

Early Agricultural Fairs on Pine Ridge Reservation: The Conflicting Policies of Assimilation and Agricultural Development

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While student teaching at Pine Ridge reservation my supervising teacher, a member of the Oglala tribe, explained to me the reason Indians commonly wore cowboy boots. He stated simply, “They’re moccasins with heels.” Although I was not aware of it at the time, this anecdote conveyed a great deal about the unique culture of Pine Ridge Reservation. Isolated in the southwest corner of South Dakota, Pine Ridge is nationally known for a history of violence and poverty. However, omitted from this popular trope is the more nuanced story of perseverance and success that the residents of Pine Ridge have intermittently achieved against the odds of monumental changes in their environment, subsistence, and political structure. Agricultural development is a predominant example of how Pine Ridge residents adapted to new forms of subsistence using a culturally consistent approach. Why then has the agricultural success of Pine Ridge remained commonly unknown? In large part, it is due to the brevity of its success story.

The Office of Indian Affairs’ (OIA) agricultural initiatives during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had a twofold purpose: first, to encourage the individual Indian to be self-sufficient, and second, to eradicate traditional cultural practices.¹ Paul Robertson persuasively argues in *Power of the Land* that self-sufficiency through agricultural practices was achieved on Pine Ridge from the 1890s to the mid-1920s. Robertson’s study concludes that OIA policies divided the tribe to weaken their sovereignty. While ample evidence is presented to support this claim, Robertson does not confront evidence that indicates OIA agricultural policies also inadvertently aided in cultural preservation through agricultural programs such as tribal fairs. Tracing the different programs that the OIA used to promote agriculture, with tribal agricultural fairs being primary in this case study, it becomes evident that the failures of agricultural

initiatives were not inevitable but occurred as a result of the incompatibility of the OIA pursuing assimilation and agriculture policies concurrently.

The word adaptation encapsulates a majority of pre-reservation history for the bands assigned to Pine Ridge. The westward migration from woodlands to short grass prairies in the seventeenth century necessitated numerous cultural adaptations. The increased supply of bison led to a greater cultural emphasis on hunting. The move also provided the opportunity for the Teton bands to be introduced to new technologies via interactions with other indigenous groups residing in the area. Technologies such as horses and guns drastically altered Teton cultures. However, it is important to note that these adaptations only modified pre-existing practices and did not alter the fundamental framework of the culture.²

It was with the Sioux Act of 1889 that modifications came into direct conflict with the existing cultural organization. The Sioux Act transferred nine million acres of the Great Sioux Nation into public lands. The remaining Sioux land was used to create six separate reservations, Pine Ridge being the largest both in acreage and population. Originally encompassing 2.7 million acres, Pine Ridge had a population just over 5,600 people. The original population was a combination of Oglala, mixed blood, and Northern Cheyenne Indians. The Oglala Lakota formed the majority of the population with 4,549 members.³

The transition to subsistence within the reservation landscape brought about incredible hardships and further adaptations for the Pine Ridge population. The majority of the assigned lands were not suitable for farming without the aid of irrigation, and another 160,000 acres of badlands were not suitable for farming under any circumstances.⁴ Unlike reservations established earlier in the nineteenth century, farming on Pine Ridge was not pressed by the OIA to the same degree. The concerns voiced by early agency employees regarding the likelihood of

successful farming in the semi-arid climate, regardless of the Indian's agricultural aptitude, likely influenced the OIA's decision to support ranching as a substitute to farming. In 1881 the agent at Pine Ridge wrote in his annual report:

The fact is, that by degrees the white man has taken from the Sioux pretty much all the land that can be considered arable. ... White men well trained in farming, have tried to till the soil in this vicinity in Northern Nebraska and have lost all the money invested, and have not produced enough to pay for the seed. I can confidently venture to state that, if the experiment were tried of placing 7,000 white people on this land, with seed, agricultural implements, and one year's subsistence, at the end of that time they would die of starvation.⁵

Warning such as the one cited above, coupled with the failure of farming on other reservations due insufficient funds for farming implements and supplies, cattle ranching was both accepted and encouraged as an alternative to wide-scale farming on Pine Ridge.⁶

Early accounts of the Pine Ridge landscape describe the conditions to be optimal for open grazing with thousands of fenceless acres and dense prairie sod covering the majority of the land.⁷ Gordon MacGregor contends, in his anthropological study of the Pine Ridge society, that the majority of the Oglala accepted cattle ranching because it was a natural extension of their earlier adaptation of tending large herds of horses.⁸ For example, feeding horses tree bark during long winters was a practice originating from tending horses.⁹ The 1895 annual report to the Commission of Indian Affairs described Pine Ridge ranching:

They show very considerable interest and zeal in looking after their stock, branding their calves and attending the roundups. They will this fall furnish about 2,000,000 pounds of

beef for their own consumption. ...Three years of drought have had no visible effect upon the value of the cattle ranges.¹⁰

From 1886 to 1897, Pine Ridge's cattle holdings grew from 4,618 head to 41,000 head.¹¹

According to Paul Robertson's recent study, a majority of full blooded Oglala ranchers lived in dense settlements along creeks. The camps, as they were often referred to, collectively raised their stock within their traditional *tiospaye*.¹²

Although the collective ranches did not compare in holdings per member to the more prosperous mixed-blood ranchers, they still warranted concern from the agency for their moderate collective successes. Agent Valentine McGillicuddy tried to break up the traditional social and political structures promoting the collective holdings by dividing the reservation into farm districts. McGillicuddy also issued doors and hardware in lieu of canvas, so that families would be forced to build immobile, log cabins. However, members of *tiospayes* still built their cabins in close proximity to maintain their unity. This eventually led the frustrated agent to order hundreds of log cabins to be disassembled and relocated to separate tracts of land.¹³

In addition to the OIA's direct opposition to ranching being modified in culturally consistent ways, the agent also pressed his assimilation ideas through the preferential treatment of mixed bloods and white ranchers who had married into the reservation system. While there is no conclusive evidence to confirm that the preference given to mixed and white ranchers was intentionally done to demonstrate the benefits of conforming to individual ranching methods, the patterns in which law enforcement was carried out support this hypothesis. For instance, when mixed-blood ranches began fencing off large portions of tribal commons for their cattle, the agency overlooked the flagrant disregard for OIA regulations.¹⁴ However, when collective ranchers butchered one of their own cows for personal consumption during the lean months, the

transgressors were consistently sent to the Agency for punishment.¹⁵ These two examples demonstrate that the OIA was willing to ignore lawbreaking in the pursuit of individual goals, while firmly objecting to Indians eating their economic investment for survival. In spite of the OIA's powerful opposition, full-blood ranchers resisted individual ranching and in many cases, survived due to the preservation of communal practices. Robertson points out specifically how the tradition of give-a-ways complimented the subsistence economy because it cushioned the effect of hard winters or poor crop production.

Although the Dawes Act was passed in 1887, its effect was not felt on Pine Ridge for another two decades. However, by 1915 the Dawes Act had irreversibly altered the cattle economy for all of the livestock holders on Pine Ridge. The Dawes Act opened the reservations for allotment to individual Indians, with heads of families receiving 160 acres, males over the age of 18 receiving 80 acres, and minors receiving 40 acres. The act also specified that patents for the allotments would be held in a trust for twenty-five years, at which point the allottee would be free to sell or lease his or her allotment, thus leading to the ultimate opening of the reservation to outside interests.¹⁶ While the allotment process would be slow and problematic, it signified progress towards the termination of the reservation system. The idea was that by creating a society of individual self-sufficient property owners, the influence of tribal leaders would be reduced, and Indians would eventually assimilate into the larger population after shedding their collective identity.¹⁷ All Oglala ranchers, both with collective and individual holdings, were damaged by allotment. In his oral historical account, Johnson Holy Rock astutely described the effect of allotment as, "When the fences came in, that's when the problems begin."¹⁸

Allotment was especially slow on Pine Ridge because land surveys were not completed until after the turn of the century, and even then the understaffed agent's office was unable to keep up

with allotment applications. Increasing pressure from white settlers to open up excess reservation lands further exacerbated the slow and problematic process of allotment. This pressure is evident in the May 1902 decision of Congress to give the Secretary of Interior authority to sell deceased Indian's allotted lands still held in trust.¹⁹ In 1906 the Burke Act provided the opportunity for further access to reservation lands by granting the Secretary of the Interior the power to reward "competent" Indians patent to their lands before the trust period was complete.

As Congressional acts sped up the process of opening up reservation lands, the allotment process remained slow throughout the period. In the spring of 1909, the Gamble Bill was introduced to a council composed of five representatives from each of the six districts on Pine Ridge. The bill proposed selling an "excess" tract of land on the northern portion of the reservation. The general response of the initial council and the subsequent councils was complete opposition to the bill.

The incomplete process of allotting land was a primary reason given for opposing the bill. At the first council meeting George Sword described the bill as "in a hurry" to sell land that may still be needed for allotments not yet assigned. During another meeting in September of 1909, Bull Bear further pressed the issue of incomplete allotments when he stated, "We do not know how much of this land is surplus land. I do not think you know either. I do not think you know how many people are not allotted."²⁰ Other speeches of opposition focused on the lack of details regarding the price that the land would sell for and the method in which the proceeds would be distributed. Members such as Fast Horse, who was a judge of the Indian court, were not opposed to the land sale but wanted the proceeds to be paid in cash and for the land to be appraised by themselves rather than by a bureau commission.

In the minutes of the council meetings of 1909 regarding the Gamble Bill, an analogy reoccurs in several testimonies. The analogy compares the Federal government to a coyote and Pine Ridge to a carcass that the coyote has placed in a creek to soften. The coyote comes to the creek often to see if the carcass has softened, but as Turning Hawk stated in his testimonies conclusion, “We don’t think we are very soft yet.”²¹ Regardless of whether Pine Ridge had properly “softened,” in May of 1910 Congress approved the Gamble Bill. While federal Indian policy persistently confiscated lands, agricultural training gained funding and prominence during the early twentieth century. Once again the OIA policy promoted an agricultural economy for the reservations despite continually eliminating the resources and trust needed to develop it.

Although the majority of the OIA’s agricultural promotions were implemented uniformly across all of the reservations, *The Oglala Light* is one instance where agricultural promotion was targeted specifically at the Pine Ridge population. *The Oglala Light* (also referred to as *The Light*) was arranged and printed by the Oglala Indian Training school initially as a “brochure” which ultimately became the first newspaper in Shannon County. Similar newspapers were published on other reservations with vocational schools. While the majority of articles printed in the paper focused on local issues and news, every issue also contained a segment written for the circulation of all reservation newspapers. Titled the “Official Organ of Pine Ridge Reservation. A magazine issued in the interest of all Indians, for all Indians,” *The Oglala Light* focused almost exclusively on the themes of agricultural production and the process of civilizing.²² It is important to note that these two themes were analogous in usage in the majority of articles printed in the paper. For instance, *The Light* printed in 1917 extracts from a speech given by the Chief Inspector which concluded;

So let us all get busy and do our part and you Indians get busy and raise good gardens and support yourselves and your families and in that manner you will be aiding the Government and conserving the money and food supply of the Government and proving yourselves to be worthy good citizens.²³

In congruence with the mutual goals of the OIA and *The Light*, the onset of an annual agricultural fair on Pine Ridge provided an ideal enterprise to promote both agriculture and assimilation.

Reservation fairs originated in the early twentieth century by the OIA to replace traditional gatherings and festivals while further promoting agricultural enterprises. The first fair took place in 1904 on the Crow Reservation in Montana. The initial fair consisted only of a horse race and a dance. Agricultural displays and competitions were added the following years until the Crow Reservation resembled county fairs both in size and attendance. The initial success of the Crow Reservation fair provided the impetus for the OIA to establish fairs on other reservations. In 1911, fourteen reservations held annual fairs, and by 1917, 58 annual fairs were held on reservations.²⁴ In part, this rapid duplication of agricultural fairs was the result of Commissioner Cato Sells' ardent interest in accelerating the issuance of fee patents to competent Indians. The self-sufficiency and agricultural competition that the fairs promoted were parcel to Sells' vision of eliminating the ward-trust relationship. For the commissioner the primary purpose of fairs was "to open to the Indians the vision of the industrial achievements to which they should aspire."²⁵

In 1914, the same year Sells became a commissioner, Pine Ridge reservation held its first annual fair. According to *The Oglala Light*, the fair lasted three days and was well attended. The fair program included races, ball games, and "other clean sports," in addition to music furnished

daily by the “well drilled Indian band.” The fair also had scheduled speeches for each day given by the superintendent, employees (such as district farmers), and “short talks by the principal Indian chiefs and other intelligent Indian men.”²⁶

Overshadowing the games and speeches, according to *The Light*, was the newly erected Agricultural Exhibit Hall housing fifty-six different exhibition categories. The first place prize for each category came with a cash prize stemming from the two hundred dollars appropriated by the Indian Office. Exhibits included categories emphasizing livestock production such as “Best Bull Calf” in addition to categories such as “Best Corn Fodder” which emphasized farming and a series of categories emphasizing domestic products such as “Best Girls Apron.” While these exhibit categories were typical of many agricultural fairs, other exhibit categories appear unique to Pine Ridge’s culture. “Best Beaded Moccasins” and “Best Full Blood Indian Baby” are two examples of the cultural modifications of competitions accepted at the first annual Pine Ridge fair.²⁷

Although *The Oglala Light* proclaimed the first annual fair a “decided success from every point of view,” there were already indicators that the fair had the capability of encouraging cultural preservation instead of assimilation. The fair contained several characteristics consistent with traditional gatherings, such as the size; crowds consisted of Indians from all six districts, some traveling all day and staying near or on the fair grounds days before and after the proper fair dates. While the OIA believed the popularity of the fairs was caused by increased interest in agricultural competition and education, the social aspect may have been of higher importance due to the usual opposition by OIA for large-scale gatherings. In spite of the danger of cultural encouragement, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs selected three days for the next annual fair

to take place on Pine Ridge and announced in *The Light* it would be held “every year hereafter.”²⁸

The 1916 fair expanded exponentially from the previous year. The quick growth can be partially attributed to the addition of a second permanent building on the fair grounds, but is more likely related to the OIA’s decision to delegate to the tribe the majority of the planning and organization of the fair. According to Major Brennan’s report on the fair, the Indians were encouraged to select their own planning committees and gather representatives from each of the reservation districts. The OIA only appointed one mixed-blood employee to the planning committee, with instructions to “keep a watchful eye on the disbursement of funds.”²⁹

Major Brennan’s report admitted the increased attendance at the fair, estimating four to five thousand people on the grounds at any given time. In addition, the report noted an increase in the fair account from \$101.00 after the previous fair to \$290.00 following the second annual fair. Despite these quantitative successes, Brennan described the fair both in the introduction and conclusion of his report as having “plenty of room for improvement.” His main objection noted was the Indian planning committee’s inclination to make the fair resemble a festival more than an agricultural exhibition. While not expanding on the aspects of the fair that resembled a festival, Brennan recommends in his report that the planning of the next fair should be under greater management by the OIA but maintain a sense of Indian input.³⁰

On the whole, Brennan’s disapproval of the implementation of the second annual fair was restrained in comparison to the editorial printed in the same edition. While the editorial focused primarily on the proposed Sun Dance to be held in tandem with the annual fair, it criticized the deeper tendency of permitting the “Indian Problem” to impinge upon the fair. “To have permitted such an exhibition would have been a step backward and would have, as one man

expressed it, set back the civilization of these Indians thirty years.”³¹ Disgusted with the idea of luring larger crowds to the fair through the advertisement of a Sun Dance, the author compared the acts of the organizers to that of a “show man.”

As Major Brennan highlighted in his report, and as the editorial condemned, the Pine Ridge fair was teetering on the edge between a traditional gathering and an agricultural exhibition. Brennan’s report, however, pithily admits that the agricultural aspect of the fair did not diminish in quality due to the festival atmosphere. The fair fulfilled its original purpose as a tool to encourage agricultural endeavors among the Oglala, but had concurrently facilitated the preservation and propagation of traditional cultural practices. With almost a thirty-year span between permanent residency on the reservation and the first agricultural fair, cultural preservation was likely weakened from the continual campaign of assimilation. Thus the fairs provided not only a venue for the continuation of cultural practices such as horse races, extended family gatherings, and traditional dancing, but almost certainly introduced younger generations to these customs.

The OIA was forced to make the decision as to whether the agricultural success of the fair outweighed the unintended cultural promotion. The initial decision was to continue the fairs and discourage the aspects which presented opportunities for traditional expression. *The Oglala Light*’s report of the third annual fair characterized the newly modified policy, starting with neither the success of agriculture nor attendance but rather with this alternative statement of progress: “Unlike previous fairs the Indians did not collect at the fair grounds for days in advance but came simply for the fair or for one or more days of the fair and then left for home or work.”³² This accomplishment overshadowed the quality of agricultural exhibits, which

according to a later part of the article impressed farmers from the surrounding white communities.

The fair continued to be a success or failure (depending on the qualifications) up through World War II. Its slow decline began soon after. Due in large part to the massive outbreak of influenza, the 1918 fair was not well-attended. The exhibits, however, were still regarded as being of a higher quality than those in the surrounding towns of Chadron and Gordon.³³ The 1919 fair was reported as a failure due to the “poor farming season.”³⁴ The fair report after 1919 ceased to appear in *The Oglala Light*.³⁵

There is no evidence indicating when the annual fair was completely terminated at Pine Ridge. Thomas Maroukis’ article on the Yankton Sioux Tribal fair denotes in the mid-1920s a reversal in OIA policy, first towards discouraging, followed by a complete discontinuation of the fairs. The OIA defended its stance on terminating the reservation fairs with the justification that it gave Indians more impetus to exhibit their products at state and county fairs, thus furthering the assimilation process.³⁶ While this explanation matched the current OIA policy, it did not account for the fact that Pine Ridge residents had already been competing in other fairs, including the South Dakota State Fair, since the advent of their own annual fair.³⁷ Furthermore, the OIA’s vision of county fairs replacing reservation fairs excludes reservations that are both isolated and consist of vast expanses of land such as Pine Ridge. In these cases, the reservation fair served the function of more than one county fair, depending on how many counties were located within the reservation. For Pine Ridge, the reservation fair serviced three counties on reservation lands.

The years following the termination of the reservation fair were plagued by a series of economic downturns for Pine Ridge. Encouraged by the OIA to sell their cattle holdings during

World War I while the prices were high, reservation ranchers were left with no immediate use for their land. The option to lease their allotments, quite often fragmented, to surrounding ranchers for grazing was promoted as the best option by the OIA. Leases were generally cheaper than non-reservation leases in the area. In addition, the regulatory two-year contracts were extended on Pine Ridge to five-year contracts.³⁸ The small number of residents who maintained possession of their land had to fight the constant damage to land and fields by the cattle of surrounding leased lands. Ranchers formed different systems in which to utilize as much of the reservation land for grazing. Vern Hirsch, a district farmer who dealt regularly with the problem of trespassing, described the common method of trespassing succinctly in a letter. The letter was written to a rancher from Chadron, Nebraska (over seventy miles from the south west border of the reservation) regarding his continual pasturing of over a hundred head of cattle in a reservation unit which he did not lease, going as far to place feeders with oil cake in the unit to induce his cattle to graze in the area. “No doubt your system is to trespass, agree readily to lease the land when complaints are made by Indians, and induce them to petition the Farm Agent to take this land out of the blue.”³⁹

By the onset of the Great Depression, Pine Ridge residents were left with fragmented, dry, over-grazed land, which held no value to area ranchers as the topsoil blew away in the decade’s infamous dust storms. The OIA’s fear of ration-dependent Indians had finally materialized. However Pine Ridge agricultural development did not completely stop. The OIA unintentionally, through the fair program, planted the seeds for concurrent agricultural development and cultural preservation. The OIA attempted to cut the roots of this behavior by eliminating support for the fair and pressuring residents to lease their land. However, this was not completely successful because the OIA’s agricultural programs had unintentionally laid the

groundwork for what is referred to in post-colonial studies as a rhizome. A rhizome, in botanical terms, is a plant root growing in several directions beneath the ground. Thus the plant cannot be killed by cutting a single tap root. Pine Ridge agriculture, like a rhizome, did not die from the OIA cutting the reservation fair, but has instead resisted this pressure and grown back slowly over the past century.⁴⁰

The promotion of agricultural fairs on Pine Ridge served as a successful means of transmitting the spirit of American agricultural practices but concurrently aided in preserving aspects of traditional Lakota culture. The refusal of the OIA to compromise on its assimilation policies in the interest of its agricultural initiatives not only resulted in the termination of reservation fairs but also contributed to the eventual failure of agriculture as the economic base for Pine Ridge. The degree of change that the OIA insisted upon, both culturally and economically, was too significant to be adopted without a connection to the preexisting cultural framework. David Rich Lewis explains in his work *Neither Wolf nor Dog* that accepting change requires “applying old cultural categories to new structures to make them culturally understandable.”⁴¹ Tolerance of cultural adaptations of agricultural practices had the potential to lead to further cooperation in achieving the OIA’s overarching goal of agricultural self-sufficiency and social stability.

Lingering on what could have been in a historical study can be a dangerous undertaking. However, with cases like Pine Ridge, studying the crossroads between possibilities and actualities occasionally illuminates the nuances of the larger historical narrative. Pine Ridge was not doomed to agricultural failure but failed as the result of a series of actions and reactions by tribal members, the OIA, and individuals and groups within the surrounding area. The fusion of

the Western cowboy and native culture that is so prevalent on Pine Ridge symbolizes a chapter in their history, but also indicates a renewed interest in agricultural development.

Notes

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- ¹ Thomas Maroukis, "Yankton Sioux Tribal Fairs: The Early Twentieth Century," *The Bulletin: University of South Dakota* 127(August 1992): 39.
- ² Guy Gibbon, *The Sioux: The Dakota and Lakota Nations* (Maine: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 47-99.
- ³ Robertson, 28.
- ⁴ "Area Information" *The Lakota Mall: Pine Ridge Reservation*, http://www.lakotamall.com/oglalasiouxtribe/the_area.htm accessed 4 June 2007.
- ⁵ R. Douglas Hurt, *Indian Agriculture in America* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1987), 132.
- ⁶ Hurt, 113-135.
- ⁷ Robertson, 49.
- ⁸ Gordon MacGregor, *Warriors without Weapons: A Study of the Society and Personality of the Pine Ridge Sioux* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), 38.
- ⁹ Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 139.
- ¹⁰ Department of the Interior, *Indian Affairs Report* (1889), cited in Russel Eidsmoe, "The Progress of the Indians on the Reservation in South Dakota 1877-1906" Ph.D. diss., Yankton College, 1927, 76.
- ¹¹ Robertson, 50.
- ¹² The term camp is referenced in Robertson, 61. *Tiospaye*, which is also spelled *Tiyospaye*, is the primary familial and political structure of the Teton Lakota, consisting of up to two hundred people all connected through kinship. See Catherine Price, *The Oglala People, 1841-1879: A Political History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), and Gibbon.
- ¹³ Robertson, 59-61.
- ¹⁴ Robertson, 57.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Hurt, 138-139.
- ¹⁷ For a more detailed study of the goals driving the Dawes Act see Leonard Carlson, *Indians, Bureaucrats, and Land: The Dawes Act and the Decline of Indian Farming* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981).

¹⁸ Robertson, 53.

¹⁹ Hurt, 150. According to Hurt heirship lands were not allowed to be willed but were instead split evenly among direct descendants. This process led to small, spread out land holdings which made it even more difficult to utilize for agricultural practices. Selling the divided heirship allotments was legitimized as the best way to provide monetary benefits for the descendants. Although selling the land provided immediate financial relief, it led to corrupt practices of valuing the land for white buyers benefit and ultimately aided in the “checkerboarding” of the reservation.

²⁰ Minutes of Council Meeting, 15 September 1909, housed at the Oglala Lakota College Archives, Kyle, SD., 5.

²¹ Minutes of Council Meeting, 15 September 1909, housed at the Oglala Lakota College Archives, Kyle, SD., 13, 15.

²² Information on the printing of *The Oglala Light* was found on the beginning of the first role of the newspaper’s microfilm, accessed at the Oglala Lakota College Archives, Kyle, SD.

²³ “Let Us Farm,” *The Oglala Light* (Pine Ridge: May 1917): 10.

²⁴ Maroukis, 38-39.

²⁵ Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1948), 879-880.

²⁶ “First Annual Pine Ridge Fair,” *The Oglala Light* (October 1915), 5.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 6-8.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 8.

²⁹ “Report of the Pine Ridge Fair,” *The Oglala Light* (October 1916): 17.

³⁰ *Ibid*.

³¹ “Editors Comment,” *The Oglala Light* (October 1916): 14.

³² “Pine Ridge Reservation Fair, 1917” *The Oglala Light* (October 1917), p. 3. Also see Allison Fuss Mellis, *Riding Buffaloes and Broncos: Rodeo and Native Traditions in the Northern Great Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003). Mellis cites the pattern of camping at the fair grounds for extended periods of time to socialize as an adaptation of the traditional summer social gatherings.

³³ “Local News and Gossip,” *The Oglala Light* (October 1918), p.25.

³⁴ “Local News and Gossip,” *The Oglala Light* (October 1919), p.31.

³⁵ *The Oglala Light* was down sized and eliminated five years after the fair reports ended.

³⁶ Maroukis, 40.

³⁷ “South Dakota State Fair and Exposition,” *The Oglala Light* (October, 1915), p.18. See also “At The South Dakota Fair,” *The Oglala Light* (October, 1915), p.19.

³⁸ “Policy and Programs- Lands,” Records of the Pine Ridge Agency, Main Decimal File, 1900-1965, microfilm, South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre.

³⁹ Vern Hirsch to Mr. William Ormesher, Pine Ridge, 4 March 1938, Pine Ridge Records, Series 14& 15: Miscellaneous Records, Correspondence and Records of District, Farmers and Field Agents, NA 5114, microfilm, South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre.

⁴⁰ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 207.

⁴¹ David Rich Lewis, *Neither Wolf Nor Dog: American Indians, Environment, and Agrarian Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 5.