with either an "Indian" or a "white" style of life. The example of houses mentioned before indicates the introduction of non-Indian material objects into a definition of "Indianness." To an Oglala an "Indian house" means a log house, and a "white man's house" means a frame house, of varying degrees of structural strength, covered with boards, tarpaper, or a variety of other building materials. Thus what whites might call a shack (as opposed to a cabin) is considered to be characteristically "white" by the Oglalas, although the material goods in and around it reflect an Indian style of life in both their nature and arrangement. The log cabin is considered a trait of Indian culture. An Indian cook for a rural consolidated day school told me that she would much rather live in the log house she was in than in the principal's modern prefabricated house next door. Her log house was in fact a substantial frame house with electricity and plumbing, built by the federal government years ago. But the outside was finished with logs and that was the significant fact for her, even though the logs were dressed and stained and were caulked with painted stucco. The new houses for Oglalas built in Pine Ridge and two "rural towns" are decorated with "Indian" designs on the shutters, and thus despite all the aluminum siding, lawns, curbing, fire hydrants, etc., they are "Indian homes" to all but the most traditional. For some material items being introduced by the government it would seem that manipulation of the *labels* of cultural identity

may have a significant effect on the reactions of the Oglalas. The situation is much more complex for those symbols of identity which have a firm historical basis in Sioux culture.

The symbolism today attached to names by the Oglalas is indicative of the adjustments they have made during the reservation experience. Those Indians having family names which are translations (with varying accuracy) of the names of Indian ancestors consider these their "white names." They are always said in English, even when the conversation is in Lakota. Some bilingual Oglalas are not able to translate their "white names" rapidly and accurately.

When the government started to keep population records of the early reservation groups, they felt that it was necessary to establish an American system of family names among the Indians. Thus the family names that have survived today were once the personal names of men who were judged to be the heads of households (e.g., Standing Soldier and his wife, White Star, would be listed as Joe and Mary Standing Soldier). Confusion was immediate in the new records: Standing Soldier's brothers might have been Thunder Bear, Brings Him Back, and Steals Horses by Night (each of whom, incidentally, would have been "father," *ate*, to Standing Soldier's children).

Kneale, recalling his experiences on Pine Ridge during the period 1899–1901 (as teacher of a one-room schoolhouse in the center of the reservation) describes the continuation of this pattern of naming:

> When a child was brought to school for the first time, the teacher made inquiry of the parent as to its name. The response, almost invariably was the same: "It has no name." Then ascertaining the name of the male parent the teacher used it for a surname, placing what is termed a Christian name before it, thus giving the child a name. [1950, p. 40]

Kneale refers to these as "school names" which were not used by "the Indians of the camp." The children, of course, had other names at home. Today these "school names" or "white names" are the names used constantly. I did meet one young boy whose "Christian name" was never mentioned in an Indian setting and was unknown to his Indian playmates, who called him by a Sioux nickname. His situation, however, was unusual; his father was a white rancher living off the reservation and the boy therefore did not attend the local school with his Indian relatives.

If one asks an Oglala for his "Indian name," the answer will almost always be *not* a translation back into Lakota of his "white name," but a personal name that has been given to him. Not all Oglalas have

personal names; some people are a bit unfamiliar with their own and might need prompting to remember it. The pattern of naming is based on the aboriginal procedure, although individuals may often be named after ancestors who had more of a chance to win honors in warfare and hunting. These "Indian names" are thought of in the Lakota form, and when they are translated a short explanation is usually offered (by contrast, most people lack an understanding of the contextual meaning of their "white names"). I do not know the current use of personal names; I suspect it is extremely limited. It is interesting to note in this context that the "Christian names" given to Sioux children are chosen with much greater individuality than is the case among the American middle class. Although there are many names of the "Tom, Dick, and Harry" variety, the following examples are typical of hundreds more: for males, Ambrose, Cephus, Lymon, Narcell, Zachary; for females, Angelique, Cleon, Delilah, Rosetta, and Verine.

The family names are used, of course, to trace some kin relationships and to help classify Indians who are unknown to the person making the classification. There are also statements about "full-blood" and "mixed-blood" names, but again the usage is not the same as that of the whites. A name is not a determining factor in classifying cultural identity as much as it is a particular label for a family whose position is agreed upon by some group for some period of time. Thus I was sternly corrected by a "full-blood," to use his term, for confusing "Cortier" ("That's a full-blood name") and "Cottier" ("That's a mixed-blood name"). Both "full-blood" and "mixed-blood" names are subcategories of "white names" (see Table 2).

In addition, some of the existing family names were the personal names of Indian leaders in the final stages of the armed conflict, and

TABLE 2

THE IDENTIFICATION OF FAMILY NAMES

The "White" System	The "Full-blood" Oglala System	
	Indian names (personal): e.g., Carries Him in Front	
Indian or full-blood names: e.g., Standing Elk	Full-blood names: e.g., Standing Elk, Cortier	White names
Mixed-blood names: e.g., Cortier, Cottier, Janis	Mixed-blood names: e.g., Cottier, Janis	
White names: e.g., Smith, Wilson	(names of non-Indians)	

the names are proudly remembered as indicators of the leaders' deeds. The controversies which flare up over who are the real descendants of such leaders are complicated by the American system of assigning names.

Because of the significance that the whites attach to his "white name," one Indian may change his name from "Yellow Bird" to "Wilson," while another will refuse to let school officials change his grandson's name from "Charles Bad Face." Still a third individual may go by two names, being called "Don Blue Shirt" by the members of his community and "Don Small" by the people at the agency where he serves on committees. A very few Oglalas maintain that rarified form of a "white name" known as a "show name." These are used only professionally, for dancing appearances at Disneyland, roles in motion pictures, etc. Ironically, they are chosen to strike the white audience as sounding particularly "Indian."

Language, or, more precisely, the choice of languages, also takes on symbolic value in many situations. The linguistic differences, and the correlated conceptual differences, between the white and Indian worlds have taken on increased significance due to the basically hostile position of the Bureau toward the Lakota language. The matter of languages has become a major impasse within the BIA schools (Wax et al. 1964). To some extent Lakota is used to exclude mixed-bloods, including a few individuals on the tribal council. But it is my impression that most people who are called mixed-bloods are to some extent bilingual. I do not know if degrees of facility in spoken Lakota are used to determine or preserve social distinctions.

English, in some form, is understood by almost everyone on the reservation. For a great part of the rural population, however, it is not used in the home or taught to children before they enter school. For such people it remains a language to be used haltingly in specific limited situations dealing with whites, and these situations are generally embarrassing. Most of the rural people are able to carry on a conversation in English on certain topics, notable among them politics. But the white visitor soon realizes that he is not hearing his native language. It is "Pine Ridge English" (Wax et al. 1964, p. 17) and differs from standard English (whatever that is considered to be) in both the phonemic and nonphonemic qualities of pronunciation, in items of vocabulary, in the meanings assigned to common English words, and in sentence structure, etc. The Oglalas are aware that it is considered "broken English" and many avoid using it when possible. Some,

however, refuse to speak English on certain occasions as a matter of pride. I have observed an Indian, noted for his loquacity with visiting whites, call over a friend to act as an "interpreter," pretending that he did not understand the English questions being put to him. As his masterful performance unfolded, he doubled the insult by letting it be known, through gesture, that he understood the questions perfectly before hearing them in Lakota.

It is possible that "town Indians" use a more fluent and more "proper" form of English to differentiate themselves from the rural folk. I have not, however, observed this. In fact, the most eloquent English used by the Oglalas is heard over the loud-speaker systems at ceremonial gatherings, which are, broadly speaking, "full-blood" activities. And as noted by Wax et al. (1964, p. 108), this English is not directed at whites or English-speaking mixed-bloods, but at the "traditional" visitors from non-Sioux tribes. These announcers are the same people who are noted for their facility in Lakota oratory. Determination of cultural identity according to language, as with nearly every other facet of reservation life, is not a simple thing.

Group Boundaries and Social Control

From the above discussion it is clear that one individual may classify himself or another as being one of a variety of types (cultural identities) since he has several possible methods of classification to choose among and several possible levels on which to apply his choice. Naturally, the determination of an individual's identity is fairly stable within certain limits. Some people are generally accepted as being full-blood and others as mixed-blood, and these general classifications reflect general differences in life styles. Within a community it is possible to get a high degree of consensus about the identity of an individual when talking on a rather general level. To some extent this consensus is also a function of the tendency among the Oglalas to give outsiders a simplified picture of the complexities involved. The more they accept a white, or the more they have to deal with a white in power, the more discerning they become in their use of the terminology in his presence. When one asks about specific events, or asks persons outside the immediate group of interacting households, the answer to a question of cultural identity may vary greatly.

The application of these terms is also a means of social control. If "educated" Indians are embarrassed by a country cousin who is too demonstrative in his "backwardness," that is, participation in ceremonials or insistence on living "Indian style," they may deride

him as being a "Big Indian." They face, however, the retort of being "*Wašičuŋ*." To someone who considers himself "an Indian" it can be a grave insult. A fair-skinned individual legally considered to be Indian may be grudgingly accepted as Indian by an old man from a remote district if his political views are of a certain nature (and politics is the topic of discussion). He may be branded as a white illegitimately taking advantage of his legal status as an Indian (a frequent charge when discussing land rights), or he may be considered a mixed-blood because he refuses to lend money to the "full-blood" making the judgment, or because he drinks too much, or in the wrong places, or at the wrong time, or with the wrong people. It is important to take into consideration the relationship between the speaker and the person spoken of in any matter of criticism or social control. This is especially true on the reservation because there are many subdivisions of the population, each trying to see itself as the top stratum. If a "mixed-blood" is challenged as "acting like a white man" by someone he considers a "dirty Indian" the effect is quite different from when it comes from his "mixed-blood" brother.[20] This type of social control is truly effective only when it questions a social bond or position of social parity which both parties would rather preserve. A milder form of social criticism, not directly involving labels of cultural identity, is to call someone "crazy." From its usage, I would judge the meaning of this word as "acting like an outsider," that is, not acting responsibly in terms of the group. To the extent that it does not label a person specifically as a member of another (inferior) group, it achieves the same purpose with less strain on a common relationship. In a very real sense, the application of any term of membership either challenges the individual or bolsters his identity in a challenging world.

IV. The Differing Views of Human Nature

A discussion of the symbols of cultural identity reveals not only the differing methods of categorization and evaluation of individuals according to such categories, but also basic differences in the concepts

[20] "Thus a young man of our acquaintance claimed Fullblood status despite the fact that his mother was genetically a Mixedblood. He consistently spoke ill of Mixed-bloods, though his wife was genetically less than half Indian. His mother, who claimed and generally was given *de facto* Fullblood status was once, in our presence, insulted by some persons of unimpeachable Fullblood status. 'Those are *real* Fullbloods,' she told us caustically, 'They walk right over you.' Later, however, she tried to convince us that these persons had been rude to her because she was associating with 'hated White men,' namely us" (Wax et al. 1964, p. 31).

held by the whites and the Oglalas concerning the nature of man. As has been pointed out by numerous writers (e.g., Wax et al. 1964, p. 36), the Oglalas view change of an individual's basic character as being something beyond his control. Changes in a person's life situation or enduring difficulties are due to such ultimately uncontrollable forces as supernatural power, early life experiences, disease, perfidious behavior by the powerful whites, and sheer luck. Full-bloods speak of their neighbors suffering from "hard times," rather than being "poor." An individual arrested for intoxication may cite his "bad luck" that he encountered the police. A teen-age boy I met, who shuns sports, associates with girls, and speaks in a feminine manner (it would be difficult to say if his blue jeans and sweat shirt were a "masculine" or "feminine" style among his peers), is admired by middle-aged women for his skills in beadwork, not unlike the berdaches of former times. There was no indication that these women saw his behavior as something unnatural, shameful, or to be corrected.

It is difficult to judge the extent to which the Oglalas feel their lives directed by supernatural commands. Such directives, in traditional forms, are still important factors in the lives of many (Feraca 1963) and parallels must surely exist in the lives of many of the "practicing Christians." Several people told me, in guarded words, of supernatural events they had witnessed. One boy explained to me that his brother (currently in prison for auto theft) was compelled to steal because as a child he had stolen something trivial during his mother's wake. The explanation followed that anyone committing a transgression during the period between the death and the interment of a close relative would be destined to repeat the act uncontrollably for the rest of his life.

Although the traditional Oglalas may consider a person's basic nature as unchanging, this does not mean that individuals are not held responsible for their actions (as shown by the above discussion of social control). The individual is expected to express his character in a manner that is *socially* acceptable. The respected person is the one who acts generously not only with material possessions and food at ceremonial distributions but also with his time, his experience, and his associations. It is high praise to say of someone that "he gets along with everybody," "he talks to people," or "he helps them out because he's got a big heart."

However, such behavior is rarely possible toward everyone that one is likely to meet. While whites often criticize rural Oglalas for supporting relatives who never reciprocate (whites limit this to

material possessions), it has been my experience that even the most generous persons are anything but naive about such situations. Rather, it is a matter of placing primary value on social contacts and social prestige. Some people, of course, lie outside the boundaries of such generosity. All whites are initially suspect and usually remain so. Similarly, rural Oglalas tend not to form contacts with the Oglala townspeople. Those individuals who continually refuse to adjust to the group's attitudes are excluded in order to preserve what harmony exists. Even in the case of their very close relatives, traditional Oglalas will regretfully "give up on them." There is no sense in being generous and sociable toward a person who does not share one's appreciation of such good deeds.

On the other hand, traditional people may meet "mixed-bloods" or non-Indians who are willing to act in a socially responsible manner. Even the most rural families, who shrink from sight when a stranger approaches their homes, become gracious hosts if the outsider is granted the status of a friend. Non-Indians who are respected by the rural Oglalas are often honored with Indian names. And for those whites who are willing to share the social obligations and harsh living conditions of the hosts rather than meeting them with admonishment, "adoption" may result. This pattern of acceptance has been noted as one general form of Indian-white interpersonal relations (Hallowell 1963). Whites who are so adopted are referred to as *wašiču* only for the purposes of secondary clarification, for they are, in fact, "allies" and not "doers."

The concept of human nature which typifies American culture needs be stated only briefly. Individuals are seen as capable of determining their own characters and their destinies. Individuals are capable of *developing* their natural abilities. Everyone is, in a sense, a "self-made man" and is ultimately responsible to himself. Children are taught "to be someone when they grow up," "to do something with their lives." Individual opportunity, the chance to develop one's talents, is thus a crucial concept, and the establishment and protection of opportunities is a basic goal of government. This position, in a one-dimensional simplification, typifies many of the BIA programs, including education, presented to the Oglalas. Few Oglala individuals who have passed childhood are able to secure a comfortable adjustment to both systems. The very few cases I have observed have reached such idiosyncratic resolutions that they are unable to pass them on to the next generation faced with the same basic conflicts.

The problem is further complicated for those Oglalas who choose a basically white orientation toward the proper life. The white concept of human nature as capable of self-development conflicts with the attitudes held about the Indian "race," that they lack the natural abilities and/or self discipline to actually "amount to anything." The Oglala individual who chooses this path often finds that he is headed for disappointment, bitterness, hatred of whites, and hatred of his own "Indianness." As James has observed for the "deculturated" Chippewas of Lac Court Oreilles, Wisconsin:

> The racial element of the negative stereotype is enormously important because it anchors such "inferiority" in the biology of the individual, beyond his control. It thereby blocks adjustment to the very forces that generate the desire to escape subcultural status. [1961, p. 721]

The crises that develop within families and within individuals because of the contradictory perceptions of reservation life have been a major area of study, perhaps most notably in Erikson's formulation of modern Oglala personality (1950), and will not be discussed in detail here. Suffice it to say that problems of identity often overshadow the considerable problems of finding food, clothing, and shelter in a difficult environment.

V. Oglala Identity and Sioux Nationalism

The Current Challenge

A review of Sioux history would show that the challenges of today, and the resources being used to answer them, are far distant from the conflicts with guns and the struggles over treaties. The Oglalas today are faced with a dwindling land base, growing population, serious problems of unemployment, glaring inadequacies in the educational programs (in both the on-reservation school system and the off-reservation relocation and on-the-job training programs), threats to certain special legal rights as Indians, and even the powerful threat of "termination," that is, being "deserted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs." Despite the constant complaints about the Bureau, the Oglalas fear that the total removal of the Pine Ridge Agency could only mean fewer beneficial programs, handled even more poorly. Beyond any consideration of governmental efficiency, however, is the realization that the presence of the agency in large measure contributes to the special qualities and hence "Indianness" of the current situation. Most

Oglalas would prefer to stay under the wing (or the heel, depending on the point of view) of the Bureau rather than run the risk of losing this distinct position. Their relationship with the Bureau has been characterized by the term "hostile dependency" (Hagen and Schaw 1960, pp. 6–8). Although termination may be a remote possibility at this date, and hence is not a daily threat in their lives, neither is it an empty one.

Adding to the challenge is a growing awareness that American society is independently experiencing major changes in the realm of group boundaries. Many Oglalas are deeply concerned, and poorly informed, about the current social movements. In 1963 different individuals asked me quite spontaneously, "Is it true the Kennedys are going to pass a law that says everyone has to be Catholic?" "Is the country going to lose the individual freedoms?" and "They don't let the Negroes in Chicago go to school, do they?" Some people were worried about the implications of the Supreme Court decision on prayers in the schools (there is close cooperation between the federal and parochial schools on the reservation). One political activist, busy accumulating affidavits on the mistreatment of Indians in South Dakota county jails, was shocked by the idea of Negro public demonstrations: "I hope the Indian people never march in the street." For the Oglalas, the pressures for the exclusion of race and religion as valid discerning factors in American society were a baffling and unwanted phenomenon. They are baffling because such changes seem to contradict the basic assumptions of blood descent on which the federal agency operates. They are unwanted because although the categorizations of blood descent may fit Oglala concepts rather poorly (and often serve as the basis of policies they consider unjust), current developments offer a scheme which would apparently take even less notice of the Oglala claims for special distinctions.

In this uncertain position the Oglalas are threatened with disintegration, not only individually, but collectively. The history of Oglala-white contact has been marked by social divisions among the Oglalas. The current lines these divisions have taken has been discussed above. Although there are now deep splits in the "Indian" population of the reservation, the majority of the Oglalas have maintained a sense of society, strained at times and generally unable to support sustained group action, but nonetheless real in the lives of the people who feel this common bond. Two basic patterns emerge in the expression of a sense of unity, and as one might suspect from the above discussion,

unity in this case is not always defined to include everyone who in some way qualifies as being an Oglala. Both patterns are characterized by concern with demonstrating the distinct position of an Oglala social unit *within* the larger sphere of American society. Both are developments (still in process) in response to the greater society, and neither can be dismissed as merely a retention of former customs. This is rather obvious in a discussion of the first pattern and it can be dealt with, for the purposes of this paper, rather briefly.

The Activist Approach

In 1963 the reservation was buzzing with talk of statewide petitions and referendums, of affidavits and hearings on civil rights. A tribal leader appeared on local television to argue against the impending transfer of police jurisdiction on Indian lands from federal to state authorities; the tribal council sponsored a meeting to encourage the people of the rural communities to speak their minds to the federal educators. The tribal council saw the Pine Ridge housing projects and the Felix Cohen Memorial Home for the Aged (financed by the Federal Housing Authority and the sale of tribal bonds) near completion. They debated applying for systematic development of public wells under a new Public Health Service program. In September of 1964 two former presidents of the council discussed the national political campaign in terms of the possible benefits for the Oglalas from the war on poverty.

Realizing that the Oglalas are inextricably involved in American society and politics, some individuals have entered political affairs as private citizens and in a few cases as professional politicians. In trying to develop the beneficial aspects of this involvement, they have based their arguments on their rights as citizens of the United States and of South Dakota. Likewise the arguments presented by these activists for the continuation of a distinct Indian identity are increasingly based on the federal and state constitutions rather than on special treaty rights. They speak of their activities as a "fight for our Indian people."

The shift in the civil rights movement from an emphasis on integration to an emphasis on Black Power and the legitimation of a distinct black position within American culture can only be more welcome to the Sioux. Many Indian activists around the country have adopted a similar style with "Indian Power" buttons, "liberation newspapers," and the like. The influence of these new developments

on the people of Pine Ridge Reservation has not yet been investigated.

Only a few Oglalas engage in political activities in a full-time capacity. Many more take up the arguments as individual issues arise; some problems arouse the majority of the reservation population. The distinctly activist approach, however, may be characterized as atypical. To the average "country Indian" it is a mixed-blood approach, both in its perceptions of the problems and in its methods. The country Indians assert the rights of the Oglalas to a distinct place within American society by a totally different pattern of behavior on a different level of perception and justification.

The Oglalas in American History

The majority of the reservation population (the country Indians, conservatives, full-bloods, sociological full-bloods, real Indians, backward Indians, or whatever one wishes to call them) demonstrate their common position in a largely symbolic manner. The Lakotas find that their major significance in American life lies in history. Lakota views of their history are similar in pattern to the folk histories of other peoples overrun by the expansion of Western society (cf. Barnes 1951): (1) it remains primarily an oral history among a people who are generally literate or semiliterate; (2) the events of the past have been simplified and condensed so that the Oglalas speak of three main events—the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the Treaty (actually a long series of treaties), and the Wounded Knee Massacre; (3) references are made to a golden age when all was right in the world; and (4) the events of the past are used variously to justify the current social divisions and to assert the bonds among the Lakotas and with their conquerors.

For the purposes of maintaining distinctions between the "real Indians" and the "mixed-bloods" the Oglala full-bloods speak of their past as having been polarized by two leaders, Red Cloud and Crazy Horse. While the reservation is advertised as "the Land of Red Cloud" (he personally picked the location for the Pine Ridge Agency), most people prefer to think of themselves as the people of Crazy Horse. Crazy Horse is the symbol of Sioux resistance and is considered to have been truly *wakaŋ* (spiritually powerful). His death at Fort Robinson resulted from the treachery of the whites and the collaborators in Red Cloud's "loafer camp" around the fort. Red Cloud, on the other hand, is now considered to have "sold out." He signed away the holy ground of the Black Hills with "a bunch of

drunken teen-agers" acting as his basis for authority. He wanted to teach the Oglalas "civilization" (a word spoken with great scorn). Such accusations are still heard on the reservation; at a discussion among the old men (the "chiefs") in 1963, one bold man presented similar charges to Red Cloud's great-grandson. The polarization of Oglala history as personified by these two leaders often leads to historical reconstructions approaching fantasy. For example, I was told that Crazy Horse resisted intermarriage with whites while Red Cloud encouraged it at every turn (with implications of immoral unions as well). To continue this corruption of Indian blood, "Red Cloud and his mixed-bloods" were forced to assassinate Crazy Horse. "If he had lived there would be no breeds today."

The general image of Red Cloud conveniently forgets that he was reported to have held over one hundred coups, that he was a major figure in several military conflicts with the United States Army before the Little Big Horn fight, and that his actions as first leader of Pine Ridge Reservation amounted to a "cold war" against the agency superintendents (McGillycuddy 1941). He was described to me as "a nobody who was called chief because he did a lot of talking with the whites."[21] For most of the Oglalas the era of armed resistance is

[21] The exact nature of Red Cloud's chieftaincy has apparently been a source of debate ever since his ascendancy. The arguments in great measure stem from the complicated series of political offices among the prereservation Oglalas: a "chiefs' society" composed of the majority of able men over forty years of age, including seven "chiefs" (*wičaša itačay* or "headmen") who appointed four *other* men as councilors ("shirt wearers") for life or until resignation. All of the above also annually elected four officers, or "chiefs" (*wakičuŋ*), with anyone but the "shirt wearers" being eligible. The *wakičuŋ* in turn appointed two orderlies and a camp herald to serve them and selected two "head policemen" (*akičita itačay*), who in turn picked two assistants. The four *akičita* leaders then selected one of the men's societies, or eight to ten men from different societies, to serve as the policemen for the yearly encampment and mass buffalo hunt (Wissler 1912, pp. 7–10). It is doubtful that the agents of the federal government took notice of these complications, or that they proved efficient in the reservation situation. Mekeel (1932a) recorded several departures from this pattern in 1930, and considering the great flexibility shown in Lakota organizations, it is reasonable to presume earlier changes. In support of the "full-blood" view of Red Cloud as a "talker," Wissler reports:

> The last men to serve as *wakičuŋ* were, according to Running Hawk, Afraid-of-horse, American-horse, Crazy-horse, and George Sword. Red-cloud never held this office but was for many years a special official, or minister, to look after the dealings of the Indians and the white people. [1912, p. 8 n]

However, Wissler also notes that after the establishment of Pine Ridge Reservation, Red Cloud started a rival "chiefs' society" in order to justify his adoption of the

idealized as the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Crazy Horse was there; Red Cloud was not.

Yet while Crazy Horse is thus a figure of Oglala separatism, he is also a major feature of American frontier history. His name is known to millions of American schoolchildren. His statue is now being carved into a mountainside in the Black Hills in proportions that will dwarf Mount Rushmore. With such men as Crazy Horse and the Hunkpapa Sitting Bull the Lakotas claim an important place in American history, and in a sense, the side they were on does not detract from this significance.

It is not easy, however, to rest on one's laurels when discussing contributions to the formation of America. This is particularly true for the Oglalas, who feel an estrangement from Crazy Horse and his contemporaries. Legitimation of a minority-group position in America is expressed in terms of "earning one's place." What, then, do the Oglalas have which can be viewed as a continuing contribution to the nation by both themselves and white America? What are their grounds for claiming a place in the nation?

The problem reduces itself quickly to two commodities possessed by the Oglalas and useful to the nation: land and people. By the nature of the cultural contact situation, land was never defined as a gift received by the whites. The question of land has always stood between the Sioux peoples and white society. But in the case of people, of human lives, the traditional cultural patterns of the Oglalas and of general America are compatible. Oglala attitudes toward warriors have found accommodation in American attitudes toward the war dead. It is in this narrow realm, the sacrifice of Indian men in the nation's wars, that the sentiment of Sioux Nationalism finds expression meaningful to all. The Oglalas are still bitter that part of their reservation was taken for a bombing range in World War II; they are proud that they joined the defense in human terms.

The Sioux National Anthem

The Lakotas' conception of America and their continuing contributions to it are expressed in a behavioral complex here called Sioux Nationalism. While the term may suggest something quite different from the actual sentiments involved, I have used it to *stress* these

symbols of leadership (ceremonial pipe bag, hair-trimmed shirt, etc.). At the same time Agent McGillycuddy was organizing the federal Indian police in order to undercut the power of the traditional *akičita* structure, then controlled by Red Cloud.

differences. The Oglala themselves speak proudly of the "Sioux National Anthem." It was the first Sioux song I heard, the one I heard most frequently, and the one most often called to my attention. Among a people who so regularly blame the federal government for the destruction of all that was good in their past and for all that is bad in their present situation, the words are particularly significant:

Tuŋkašilaŋapi tawapaha kiŋ,
President's flag the
ɔwihaŋko šni henajiŋ kte lo.
end without stands will
Iyohalateya oyate kiŋ haŋ, wičičaġiŋ kta
Underneath people the is will continue to grow
ča lecamun welo.
therefore I have done that

The flag of the President of the United States will stand forever. Underneath it, the people will continue to flourish, now and in future generations. For this purpose have I done this.[22]

This song, in the Lakota dialect, was composed by Ellis Clisp of Wanblee, and was first sung in public at the conclusion of the sun dance celebration at Pine Ridge in 1955 (Feraca, personal communication). It is a song sung by a soldier going off to war (and, by implication, to die in the defense of his country). As was explained to me repeatedly, "It's not one particular soldier, but *all* soldiers." The nation referred to in the title is *both* the Sioux nation and the United States. The word *oyate* ("the people") is *not* restricted in meaning to just Indians. It is an expression of Sioux involvement as Americans. It is particularly interesting to note that the idealized motives of the

[22] The Lakota text and a rough translation were supplied by Matthew Two Bulls with the comment "This wording is full of meanings—I'll just give one." Word breaks were not included in the original and I have supplied them and attempted an interlineal translation as best as possible, using two inadequate dictionaries of the Dakota dialect (Riggs 1852; Williamson 1902). I have in a few places changed the orthography to be consistent with the other Lakota words appearing in this paper. There are several disagreements with the dictionaries concerning spelling, especially of vowels. This might be due to dialectal differences not fully noted in the dictionaries, to Matthew's incomplete control of the orthography, or to linguistic changes in this century. The first word, *tuŋkašilaŋapi*, means literally "everyone's grandfather" and is the term commonly used for the President of the United States. (Similarly, the superintendent of the reservation is referred to as *ateyapi*, from *ate:* "father.") The utterances *lo*, *welo*, and *yeelo* are, I believe, indicators of the male oratorical style and add a sense of emphasis to the statements.

hypothetical singer are totally foreign to the motives of personal aggrandizement generally held to have inspired the Sioux warriors of former days. The words of this anthem refer to the main symbols of Sioux Nationalism, and its usage is closely correlated with other acts in this behavioral complex.

The Flag

The use of the American flag and its significance to the Oglalas have undergone a transition from its adoption as a trophy of war (as is so often depicted in paintings of "Custer's Massacre" and other battles). Although the exact changes in its significance cannot be dated, the continuity of its presence in Lakota ceremonial life is clearly demonstrated. An American flag appears painted on a tipi in a photograph dated about 1890 (Hassrick 1964, pp. 100 f.). It is clearly in evidence at celebrations in 1902 (Malan 1957) and a few years later (Densmore 1918, plate 78). Postcards of Oglala gatherings in the 1920s show the flag prominently displayed and painted on canvas tipis. It is likewise in evidence in many more recent photographs. Today the American flag is flown at every major outdoor dance. Along with other nationalistic symbols such as the eagle in Federalist style, it is a common design motif in the beadwork decorations of dance costumes. Today the flag is directly linked to the main theme of Sioux Nationalism: the war dead. During World War II the government presented a large American flag to each family which lost a man in the armed forces. These flags are, in a sense, symbolically equated with the lost man. At social dances there are often honorary songs to the dead servicemen, and their flags are re-presented to their families throughout the years. This brief ceremonial usually takes place during a pause in the regular dancing. It may, however, be combined with the lowering of the main flag at dusk. At this time the "Sioux National Anthem" is sung. After it is repeated a few times, the dancing starts again, and as the singers pick up the drum and walk toward the exit, continuing to sing, the dancers swarm out around them. Such "dance outs" mark the close of every afternoon and evening dance at the major celebration of the year, the sun dance powwow. In 1963 one of the largest sessions was ended with a tribute to Vincent Fast Horse, a sailor who died in the Pacific at the very close of World War II. The singers chosen for the honorary song and the anthem carried a drum painted "In memory of Vincent Fast Horse" with a large anchor in the middle. The flag was lowered (his flag had flown that day as a special tribute)

and was presented by a pair of Oglala servicemen home on leave to the father and brothers of the deceased. None of the several hundred adults present was left unmoved.

While the American flag has taken on a very special significance for the Lakotas, they apparently have not made similar changes in attitude toward other flags. At the Pine Ridge sun dance parade of 1963, some visitors were shocked to see a truck filled with dancers and draped with an enormous Nazi swastika. It was a trophy.

The Fourth of July and the Sun Dance

The continuity of use and gradual shift in significance of the flag is part of a larger process in which the Lakotas have adopted the Fourth of July as a major ceremonial occasion of Sioux Nationalism. It is difficult to date the first Indian-organized celebrations of the Fourth, but they probably started after 1881, the year of the last Lakota sun dance for several decades (Densmore 1918, p. 4). Being forbidden to hold further sun dances, the Lakotas evidently started observing the Fourth as a time for great secular dances (though even these were occasionally prevented). Several writers have noticed the continuities with the earlier sun dance:

> There were few celebrations which [Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations] united in observing, one exception to this rule being the fourth of July—Ahn-páy-too wah-káhn táhn-ka, the Great Holy Day. This celebration [in 1900 at White River, Rosebud Reservation] lasted a full week and culminated in a sham battle commemorating the Custer Massacre.[23] [Kneale 1950, p. 63]
>
> An illustration of the continuity of the hospitality pattern is the annual Fourth of July celebration, which in some measure replaced the Sun Dance as a time to get together. [Malan 1956, p. 39]
>
> The greatest power was acknowledged them [the "committee," or functional replacements of the earlier *akitčita*] at the Fourth of July celebration held in the district itself. This is the only time the traditional camp circle is now used. This affair comes near the time of the former Sun Dance and arouses much talk of "old times." [Mekeel 1932a, p. 281]

Interestingly enough, Memorial Day, with its similar idealization of the casualties of war and its celebrations of social unity (Warner 1958) parallel to those of the great summer dances, is not celebrated extensively by the Oglalas. The adoption of the Fourth of July and not Memorial Day for celebrations may be explained by the fact that

[23] A present-day parallel is mentioned below, page 241.

the latter holiday originated in memory of the losses of the Grand Army of the Republic in 1868 and was not recognized as an official holiday in New York until 1873 and in Ohio until 1881 (Douglas 1937, p. 310). The memorial to the Union Army was not a very pertinent occasion in civilian life on the frontier, and in Dakota Territory (North and South Dakota achieved statehood in 1889) Memorial Day celebrations were probably not available to the Lakotas as an alternative to the sun dance.

The current Fourth of July celebrations consist of great secular dances (the Omaha or grass dances), which draw hundreds of people. As at smaller dances held throughout the summer, the symbols of Sioux Nationalism are everywhere in evidence, as are loudspeakers, pop bottles, tribal policemen, etc. The major celebration of the Fourth is marked by a series of brief flag ceremonies and honorary songs and dances.

Today the Fourth is not, however, the major event of the year. The ban on the sun dance was removed in the 1930s and the religious ceremony has been revived (Feraca 1963). The sun dance among the Oglalas is now celebrated each year in early August. The religious ceremony takes place on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday mornings, and draws a crowd of a few hundred onlookers including some whites: tourists, visitors to the reservation, interested government employees, and anthropologists. The real attraction of the encampment, however, is the powwow, or social dancing held in the afternoons and evenings, Thursday through Sunday. Hundreds of families camp around the dance area, creating a scene reminiscent of the great encampments of the nineteenth century.[24] Thousands more come in the afternoons and evenings by car. On Saturday and Sunday nights the crowds are enormous; as many as five hundred costumed male dancers may be in the arena at one time with hundreds of women and girls joining in.

[24] The tents are arranged in small groups of related and interacting households, each being placed in the same position each year. These groupings are generally similar to the local groupings or communities of the rural residences, but not exactly so. The communities were originally settled by bands (*tiyošpayepi*), but the allotment act requiring that families live on their own land holdings has scattered many of these *tiyošpayepi* over large areas. Further, the complexities of land inheritance have caused people to move geographically, while the social ties have not always shifted. I suspect, therefore, that the households clustered together at the sun dance encampment more closely approximate the former *tiyošpayepi* in sociological pattern than do the year-round local residence groupings. Unfortunately, no one has done a tent-by-tent survey during a major encampment.

Indians from other Sioux reservations and from other Plains tribes come hundreds of miles to take part. There are special events throughout the celebration: the parade, solo dances, dance contests, the selection of Miss Pine Ridge (including costume judging and "old" and "new" style dance contests and a give-away the next day by the winner's family), buffalo feasts for all who come (hundreds), incessant visiting, and much more. A full night's sleep on the camp grounds is unheard of.

Although the more assimilated "mixed-bloods" look upon such celebrations as backward and are accordingly neither present nor missed, the great celebration is ostensibly open to all who wish to take part. Friction may develop between the "true believers" (who participate in the religious observance) and the tribal council committeemen (who have advertised it as a "reenactment") during the morning, but at the social dancing all internal disagreements and invidious distinctions are put aside. The sun dance powwow is the demonstrable proof that an Oglala society continues to exist. And at this time the sentiments of Sioux Nationalism are given their fullest expression: the Oglalas are fully American while continuing to be distinct.

The American Legion

To further stress the balance between the unique (Indian) and the national (American) aspects of Sioux Nationalism, I will turn to a discussion of the organization which is in some sense the curator of the symbols: the Sam White Bear Post of the American Legion. The contrasts with the Legion post in the nearby farm town of Martin are striking.

The Pine Ridge Legion hall burned down in 1959 or 1960 but the charred rubble was cleared away only several years later. The farm community post operates in a large brick building which dominates their town's main street. It is the social center for the county's permanent residents. Its parties are the only "night life" acceptable to its middle-class membership, which includes the prominent people of the county. The members are frequently involved in Legion activities on a greater geographic and social scale. They receive the Legion magazine containing commentary on national and international issues.

The Sam White Bear Post deals not in greater social interaction but in the symbols of greater Oglala identification. The post maintains honor rolls of veterans in each of the reservation towns. It provides

leadership in flag ceremonies at dances. It turns out for funerals of veterans. It is not a political force; membership is not a sign of economic position; it is not a "fun" organization. The closest it came to holding a recreational outing was the staging of the capture of a Japanese flag, complete with the firing of blank ammunition, prior to a community dance. The flag was then flown over one of the victors' wall tents much like a scalp on a tipi pole of old. The mock battle was quite enjoyable, but apparently was staged to impress as well as to amuse the crowd.

At the end of the summer of 1963 I had the unpleasant opportunity to witness two burials. Both were Episcopal services, but at one the Legion was dominant; it was the burial of a veteran. The Legion provided a color guard and a four-man rifle squad (who also acted as gravediggers and pallbearers), a bugler, and about a dozen boy scouts (Indian). American flags were flown at the deceased's house and at the chapel. They were carried by the honor guard and by the boy scouts. A flag was draped over the coffin. Throughout the day, from the gathering of friends at the home to the end of the graveside service, the Legion members made great efforts to observe proper military style. The fact that the khaki uniforms did not match, that two of the rifles were actually hunting guns, and that the responses to the drill commands were bumbling did not matter. The post had obviously gone to the limit of its resources. The Legion's finest moment came when it folded the flag over the coffin and presented it to the widow (who once again broke into sobbing and wailing) with the words "The Sam White Bear Post of the American Legion proudly presents you with the flag which our comrade John served under." Yet for all the attempts at a correct military funeral, there were elements of the ceremony, including those involving the Legion, which were common to the funeral of the nonveteran and cannot be dismissed as either Christian or general American influences. At the end of the grave side service, the veterans lowered the coffin into a pine box and put the lid in place. One legionnaire then stood on the box and nailed it closed. The grave was then filled in as rapidly as possible, with the legionnaires replacing each other at the shovels as soon as one of them showed signs of slowing up. When this was completed, the deceased's thirteen-year-old son, now the man of the household, paid each of the diggers twenty-five cents, just as the brother of the nonveteran had paid his friends who had done the same. The ceremony was then over.

Sioux Nationalism is a symbolic, group behavior pattern. I did not see any of its symbols in domestic contexts. At John's funeral it was not relevant that his large family had been supported by his father's old age checks or that his death resulted from a drunken brawl among Indians in a white farm town. Similarly, there is a disparity (as in America generally) between the image of war portrayed by the symbols and the accounts of the individual veterans. The veterans I had talked with had told the usual stories of how much they drank, of the blondes in Paris, and the fears they felt in combat in Italy or in some remote Pacific jungle. There were stories of their friends in the army, of how everyone called them "chief," and of Indians from other tribes in their barracks. There was no mention of why they were at war, no mention of fascism or democracy. There were stories of personal wounds but no mention of overall victory or defeat. The personal realities and the group symbolism are two distinct realms. The Oglala Legion Post and the sentiments of Sioux Nationalism are explicitly involved only in the latter.

The above description pertains to events in 1961 and 1963. A brief visit to Pine Ridge for the Fourth of July celebration in 1969 indicates that some of the attitudes associated with Sioux Nationalism are changing. The reason for the differences is the nature of the war in Viet Nam. Today, Sioux warriors are again returning home in government-issued pine boxes. New flags are being presented to bereaved relatives. The flag ceremonies, the speeches and prayers, the give-away ceremonies, and the words of the "Sioux National Anthem" have an immediacy which heightens their meaning. But many Sioux, for much the same reasons as other Americans, feel deeply discontent with the war: several young men from Pine Ridge have been killed, while appropriations for local programs started as part of the war on poverty have now been cut off. People on Pine Ridge Reservation were reluctant to discuss their feelings at length, and it was difficult to gauge the extent of such discontent. But perhaps the contradictions many find in trying to confirm one's identity through Sioux Nationalism in the present situation were well expressed by one woman while watching a new flag presentation: "Most of the people here don't like the war at all, (pause) but they don't like those Indian boys who are draft dodgers either."

VI. Concluding Remarks

This paper has tried to describe how various labels of the cultural identity of American Indians are applied on one reservation, starting

with the overt use of concrete words and ending with the expression of implicit general symbols. An understanding of the more general terms is possible only in light of the very elusive usage of the more restricted terms. A study of current conditions on Pine Ridge and similar reservations must deal simultaneously with the tensions between exclusion and inclusion both in social structure and in the evaluation of cultural traits. An approach which places observable behavioral data within the conceptual context makes it possible to analyze many of the *apparent* contradictions in the actions of this heterogeneous population. Seen from this point of view, the Pine Ridge situation is neither static nor one in which one cultural system slowly but inexorably undoes and partially replaces another. Instead, this approach reveals a situation in which people are experiencing both change and continuity by seeking their identities in both narrower and broader terms, often at the same time. Contradiction in both thought and action is a very real aspect of reservation life. The data presently available allow only a limited view of the complexities which lie behind even the seemingly simple facts of daily life. Yet it is clear that if a neat answer cannot be furnished here to the perennial question, What is an Indian? it is in part due to the fact that the answer is still a struggle for the Oglalas themselves.

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