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AUTHOR Mitchell, Mary J.  
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## ABSTRACT

Writing samples of 100 elementary and 100 secondary students from each of 12 American Indian tribal groups in attendance at Bureau of Indian Affairs schools were analyzed to determine whether there were: differences between age and tribal groups that could be assessed via analysis of the "Free Writing Test"; certain attitudinal trends common to all groups; and identifiable areas of tension common to all tribes and/or to specific groups. Each writing sample was derived from response to a picture depicting a typical culturally oriented scene and was analyzed for: (1) attack (whole/mature, large and small detail; people, animals, story, description, listening); (2) social response (family, racial labeling, antagonism, social responsibility); (3) economic response (barter, buy-sell, economic independence and dependence); (4) worries (food, sickness, death, intra-personal social); (5) feelings (pleasure, anger, fear, and other intra-personal). Results indicated: significant differences between all tribes and age levels, with tribal differences being four times as great as age level; the least differences in the whole/mature response, suggesting an innate ability to respond at this level regardless of cultural, tribal, and age differences; significant differences between the broken and maintained cultures; integration conflicts among tribes of widened horizons; differences in the areas of tension among tribes. (JC)

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Attitudes of Indian Children

as

Revealed by the Analysis of the Free Writing Test.

**BEST COPY AVAILABLE**

by

Mary J. Mitchell

[1950]

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## Preface

This paper is the result of an analysis made of stories written by Indian children on a 'Free Writing' English test administered by the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs circa 1950. While the 'Free Writing Test' was not designed as a Projective Test, the material resulting was worthy of analysis. Dr. Willard Beatty, then Chief-Branch of Education-BIA gave permission for such a study/

Because of the type of material and variety of patterns of the writers much time was spent in trying to develop a technique which would bring to the surface the most valuable and sensitive interpretation.

I wish to acknowledge the help of the following people who were generous in their time and support:

Dr. Willard Beatty	Dr. Vernon Beggs	Mr. L. Madison Coombs
Dr. Donald Glad	Dr. Gordon Collister	Dr. Kenneth Anderson
Dr. Jack Shaw	Mr. Dale King	Dr. Eric Reed

Not to be neglected are the anthropologists of the U. S. Park Service for their criticism of the cultural background material and those 'assisting' with the statistical tables.

Mary J. Mitchell-B. A. M. A.

Deep processes are at work in the world today which few understand. Two ideologies confront each other. The balance lies with the millions of underprivileged people of various races, cultures who have been released to develop new nations and partake in the life stream of the so called stable countries. In some instances their old cultural ways have been destroyed or cannot embrace modern problems and technology. These people are no longer the 'White Man's Burden' but rather people crying for a partnership in world affairs. Their voices must be heard. World progress does not mean that they be made over into stereotypes of 'white civilization' but rather that the integration of their cultures may enrich world understanding. Cultures were built to meet the needs of certain individuals, are deeply ingrained and cannot be tossed aside lightly.

No organization realizes this more than the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. They have had more than 100 years experience working with more than 100 tribes of indigenous Americans. A multitude of programs have been tried, re-evaluated and tossed aside for new approaches to the problem. Attempts are still motivated to attempt to aid the indigenous peoples who yet live in the United States. Indian Education starts with the child where it finds him. This is often in a culture much different from the prevailing culture: or perhaps he is caught between two cultures or three cultures. Usually he needs to learn to live in a culture not his own yet preserving the values of his own culture which give him security and happiness. It is hoped that through a cultural integration he can find a more meaningful, secure lifeway.

It is doubtful if any agency in the world sponsors such a far flung educational system reaching from the Arctic to the swamplands of Florida with a client representing at least 100 tribes and embracing Pre-school through junior college and adult education, as well as 'on-the-job training' and 'Relocation'. Many return to work with their own people through Indian Service jobs. The type of school is as varied as its students one room village day schools, large off reservation boarding schools or peripheral schools where students live in a dormitory and attend public schools. In the large off-reservation school he will live with students of different tribes and cultures. Many students do not speak English upon entering school and hence interpreters much be used in both the dormitories and classrooms at first.

There is a continuing evaluation program. The Free Writing Test was a



part of one of these evaluations. The test was service wide and covered performance in a number of different areas. Originally the 'Free Writing tests' was an attempt to find to what extent the Indian students was able to express himself in English usually a language not his own. It was not originally designed as a projective test.

The test consisted of a booklet with a picture of a typical (to the students) reservation or village scene. Most of the pictures were done by local Indian artists and had common elements as: people of varying ages; typical environment; people engaged in some activity, animals and housing. From a primary scanning of the stories it was apparent that the students tended to identify and project themselves into the pictures as they wrote their stories. In From C of the test there were strong bi-cultural elements introduced with the addition of the gas station and automobile contrasting with the wagon and horse. Forms X and Y were given in the Alaskan schools.

Through the aid of Dr. Beatty and Mr. Coombs approval was given for the Free Writing Test. In all 3,000 papers were available from 12 tribes elementary and secondary level as well as Spanish American papers at the secondary level.

## Chapter 2.

### The Cultural Background

Before progressing into the report it seems well to consider some aspects of Indian history and life which might color their responses in general.

#### Socio-Political

We shall not here consider minutely the long tragic history of the Indian Post Columbian period, except as it might have interest in the study. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is one of the oldest of the federal bureaus. After the Indians were assigned reservations, agents were sent out to transact business, supposedly carry out the conditions of the many treaties entered into and police the areas. This was long before the era of social welfare programs and rehabilitation work. Thus the Bureau policy reflected the times. Early Indian education likewise was construed along the policies prevalent in the general population and at times resisted by the Indians or neglected in isolated areas. The Merriam Report in 1928 brought about a reorganization and impetus toward new goals in the whole Indian program. The Reorganization Act spearheaded attempts to liberate the Indian from wardship and organize units of self government and direction among the tribes. Where the tribal structure had been preserved much progress was apparent however in other cases much education was needed

to rouse interest in self direction. After many years of wardship and where the cultural pattern was broken there was apathy, resistance and truculence, on both sides. Where tribal councils were set up there was often confusion as to where tribal authority ended and federal authority took over. The right of state franchise was a question in some cases. With the enactment of the Social Security Act the confusion was compounded. In some states as Oklahoma the Indian had been accepted and given the rights of citizenship; while in other states he was denied the ballot and shunted off to his reservation. Thus resentment compounded with confusion had a significant part in the Indian thought, and feelings. As is natural with most children, the child reflects the feelings and attitudes of his parents. In some instances the policies were slow in being carried out because of the lack of properly trained workers and apathy, and the fact that one program would not work for all tribes. Progress has been slow and discouraging in many cases. The amazing fact is that as much progress under such confused conditions has been made. In many areas tribal councils are flourishing, cooperatives have been set up and economies bolstered through new programs. Throughout this study it is important to remember that the students with whom we are working are the children who have grown up and whose parents have coped with this period of Indian development.

#### Economic Status

Land assigned as Indian reservations were usually in isolated, unproductive areas from which a bare living could be wrested. In later years some lands were found to have mineral resources which aided the tribe. However, in some cases the wealth thus obtained was soon dissipated and the Indian was worse off than before. Others leased or sold their allotted lands for use by the encroaching whites, and subsisted in the 'border towns'. With an increasing population and decreasing land area the Indian must content himself with subsistence on the reservation supplemented by tribal programs or by off reservation work.

The educational program and off reservation work or 're-location' are interrelated. The impact of World War II gave emphasis to the need for basic education as well as skills. Many Indians realized for the first time the 'language barrier' and 'color line'. His job opportunities were limited by his ability to understand directions and educational skills. Because of his low pay he was forced to live in slums which in turn multiplied the problems. He often found after being 'relocated' that he was better off on the reservation where he had medical treatment and family to support him and a modicum of security.

### Cultural Background

The cultural roots of the Indian go deep. By the time he enters school, if he lives in a typical home he has been exposed to a conditioning which will color his personality! attitudes and responses. This will depend upon the depth of the culture. Certain determinents are apparent in most cultures at which we will look briefly. Training

In the traditional Indian home the child has more voluntary training than in the average off reservation home. While he is allowed a great deal of freedom during childhood, about the time of puberty he is about to meet increased restrictions: clan relationships; initiation and ensuing clan responsibilities and usually at this same time enters boarding school. Here he is faced with a set of controls foreign to him as well as experiencing a new culture. He is caught in a maze of cross currents.

### Work-Play Patterns

The play pattern of the Indian child closely follows the family work pattern. Toys are usually replicas in miniature of adult tools or possessions: toy bows and arrows, rabbit snares, and tribal symbols. The child early participates in family work gathering food as he is able; hunting and fishing. Girls are taught household arts by the female relatives. His tools are made of native materials. Games are typically Indian. In some tribes he or she is discouraged from open competition and encouraged in developing attitudes of social cooperation and responsibility. Amusements consist of the cyclical tribal dances which he soon learns to imitate or is trained for by the older members of his clan. Initiation

About the time of puberty the Indian boy and girl must assume certain responsibilities in the tribal ceremonies and the young person is formally initiated into the tribe. This ceremony varies from tribe to tribe in some cases requiring much training, fasting and the final ceremony. At the end of the ceremony the young person is considered a man or woman and participates as such in the tribal ceremonies. In some cases these ceremonies become a near compulsion to preserve the group identity, as well as personal identity. In some cases the rites are almost intact while in other tribes they are but fragments.

### Personality Stereotype

Among the most traditional tribes there seems to be a tribal stereotype. Members of the tribe seem to strive toward a homogeneous personality pattern which through the years has proven useful for group survival. On the surface this would seem in direct contrast to the general concept of individuality. This may give rise to conflict when the person is exposed to a bi-cultural situation. Indian art through its strict adherence to certain patterns

Table I

Cultural Determinants and Accultural Restrictions

<u>Cultural Determinants</u>	<u>Accultural Restrictions</u>	<u>Symptomatic Behaviour</u>
Matrilinear Family Female Dominance	Less pronounced	Loss of male status Differing sex roles Division of labor
Tribal control	Individualism	Outward conformity
Stereotype personality	Individualism New controls	Conflicting authority rebellion toward authority
Cooperation	Competition	Conflicting ideals of behaviour Regression to infantile level of security (Back to the blanket)
Infantile indulgence Voluntary training	Compulsive training	Security Regression to infantile level in time of conflict
Initiation and Taboo	New modes of behaviour	Inhibition Sexual conflict and precocity Rebellion or apathy toward new restrictions
	White dominance	Inhibition Hidden Hostility Overt submissiveness Regression to cultural Passive resistance
	Educational	Stealing Hypochondria Drinking
	Racial prejudice	Compulsion for status Dependence Fear Gossip Aggression
	Religious	

and symbolism. As in any family the child soon absorbs the emotional climate and opinions of the home. This may deeply influence his attitude toward acculturation.

As opposed to the cultural determinants are the accultural restraints (Table I) which are imposed on him when he meets an alien culture. The degree of permissiveness of the second culture will influence the depth of his conflict. Conflict may result in a typical behaviour.

In summary we cite the following factors which determine the Indian child's development in the traditional family: voluntary training; matrilinear family; initiation; personality stereotype versus the accultural restraints: formal school training; dominance and competition adjustments to bi-cultural life.

### Chapter 3,

#### The Schools and The Test

The 'Free Writing Test' was administered in all Indian Bureau Schools but schools from only twelve areas had papers in sufficient numbers to be used in the test study. The tests was also administered in a few Mission Schools and public schools, in which Indian students were enrolled. Most elementary students were enrolled in Indian Service village schools and lived at home with the parents while most of the secondary students were enrolled in off reservation schools and were exposed to a bi-cultural situation. A few of the papers used were from large on reservation schools where the students was on the reservation but living apart from his family. The students in mission schools were at both age levels and the schools of many varied denominations. In most cases the public schools were off reservation located in communities of at least 6,000 population.

In summary we may state that most of the elementary level students were still living in the family unit, on the reservation with little or no bi-cultural exposure while most of the secondary students were in off reservation school living in a bi-cultural situation.

#### The Test

The 'Free Writing Test' was a part of the English test, consisting of a booklet with a picture depicting a scene culturally oriented to the particular area. The student was asked to write a short story about the picture. Each picture, regardless of locale had these common elements: typical landscape, house, transportation, people at various age levels, typical clothing and work, animals. In Form C the automobile introduced a bi-cultural coloring. Form A was a picture about Navahoes in a typical Navaho home-hogan, corral native dress. Form C had a picture of desert landscape, trading post with gas pump and automobile, animals and a Navaho group in a wagon. Form X depicted



An Alaskan Indian group working with the fish, while form X showed a typical Eskimo scene and a group of Eskimos at their usual outdoor pursuits.

It was thought when the test was designed that students would be able to write a brief description of the scene. However, many wrote quite lengthy stories, describing and naming the people making conjectures about their thoughts and actions. There was great variety and color.

The tests were administered by teachers, supervisors or principals. They seem to have been uniformly administered, at least for our purpose. In working through the material, spelling grammatical construction were ignored as they did not border on our purpose.

Very few papers were discarded because of seeming invalidity.

In Table II we have listed the Agencies or tribal areas where there were a sufficient numbers of papers available for use in the study. We determined to use samplings of 100 secondary and 100 elementary from each of twelve groups for our purpose. The Spanish American was used only at the secondary level since there were no elementary papers available

#### Chapter 4.

##### Setting Up Categories of Response and Scoring Techniques

The following procedure was set up to interpret the Free Writing tests after much trial and error.

1. All papers were separated into area-tribal groups and then into elementary and secondary groups of that area or tribe. In the large boarding schools there were usually several tribes and these papers were grouped with their tribe.
2. Each tribal-age group was then 'sampled'. In the small groups every second or third paper was pulled while in the larger groups every fifth or seventh paper was pulled.
3. After the sampling was completed there were 100 samples in each age level for each tribe or 2500 papers in all for use in the study.

All stories were carefully read noting items catalogued in the story. Frequency tables were set up to find which responses were most frequent as: mother, animals, fighting, storms, houses. Every detail was noted and recorded including the above as well as attitudes objects and the manner in which the writer attack his picture. The final list from the test protocols was the following:

- man hunting
- man hunting food
- people and animals named
- color used in description
- whites (visiting-friends or just visiting)
- race labeling
- race antagonism
- activity(human-animal) (Inanimate)
- occupations
- people buying selling things
- characterization(bad-good-lazy)
- animals given human feelings
- cloud interpretation

Table II  
Schools and Groups Tested

Tribe- Area	Schools
Apache San Carlos Mescalero Jicarilla Arizona-New Mexico	San Carlos, Bylas, Phoenix Boarding School, White Tail, Mescalero, Santa Fe Boarding School, Jicaril
Eskimo-Indian (Alaska)	Kotzebue, Metlatlet, Point Hope, Petersburg, Mt Edgcumbe, Barrow
Blackfeet Montana	Browning-Montana, Cutbank
Navaho New Mexico	Fort Defiance, Fort Wingate, Gallup Highschool, Missions
Paiute Nevada	Carson Boarding School-Nev. Ruby Lake, Duck Valley
Oklahoma	Ft. Sill, Sequoia, Wheelock Academy, Carter Seminary
Oregon	Chemawa, Warm Springs Boarding Schools
Pima-Papago Arizona	Phoenix Boarding School Blackwater, Santan, Salt River, Sells, Chuicha
Sioux South Dakota	He Dog, Cherry Creek, St. Francis Mission, Pine Ridge, Cheyenne River
United Pueblos New Mexico	17 Day Schools, Santa Fe and Albuquerque Boarding Schools
Ute Colorado	Consolidated Ute-Ignacio
Chippewa Minnesota-Kansas	Lac du Flambeau-Haskell
Spanish American New Mexico	Los Lunas, Grants, Pajunte Bernalillo

dry land  
 trading  
 pleasure  
 family  
 water  
 food  
 anger  
 fear  
~~social feelings~~  
 inter-personal feelings and relationships  
 death  
 worry

It was apparent that certain trends showed in all groups while some showed only in special groups. To double check a second time the stories were rechecked breaking the pictures into large segments as: the filling station group, auto people, wagon group, objects mentioned and observations. Special attention was directed as to whether the writer attacked the whole picture or limited his observations to one segment or merely listed. Later it was found necessary to differentiate between the adult type whole and simple whole. Detail was used in grades when the individual broke the picture into segments and SD when the detail was very small or listing. To reinforce the attack and bring out the quality of the approach the following categories were set up: reasoning, description, story and listing. The following categories were determined from the frequency tables: attack, social, economic, feelings, apprehension and food. After much trial and error the following categories were set up by which standards each paper was scored:

Attack (Manner in which student approached the problem)

Whole (W) (WS)  
 Large Detail (D)  
 Small Detail (sd)

People  
 Animals  
 Story  
 Description  
 Listing

Social

Family  
 Racial labeling  
 Antagonism  
 Social Responsibility (Outgoing feelings)

Economic

Barter  
 Buy-sell  
 Economic independence  
 Economic Dependence

Worries

Food  
 Sickness  
 Death  
 Social (Intra-personal)

Feelings

Pleasure  
 Anger  
 Fear  
 Other (intra-personal)

Reassessing the papers in the light of the above brought the scattered trends into large areas of significance. The code and definitions of the above will be discussed later in the paper.

The paramount problem in scoring the papers was to devise a scheme of recording and scoring the responses which would be uniform and as scientific as possible at the same time draining out any subjective matter. While most projective tests rely on oral responses it was felt that in the case of the Indian children written responses would possibly be more valid than oral responses because of the language barrier. Many workers who have attempted to give projective tests have found either the stimulus (TAT picture) to be culturally foreign and the oral responses quite scanty due in part to difficulty in setting up rapport. Moreover it would be quite difficult for a team of workers to cover as varied and widespread an area in as large numbers as was covered in this test. While the Free Writing Test was not a perfect instrument yet analysis did bring out differences, likenesses, cultural uniqueness areas of tension, attitudes which could be used in pinpointing areas of tension and types of attitudes.

#### Response Categories and Code Symbols

Being necessary to define each code symbol the following designations were assigned each code symbol in scoring the responses.

##### Whole (Mature) W

A response was scored W when the writer treated the picture as a whole in an organized attack, proceeding from the general to the particular. This was found at both age levels. An example is: "This picture contrasts two ways of life, the Indian way and the White way". Another written by an elementary student is: "To this little filly station in the desert many people have come for things they needs and want"; and "Here is a scene which shows how life goes on in an isolated place in the desert."

##### Simple Whole (WS)

The response was scored in this category when the picture was treated as a whole but at a very simple level as: "This picture is about desert life"; and "This is some Indians live in the desert"; and "This is a picture of people doing in a Navaho camp".

##### Large Detail (D) Small Detail (d)

The response was scored a D when the picture was split up into large segments. Each was described or listed and then the next etc. These might then be related into a whole but in most cases this did not happen. The d response was scored when when a small segment was selected and listed without giving much description or relating it to another part of the picture. Relationships were usually not noted in some instances the objects were simply listed or numbered. This response occurred at both age levels. Examples of D are:

"Here is a lady and her kids coming a wagon pull by horse"

"Here is people come i auto lady sit in auto that man pour water in car"

"Here is filly station and people there "

Some examples of d responses are:

" Are one horse one house and two window made of glass"

"Are pile of trash in some oan and tie and things"

"Are big cloud that go over hill and is on tops of hill and rolls "

##### Fantasy

Fantasy varied greatly in variety and depth. While some was quite controlled in other cases it was quite violent. There were instances of animinism in some oases quite violent. Examples are:

"The cloudy was walk up the hill and all move and move"

"The plants are runn all over the ground and around".

"The hilly reach up to sky and all roll and roll".

"The wind whirl the cloud and sand and verything and play with them".

In many instances there was deep feeling of motion expressed, the sand, clouds plants, hills all are in motion.

### Animals

If writers merely mentioned animals they were not scored under animals unless there was more. Usually, however, the animals were doing something as:

"The dog go with man and watch for rabbit and chase them and tell man".

"Horse carry man and watch for coyote to shoot".

"Are coyote behin bush and he watch for rabbit to eat".

### People

Responses were scored under people when they were more than mentioned, doing, thinking or a part of the story pattern. Examples are:

"The woman in the wagon she come to find her husband he lefted home and she come look for him."

"This people are come to filly station and see each others and the white peoples and lady in car buy rug and then they go Gallup."

"Man on horse he start ride to camp and his family come in wagon and people in car are govinment people and they all go fix sheeps and things."

### Story

Responses were scored in this category when there was a definite plot. There was some action which was started and concluded or in the prozess of being finished. Examples:

"One morning Indian Jim woke up and found he had no food so he get his gun and dog and start out to get food for his family. He shotted big rabbitsand he come home and cook it and it was many."

"T<sub>h</sub>is Indian going out to wait and then he come back and shot all the peopae and robbed the trading post and then he sleep."

In some cases a response would be scored in several categories.

### Description

Description responses was where there was description but no story and listed as FF as: "I see little filly station with car and people. Often color and numbers were used.

### Listing

Here there was no description, no story. Objects were merely inventoried. There might be action but no plot.

### SOCIAL CATEGORIES

#### Family

Where people were related in a family the response was scored in this category whether loose or intricate. In some cases everyone in the picture was related in the same family where in other cases the people comprised several families. Examples are:

"That lady whippy the horse is the mother and her mother sit with her. Lady in back her daughter and her baby and man on hose are husband."

"These people in car are Brown family and they stop for gas. People in wagon they Begay family."

#### Race

Where people were labeled Indians-Whites or Aleuts, Navaho, Hopi race category was scored. Examples:

"That man on horse is Navaho man". "People in car is white."

"Man on chair is Spanish."

In these cases the people were simply people who were of different race or tribe. People were accepted without feelings. These responses were more common among groups who lived in less isolated areas.

#### Racial Antagonism

Some responses indicated a feinite feeling of racial antagonism or racial inferiority and were recorded under that category They varied in intensity. Examples are:

"The white man is lazy and just sits and the Indian boy works."

"The white man just sitting owns the trading post and the Ind-



ian has to work for him and he just won't help him".

"The white people ride in the automobile and the poor Indian has to wide in the wagon."

"The Indians will starve because the government took all their sheep and didn't leave them anything to eat." (Reaction to sheep reduction program of 1940's)

Most of these responses were at the secondary level and showed feeling. The responses at the elementary level were more of a type of labeling or stereotype form.

#### Social Responsibility

These responses exposed a certain feeling of responsibility and outgoing feeling for others, mature social feelings. Some examples are:

"I talked with the Indian boy and urged him to go to school and prepare himself for a better life."

"I talked with this Indian family in order to help them understand what they were trying to do for them to help them."

"We came out on this reservation to see how this tribe lived and how we could help them to live better and more useful lives."

"We should help these people to see that only through helping themselves can they live better lives."

"They should not be content to live as their fathers did and we urged them to become educated and take their place in the world."

These responses are interesting in that Indians are talking to Indians.

#### Economic

##### Barter

Any response indicating trade or barter rather than the use of money was recorded in this category as: "These women in the wagon come to trade rugs they weaved for somethings they need to eat." "These Eskimo take seal ivory to trade for some things they need."

##### Buy-Sell

Responses indicating the use of money rather than barter were recorded here as:

"These people bought some gas and paid for it"

"This lady pay lady \$40 for rugs".

##### Economic Dependence and Independence

Responses indicating Indian ownership were recorded in the Independence category. Typical of this were ownership of gas station, trading post, herds, farms, stores, boats, garages, and houses. Also listed under this heading were cases where the worker was an independent craftsman or business man. Examples:

"This Navaho man he buys the wool at his trading post wool belong to other man."

"Man what put water in car he own this gas pump and he work hard and he is rich."

"This Navaho ladies they weaved lots of blankets and they take them to dance and they have lots of money".

"This white lady buys lots of jewelry for store and she pays Navaho lady for forty dollar."

Types of responses indicating economic dependence were properly recorded. Some observations were:

"The lady told her son you get job at filly station so you can give me some money for fopd."

"The Navaho man ask the white man if he can work for him."

"The Navaho man work for the white man on the railroad and he work very hard for money."

### Feelings

Feeling-emotion responses were varied in scope and intensity. The ones which came out most often were: anger, fear, pleasure, and 'other' usually inter-personal. The 'other' feelings were usually inter-personal as: disgust, love, social acceptance. Sometimes the feeling was that of the writer while at other times the feeling was projected into the character in the picture. Examples:

"I see the people and I so happy."

"This owner he got mad at "avaho lady so she got mad to story".

"They fight cause they mad to each others".

"My mother she mads and she roll up her sleeve and she hit this man."

"The mans he saw big wolf and he afraid it hurt him."

"This big shot think he smart."

"He fraid cause someday they find out about him."

In some instances the emotion was projected to animals:

"The dog git happy and the lady give him some meat."

"The horse glad cause she give him corn."

### Worries

Apprehensions which came out in the responses were at different levels of intensity. They were associated usually with: food, death, sickness, social status, weather, fire and 'unique' usually connected with inter personal relationships.

### Food

Aside from the apprehensions about food there were a number of food-centered stories or much detail about food. An abundance of food seemed to be a security while lack of food gave rise to all kind of worries. This seemed also to be a cultural factor since many cultures center about the production of food. This was especially true of the Alaskan and Navaho tribes. Table III which follows pulls together the categories of response and symbols which were used in scoring each paper.

### Scoring Technique

After much trial and error the following plan was devised for scoring techniques. Samplings of 100 papers from each tribe at each age level (elementary and secondary) were scored using the above categories. Frequency tables for each of the 25 groups were established. These were then were subjected to determine true differences not only between the age groups but tribal levels (T Test)! in all categorial response tables.

With this as a framework, a study was made of the cultural, and environmental background of each group. With this finished, it was compared with the statistical results to discover whether or not the differences among the age groups and tribal groups might be the result of cultural background.

A complete analysis was made on this basis for each group using the following pattern:

1. Cultural material background for the whole tribe.
2. Analysis of intermediate level noting unique trends and significant differences which came out. All significant differences were noted. A summary was written at the end of each study.
3. The same process was repeated for the secondary level.
4. Once all the tribal summaries were completed comparing age levels the interage, intertribal study was made.

The problem was limited because of the limitations of the technique and available material. However, after the preliminary survey of what materials were at hand and what could be done with them, the initial problem of this paper seemed to break down into the following:

1. What real differences are there between age and tribal groups of Indians which can be determined from an analysis of the "Free Writing Test".
2. Are there certain trends which appear common to all groups?
3. Are there areas of tension and if so are they common?

Table III

Response Area	Code	Characteristics
Attack	Whole(mature) W	Unified organization
		Abstraction
	Whole(simple) Ws	Simple organization
	Large Detail D	Large segment treated
	Small Detail d	Small segment-listing unorganized unrelated to the whole
	Story	Plot-Beginning and en
	Description	No plot, colors, num- bers, sizes etc
	Listing	Named objects
	Fantasy	Imaginative repre- sentation
	Animals	Animal dominated res- ponse. Active
Social	People	Human domination. Human activity
	Family	Family relationships
	Race	Racial labeling
	Antagonism	Expressed racial feeli
	Responsibility	Social responsibility- Outgoing feelings
Economic	Barter	Trading things
	Buy-sell	Money used
	Independence	People owned things or ran business-farms-hem
Apprehensions	Dependence	Worked or got from oth
	Food	Lack of food
	Sickness	Ill health feared
	Death	Loss of others -self
	Intra personal	Social identity-role status-acceptance
Feelings	Pleasure	Happiness-joy
	Aggression	Anger-usually toward someone
	Fear	Fear of others, things, and unknown
	Inter-personal	Social feelings about other people

## Part II Tribal Analysis

### Chapter 5.

#### The Apache Indian

The word Apache was used by the Spanish to designate certain Indian groups with which they came into conflict in their conquest of the Southwest, or the Province of Tusayan. Linguistically and culturally the Apache belong to the Athabascan group. It is difficult to determine just when they came to the Southwest for because of their roving life few archaeological sites are known.

Three groups of Apache are used in this study: Western- San Carlos and White River; Northern-Jicarilla; and Mescalero who represent the southern branch. It should be kept in mind that politically the Apache are not one tribe but rather several groups loosely related. Each group is probably mixed with other tribes. The San Carlos supposedly mixed with the Yavapai and Navaho while the White River seems to have some mixture with the Navaho. The Mescalero in southern New Mexico are the remnants of the Chiricahua and Mexican Apache. The Jicarilla Apache who now live in Northern New Mexico are mixed with the Navaho, Utes and Taos Indians. For a time the Jicarillas lived with the Taos Indians until they were given their own land at the turn of the century. The cultures are greatly mixed.

The political structure of the Apache has always been loose. A group is usually made up of several extended families who live together. Each group has a leader or head man. Though the tribes were matrilinear, yet the male had a more secure status than in some groups because he was the warrior and hunter.

In the same manner the father and grandfather had an important position because they trained the young boys in hunting and war, while the mothers and grandmothers were responsible for the training of the girls. This nominally the male had status. In times of crisis the head man met with the males of the tribe to concert action needed.

Their culture was that of the hunter and food gatherer. They are thought to have been among the last of the tribes to come to the Southwest. They seemed to have wandered along the river valleys of the Rio Grande west to the Gila and north as far as the Ute and Comanche territory. Mention is made of them raiding the early Spanish settlements in northern Mexico. From these raids they soon equipped themselves with guns and horses which made them more of a threat. They seem to have been a chronic thorn in the side of the Spanish. Fray Benevides makes note of the Apache in 1629; DeVargas in 1692 noted their raids on the Spanish. According to 1728 records they had found willing allies in the Comanches. Spanish governors made frequent references of their raids. In 1773 De Anza mentioned that they farmed intermittently at Cevolleta, a short distance from Laguna. Allied with the Comanche and Navaho they seem to have made the years 1773-1787 a bloody one in the history of New Mexico. In a report sent to Mexico in 1773, De Anza reports an attack by them on Janos in which they killed thirty people driving off 300 horses and 500 burros. In the great council held at Pecos in 1786, peace was finally established between the Utes and Comanches by De Anza and they were given guns and horses to fight the Apache. Later in the summer De Anza made a trip to Navaho land and installed a Navaho general in the hope that he would be able to separate Navaho from the Apache and stop the wars. In 1787 the Comanche drove off an Apache attack successfully. There seems to have been little or no effort to Christianize the Apache until the American regime. Fray Kino seems to have made feeble efforts in their direction.

When the Westward Movement started, they made their presence known. They were often unfairly blamed for raids made by other tribes. After 1846 when the Southwest became part of the United States, military parties were sent to protect the immigrants. Fort Apache, Fort Goodwin and Camp McDowell bring to mind many stories of this era. In some instances the forts were used as bases to issue rations to the Indians in an attempt to establish peace and friendship and stop the raiding parties. Gradually treaties were made and certain areas or reservations assigned for their use.

After the capture of Geronimo, they were concentrated on three large south west and one northern reservation which are still in existence. These are the San Carlos Reservation and White River Agency in western Arizona. In southern New Mexico is the Mescalero Agency and in the northern part of New Mexico is the Jicarilla Agency.

Through these years of strife many great leaders rose to power: Geronimo, Cochise, Mangas Coloradas, Vittorio, Sneezer and Tazhay. Their tragic efforts to lead their people are admirable.

As early as 1888 Apache children were sent to school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Soon afterward, schools were set up on the reservations by the government and certain mission groups and more peaceful contact with whites were inaugurated. The first Indian agent to have visited the Apache official was John Calhoun who was at that time Indian agent stationed at Santa Fe, New Mexico. He made a trip to Acoma sometimes in 1850 to sign treaties with a few Apache groups. In the next few years Indian agents seem to have made frequent visits from Ft. Defiance to western Apache/ John P. Clum was the first full time Apache agent.

Later legislation encouraged them to set up tribal councils, cooperatives and handle their affairs as far as possible. Under WPA in the 1930's many projects were set up to help them approach economic independence as: cooperatives, lumbering, cattle raising cooperative trading posts and a lumber mill. These were so successful that today the Apache is better off economically and some of the other south west tribes. Their cultural and social background makes them able to accept change and try new ways.

The family is the basic social unit with the father and mother being equally responsible for the welfare of their family. In former times and even today when a daughter marries the young couple usually live with her family in the matrilinear pattern, although usually they did not live in the same house.

A new baby was always a source of joy, especially a girl who would carry on the tribe, but there seems to have been no elaborate birth ceremony as was the case of the Hopi and other tribes. The babies were usually not named until it was sure they would live. The names seem to have been of three types: physical characteristics as Big Mouth, Sneezer, walks fast; a dream, Man Walks through Water, Green Butterfly Girl or something or someone having special powers as; Blue Stone Boy, Fast Arrow. The name is the personal property of the person having it and should not be duplicated. Before dying a person may give his name to someone else. Among the less acculturated groups it is not polite to ask a person his name directly since this gives the inquirer power over him. Since many of the Apache names are difficult to pronounce, usually they take an English name when they are put on the tribal roll or when entering school. In some instances old people still go by their roll number.

Babies are usually nurse by the mother. Weaning is usually voluntary at about the time he learns to walk. Toilet training is also voluntary. The child is started early on soft food as tortillas soaked in coffee, broth, gravy and stew. In former times the Apache mother used a cradle board and many still do. Despite confinement on the cradle board Indian children seem to learn to walk as soon as other children not so confined.



Parents are affectionate but not demonstrative. They are most patient and do not expect a child to act like an adult. They are usually careful not to embarrass the child unless it is to discipline him. He soon learns that certain things are expected of him. The child is not hurried, nor scolded nor nagged but is excused because the Indian parent knows he is learning. On the other hand he is not asked to do things beyond his strength. The child in the traditional home is seldom spanked or punished unduly. Parents usually excuse him with 'He is too little to know'. Both Apache parents seem to participate in the disciplining of the child.

Children are often punished with threats of the Big Owl or ridiculed or simply ignored. Apache parents as other parents worry about their children when they are sick or away from home. After the age of eight or nine the boys are allowed more freedom than the girls. During adolescence parents seem to ignore youthful turmoils and moods. Though in the traditional society adolescents either seem to have fewer of these or else more control. These are often handled through the 'joking' relationship which is so important a part of Apache life.

The child becomes aware of sex differences and functions at an early age. The parents make no effort to keep these matters secret. Such things are thought of as natural processes and not whispered about. As the child approaches puberty the parents usually talk to the young people about their future life and tribal ceremonials play an important part at this time. Girls are thought at this time to have special power. While she is indulged in some ways she must also meet the ceremonial restrictions and responsibilities. About this time also if living near missions they become Christians and the First Communion and 'Coming Out' initiation ceremony is an important milestone in their lives. Girls seem to take up Christianity more readily than the boys and are more faithful in the support of their church. To compound the matter at about this time the young person may enter off reservation boarding school and meeting for the first time other young Indians from other tribes. This may account for the frequent incidence of boisterous behaviour in some cases, not usually rebellious but rather noisy and slightly aggressive.

The girl's 'coming out' party after her first menstruation and the boy's ('initiation' are high points in their lives. In former times the girl was segregated from the men of the tribe for four days previous to the ceremony while she went through certain purification rites. At the end of that time arrayed in colorful new clothes, she was presented to the tribe as being of marriagable age. This ceremony lasted for from four days to a week during which dances and ceremonials were performed. The use of corn pollen, a fertility symbol was used during this time and she was well protected that no evil should befall her or the tribe. Since many of the girls are at boarding school at this time the ceremony is postponed until they return home and much of the original significance of the ceremonial is lost. Quite often several girls will have their ceremony together when they return home in the spring or sometimes now it is combined with a rodeo or Fourth of July celebration.

Not much is known about the puberty rites for the boys. He is required to do certain projects to make him strong and goes on a hunting trip as his first kill is quite important. Rumor has it that he must have a 'vision' and it is thought that often peyote is used to induce this as part of the ceremony. During this time the Apache boy seems to be more retiring than the young ladies except when 'under the influence'. This may account for their sometimes violent behaviour when drinking. At the boarding school the Apache are often quite clannish keeping with their own tribe. Boys will often accept quite expensive presents from girls who admire them.

Children born out of wedlock are not stigmatized although the women of the tribe may gossip about the mother, especially if the father happens to be a married man. Her family will always accept her and the child.

Death is something which is not mentioned and a dead person is avoided except where the group is thoroughly Christianized. Some are still buried in the traditional way with all their possessions.

Apache young people take their responsibilities quite literally and conscientiously. Touching parts of the body, especially members of the opposite sex is frowned upon. Another trait observed was the idea of 'getting even' for an injury or a kindness.

Adolescent Apache young people seem much less free in their relations with the opposite sex than some other groups. Self consciousness seems to extend for a good part of the adolescent period and beyond. When pushed too far or beyond what they consider accepted form they will become quite aggressive, or seek an escape going as far as suicide.

### The Free Writing Test Responses

All elementary students whose papers were used in the study were enrolled in on reservation day schools while secondary students were enrolled in large off-reservation boarding schools, living apart from their families.

#### Elementary Grades:

Information which came out in the analysis was:

1. The stories varied in length from 32-167 words. The following is one of the longer stories: "The man and he dog go to hunting in the woods. He want to kill white tail deer and some turkeys for dinner and he like eat turkey meat better than deer meat and he like to eat meat the people in the car want to by some food for dinner and he like to go for a ride in a car. The people want some gas and some water to go to New Mexico. The family in the wagon want some foods for dinner he want to back early he want to picnic the horses are working so hard then."
2. The writers gave simple, literal statements telling what they saw in the picture and where the people were and what they were doing. There was little plot or organization. They proceeded from one part of the picture to the other. The predominant use was a D or d type response.
3. Descriptive adjectives-color, size etc, were seldom used.
4. The people in the picture were always active. Action was noted but not carried through.
5. The animals seemed to attract as much if not more attention than the people. as: "Man have dog. Dog help man. Dog chase rabby." ; "Horse look sleepy he walk so slow".
6. There was little or no fantasy. The picture was literally translated. In a few cases the people or animals were given names.
7. There was little fear, anxiety or apprehension expressed. In a few cases something like the following was written: "That man hunt and get losted and big thing came for him and he can't get out."
8. In a majority of the cases the writers mentioned food and food was usually connected with the human action. There was no great fear expressed about the lack of food.
9. People were not labeled racially.
10. About 10% of the responses in the younger group related the people into families. The relationship was usually casual and loose.
11. Pleasure responses usually concerned food and eating. Feasts, dances and ceremonials were pleasure responses. They usually had pleasure with people not things except for food.

12. What feeling was expressed was varied as disgust or curiosity.
13. Most stories were written in the present tense.
14. The social horizons were limited usually not going beyond the family or tribe.
15. There was no overt expression of aggression as: fighting or being angry. The stories were earthy and literal expressing social limits of experience family or tribe. People were always active. These younger children seemed to express more interest in the animals than the people.

### Secondary Group-Grades 11-12

#### Significant Differences

The following trends were observed in the secondary stories:

1. The stories were much longer than those written by the intermediate, students ranging from 107-297 words.
2. The responses followed the same general trend as the stories by the younger students. Except for length there was no great difference. The stories were literal. However, there seemed among the older students to be a 'clamming up'. They were not as enthusiastic. The actual number of responses among the older students was less than the number of actual responses among the younger group. The new environment in which most of the secondary students were living might account for this in part as most were in a boarding school. The picture was attack in large segments. A typical story at this level is: "This trading post is in the desert. A Navaho is putting water in in the car of some people going through. The family in the wagon is coming from a big celebration. The man on horseback with his dog is going hunting. The man sitting on the chair is lazy." There were a few cases of limited fantasy as: "John Yellowhair drove his wagon up to the filling station as his eyes followed the lone rider in the distance. That must be Tommy Running Bear and his dog Wolf. Oh, how he loved his dog which had been given him on his last birthday. Many a rabbit they had killed together."
3. There were few real content responses.
4. Most stories were written in the present tense.
5. The secondary students showed increased interest in people who were always active.
6. In only three cases did the writers identify with the people in the picture.
7. There was slightly more description than in the intermediate papers.
8. In a few cases the people were given Indian or English names.
- 9.

9. There was little fantasy or confabulation.
10. About a fifth of the people in the stories were related into families.
11. There were almost no person-to-person relationships expressed.
12. In the social category the number of responses doubled over the intermediate group most of these were family related and almost no inter-cultural responses. There was also a rise in the number of 'barter' responses.
13. Social responses in attitudes were limited.
14. About one fourth of the stories gave pleasure responses which was a significant increase over the younger group.
15. Where ownership was expressed the auto, store etc usually belonged to an Indian
16. There was a significant drop in 'worries' and apprehension. Table IV gives a comparison between the culture and responses.

#### PERSONALITY PROFILE

From the foregoing data and Table IV it seems that we may get a limited insight into Apache reactions to the world about them. While we take into account, individual differences when compared to other tribes, it is apparent that certain trends seem to come out which are characteristic of him alone. Essentially he is a literal, earthy person taking things at face value with a common sense attitude. He starts with what he has and does what he can with it. He does not seem able to fit his experiences into large overall, future looking patterns. At his level he does quite well but when disengaged from his culture may become on the one hand apathetic or aggressive.

Fantasy at the childhood level is active but controlled. However, at the secondary level it is more active. This may be due to the fact that he has lost a great deal of his culture and ceremonial life and tends to try to compensate.

In the social areas the intermediate group show some social responsibility toward their own group. This seems to disappear at the secondary level when he is usually disassociated from the family unit. People outside his group do not especially interest him. This probably accounts for the clanishness of the Apache when he is thrown with other tribes. Social horizons usually do not extend beyond the family or tribe.

Table IV

COMPARISON OF RESPONSES WITH CULTURAL PATTERN (APACHE)

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Cultural Patterns</u>
Indian Ownership	Indian cooperative businesses
No racial labeling	Live in isolated areas with little outside social interaction.
Fewer family responses than other groups with marked increase at secondary level.	Loose extended family. Secondary living apart from family possible cultural regression to security.
Little aggression	Past history of aggression and subjugation.
Division of labor	Division of labor
Segment type response	Limited outlook-many tribal divisions
each completed	Love of animals-cattle raising and hunting
Interest in animals	
People active	Necessity for work - active hunter type culture
Limited fantasy	Broken cultural life. Few old arts and crafts survive or ceremonials



When hard pressed he seems to regress to tribal levels of security. Rather amazing was the fact that after a long and sordid history of contacts with white they did not label people racially. Either they had no interest or carefully repressed any such expressions. They made no feeling or aggression responses worthy of note, nor social responsibility beyond the family. He is preoccupied with his immediate environment. He speculates little about the past or future. He takes his world at face value.

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## Chapter 6

The Blackfeet - Montana Area

The average American is more familiar with the Blackfeet than any other tribe, although he doesn't know it. They have been painted and used as models by many well know artists because of their colorful garb and fine features. The tribe now known as the Blackfeet is actually the remnants of three tribes. They are greatly mixed tribally and racially. The original tribes were the Plagans, the Blood and the Blackfeet. Their Indian name is Skisika. They are supposed to have been given the name 'Black-feet' from the discolored mocassins they formerly wore. They belong to the Athabascan group. Originally they roamed the territory from the Saskatchewan River in Canada to the headwaters of the Missouri River in Montana, east to the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains and west to the Sierra Nevada. They did not come into contact with white people until quite late. Physically they are usually tall, handsome with finely cut features.

Prehistorically they are thought to have lived in shelters of bark, bough and dirt. They have been essentially seed gathers and hunters. Since they followed the herds and seasonal cycles they moved about and developed an aggressive nature. They had few arts and crafts except for the skins and furs which they learned to decorate first with quills and later with beads. Before they acquired horses they used dogs to pull travois as a means of transportation and invented the tepee which they made of skins and which could be moved easily from place to place. The women are supposed to have made baskets.

They were aggressive and warlike. Mountain tribes and western plains Indians felt their strength when the westward movement started. By 1800 through raiding parties they had availed themselves of horses and guns. They were also adept in the use of the bow and arrow.

Mackenzie seems to have been the first white man to make note of them. He mentioned them in a 1790 report. By this time they had adopted the skin tipi of the plains Indians as well as some of their ceremonies. They did no planting as they were usually on the move. At certain places at certain times of the year large groups would meet for Grand Councils. Mention is made of the death of Chief Many Horses in a raid in 1867. He was supposed to have been the first to have had 'many horses' and was an old man at the time of his death. They traded with the Indians of the Pacific coast and later traded at the Hudson's Bay traders and American traders. There was no love on either side. The are one tribe which has never been officially at war with the United States. Aite

After Oregon and Washington became part of the United States and the International boundary was fixed, they were assigned a reservation in northern Montana where they now live. The Blood and Plegan Indians were assigned reservations in Canada. About 2,000 live today on the Montana reservation at least part of the time.

By 1780 they seem to have developed the art of beadwork, using at first dried berries and quills and later glass beads obtained from traders. This work was done only by the women although both men and women painted the hides and sewed leather and fur.

In early times each group of the tribe seems to have had a 'head man' usually elected by the group or a council. The women participated in tribal affairs to some extent. Records seem to indicate that they sometimes went to battle with the men although they probably did not take part in the actual fighting.

At the present time there is an active Tribal Council on the reservation. Some of the old, secret societies have revived and remnants of the ceremonials as the Sun Dance are performed. Many of the old clans have broken down and they are rapidly taking on 'white' ways. There is a great deal of mixture with other races. Many live at the agency headquarters and have temporary homes on their land allotments. Financially they seem to be better off than some of the other tribes. They have been successful in finding off-reservation employment, at least part time. However, in taking up 'white' ways they have developed social problems with which they are now groping. Use of alcohol and peyote are used by many.

The birth of a child was usually a welcome event for the family. Boys were preferred as they would be hunters and warriors. The child was and still is greatly indulged. Weaning and toilet training were voluntary. The grandparents were important in the education and training of the child, since they usually cared for the child while the mother and father were away from the home. Even today the children learn much of the lore and duties of the tribe from the grandparents. The writer has known of many cases where the child preferred to live with the grandparents. In many cases where the parents live and work off the reservation children will run away to return to live with the grandparents on the reservation.

The old customs and customs are breaking up and leaving a vacuum. Many social problems are cropping up. Alcoholism and suicide rates are high.

In the present home the child is coddled and then punished severely or finds himself in a broken home with little or no security. During adolescence instability and insecurity often find expression in the use of alcohol or aggressive behaviour. This would be an interesting groups to study re/ the problems of rapid acculturation and racial mixing.

#### The Free Writing Test

The papers from this group had special interest since all the intermediate students were enrolled in Federal Reservation schools and the second-ary students were enrolled in public highschools, where they were mixed with other racial groups.

#### Intermediate Grades 4-5-6

The analysis of the responses brought out the following data:

1. The stories had great range in length varying from 1-345 words.
2. Responses seemed to follow a definite pattern. The writer usually went from one stimulant to another in a methodical manner and then repeated giving additional comments, without trying to relate the parts into a whole. It seemed to be a helter-skelter method. Illustration: "A woman was working in the garden. A man is riding a horse". A longer story: "There is a woman holding a pail. There is a man pouring water. There is a house. There is a man trying to put a saddle on a horse. A woman is washing clothes. A dog watch a woman washing clothes. Water is boiling. Water is boiling on a fire. There is a man going to the hill. A man has a bag on his back. There is a little boy sitting down. A little boy is eating. There is a fence around the garden. There is a woman wearing a long dress. The house is made of logs. The men have long hair. The dog has a tongue hanging out. Dog sit on ground. Dog have ruff fur. In about half the cases they broke the picture into large segments and described each, but there was a consistent tendency to go back over the part already described. However, the parts were seldom tied into a whole.
3. The writers were as interested in the animals as in the people.
4. In only a few cases were the people named and these were bizarre names as: Lone Ranger, Bingo Kid, and Black Horse Thief."
5. There were no person-to-person relationships expressed although in many instances the people were grouped loosely as families.
6. There was a great deal of confused fantasy. The writer seldom finished but rather seemed in midflight to stop and start another fantasy.
7. There were almost no feelings of anxiety or feeling except for pleasure responses which were usually in connection with people or feasts, rodeos

or parties. The type of attack might indirectly indicate some feeling of insecurity. While food was mentioned frequently it did not seem to arouse feelings of anxiety, as among some of the other tribes.

8. About one fifth of the writers labeled people racially but without feeling or rancor. In many cases there seemed to be a budding social responsibility feeling.

9. Weather was never mentioned.

10. The general tone positive if rather confused.

#### Summary

The picture was attack in segments which were usually not related. There was much repetition. Fantasy was confused. Family and people relationships were casual. There was evidence of a trend of social responsibility.

#### Secondary-Grades 11-12

These papers were especially interesting since the students were in a public school mixed with students of other races. Interesting data are:

1. The stories varied in length from 81-315 words.

2. The stories at this level had more depth and feeling expressed, some ideas of prejudice. One story is " This setting is in Arizona on the wastelands of the Navaho Indians. The ground lacks vegetation and the day is hot and dry making the inhabitants lazy. The inhabitants are mostly Indians. The proprietor of the tourist service is part Indian. Also his helper filling an automobile out of state is an Indian. They give the tourists a queer kind of feeling. This is due to the wilderness of the country. The proprietor is sitting outside watching his helper. This gives the tourists the idea that he is lazy. The tourists see a wagon loaded with Indian squaws coming to the station which is part grocery and souvenir store. The squaws will sell their blankets and beadwork. From the proceeds they will get articles needed at home. To them the tourists and the car is as much a novelty as the tourists think they are. The Indian on the horse is also noted by the tourists. The first things they notice is the gun he is carrying and they think to themselves he should not have one. This is due to the rumors they heard in their home state. The brave dressed in clothes of deer skin is very fascinating. The Indian is heading home maybe with the thought of killing a big rabbit. He carries the gun just to show off and feed the tourists tall tales of his doings in life. He would have stayed at the station except that the reason he sees clouds in the west and doesn't want to get



caught in the rain. Junk can be seen all over the place which is a typical scene around Arizona."

Significant differences came out when the attack of the intermediate student was compared with the secondary student, especially in the large and small detail type of response. The intermediate students gave 52 large detail responses while the secondary students gave 32 large and 52 small detail responses, or a complete reversal. Thus the secondary group while decreasing their large detail responses were increasing the listing or small detail type of response.

3. As in the case of other tribes, the Blackfeet had significant differences coming out in the 'story' element, listing and fantasy categories. These, in the case of the Blackfeet might be classed as negative differences in the number of responses with the exception of the 'listing' form of response. A slight increase in the 'people' was noticed.

4. While the writers at the secondary level did not often give people in their stories feelings (projection) they gave some very definite opinions, which in most cases had a negative tone as: "The moral of this story which I have written is don't ask people to write things about a silly picture like this"; "This picture is probably to snoop and find out things about the Indians"; "These white people think the Indian is going to shoot them and maybe that wouldn't be a bad idea"; "These Indians are too poor to have a car, they can hardly get enough to eat"; "The storm may come they may be prepared or not. They do not care there is always tomorrow. They seem quite critical of others: "It is the life of the Navaho, lazy, slow, care not attitude typical of the Navaho"; and "The lazy one sitting there just sits around all day and is the owner. The attendant says the place is for sale but no one will buy it as these people are not ambitious. They just sit around all day".

While only 7 writers labeled the people Indian, Navaho etc there was a derogatory, antagonistic attitude not tied up with racial feelings. When we tie this type of expression in with some examples in this expression of fantasy, we have quite a disturbed picture in line with the swift acculturation process. Some examples of fantasy are: "Well he got tired of it all and just took his gun and shot them all"; "This woman chased her husband and when he fought her she just hit him on the head with a rock and killed him". While these expressions were not typical of all the papers there were enough in the group to show there are deep lying disturbances.

which will come to the surface from time to time.

The Blackfeet were one of the last tribes to come into contact with 'white' 'whites'. Before this they had shown their aggressive attitude in dealings with other tribes: raiding parties and hunting. In a very short time they have been face to face with a new situation and type of aggression. White ways have been forced upon them. They have intermarried with other races. Many have lived at least part of their life off the reservation. Many have made a good account of themselves, while others have been caught between two worlds.

5. Food and weather were seldom mentioned.

6. Social relationships, usually family, was casual and loose in the traditional culture pattern or the present prevalence of the broken family. Few person to person relationships were expressed. Among secondary students there was a significant drop in the number of social responses. While 12 intermediate students gave 'social responsibility' responses only 3 of the secondary students indicated such responses. There was a significant drop in race responses at the secondary level from 21 to 7, which might indicate a growing acceptance of racial differences.

7. Secondary students seldom mentioned money or lack of it. This might mean that they are used to using money and regard it as a common place.

#### Summary

The dominant characteristic of both groups of the Blackfeet was the hop-skip-and-jump way in which they responded to the picture. While a few of the intermediate students as well as a few of the secondary students did give good, well organized responses as a start, they soon were in the hop-skip-and-jump routine. This was the only tribe which responded in this way so consistently.

While the core of the intermediate stories was an attempt to give a literal translation, scattered as it was, the characteristic of the secondary group was the amount of personal feeling and opinions which came out. Often the whole story revolved on feelings often bitter. These feelings might be evidence of adolescence, although most writers were in late adolescence living in a bi-cultural world, enrolled in public highschools with students of other races. Another factor might be the fact that about one half of the students participating in the study were mixed racially all being at least 1/4 Indian. While the young children were interested in the animals predominantly, the older students were more interested in people, although their 'people' responses were less in number than among most of the other tribes. Where social contacts were described they

Table V.

Comparison of Responses with Cultural Pattern

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Cultural Pattern(Blackfeet)</u>
Disorganized type of response but displaying ability	Quick acculturation and broken native culture pattern
Disparagement of other peoples not necessarily racial. Acuity of feelings.	In security in extra culture and tribal contacts
Aggression	Aggression( raiding parties )
Opinionated	Individualism. Racial mixing

were casual or tinged with antagonism. The 'white' tourist was a common target. Since they are located near Glacier National Park, they probably have had some encounters with tourists, which have been unhappy. Other than these expressions the social horizons were quite limited. The budding social feeling which was apparent in the younger student, contrasts with the attitudes of the older writers. In both groups what description was given was sharp and had acuity which was not found in other tribes.

Two factors stand out in an overall survey of the differences between the age groups:

1. The increase in the listing type of response and helter-skelter patterning of the responses are definitely out of line with the response patterns of other tribes.

2. The noticeable decrease in actual number of responses and their venom at the secondary level was unique.

In table I we notice the way in which the responses of the writers tied in with the cultural pattern of the Blackfeet. This would be an interesting group to work on for a further individual study. They have taken up 'white ways' in a hurry since they were one of the last tribes to have white contacts and are quite mixed racially. A great many of their old folkways have been lost and this present group seems to be in limbo. The writer understands that the community problems at Browning, Montana are many and varied. Certainly the accultural process in this area is worth further study to throw further light on the process as a whole. The secondary responses seem to indicate disturbance beyond the usual adolescent upheaval.

#### Personality Profile

Their type of attack at both age level was unique. At the secondary level there seemed to be a regression in the number of responses and their organization. Secondary responses were colored with feeling. Secondary students were more interested in people in a negative way than the younger students. It would seem that the functioning level of the secondary students was below their capacity. They gave evidence of disturbance, insecurity and inner strife.

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## Chapter 7.

## The Eskimo-Indian (Alaska)

Sometime in the dim past the Eskimo crossed the Bering Straits or walked across the broad valley which might have existed between North America and Asia. He took up residence in North America and remains today. Some field studies seem to indicate that the Eskimo crossed later than other Indians and hence was blocked in his attempt to go south, by the already established tribes.

Seemingly the first mention made of Alaska was in an eighteenth century report by Peter Illahin Popoff to Peter the Great. Popoff was a tax agent on the eastern coast of Siberia. There were recorded descriptions of furs and trading parties. In 1728 Captain Vitus Bering, a Dane serving in the navy of Catherine the Great, was commissioned to explore this part of the world. He sailed through the straight which now bears his name but does not seem to have reached the mainland. Lt. Synd, an officer in the Russian Navy, discovered the mainland of Alaska in the year 1767. From this time on numerous trading posts were set up because of the rich furs available. Later whaling expeditions came to these waters. In 1865 the Western Union Telegraph explored the possibilities of laying a cable and finally in 1867 the United States purchased Alaska from Russia. A naval installation was sent into the territory with a station at Sitka. Companies from San Francisco set up numerous trading posts along the coast. With the discovery of gold in the later nineteenth century an influx of whites from all parts of the world flooded the country. A few remained. Later during the Depression groups of farmers were relocated in the Mantanuska Valley. During World War II large military installations were built parts of which have remained as permanent settlements. It was during this time that parts of Alaska were seized by the Japanese. As its resources are developed and because of its proximity to Asia, it is possible its importance and development will increase.

The first missionaries were Russian Orthodox, a religion which is embraced by many of the natives today. Later Catholic and Protestant missionaries established missions and the struggle for souls began in earnest. At present the native is being thrown violently into contact with people and the culture of 'The Lower 48'.

The first schools established were mission schools. Later the U. S. Native Service set up schools throughout the territory. These were federally supported. At about the same time limited health services were set up administered by PHS. At present the federally supported schools are being gradually turned over to the territorial government to be administered.

As in the case of indigenous people all over the world, the Alaskan Eskimo-Indian is being caught in the cross currents of change and pushed into conditions which are often difficult or beyond his scope of experience. It is a time of strain and tension. Often he eases his frustrations in alcohol.

Eskimo culture is a monument to man's conquest of his environment. Living in the most barren, unproductive, hostile area in the world, they have carved out a way of life which has enabled them to survive for generations. Faced with the finality of wresting a living from the sea or earth, they became hunters and fishermen. Because of the climatic extremes the culture came to fall into cycles. The long summer daylight day spend in making garments, catching and preparing and storing food for the long, dark winter. During the summer the salmon spawn and the seals and walrus come up on the ice where it is easier to catch them. With the ice breakup they are also able to go out in the boats hunting whales and large sea fish. Under the snow are found mosses, lichens certain types of berries and seeds. The inland Indians have trees and wild bushes from which they can gather foods as well as hunt the caribou and other land animals. Thus the native culture is food centered.

The diet of the traditional Eskimo amazes the 'tenderfoot'. In former times it was almost entirely of animal protein supplemented with roots, berries, seeds and mosses. Yet they managed to escape some of the dietary diseases of white. Authorities believe this was because they ate most of their food raw and ate the whole animal obtaining vitamins often lost in cooking or thrown away.

Some authorities place the Eskimo in a race by himself. He is distinct from the Indian although they have many common traits, one being the scarcity of body hair, 'slant eyes'. The eye usually has a full upper lid and the lower lid is usually straight. The hair is blue-black and

and straight. Contrary to popular notions the Eskimo girl reaches puberty about the same time as others, although there seems to be a sentiment from fragmentary health records that they do not bear children until later. From fragmentary, limited first hand knowledge, the writer would dispute this. One case at hand was that of a fourteen year old girl bearing a child.

Everyone in the family shares in the work with a sharp division of labor. Thus the Eskimo child early learns to shoulder his share of the family responsibility. Men do the hunting, fishing, tool making and boat making while the women prepare and store the food and gather berries, seeds etc. and also make the garments. As conditions change more and more are leaving the village at least seasonally to work in the canneries. In some cases the men are gone for long periods of time working on the fishing boats.

In the traditional family the women seem to have had little status. Among the older Eskimo girl babies were not especially welcomed and in olden times often allowed to die because they were non-productive members of the group for so long. In the same way old people were often allowed to starve or freeze when their productive years were over.

Because of the limited food supply the population had to be limited. This seems rather a paradox. They rid themselves of non-productive members yet were most permissive in sex relations. Divorce and wife exchange in former times was quite accepted. Thus a woman who might not become pregnant with one man might with another. Likewise, since there was often a dearth of females, intercourse before puberty was accepted. The baby once accepted into the family group was treated with a great deal of warmth and affection, especially if it were a boy. He was usually carried on the mother's back or was kept near her. While there was no birth ceremony as is the case with most tribes, his name was a very important part of him. It was supposed to have special power. It was often difficult among the older ones to get their name if they were asked directly as was the case with some other tribes. Sometimes the names were changed in later life because of some deed or physical characteristic.

The child was usually nursed until he weaned himself, although he is fed from the table (broth, bread, etc). After the child is weaned for a period of two or three years he is hard pressed for food since he must eat the coarse adult food or food which an adult has chewed for him. Cleanliness training is voluntary.

The family is very close. The play pattern of the child follows the work pattern of the adult and he contents himself with simple toys made from materials at hand. At present commercial toys are prized.

The child usually enters a Native Service, Mission or state village school at about the age of six or a little older. In isolated areas he will probably be eight or nine. Often he does not speak English and must learn a new language. While attendance in most cases is not compulsory, attendance is usually good. The Native Service Schools try to use a program suited to their needs and experiences. The health services while handicapped by lack of money and distances are improving. Lately a native worker has been trained in each village to take care of routine needs and more hospitals are being set up.

The old time ceremonials are breaking up and in some instances have vanished or lost their meaning. Puberty ceremonies are for the most part lost as the students are usually away from home in a boarding school. In former times the girls would be kept out of school for the ceremonials.

In the traditional family, the girl upon reaching puberty, was forced to sit in a corner of the house and not allowed to communicate with any member of the family. Her food was served her in isolation. In the older societies the girls were kept in a separate hut as were menstruating women and women in childbirth. Females were thought at this time to have special power which might be harmful to the group. (Among traditional students the writer has noted girls sitting apart from males in the class while menstruating and also in church). At the time of puberty the girl is thought to be ready for marriage. In the traditional family the marriage is 'arranged', by the parents. The boy brings gifts and stays at the home of the girl until accepted. He then returned home and worked for his parents until the gifts which they had supplied were paid for. After this the young couple might set up a home of their own. While this custom is dying out, in certain areas the marriages are

are still arranged. Most are now married in church and the marriage recorded.

Because the Alaskan depended upon the dog for work, this animals came to be an important part of his wealth. Sleds made of hide and bone were used to transport heavy burdens. The wheel was unknown and would have been of little use for travel.

The native religion was animistic. The outer world was full of unfirmed spirits which must constantly be appeased. The ghosts of dead were especially dangerous and in former times certain ceremonials and taboos were used to appease the spirit.

The 'Potlatch' or give away ceremony is also dying out or changing its form. It has lost much of its original meaning. Although the Alaskan native is generous and when a hunter makes a kill usually the meat is divided among the villagers. In the same way the communal house is dying out or changing form into 'recreation centers'. Folk tales of the modern native are apt to be a mixture of white fairy tales, Biblical stories and remnants of the original tale. The present Alaskan native is caught between two cultures and has already lost much of his native folkway.

Q servers are often struck by the happiness and wit of the native Alaskan, though it would seem they had little to be joyful for. This may be a defense they have built up to compensate for the rigors of their everyday life. The closeness and warmth of family life seems to give them an inner security and balance.

While most Alaskan Natives are nominally Christian in a few remote areas some remnants of the native religion are still practiced. In some villages more than one missionary group has established headquarters which sometimes leads to confusion. In many instances missionaries have had to change the traditional concepts as a 'burning hell fire' which would be a comfort to the Eskimo.

The Free Writing papers first of all reveal a large amount of racial mixture with the Alaskan-Russian, Norwegian, Irish, Scotch, American and Dane. In a land where there are few white women, many of the male settlers took native wives. Also those living along the coast are in contact with other races. However, in some of the larger 'white' settlements there are 'Native Communities' and discrimination is evident. However, due to the war and more education this too is breaking down



The Native Alaskan is noted for his friendliness and hospitality as well as his bravery and ingenuity in building life style in one of the most forbidding spots of the world. However, the world is coming to him plunging him into a new and confusing way of life.

### Results of the Free Writing Tests

#### Intermediate Grades (4-5-6)

The Intermediate papers( grades 4-5-6) were from Wrangell Institute and Mt Edgcombe boarding schools and day schools. About half from boarding schools and half from village schools. Fifty per cent of the papers were written by Eskimo students while the remaining half were of Indian students. Eighteen per cent of the students were half blood: four per cent one fourth and the rest full blood but in many instances tribally mixed. The stories brought out the following data:

1. The stories were among the longest of any intermediate stories. They averaged 176 words and ranged in length from 97-308 words.
2. The fantasy was limited. People were named usually with English names. Usually the story described what the people were doing always with a work element.
3. The responses broke the picture into segments and described each part in turn without relating them except loosely. Sometimes they started at the top of bottom of the picture and proceeded from there as: "The lady at the bottom of the picture is cutting beluga. Beluga is found in the water. Two women on the right are drying skins for a boat. The men on the right are in the oomiak. The other man is in a kayak." Another story: "There are two clouds in the sky. One is bigger than the other. There are some mountain and the water come up to there."
4. A few of the writers gave some graphic description of native life as: "Here are some people who live up north and have boys and girls of their own. So etime men go on their dog team to look fora bear or seal to take home for their wife to cook so they won't be hungry while their father is hunting. His children and wife have to have polar bear skin and seal skin so they make gloves and coats to keep them warm in the cool air and to make bed with them and they make boat with walleso they could go for hunt to get seal and they sometimes don't have boat to get fish. When the ice is hard, they walk on top and make hole in it and then they fish. When the ice is hard sometimes they make their homes in stone or

or ice. Sometimes they get fish and they don't have to cook them. They put them outdoors when the sun is up to make fish dry fish. Is good with seal oil when fish is dry. On some other land they hang their line of fish to dry them fast. Did you ever eat poler bear heart from poler bear they let it froze outdoors in a little box or something to keep the dogs could not get it and eat it up. It taste good with seal oil. Heart just like hard candy. Poler bear like to live in place where ice and nice cool water.

The following story is written by an Indian student. "This story is about Indians and how they live. How they do their work like making things. In the spring they start getting ready for summer like making nets and get all the other things ready what they use in summer. They go fishing in June for the cannery. Then in the month of August they fish for their food for the winter. They dry they smoke fish. In the spring too they start digging the garden to plant vegetables for winter. In the fall they put them away for the winter. when they need them. They live in cabins in some small villages. They smoke the fish after they catched. They put sticks across then they hang the fish on it and make fire under o to smoke it. They eat it in winter time when they need food. They put fish up for their dogs too. Some of them sell fish in the winter so they can buy other food they need. Men in the boat they are going to go out to troll for fish when boy gets through mending net. Everybody has work to do.

5. More than half the papers related the people in the picture into families.
6. There was no racial labeling.

7. The writers were more concerned with the people than animals.

8. There was a great deal of social responsibility and cooperation expressed as: "We each have our work to do and we don't play until it is done"; and "One day the Nelson family all planned to do some work and cooperate even the little boy of the family he mend the net." However, the family group was the limit of the social responsibility.

9. Here and there remnants of the old folkways cropped out as: "When they kill the poler bear they all eat some of the heart to make them brace and strong like the bear. This is still observed in some villages. The pojlatich idea came out in : " This man he had caught lots and lots of fish

and he tell the people all come and eat all the fish you want/

10. In most cases the people were working for themselves and not for others. Occasionally they sold furs, fish, boots or parkas and some mention was made of working in the cannery.

11. In 90 per cent of the stories the activity of the picture was interpreted in terms of the child's experiences of getting food or clothing for winter.

12. What little anxiety was expressed was for food.

13. The stories all seemed to have a positive tone. There was nothing depressive or negative about them. Danger might be encountered but it would come out all right. The people were never 'mean' and in only one case 'selfish'. There were no expressions of aggression.

14. Everyone in the stories was having good time even when he was working. "We have lots of work but we have lots of fun."

#### Summary

The intermediate papers of the Eskimo-Indian children showed unusual length. While there were not many plotted stories, there was graphic description of everyday village life. Most of the people were related into family groups and the central drive was getting food for winter. They were interested in the people and everyone was having fun. Within the limits of the family group they had unusual attitudes of responsibility, independence and socially were definitely outgoing. There was no aggression, racial labeling or negativism expressed. In seven cases where a child did something unsocial he found the error of his ways and reformed as: "One day I was mending the net. I wanted to go fish with my father. He said you are too little. You work on the net. I didn't want to work on the net and I cried (only case of crying expressed). He took me on the boat and I started to help him with the net but it was too heavy and I was tired. And the sun was hot and I sweat and I was hungry. He tell me to sit in the back of the boat. And I was glad to get home and I never ask to go fishing again. Father and son relationships were expressed more often than among other tribes but mother-daughter relationships were the most commonly expressed.

Some had some very profound observations as: "This Mr. Wilson and family is all spic and spam. Their yard is spic and spam. His little children don't throw papers all over."; Another observes: "People in the north have to work hard for their food, but when you have to work hard for your food they don't waste it". An Eskimo boy gives some sage advice: "When each one has a job to do for them and they all work and they do work, then everybody is happy and has fun."

#### Secondary Grades 11-12

The secondary students were from grades eleven and twelve although a few papers from seventh grade were thrown in because of their age. In age they ranged from twelve to twenty three. While they were not comparable to other groups in grade in all cases they were in the same age range. All were enrolled in the Mt. Edgumbe Boarding School, living apart from their families. All were full blood, with fifty per cent Eskimo and fifty per cent Indian. The following facts were noted in the responses written by the secondary students:

1. The stories were about the same length as the intermediate stories and shorter than some of the stories written by secondary students of other tribes.
2. The Eskimo-Indian are one of three groups (tribes) who had significant differences in the way in which the two age groups responded to the stimulus. Contrasting with secondary students of other tribes, the secondary Eskimo-Indian showed a marked increase in the number of whole responses. At the same time the number of small and large detail responses decreased. The description was graphic and lifelike. The following is a story written by a sixteen year old Eskimo: "The people on this picture are Eskimos. Some men are putting their boat on the water. One of the men is in his kayak on the water to hunt seal and wallsel. After they kill the seal they make the oil out of the fat. When we eat the fish with the seal oil it tastes very good. Some of the family go away to hunt for seal. The hills are full of snow and it is always very cold for the Eskimo to stay and hunt their food for the family. They hunt for polar bear too to get meat for their family to eat. The mother she washes it before she cooks the meat. They give some meat to the dogs. The dogs

eat the fat and all. When we give them meat they always eat it very fast, because they always want some more. Some Eskimos live in the house. Sometimes the snow piles on our house and we have to dig out the way for the family. Some women are working very hard to get food for their children. Some mothers have to skin the seals and make the oil out of the fat. The men hunt the whale too. They skin it too. We eat the meat and the fat. We can make the meat very dry or frost it and keep it for the winter. Then we can cook it and eat it. In summer the men always go hunt and if one gets a whale they share it. Sometimes they have to go far away from home to hunt the whale."

An Indian student writes: "It is trolling time and George is getting the boat ready. He starts today and we hope he will catch lots of fish. Marie is hoeing the garden. I hope we have lots of vegetables for winter. Mother is cleaning the fish and her daughter is smoking them. Grandfather is mending the net. The boat is coming from North Cape and it will take fish to the cannery. Everybody likes smoked fish. We are going to have fish and cabbage and carrots from the garden for supper. Soon it will be snow coming on the mountains and time to go to school again. All the food is ready for winter. It is fun to go back to school." The stories were direct and literal with good graphic description. They differed from the intermediate in several respects: Whole responses increased while fantasy and description decreased.

3. Secondary students were not concerned with animals.

4. People responses and social responses decreased. People responses dropped 45% while <sup>responsibility</sup> ~~responsibility~~ responses dropped 16%. This might have significance when we remember that all the secondary students were away from the family at boarding school.

5. People were related into family groups and there was no racial labels

6. Fewer parents child relationships were expressed.

7. In the economic category there are no significant differences between the age levels except the drop in the number of economic independence responses. These rose 33 per cent. The changed social environment might explain this difference. The idea of working 'under' someone seems to develop as students widen their social and economic experiences. At the same time they make fewer buy-sell responses though they are living where money and buy-sell concepts are matter of fact.



8. There were almost no pleasure responses among the secondary students. The emotional climate of the secondary papers was cooler and more repressed than in the case of the intermediate students.

9. There was more negativism expressed among secondary students.

10. In the apprehension and fear categories the secondary responses decreased with the exception of 'fear', which increased significantly from 5% (intermediate) to 48% secondary. Some of these expressions are: "If the men do not get lots of fish they will have no food and starve", "If that big storm comes they will get lost and freeze". As was previously stated these students have quite vivid memories of World War II since some of their lands were occupied by the Japanese and some had to be evacuated. At the same time it should be remembered that many of these young people have been separated from their families for the first time and not yet adjusted to their new environment.

#### Secondary Summary

Secondary responses differed from the intermediate stories in the increased number of 'whole' type responses while at the same time decreased in 'listing' and fantasy. The description was unusually graphic. Private ownership expressions increased slightly while at the same time the concept of working 'under' someone or economic dependence made gains. While people in the picture were related into family groups the relationship was casual. There were fewer person to person relationships expressed. There was little interest in animals. Pleasure responses were almost nil. A tone of negativism entered the picture. The responses were more restricted than in the case of the younger students. There was a feeling of repression, of feelings being locked up. At both levels the description was unusually graphic as was the amount of social feeling expressed. In summary we might note the following differences between the age groups:

1. Increased 'whole' type of response at secondary level.
2. Fewer actual number of responses at secondary level.
3. Several related categories showed significant drops in actual number of responses: people, social responsibility, food, sickness, inter-personal relationships, pleasure. All these drops were noted at the secondary level. At the same time the economic dependency and fear feelings increased.

Personality Profile

As can be seen from Table VI, the responses written by the Indian-Eskimo students fit quite closely to the cultural pattern. This seems to indicate that while the cultures are breaking, they still carry over into the lives of the people. All stories had unusually graphic description of everyday life. Intermediate students seemed to have a happy, wholesome attitude toward life and inner security which was sufficient to carry them through crisis situations. While there was much work to be done to survive, they had fun doing it. There was an unusual amount of feeling of social responsibility expressed by the intermediate group. However, at the secondary level this attitude was largely dissipated or else repressed. At the same time in the secondary student fear and conflicts emerged, as well as economic dependency responses. The happy, wholesome intermediate person become fear ridden and uncertain possibly due to adolescence and bi-cultural living. However, on the whole the Alaskan groups showed outstanding performance. Even at the secondary level they were socially outgoing happy and ready to meet the world.




TABLE VI

Comparison with the Cultural Pattern

<u>Responses of Eskimo-Indian Students</u> <u>in Free Writing Test</u>	<u>Cultural Pattern of the</u> <u>Eskimo-Indian</u>
Food getting core of responses	Food for survival.
Preparing food for winter	Seasonal cycles-climate
Numerous family responses	Tight family structure
Social cooperation and responsibility	Family work and welfare shared by all
Dependency on sea life	Environment
Division of labor	Division of labor
Limited social horizons	Isolation
Immanent justice	Cultural taboos-supernatural
Happiness	In tune with environment
	Warm emotional climate
	Satisfactions
Drop in pleasure responses(secondary)	Apart from family
	New environment

## Chapter 8.

The Navaho (Dine')

'Dine' or The People, or as we know them, the Navaho, say they came from the underworld in the north. They have a number of very colorful Creation myths among which The Turquoise Woman plays an important part. The Navaho are the Earth Surface people but there are also the Holy People who live on different levels.

Because of their wandering life and type of land in which they live, there are few archaeological remains which have been found to date. It has been estimated that they arrived at their present location about 1000 A. D. Linguistically they are related to the Athabascan group. They were primarily food gatherers and hunters. However, they seem to have learned the rudiments of farming the arroyos and canons from the Pueblos. They were adept at borrowing from other cultures. From their Pueblo neighbors they learned to weave and from the Spanish they became involved in the sheep or herding as well as silver work. They also seem to have traces of other cultures in their rituals and ceremonies.

Since they were not in a political sense a tribe but rather groups of families, they showed great differences due to tribal mixture, racially and culturally. Among themselves they vary physically. During World War II, during rationing in a group of males measured for identification they varied in height from five feet four to six feet nine (200 in group). In the east they lived close to the Pueblos; in the north they mingled with Utes and Comanches and Apache.

A group which lived together was usually made up of several extended families. In some cases one man would have more than one wife. Often upon the death of a brother a man would marry his brother's widow and assume the care of her family. If a wife was incapacitated the man might take a younger wife. However, multiple marriages are few today. In former times when a man married he usually, according to matrilineal custom, went to live with his wife's family, where he kept his distance from the mother-in-law. An extended family might number from fifty to one hundred persons.

In order to bring good luck to the group it was necessary to appease the Holy Ones and thus elaborate rituals grew up. Since, all were not possessed of the powers to perform such rites, medicine men or priests became

a very important class in the group and were necessary to the life of the group. Although many of the rituals have been lost, the medicine men still have great power in some areas. The ceremonials have an very important part in the life of the individual especially the initiation ceremonies, "sings" to restore health and cope with 'shindi' or ghosts as well as the 'round dances' which are more social in nature.

The Navaho are first mentioned by the Spanish as nearly as can be discovered by Fray Benevides in 1629, but it is possible that earlier Spanish explorers had contacts with them. Because of the barrenness of the land and distances, there seems to have been no attempt to build missions in that area until recent times. From 1629 on the Navaho probably obtained sheep, horses and guns through raiding parties.

From correspondence of Spanish officials in New Spain, some of which is in the New Mexico Archives, we discover mention made of them. Since early times the Navaho has come to depend upon the sheep as a means of livelihood, wandering about from place to place to obtain forage for the flocks. In recent times attempt made by the government to decrease the number of livestock have met with some discontent. New methods of earning a livelihood through off reservation re-location has been tried with varying degrees of success. The educational program has been greatly expanded and more people than ever are enrolled in schools.

A notable part of this program was the "Navaho Five Year Program".

However, the Navaho has some trouble in adjusting to reservation life and small industries are being encouraged to set up on the reservation.

The Navaho makes use of what he has in a rather remarkable way. He builds his hogans of brush and mud. He wanders with his herds where he can find forage. Fuel and water have to be hauled long distances. The wool from the sheep is sold for 'store' things or woven into rugs by the women for sale. They ate the mutton and in watered area planted corn, beans and chili. Greens and pinon nuts were gathered. Even at best, providing the essentials of life was hazardous.

Because of the struggle to maintain life, the supernatural would become an important part of their life patterns. Rituals revolve about the seasonal changes and life crises.

Before the birth of a child the pregnant woman and her husband would be required to observe certain taboos and rituals in many areas. The woman could not butcher nor eat salt. A woman in childbirth was kept apart from the rest of the group.

A few days after birth the child is named in an elaborate ceremony, being presented to the sun after a number of days. His name is his own property and full of power. If another person has his name that person may have power over him. Hence, one seldom asks a Navaho his name directly. Also he may change his name as he moves from place to place. Hence, keeping a tribal roll is fraught with difficulties.

The Navaho parent is most permissive and the grandparents are held in high esteem. It is through them that much of the tribal lore and rituals are taught. In former times they had certain seasons when the old men told the young the tribal folklore. Songs, traditions and ceremonials were handed down in this way. At about the time of puberty the young people were initiated in elaborate rites. The whipping ceremony was often part of this. At this time the young assumed the duties of men and women in tribal affairs.

The girls 'coming out party' was usually held after her first menstruation. For four days each morning she must run toward the sun. She must grind corn for her 'cake' and in some instances was kept apart from the rest of the group. On the evening before the last day the corn she hand ground was mixed into a batter and baked in a husk lined hoop and baked over night. After sunrise the next morning the pit was opened and the 'cake' was shared with the group. She was now considered ready for marriage. Throughout life the Navaho may have sings held if he is ill or in trouble and has enough wealth to hire a medicine man. Usually his whole family participates. Often during these ceremonies the beautiful sand paintings are made and destroyed each day at sunset. Purification ceremonies are held so the evil ones will be driven out. As in other tribes group responsibility and participation are necessary.

In some cases the medicine man has developed a slight of hand technique to extract objects from the sick member, Also the trembling is used to diagnose disease.



With this background a modern health program is difficult to interpret to the Navaho. To the Navaho death is the most fearful thing which can come. They fear not so much the act itself but the 'shindi' since they may bring evil to the group. Among traditional groups the dying are often put outside the hogan or leave him while the family finds another location. The persons possessions are usually left with him or burned after death to prevent harm. However, a dying person may give his possessions to another before death without any contamination. Thus it is easy to see that the child by the time he enters school is fairly well patterned.

#### The Free Writing Test

The papers which were obtained for this study were from slightly acculturated groups; from schools near railroad towns where the child would have some knowledge of 'white' ways. In the case of the secondary students forty per cent were enrolled at Gallup Public Highschool. A few were in Catholic or Protestant Missions schools while some were in small public schools and others enrolled in B. I. A. boarding or day schools. These were the only papers which were available and seemed worth the time and effort to study.

#### Intermediate(Grades 4,5,6)

While some of these students spoke English when they entered school most did not and had to learn English as a second language. An analysis revealed the following:

1. The stories varied in length from 31-170 actual words written.
2. The responses were good literal reports of the picture. The picture was usually broken into segments with one segment described at a time. There was no attempt to elate the part of the picture in an organizational whole. One story is: "These Navahoes go to squaw dance. They like squaw dance. Six people go to squaw dance. One lady name is Bah and boy name is Nez. Some and some have English names and some have none. There are 3 womens two mans and little girl. Girl name Bah or something like that. They are ride 2 horse and wagon. The car run by horse and wagon. One woman is saying about the car. A man sit in car and look at wagon. Man drive wagon sometimes woman drive wagon."
3. There was little fantasy expressed beyond giving people names and telling where they might be going. There was no abstraction. The

responses were common sense, literal interpretations.

4. The children were more interested in the people than in the animals. The people were always active going somewhere or doing something.

5. In nearly all papers the family was noted. The people were usually related into family groups. Person to person relationships were seldom expressed. They gave the highest number of family responses of any tribe as can be seen in the Frequency Tables (Appendix). In the few person to person relationships were: husband-wife; mother and daughter were the most common. People were quite often labeled racially. Only white and Navaho were used. The race labeling was limited probably because most had no other contacts than these and to them whites are whites. They do not differentiate nationalities or races. Despite the fact that many lived in a predominantly Spanish-American community the people were not labeled there. In a small number of cases there was a definite feeling of social responsibility as far as the family was concerned.

6. In about two thirds of the cases food was mentioned in line with the cultural importance of food. In about half these cases there was apprehension about getting food or losing the sheep so they would have no livelihood. In accordance with the cultural patterns death was never mentioned. Over a third of the papers gave some type of pleasure response. In all but five the pleasure was in connection with going to a dance, sing or feast. In the remaining cases the pleasure came from a gift. The pleasure responses were higher than most of the other tribes, seeming to demonstrate that there was a sense of well being among the majority of this group.

#### Summary (Intermediate)

In summary the stories of the intermediate Navaho were literal, common sense responses. Their social responses as far as the family was concerned were the highest of any tribe, in keeping with the cultural pattern. There were few person-to-person relationships, little race labeling which indicated limited social horizons outside the extended family. There was little fantasy which might indicate the limitations of the bi-cultural situation. Colors were not used in descriptions. The pleasure responses were usually in relation to people and not things.

## Navaho(Secondary Grade 11-12)

One third of the secondary students were enrolled in Ft Wingate Vocational School. The other two thirds were enrolled in off reservation high schools, public and private(mission). All were in the eleventh and twelfth grades. The following came out in the analysis:

1. The stories varied greatly in length as well as content. Actual number of words varied from 67-382. There was varied ability displayed in the use of the second language.
2. In general most of the stories followed the common sense, literal type of response. The picture was divided into segments and each treated as a separate entity but usually not related into a whole. While the difference between the age groups of the Navaho showed less change than among other groups in the type of attack. It was significant that the small detail and listing types of response decreased at this level. Following are examples: "Martha got up early in the morning and started out to work in her garden. First she raked off the grass that are growing so tall she can't tell if her crops are here. Martha work in her garden all morning and rest in the afternoon after dinner and start work again at evening time. John saddle his horse to look for his sheeps and get them all back safe in the corral and with his sack on his shoulder start for the trading post to get some food. Nancy told her husband Walter you get some water so he start off in wagon. They don't have water at their house(Walter is doing woman's work for some reason)."
3. Fantasy was limited. In a few cases the people were given names and their actions briefly described. Very few stories were plotted. There were no abstractions nor generalizations.
4. All responses decreased in actual number at the secondary level. They seemed to 'clam up'. There was much less content than in the intermediate group.
5. There is a significant difference in the number of family responses at the secondary and intermediate levels. Secondary students gave fewer responses of this type. There was no increase at the secondary level in racial labeling even though the students were living in a bi-cultural situation and attending school with students of other races. There were few person-to-person responses outside mother-daughter or family. The secondary level had more social responsibility responses and coop-

( usually at the family or tribal level as: "This family were always a happy family because each always does cooperate with the others in what needs to be done." However, this type of cooperation response did not extend beyond the family

6. For some reason there was a significant drop in the buy sell responses at the secondary level although these students were living in a buy-sell rather than a barter climate. It might be that the experience was so common they did not mention it.

7. In the feeling-apprehension areas there was a significant drop in the 'pleasure responses'. Feelings of anger, fear were more numerous. Mention was made of getting drunk and unruly behaviour. There was a marked drop in the mention of food.

#### Summary-Both Levels(Navaho)

Secondary students followed the response pattern of literal, segmented description of the stimulus with these significant differences:

Family responses decreased, as did buy-sell and pleasure-feeling.

All responses decreased in number.

( Table VII reveals that the stories followed the cultural pattern closely.

In the main the stories were food-family centered with social responsibility extending only to the family group and inter-personal responses increasing at the secondary level.

Their approach to the stimulus was a common sense, practical manner which is in keeping with their basic character. The attack was straightforward and common sense.

Table VIII

Navaho- Comparison with Cultural Pattern

<u>Responses-Characteristics</u>	<u>Cultural Pattern</u>
Numerous family responses dropping at secondary level	Family strongest social structure. Secondary students living in bi-cultural milieu.
Limited race labeling	Limited experience with other races
People-food centered	Food-family centered culture
No mention of death	Fear of death
Division of labor	Division of labor
Large segment type of response	Practical approach to life.
Rise of fear, anger, interpersonal relationships at secondary level.	Bi-cultural living, new social environment(Non-acceptance)
Lack of fantasy	Practical acceptance of reality.

Group Profile

Taking into account both age groups and all responses an picture of the Navaho perosnality emerges. It should be remembered at both levels they are a more accultured group than wouod be found farther out on the reservation. They appraoch life in a calm, practical, realistic manner. However, at the secondary level where students are living apart from the family in a new milieu there is a rise in anger, fear and insecur responses. There seems to be disgust and anger at the actions of others and at the same time confusion and uncertainty within the individual. Perhaps for the first time he is mingling with other races and social structures and meeting 'non-acceptance'.



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## Chapter 9.

The Pai-Ute

The Pai-Ute tribes were among the last of the Indians to feel the white influence. They lived originally in the arid, desolate valley between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountains. The early Spanish explorers avoided this area going up the west coast or through the river valleys. There seem to be no meetings in the early Spanish writings although they might have mistaken them for some other tribe.

It was not until 1826 that we have records of white-Paiute contacts.

Captain Bonneville, Jeddiah Smith and Peter Ogden made note of them in their correspondence. From 1840 on the immigrants to California increased and with the discovery of gold in 1849 the Overland trail became popular. Some who could not make it to the gold fields started ranching in the broad grassy valleys. At first the relationship between the Paiute and ranchers was friendly. The Paiutes were good workers and often were employed during the work season and then went back to their native haunts. When silver was discovered at Virginia City in 1857, a new influx of whites came to seek their fortune in the mines. Some of these started ranching and encroaching upon the areas used by the Paiutes. Though many Paiutes continued working for the ranchers eventually trouble rose. When the land was fenced the Paiutes found themselves cut off from their hunting and fishing grounds. Up to this time the Federal government had made no provision for them to have lands of their own. In 1859 the scattered bands gathered at Owen's Lake and a battle was fought. The next year the Battle of Pyramid Lake was fought in which the ranchers were badly beaten. During the building of the railroads small skirmishes were frequent.

In 1864 Nevada became a state. Under the new government some thoughtful citizens made an effort to set up a Paiute Reservation. It was not until ten years later that two reservations were established: Owen's Lake and Walker's Lake reservations.

In 1888, Wowoka, a young leader seems to have been responsible for the widespread Ghost Dances held on the reservations and which spread to other tribes although there is some question as to where the Ghost Dances started. However, they quickly spread among the west and northwest Indians. The Paiutes felt that through visions Wowoka would find a means

They seem to have represented a last ditch stand by the Indians against the encroaching whites. While at first religious in nature they soon became causes for violence and several massacres occurred.

In 1892 the first Indian School was set up at Carson City. Paiute children were not forced to go to school but a goodly number attended. In 1934 with the enactment of the Reorganization Act, rehabilitation work was started to improve the condition of the Paiutes. They were encouraged to set up Tribal Councils. The allotment and selling of Indian lands was stopped. Cooperative ranching projects were set up. A loan fund allowed them to borrow money for equipment and to build homes. Educational loans were made available to worthy students.

The Navaho-Paiutes still live largely on the reservations at present. The Washo, Carson and Shoshoni Paiutes spend part time on the reservation and part time working off reservation. Progress is slow but noticeable. A few scattered bands are still to be found in isolated areas as far north as eastern Oregon and southern Utah.

Linguistically the Paiutes belong to the Uto-Aztecan family. Originally they inhabited the broad desolate valleys where they wrested a precarious living. They hunted, fished and gathered seed and nuts for food. The food was dried and stored for future use as the winters were often severe. In a few localities they made crude pottery and substantial baskets. The baskets were sometimes coated with pitch to make them waterproof. Food and water were heated by placing hot stones in the basket with the food or water. Seeds and roots were ground on stone metates and made into porridge or bread.

The houses were usually built of wattels covered with mud. Most today have wooden or log homes although the huts are sometimes used in summer or for hunting trips. The first clothing was made of hides. Grasses were woven or tied together for kilts. Blankets were made of reeds and strips of fur for winter.

In a political sense they had no government beyond a chief who was usually chosen by the group. In times of crises the bands would gather together for mutual benefit.

The birth of a child was usually a time of special care for both the mother and father who were obliged to observe certain taboos. In some

groups there, was a birth hut used by the females, and also during menstruation. However, fear about these processes did not seem as prevalent as among other tribes nor were the birth ceremonials as important. After the birth of the child from four to seven days the mother and child were kept away from the tribe. Food taboos were observed, salt, meat and fat. The father could not hunt during this time. Most mothers today nurse their children as they did then. Weaning and toilet training were voluntary. There was no hurry about naming the baby nor does there seem to have been a uniform naming ceremony. Once a name was chosen for the child it was supposed to have special powers. Usually the children were given English names when they enrolled in school and were entered on the tribal roll. The name was usually given by the mother's parents.

The play pattern of the child followed the work pattern of the parents although they had ball and stick games common among other western tribes. The girls usually learned to gather and prepare food with their mothers while the boys learn to hunt and fish with the fathers. The old men instructed the boys in the tribal lore and ceremonies if any. Puberty was a very important time of life for the child as well as the tribe. It meant an eligible wife or hunter was ready to take part in the work of the tribe. The puberty ceremonies for the boys usually took place on a hunting trip. Much of the ritualistic life has been lost though in some areas modified ceremonies are carried out. The boy was not supposed to eat the first game he killed but rather share it with the group.

In early times the puberty ceremonies for the girls usually lasted for several weeks. They felt that what a girl did during this time would indicate what she would do or be in her future life. She usually worked and went through the rites to make herself strong. At the end of this time she was arrayed in new clothes and presented formally to the tribe as a member. At times this was accompanied by a type of dance similar to the Apache. Most today marry in the Christian manner. Among the less acculturated people the marriage is usually arranged by the parents. The boy usually comes to the house of the girl to live until she accepts him. They then go to live with the boy's family until they are able to support themselves.

The women seem to have a great deal of responsibility and still have an important part in the food gathering. A few of the old women still make baskets to supplement their income. The young people avoid in-laws when possible.

The Paiute as many other groups fear death. In early times the body was buried in a rock crevice and the belongings of the dead person burned. He was exhorted to go away. There are areas where the dead person's dog and horse are killed so he should have no reason to return and haunt the tribe. All dead people were supposed to go to the same 'good' place. Many have accepted Christianity and practice it.

In former times a period of mourning was observed during which members of the family cut their hair and observed certain taboos. /

The Paiute has been adept at taking on superficial white ways. However, in some areas they cling to many of the old traditions. The papers in this study were from students enrolled in reservation schools and in some of the least acculturated areas.

Dreams seem to have had special significance for Paiutes. Dreams were often considered as warnings of danger or that the person had special power. Wowokato's dreams are examples. In some areas it is rumored that petote is used in religious rites to induce visions.

The Free Writing Test  
Intermediate(Grades 4,5,6)

Facts which came out in the Paiute intermediate papers, who were all in small isolated day schools on the reservations were :

1. There was more variety in content and length among these groups than in any other tribe, and actual number of words varying from 21-431 words.
2. Written English ranged from: "Er nyckniout cher is prtauva dog papl to." A more typical story is: "Here is Pete He has a gun. Will go hunt a bear and bring it home to his wife and cook it and eat it and maybe have a feast with lots of people there." Most writers divided the picture into segments which were unrelated and described individually. Often he became so engrossed with one part of the picture that the other parts were not noted.
3. Most of the stories were food centered or about hunting.
4. There was little fantasy although occasionally something as this came out "The clouds are like cotton and the wind pick them."
5. About half the writers mentioned color in most instances black and white or "Are littel green treey:" "Men fac e apinted black".

6. Over a third of the writers grouped the people into families or related them to family groups. A great many labeled the people racially as: "This man a mesican;" "These Navaho"; and "Thos whites." Through work experience they have probably had contacts with other races. There was no feeling or prejudice in these remarks. People were different.

7. The people were always active which reflects the migratory pattern of their culture. People were always doing or going.

8. Most stories were written in the present tense.

9. In the few cases where ownership was mentioned the Indian was always the owner. This was different from many other tribes where the 'white' was usually the owner. There was little mention of barter. Only 'Navaho' traded.

10. Some apprehension was expressed but usually about the weather; "The cloud might bring rain and the people would not get where they go but I hope they do." They did not express personal worries but only what might happen to other people.

11. In a number of instances the people were moving to another place to live as: "These poor people are going to nother place to live. They got no food here and they go to nother place where I hope they got food and live a long time." This might reflect migrant labor experiences.

12. Changing ways of life came out in a few instances as: "This woman in wagon is crying. She just got letter her son kilt in war". And "The car got to have gas but the wagon not to go with gas but horse."

13. In all the papers there seemed to be a general positive tone. The writers wished other well. Though things seemed bad they would be better. "This little gas station by the road where people can get help and that is good too."

#### Summary

The responses among the intermediate students were most varied as to length and content. There was a positive tone. They usually dwelled upon one section of the picture or listed what was in the picture. Color and fantasy were limited. People were usually not named though they might be labeled racially. The stories were food and people centered. They were always active.



## Secondary (Grades 11-12)

In comparing the intermediate and secondary papers of the Paiutes, there were more significant differences between the groups than any other of the tribes. The responses at the secondary level decreased in other tribes, among the Paiutes they increased at the secondary level. This might be due to better understanding of the second language. Data revealed was:

1. Secondary responses ranged from 73-411 words.

2. Stories were written in present tense.

3. The picture was segmented in the attack. There was a marked decrease in the listing type of response. The number of Simple Wholes increased.

"This pictures has several features. I will begin with the Indian rider at the left". Another "It is a story about this filling station in the desert and the people who are there". More feeling was injected into the story content: "This picture reminds me of what a typical Navaho groups would like to be doing. The Navaho on the horse is likely going to hunt for food and most likely is not thinking about the people at the station or why they should be riding in a handsome car while he a poor Navaho must ride a poor horse. How courteous the young Indian is who is working on the car. If the whites would have taken time to talk to the old man he could have told them about the boy whose sister is in the wagon and is going blind."

5. In contrast to the intermediate students who had the Indian owning ~~the~~ things among the older students the whites usually owned things as: "The white men are taking it easy. The one in the chair owns the filling station and takes it easy while the young Indian boy works." "This Navaho boy does all the work while the white owner sits in the chair and sleeps." Actual economic responses differed in that the independent economic responses increased 13%.

6. Among the older students the people were not only active physically but always had thoughts or ideas or opinions. "They find some travelers pleasant but others they dislike"; "People traveling through this part of Arizona find the Indians very friendly"; Little progress is made in this part of the country. I hope I shall not have to live here."; and "Now Navahoes are here in school at Stewart. I can say I wish them the best of luck." From the above it can be seen in some cases social responsibility beyond the family was expressed.

7. The worries about food at the intermediate level dropped

while personal worries and social worries and feeling rose significantly.

8. On the whole the papers had a positive tone.

#### Summary

Significant differences between the two age levels of Paiutes are:

1. There is a significant difference in the attack response. Listing decreased among older students while many gave simple 'Whole' responses. The significant differences between the age groups were more numerous than among any of the other tribes.

2. While family responses among the older students dropped the social responsibility responses increased 7%.

3. Concern about food dropped but other concerns developed usually inter and intra-personal.

4. The responses for the most part were positive in tone.

5. The people were active( in the picture) and usually had thoughts and feelings.

6. Glance at Table 11 indicates that the responses closely flowed the culture pattern.

#### Personality Profile

Undoubtedly the younger writers were handicapped by their learning a new language. The high number of significant differences between the older and younger students would seem to prove this. There was a slight change in the 'attack' used by the older students, listings and segmentation decreasing while simple 'whole' attacks increased. The responses all centered about food and people. Secondary students had increased worries of a social nature or personal. The general tone was positive. There was some racial labeling with negative feelings.

They were one of the few groups who 'wished people well'. The people were usually going some place looking for something better. In a few of the stories the writer identified with the people in the picture.

Table IX  
Comparison with Cultural Pattern (Pai-Ute)

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Cultural Pattern</u>
Numerous family responses drop at secondary	Strong family pattern Secondary live apart from fa family
Limited race labeling increasing with feeling at secondary	Secondary live apart from family in bi-cultural climate
People-food centered	Family -food centered culture
No mention of death	Fear of death.
Division of labor	Division of labor
Segmented and simple whole attack	Practical outlook on life
Rise of fear personal relationships at secondary level	Bi-cultural living new social environment apart from family
Lack of fantasy	Breakdown of tribal lore
Indian ownership(intermediate)	Experience with co-ops.
Secondary 'white' ownership	Work experience
Positive tone	Basic security

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## Chapter 10.

Oklahoma Tribes(Five Civilized Tribes)

When one thinks of the Five Civilized Tribes, he usually thinks of them as being indigenous to the area without knowing what tribes they are. Officially the Five Civilized Tribes are: Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Seminole and Choctaw. These are mixed with tribes from all over the United States. They are not indigenous to Oklahoma and how they got there is one of the sorriest chapters in American History.

The first white men to come to the southwestern United States found these tribes living in advanced cultures. All we know of their early folkways comes from reports of early explorers, missionaries and government treaties. They were first observed by a band of Spaniards headed by the explorer Cabeza de Vaca. His unfortunate expedition left Cuba in 1526 and through misfortune were forced to start their march from Florida to northern Mexico. The journal which he and his group kept is most enlightening. They speak of Indians met in Florida and mentions the southwest Indians as living in villages, with governors and being skilled farmers, and weavers. They were also adept with the bow and arrow as they caused the death of several of De Vaca's men.

From missionary reports from about 1800 we find they had taken on white ways to a great extent. Many attended mission schools, owned and operated large farms and plantations and were raising and marketing cotton. Some of the young men had been sent north to be educated in colleges. They had intermarried with whites and though many still lived in the tribal villages many lived like whites on their farms and plantations.

The indigenous Indians had worked out a means of writing their language and part of the Bible had been translated into the native tongues. Through the efforts of the missionaries large numbers had become Christians. Most of the missionaries were protestant.

White planters look with longing at their lands and petitioned Jefferson to send the Indians west. At about this time Louisiana was purchased and it was felt that these 'civilized' Indians might be moved west for two reasons:

1. There would additional land for the white planters.
2. These Indians would prove a bulwark against the less civilized and more warlike Indians who were causing trouble in the border settlements.

If the Five Civilized Tribes would move they were promised lands beyond the Mississippi. The War of 1812 both delayed and hastened this action.

With the new republic hard pressed by the English, the issue took a back seat for a time. On the other hand some of the northern tribes had aided the English and caused high feeling against all Indians. The government promised to help them move and aid them in settling the new lands as well as give them payments for the lands they would leave. They were to settle on the lands which now comprise the state of Oklahoma. Some of the Cherokee ran away and hid in the mountains of North Carolina where they still live on their reservation.

Farsighted Indian leaders saw that resettlement was inevitable and by 1820 some had already started on "The Trail of Tears". The Choctaw were promised land in southeastern Oklahoma; the Cherokee, northeast Oklahoma; the Creek, west and south of the Cherokee; the Seminoles west of the Creek and the Chickasaw southwestern Oklahoma. The Indian Removal Act of 1830 require that all Indians complete the removal. In some cases where they had intermarried it meant breaking up families. The long trip overland in wagons was difficult and many died on the way. Doctors were sent with them, but were hard pressed for medical aids. The resettlement was best with many problems.

Hardly had they arrived when they found they must also share their lands with other tribes from the north and northwest. In some cases the government gave them title to their western land. However, money to build schools and homes was hard to come by. Some invited certain tribes to live with them, while others had difficulties with tribes of a different culture.

By 1889 the following tribes had been dumped into Oklahoma: Cherokee, Osage, Pawnee, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Wichita, Kiowa, Apache, Comanche, Chickasaw, Pottawamie, Kickapoo, Iowa, Sac and Iox, Creek and Choctaw as well as remnants of tribes already living in this area and who now had no land of their own. In some instances remnants of tribes petitioned to be returned to their native areas in the northwest. In addition to this aggregation were negro slaves which they had brought with them from the south, slaves who had escaped and large numbers of mixed bloods.

As late as 1893 small groups of Indians were still being resettled in the area. In all some 60,000 Indians were removed from their homes and resettled in the Oklahoma Territory not counting the western Indians sent there. Indian agents were sent to aid with administration and the

missionaries set up schools and churches.

Unfortunately many of the early settlers chose to settle on land along the river banks where they were troubled by floods, malaria, dysentery. At the end of the first year of resettlement many tribes had lost half their members. In spite of such handicaps one must admire the fortitude of these dispossessed peoples. Since many came in the spring and the government supplied seeds and tools were slow in coming, they all but starved until their first crops. The Cherokee and Choctaw lead the way in setting up mills, weaving cloth and building homes.

Schools were soon started with the help of the missionaries, government aid and tribal funds. It is interesting that they had schools for girls as well as boys and adult education programs in a period when these were all but unheard of.

By 1834 a start was made at drawing up a constitution and as early as 1827 they were appropriating money for schools as well as carrying on their tribal affairs. Newspapers and trading posts were started.

As is the case in any young government, there were factional differences and occasionally violence flared up between the conservatives and radicals. Hardly had these differences been settled and the government operational when slavery became an issue. Since many were slave holders factions arose. Large numbers of these Indians fought on the side of the South in the War Between the States.

The problems in the Indian Territory increased after the war rather than decreased. With the slaves freed and increasing numbers of white 'squatters', four groups were struggling for power: the full bloods, the mixed bloods the whites and the negroes. In addition to this many of the soldiers, recently discharged, were seeking their fortunes along the borders. The railroads were expanding which lead to questions of rights of way. Numerous appeals were made to the federal government to stop the 'squatters' who were taking over Indian lands. Many white men married Indian women to establish land claims. Dissension among the leaders was also hampering a united effort.

While the government did attempt to remove whites from the Indian lands, this profited the Indians little as they often had to pay the whites for 'improvements'. Two famous cases, and Watts and Larking cases brought things to a head. At last the only solution to the beleaguered Indians seemed to be statehood and dissolution of the tribal government. With



the enactment of the Act of April 28, 1906 the final dissolution of the tribal governments was started and the independent government of the Five Nations came to an end. It was the only nation to exist in a nation as an independent nation.

This ended a most unique period in the History of the United States. A hundred year struggle was ended. Descendents of the Busyheads, Rosses, Stand Wattie and Thompsons and many other illustrious families still live in Oklahoma. Some of Oklahoma's most distinguished citizens have come from these tribes: one federal judge, a Secretary of War, and the distinguished General Tinker who lost his life in World War II.

From the above it is easy to see that by the time the Five Civilized Tribes reached Oklahoma much of their native cultural life had been lost. After they had arrived and were living with other tribes there was further breakdown and mixture. Hence it is difficult to speak of any class today as having much of the native culture except in some isolated areas. A few of the ceremonials have survived, although they are now usually more social than religious. However, family and tribal feelings have survived. Many have taken on white ways to the extent that they are considered whites. In most cases in Oklahoma the middle class Indian is accepted. The children who come to school have a variety of upbringings. Some are brought up in much the same way as a white child while others have been brought up traditionally in families which still cling to the old ways. In most of these families, usually in the rural areas, the mother seems to have more control and influence than the father. The grandmother seems to have a special place in the family life and life of the young. Among these people are more problems than among the less acculturated groups.

Many attend public schools and mix with children of other races. In most cases they seem to make a good adjustment. An influencing factor in rearing the children, and general attitudes is the attitude of 'acceptance' or 'non acceptance' which they encounter. Probably part of this also comes from the fact that in many cases they come from a sub-standard economic group and cannot enter the other more affluent world. Often public schools programs do not suit their needs. There is misunderstanding and criticism coming from both sides. However, a large number do adjust and attain success.

The Free Writing Test(Grades 4-5-6)

61.  
All the intermediate students used in the study were enrolled in Indian Service Boarding Schools in the state of Oklahoma. No papers from public or mission schools were available. All were members of the Five Civilized Tribes. The following data was revealed in the analysis:

1. The stories varied greatly in length and content, ranging from 9-341 written words. The nine word story is a gem. "I couldn't write a story to save my life."
2. While most of the stories broke the picture into segments describing each segment, a large number showed simple organizational ability. Eight per cent gave good "whole" responses while 17% gave good simple "whole" (WS). Only 13% gave listing type of responses. The rest of the responses were large detail (D). This group used the W-WS type of response more than any other tribe and had less listing. Most of the stories had plots.
3. In many of the stories the people were moving some place so they "could be happy" or "live better".
4. In most of the stories the people were given English names.
5. People were usually grouped into family groups though there were few person-to-person relationships expressed beyond the family.
6. In about half the papers the people were racially labeled without any feeling. People were often giving presents or making people happy.
7. There was good description and fantasy as: "There are little clouds up on the hill were gather together like little sheeps in a meadow."
8. The tone was positive. People were usually happy or doing something to make someone happy.
9. On the whole the stories had a great deal of social feeling and sympathy for others. They were definitely outgoing. They were more interested in people than animals. They wanted to help others to be good and happy.

#### Summary

The Oklahoma students gave more W responses than any other tribe. Over half made large D responses. Description, organization and fantasy were good. There were expressions of social responsibility and of an outgoing nature. People were related into family groups.

#### Secondary

The secondary papers were all written by members of the Five Civilized Tribes in Bureau of Indian Affairs Boarding schools in Oklahoma. All the students were in the eleventh and twelfth grades. In comparing

the two age levels a great number of significant differences were revealed. With the Blackfeet they showed the greatest number of significant differences between the age levels of any of the other tribes. This is interesting since both tribes (Blackfeet-Oklahoma) are racially mixed and highly acculturated.

1. There was great variety in both content and length of the papers. In length they varied from 32-417 words.

2. While 75% broke the picture into large segments, 15% approached the pictures in an organized response or W-Ks. Only 10% gave listing or small detail response. Some of the stories were well organized with good description and some fantasy. An example: "The man on horseback is going to a shooting match. The people in the car are tourists from the east. They have stopped to get water and ~~an~~ a look at Indian life on the reservation. The Navaho family is coming in to the store to get some supplies. A longer story is:

"A Graduate Practices His Trade"

The car pulled off the main road and made its way to the little service station. Mr. Bathcoat's car needed water and oil from going all morning and then coming into the desert heat. 'But they probably don't have anything here except what people need like flour, tobacco, blankets and the like', thought Mr. Bathcoat. 'Sure, sure' laughed Mrs. Bathcoat, 'but we can get gas and go on to the nearest town.'

'Why, hello, Mr. Bathcoat'. A surprised look went over Mr. Bathcoat's face as he looked and saw Ben sitting on the chair. "Why, Ben," he said, 'I didn't know what you were doing now. Have you been working here since you left Chilocco two years ago?' "Well you see, Mr. Bathcoat, when I started to school at Chilocco in the fifth grade, I worked hard and took auto mechanics, then I graduated. I often wondered what I could do to help my people and myself. Well I borrowed some money and with the help of my little brother built this station. He is filling your radiator and testing the oil in your car. I don't even have to show him how. I want to help my people and myself to be more civilized."

"There is a boy and girl in that wagon the right age to go to school. I have tried to talk their folks into letting them go to school but it is like taking eggs from a sitting hen. I'M going to keep trying and maybe they will let them go with my brother John. I have to work hard to keep from speaking my language here but every day I speak as much English as I

can. John has learned to speak pretty well. Over there is a boy who started to go to Chilocco when I did but he dropped out. You can see all he does is ride that horse and try to get some food for his family."

"Well I certainly wish you luck and hope you and your brother will be coming back to Chilocco for the Homecoming at the end of the month."

3. The secondary students lost their interest in animals while their interest in people increased.

4. The stories for the most part had a mature viewpoint. They showed sophistication, good description and some fantasy.

5. In the social category, while the family responses dropped 32%, race labeling rose 16% and social responsibility 18% above the intermediate. While people were usually related in family groups the relationship was casual. They were definitely socially outgoing wanting to help others.

6. For some reason the barter responses rose at the secondary level as did the economically independent responses (ownership etc). The barter was not used by themselves but always by the Navahoës. Other tribes usually did the bartering when such a response was made.

7. This was the only group who wrote about romance as: "Presently a wagon came up and who was in it? None other than Al Moses and his latest bride the former Nezzie Bah." "This man on the horse is going to see his sweetheart and thinks about her as he rides along."

8. More than any other tribe the writers seemed to get mood and feeling into the responses as: "They note as they ride along the spaced shrubs, the dry sand and the heat waves bumping into each other. Everything looks so forlorn and hopeless for these poor people who live here. When they reached the filling station their interest was renewed. This place was alive and not lonely. Even the bushes seemed greener. Really it was their mental attitude. The Indians were friendly and gave them gifts."

9. The number of areas of worry or tension among the Oklahoma Indians was small at the intermediate level but dropped more at the secondary level except for the interpersonal which increased 22%. Interpersonal worries seemed connect with wider social experience. They involved: drunkenness, sad love affairs, storms and disgust with the behaviour of others. There was more variety of worries than any other tribe. At the same time the pleasure responses increased.

10. The tone of the papers was positive especially in their relationships with others: "The Navahoës are not as well off as they should be but

they work hard for what they have and enjoy it more. This land may some day be better and they will live happier lives."

11. The writers in general were more sophisticated and mature in their observations than any other group in the study. They used sarcasm, humor and their stories had a social depth not apparent in other writers.

#### Summary

The Oklahoma students at both levels gave more 'whole' responses than any other group and at the same time fewer listing type of response. Next to the Eskimo-Indian they used more description and had more significant differences between age groups. At both levels they showed a greater amount of social responsibility than any of the other tribes. While they gave high pleasure responses at the same time the secondary group gave a greater variety of inter-personal and intra personal problems than other tribes. The fantasy was controlled. Comparing the findings of the analysis with Table X we find that even though the culture is fragmented the responses following certain trends. It seems that their past and heritage have developed certain traits which are not found in the writings of the other tribes in such a high degree. While there was race labeling it was more identification and there was little rancor. There was a certain feeling of optimism present.

#### Personality Profile

The personality picture of the Oklahoma Indian which emerged from the responses was quite different from most of the other tribes. They are more 'outgoing' and optimistic. While they freely express their worries and problems they enjoy life and people. The pleasure responses were relatively high. Fantasy is kept well in hand. About a fifth of the group showed good organizational powers and others displayed a high degree of native common sense and ability to cope with problems. While abstraction was indicated there was only sporadic evidence that it functioned. They emerged more socially mature than others. There was no pettiness.

Table X

Response Compared to Cultural Pattern (Oklahoma)

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Cultural Pattern</u>
Socially outgoing Social responsibility	Association with many other tribes and races in working toward survival has developed social cooperation and empathy. They accept and are accepted.
Large detail. Whole and story form used more than any other tribes.	Preserving their cultural life have developed a system of problem solving. Many ceremonies which have lost their meaning have been preserved as art forms.
Person-to-person relationships numerous outside family group. Mature viewpoint and expression of personal problems.	Varied and wide experiences with many tribes and races. Highly acculturated process has brought them problems, which other tribes are just experiencing.
Family responses drop at the secondary level.	Follow cultural pattern but not confined by it. Expanding social horizons.
With Blackfeet they have the greatest number of significant differences between age groups.	Many mixed racially and highly acculturated.



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## Chapter 11

The Chemawa School--Northwest-Oregon

The Indians of the Northwest like the Paiutes were among the last to come into contact with the whites. Yet they have taken up white ways faster than any other group. In the process their cultural mores have been fragmented. They have intermarried with Europeans, Negroes and Orientals until today some doubt that there is one pure blood Chinook Indian. In some areas the tribe has dwindled in numbers or died out. For our purposes we consider the Northwest Indians as those living in the states of Oregon, Washington, part of Idaho and northern California.

When the first Europeans began writing about them, they were extolled as having one of the richest cultures of any of the American tribes. Only remnants of this remain today. The first white men to visit them of whom we have any record were Captain Gray and Captain Vancouver, who discovered the mouth of the Columbia River in 1732. It is possible that Russian, Spanish and even Chinese ships had been in these waters previously but did little exploring and no colonizing. Gray and Vancouver came into contact with the Chinooks, who at that time inhabited the coasts of Vancouver Island. It did not take long for the shrewd Yankee traders to build up a lucrative trade with the Chinooks - trading metal tools and guns for the rich furs. Sea otter was the most valuable at this time. At the same time the Chinooks with their strong canoes built up a lively trade with the tribes farther inland. Thus many of the upper Columbia River Indians were using metal tools and guns long before they had seen a white man.

In a few years The Hudson's Bay Company established trading posts. The Americans lost no time in doing the same. There was great rivalry among them for the Indian trade. Among the Indians they were known as the Boston men and the Englishmen. Meanwhile, great numbers of American and French Canadian trappers were pushing westward in a lively contest. It was during this period that racial mixture began as many of the trappers took Indian wives. The Dalles became a meeting place for traders and trappers. There is a record that 1829-32 there was an epidemic which wiped out whole Indian villages.

Roughly following the trail of Lewis and Clark, General Fremont and a party of soldiers visited the Northwest 1843-46. They left no permanent forts. In the same years the boundary between Canada and the United States was fixed and tribes found themselves and families separated, part Canadian a

and part American. In 1846 the Applegate Brothers made the first settlement in the Willanett Valley. From this time on immigrants crowded over the Oregon Trail. Many who had not found gold in California came north to settle in the rich river valleys. Settlers came so fast that it was estimated that by 1838 there were 30,000 whites oiving in the Northwest Territory.

Eventualy the furbearing animals died out. The Indians found themselves cut off from their former hunting groupds and berry patches by white settlers who had fenced the land. Trouble was inevitable. It was too late for most of the Indians to claim new lands as the best lands were gone and the life of the farmer did not appeal to them. They attempted to wander back and forth to the old food grounds and numerous skirmishes with whites followed. It was during this period that the names of Chief Seattle, Leschi, and Captain Jack come to mind as well as Chief Joseph. The years from 1836-1856 were known as The Indian Wars.

By 1858 the situation had become critical and some far sighted citizens made attempts to have the government set aside certain lands for the Indians. At this time Congress was busy with the 'slave' issue and it was not until the end of the Civil War that anything was accomplished.

In 1864 Elisha Steele, at that time an Indian Agent for the California Indians entered into an unofficial treaty with tribes in the southern Oregon area which was destined to be the cause of more trouble. Military authorities later abrogated the treaty and new outbursts occurred. Little by little treaties were made piece meal and the Indians as far as possible were allowed to choose the land they wished for their own. Little care was given to the selction of land and they often found themselves without a water supply or cut off from wild food. Their lot seemed hopeless. Many worked as laborers on 'white' farms. This was difficult for a proud people to do menial labor.

During 1870-78 the Ghost Dances sprang up. These were a last ditch stand, futile though it was. By 1878 many of the Indians had been settled on individual famms not in accordance with their traditional type of life. This called for more adjustments. Indian agents were sent out to teach them to farm. In many cases these attempts ended in failure. It was too much to expect them to take on a new way of life on such sudden and short notice. Farming not ojly meant they must disrupt their traditional way of life but learn new works skills, eat new foods and live in separate families apart from the tribe.

When the lumber industry came in many of them found more satisfying work in lumbering and also in the hop and berry picking. During this period many left the tribe and were separated from their families and there was much intermingling of the races.

By 1878 agencies had been set up and schools started. At first these were small day schools on the reservations, but later it seemed wiser to enroll the students in large off reservations boarding schools where more efficient plants could be set up. At this same time in many instances the government gave the land allotments outright to the Indians. Often the land was sold to whites at undervalue, the money soon spent and the Indian was worse off than before.

Little by little they have been absorbed into the unskilled and skilled labor market of the Northwest and tried to take on white ways. There are still numerous small reservations where many still try to maintain a living. There have been disputes over fishing rights etc. This has not been a happy situation. Their cultures have been badly broken. Little by little the Federal Government has entered into contracts with the northwest states to educate Indian children in public schools. Hence most of the large boarding schools have been closed. The public schools have not completely met the needs of the Indian students. Chemawa remains as the last of the large off reservation in the northwest.

In 1934 an attempt was made to set up a rehabilitation program. Many have gone back to their lands and supplement their income with off season work. Progress is slow and there are many problems. It is too early to completely evaluate the worth of this program.

The Pacific northwest Indians which Gray and Vancouver found were the most fortunate of all their western tribesmen. Food was theirs for the taking. Berries, seeds, grasses, roots, fruits and nuts grew in abundance. The salmon came to their very doors each year to spawn. Whale and seal were in abundance to furnish meat, furs and oil. The mild climate made little or no clothing essential. Some of the oldest forests of the world provided them with wood for their long houses, canoes and clothing. Today most remnants of this culture, along with its people have disappeared, as well as the little fur bearing dogs they had as pets.

In the traditional society the birth of a child was a great blessing. They were indulgent with their children, making them happy so they would not want to die. The baby spent a great deal of his early life on a cradle board. In early times these were fitted with a frame to push the head

up to a point and widen the forehead. Lewis and Clark in their journals describe these conically shaped heads. The boy's nose was pinched to make it high and thin. The mother usually nursed the baby as long as it wished. Today many of the babies are bottle fed.

Since the parents were often off on food gathering expeditions, the young child spent a great deal of time with the grandparents, usually the father's parents. In the large community houses from two to twenty families usually lived. Each family had its own compartment and storage space and there was usually a large hearth and work area in the center.

At about the age of five or six, the child started to learn to help with the work. The girls spent their time with the women, learning woman's work. The boys usually went with the males of the tribe to learn to hunt and fish, make houses, canoes and weapons. This division of labor still seems to hold. During the spawning season the boys went with the fathers to fish and the girls with the mothers to pick berries and dig roots. Usually the boy's or girl's first contribution of food was a cause for celebration since it now meant that they were producing members of the tribe.

The men seem to have had special initiation ceremonies for the boys who were taught to make themselves strong and appease the spirits with the proper rituals. The girls were carefully watched and protected. During puberty girls were kept apart from the males as were pregnant women.

In early times the puberty ceremonies for the girls usually lasted a month after the first menstruation. At the end of this time a great feast was held and the parents of the girl gave away many presents. Now the girl was considered ready for marriage. The marriage was usually arranged through the parents. The parents of an eligible boy would approach the parents of the girl. After the marriage was arranged the boy's parents brought him to the home of the girl, where presents were exchanged. Parents often started upon the birth of a girl to put away presents for her marriage. After a wedding ceremonial and feast, the girl went to live with her husband's family. They continued to live with the boy's family until there was a child or two when they established their own home. Most of these ceremonies have died out.

The old people of the group were treated with much respect. They had important functions in the training of the young and hence had status. The period of middle age seems to have been looked upon as the best time of

life for both men and women since they were relieved of certain taboos. They feared the dead and made efforts to appease the spirit so the ghost would not return. Often they hired people to care for the bodies. The burials were usually in wooden boxes or according to some records, in the ground. In other cases tree burials were used as well as in the case of a celebrity, in a long boat which was sent out to sea. The dead person's home was avoided and certain mourning rites were observed as cutting the hair. Today most follow the accepted Christian form of burial. Most of the traditional life is gone. Settling as individual families meant a cultural break up. Putting the children in boarding schools meant that they lost the traditional training of the grandparents and elders. Men still participate in the salmon run each year. Though many of the arts and crafts are gone, in recent years there has been a slight revival, especially basketry and wood carving. Changes have come fast. Acculturation has been pressurized. Many tribes have disappeared. This could pose a problem for a further study in the nature of rapid acculturation.

The Free Writing Tests

All the papers at both age levels were written by students in government boarding schools. Half the intermediate students were enrolled in Warm Springs Boarding School while the others were enrolled in the Chemawa Boarding School. All were at least one fourth Indian blood, many full blood. Many had lived in white communities most of their lives while some had never been off the reservation and lived in traditional communities.

Intermediate(Grades 4-5-6)

The following points of interest were revealed in the analysis of the papers.

1. In length and quality of content there was a greater range than in most of the other tribes. The papers written varied in length from 54-335 words. In content the following are examples:"He is going hunting in the summer/ He was at a station. He had a dog and some other dog is hunting for rabbits. He look like he was mad. He and his dog is going. I hope they have a good time and kill something so he won't get mad. He has band around his head and hair up. He got saddle. Dog is black and white. Here is two women in wagon."
2. A majority of the students divided the picture into segments describing each in turn. There was little fantasy. In a few cases there was a plot. The stories were usually literal description.



3. The cloud seemed to have a fascination for many of the writers as: "Looks like up in the mountain was a cloud of dust and a wind storm. Some Indians are trying to travel through the storm. Sometimes people die in a wind storm. They get covered up and can't breathe and die," and "Looks to me like there is a storm coming which is bad and I hope these people get in out of it or they get killed." The storm was always fearful and a source of anxiety.

4. Form C of the test with the printed directions was used throughout this area yet the printed directions seemed to have had little influence on the manner in which the attack was made.

5. The general pattern of the responses in most cases was a type of disorganized statement. The writer jumped from one segment to another often interwoven with the writer's feelings as: "The people look like Indians. They look like a show we had here once. It was about Indians. In wagon are three women. I sure did like that show. And those other people."

6. Unlike other tribes, the pile of trash in the foreground seemed of special interest, and descriptions of it varied as: "There are two tires, and some cans and things on the side of the road. It looks like someone didn't want the tires because they are too old to use on rough roads." and "The Indians in the picture shows how they throw things around on the ground. They should put in sack or can with lit on it".

7. The horse and dog were mentioned more frequently than the people.

8. In many cases the writer listed or numbered the objects in the picture of which the following is an example: "All there is in the picture is about five or six things laying around and about five little bushes and here is one big cloud. There is one man on a horse and a dog."

9. There were few person to person relationships expressed and the people were seldom grouped as families. Only two other tribes gave fewer family responses. This may be due in part to the fact all children were in boarding school apart from their families and because of the broken family pattern in those areas.

10. About a third of the stories were written in the present tense. The others used past tense. In some old tribal history came out. "This man on horse riding for many years. He had lost his tribe when he was young man."

11. Food was not a deep concern as it was with other tribes. Mention of food was casual as "This woman bought some food at the storey."

12. While the Indians in some cases owned the filling station, it was also an Indian who was usually doing the work. Some of the observations were quite pointed as: "The man on the porch was sound asleep while the Indian was working in the hot sun;" again, "The man leaning against the house said to these people in the car about the Indian boy - all Indians are slow"; "The man who owns the gas station hired Indians to work for him;" The man who owned the filling station just sat around and watched the Indian do all the work. The owner just sit and watch him work." This 'underdog' feeling was often tied up with social and economic responses as: "The Indians have to ride in old wagons because they can't afford autos."

The variety of inter-personal responses, feelings and worries were of greater variety than of any other tribe. A few pulled from the papers are: "This boy is called his father's pet by his brothers and sisters and gets anything he wants"; "These people believe in a lot of what their ancestors ways ghosts and things which is silly;" "Once there was a cowboy who thought he was a big shot and of course he was indee. Foo. He gave people orders what to do but he never did work himself. But one day he never did give orders every again;" and "I know how this feel I am an Indian meself".

#### Summary

Most of the students used the detail attack on the picture. They were not especially interested in the animals nor did they give many family responses. There were few person to person relationships expressed. Some responses had highly colored feelings, usually in connection with the social and work situations. The variety of inter personal worries expressed were among the best of any of the intermediate groups.

#### Secondary (Grades 11-12)

Students at the secondary level were all enrolled at the Chemawa School. They were greatly mixed socially and tribally. They were among the most acculturated of the western Indians and most had had work experience.

Data of interest which the analysis revealed was :

1. The papers varied in length and content. 72 - 467 words.
2. Although the papers were in most instances neater and written in better English the content value was about equal to the intermediate. There was

less spontaneity, a tendency to repeat and a seeming suppression of effort and interest. They seemed bored and devious. When the 'attack' responses were submitted to statistical treatment, there was no significant differences in the patterning of the attack from the intermediate group, although the secondary did show an intertribal difference in description. The scantiness of the responses may have been due to apathy, as in the case of the Blackfeet, a type of passive resistance if we wish to go that far. The writers usually gave a literal description of the picture segment by segment as: "This car is traveling and stopped here. That cloud might be a storm coming. There aren't many trees or grass. That man is riding a horse, and could be hunting". The man might be the cloud might be. The writers expressed the obvious but not in any particular sequence. People were labeled as Indian and white and few person to person relationships expressed.

3. There was little fantasy.

4. The people were seldom grouped into family units. There were a few mother-daughter relationships expressed.

5. In the social area there was no significant difference between the age groups except the 'people'. Here, the people responses of the older group dropped 30%.

6. There was significant rise 6% in the food responses.

7. In a few isolated instances there was some ~~show~~ show of social responsibility which was not a general trend. Some remarks pulled were: "These people came to the reservation to see what could be done to help these people and make them a better living."

8. Racial feeling expressed was usually in connection with a work situation. The Indian usually worked 'for' someone. "This poor Indian boy works for the white man who pays him little money. White people don't seem to think that Indians need money"; and "This poor Indian boy works like a dog while the boss a white man sits sleeping."

9. In a number of cases the Indian owned something but usually it was the white man who was an owner.

#### Summary

The secondary group seemed to follow the pattern of the intermediate grades quite closely. Family relationships were loose and sometimes tinged with feeling. There was little fantasy. A noticeable drop was noted in the secondary responses in ~~feeling~~ content while feeling, crisis, especially in the social categories rose.

### Personality Profile

Comparing the summaries of the responses with Table XI, the responses follow the cultural pattern in the large overall areas. As in the case of the Blackfeet, the approach to the problem was often one of a hop-skip-and-a-jump disorganized attack. This is important, because these two groups seem to have similar mixture and social background, rapid acculturation and tribal breakdown. While there was a small trend in social responsibility this was swallowed up by the number of 'underdog' insecurity responses which were revealed. This feeling was usually in connection with the economic or work experience. They gave good literal description but made few attempts to organize the responses into a plotted story. While there were a number of 'whole' attacks, they did not seem to be functioning at their capacity level. Extended social relationships seemed to bring a great number of problems which they mentioned but did not develop. There were few person-to-person relationships expressed either within the family and tribal groups or without. Throughout there seemed to be an underlying uneasiness. Between the age groups there were fewer real differences than among many of the other tribes. They resembled the Blackfeet more than any other group in the disorganized type of responses which they gave and in attitude although the Blackfeet seemed to have more edge and sarcasm in their responses. There is also an interesting contrast in that the Blackfeet students were all enrolled in a public high school while the Northwest group were all enrolled in Chemawa. Thus we have two groups in different educational milieu responding in a similar manner. This problem could make an interesting study in itself.

Table XI

Northwest - Comparison-Cultural Pattern and Responses

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Cultural Pattern</u>
Large segments-hop-skip-jump	Broken, disorganized culture. Migratory labor
Food not a worry	Abundant food supply
Few family responses-casual	Broken family pattern-separation
Few person-to-person relationships	Children in boarding schools
Some social responsibility but marked underdog feeling. Uncertain social status, unskilled work.	Work experience under white boss Uncertain social and economic status.
Little fantasy	Broken culture. Little ceremonial life or arts and crafts or stimu- for artistic expression.
Drop in people interest at secondary level.	Process of adjusting to social horizons-striving for status.



## Chapter 12

### Pima - Papago

The tribe which we know as the Pima Papago are not one tribe but rather many groups of people of Uto-Aztecan ancestry living in southern Arizona. How long they have been there no one knows. Whether or not they are descendants of the 'Casa Grande' is a question which find support on both sides. We do know that at least one thousand years ago the people now known as "The River People" or Pima were farming along the river valleys of the Salt and Gila Rivers. The Papago or 'Desert People' were living in small settlements in the upper part of the Sonoran Desert. At that time there were no international boundaries and part of them lived in what is now the state of Sonora, Mexico and part in Arizona. They still go back and forth for special ceremonies and fiestas and many of them are Mexican born. They are probably one of the oldest groups in the Southwest. In early times they were and still are a peaceful, happy, dignified group sometimes called the 'Singing People'.

From a barren, hot desert they have found a way of life satisfying to them. At times they were harassed by the Apache and later the Navahoes. In the year 1782 they drove out the Jesuits. Because of the numerous ruins to be found on the present reservations, they must have wandered greatly. The climate, geography and natural resources influenced these moves. During the rainy season when the arroyos ran and there was water in the lowlands, they planted corn, beans and gathered native roots and berries and hunted what game they could find. Later when the water dried up they moved to lower levels of the mountains where they might find springs and nuts and other herbs and plants and more plentiful game. Certain groups seem to have certain areas which were considered their property.

The houses were usually made of adobe or brush which was plastered with mud. The present homes are largely of the same construction, usually two or three rooms with a ramada. Due to the warm climate much of the living and work is done in the ramada. Floors are usually pounded earth. As in former times they still raise corn, beans, chili, squash and melons. The corn is still ground and made into tortillas. Great use is made of the cacti which grow abundantly in the desert using the pulp, juice, fruit and fibers. In the fall they gather acorns which are ground and mixed with the corn meal. Like Apache they make a type of soup from the acorn. The women make pottery and formerly were among the best potters in the Southwest, as well as excelling in basket work. In early times they seem to have known how to weave cloth of the cactus fibers and wild cotton.



They believed that originally the earth was made by the Earth Maker from his sweat and dirt. Many of the gods died and the power passed to the people. They believe this power is something which can accomplish desired ends through thinking about them and singing. The use of ritual and keeping good thoughts directed toward the desired ends may bring to men what things they need and help them through crises. Hence to them song is a means of using innate powers. Singing about something may bring it to pass.

They also attach great importance to visions, sometimes using fasting and peyote to induce these. They also believe the god Iltoi invented war to send from the earth people the God created, which may go back to their former brushes with the Apache and Navaho. They also believe that Hohokan, the people who are thought to have built Casa Grande, vanished from the earth and that they themselves came from the underworld. This is similar to the Hopi belief and other Southwest creation myths. Thus visions, singing, ritual and ceremony play an important part in their lives and still do. They provide an escape from a barren environment and new problems.

The medicine men and priests, formerly, had great power and still have considerable power in the western section. Politically and socially they number many small groups with head men. They live in small villages and farm the nearby land. The headmen meet in times of crisis for united action. There were elaborate clan systems which are breaking up under the pressures of modern life.

After they came from under Spanish domination and later when they were assigned reservations and still later under the Reorganization Act, they elected governors in some areas, while in other villages they still have a head man.

There is marked division of labor. The children are early taught to share in the family work according to their sex. While it is possible that some of the Spanish explorers passed this way, they did not tarry long or left more than a mission or two this side of the border. The first attempts to Christianize them and the first definite word we have of them is that of Padre Eusebio Kino, who came from Mexico 1687-98. He established his first mission at Altar Valley in 1687. He also brought with him chickens, peas, onions, watermelons, cattle, horses and sheep. After his death the missions seem to have fallen on hard times although the people still

make pilgrimages to Mexico for Holy Celebrations.

In 1726 Father Sedlmayr settled among them and restored the Mission of Tubatama. In 1752 they revolted against the Spanish and drove out the last of the Jesuits in 1767. Later the Franciscans came and there is a record that Padre Gardes worked among them until 1774. Until 1827 the priests made frequent trips there. They were under the church of Sonora. Later protestant missionaries opened missions and schools for them.

Until 1821 they were under the Spanish government, known as Colonia de Papueria. In 1821 the Mexican Republic was established. The young republic, however, was too busy in other quarters to give them much attention as long as they were peaceful. Finally in 1853, with the Gadsen Purchase, they came under the United States.

When gold was discovered in California white immigrants came in great numbers and they had frequent brushes with them although these contacts did not seem to change their way of life greatly. In 1874 San Xavier del Bac was made into a reservation. From this time on to protect them small reservations were allotted. The last reservation was organized in 1917.

These were piecemeal attempts to restrict certain lands for their use.

Lately the government has bought tracts of land and they are now settled on an official Pima-Papago Reservation with headquarters at Sells, Arizona.

The birth of a child was usually looked upon as an event of joy. From scanty medical records it seems that Papago children seem to be more widely spaced than children of other Indian tribes though they do not seem to use contraceptives nor taboos to prevent births. The family seldom has a child each year as is the case among other tribes. Though the male is dominant in their society, a child of either sex is welcome.

After birth the mother is not segregated from the rest of the tribe although in former times she had to observe certain food taboos. (salts, sweets, sour) In former times the father was also supposed to abstain from hunting and other activities for certain periods of time.

About twenty days after birth, the child was taken by his parents at sunrise to the medicine man. After a brief ceremony the medicine man gave the child a name. This name usually came to the medicine man in a vision. This ceremony was supposed to bring the baby a long and happy life. While some

children today do not have the naming ceremony, it is widely used in some parts of the reservation. In addition to this Indian name which was seldom known by outsiders and which was his own personal property, the child was often baptized and given a Christian name. In former times the Pima-Papago as was the case with many other tribes, changed their names at will. When they moved or a member of the family died they often changed names. Catholic babies usually have god parents. The Pima-Papago parent is usually indulgent. The mother is usually in close contact with the child during the first two years of his life. The cradle board is not used as extensively as among other tribes. The baby is usually placed in a little hammock made of a blanket and some rope. Weaning and toilet training are voluntary. Except among the younger families, the child is nursed by the mother until he weans himself. At times the mother weans the child by putting chili on the nipple or leaving him with a grandmother until he forgets about nursing. At about the age of two he starts eating soft foods as a tortilla dipped in gravy or coffee. He is also encouraged to feed himself. Toilet training is done by imitation. Because of village life he has plenty of companions of all ages as well as older brothers and sisters to pay attention to him. Thus early he learns the lessons of tolerance getting along with others. He learns without undue pressure that certain things are expected of him. As the youngest child he has certain privileges which he must relinquish when another child comes along.

The grandparents have an important role in this training and usually have a very pleasant relationship with the child. He learns to accept their authority as well as that of his parents. Children brought up in this traditional Indian way seem to have few temper tantrums or moods. They are treated as children in a child's world, but at the same time with their close association with adults have access to the adult world when they wish. With these parents a child is seen and heard.

The child soon learns to help with the family work, but is never expected to do more than he can handle nor is he scolded for making mistakes. While he is not praised for performing a task he is rewarded by social acceptance of the group as a working member.

Until about the age of six, the children spend most of their time with the family and villagers. On entering school, they must learn to accept a new authority and broaden their social limits. At this time the boys usually spend more time with the fathers hunting or working stock.

Life is not all work and school. They have many ball and stick games as well as races and fiestas. They learn to dance early first with members of their own sex and later with members of the opposite sex. Since there is drinking among the men and sometimes women, they learn to stay out of the way of inebriates. There is no stigma attached to drinking since they feel it is a personal matter.

Usually once or twice a year if possible they attend Holy Days at Magdalena, Mexico. They go to mass, confession and the fiesta afterwards where a carnival spirit reigns. The Mexican police through loud speakers announce the names of inebriates who have been picked up and the family can pick them up. At this time they also renew their supplies of Holy Water, candles, Santos, medallions and other religious objects which they may need.

Formerly the puberty rites for the boys and girls were given more attention than at present. However, the girl usually goes to a medicine man for a short purification ceremony. If she happens to be in school this is postponed until she comes home. Formerly the marriages were arranged by the parents but at present with most of the young men and women off the reservation mingling with other tribes, they often choose their own mates. Since, World War II, many have gone to the armed forces and many more have been working off the reservation to supplement their incomes. They are making permanent contacts with whites and some have moved completely off the reservation. With the building up of the cattle industry and irrigation projects life on the reservation is becoming easier. Recently in some areas the Indians set up their own cooperatives and have taken over a great deal of leadership. Some of the more progressive leaders advocate turning the B.-I. A. schools over to the state as well as health and agriculture programs. How fast and successfully this will move is still to be tested. However, it is encouraging to find such leadership emerging.

#### The Free Writing Tests

##### Intermediate (Grades 4-5-6)

All students were at intermediate level, with half enrolled in on reservation day schools and the others enrolled in the Phoenix Boarding school. The following data appears in the analysis:

1. The responses ranged in length from 9-193 words. There was great range of content.
2. Most of the stories were simple, usually a number of loosely related simple sentences. In a few instances there was a plotted story. At the other end

simple sentences. In a few instances there was a plotted story. At the other extreme the response was merely an inventory of objects in the picture, as "The man on horseback with the dog? That they deers. The people in the automobile? Going to Chuichu. The family in the wagon?" At the other extreme, we have: "The man on horseback is going to hunt rabbit. His name is Star Dust and his hunting dog name is Jasson. He is an Indian dog. He goes hunting with his people when his people gets hungry for rabbit. He works with his mother while his father works at the gas station. The people in the car from California. They going to Old Mexico. They are in Arizona. The station is out in the desert. When they get out in the desert. When they get out of Arizona they go to Old Mexico they are having a nice trip. The Indians in the wagon are going to the station to buy foods and good with the white man they sell Indian rugs and rings for money and then buy. When Star Dust the hunting man came back he had killed 6 rabbits and his dog was very tired."

3. Very few of the writers wrote a story in the sense that they constructed a plot or had definite organization. As was stated before most of the writers used a simple listing type of response. They did not relate the parts of the picture.

4. About one third of the papers showed some simple type of imaginative activity as giving the people names, but this was about as far as they went. They did not use color in any of their descriptions nor develop abstract concepts.

5. Most of them grouped the people into a family. There were no person-to-person relationships expressed other than these. The only relatives mentioned in about 3% of the papers were the grandparents. They mentioned Navahoes but not whites.

6. In the few expressions of pleasure were in terms of going to a fiesta or dance.

7. None made any mention of the weather, ownership nor did they seem to mention anxiety about food.

8. The general tone was positive.

9. The papers were simple and description and story factors scanty.

#### Summary

The responses were simple listings of positive tone restricted in fantasy and description. Ninety seven per cent of the responses used small detail or listing type of response. The responses were scantier than other groups.



### Secondary (Grades 11-12)

All the secondary students were enrolled in the Phoenix Boarding School in a large city, apart from their families. Almost one fourth of these students had at one time attended a mission school or public school for at least a year. They were somewhat mixed racially and tribally.

1. In length the stories varied from 114-499 words. They varied in content a great deal more than the intermediate papers. Two significant differences were revealed in comparing the two age groups: Secondary level had more organized responses with few listing type of response. There was also more feeling expressed. Some of the stories are: "The man on horseback is going out to kill an animal that has been crippled in a race or something. He look angry. Maybe it's his best horse he has to kill. The people in the car white people and I guess they are going to Indian celebration. The Indians coming in wagon might be some Navahoes who are bringing things. They are hungry and want to get somethings from the store. The land looks mighty dry." Another story is: "This picture is a very good example of the old and the new. By the old I mean the ways and beliefs and customs of the ancient Indians and the great contrast between them and the modern white man. Take for example the man on horseback. He could have been an Indian man many years ago going out to fight. He would have been dressed in the same way and wouldn't have anything but his gun. The Indian family in the wagon could also have been any family going somewhere. The only difference is that the Indians of long ago didn't have horses. Unless they were exceptionally well off they couldn't afford to own them. The background of the scenery is very typical of long ago. The vast plains with little shrubs here and there. The lonely mountains with very little vegetation with maybe one or two clouds in the sky. All this put together makes it a very lonely, dreary, dry, windy place. One of the last places I would pick to live. But wait in the midst of all this loneliness there is a building which takes your mind away from the time when Indians were still free from any white men living among them. When they still worked and hunted for their very existence, when they worked to make their clothes instead of going to a store to buy them when their next meal depended upon whether father had killed any game. Into this picture comes the white civilization, into it comes the dependence on the modern inventions of today by which we stay alive. The necessity of buying gas for a vehicle



which would take them to their destination. The worn out tires show that someone had spent money for new tires. A long time ago the Indian would not have minded to ride along in the dust for miles just to get to his destination whenever he could. But now he has to have a car which would take him there faster and in greater comfort. It is for this that he is willing to work and compete with white people. To learn that he is able and can fit into their world. The Indian is slowly coming out of his old beliefs and customs. He is changing to the white man's ways. He will be able to take his place beside any other white citizen and vote as any other citizen." (At this time Indians were not allowed to vote in the state of Arizona.)

2. There was great variety in content. Some were mere listings while others were plotted and had some thought expressed.

3. A great deal of cultural patterning was noted as can be seen in Table XI. Much mention was made of singing as: "Chee Yazzie went down to hitch his horses to his wagon and went off singing at the top of his voice so he would have a good day." Again the association of the young child with his mother is noted. "This little boy got tired of playing with his dog and sat by his mother and played with pebbles and sticks. "Another instance: "This little boy stays near his mother and plays because he is too young to work". Again the happiness of working together: "This boy who worked at the garage is very happy as he works for the reason that he helps his boss make a lot of money by being nice and honest with the customers." Still another example is: "This family is all doing different work. They all look happy doing their different jobs."

4. The general tone of the papers was positive: "They returned home very happy." Their relationships with others were usually happy.

5. Ownership was mentioned in casual ways only. Usually the Indian was the owner. The economic responses at the secondary grades greatly increased. Significant differences occurred between the older and younger students. These were increase of dependence and barter responses at the secondary level. Intertribal differences occurred which were significantly lower than those of other tribes. These might be due to differences in experience.

6. The people in the picture were usually related into family groups and in this showed significant differences between the age levels, as well as tribal groups. Half the secondary students gave family responses. There was

also a slight increase of person-to-person responses. Persons were occasionally named as Navaho or white without feeling. There were noticeable increases and significant differences among the older writers in the social area especially in their social responsibility responses. This may be due to the fact that they are living in a large city where their social horizons are widening. The family responses were tripled at the secondary level whereas in other tribes they usually decreased.

7. As in the case of the intermediate students they did not mention the weather except to note that the land was dry or there were clouds.

8. In a few cases emotions were mentioned showing an increase over the intermediate students. Pleasure responses increased significantly and markedly over other tribes. Inter-personal responses increased although they were not significantly different from those of other tribes. The older writers tended to respond more freely than the younger, which was the reverse of trends in other tribes.

9. The writers seemed to use the past tense and present tense about equally in the stories.

10. The small detail(d) response decreased significantly(29%) and at about the same rate the large detail and whole responses increased.

#### Summary

The most noteworthy differences between the age levels was the increase in the number of organized responses(w,w) and decrease in listing type of responses. Contrary to trends in most tribes, the secondary responses were much more numerous than those of the younger probably due to better use of their new language. There was little fantasy, race labeling or abstraction. The general tone was positive.

#### Personality Profile

From the responses we might picture the Pima-Papago as a happy, literal common sense type of person in his native environment. Among the older students the new social adjustments seem to develop some problems with which they grapple on a common sense level. On the whole they are social and adjust sensibly. The family relationship is loose. They did not show much fantasy, organizing ability beyond the common sense level, nor imagination.

TABLE XII  
Pima-Papago Comparison

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Cultural Pattern</u>
Increased organized responses at the secondary level and increased number of all responses. Noticable increase in W type of response.	Bi-cultural experience at secondary level. Break with native culture and new polarization. Broken culture pattern.
Increased economic dependency responses at secondary level.	Cooperative work where everyone was boss not in new environment. Learning to work 'for' not with. New work experience.
Loose family ties. Secondary increase in family responses though separated.	Extended family. Reversion to cultural family symbol as security and identity.
Mention of feasts, singing childhood relationships.	Cultural pattern.
Little race labeling especially among younger students.	Over half lived in isolated areas.
No mention of weather.	Equable climate.
Older students increased inter-personal problems.	Adjusting to a new social environment-biculture experience.

### Chapter 13. The Sioux Tribe

The Sioux were originally the largest and most important of the Plains Indians. In this study we are concerned with the western branch of the tribe, also known as the Dakotas. Originally they extended from the headwaters of the Mississippi as far west as the Yellowstone River. They made frequent sort-  
-ies against the Chippewa and in the west ran into difficulties with the Blackfeet. The first mention of them is in 1678 and two years later in 1680 Hennequin entered their location on his maps. They are supposed to have remained east of the Missouri River until the middle of the eighteenth century when they were pushed westward. They had conflicts with the Kiowa and Cheyenne. The Chippewa who had obtained guns from the French were the cause of this westward movement. While the Sioux seem to have been friendly with the French, at the end of the French and Indian War they were friendly with the English. This friendship with the English lasted throughout the Revolution and War of 1812. In 1815 a treaty between them and the United States was signed and in 1826 they were assigned certain lands. Again in 1861 boundaries were set for them. In 1862 a band of them under Little Crow killed some 800 whites in an outbreak in Minnesota. Later in 1867 a new treaty was made by which they gave up some of their land and agreed to vacate by 1876. With the discovery of gold in the Black Hills they were again forced off much of their land. It was during this period that Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse and Spotted Tail were their leaders. On June 25, 1876, the Battle of the Little Bighorn was fought in which Major Custer and his company lost their lives. During 1890-1891 with the rise of the ghost dances, soldiers were brought in and the massacre of Wounded Knee ended the Sioux resistance. Later the Sun Dance and other ceremonies were forbidden. By 1855 their land had been allotted, 160 acres to each person and attempts were made to make cattlemen of them. They were given rations and cattle were sent in for breeding. This was a new way of life for them. In 1871 a protestant mission school was established and in the same year a few young people were sent to Carlisle Institute in Pennsylvania. Later the Jesuits started a school on the reservation. By 1885 the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs had set up reservation schools. At first these were boarding schools which separated the children from their families by



necessity. As the Sioux bands broke up they were settled on individual farms and day schools were started so that it would be possible for the children to go to school and remain with their parents. At first these schools attempted to follow the policy of making the Sioux conform to the white culture. Little attention was paid to their culture and how the break up of the culture would affect their adjustment to reservation life. They were never one tribe but several bands each with a head man. When the social cohesion of these bands was broken a great deal of social value was lost.

The chief was usually selected because of his popularity and seldom was chief in the hereditary sense. Thus several extended families would wander about together with their leader and at stated times met with other groups. The most important of these meetings seems to have been the Sun Dance which played an important part in the social life of the whole tribe. The Sioux had extensive phratries among both men and women. Each of these 'fellowship' groups had rituals and ceremonials of deep social and religious significance. It was at the end of the four day Sun Dance that they would have all their business transacted. During this time new members were initiated and the dance renewed. This dance was a cohesive force which kept the culture intact and a growing thing. the banning of those dances had a deep effect on the social life of the tribe as did the settling of the individual families on farms. The one broke up the tribal life and the other the extended family relationships and phratries.

There seems to have been no elaborate naming ceremony and the puberty rites do not seem to have had the importance attached to them by other tribes. In line with their Dionysian type of culture they placed great value on visions. At about the time of puberty a boy went out alone on the plains and fasted until he had a vision which would plot his future. Through this vision also came to him some of the Universal Power. In some cases he took a new name at this time.

The marriage ceremony was thought of as a family affair. In some cases the parents arranged the marriage and celebrated with a feast after which the young couple went to themselves for a while and then came back to take up residence with the extended family.

Many have found profitable off-reservation work and are making their own way. Others have moved to border towns where they live in poverty.

### The Free Writing Test (Grades 4-5-6)

The papers used in the study were written by students in rural public schools, federal day schools, federal boarding schools and mission schools. Seventy per cent of the intermediate students were attending day school, still living with the families, in a predominantly Indian community while 70% of the secondary students were enrolled in federal boarding schools, still living on the reservation but apart from their families. The analysis revealed the following data.

1. The length of the papers varied from 8-335 words.
2. While a few of the students attempted to write plotted stories, most broke the picture into segments describing each in turn or simply listed what they saw in the picture, as: "A woman in garden. She clean garden with hoe. There are hill. There are house on top. The Indian woman is wash some clothes for her family."
3. A great many of the stories used the past tense, as: "Long time ago when only Indians lived here....."
4. The people were usually related into family groups. They mentioned the tribe of Plains Indians about as often as they mentioned the family. The stories were in the main family-tribe centered. The mother was the person most often mentioned. Beyond this there were few person-to-person relationships made. At both levels people were mentioned more often than the animals. Family cooperation was expressed quite often and this was usually tied up with the cultural division of labor. Some examples "They each have their work to do. The women cook and the men take the care of the cattle and things"; "The lady have to wash the clothes and the man has to get her wood for fire." "They all work and each does his work and they happy together". They did not work together as did the Eskimo to get food, but simply worked at whatever was to be done. There were well defined categories of work for each sex and each was expected to do his share.
5. The ownership responses were scanty and the Indian was usually the owner.



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5. The ownership responses were scanty and the Indian was usually the owner.

6. The Sioux were the only group to give long responses about dreams, visions and ghosts. These were usually given by boys and while few were significant. Quite often in the dreams dead relatives came back to them as "That night I went to sleep and then woke up and big white thing came in the door and it was my mother and she came to me and talk nice to me and then went away." In addition they gave some unusual fantasy: This story is about a little house. A while he sate until one day he got sick. The family moved away and the house as very angry and said I wish a family would move in me he said to himself as sad and angry voice and started to cry and sad and you now a family came and moved into the little lonely house and it was the same family that lived in the lonely house how happy he was and all the boys name was Billy and Billy was very big and the lonely house wish he was a stone house but his wish never did come true. Several writers from various schools remarked about a lonely little house.

7. The Sioux children gave high emotion to people and character traits as: "This man on horse sure look mad and angry"; "This lady she mean and she mad, she look for her husband he haf. lefted"; and "These people they mean and they are mad and they fight"; "My mother she talk to this man and she mad and she just roll up her sleeve and she beat this old man"; "This man with the gun he go out to shoot white people". The description was sharper and mad more edge than among the other tribes. The landscape was not usually beautiful but mean or hard or threatening.

8. A great many of the writers noticed the different clothes. Some dressed them as the old Sioux as: "This lady wears a dress of deer skin and boots"; "They don't have white clothes they wear skins and they have hair different from white."

9. Three writers had only one man and one woman in the story. They changed activities as: "This woman here she wash clothes and man get wood. She want water and he pour some from wagon. She work in garden and he go on horse to store." Thus the same two people did a variety of acts. This was the only tribe which made this type of response. These papers were not from the same school.

10. About a third of the writers gave the people names which were English.

11. While a goodly number of the students were interested in the animals, more of the intermediate students than secondary were interested in the people. Secondary students gave 40% people responses while intermediate gave 43% and only 25% animal responses.

12. Many were preoccupied with the trash pile as: "And a little din in the back of the bush is a tin can and a tare and there are two bicycle tire and a piece of iron you might get something out of if you wanted "; and "There's two whisket bottles and two tire for care laying on ground."

13. Quite often the people were given ages, almost as often as they were given names. This was unique in this tribe: "Mrs. Black Bear is thirty nine year old."

14. While many could not spell the words they used, quite often they made up their own word and spelling; "The little tar and bral and car and little man sitting beside the gass station".

#### Summary

In the approach to writing the story about half the students used a listing type of response. The stories revolved about people. Where there was description there was a bite to it and the people were given strong feelings and emotions. They had more anger responses than any other group. Most stories were written in past tense. Despite the fact that the picture showed people dressed in Navaho costume, the writers persisted in dressing them as Sioux, deerskin and buckskin. Even though there was an auto in the picture many writers set the time of their story as Pre-Columbian. They were the only group who told about ghosts and visions. Death was mentioned quite often. Inanimate things were animated. They expressed more inter-personal problems than any other group.

#### Secondary (Grades 11-12)

The analysis of the secondary papers brought out the following:

1. All the students at the secondary level were in boarding schools. In length the stories ranged from 50-288 words. Content was as varied as length.
2. There was no significant difference between the age groups in the method of attack. However, the secondary students differed from other



tribes in the number of listing and segments types of responses. Secondary responses were less spontaneous than those of the younger group.

3. While some had plotted 'whole' stories most used the segment type of response. Here and there comments as to how they felt were more telling than the type of response as: "The Indian riding is going hunting. Whatever it is must be big as he has an awful expression on his face. The people in the car stop. The Indian takes care of the outside jobs, like, filling radiators, pumping gas and tires while the white man the owner stays inside waiting on people".

4. The stories used past tense greatly as: "I see this picture as an event in the early days of the settlement of South Dakota"; and "In some long time ago when America was first discovered there were groups of people called Indians who lived here"; and "In this picture of the early days of America right after the white people came over picture show."

5. Most of the stories centered about the family and its work of which the following are typical examples: "The picture reminds me of some Indian people who just got up in the morning with each of them a part to do in the family. One can see they are advanced the early Indians because they have a horse and wagon."; "They are a large happy family and lived and worked together very nicely"; "They appreciated everything they had because they labored hard to make one another happy"; "This is an example of how an Indian family lives in peace and work with each other so no one will half to work to hard. It is an example some white people should follow." Two suggestions come out: "White people might learn how to get along from Indians" and "Many Indians do live happy useful lives in spite of hardships".

6. When ownership was expressed it was usually the Indian who was the owner. In only a few cases did the white man own the trading post while more often he owned the car. "This is a little store probably owned by some Indians"; and "I shall talk about this prosperous Navaho who owns the service station. He is a veteran of the last war and has gotten a government loan to put up this station due to the fact that he is disabled. He has had a leg shot off."

7. Quite a few of the stories showed concern about a variety of things: death, sickness, storms, fires and inter-personal relationships. People

quite often guilty of unsocial behaviour as : cattle stealing, getting drunk, beating wives and vice versa.

8. Quite long descriptions were given of the division of labor. As in the case of younger children. Boys did certain work and girls other work. In most cases these responses followed those of the younger students except a new element seemed to creep into the picture especially in the responses of the girls. Some were quite bitter as: "The women folk have to work harder than the men because they preserved the food and wash the clothes;" "The men never work. This is a typical picture that shows that even in the earlier days the men never did any work. While the women in this picture do the heavy work. Now for the men. One of them is saddling a horse so he can go for a joy ride and the other is going off for a hike. I notice that isn't a deluxe washing machine the woman is using. All in all I would rather live today and have modern conveniences."

9. High emotional content was in most of the responses which bordered at times on violence as: "The woman that is getting water had a very worried look on her face mainly because she is going to use the water to put out the fire which has just started inside the house. She doesn't want everybody to get excited so she didn't tell them;" "This girl so sad because her folks were killed in a cyclone. In one instance "The white man sitting on the porch he maybe a bachelor since the way he is looking and looking at the women."

10. Quite a few references were made to the peculiar dress. In spite of the people were costumed as Navahoes the students persisted in dressing them as Sioux. Strong extended family relationships came out which is in accordance with the tribal pattern as can be seen in TABLE XIII. There seemed to be no worry about food and the Sioux custom about eating dog was mentioned many times as : "Dogs were used for herding and food;" "They are fattening up the dog to have dog soup one of these days. Poor dog if he only knew."

11. They had a number of things to say about the progress of the Indian and his life as: "If you will notice the house is certainly lacking in modern conveniences. It shows what people can do with so little;" "In the picture on the opposite page we see three different stages of transportation. Although use of the auto has increased the horse and wagon is still as many horses and wagon as automobiles."; "The Indians today are a lot more civilized than many years back"; "Some Indians go to school and from there

on live a better life; "Charms were used by the people intended to cure disease. Today it is known as superstition": and "The Indians live a hard life and do not have many conveniences, however, you very seldom hear them complain."

### Summary

There was great variety in the responses at both levels, although they tended to use the same type of attack. The stories were work-family centered. At both levels the writers were more interested in the people than the animals. They wasted few words on the landscape or the animals. The people were usually active and related casually into family groups. The fantasy and emotional content were violent. The feeling had a great deal of acuity. Most of the students wrote in the past tense in both age groups. This was more pronounced than among any of the other tribes. Many of the writers seemed to have a mental set which was carried out in spite of the directions or the picture. There were few person to person relationships expressed and these were usually aggressive or veiled hostility. While most of the writers expressed family cooperation and the necessity to get along this rarely extended beyond the family group. The idea of social responsibility seemed to stop with the intermediate students as opposed to the Oklahoma writers where it increased among the older students. They did not go in for much racial labeling. In many cases the people owned things. They were the only tribe who mentioned spirits, ghosts and visions. They seemed to express a greater variety of worries than any of the other tribes. In many cases the man with the gun was going out to kill whites to retaliate for some wrong. Frequent mention was made of drinking and made many cultural references.

### Personality Profile

From the responses one gets the impression of a people with high, often uncontrolled fantasy quite characteristic of their Dionysian culture. They feel intensely and often act first and think afterward. They are troubled at being caught in the cross currents of cultural clashes. Few can realize the crisis the Sioux must have gone through individually and collectively when they were put on reservations and individual farms. The social organization which had been their basis for security was lost. The male lost status as the hunter and warrior. They still have outcroppings of aggression coming out in the responses, where there was more open aggression



expressed than in any other tribe. It is quite evident that they have been 'preached at' about their savagery as: "Today the Indian is a lot more civilized than in years back. This writer seems almost apologetic about his people. Another writer states: "You very seldom hear them complain". However they are finding their voices.

### TABLE VIII

#### Responses Compared to Cultural Pattern (Sioux)

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Cultural Pattern</u>
Extended family responses	Extended family basic social unit
Brother-sister relationships expressed	
few person to person relationships expressed beyond the family.	
High fantasy, acuity, dreams, ghosts, visions.	Dionysian culture. Importance to visions.
Aggressiveness	Aggressive-hunters warriors.
Detail attack	Insecurity, cultural attention to detail, beadwork, hunting, etc.
Past tense	Living in the past. Difficulty in adjusting to the present.
Mental set.	Refusal to face facts.
Division of labor	Division of labor
Family cooperation	Family cooperation
Animating inanimate objects	Animism
Disgust because men don't work	Loss of male status in cultural breakup
Eating dog	Eating dog.

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Columbia University Press 1932

# Chapter 14. The United Pueblos ( Southwest )

As one wanders up the Rio Grande Valley from the Mexican border to the Colorado border, one is enchanted by the number of little Spanish and Indian Pueblos. It is possible that the Indian people of some of these pueblos have lived in their villages longer than any group in the United States. The Pueblo Indian is more fortunate than many of the other tribes in that he has not been forced completely from their original homes, although they did not originate here. They probably came from Asia via the Bering Straits as did other Indian tribes. However, they seem to have come earlier than some of the other Southwest tribes. Some think they are remnants of a group that continued on into Mexico. Other theories are that they went to Mexico and came back to settle along the river valleys of New Mexico and mesas of Arizona.

From studies made of ruins dotting this section of the country, it is agreed that this area was occupied as early as 1 A. D. They were seed gatherers and hunters. By 400 A. D. the Basketmakers had moved in. Using tree rings found in some of the ruins, we know that by 700 A. D. they had begun to build communal houses in the cliffs and mesas of this region. The ancestors of the present Pueblos were farmers. They seem to have lived in their cliff dwellings and farmed the river and creek valleys. Between 1000 A. D. and 1500 A. D. they had developed a culture which was comparable in many ways to those of Europe at that time. They had large villages in which they lived in terraced houses, farmed, wove cloth and made excellent pottery and baskets. Living ruins attest to the fact that they had a well developed religious and ceremonial life. They had developed an intricate social and governmental system in which the individual was the center and at the same time subject to a strict social discipline. Life was thought of as a highly patterned unfolding, which is in line with some of the recent studies of child development. The welfare of the group depended upon proper observance of certain rituals and certain types of individual behaviour. As was the objective of most Indian cultures in other areas, the culture tended to pattern the personality of the individual into a stereotype, which had been found a useful type of personality for group welfare. For example, competition and physical aggression were bad for people living in

such close quarters and were frowned on while social cooperation was extolled. Aggression was accomplished through gossip and games. An illustration of this is that when it became necessary for some of the clans to move from Old Oraibi because of the water shortage, the dispute as to which clans should go was settled by a tug-of-war rather than combat.

Elaborate clan systems provided for security as well as prevented marriage between close relatives. While the Plains Indians could indulge in aggression, the Pueblos learned to live happily and cooperatively together. They early found that war was a waste and the Hopi became known as the "Peaceful Ones". It is unlikely that any group in the world has such a long history of peace. The world might well learn a lesson from them. By the time the first Europeans came to the Pueblos their culture was in full bloom; its pattern set and had fixed its stamp upon the people. Its roots were deep and still are. Though the Pueblo have had contacts with Europeans since 1540, before other tribes, they have been able to keep their culture almost intact.

In contrast to most of the other Southwest tribes the Pueblos were sedentary people. Though many of their former villages were abandoned, they usually resettled in a nearby area. The listing below gives the linguistic groupings and stock (Table XIV) and villages where the groups now live. As can be seen from Table XIV, the Pueblos are not one tribe or one stock or even one racial or lingual group but a variety.

In 1528 when Cabeza de Vaca was shipwrecked on the Gulf of Mexico, he started a whole train of events which is not yet concluded. Several years later when he and his companions among them Estevan (a negro) were rescued after making a trip almost across half the United States, he astonished Mexico D. F. with his tales of adventure. Other explorers were interested in finding the Seven Cities of Cibola. In 1539 Fray Marcos de Niza with Estevan started north, through Sonora and east as far as Zuni. Fray Marcos without setting foot in Zuni returned to Mexico. By February 1540 Fray Marcos with Vasquez Coronado and a large company of Mexican and Spanish set forth to find the famed cities. They left Compostela, Mexico on that date. They finally reached Old Zuni July 7, 1540. He renamed it Granada but left when the Indians were hostile. He continued north. When the main army met him and his company somewhere near Bernalillo, New Mexico.

Table XIV

Linguistic Stock of the United Pueblos

Linguistic Stock	Group	Tribes or Villages
Tanoan	Tewa	Nambe, Tesuque, San Juan, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Pojoaque, Hano (Hopi)
	Tigua	Isleta, Sandia, Taos, Picuris, Isleta del Sur
	Jemez	Jemez Pecos (ruined)
	Tano	Almost extinct
	Piro	Senecu, Socorro del Sur
Keres (Queres)	Eastern	San Felipe, Santa Ana, Zia, Cochiti, Santo Domingo
	Western	Acoma, Acomita, Laguna
Zuni	Zuni	Zuni
Shoshonean	Hopi	Walpi, Sichumovi, Oraibi, Mishongonovi, Shipaulavi, Shongopavi, Kykotsmavi, Hotevilla, Bacabi

By August the same year (1540) Pedro de Tovar had come to the Hopi villages where he heard about the Grand Canyon but did not continue there because of the season and lack of supplies. One of the first land records which is in the New Mexico Archives gives an account of a battle at Zia and guarantees the tribe certain lands.

The whole army holed up at Tiguex which was the main village of the Tigua near the present site of Bernalillo, New Mexico. The winter was none too happy for either side. The Indians resented the demands made of them for food and clothing and women by the Spanish, while the Spanish were disgruntled over their failure to find riches as had been expected. Some lively tales are told of how the women poured water on the Spanish from the house tops. During the winter Coronado teamed up with an Indian named El Turco, who promised to lead him to the Cities of Cibola with streets paved with silver. He did lead Coronado and his men to Pecos and into the present state of Kansas. Coronado and his men found only more disappointments. El Turco was killed as were some Pecos Indians. In the spring of 1542 Coronado and his disillusioned men started the long march back to Mexico in rags and without riches. They left behind Fray Juan de Padilla and Fray



Luis, a lay brother to convert the Indians. However, both were soon killed.

From this time on, New Mexico was explored by many Spanish at first in search of riches and later land. Francisco Sanchez and others explored and many Spanish families from Mexico were given land grants. In 1680 there was an Indian Rebellion when many were killed and the Spanish withdrew until 1692 when De Vargas accomplished the bloodless reconquest.

John Calhoun was the first Indian agent stationed at Santa Fe and due to his efforts schools were soon established in the pueblos and a boarding school at Santa Fe and one at Albuquerque.

Originally the pueblo villages were made of two or three story houses of stone and adobe. In the old houses many of the homes had no doors but were entered by a hole in the roof and a ladder which gave them protection from enemies. The houses were usually groups about a plaza with a kiva (often underground as Hopi).

The family was matrilinear and the husband after marriage went to live with his wife's family. The old marriage ceremonies in modified form are still carried out as well as a religious and sometimes a civil service. Today an increasing number of babies are born in hospitals yet many are still born at home. In most villages the mother and child must stay indoors for a stated number of days, usually twenty. At dawn on the last day the baby is presented to the sun by the mother's female relatives and given a name. He thus becomes a member of the mother's clan. The grandparents and maternal aunts and uncles play an important part in the early training of the child. In times of trouble they are his advocates. Toilet training and weaning are voluntary. When a new baby comes the next older child or children sleep with the grandparents so he is not displaced.

The child soon learns the ceremonial songs and dances. Boys are usually taught by the older men in the kivas. They spend a great deal of their spare time making the ceremonial costumes and gear. Often the older boys sleep in the kivas. This ceremonial life seems to balance the female dominance in the family.

Puberty ceremonies are held beginning with the 'whipping' ceremony and other ceremonials a little before puberty, when the children find out that the kachinas are not divine beings but their own clansmen. Girls usually

have the Corn Ceremony at about the time of puberty and is supposed to observe certain taboos.

The marriages are often arranged by the parents, but the younger generation is showing more independence in choosing their own. In some of the more traditional villages, marriages with outsiders are not recognized. At present with the return of veterans many of the villages are splitting into conservative and liberal factions.

#### The Free Writing Test

All secondary students were enrolled in off reservation schools (boarding) living in a bi-cultural situation. Many are mingling for the first time with other tribes and races. All of the intermediate students were enrolled in village day schools still living in the family and village milieu.

#### Intermediate Grades 4-5-6

In the analysis of the intermediate papers, papers from all the day schools were used in the sampling and later an independent study made of each village. The following information was obtained from the analysis:

1. The length of the stories was 9-241 words.
2. The responses from the individual villages varied among themselves as the individuals. While in some pueblos there were only eight or ten papers, they usually followed the same response pattern, while this was not always true of other tribes. In the less acculturated villages even though the children were as well qualified as the others, they tended to give listing and small detail responses and used little description. To illustrate: "In this picture I see one house, three men, five lady maybe I see three horse. I see one dog. House have 2 window and window have twelve glasses. From a less acculturated village the response was quite different: "This morning Mrs. Begay she didn't nothing in the hogan to eat and she say I go storey. So they got in the wagon and she whip horsey and they got to storey. Here wan automobile and some people they have come to california and guess what these people were some friends of Mrs. Begay. They talk and then man come by on horse with his dog. He go hunt rabbit for his dinner."
3. In nearly all cases of the Pueblo children the man was hunting rabbits or an animal to eat. Often the success of his hunt was critical as they would have no food if he came home empty handed. In the main the stories



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were food centered and family centered. As is the case in the everyday life of the Pueblos food was important as was family. They made more mention of food than any other tribe. Some of the food responses were quite casual while others were associated with intense feelings. In one case the people died because they had no food. The actual life situation was revealed in the concern about food.

4. The Pueblo students used color more than any other group. The earth was always red or pink and the sky blue and even the hills and rocks, had color. Other tribes using color usually limited it to black, white, brown and blue. Often the Pueblo child was quite specific about the exact shade as "This hill is dark red at bottom and light above." This love of color seems to stem from the colorful landscape and their life pattern.

5. These children used numbers more than any other tribe. Even in the more sophisticated stories use was made of numbers.

6. Over a third of the students labeled people racially, more than any other tribe. Probably this was due to their long association with other races.

7. The writers showed a high degree of fantasy, though well controlled.

8. They were interested in animals and built quite fantastic stories about them but were more interested in people.

9. In over a third of the stories the people were related into families. In the same manner more than a third of the writers labeled the people racially. They were not outgoing.

10. The pleasure responses were higher than in most other tribes, but at the same time there were worries and apprehensions (higher than any other Southwest tribe). Examples are: "May be this is a littleilly station. Those big thing may get them and hurt them. Pleasure was always with people except for Zia where they liked 'pops' and 'candies' to the exclusion of people.

11. Person-to-person relationships were many but usually within the family or tribal group. The mother-child and grandmother-child were most often expressed. No husband-wife or father-son relationships were expressed.

12. The Indian seldom owned anything. Ownership was only in terms of white people.

13. The Pueblos made responses which were full of content. There was little repetition. Writers went straight to the point.

14. In the 'attack' the picture was segmented and each part described or in some cases there was a listing-numbering type of response.

### Summary

The intermediate Pueblo children used numbers, colors and racial labeling more than any other group. Controlled fantasy was frequent more than any other intermediate group and gave the largest number of food and family responses.

### Secondary (11-12)

These students were all enrolled in off reservation boarding schools in cities. Many had had work experience with white outside the school environment. The following emerged from the analysis:

1. The stories were shorter than some tribes, 14-259 words and had much variety.
2. The attack category of the United Pueblos showed two significant differences between the age levels: simple whole responses increased at the secondary level as the listing decreased and large detail increased. About one third of the students wrote a story with a plot while another third broke the pictures into large segments and a third gave listings type responses without organization. One of the shortest responses made a good beginning: "The Navahoes pictures on the cover suggest the occasional visit to the trading post to get grub." A longer story is: "On a hot, sunny day not very far from the trading post lived the Begays. Mrs. Begay wove a beautiful rug which she wants to trade for groceries. The two women harness their ponies to the wagon and grandma climbed into the wagon then the journey was set. They rode and rode. When they arrived at the trading post there were several Navahoes sitting in the door and the others helping the trader fill the man's car. The white people were on their way to Albuquerque but stopped to get some water and gas. In this part of the country the people have sheep and goats. A mountain lion has been killing them so this man got a gun and is going out lion hunting."
3. A great deal of color was used in the descriptions but there was little of the numbering which was used by the younger children.
4. There was a great deal of fantasy and imagination which sometimes became violent as: "These people in the car are white people and they wanted some money so they got some gas. They drove out a little and came back. They robbed the trading post and when the Navahoes came in and tried to help the owner they killed them and burned the trading post and went off with all

money and passed jewelry They never did catched them."

5. There was a decided lack of interest in the animals while the people interest increased.

6. Family relationships were important in most stories. At the same time the race responses increased 10% at the secondary level. About a fourth of the writers giving opinions about other races. Examples are: "People don't think and Indian could run a trading post like this but I want you to know that Indians are just as smart as white people" "This white man was just sitting like the lazy drunk he is. He owns the place and makes the poor Indian work for him so he can buy more liquor and get drunk. But if the Indian got drunk he would be thrown in jail" and finally "Look at this lazy white man my poor father has to work for a lazy white man." Some had a little more positive attitude as: "Today the white people are educating the Indians in order to help them earn their living where he can learn some trade then the Indian can run his own business and help himself."

7. The secondary Pueblos mentioned death and sickness more than any other group. In the same way food responses with feeling attached rose.

10. People were usually related in family groups except where there was a work relationship. Person-to-person relationship were fewer than among the intermediate students. There was a statistically significant difference between the intermediate and secondary students in the increased number of economic responses among the older students.

11. There was a marked increase in negativism among the older students. These feelings were often expressed in race relation areas and 'have and have not' connotation. Usually the white man owned things and the Indian had to work for the white man.

12. While the stories were shorter than those written by some of the other tribes there was more content. Worries increased among the older students as well as pleasure responses. Pleasure was usually associated with people.

13. In sophistication the responses did not reach the level of the Oklahoma students but were more sophisticated than most other tribes.

### Summary.

In summarizing we state the following:

1. The Pueblo students differed from other groups in the high number of family responses, use of numbers, color, food and race labeling.
2. They were less outgoing than many other groups.
3. They showed more race antagonism than any other tribe.
4. While fantasy was high at both age levels it was more controlled at the intermediate level.
5. Inter-personal problems increased at the secondary level. At secondary level there were more anxieties about death, sickness and food than most of the other tribes.

Statistically significant differences between age levels were:

1. Simple 'whole' (w) responses increased at the secondary level at about the same rate as the listing type response at intermediate level.
2. Racial labeling, antagonism, economic dependence and independence and feelings increased at the secondary level.

From Table XV it is noted the response patterns and culture patterns are similar in many ways.

### Personality Profile

The culture pattern influence the Pueblos probably more than any other tribe. They are still greatly attached to the family and tribe and while outwardly they adjust to ~~under~~ social situations and other people there is deep inner resentment shown in the responses. At the secondary level, while they are young adults and much of the adolescent turmoil should be over, they seemed worrisome and regressive. It seemed as though in time of crisis they were prone to regress to the tribal and family level of security. While they are interested in people of their own group and all others they contact there is still an 'underdog feeling'.

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## Chapter 15

## The Utes

The Utes seem to have been one of the later tribes to come to the present area of the United States. They came from the north and by historical time were occupying roughly the area between Great Salt Lake and the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains, as far north as the Yellowstone River and as far south as the San Juan Basin. Volatile seems to be a one word description of them. Since they were hunters and food gatherers they followed the seasonal cycles north and south. They seemed to have followed rather well defined trails. They are related to the Paiute, Bannocks and Kiowas, belonging to the Shoshonean branch and linguistically classified as Uto-Aztec. Physically they are larger than the Pueblos, taller and in young more slender. They were thought to have lived at first in bark and log shelters until their contacts with the Plains Indians prompted them to borrow the skin tipi. They hunted game and ate berries, seeds, nuts and roots. They had definite camp grounds many of which were near hot springs. At certain times of the year they seem to have gathered at these places for ceremonials and to meet with other groups, since in a political sense they were not one tribe. Under the leadership of Chief Tabby, the seven Utah groups seem to have had an alliance.

They made their clothes of skins which were beaded and sometimes traded with other tribes for woven blankets and cloth. They are supposed to have traded as far south as the Hopi country in northern Arizona. During the winter they seem to have had camps. After finding a deep canyon they would drive the wild game into the canon where they would have a supply for the winter. They used the travois borrowed from other tribes.

Their early contacts with whites were casual and little seemed to have been written about them until recent times. They intermarried with other tribes. Most of their implements were made of stone and later did bead work and basketry.

Escalante is the first writer to mention them in his trip through western Colorado and eastern Utah in the latter part of the seventeenth century, during his search for the China Sea. He had heard of the great body of Salt Water to the West (Great Salt Lake).

The Utes seem to have done New Mexico the dubious honor of introducing the to the Comanches, in planning an attack on the Pueblo according to a

port of July 1706. Later we know that the Billaging of the Utes and Comanches spurred Valverde to make his famous trip north from Santa Fe to the ~~resent~~ site of the city of Denve, Colorado in 1719.

By 1779 the Utes and Comanches seem to have had some type of loose agreement. De Anza mentions finding the bodies of Utes who had been slain in a battle presumably with the Comanches near San Luis, Colorado. In an undated communication De Anza mentions the Utes making war on the Moqui with whom they formerly traded(1). By 1786 De Anza in the Council of Pecos managed to bring the Utes and Comanches to terms and they signed treaties. He armed them to fight off the attacks of the Apaches. Ugarte in a letter to De Anza(1) in 1786 mentions the Utes and Comanches as keeping the peace. From the end of DeAnza's governorship in New Mexico until 1849 the Utes went their merry way. We think they are one of the groups which DeAnza tried to settle on some farms near the present site of Canon City, Colorado. The settlement seemed to have been promising until the wife of one of the headmen died and the group scattered. The Utes were frequently mentioned in records of the Taos fairs where they met with trappers and traders. There is also mention made of them attacking immigrants on the Overland Trail. They seemed to have been something of a menace to the Mormon settlers.

The first official treaty with the Utes was made December 20, 1849. In the treaty of 1861 they were given the Unintah Valley. The rest of the land they claimed was taken from them without payment. Only last year they were granted a claim in the Court of Claims for this land.

From 1849-1909 treaties were made and broken mutually. On several occasions after the Utes had been settled on reservations they would decide to move. At one time four hundred of them went to live with the Sioux. It was a similar venture which ended in the Meeker Massacre in 1879. Shavaneaux was the

1. New Mexico Archives: De Anza Journal



leader if this foray but it was through the efforts of Ouray and his wife Chipeta that peace was finally made. At the present the Utes live on two reservations: Consolidated Ute in southern Colorado and Fort Duchesne in eastern Utah.

While many of them prefer to live and work off the reservation others are well to do cattlemen or sheep raisers, while many of the old people live in poverty. They have lost a great part of their native culture, though occasionally they have Sun or Bear dances. Some still wear remnants of tribal garb and long braided hair. Both reservations have tribal councils. Many of the old people still prefer to spend some of their time in camps but most live in homes near the agencies. Many of the students attend public school or federal day schools. They have lost their old ways and are groping for new ones. They move a great deal and fear confinement. The parents are fond of their children and indulge them on the one hand and punish them severely on the other hand (usually when the parents are inebriated). Training of children at present is a strange combination of Indian and white ways and the youngster is caught in the middle.

#### The Free Writing Test

The students in this study were all living on the reservation in most cases with their families or relatives. A few had previously attended public schools. About 90% claimed they were full blood. They attended day schools and federally operated boarding schools on the reservation.

#### Intermediate (Grades 4-5-6)

A survey of Ute papers brought forth the following:

The stories were uniformly among the longest of any tribe varying from 103-316 words.

While the stories were well written, they usually broke the picture into large segments, describing each part usually not relating the parts. "After a night of sleeping a family of a man, wife got up early in the morning. They knew that that day their two sons with their wives would come. They were coming to help shear the sheep. They had just finished eating their breakfast when they saw their two sons and their wives in the distance. At once the father started to get ready for the day's work. Soon the newcomers were outside the house preparing to get off the wagons. One wagon had a barrel of water which he brought for his father. They greeted each other and talked a little and then set out to work. One woman went out

to the garden and one was washing clothes. The father and two sons set out on horseback to the sheep corral where they were to work until they had sheared all the sheep. Then they go there, they found that almost all the sheep had broken out and were gone. The father was very upset about this as soon as they had repaired the corral, they set out to look for them, each went in a different direction. By noon they had rounded out all the sheep but could not start shearing until they had eaten their noon meals they all went back to the house where dinner was waiting. At one o'clock they were back on their horses and on their way to start what they were going to do. All afternoon they worked. It took three days to shear the sheep. They were glad when they finished as they would all have some money."

2. Nearly all the stories used past tense.

3. There was limited but controlled fantasy.

4. The people were always active, coming or doing or going.

5. Nearly all the children in the stories were working unless they were too little.

6. Eating was very important. There was no lack of something to eat but people couldn't do what they had to do because they had to eat.

7. Half the responses related the people into casual family groups.

8. They used few adjectives.

9. There were almost no person-to-person relationships and these only within the family. There was little race labeling.

10. Except in the case of the man losing his sheep there was no great happiness or unhappiness.

11. No mention was made of weather although the lack of water was often mentioned.

#### Summary

One might sum up by stating that the stories were work-family centered, although the people were not always working for food but to get money to buy something. Although the test used did not have printed directions, the students broke the picture into segments often unrelated. They sometimes gave a loose relationship to the picture but this was usually an afterthought. While the students wrote with much facility there was not much content. Usually the people were not named and there was a tendency to go back and repeat. There was a great deal of detailed action. Fantasy was limited. The people were not happy nor unhappy. There was a feeling of apathy.

## Secondary(Grades 11-12)

The writers of these stories were all enrolled at the Consolidated Ute Vocational School at Ignacio, Colorado a federally operated boarding school. The following came out in the survey of the papers:

1. The stories varied in length from 154-424 words.
2. There was little difference in the attack used by the intermediate students and the secondary students. The picture was segmented and described. However, 'whole' (W) responses increased at this level 4% while simple 'whole' type (Ws) decreased 11%. Description increased 17%, listing dropped 7% and people responses rose 12%. In a few cases there was a thread of story. "The Navaho girl is hoeing the garden. The people are her family. The young man who is saddling the horse is her beloved who is going to buy her a fine present."
3. The fantasy was limited. A few of the people were given English names.
4. The people were always working as well as the children. The stories were work, family-food centered. There seemed to be an apathy no high pleasure or pain responses.
5. Weather was not mentioned.
6. The social horizons were limited. There were few person-to-person relationships expressed although most of the people were grouped into families.
7. There were a few economic expressions and these increased at the secondary level.
8. In accordance with the 'moving' type of life of the Ute, people were usually active: "This man came to visit a little while and then he will go some place else and visit. He doesn't like to stay put long."

## Summary

The fantasy was limited. The whole attacks increased significantly at the secondary level, otherwise the secondary followed the same pattern of the intermediate students. There was little feeling expressed one way or the other. People were active, doing or going. There was little content or feeling. The use of English and length of the stories excelled most other groups but in spite of this the stories had little depth. From Table XVI we they follow the cultural pattern

### Personality Profile

While the stories of the Utes were well written, they had less content than shorter stories from other tribes. A type of apathy seemed to prevail. There was little fantasy. However, some characteristics did emerge which give us a glimpse of the Ute. Six per cent of the secondary students showed excellent organizational ability yet the number of listing type of responses increased over the number at the intermediate level. It would seem there was ability which was not used. They were not functioning at capacity. There was little outgoing feeling expressed and they seemed about as interested in the animals as the people. Pleasure responses increased at the secondary level. There seemed to be an air of stolidity, neither positive nor negative. They took things as they came and under pressure could become truculent. There seemed to be conflicts and more repetition and contradiction than among other tribes. (No references listed beyond those in the bibliography).

TABLE XVI

#### Responses and Cultural Pattern

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Cultural Pattern</u>
People active	Wandering type of life
Little fantasy	Broken culture few arts-ceremony
Family relationships casual	Extended family-broken homes
Limited social feelings	Apathy-indifference
Eating	Security
Increased use of money	Selling-buying common



## Chapter 16 - The Chippewa

The Chippewa, a group of tribes going under that name, were once one of the largest groups in the north central area of North America. They are thought originally to have come from the west and settled near Lakes Huron and Lake Superior westward to the Dakota borders. They were probably related to the Algonquin groups. Because of their remote position came into contact with Europeans later than the east coast tribes. They are probably one of the tribes Nicolet met in 1634-39 and were mentioned in Jesuit record in 1640. While they do not seem to have fought much with the whites they seem to have had difficulties with their neighbors, especially the Sioux. A trading post established at the present location of LaPointe, Wisconsin seems to have been familiar to them from 1692 on. Because of their position they do not seem to have had much part in the French and Indian Wars, Revolution or War of 1812. Before the international boundary was established they wandered back and forth at will and some still live in Canada. They were among the first to have lands assigned to them, a large part of which is still held by them on several scattered reservations in the western area of the Great Lakes. They have seemed content to stay on their lands and have had a more peaceful history than other tribes. They lived in a land of lakes and forests and made good use of the materials at hand. From the trees they built shelter, made clothes and constructed canoes. In making the early homes they stuck the trees in a circle and tied the tops together. This framework was then covered with mats, boughs and bark. The homes were easily made usually deserted after a camping, hunting or food gathering trip for those in a more permanent place. Their main food staple was the wild rice which they still gather. From the reeds and inner bark they made a rough kind of cloths for clothing. They were also skilled basket makers.

The groups were made up of several extended families. There was a complicated clan system which has almost died out with their changing life.

While many had taken on white ways and work off the reservation, a large group still lives in a semi-traditional way on the reservations where they are in a half Indian-half white world. The children attend public schools and also some Federally operated boarding schools. In recent years efforts have been made to encourage arts and crafts and on reservation indus-



tries.

The traditional religion was a form of animism but most now belong to the Catholic Church and many of the traditional ceremonies have been lost. The French priests were the first to come into contact with them.

Racially they are highly mixed and there are estimated to be less than 20% full blood. The children are brought up in a mixed world.

#### The Free Writing Tests

The responses used in the analysis were those of intermediate students enrolled in reservation schools. They were still in the tribal environment with their families, usually. Most of the secondary students were in large off reservation, Federal Boarding Schools or public high schools. About half stated they were full blood but this is questionable.

#### Intermediate (Grades 4-5-6)

The following information came out in the analysis:

1. In length the stories varied from 49-304 words.
2. The writers seemed to segment the picture. In a few instances the segments were related. On the whole there was little story or plot. About half the writers used a listing type of response as: "A long time ago people use horses. The horse was hitch to wagon. The people live in huts. The men hunt. The men took a dog. We have modern stores, lights, cars. We can cook on stove and eat on tables." Nearly all gave little description.
3. Few of the people in the stories were named.
4. There was little fantasy.
5. There was no race labeling.
6. A great deal of attention was given the animals.
7. There were few pleasure responses. Little feeling was expressed.
8. There were few person-to-person relationships expressed beyond loose family relationships.
9. Usually the people were going some place.
10. Mention was made of the dry land and lack of trees and at the same time mentioned rivers and trees.
11. The tone of the papers was neither positive nor negative.
12. Most writers used the past tense.

#### Summary

While the stories varied in length and English ability, all seemed to follow a set pattern in segmenting the picture, giving a simple description.

-ion and in a very few cases the parts were organized loosely. Family relationships casual and fantasy limited. People were seldom named or labeled racially. Food was seldom mentioned. There was little content material. There was some mention of death. Eleven per cent made responses bordering on social responsibility usually in a framework of work. There was little feeling expressed and they contrasted greatly with the Sioux stories.

#### The Secondary (Grades 11-12)

The papers used in this part of the study were written by students enrolled in public highschools or federal boarding schools both on and off the reservation. Most were living apart from their families. They had had more varied social experience than the younger students. The following phases of the analysis are worthy of note.:

1. The stories varied in length from 91-367 words.
2. The picture was divided usually into segments which were loosely related. The large type of Detail rose 235 among the older students. Sometimes at the end of the story the segments were pulled into a loose whole. A few responses had a simply plotted narrative.
3. While fantasy was limited there was an increase over the intermediate.
4. This group seemed more interested in the people than the animals and named a few of the people.
5. Family relationships were casual. Social outgoing feelings were limited.
6. The people usually bought and sold things a very few bartered. In a few cases the Indian owned things.
7. Most of the stories showed little feeling or fear, but there was a significant increase over the intermediate group.
8. There was almost no mention of food or weather.
9. The responses of the secondary group were more numerous than the intermediate which was not true in some tribes.

#### Summary

The responses of the secondary students were more expansive than those of the younger students. Most of the writers at both age levels gave simple direct, literal descriptions of the picture taking one section at a time. Among the older students there was some fantasy but this was limited. There was no race labeling to any extent in either age group. Family relationships

were casual. There was little outgoing social feeling and almost no cultural content. Hence the contrast is scanty. While the people were active they were mechanical, no depth. Few emotional, worry or feeling responses emerged. From Table XVII we find that there was little of cultural material which emerged in the responses.

#### Personality Profile

This was one of the most difficult groups to work on since there was so little content material in the responses. From what little there was we may state that they are literal, common sense and showed no great organizing ability beyond that of a simple nature. The fantasy at both levels was limited with spotty flashes appearing here and there. While the people were of interest they were shallow. They were active but did not feel, talk or think. The tone was neutral. Food and weather were of little danger. Where people owned things it was usually Indian ownership expressed. Social feelings were limited to the family. There seemed to be a general feeling of apathy.

(NO references except those cited in the bibliography).

Table XVII

Responses Compared with the Cultural Pattern

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Cultural Pattern</u>
Casual family relationships	Extended or broken family
Little social responsibility	Broken tribal structure
Limited Fantasy	Repression-broken culture little ceremonial life.
Many buy-sell	Use of money rather than barter

## Chapter 17

## Spanish American- Secondary

New Mexico sports one of the oldest cultures in the New World. We know that between 1000-1800 A. D. The Pueblos had developed a high type of native culture. When Coronado and his men came in 1540, many years before the Landing of the Pilgrims, there was some racial mixture. The real Spanish colonizers did not appear until 1596, when Don Juan de Onate brought his band north through the Rio Grande Valley and was officially made the first governor. His first capital was opposite the present Indian Pueblo of San Juan. Later he founded the city of Santa Fe, or city of Holy Faith. All this happened fifteen years before the Pilgrims landed in the New World. With Onate came the usual adventurers, but also many families of substance, culture and wealth. With them they brought the culture and language of the Golden Age of Mexico and Spain. At this time Mexico, D. F. from where many of them came was the largest city of North America. Already they had a printing press, university, theaters and given birth to a famous playwright. Many had been given land grants by the king of Spain. While many settled on individual ranches there were also the large land holders or padrones. They had huge grants and brought with them their own colonists. A few families still hold remnants of these original grants.



During the governorship of Oñate affairs seem to have gone quite well all things considered. He seems to have been a good organizer and tolerant for his time. His successors soon found themselves in difficulties with the Indians under the leadership of Po-pé in the rebellion of 1680. At this time 1,000 colonists fled to El Paso del Norte. This was probably not the total Spanish population as many were thought to have hidden and others were killed. We may assume from this that the colonization of New Mexico was no small project. Some of the present Spanish American families claim descent from these original settlers.

De Vargas returned in 1692 and accomplished a bloodless reconquest. Many of the original colonists came back to reclaim their lands. The Fiesta still held in Santa Fe each year commemorates this great event. From this time on the Spanish colonized. They developed a pleasant way of life which suited them and the times. When the young Mexican government took over from the Spanish the course of this life was not interrupted. The Mexican government was too busy in other quarters to pay them much attention, beyond sending out occasional military garrisons and governors. With the opening of the Santa Fe Trail a new type of adventurer came to New Mexico. He usually passed on or if he stayed soon adopted the pleasant way of life of the Southwest.

In 1846 the United States took over from Mexico and life went on as usual. There were few schools, most of which were mission. A few of the wealthier people sent their children east to be educated. After 1846 government officials came to Santa Fe as well as the military garrisons. One famous battle of the Civil War was fought at Glorieta. One occasion so the story goes, when the soldiers were deserting because they had no pay, Dona Tula the lady gambler, loaned the commandant money to pay their wages. Soon the Land Office and federal courts were installed and life went on with little change. By 1920 The Cinco Pintores had discovered Taos and Northern New Mexico and an art colony started to flourish.

After 1912 when New Mexico became a state, federal control was eased and local politics took on an exciting aspect. Since the discovery of oil and setting up military installations and the Atomic Energy installation many 'anglos' have come to live in New Mexico. Not only is the cultural balance in a precarious condition but the political. The Spanish American finds his old ways threatened and his attitudes under pressure are changing.



Because of the economy many are forced to seek work elsewhere. Thus throughout the Southwest Spanish American colonies have sprung up. Attempts are being made to keep what can be saved of the old culture and assimilating the new. Most of the old, large rancherias are gone. New educational services are being organized as well as health services. Conscious efforts are being made to bolster the economy. There are those who feel that from the mingling of the three cultures Indian-Spanish-Anglo a better way of life will come to all. Such a way of life must be built on mutual respect and tolerance, racial, religious and political.

The extended families of the Spanish American is the backbone of the communities. Because so many have lived in isolated areas, they have had to stick together. It is their last bastion of security in a changing pattern of life.

In the old type family the children are indulged and every child is important. In the traditional family training is voluntary. The child is guided not forced. The growing child is often allowed a great deal more freedom than the average American child and is given more responsibility. He is at the same time under some restriction by the teachings of the church. The numerous relatives play an important part in his life. In the closeness of the family he may get his just desserts but they stand united against the outside world. They are tolerant and patient with each other. The feeling of family solidarity and helpfulness extends through the community. Charity and kindness are the foundations of good behaviour. Religion is a practical thing. The individual's 'Santo' is ever looking after his welfare. Trouble is considered a test of character. A common expression often heard is "Ah, what a burden I have Thanks to God" or "If I have friends and family, what more do I need?" Courtesy is instinctive. Thus the brusque manner of the 'Anglo' is often misunderstood.

The old ways are going and the Spanish American finds himself trying to balance between two worlds. Pressures upon him are intense and many find release in alcohol and marijuana. They have much to give and much they can take.

#### The Free Writing Test (Secondary only)

Though there were no papers available for the intermediate grades, it seemed worthwhile to use the secondary papers. The responses were written

by students from four public highschools and all were Spanish American. The schools were Pojoaque, Bernalillo, Los Lunas and Grants. Each town was near an Indian Pueblo. Only Spanish American papers were used. From what could be discovered most spoke no English upon entering school. The analysis revealed the following data:

1. The stories ranged from 9-296 words and were not usually as long as those written by some of the Indian students.
2. In most instances the students gave a literal description of the picture dividing it into segments. The responses were usually not organized into a whole. Some of the stories pulled are: "Somewhere on the Navaho land in New Mexico, there was a store or trading post. The owner of this store were two white men. The name of the trading post was 'Counselor's Trading Post'. Many Navahoes came to this store to purchase supplies for their family needs. On this particular day there was a group of Navahoes at the store in front of the store is parked a black sedan. In the car was a man and his family. They had stopped to refill their car with gasoline. The man and his family were people from the east and this was their first time in New Mexico. As one would call them they were tourists. They were on their way to the Mesa Verde National Park near Farmington. Coming up the road was another family of Navahoes. They were coming in a wagon. In the wagon were three Navaho women. It had been quite a long time since they had come to the store. They were in need of fresh supplies. The husbands of the women had stayed at home to tend to what sheep and goats they had for it is quite hard for a family to farm in this hot dusty weed infested land. There are types of sand and rocks which make it almost impossible to farm. The water was also scarce. A Navaho man came riding into view and rode by the store. He was on his way to the herd of sheep and goats he owns. Behind him followed by his dog who helped him day after day. This man was carrying a gun by which he protected his flock of sheep from coyotes and other wild animals." Another expresses some feelings: "Jim wake up in the morning with a feeling that today something special was going to happen at his gas station. Breakfast went the same as usual and also the first part of the morning at the gas station. The station you see on the reservation and in the middle of the desert. Jim was beginning to give up hope of anything happening when all of a sudden he saw Joe returning from a hunting trip with his dog. Joe stopped and told Jim about his hunt. As Joe was leaving some

tourists arrived and they bought some gas. Jim had a nice chat with them. And then he saw some of his relatives returning from the fiesta. The relatives told him they would stay all night there and tell him of the fiesta. Jim was very happy and could not help remembering and wondering about the feeling he had had earlier in the day."

3. Most of the responses related the people into family groups. In some cases the relationship was casual.

4. No mention was made of weather or clouds.

5. In only a few cases were the people named.

6. In many instances the Indian owned the filling station.

7. In a few cases the people were given feelings or their appearances described as: "The man on the horse has a determined look on his face": "Here an unfortunate man faces a bad situation": "This man is in trouble. He has come home without food and there will be preaching and scolding." There were expressions of worry as: "He wondered if he would kill some birds and whether he should."

8. Most of the writers ignored the animals and were more interested in the people. Sometimes the people were in trouble or had bad traits, or in a few cases good traits: "Chief Sitting Bull won't listen to reason he thinks the only way out is war": "This man looks after the welfare of the Indians and helps them with their problems": "These people heard how poor the Indians are and so they gave them money; "The gas station owner is very lazy and makes the Indian do the work; "Mr. Sanchez owns the filling station. Every day people come there usually tourists. He does not enjoy talking with them as they want to talk about Arizona and have conflicting views about his state and he resents people speaking their minds especially if it is against his state!": "The man watching the worker is a typical Indian-lazy". There were feelings of good will, touchiness, sarcasm and antagonism, as well as some social responsibility.

#### Summary

The responses seemed to bring out cultural feelings and background. The approach was that of division and literal description of each picture. People were more interesting than animals. The people were real and had feelings and character. Some feeling of race differences were expressed but not as significant as among the United Pueblos. On occasion they

were warm and outgoing.

(No other references used than those cited in the bibliography.)

### Part III

## SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES AMONG THE TWELVE TRIBES

### Chapter 18 - The Attack

When the responses of the twelve tribes were statistically analyzed, a number of significant differences appeared at both age levels, which had not come out in the previous general analysis and age to age comparison. Since the age to age differences in each tribe have already been noted in the individual tribal analyses, we shall confine this discussion to the significant differences appearing among the tribal groups at both age levels.

#### Whole Attack W-Ws

In the first part of the study we defined the Whole(W) type of attack as that in which the writer organized the picture into a whole concept and made his response from this angle. He proceeded from the general to the particular. Everything in the picture was related to a 'whole'. The mature type of 'whole' often gave indications of abstractions and organizational ability, while the simple type of 'whole' was a simple organization with little or no abstraction. This type of attack differed from the detail type where the writer picked out a segment of the picture to which he responded without relating these segments to a whole. These definitions are cited in Chapter 4(~~page~~).

In the total tribal picture at the intermediate level, the only tribe to show significant differences was the Paiute. This is presented in Table XVIII. They differed significantly from the Chippewa, Oregon and Oklahoma tribes.

As was described in Chapter 9 the Paiute was the least acculturated of any of the tribes. All the students whose responses were used were in on-reservation schools. Many of the day schools were in quite isolated places. Thus we have possibly the least acculturated of the tribes differing significantly from more acculturated tribes and most racially mixed. This was the only significant difference occurring at the intermediate level on the Whole response. No other groups show any statistically



or real differences at the intermediate level.

The implications are clear. First, we are looking for differences in a type of response, a psychological 'set'. This difference not only emerges but another factor enters the picture in a most decided way. Two groups at opposite poles of acculturation and integration show the only significant differences of all twelve tribes. Psychological differences not only emerge but certain social factors of development are revealed.

When we turn to the secondary students and look for differences in the whole attack there is quite a different and important picture. All the secondary students were enrolled in large off or on reservation boarding schools with the exception of the Sioux, Paiute, Navaho and Blackfeet. All had had wider social contacts than the younger students. In the 'W' attack in this group there was not one statistically significant difference. When we recall that the 'W' was defined as a well organized type of attack reaching mature organization and abstraction, the implications of this fact are a study in themselves. We can only venture one or two here. First, students at the secondary level giving this 'W' response show no tribal differences. Does this mean then that students who have reached this type of maturity have gained a level of personality development where tribal differences fade away? Next what implications does this hold for the educational program?

In the immature 'W'ole' or Ws at the intermediate level the following significant differences showed up as can be seen in Table XIX. The Paiute and unacculturated group differed from the Oklahoma as would be expected and from the Ute. The Pima Papago differed from the Sioux, Ute, Eskimo-Indian and Oklahoma.

The difference between the Oklahoma and Paiute is understandable since it follows the 'W' type of difference cited. The difference from the Ute is a little more mysterious and we must look to the cultural pattern for the solution. In reviewing the background material on these tribes Chapter 9, 10, 15 we recall the Oklahoma as one of the most acculturated tribes, the Paiute as one of the least acculturated, but the Utes used in the study as more acculturated than the Utah Utes. This group has lived in a small American town or on the edge and had many bi-cultural experiences. In this instance as before the social experience seems to show up as well.



Table XVIII.

Significant Differences in the W. Attack

	Black	Esk	Ind	Navaho	Paiute	OKla	Pima	Unit	Chipe			
Apache	feet					Homa	Oregon	Papgo	Sioux	Pueb	Ute	ewa
Apache												
Blkfeet												
Esk-Ind												
Navaho												
Paiute												
Oklhma					*							
Oregon					*							
Pim-Papgo												
Sioux												
Unit-Pueb												
Ute					*							
Chippewa					*							

Intermediate (Grades 4-5-6)

Secondary (Grades 11-12)

Apache												
Blkfeet	-											
Esk-Ind	-	-										
Navaho	-	-	-	-	-							
Paiute	-	-	-	-	-							
Oklahoma	-	-	-	-	-							
Oregon	-	-	-	-	-							
Pim-Pap	-	-	-	-	-							
Sioux	-	-	-	-	-							
Unit-Pub	-	-	-	-	-							
Ute	-	-	-	-	-							
Chippewa	-	-	-	-	-							

\*Statistically Significant Differences

as the psychological factors. In the same vein the difference between the Oklahoma and Pima Papago is easily understood. It seems to be the difference between a highly acculturated tribe and a non-acculturated tribe.

The difference between the Sioux, Ute, Eskimo-Indian seems to need a little further study since these seem to be racial as well as cultural and psychological. We recall the Pima-Papago were desert and river people, while the Ute and Sioux were Plains people while the Eskimo have a distinct type of life and race. The Pima-Papago papers of the intermediate students were all papers from students enrolled in isolated day schools as were the papers of the Sioux and most of the Eskimo-Indian children, while the Ute and Oklahoma students were in locations where they either lived in small towns or had had contacts with urban living.

At the secondary stage the differences were more significant since they are more numerous and more scattered. The significant differences recorded in Table XIII show: Oklahoma differed from Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, Paiute, Oregon, Pima-Papago, United Pueblos, Eskimo-Indian differ from Ute, Spanish American. Paiute differs from Ute, Chippewa, Spanish American, Blackfeet, and Pima Papago differ from Ute and Spanish American.

In the Oklahoma differences which are with half the groups, there is a well defined demarcation between acculturated and integrated groups and non-acculturated and non-integrated tribes. Putting it another way we have statistically significant differences revealed between groups who still have a strong native culture as the case of the Navaho, Pima-Papago and United Pueblos. On the other hand we have the Eskimo-Indian and Oregon groups who are having their native cultural patterns quickly broken and are in a state of 'forced' acculturation. It is without the limits of this study to go further into this problem, but it is one which would bear further research.

The differences shown between the Ute and Spanish American and Eskimo-Indian seem quite logical. These seem to be differences in racial stock, native culture and social change.

In considering the Paiute and the significant difference revealed, it is worthwhile to note that they still differ at the secondary level from two groups with whom they showed significant differences at the intermediate level, the Ute and Oklahoma. In addition they show real differences with the Spanish American and Blackfeet. Here the educational factor seems to enter the picture as well as social and cultural differences. All the Spanish American and Black-

feet students were enrolled in public highschools, and were in close association with white students. Both groups are in a state of reintegration. Half of the Navaho were enrolled in a public highschool while the other half were in an on-reservation highschool.

The Pima-Papago in showing significant differences with the Ute and Spanish American and Oklahoma may have many explanations. The differences with the Oklahoma is quite understandable. When we consider the background of the Ute and Spanish American we may find our reason partly in the cultural background, partly in the differences in racial stock and partly in the social experiences as well as psychological differences.

#### Large and Small Detail (D,d)

In this category of the attack responses in consulting Table XIX, we note the Intermediate Apache showed real differences with the Blackfeet, a more racially mixed and acculturated group. In the same category and age level the Oklahoma were statistically different from the less acculturated Navaho, Paiute, Sioux, Chippewa and Apache. There seems to be a clear cut line between integrated and less integrated groups even though all the students in the study were enrolled in on-reservation schools whether boarding or day schools.

At the secondary grade the differences were greater as we find in the table. The Oklahoma, the most acculturated group, differed from all the other tribes with the exception of the Chippewa, an acculturated and highly mixed group. An interesting fact is that many of the Chippewa and Oklahoma students were enrolled in the same off-reservation boarding school. Here again the clean cut line between highly acculturated and less acculturated groups is noted.

The only other tribe to show a large number of significant differences was the Chippewa who had real differences from the Apache, Eskimo-Indian, Oregon and Sioux. This division while not as clean cut seems to point up differentiation between acculturated and non-acculturated tribes.

We may sum up significant differences in the Attack Category as stating that not only did psychological differences emerge but also degrees of integration, racial mixture and cultural background. Thus statistical proof when interpreted in the light of the cultural background and social experience of the tribes seems to strengthen the fact which came out in the social approach to the problem.

In turning to Table XX which gives the Small Detail(d) type of response we



discover the Oklahoma again a highly acculturated group differed from the other tribes with the exception of the Blackfeet at the intermediate level. Here we have a clean cut differentiation between types of social groups.

The Blackfeet in turn showed real differences from the Navaho, Paiute, Pima-Papago, the latter students all being in reservation schools while the Blackfeet were in a school in a bi-cultural situation. Probably for the same reasons the Apache differed significantly from the Blackfeet, Indian Eskimo, Ute racially and culturally.

At the secondary level the two tribes, Blackfeet and Apache had a large number of differences and were the only two tribes showing clean cut differentiation. These were numerous, the Apache with eight and the Blackfeet seven. These seemed not only to be psychological differences but types of differences already noted. None of the secondary students of any tribes revealed any significant differences in the mature Whole type of attack indicating perhaps that this type of attack when attained wipes out other differences.

#### Animals and People

The second phase of the "attack" was to discover if the students were more interested in the people or animals, and whether these responses differed by age and tribe.

In the animal responses at the intermediate the Apache showed significant differences from the Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, Paiute, Oregon, Pima-Papago, Ute and Chippewa. The first three have in their background hunter types of cultures while the Pima-Papago are sedentary and Oregon and Chippewa have broken cultures. The constant factor here is that all were in on-reservation schools. Hence, the differences seem to show up as tribal and cultural differences.

From Table XXL we note that the Blackfeet differ significantly from the Oregon and Chippewa. In the background and racial differences of mixture, cultural differences and varying degrees of integration.

The Oklahoma group differed from the Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, Paiute, Oregon, Pima-Papago, Ute and Chippewa. Aside from the psychological differences we have again popping up the acculturated groups versus the less acculturated groups. In this area the problem could make a separate study in itself. There are many interesting implications in the scope of this paper.

In the secondary animal responses three tribes, the Pima-Papago, Sioux and the

Table XIX  
Significant Differences in the Detail Attack (D d)

	Apache	Blackfeet	Ind Esk	Navaho	Paiute	Okla homa	Oregon	Pima Pgo	Sioux	Unit Pueb	Ute	Chip ewa
Apache	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Blackfeet	:	*	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Esk-Ind	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Navaho	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paiute	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Okla homa	*	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oregon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pima-Pgo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sioux	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unit-Pueb	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ute	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chippewa	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	*

Intermediate

Secondary

Apache												
Blackfeet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Esk Ind	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Navaho	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paiute	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Okla homa	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oregon	*	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pima-Pgo	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sioux	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unit-Pueb	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ute	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chippewa	**	-	-	*	-	-	-	*	-	*	-	-
Span-Amer.	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-

\*Statistically Significant Difference



Table XX

Significant Differences in Small Detail Response (d) (dd)

Apache Black Ind Okla Pima Unit Chip  
feet Esk Navaho Paiute Noma Oregon Pao-Sioux Pueb Ute ewa

Apache

Blackfeet \*

Ind-Esk \*

Navaho - \*

Paiute - \*

Oklahoma \*

Oregon \*

Pima-Pap - \*

Sioux - \*

United Pueb - \*

Ute \*

Chippewa - \*

Intermediate

Apache

Blackfeet \*

Ind-Esk \*

Navaho \*

Paiute \*

Oklahoma \*

Oregon -

Pma-Pgo \*

Sioux -

Unt-Pue \*

Ute \*

Chippewa \*

Spanish Amrn -

Statistically Different \*

Ute were the only three to show large numbers of real differences from the other tribes. The Pima Papago showed differences from the United Pueblos, Chippewa, Oregon, Oklahoma, Blackfeet and Apache. All these were widely differentiated in cultures, stock, and degree of acculturation. The Sioux differed significantly from the Spanish American.

The Ute differed significantly from the Apache, Blackfeet, Oklahoma, Oregon, Sioux and Spanish American. An interesting fact emerges by its absence. The Oklahoma a highly acculturated group at the secondary level, differed only from the Pima Papago, a less acculturated group, while at the intermediate level, they differed from almost every other tribe. They gave practically no animal responses but increased the number of people responses.

Table XXII gives the significant differences which emerged in the 'people' category of responses. The Blackfeet differed from the Eskimo-Indian, Paiute, Oregon, Sioux, United Pueblos and Apache. Eskimo-Indian had real differences with the Apache, Navaho, Paiute, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pima-Papago, and Sioux. In turn the Pima Papago were significantly different from the Sioux, United Pueblos, Eskimo-Indian, Oregon and Apache. Utes differed from the United Pueblos, Eskimo-Indians and Apache. The Chippewa had significant differences with the Ute, United Pueblos, Sioux, Paiute, Oklahoma, Oregon, Navaho, Eskimo-Indian and Apache.

As we delve into the background of the tribes these differences take on a new significance. The statistics seem to bear out traditional social and cultural differences. These differences are more scattered than in area yet studied.

At the secondary level four tribal groups showed real differences with large numbers of groups. Significantly none of the tribes which showed more than one difference at the secondary grade, nor tribes which had showed significant differences at the intermediate stage. The Paiute differed from the Oregon, Spanish American and Blackfeet. These seemed to be well defined differences between acculturated and non acculturated groups. The Oklahoma tribes revealed differences from the Oregon, Pima-Papago, United Pueblos, Spanish American and Blackfeet.

This is one of the most significant facts to emerge from the whole study. We have psychological differences but also accultural differences. On the face of the picture we seem to have a highly acculturated group showing

traditional social and cultural differences showing significant differences from other acculturated tribes. As we delve into the picture and consider the social aspects of the differences, a most significant fact is revealed. The Oklaoma tribes have had a long, slow accultural history and many happy and unhappy contacts with Europeans, but they have been accepted as well as integrated. They have been allowed to vote, hold office and intermarry with whites. With the exception of the Pima-Papago, who in this case were a rather sophisticated group, all the other tribes, Blackfeet, Spanish American and United Pueblo are groups who live in bi-cultural situations where there is a definite feeling and where they are not entirely accepted. This idea of the influence of social acceptance is another study outside the confines of this paper, but the statistical analysis seems to point up what the cultural survey brought out.

The Oregon Tribes differed from the Sioux and Ute while the Sioux in turn differed from United Pueblos, Spanish American, Pima-Papago and Blackfeet. All the Sioux secondary students were still in boarding schools on the reservation. The others were either attending off reservation boarding schools or public high schools. This again is backed up by the statistics and seems to point out an important fact in socialization.

#### Summary

The consideration of the significant differences which emerged in the statistical analysis of the 'attack' responses the following facts were revealed strongly backed up by the social analysis and cultural background:

1. While intermediate students who were still in the home environment showed a number of significant differences in the 'Us-I' types of attack, there were none among the secondary students, who with two exceptions were living off the reservation in bi-cultural situations. Does this mean that the secondary students giving this type of response have erased cultural and tribal differences to the extent that they no longer show marked differences? Does this show up in the degree of integration and acculturation?

Significant Differences in the Animal Responses

	BlackInd	Okla	Pima	Unit	Chip						
Apache	feet	Esk	Navaho	Paiute	Hona	Cregon	Pago	Sioux	Pueb	Ute	ewa
Apache											
Blackfeet	*									Intermediate	
Ind-Esk	*	*									
Navaho	*	-	-								
Paiute	*	-	-	-							
Oklahoma	-	-	*	*	*						
Oregon	*	*	-	-	-	*					
Pima-Pgo	*	-	-	-	-	*					
Sioux	-	-	-	-	-	*					
UnitPueb	-	-	-	-	-	*					
Ute	*	-	-	-	-	*					
Chippewa	*	*	-	-	-	*					
Apache											
Blackfeet	-										
Ind-Esk	-										
Navaho	-										
Paiute	-										
Oklahoma	-										
Oregon	-										
Pima-Pgo	*	*			*	*					
Sioux	-	-			*	*					
Unit-Pub	-	-			*	*					
Ute	*	*			*	*					
Chippewa	-	-			*	*					
Spanish American	-	-			*	*					

\* Statistically significant differences



Table XXII

## Significant Statistical Differences in the People Responses

	Black Ind	Okla	Pima	Unit	
Apache	feet	Esk	Navato	Paiute	homa
Blackfeet	Oregon	Pgo	Sioux	Pueb	Ute
Esk-Ind	Chippewa				
Apache					
Blackfeet	-				Intermediate
Esk-Ind	*	*			
Navaho	-	*	*		
Paiute	-	*	*		
Oklahoma	-	*	*		
Oregon	-	*	*		
Pima-Pgo	*	-	*		*
Sioux	-	*	*		*
Unit Pbo	-	*	-		*
Ute	*	-	*		*
Chippewa	*	-	*	*	*
Apache					
Blackfeet					
Esk-Ind					
Navaho					
Paiute		*			
Oklha	*	*			
Oregon	-	-	*		*
Pima-Pgo	-	-	*		*
Sioux	-	*	-	*	*
Unit Pub	-	-	-	*	*
Ute	-	-	*	-	*
Chippewa	-	-	-	-	*
Span-Amer	-	-	*	*	*

\* Statistically Significant Differences



2. At the intermediate stage where real differences showed up in the (H), there was a definite line of demarcation between the acculturated and non-acculturated tribes which had in a large measure lost their culture.
3. In the intermediate grades HS responses, the differences found were in the same proportion as the HU responses.
4. Secondary HS responses showed marked differences between the acculturated and non-acculturated tribes also between groups attending public and off reservation schools and those attending on-reservation schools.
5. Differences in type of culture also showed up a trace of real differences between the groups who had settled ways of life and those with a hunter-herder type of life.
6. The large and small detail (D,d) responses at both age levels revealed significant differences between acculturated and less acculturated people.
7. It is significant that the Spanish American group which was included in the secondary age group, followed the same pattern of differences as the Indian groups showing cultural differences.
8. In the animal responses while the responses did not follow the same clean cut patterns of differentiations, there was a great increase in the number of differences, although they were more scattered but seemed to show up differences in culture patterns and types of culture. Most marked were the differences between roving and sedentary background people.
9. The people responses revealed a number of amazing significant differences among the culture groups. All the intermediate students who were living with their families and on reservation groups in broken culture patterns showed the greatest number of differences. None of the groups which showed real differences at the intermediate level showed the same differences at the secondary level or in fact showed differences. Maturity might be a factor. The differences at the secondary level were usually clean cut cultural and accultural differences. Most significant were the differences which were revealed between the acculturated groups as the Oklahoma, Spanish American, Blackfeet, United Pueblos and Oregon tribes in degree of acculturation and integration. The Oklahoma tribes differed from all those cited above. It seemed strange that these should differ from Oklahoma since they are among the most acculturated tribes of the study. Hence, an answer had to be sought in the culture patterns and social conditions. The differences could not lie in the cultural areas since there was great variance between them,

as the Blackfeet who have lost much of theirs, and the United Pueblos who have tenaciously held on to theirs. Hence a search had to be made in the communities and social conditions in which they lived. The only feasible explanation after serious consideration of the facts was most telling and the only one which seemed to be valid. The Oklahoma tribes have had a slow process of integration and acculturation - at one time being a separate nation. They are 'accepted' for the most part in the communities in which they live. After they were sent to Oklahoma they were self governing as a nation and after the takeover when Oklahoma became a state, the whites were the outsiders who came in. In the case of the Spanish American, United Pueblos, Blackfeet and Oregon tribes either the acculturation process has been recently forced or they have tenaciously resisted. Whites have come in such numbers that they have been under pressure. The most telling point is that they have been for a long time a minority group and not accepted socially in the communities in which they lived. This seems in the light of the facts to be the most reasonable and only interpretation of the differences revealed in this category of 'people'.

#### Chapter 19.

##### Social Area (Inter tribal)

In the family responses, if we look at Table XXIII we find six tribes at the intermediate level as revealing real differences: Apache, Navaho, Pima-Papago, Sioux and Chippewa. Almost none of the tribes which showed significant differences at the intermediate stage revealed them at the secondary grade. Different variations were apparent at the higher level.

The intermediate Apache showed differences from the Blackfeet, Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, Paiute, Oklahoma and United Pueblos. These seemed to be variations of cultural patterns and degrees and types of acculturation.

The Navaho intermediate grades emerged with differences only with the United Pueblos and Ute strangely enough their neighbors. Though they are neighbors they have three distinct cultures represented as well as racial types. This seems to point up the fact that mere physical proximity does not always lead to cultural homogeneity.

The Oregon tribes showed differences at the intermediate level with the United Pueblos, Paiute, Oklahoma, Navaho, Eskimo-Indian and Blackfeet.

Again we find differences in cultures revealed as the only feasible explanation.

The Pima-Papago showed differences from the United Pueblos, Paiute, Oklahoma, Navaho, Eskimo-Indian and Blackfeet. Again the cultural patterns and degrees of integration show up in strong contrast.

The Sioux differed significantly from the Oklahoma, Navaho, Eskimo-Indian again combining cultural and accultural differences.

At the intermediate stage the Chippewa differed from the Ute, United Pueblos, Oklahoma, Paiute, Navaho, Eskimo-Indian and the Blackfeet. Cultural and accultural differences seem to account for these differences and the differences in the family organization in the different tribes according to their pattern.

The Eskimo-Indian tribes differed at the secondary level in family relationships from the Chippewa, while the Navaho differed from the Oklahoma and Chippewa.

The Pima Papago had the largest number of differences with the Sioux, Chippewa, Spanish American, Apache, Blackfeet, Paiute, Oklahoma and Oregon. The United Pueblos showed differences with the Chippewa, Oklahoma and Oregon, all highly mixed groups with broken family patterns. It is noteworthy that at the secondary level the United Pueblos differed from no other southwest tribe. The Utes showed significant differences with the Chippewa, Oklahoma and Oregon tribes. As we go through these differences and recall the cultural and social background, it seems significant to discover that these accultural and cultural differences show up in such a startling manner.

Three facts seemed to be revealed in the statistical findings of the 'family' responses:

1. Groups at the intermediate level who made unusual differences and who were for the most part not living with their families or in close touch with them did not show high differences except in one or two cases at the secondary.
2. Three types of differences seemed to show at both age levels: accultural differences, cultural differences and racial mixture.
3. The accultural differences were less than the cultural and racial mixture differences.

#### Race

A look at table XXIV, reveals that race labeling differences were more numerous than the family responses and, usually minus or negative differences, since the tribes which had the greatest number of differences were in most cases, with the exception of the United Pueblos, the tribes which did little race labeling.

At the intermediate level the Blackfeet differed from the Apache, Eskimo-Indian

Oklahoma, Oregon, Pima-Papago and Sioux. The Eskimo-Indian differed from the Navaho and Paiute. The Navaho differed from the Oklahoma, Paiute, Pima-Papago, and the Sioux. The United Pueblos differed from the Sioux, Pima-Papago, Oregon, Oklahoma, Eskimo-Indian and Apache. None of these had numerous responses in race labeling. Significantly the United Pueblos with their high number of race labelings did not differ from their neighbors the Navaho who also labeled. The Utes had significant differences with the United Pueblos, Oklahoma, Paiute, Navaho and Blackfeet. Chippewa differed from almost all tribes: Ute, United Pueblos, Sioux, Pima-Papago, Oregon, Paiute, Navaho, Eskimo-Indian and Blackfeet. The difference at these levels seemed to be not so much a racial mixture as accultural influences and having opportunities of meeting many different kinds of people.

At the secondary level four tribes, two less than the intermediate made numerous differences. Of these three also had a large number of differences at the intermediate level: Navaho, Paiute, Pima-Papago, three of the least acculturated tribes. The Navahoes differed significantly as can be seen from the table from: Oregon, Sioux, Chippewa and Spanish American. The Paiute differed from the Oregon, Sioux, Chippewa, Apache, Blackfeet and Eskimo-Indian. The Oklahoma differed from the Oregon, Chippewa and Spanish American. The Pima-Papago differed from the Chippewa and Eskimo-Indian while the United Pueblos had significant differences showing up from Ute, Chippewa, Spanish American, Apache, Blackfeet, Eskimo-Indian and Oregon tribes.

The differences are scattered with no clean cut lines between acculturated and non-acculturated tribes. Social and tribal factors as well as social elements seemed to enter the scene.

Significant facts which seem to appear are: race labeling is more scattered than the 'attack' differences and other categories before which seems to indicate social factors. If a is more or less isolated or if they live in an area where people of other races are common they will show differences. Race feeling seems higher among groups who live in areas where they are a minority which is likely to harbor and nourish feelings of inferiority.



Table XXIII

Significant Differences in the Family Responses

	Black Ind	Okla	Pima	Unit	Chip					
Apache	Esk	Navaho	Paiute	Oklahoma	Oregon	Pima-Pgo	Sioux	Pueb	Ute	Chippewa
Apache	*									
Blackfeet	*									
Esk-Ind	*									
Navaho	*									
Paiute	*			*						
Oklahoma	*									
Oregon		*	*	*	*	*				
Pima-Pgo			*	*	*	*				
Sioux			*	*	*	*				
Unit-Pueb	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ute				*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Chippewa		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Intermediate

Apache	Blackfeet	Esk-Ind	Navaho	Paiute	Oklahoma	Oregon	Pima-Pgo	Sioux	Unit-Pueb	Ute	Chippewa	Spanish Amer
Apache												
Blackfeet												
Esk-Ind												
Navaho												
Paiute					*	*						
Oklahoma					*	*						
Oregon			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Pima-Pgo	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Sioux	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Unit-Pueb					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ute					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Chippewa		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Spanish Amer					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Secondary

Statistically Different



Table XXIV

## Significant Differences in the Race Labeling

	Black Ind	Apache feet	Esk	Navaho	Paiute	Okla	Pima	Unit	Chip			
						homa	Oregon	Pgo	Sioux	Pueb	Ute	nawa
Apache	*											
Blackfeet	*											
Esk-Ind	-	*										
Navaho	*	-	*									
Paiute	*	-	*									
Okkma	-	*	-	*	*							
Oregon	-	*	-	*	*							
Pma-Pgo	-	*	-	*	*							
Sioux	-	*	-	*	*							
Unit-Pueb	*	-	*	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ute	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Chippewa	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Apache												
Blackfeet	-											
Esk-Ind	-											
Navaho	*	-	*									
Paiute	*	*	*									
Okkma	*	-	*									
Oregon	-	-	-	*	*	*						
Pma-Pgo	-	-	*	-	-	-						
Sioux	-	-	-	*	*	-						
Unit-Pueb	*	*	*	-	-	-	*					
Ute	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
Chippewa	-	-	-	*	*	*	-	*		*		
Span-Amer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-		*

Intermediate

\*Statistically significant differences

Table XXV

Significant Differences in Racial Antagonism Responses

	Black	Ind		Okla	Pima		Unit	Chip
	Apache feet	Esk	Navaho	Paiute	homa	Oregon Pgo	Sioux	Pueb Ute Ewa
Apache								
Blackfeet	*						Intermediate	
Esk-Ind	*	*						
Navaho	*	*	*					
Paiute	*	-	-	-				
Oklahoma	*	*	*	*	*			
Pma-Pgo	*	*	*	*	*	*		
Sioux	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Unit-Pueb	*	-	-	-	-	-		
Ute	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Chippewa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Oregon	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Apache											
Blackfeet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Esk-Ind	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Navaho	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paiute	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oklahoma	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pma-Pgo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sioux	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unit-Pueb	*	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ute	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chippewa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oregon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spanish Amer	*	-	*	*	-	*	*	-	*	-	*

\* Statistically significant differences

### Racial Antagonism

At the secondary level the racial antagonism responses were quite scattered and small in number of actual responses. Ten tribes in all revealed significant differences. The Apache differed from the Eskimo-Indian, Navaho and Oklahoma. The Blackfeet were different from Eskimo-Indian, Navaho and Oklahoma, see Table XXV. The Eskimo Indian in addition to the differences already named, differed significantly from the Navaho, Oklahoma and Oregon tribes. The Navaho had significant differences with the Oklahoma and Paiutes. The Pima Papago differed significantly with the Apache, Blackfeet, Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, Paiute, Oklahoma and Oregon tribes. The Sioux had impressive differences with the Apache, Blackfeet, Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, Paiute, Oklahoma, Oregon and Pima-Papago. The Ute and Chippewa not only differed with each other but also with the Apache, Blackfeet, Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, Oklahoma, Paiute, Oregon, Pima-Papago, Sioux and United Pueblos. These differences while statistically significant in actual number of responses with the exception of the United Pueblos were usually the differences between -0-2-5 responses. They were significant since they were so scattered with only the Pima-Papago, Sioux, Ute and Chippewa differing from most of the other tribes. The noteworthy fact is that these four are tribes with broken cultures and forced acculturation.

From a glance at Table XXV the Race Antagonism responses at the intermediate level appear to be numerous, scattered with broken culture patterns showing the largest number of response differences.

At the secondary level the scattered differences of intermediate students telescope into two groups: the United Pueblos and Spanish Americans, who live and have lived side by side for generations. They differed from the others but not from each other. They both live in a social atmosphere of 'non acceptance' in the dominant culture.

### Social Responsibility

In the social responsibility responses several striking facts came out, which bear out the cultural observations. At the intermediate level we noted that the Eskimo-Indian children gave an unusually large number of this type of response. If we glance at Table XXVI we find this shown in graphic form. They differed from all tribes except Blackfeet, Navaho and Chippewa, which seem to be due to cultural variants. At the secondary level there are two quite noticeable trends. The Oklahoma differ from all tribes except the Navaho, Pima-Papago and Chippewa. They gave the highest number of this type of response. Another trend starts to develop with the Pima-Papago but does not follow through.

What few other differences are scattered. In both the case of the Oklahoma and Pima-Papago the differences were positive. Again the social environment factors seem to be accountable.

In summarizing the information which the significant differences in the social area seemed to point up we may note the following:

1. Family: Groups which made unusual differences at the intermediate level did not show such high differences except in one or two instances at the secondary level. No groups seemed to emerge at the mature stage. Three types of differences seemed to be revealed at both age levels not only in the family but other social categories: acculturation, culture and racial mixture differences. The accultural differences were less than the cultural and race mixture differences, showing that the strength and type of family pattern seemed to show up.
  2. Race: Race labeling responses at both levels were more scattered than in the 'attitude' responses which might intimate social factors in the environment.
  3. Race Antagonism: The differences with the exception of the United Pueblos were actually small in number of responses but significant. At the intermediate level these differences were widely scattered. At the secondary level the differences telescoped and we find two groups living in close proximity differing from all the others. Both groups live in an atmosphere where there is considerable race feeling and they are minorities: The United Pueblos and Spanish Americans were these two groups.
  4. Social Responsibility: Three interesting facts came out in the significant differences noted in this category. The Eskimo-Indian differed significantly from all other tribes at the intermediate level while at the secondary level the Oklahoma and Pima-Papago differed from almost all other tribes.
- The analysis of the statistical data implied in the significant differences revealed one factor which was not anticipated and that is the importance of that evasive thing known as social climate. It seems that acceptance and non-acceptance play a very important part in social attitudes.

Table XXVI

## Significant Differences in the Social Responsibility Responses

	Apache	Blackfeet	Esk-Ind	Navaho	Paiute	Oklahoma	Oregon	Pima-Pago	Sioux	Unit-Pueb	Chippewa	Ute
Apache												
Blackfeet	*											
Esk-Ind	-	*										
Navaho	*	-	*									
Paiute	*	-	*									
Oklahoma	-	*	-	*	*							
Oregon	-	*	-	*	*							
Pima-Pago	-	*	-	*	*							
Sioux	-	*	-	*	*							
Unit-Pueb	*	-	*	-	-	*	*	*	*			
Chippewa	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Ute	-	*	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*

Intermediate

Apache												
Blackfeet	-											
Esk-Ind	-											
Navaho	-	-	-									
Paiute	-	-	-									
Oklahoma	*	*	*		*							
Oregon	-	-	-		-	*						
Pima-Pgo	*	*	*		-	-						
Sioux	-	-	-	*	*	*		*				
Unit-Pueb	-	-	-	-	-	*		*				
Chippewa	-	*	-	-	-	-		-	*			
Ute	-	-	-	-	-	*		-	-			
Spanish Amer-	-	-	-	-	-	*		*				*

Secondary

\*Statistically significant differences



## Chapter 20 Inter-Tribal Differences - Economic

### Barter

Barter is a way of exchange which is not common to all tribes. It is a trademark of the less acculturated groups, although other tribes mentioned it. The Apache and Blackfeet at the intermediate level showed significant differences with the Navaho and United Pueblos according to table XXVII. These two tribes are more familiar with this type of exchange than most of the other tribes, so they seem to be cultural differences. Probably for the same reason the Navahos differed from the Oklahoma, Oregon and Pima-Papago. In the same manner the Pima-Papago revealed real differences with the United Pueblos, Ute and Paiute. The Chippewa differed from the other tribes, since through their work experiences they are familiar with money as a means of exchange.

At the secondary level the picture differed somewhat. Six tribes showed large numbers of significant differences: Apache, Blackfeet, Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, Oklahoma, United Pueblos. In this category the Eskimo-Indian differed from all but the two tribes the Sioux and Oregon. While the responses here are more numerous, they are also more scattered. The differences seem to be cultural and do not follow a clean cut pattern as in the intermediate group. We shall leave this lodge-pole of responses with the comment that we seem to have a cultural factor as well as the work experiences of the groups showing up. The responses showing significant differences are more numerous than in the other categories but form no clean cut pattern for interpretation. Possibly responses in other economic categories may help to pull the pattern into focus if there is one.

### Buy-Sell

The Buy-Sell responses were markedly less numerous in real differences than the barter. The Blackfeet and Navaho showed identical significant differences as we note in Table XXVIII, with the Paiute, Pima-Papago, Ute and Apache. It is worth noting that these two tribes differed in exactly the same manner. The Oregon tribes differed from the United Pueblos, Oklahoma and Paiute. These seem to be marked cultural differences. The United Pueblos differed from the Ute and Apache; while the Chippewa showed significant differences with the United Pueblos, Oklahoma, Paiute, Navaho and Blackfeet. Here the differences seem to show a faint pattern of cultural differences and work experience.

At the secondary level the only two tribes which revealed patterns of significant differences were the Apache and the United Pueblos. These are both Southwest tribes, the Apache using a cooperative type of economic plan and the United Pueblos who occasionally use barter on the reservation.

#### Economic Independence

According to table XXIX at the intermediate level only three tribes showed large numbers of significant differences. They are: the Apache differed from Blackfeet, Eskimo-Indian, Oregon, Chippewa; Pima-Papago from Sioux, Chippewa, Oregon, Eskimo-Indian and Blackfeet.

We have a fairly numerous group of differences scattered among three tribes, all southwest and all with limited economic independence experience in economic procedure. Few expressed much interest in private ownership. In the case of the Apache, Pima-Papago and to some extent the Ute this would go back to the cultural pattern of community property and cooperative enterprises.

At the secondary level according to Table XXIX the patterning of the differences follows a similar scattering: Apache differing from Eskimo-Indian, Paiute, Oklahoma, Oregon, United Pueblos, and Chippewa; Navaho from Oklahoma and Chippewa; Pima-Papago differed from United Pueblo, Chippewa, Eskimo-Indian and Paiute. The Apache using the traditional cooperative method of economics and limited off reservation work experience showed differences with tribes which have different economic patterns and wider work experience off reservation and working 'under' someone. The Navaho seemed to differ for the same two reasons, as seemed to be the case with the Pima-Papago who like the Apache are working more toward a cooperative plan of economic operation.

#### Economic Dependence

In looking at Table XXX only two tribes at the intermediate level showed significant differences in the dependence category of the economic area: Apache differed from the Eskimo-Indian and Navaho; Eskimo-Indian differed from Navaho, Oregon, Paiute, Apache and Blackfeet. The differences in this category are more scattered with no real pattern coming out.

Table XXX shows the secondary students, who are getting acquainted with the work world and 'bossism', the real differences are much more numerous and scattered: Apache differed from the Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, Oklahoma, United Pueblo and Utes; Blackfeet differed from Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, United Pueblos; Eskimo-Indian differed from Paiute, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pima-Papago, Sioux, Chippewa, Spanish American; Oklahoma differed from Pima-Papago, Apache,

Eskimo-Indian, United Pueblos, Ute and Navaho; Sioux differed from United Pueblos, Ute and Navaho; and the United Pueblos differed from the Chippewa Spanish American, Oregon and Paiute. The numerous differences do not emerge as a definite patterning. The best we can say in interpretation is that there seem to be social and cultural factors entering the scene. In the cases of the Blackfeet and Oklahoma the differences seem to show up differences between acculturated and non-acculturated tribes, but in the other cases there are a variety of scatterings.

In summarizing the responses of the economic area and the significant differences which were revealed we might state the following points which seem to emerge:

1. The responses in some of the economic categories were more numerous than in many of the other categories of response but at the same time more scattered. Clean cut patterns showing definite trends usually did not unfold.
2. Differences revealed where there was a trace of patter seemed to show up the fact that cultural patterning of the students as well as social factors (work experience-bi-cultural living) entered the scene.
3. Definite differences were revealed between groups where there is limited economic experience and those groups where off-reservation work experience is common.
4. Where off reservation work and working for money were common, usually these tribes showed more interest in economic independence, working for themselves and owning things and running their own business, than among groups where working for wages and off reservation experience was not so common.
5. Tribes which used barter and cooperative methods of economic exchange differed significantly from tribes who worked for wages.
6. Between age levels, the responses and differences in most instances were too scattered to draw any real conclusions.

Table XXVII

Significant Differences in Barter Responses

	Black	Ind		Okla	Pima	Unit						
	Apache	feet	Esk	Navaho	Paiute	homa	Oregon	Pago	Sioux	Pueb	Ute	Chippewa
Apache												
Blafteet	-											
Ind-Esk	-											
Navaho	*	*	*									
Paute	-	-	*									
Okla	-	-	-	*								
Oregon	-	-	-	*								
Pima-Pgo	-	*	-	*	*	*						
Sioux	-	-	-	-	-	-						
U-Pueb	*	*	*	-	-	-	*	*				
Ute	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*
Chippewa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Intermediate												
Apache												
Blkfeet	-											
Ind-Esk	*	*										
Navaho	-	*	*									
Paiute	-	-	*									
Okla	-	*	*	*								
Oregon	*	-	-	*		*						
Pima-Pgo	-	*	*	-		-						
Sioux	*	-	-	*		*						
UnitPBo	-	*	*	*	*	*		*				
Ute	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chippewa	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Span-Amer	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Secondary												

\*Statistically significant differences



Table XXVIII

## Significant Differences in the Buy-Sell Responses

	Apache	Blackfeet	Ind-Esk	Navaho	Paiute	Oklahoma	Oregon	Pima-Pago	Sioux	Unt-Pueb	Ute	Chippewa
Apache												
Blackfeet	-											
Ind-Esk	*	-										
Navaho	*	-	-									
Paiute	-	-	-	-								
Oklahoma	-	-	-	-								
Oregon	-	*	-	*	*	*						
Pima-Pago	-	*	-	*	-	-						
Sioux	-	-	-	-	-	-						
Unt-Pueb	*	-	-	-	-	-	*					
Ute	-	*	-	*	*	*	-	-		*		
Chippewa	-	*	-	*	*	*	*	-	*	*		

Intermediate

Apache	
Blackfeet	*
Ind-Esk	*
Navaho	*
Paiute	*
Oklahoma	*
Oregon	*
Pima-Pgo	*
Sioux	*
Unt-Pueb	-
Ute	*
Chippewa	-
Span-Amer	*

Secondary

\*Statistically significant differences



## Significant Differences in the Dependence-Independence Responses

	Apache		Blackfeet		Esk-Ind		Navaho		Paiute		Okla Poma		Oregon Pgo		Pima Pgo		Sioux		Unit Pueb		Ute		Chippewa	
	I	D	I	D	I	D	I	D	I	D	I	D	I	D	I	D	I	D	I	D	I	D	I	D
Apache																								
Blackfeet	*																							
Esk-Ind	*	*		*																				
Navaho		*	*			*																		
Paiute								*																
Okla Poma																								
Oregon	*					*																		
Pma-Pgo			*		*																			
Sioux																								
Unit-Pueb																								
Ute			*		*								*											
Chippewa	*														*									
Apache																								
Blackfeet																								
Esk-Ind	*	*		*																				
Navaho		*		*																				
Paiute	*					+																		
Okla Poma	*	*				*	*	*																
Oregon	*					*																		
Pma-Pgo					*	*			*		*	*												
Sioux					*		*	*																
Unit-Pueb	*	*		*					*		*	*	*	*		*		*						
Ute		*									*	*						*						
Chippewa	*				*							*							*					
Span-Amer					*						*	*							*					

Intermediate

Secondary.

I - Independence D-Dependence \* Statistically significant differences

## Chapter 21

## Feelings(Worries - Subjective)

Pleasure

Five tribes revealed a large number of significant differences with other tribes at the intermediate level as can be seen in Table XXXI - Apache, Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, Ute and Chippewa. The differences for the individual tribes are: Apache differed from Blackfeet, Eskimo-Indian, Oregon, Sioux and Chippewa. Blackfeet differed from Apache, Eskimo-Indian, Pima-Papago and United Pueblos. Eskimo-Indian were different from all tribes. Navaho differed from Oregon and Sioux. Oregon had significant differences from Pima-Papago, United Pueblos and Ute. The Pima-Papago were different from the Oregon, Blackfeet, and Sioux. Chippewa differed from Apache, Navaho, Paiute, Oklahoma, Pima-Papago, United Pueblos and Utes. Spanish American differed with Ute, United Pueblos, Navaho, Eskimo-Indian and Apache.

Glancing at tables XXXI it is apparent that the real differences were more numerous and more scattered than any category yet encountered. Since the differences are so scattered it seems well to take both age levels together to see what can be discovered when all the pleasure responses are thrown together. The Eskimo-Indian differed from all the other tribes at the secondary level in that they did not have one pleasure response. The differences did not fall into patterns between acculturated and non-acculturated tribes as in some of the other categories. From Table XXXI emerges another significant fact. Most of the tribes gave fewer pleasure responses and thus had negative differences at the secondary level than at the intermediate level. The tribes with broken culture patterns seemed to have more negative differences in that they gave fewer responses at the secondary level. From this we might assume that the older students seem to find less pleasure in these stunts than the younger group who are mostly in the home climate and do not have the difficulty of adjusting to bi-cultural situations as well as the element of adolescent growth toward maturity.

Inter-Personal

At the intermediate level only two tribes showed a wide variance with the other tribes as seen in Table XXXII, in the number of real differences - the Pima-Papago and Oklahoma tribes. The Oregon students differed significantly from

the Pima-Papago, Sioux, United Pueblos, Oklahoma, Paiute, Navaho, Eskimo-Indian, Blackfeet and Apache. The Pima-Papago in turn differed from Sioux, United Pueblos, Oklahoma, Paiute, Navaho, Eskimo-Indian, Blackfeet and Apache. Students whose responses were used in the study were both tribes whose intermediate students were enrolled in on-reservation schools in isolated areas which are far from large urban centers in most cases. Their differences seemed to show up as negative differences since they gave fewer responses than any of the other groups. In other words, in their own area where there is little bi-cultural living they seemed to have fewer inter-personal feelings than in other tribes since they have less tension and are integrated within the local situation.

There was a definite rise in the real differences as well as the actual number of responses in this category at the secondary level. This might be due to wider social experience, maturation and more contact with a wider variety of people and cultures.

#### Fear

In table XXXIII we find the intermediate age grades in the following tribes showing intertribal significant differences. These were more varied and scattered as: Paiute from Apache, Blackfeet, Eskimo-Indian and Navaho; Oklahoma differed from Navaho; Oregon differed from Pima-Papago, Sioux, Apache, Blackfeet, Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, Paiute, Oklahoma; Pima-Papago differed from Sioux, Apache, Blackfeet, Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, Paiute and Oklahoma; The Utes had significant differences from United Pueblos, Sioux, Pima-Papago, Oregon, Oklahoma, Paiute, Navaho, Eskimo-Indian, Blackfeet and Apache. The Chippewa differed from all tribes.

These differences were both numerous and scattered showing differing types of culture, acculturation and racial mixtures. The four tribes which had the widest variance of differences differed because of the paucity of responses.

Among the secondary students four responses showed the following according to table XXXIII. Tribes differing were Apache differed from Navaho, Paiute, Oregon, Pima-Papago, Sioux and Ute. Blackfeet had significant differences from Navaho, Paiute, Oregon, Pima-Papago, Sioux and Ute. Navaho differed from Paiute, Oregon and Pima-Papago. The Paiute differed from Oregon, Pima-Papago, Sioux, and Ute, Oregon was different from Pima-Papago, Sioux and Ute. Pima-Papago differed from Sioux, and Ute. The Sioux were different from the Chippewa and Spanish American.



There was an increase in the number of tribes revealing a large number of significant differences with other tribes and the differences were scattered. The pattern between the differences is not definite but seems to show in a general way variance in culture and degree of acculturation. With the exception of the Eskimo-Indian these were negative. They were the only group which increased the 'fear' responses at the secondary level.

#### Anger

Anger or aggression at the intermediate level showed significant differences in four tribes (See table XXXIV) Navaho, Oregon, Sioux and Chippewa. The Navaho were different from the Apache, Blackfeet, and Eskimo-Indian. Oregon differed with Apache, Blackfeet, Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, Paiute and Oklahoma. Sioux significantly differed with Apache, Blackfeet, Eskimo-Indian, Navaho, Oklahoma and Oregon, Pima-Papago and Ute. Again Chippewa differed from all tribes.

#### Summary:

The following data seems to emerge in the analysis of the 'feeling' responses:

1. These responses are more scattered at both levels than any other responses. They are more numerous and more scattered at the secondary level than at the intermediate level.
2. Differences did not pattern themselves but were widely scattered. This seems to point up the fact that feeling is a personal matter, a human quality rather than a tribal quality.
3. Quite often groups which showed wide differences at one age level did not show such differences at the other age level. Totally new groupings emerged at the secondary level.
4. Most of the differences were of a negative type. Tribes giving few responses would differ from tribes which were more vocal. There seemed to be some repression of feelings at the secondary level.

Table XXXI  
~~Table XXXI~~

## Significant Differences in Pleasure Responses

	Apache	Black feet	Ind Esk	Navaho	Paiute	Okla homa	Oregon	Pima Pao	Sioux	Unit Pueb	Ute	Chippewa
Apache												
Blackfeet	*											
Esk-Ind	*	-										
Navaho	*	-	-									
Paiute	*	-	-	-								
Okhoma	-	-	*	*								
Oregon	-	-	-	*								
Pma-Pgo	-	-	*	*								
Sioux	-	-	*	*								
UnitPueb	*	-	-	-								
Ute	-	*	*	*	*							
Chippewa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Intermediate

Apache												
Blackfeet	*											
EskInd	*	*										
Navaho	-	*	*									
Paiute	-	-	*	-								
Okhoma	-	-	*	-								
Oregon	*	-	-	*								
Pma-Pgo	-	*	*	-			*					
Sioux	*	-	-	*			-	*				
UnitPueb	-	*	*	-			*	-				
Ute	-	*	*	-			*	-				
Chippewa	*	-	-	*	*	*	-	*		*		-
SpanAmer	*	-	*	*	-	-	-	-		*	*	

Secondary.

\*Statistically Significant Differences



Table XXIII

## Significant Differences in the Inter-Personal Responses

	Apache	Blackfeet	EskInd	Navaho	Paute	Okla	Oregon	PmaPgo	Sioux	UntPueb	Ute	Chippewa
Apache												
Blackfeet	*											
EskInd												
Navaho												
Paute												
Okla												
Oregon	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
PmaPgo	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Sioux							*	*	*	*	*	*
UntPueb							*	*	*	*	*	*
Ute							*	*	*	*	*	*
Chippewa							*	*	*	*	*	*

Intermediate

	Apache	Blackfeet	EskInd	Navaho	Paute	Okla	Oregon	PmaPgo	Sioux	UntPbo	Ute	Chippewa	SpanAmer
Apache													
Blackfeet													
EskInd	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Navaho	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Paute	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Okla	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Oregon	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
PmaPgo	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Sioux	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
UntPbo	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ute	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Chippewa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
SpanAmer	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Secondary

\*Statistically significant Differences

Table XXXIII

## Significant Differences in Fear Responses

	Black	Esk		Okla	Pima	Unit						
	Apache	feet	Ind	Navaho	Paiute	homa	Oregon	Pgo	Sioux	Pueb	Ute	Chippewa
Apache												
Blackfeet	-											
Ind-Esk	-	-					Intermediate					
Navaho	-	-	-									
Paiute	*	*	*	*								
Oklhama	-	-	-	*	-							
Oregon	*	*	*	*	*	*						
Pima-Pgo	*	*	*	*	*	*	*					
Sioux	-	-	-	-	*	-	*	*				
UnitPbo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
Ute	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Chippewa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Intermediate

Apache												
Blackfeet	*											
Ind-Esk	*	*										
Navaho	*	*	*									
Paiute	*	*	*	*								
Oklhama	-	-	*	-								
Oregon	*	*	*	*	*	*						
PmaPgo	*	*	*	*	*	*	*					
Sioux	*	*	*	-	*	*	*	*				
UntPbo	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ute	*	*	*	-	*	-	*	*	-	-	-	-
Chippewa	-	-	*	-	-	*	-	*	*	-	-	-
SpanAmer /	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-

Secondary

\*Statistically Significant Differences

Table XXXIV

## Significant Differences in Anger (Aggression) Responses

	Apache	Blackfeet	EskInd	Navaho	Paiute	Okla	Oregon	Pima	Sioux	Unit	Ute	Chippewa
Apache	-											
Blackfeet	-	-										
EskInd	-	-	-									
Navaho	*	*	*									
Paiute	*	*	*									
Okla	*	*	*	*	*	*						
Oregon	*	*	*	*	*	*	*					
Pima-Pgo	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*				
Sioux	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
UnitPueb	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		
Ute	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Chippewa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Intermediate

Apache	-											
Blackfeet	-	-										
EskInd	-	-	-									
Navaho	*	*	*	*	*	*						
Paiute	*	*	*	*	*	*						
Okla	*	*	*	*	*	*	*					
Oregon	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*				
Pima-Pgo	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
Sioux	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		
UnitPueb	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Ute	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Chippewa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Span Amer	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Secondary



## Chapter 22.

## Apprehension -Worry

## Food

In looking at Table XXXV we note that the real differences in the categories at the intermediate level and secondary level seem to take on some patterns but not as definite as those in the social category.

In the food responses the intermediate Oregon showed the most definite pattern of real differences since they differed from all other tribes except the Pima-Pago. This was a negative difference since they had no worry about food which is reasonable since they live in an environment where food is plentiful. The Navaho and Eskimo-Indian had the next largest number of significant differences these being positive differences since they showed a high number of responses in the frequency tables( see Appendix). From a review of their natural habitat we can understand why the food supply would be constant sources of apprehension. The United Pueblos had significant differences but only four. The Chippewa differed from all the other tribes since they gave no food worry responses. Thus we seem to have revealed a line of differences showing the tribes which have a ready food supply and those with food centered cultures. The analysis seems to bear out the fact that environment does show up in the responses of students. There are large numbers of statistically significant differences showing among tribes where there is plentiful food supplies and those groups where the food supply is limited because of physical environment. At the secondary level while the food apprehension differences were fewer they were more clearly patterned. The two tribes revealing the largest number of real differences were two tribes with 'food centered' cultures: the Navaho and United Pueblos. Even though these students were in boarding schools where there is a plentiful supply of food, this old feeling from the tribal pattern seemed to be deeply ingrained in them. If we wished to go deeper into the psychological interpretation of these differences, we might note that often worry about food or attention to food is apparent among people who have feelings of insecurity.

## Sickness

Glancing at Table XXXVI we discover that the Oklahoma, Paiute, Oregon and Pima-Papago had significant differences from all the other tribes in that these four tribes gave no sickness responses while all the other intermediate

students gave sickness responses. At the secondary level the Spanish American students had significant differences with all other tribes. They gave no sickness responses. At the same time the United Pueblos showed significant differences with the Blackfeet, Apache, Eskimo-Indian, Oklahoma, Oregon Pima-Papago in that they gave a large number of such responses while the others gave almost no such responses.

#### Death

In the 'death' category the Pima-Papago at the intermediate level differed from all the other tribes in that they had no such responses while all the other tribes had a few as can be seen in the tables in the Appendix. This was the only strong pattern of significant difference which came out. At the secondary level the death responses were more numerous and more scattered. The Spanish American differed from all the other tribes in that they gave no death responses, while Oregon was the only other group which gave no such response. The United Pueblos differed from the other tribes because of their large number of worries about death while the Navaho only mentioned death. These responses were among the most scanty of any of the categories probably because of the cultural tradition of not mentioning death or the dead.

#### Inter-Personal

From Table XXXVII we find that the significant differences while not as numerous as in the case of some other categories show quite strong patterns. At the intermediate level the Chippewa differed from all the other groups in that they had no such responses. In the same way the Oregon and Pima-Papago differed from most other tribes. At the secondary level three groups stand out in the number of significant differences and the patterns which they took. The Eskimo-Indian gave no such responses while the Navaho and Oklahoma differed from most of the other tribes because of the large number of such responses which they gave. The Eskimo-Indian responses at the secondary level seemed to lighten up. Thus it would seem that because the Indian Eskimo gave no such responses was not a reason necessarily that he had no such worries, but that he tended to repress them. The Navaho and Oklahoma writers differed significantly from most of the other tribes for exactly the opposite reasons in that they gave a number of responses of worry about social acceptance, maintaining status, love affairs



and a variety of other worries.

In summing up the 'apprehension' area of the significant differences the analysis seemed to develop the following data:

1. The number of significant differences among the tribes was quite large.
2. The real differences seemed to pattern the selves rather than show the scattered form which appeared in some of the other categories.
3. In the food category the patterns seemed to evolve from the cultural background. Food centered cultures or tribes having a limited supply of food differed significantly from those where was a plentiful supply of food.
4. In the sickness category the Paiutes, Pima-Papago, Oregon and Oklahoma at the intermediate level differed from the other tribes in that they gave no sickness responses. At the secondary level the responses were more scattered with the exception of the Spanish Americans who had differed from all the other tribes since they gave no responses.
5. In the death category the Pima-Papago differed from most of the other groups because they did not mention death, a cultural stamp. The responses were numerous but the patterning vague.
6. In the Intra(Inter) Personal category the patterning was unusually strong with the largest number of significant differences at the intermediate level. Five tribes differed from almost all the others: Paiute, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pima-Papago and Chippewa. The Paiute and Oklahoma differed because of their numerous responses while the other tribes differed because they gave no or few such responses. At the secondary level the same type of patterning was apparent with the Takimo-Indian, Navaho and Oklahoma. The Navaho and Oklahoma had large numbers of responses while the Takimo-Indian had almost none. Cultural ways and social conditions seemed to influence the patterns which the significant differences took in this area of response.

Table XXXV.

## Significant Differences in the Food Apprehension Responses

	Apache	Blackfoot	Esk-Ind	Havaho	Palute	Oklahoma	Oregon	Pima-Pgo	Sioux	UnitPueb	Ute	Chippewa
Apache												
Blackfoot	-											
Esk-Ind	*	*										
Havaho	*	*										
Palute	-	-	*	*								
Oklahoma	-	-	*	*	*							
Oregon	*	*	*	*	*	*						
Pima-Pgo	-	-	*	*	*	*	*					
Sioux	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*				
UnitPueb	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*			
Ute	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*		
Chippewa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Apache												
Blackfoot	-											
Esk-Ind	-	-										
Havaho	*	*	*									
Palute	-	-	-									
Oklahoma	-	-	-	*								
Oregon	*	*	*	*								
Pima-Pgo	*	*	*	*	*							
Sioux	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
UnitPueb	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ute	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Chippewa	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
SpanAmer	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*



Table XXVI  
Significant Differences in Sickness Responses

	Apache	Blackfeet	Ind-Esk	Navaho	Paiute	Okla	Pima	Unit	Ute	Chippewa
Apache										
Blackfeet										
Ind-Esk										
Navaho										
Paiute	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Okla	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Oregon	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Pma-Pgo	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Sioux	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Unit-Pueb	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ute	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Intermediate

Apache										
Blackfeet	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ind-Esk	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Navaho	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Paiute	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Okla	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Oregon	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Pma-Pgo	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Sioux	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Unit-Pueb	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ute	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Chippewa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Spanamer	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Secondary

## Part IV

Conclusion of Study

## Chapter 23

## Conclusions

In Chapter 4 we stated the following problems as the aim of this study:

1. What real differences are there between age and tribal groups of Indians which can be determined from an analysis of the "Free Writing Test"?
2. Are there certain trends which appear common to all groups?
3. Are there areas of tension and if so are they common to all tribes or only specific groups?

With regard to the first question it was found that significant differences occurred in all categories of responses between all tribes as well as between age levels. In some instances these were quite large as shown in Tables XVIII-XXVII. In other categories they were almost nil. The tables also show that the significant differences between the tribes were almost four times as great as those between age levels. From this we may conclude that the TRIBES DIFFERED MORE AMONG THEMSELVES THAN THE AGE GROUPS WITHIN THE TRIBE DIFFERED.

The least number of differences occurred in the whole type of response in which there was only one significant difference which was an intertribal difference and not an inter age difference. It would seem to be reasonable to conclude that WHEN STUDENTS HAVE THE LIBERTY TO RESPOND IN THIS MANNER CULTURAL TRIBAL AND AGE DIFFERENCES DISAPPEAR.

The next largest number of significant differences in both inter age and inter tribal were what might be termed 'negative' personality differences as anger, small detail, race antagonism and barter. These differences were usually marked because certain tribes tended to have large numbers of such differences while others showed them not at all. For example, most of the race antagonism responses were concentrated in the United Pueblos, Blackfeet and Spanish American, while other tribes showed none or few such responses. In the same manner the pleasure responses were accounted for in certain cases. Whereas in the case of the Eskimo-Indian these responses dropped significantly while other groups increased such responses. The Inter-Personal and Intra-Personal differences and responses were concentrated in the few tribes which greatly outnumbered the other tribes.

This concentration of large numbers of responses or modes in certain tribes in certain categories also seemed to show up cultural differences. For



example, tribes with food centered cultures as the Navaho, Paiute, Eskimo-Indian and United Pueblos had the greatest number of responses in these categories as well as the greatest number of significant differences with other tribes. Cultural differences in type of culture emerged in the significant differences in the responses. The same was true for the family. Tribes with strong family background in the culture revealed numerous differences from the rest of the tribes with either broken or extended family relationships. WE MAY THEN CONCLUDE THAT THE ANALYSIS DID SHOW THAT CULTURAL DIFFERENCES WERE REVEALED IN THE RESPONSES.

Not only did certain cultural trends appear in the analysis but also certain social feelings emerged in the differences. For example, tribes with broken cultural patterns or cultures in the process of integration or acculturation revealed significant differences with tribes whose cultural patterns were still strong. We may conclude that the analysis showed that SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES EMERGED BETWEEN CULTURES WHICH ARE BROKEN AND THOSE WHICH ARE MAIN\* TAINED. In the same way DIFFERENCES EMERGED BETWEEN GROUPS WHERE THERE WAS A CLIMATE IN THE SOCIAL AREA OF 'SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE' IN ONE TRIBE AND 'NON\* ACCEPTANCE' IN ANOTHER. The analysis brought out the fact that social and cultural differences were revealed strongly in the response attitudes of the students.

In glancing at the tables in the Appendix, quite often the tribes who gave the largest number of social responsibility responses also had the LARGEST NUMBER OF INTER PERSONAL AND INTRA PERSONAL RESPONSES, and large numbers of significant differences in these areas. This is also shown in Tables XXXII, XXXVII and the Appendix. Since we may assume that a feeling of social responsibility is a stage of social maturation it seems that it involves inner as well as outer conflict. As SOCIAL HORIZONS WIDEN AS IN THE CASE OF ACCULTURATION AND INTEGRATION CONFLICTS DEVELOP. In many cases those students seemed not only able to express their conflicts but from the tone of responses to have some inner security to cope with them.

With regard to the second question of whether or not there appeared to be such trends common to all groups, we find the answer in Tables XVIII and XXXVII and the Appendix. These data show that certain trends do seem to appear although they are not as definitely outlined as those discussed above. However a few are:



1. On the whole the listing type of response tended to decrease at the secondary level with the exception of a few isolated groups.
2. Interest in animals tended to decrease at the secondary level while interest in people tended to increase.
3. Tribes who were less acculturated tended to give more food, family and work responses at both levels.
4. The less acculturated groups tended to give fewer story, fantasy and description responses than the more acculturated groups at both levels.
5. Usually family responses tended to decrease at the secondary level while people, social responsibility and independence and dependence responses increased.
6. In most tribes the Intra-Inter Personal responses increased at the secondary level.

With regard to the third question under investigation, it was specific areas of tension: race antagonism, dependency, Inter-personal responses as shown in tables XXV, XX, XVII, and XXVII. But the areas of tension are not common to all tribes. The social situation in which students lived seemed to contribute to these more than personal or cultural factors. The findings may be summarized as follows:

1. There were more tribal differences than age differences in all categories of response.
2. In the Whole type of response there were no tribal or age differences.
3. Cultural and social factors appeared among the tribes. Significant differences in social climate and acculturation appeared among tribes.
4. Enlarging and expanding social horizons tended to develop Intra-Inter-Personal problems, in tribes where social change is at work.
5. Listing types of responses, interest in animals and family tended to decrease at the secondary level.
6. Responses in social responsibility, interest in people, large details, mature whole type of responses tended to increase at the secondary level. The less acculturated groups tended to give less description, story, fantasy, and social responsibility responses.

#### Recommendations:

This study seemed to show the value of projective types of tests for

understanding Indian attitudes. It would seem to be of great value to further such studies with better instruments for the testing and more uniform methods of administration. Because papers from only twelve tribes were available and the results as enlightening as they were, it seems such a study for all the tribes would be even more worthwhile. The writer also suggests that in case a similar study should be carried on later, it should include a study of the communities in which the students live. Many of the results may have been more revealing had the writer been able to have made a first hand investigation of the locales. This would be especially valuable in cases where the groups are in the integration or acculturation stages. It would also be valuable to find to what extent these findings might be incorporated into educational and guidance programs. It seems, for example, that among the United Pueblos some good work in strengthening the social studies courses at the local level might help make for better understanding and overcome some of the feeling of "race antagonism".