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bow. Three held by Mandans in a group illustration have various appendages and are apparently an integral part of the ceremonial. Two others, one with the wooden one painted red, or perhaps made of red wood, are illustrated within the interior of a Mandan earth lodge.

Through these field sketches of Carl Bodmer, then, we gain a sort of preview of the elaboration that was to come using many of these materials and a profusion of similar ones. Many of these materials which might have had some utilitarian value became mere decoration with an extreme degree of elaborateness. In an ethnological frame of reference, Bodmer's paintings surely contribute important documentary evidence of Plains Indian Culture in the early 19th century.

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CHANGING SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN AN EASTERN DAKOTA COMMUNITY

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The Prairie Island Community of the Eastern Dakota Indian includes some 534 acres in Goodhue County on the west bank of the Mississippi River fourteen miles northwest of Red Wing, Minnesota. At present there are just under 100 people living in the community, 60 of whom are under 21 years of age. One's first impression of the community is that the Indians of Prairie Island have reconciled themselves to the ways of the white man. The clothes they wear are similar to those of the farmers surrounding them, the children are avid readers of comic books, the young girls wear lipstick and nail polish. Even the white man's attitude toward cars has penetrated to the Indian—the newer the model the more valuable the possession. One

¹ The material used in the following paper was obtained during the summer of 1955 with the aid of an undergraduate stipend from the Social Science Research Council.

is impressed by the community hall, the Episcopal church and the white frame houses, with adjacent gardens and neat yards, whose boundaries may be marked with white washed tires, a row of sumac bushes or petunias in a red wash tub. But closer examination reveals a number of homes just this side of being tar paper shacks, rubbish piles just around the corner, and just as many weeds as cornstalks in the gardens. The houses have from two to five rooms and with one or two exceptions are poorly furnished. Nevertheless, the large shade trees, the river bluffs and the fresh air are partial compensation for what the interiors lack.

To the best of my knowledge the income for a family would run about 150 to 200 dollars a month. The main source of income for most of the families is derived from the manufacture of souvenir drums for a firm in Minneapolis. Some of the men are employed from time to time as unskilled labor in Red Wing, Hastings and the St. Paul packing plants, or by local farmers during harvest times. Other sources include income obtained through renting land to farmers, disability payments, pensions, including Social Security, and Aid for Dependent Children. Twelve of the eighteen households are able to maintain a car, five houses are wired for electricity, and all but one of these has a television set. All water is obtained from outdoor pumps, sometimes two or three families sharing one pump.

The families at Prairie Island show various stages of acceptance of the non-materialistic aspects of the white man's way generally in proportion to the degree of contact with white people and the extent of their education. In the long run social relationships and values are of greater importance to an individual and his community than material things. The Indian adopted the gun and the horse long before he was willing to imitate the white man's behavior. I would like to discuss in this paper a few of the effects the changing economic and social environment has wrought upon familial social relationships and the socialization techniques that define these relationships among the people of Prairie Island.

One of the most important and most basic of the changes, one which has occurred of necessity in almost all Indian groups, has been the emergence of the individual family as the essential economic unit. As a consequence, grandparents play a lesser rôle in family life than that which they once maintained, even to the extent that the grandparents live apart from their children, and are forced to make their own living, or receive small pensions or a nominal sum, often begrudgingly given, from the softer-hearted among their offspring—a bitter life for a person who a few generations ago might have been the most respected member of the family group. Their life becomes even more difficult through their inability to communicate with their grandchildren, who for the most part at Prairie Island are unable to speak Dakota and understand almost as little. Possibly in an attempt to counteract this situation, many of the grandmothers have taken into their homes one or two of their grandchildren,

and have been responsible for their upbringing. These are the only children who have learned to speak their native language. Most of these children are illegitimate, whose mothers are now married or have left the island. One girl, 13, of mixed parentage and easily mistaken as white prefers to stay with her great great grandmother on Prairie Island than with her more exacting mother who lives in the Twin Cities. Of the three other children of this mother, all born of different fathers, one boy, 7, lives with his grandmother on the island, another was put up for adoption soon after birth, and the third, a girl, 9, lives with her mother. The assumption of the care of a grandchild on the part of the grandmother fits in well with the pattern of the old days when grandparents represented the ideal of kindness and generosity, and were the ones to whom the child turned in times of need. The reactions of the younger parents to this transference of the responsibilities of parenthood to the grandmother are mixed. For the most part the feeling is that children brought up by grandmothers are spoiled because the grandmothers are too lenient and don't make the children learn the things they should. One boy in particular is far behind his age mates in matters of eating, e.g. cutting his own meat, and dressing and social poise. He has difficulty talking English and is said to have been unusually slow in learning to walk. Part of his slowness is also attributed to his being a twin. (In each of the two cases of twins at Prairie Island one of the twins has died soon after birth.) Of the two families with which I am best acquainted, all of the grandparents provide their own support. The first family, that of the great great grandmother I referred to above, was once the leading family in the community, the head of the family being the president of the community council until his death a few years ago. Because none of his sons was considered by the rest of the community to be responsible, the presidency was given to a young man of another family. Agnes, who although she is a great great grandmother belongs to the same generation as the other grandparents in the community, has had eight children. Two of them are living outside the state, one in New Mexico and the other in South Dakota. A third, divorced from his white wife, is living with his three children in St. Paul. Two daughters, one whose husband has died, and the other who has separated from her white husband, live with their children in their own homes on the island. The three remaining sons are all unmarried and live with their mother, although none of them contributes substantially to her support. One has a steady job at the dam north of Hastings, another works occasionally at anything he can find. The third almost never works, but earns his keep by helping Agnes make drums with which she supports herself with the help of a small pension. Agnes also receives \$15 per month ADC for her great great granddaughter. Agnes takes a more realistic view of her situation and is therefore better off than most of her contemporaries. She speaks fluent English and takes an active interest in her children and grandchildren, even to the point of interference. I was informed several times that, "Sonny won't get married until his mother dies because

she would always meddle in his affairs." Because of her sons, Agnes has the use of a car which one of them will always drive for her. Each morning she goes to visit her two daughters and she often makes extensive trips to South Dakota to stay for a while with relatives. One of Agnes' granddaughters reports that one time when her grandmother was teaching her how to make Indian bread, Agnes told her, because her father was Spanish, she should learn the Spanish ways of doing things as well as the Indian. Agnes even offers to pay her grandchildren money when she needs help in making drums, a reward typical of the white man that is practically unheard of among the other families.

The grandmother of the second family, whom I shall call Ann, has also made a successful adjustment to the new situation. Ann has been married twice. Her first husband now married to a white woman, lives in Hastings and holds a steady job at the state hospital. He and Ann had three children, the youngest, a boy, was killed while walking along the railroad tracks just after he returned from the war. Their two girls are both married and are living on the island with their families. Ann's first husband and his present wife visit the girls often bringing the children candy and gifts. His wife recently took care of one of the children while its mother was in the hospital with a new baby. Ann's second husband died a few years ago and since that time she has worked as cleaning woman in the cities. Once a month or so she returns to the island for about a week staying first with one daughter and then with another. While she is there, she takes care of the children, helps with the meals, puts up preserves, and is generally helpful. In contrast to Agnes, she never interferes, and rarely criticizes. She is pleasant with the children, but does not indulge them as their grandfather does. She has expressed satisfaction with the way both her daughters are raising their families.

The other grandparents at Prairie Island have not made such a happy adjustment as have Ann and Agnes. Most of them live alone with a grandchild or two and are unable to speak English. They are respected by their children, but receive little material aid, and have little part to play in their children's families.

Another important change of which I wish to speak is the changing status of the father. He is still the family's chief source of support, but his work is irregular, and he does not devote himself to single occupation. Previously, the father played a very important part in the life of his son, for it was the father's responsibility to train his son for the social and economic roles he was to play. Now fathers have no career and little social role to which they can introduce sons. What is worse, the son receives in school a better education than that which his father can give him; indeed, better than that his father received, and the son at the age of eighteen is capable of making as much if not more money than his father does. A boy may have social drives, but there is little reward that can produce in him a feeling of achievement. This situation, which exists in many Indian communities, is accentuated at Prairie Island because most of the families are related through the

mother's side, and thus the men, with few exceptions, are "outsiders". An extreme case of the significance of this fact is that of Max, an elderly man who was for a short time the second husband of a Prairie Island woman. They had not been married too many years before the woman died, leaving the man with no children and no place in the community. He lives alone, isolated from the other homes, and does odd jobs for the people who own the local store. He is ignored to such an extent that he can remain sick in house a day or so without anyone, with the exception of those at the store, becoming aware of his absence.

In one family, the father exerts as much influence as possible on his family to counteract, at least in part, I imagine, his loss of status. He makes a great effort to impress strangers with his capabilities, whether in baseball or construction work, but in fact the situation is not as rosy as it first appears. An informant of mine described the situation as follows: "There is a conflict between Bill and Mary, because she sticks up for the kids. Bill used to leave for months at a time and go to St. Paul and hang around skid row and the workhouse. Mary used to bring the kids up to John's (my informant's husband) mother who was getting John's allotment, and have her feed them. Bill has never earned any money for Mary, and now he spends money on Jimmy (the illegitimate son of his daughter Joan. He stays with his grandparents while his mother works in the city), and ignores his own kids. When Mary got to making drums, she would make 400 to 600 a week and got \$125 a week and then Bill came home. Did you notice how Bill has everything, false teeth, glasses, wristwatch? Mary has a bad eye and he won't do anything for it. He makes these kids make drums all the time and then he spends all the money—bought a car and everything. The only square meal the kids get is at school. Joan came over here when she got off the train last week and I sent Susan (my informant's daughter) over to get Mary. Mary started crying because Joan said that she wasn't coming back because of Bill." Among other things it would appear that Bill is trying to establish, through these actions, a place of authority in his family and a position of at least apparent wealth in the community.

In almost all the families there seems to be a general feeling of inadequacy among the men. A man's greatest chance for prestige comes early in life when he joins the army. He is spoken of with respect by all the members of the community. His coming home on leave is a time of celebration. His family gives a party for him in the community house to which all the members of the community are invited. Almost all the young men leave Prairie Island at their first opportunity, usually to join the army, but often to seek better jobs than are available in the area. Because of the interrelationship of the families, there are no suitable girls on the island for them to marry, and it is doubtful when they do take wives that they will return with her to make their home on the island.

The mother today has become the center of the family, because she has assumed greater responsibility for its direction and support.

Her role is also strengthened by the isolation of the individual household. The mother-daughter relationship is a strong one, as evidenced by the number of women who have married outside the island, and then returned home with their husbands to live near their mothers. The loyalty and cooperation given and expected from blood relatives of the same generation continues to function, and even such a relationship as second cousin is considered special. The most notable blood relationship is between sisters. A woman is closer to her sister than she is to any other person in the community. Sisters lend each other money, wash each other's clothes, and care for each other's children. Such cooperation is apparently extended to sisters-in-law, although there are so few of these relationships that it is impossible to make any definite conclusion. Mother-in-law avoidance is recognized, but not always rigidly maintained. All other avoidance patterns, such as between brother and sister in face-to-face relationships, seem to have broken down. Some mothers talk of the need for sisters to respect their brothers, but they were never observed making any attempt to develop this sort of relationship. Brothers- and sisters-in-law continue to joke with each other, but the jokes, as far as it was possible to ascertain, do not include jokes about sex. They are more in the realm of kidding; for instance, one man teases his sister-in-law about her inability to drive a car well.

The ideal of the parent-child relationship among the Dakota Indians has been, and at Prairie Island for the most part still is, one of deep-seated affection. A young child is granted almost complete indulgence by his parents, thus developing in him an affectionate loyalty to his parents. That disciplining which must be done at this age is done through the use of child frighteners, usually the traditional Tchitchi man; but many of the younger families, who claim this figure makes children afraid of the dark, substitute something else, such as a mouse, a snake, or in the case of one family the word Jigaboo, or anything the child has shown a fear of. In this manner all the frightening and threatening is done through a supernatural or animal figure which is outside the family group. Children are treated as individuals with their own likes, dislikes, and responsibilities. In many of the homes it is entirely up to the child whether he decides to go to school or to stay home for fear of a test. They are allowed to exercise a certain amount of choice in the selection of their clothes. Once the children reach school age, they are given responsibilities, such as the care of smaller children, of which white parents do not feel their children are yet capable.

I should like to read to you from my field notes one of the baby sitting sessions at which I was quite fortunate to be present. I think it will serve to illustrate some of the attitudes I have indicated above. "When I entered the house I found that the children's mother was up at the store. She had taken Bobby, 6, leaving Joan, 7, home with Mary, 3 and Randy, 8 months. When I asked Joan where her mother was she told me, "I always have to stay home and babysit when she goes out, but when she is here I can go. Mary's a tom boy now, she

plays with Tom (her cousin). They played school with her books. The minute I clean the house up they dirty it as soon as I leave". We watch Mary fix two small desks that were originally from the old school. She piles her books up and puts them in the desk.

Joan says, "I gave Mary my bride doll because the boys always take it away from me, but Mary, she can keep it from them. Randy makes funny faces at us. You have to keep the scissors away from him." She turned to Mary and said, "Quit tearing up papers or mother will spank you!"

Mary begins to look at pictures in magazines and talks about them. Joan puts Mary's new hat on to tease her but Mary doesn't respond. Then Joan tells me about the books she brings home from the library each day. She gets the books and tells me some of the stories, she interrupts to tell me, "Bobby messed his pants at school and Mary was telling everybody. Mama gave him a licking and stood him in the corner." She looks at Mary. "Mary likes to dress in Mother's old dresses."

Joan went upstairs and brought down a box with several old dresses in it. "This is a big dress. On Halloween Bill (another cousin) dressed like an old man, Bobby dressed like a bunny. He wore the suit I had for the Christmas program last year, and I dressed like a witch." Joan went over to one of the desks and started to write on them with a piece of chalk she had been saving from school, then she brought me a birthday card she had colored from a work book, addressed to a friend of hers at school, a Christmas card for her uncle, that she told me she had forgotten to give him when he was there yesterday, and a note to her mother with "I love you, mother . . . from Joan." written on it. I asked Joan what her mother had said when she gave the note to her. "Mother said it was all right and then she started to put it away and Mary tried to tear it and mother got mad at her. Mary did that because I did it for mother. . . . You should have been here last night . . . they (her parents and aunt and uncle) sent us to bed and played Canasta."

Randy started to fuss, so Joan put hot water in one of his bottles to wash it. Randy cries for the bottle while she is washing it. Joan squirts him with it and then squirts Mary. Randy begins to fuss more loudly. Joan puts milk in the bottle and gives it to him. Joan got a cup of coffee for me on her own initiative. Mary took the bottle away from Randy and hid it behind the door to the living room. Joan realized what had happened and got the bottle for Randy and told Mary to play with her dresses and leave Randy alone. Linda pushed Randy, who was sitting in a stroller, against the wall. Joan went to him. Mary looked out the window and said "TchiTchi man". Joan came over to the window and asked Mary where she saw him. Randy started to cry again and Joan went over to him and put Mary's hat on him in an attempt to distract him, but he continued to cry. Joan looked for a clean diaper while I held him. By the time we had him changed his mother was home. She told me about Bobby's accident. Evidently he told Mrs.

Anderson several times that he wanted to go, but she didn't let him. His mother felt that Mrs. Anderson was at fault because he never messed at home and hadn't since he was two.

I think there is little I will add to this description other than to say that the actions and attitudes expressed in it are fairly typical with the exception that Joan is a particularly capable and perceptive child.

In conclusion, then, it seems to be apparent that the changing economic situation is the cause of the basic alterations in familial structure, that of the emergence of the individual family as the basic economic unit, the father's inability to maintain his former status, and the consequent assumption of the family's direction and support on the part of the mother. On the other hand the relationship between mother and child, a relation of affection and respect has remained more stable.

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EXPERIMENTAL VALUE OF THE CLONAL LINE IN FORESTRY

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ABSTRACT

During the past two decades foresters have become increasingly conscious of the need for extended basic forest biological research in the fields of ecology, physiology, and genetics. Important in the development of this research trend has been the acceptance by foresters of the fundamental contribution of genetics, namely, that *all* characteristics of an organism are inherited but that some are controlled rigidly by the genes, whereas others are controlled loosely.

Knowledge of the degree of genetic control exerted over particular characters in trees, or the "reaction range" of such characters in different environments, are matters of primary silvicultural interest since manipulation of the environment provides the only direct tool at the disposal of the silviculturist by which he is able to modify the yield and quality of the trees currently occupying an area.

In the past great reliance has been placed on descriptive methods of research in the field as a means of assessing the degree of genetic control exerted over certain characters. Results of such descriptive methods are invariably confounded by factors of age, site variation, and genetic diversity—a situation which inevitably leads to empirical generalization. Such generalizations are, nevertheless, of great scientific usefulness since they may lead to hypotheses that are amenable to test by experimental methods.

Such problems may be best solved under conditions in which maximum control is exerted over the genotype and environment. In the