RELOCATION
ON THE
PORT HERETHOLD INDIAN RESERVATION
PROBLEMS AND PROGRAMS

By

Ben Reifel

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For an increased understanding of the problems about which this thesis is written, mention needs to be made of the help that has come, in this connection, from the devoted friends of the Indians, the missionaries, and from the Indian men and women themselves.
Contents

Part One
Introduction, General Situation and Historical Background

I Introduction ................................ 2
II Relocation Legislation .................. 8
III General Problems ......................... 22
IV Importance of Economics in Relocation ... 33
V History of the Three Tribes ............ 45

Part Two
Parts of the Problem

VI Population ................................ 87
VII The Social Structure on the Reservation 106
VIII Economics of Reservation Agriculture . 139
IX Land Ownership ............................ 171
X Credit ...................................... 187
XI Definition of the Term "Indian" .......... 212
XII Governmental Units ..................... 228
XXX Miscellaneous Problems ................. 267

Drinking to excess, malnutrition and discrimination.
Part Three
Programs for Adjustment to the New Conditions

XIV  Public Policies, Planning and Administration in the Formulation and Execution of Programs  284

XV   Program for Administration                327

XVI  Program for Education and Placement       355

XVII Program for Land Use                      366

XVIII Program for Tribal Government           410

XIX  Program for Credit                        418

XX   Program for Land Consolidation           426

XXI  Summary and Conclusions                  446
APPENDIX

A. Public Law 437 ......................... 451
B. Tree Ring Chart ................. 455
C. Tribal Security Program—
The Luckéy Mound Civic Club ....... 458
   Report of Welfare Committee of the
   Western Segment Civic Club ........ 462
D. Constitution and Bylaws and
   Corporate Charter of the
   Three Affiliated Tribes............. 465a
E. List of Missouri River Basin
   Investigation Reports ............. 464
F. Farm Budgets for the
   Fort Berthold Indian Reservation .... 470
Part One

INTRODUCTION, GENERAL SITUATION

AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The development of the great Missouri Basin oriented in the Missouri River and its tributaries from St. Louis west through the Great Plains region to the Rocky Mountains is designed to improve the material well-being of the American community by bettering our waterways, by increasing our measures to control devastating floods, by making our agriculture more secure as irrigation is extended to arid sections of the region, and by enlarging the amount of the "new democratic physical power of the new age", hydro-electric energy.

For this creation of new wealth some few must be called upon to sacrifice for the good of the many. To most of those who are giving way to the new, it means only material readjustment -- selling their present farms, ranches, and town properties and re-establishing their businesses elsewhere. While disturbing, the experience of moving from their present environs should not prove overwhelming. A high percentage moved to their present locations from some other place within their present lifetimes; they are "accustomed to moving".

On the other hand, in the wake of this development in South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana are several tribes of Indians who will experience serious disruption to their way of life by the "taking" of their lands for reservoirs.
For some, like the Sioux in South Dakota, it will in some ways add to their material resources through possible improvements to remaining lands, and their use that will follow, and by cheap electric power that will become available; their "way of life" as social aggregates should result in improvement in the over-all. This may not be true for three small tribes in North Dakota whose homes are on the Ft. Berthold Reservation, which is situated behind the gigantic Garrison Dam now under construction.

These three tribes, Gros Ventres, Hidatsa, and Arickaree, comprise two thousand souls, 367 families. The Garrison Reservoir will enter their reservation of 583,000 acres about 20 miles north of the dam site. It will cut through the reservation (which lies on both sides of the Missouri River) for about 80 miles. About 153,000 acres will be flooded. The 430,000 acres remaining will be separated into five distinct segments by the lake that will be formed. This is the area, a treeless prairie land that is hilly in the main, to which about 300 families will move to set up their new homes.

For the 153,000 acres that the United States is "taking", the tribes were paid $5,105,625 and $7½ million in addition. The former sum is to pay for the appraised values of land and properties individually and tribally owned and for relocation costs. The latter amount is to compensate for damages to tribal life and other intangibles over and above those
physically assessable. These are the surface statistics. This valuation of the physical property together with the lump sum for severance to cover intangibles is an excellent price in terms of dollars per acre - an average of $90.00.

Farms in the five counties around the reservation, according to the Preliminary 1950 Census of Agriculture, had the following average per acre value: Dunn, $19.89; McKenzie, $19.21; McLean, $26.65; Mercer, $24.70 and Mountrail $20.89.

Yet even so large a sum as $6,000 per capita can "evaporate", literally overnight, if used only for consumption purposes and not put to economically sound productive use. The complexity of our present day farm economy demands a high degree of managerial ability constantly focused on the razor's edge that slices the proceeds of human effort between receipts and expenditures. So long as the former is greater than the latter the individual or the group maintains a healthy survival. When such a condition does not prevail impoverishment sets in and the total of national well-being is reduced accordingly.

Change is not a new experience for the Fort Berthold people. Since their first treaty at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, with the United States in 1861 when their present reservation was established with 12.5 million acres, they have relinquished title to an area greater than that of the states of Massachusetts and New Hampshire combined. The Arikaras, over the generations,
migrated from the south and the other two tribes from the east. They brought with them corn, beans, tobacco, sunflowers, squash, and pumpkins. These they adapted to the increasingly rigorous climate as they went north. A hunting economy with the prairie bison as the basis was integrated with primitive agriculture.

About a hundred years ago the cultures and their economies were fused through a federation. They organized a village life in the Missouri Valley. It was the outer edges radiating from this village center that they consented successively to give up, but always they clung tenaciously to their river valley homelands. For here existed the core of their material culture which was the basis for their way of life.

The United States Government, in the climate of the "homestead era", disintegrated their homogeneous communal village life in the late 1880's. They met the new challenge of the individualized American family economy with some success for they were still permitted to live in the fertile valley lands of their forefathers. The river woodlands with deer, pheasants, beaver, and wild fruits in abundance remained for their use. They were just beginning to develop a livestock economy with high-grade Hereford cattle. The easily accessible lignite coal outcropping along the banks of the river remained to be used to warm their hearths through the long and harsh winter months. The sacred places and the
revered family burying grounds could still be seen and visited for ceremonial veneration.

Now, for the first time in their age-long history, this material core of their culture must disappear in the sea and they must of necessity readjust their way of life in a new setting on the five separate remaining segments of their reservation land. Congress has not been unmindful of the devastating effects that could result if too little was provided too late. It has compensated generously in monetary terms.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is particularly aware of the danger that lurks in the background, a future of poverty and misery, if a sound process of reintegration in the American economy does not take place. A program that will create a balanced way of life capable of meeting the demands of our times needs to be worked out. The Fort Berthold people are not all aware of what can and might take place. The birth rate is exceedingly high. Improved sanitation, welfare services, and medical care have done much to increase the population. The reservoir takes away nearly one-half the productive capacity of the reservation. Cultural forces prevent migration and they stand in the way of economic adjustment necessary for the profitable use of the land.

Our knowledge of agricultural economics, rural sociology, social psychology, cultural anthropology, and public administra-
tion must be applied to the Fort Berthold people to meet this new challenge in an uncharted venture so that they, too, may, in the end, enjoy the benefits of the great new development of the Missouri River Basin.

The social and economic gains have been considerable over the past 30 years but the American economy itself has changed so fast in this same period that each step forward seemed to bring them no closer to self support.

Of Puerto Rico, Perloff\(^1\) says, "in the race between economic progress and population growth, the island finds itself in an Alice in Wonderland situation where one has to run very fast merely to stay in the same place". At Fort Berthold the natural rate of increase of the resident population is about the same as that of Puerto Rico according to the 1950 Census. Now, with all the fertile valley lands no longer available even running faster will not enable them "to stay in the same place".

Chapter II

RELLOCATION LEGISLATION

The Secretary of the Interior, Oscar L. Chapman, on March 16, 1950 formally received from the Three Affiliated Tribes of Fort Berthold, a resolution accepting the terms of Public Law 457 under which the tribes turned over to the United States 155,000 acres of their lands for $12,605,625. The official press release of that date quoted the Secretary as follows:

"All of us here recognize what it means for the Fort Berthold Indians to give up their historic homes for the construction of Garrison Dam, a part of the flood control system of the Missouri River. They have sacrificed much for the benefit of our citizens in that area. It has taken a long time to work out the details and I am glad that you have played an active part all along the way. Moreover, I should like to compliment the Tribal Council members for their statesmanlike approach to the economic and social problems involved in moving their people to their new homes. The plan, as I have been informed, is a sound and constructive approach to the continued welfare of the Three Affiliated Tribes. You may be sure that I shall continue to do what I can to protect your interests in the councils of Government."

Thus was closed the final chapter of a long history of continuous living on the banks of the upper Missouri river by the Arikara, Gros Ventre and Mandan Indians.

In this act there was also ended a valiant struggle on the part of the Fort Berthold Indians, first to pre-
vent the taking of their lands as a reservoir for the Garrison Dam; and then, when they found this was not possible, to get what they believed would be a reasonable settlement.

Since the adoption by Congress of the plan1 for the development of the Missouri river basin in 1944, the Fort Berthold Indians realized the construction of the Garrison Dam at its present site would mean the flooding of most of their homes and all of their public facilities.

The Tribal Business Council carried on the negotiations with the committees in Congress and the U. S. Army Engineer Corps. The tribes were hampered at first because of lack of funds. However, they had the good fortune to obtain a judgement of $400,000 in 1946 through the U. S. Court of Claims. Congress appropriated this sum in the same year2 and they were able after this to send a delegation to Washington for negotiations as often as the circumstances required.

This resistance to the plans for taking their land for the reservoir created some concern in Congress. That body, to insure due consideration for the interests of the Indians, included a provision in the Act of May 2, 1946 (Section 6, 60 Stat. 167, 78th Congress, Second Session) which prohibited the use of any funds for the construction

1 Public Law 584, 78th Congress, 2nd Session, 1944.
of Garrison Dam itself until the Secretary of War should offer to the Fort Berthold Indians, through the Secretary of the Interior, lands "comparable in quality and sufficient in area to compensate" them for the lands to be inundated in the Reservoir area. Under this requirement the Indians, late in 1946, received an offer of 145,220 acres of land below the Garrison dam site. The lands in this offer consisted of the bottom lands along the west side of the Missouri river and the Knife river which is tributary to it at this point.

Map 1 shows this area designated as "lieu land". This map also has pointed out on it a site on the northern part of the reservation that the Indians proposed as a dam site in the hopes that it would be accepted and eliminate the necessity of having their home lands flooded. But it was not regarded as suitable.

The Fort Berthold people rejected the offer, as not meeting the Section 6 proviso but their real reason lay in the hope that they would be able to prevent the Federal Government from taking the land by invoking some treaty provision which required their consent before any lands could be taken from them. The Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs concurred with them in their stated reason and this "lieu" land offer was formally rejected through the Secretary of the Interior on December 27, 1946.
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

FORT BERTHOLD INDIAN RESERVATION & VICINITY
NORTH DAKOTA

GARRISON RESERVOIR TAKING OF INDIAN LANDS
AND
PROPOSED LIEU LAND AREA

- Garrison Reservoir Taking
- Lieu Lands Offered
  Lieu Land offered includes 14,570 acres
  embraced in scattered tracts within the
  indicated segments of the residual reservation.

MAP 1

12/10/46
Parenthetically one will have to say that this "lieu land" offer would have been a much better settlement than the cash settlement ultimately accepted. Their land base would have been diminished by only 10,000 acres. These lands have excellent possibilities for irrigation since they are below the dam and as it turns out the Indians will have no irrigable land on what remains of their present Reservation. All of the lieu land area is developed to about its maximum capacity with many good sets of farm and ranch buildings, a fairly adequate road-net and access to other public facilities. Relocation now under the cash settlement must take place on undeveloped prairie land without as yet any system of roads or public buildings.

Following the "lieu" land offer there grew up a great deal of uneasiness amongst the taxpayers and office holders in the counties bordering the Reservation for fear that the Indians might be persuaded to accept some kind of land exchange. This would have reduced the tax base which even then was inadequate to meet county expenses. Under the purchase plan such land would be taken off the tax rolls and placed in the name of the United States in trust for the Indians. A further decrease in each county was expected by the White-owned lands that would be bought for the reservoir. An area the size required for the Indians on an exchange basis meant that some "unfortunate" county unit may be too small to go it alone and
would therefore have to consolidate with another. While the Fort Berthold people opposed the construction of the dam at Garrison, the political interests advanced the idea of a cash settlement which seemed to gain favor with the Congress. The next step in the negotiations was set out in the War Department's Civil Appropriations Act, 1946 (Public Law 296, Eightieth Congress approved July 31, 1947) which appropriated funds for "Flood Control, General". It was provided there that the Indians would be paid $5,105,825 for the lands to be taken for the Garrison Reservoir on the condition that a contract be negotiated with the tribes and approved by a majority of the adult members. The contract, when completed, would be enacted into law by the Congress if the latter found it acceptable. This contract was to provide for the conveyance of the lands to the United States and for the manner in which the funds were to be distributed and disbursed.

The Chief of Engineers, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Tribal Business Council and representatives of these three agencies set to work meeting at different times over a period of several months, on the Reservation and in Washington to work out the details of the contract. The contract was eventually drafted to the satisfaction of the above and was then submitted to and approved by a majority of the adult Indians. It was
certified to this effect on May 20, 1948 and submitted to Congress for enactment. The committee that took the contract under consideration objected to its provisions.

Nothing further was done until the first session of the Eighty-first Congress when the contract, worked out the previous year, was incorporated in a joint resolution with some further provisions included and introduced as House Joint Resolution 53 in the opening days of the session. Hearings were held on the proposed legislation at various times during the first nine months of 1949.

In October 1949 Congress passed a much modified version of the original contract and resolutions which incorporated it. (Copy of Public Law 437 - 81st Congress 1st Session in Appendix A). The law provided for $5,105,625 to pay for the lands and improvement thereon that are to be taken for the Reservoir and for the costs of relocating and reestablishing the tribal members who reside within the taking area. In addition to this sum, $7,500,000 was included to pay for any further claims that might not be covered by the first amount and also to be a final settlement of any and all other claims of whatever nature. The adult members were given six months within which to decide whether to accept the Act.

525 members out of a total of 991 adults voted to accept the provisions of the Act and the Tribal Business Council adopted a resolution on March 5, 1950 giving formal recognition to this acceptance.
The principal provisions of this legislation are:

1. $5,105,625 for payment to individuals for land and property and to cover costs of removal. If any sum is left over it is to go to the tribal account.

2. $7,500,000 for tribal severance damages to be used for tribal purposes.

3. Salvage of any timber or lignite coal without charge until control of the reservoir area is taken over by the Corps of Engineers.

4. Six months notification as to the impoundment of water, but not to be given earlier than October 1, 1952. After this notification is given no claim for damage or loss of property due to the impoundment of waters will be recognized by the Federal Government.

$12,605,625 was then the cash on hand available to the tribal members in the final settlement for the 155,000 acres of individual and tribal lands that were turned over to the federal government. The land left to them is 426,415 acres in five separate segments of the reservation. These five areas that will be situated on both sides of the lake that will be formed by the Garrison Reservoir are designated as "Western", "Northern", "North-eastern", "Eastern" and "Southern" on Map 2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Segments</th>
<th>Indian-Owned (Acres)</th>
<th>Alienated (Acres)</th>
<th>Total (Acres)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Segment</td>
<td>19,860</td>
<td>5,422</td>
<td>25,282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeastern Segment</td>
<td>21,432</td>
<td>6,159</td>
<td>27,591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Segment</td>
<td>67,378</td>
<td>17,673</td>
<td>85,051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Segment</td>
<td>74,498</td>
<td>5,160</td>
<td>79,658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Segment</td>
<td>243,245</td>
<td>9,516</td>
<td>252,761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>429,413</td>
<td>44,130</td>
<td>473,543</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FORT BERTHOLD INDIAN RESERVATION
NORTH DAKOTA

SEGMENTS OF THE RESERVATION
ABOVE THE
GARRISON RESERVOIR SITE

LEGEND

Taking Line for Garrison Reservoir, Corps of Engineers U.S. Army, as of 4-6-47

- Non-Indian-Owned Land
- Indian Land Leased for Farming in 1947
- Indian Grazing Land

Population-Distribution by Families
At the time of the formal acceptance of the settlement the Tribal Council chairman said, "It is with a certain sense of relief that we come here today to transmit our formal acceptance of Public Law 437. Taking this step that brings us closer to our exile relieves somewhat the tension that has been building up in us throughout the years since we have been threatened with inundation. But we take this step sadly ... we have high hopes of an orderly settlement of our people." (See Figure 1 next page)

This is an act that can mark an historical turning point of far reaching importance. Here has ended the gradual evolution of an ethnic group that was slowly but with certainty moving toward complete assimilation with the larger American community. This is the first instance, since tribes have been placed on reservations, where, by one complete and sweeping stroke, there will be removed every single material vestige of the habitat of a people. They will be torn from everything they, and their fathers before them for generations, have come to know and to cherish.

The uplands to which they will climb from out the valley are underdeveloped. They will be barren, searing in summer and harsh in winter. They will leave behind their hospital, their schools, their roads, their trees, their wild fruits, their deer, their pheasants, their
Figure 1  Fort Berthold Tribal Council in the Office of the Secretary of the Interior

Sitting: Left to right: Senator O'Mahoney, Wyoming; Secretary of the Interior, Oscar Chapman; Congressman William Lemke, North Dakota.

Standing: Left to right: Asst Secretary of the Interior, William Warner; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John R. Nichols; Joseph Packineau, Sr.; Vice Chairman; Carl Whitman, Chairman; James Hall, Sr., Treasurer; Rex Quinn, Superintendent; Mark Mahto, Secretary; Councilmen: Ben Heart, Ben Youngbird, James Driver.
springs, their coal mines that yielded up their contents with little physical cost in effort, their churches, their ceremonial meeting houses, their shrines and monumental grounds.

They will move out into a strange land. It will be made up of soil they never knew because they never used it. They will be pioneers without the prerequisite spirit. Therefore, here too, "Point Four" in our own borders has particular relevance. "We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed areas ... we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life ...", said our President in his inaugural address.

Should the Bureau of Indian Affairs provide the leadership that will enable a satisfactory readjustment of this group, it should have some useful implications for "Point Four" activities that deal with peoples of other lands.

One of the limiting factors in any effort to improve the social well-being of a people is the matter of funds. Here is an instance where the people will have an average of $6,000 per person with which to make the readjustment. At the same time the project cannot be branded as being
the result of something dreamed up by a "do-gooder". The people are faced with the hard fact of having to make this readjustment; it will be made and the results will be good or bad in equal proportion as the way of working it out is good or bad.

There is a general interest through the nation to do something to correct poverty in agriculture; to develop effective habilitation programs for other Indian groups: the Navajos in the Southwest with 30,000 population and only enough land for half of them. The Papagos of Arizona where the life expectancy at birth is 17 years! Fort Berthold could well serve as a pilot effort. It must re-shuffle its entire land ownership pattern in order to work out economic use units and it must find a way to overcome the cultural barriers that now prevent the depopulation of the Reservation to where those left on it can expect a decent level of living.

The Fort Berthold case, if successfully carried out, could be presented to Congress as one way to get the Government out of this Indian business humanely. The cost at the outset may seem high but in the long run it should be much less than if it were done on a piece-meal basis.

The efforts to assist the Indian have been at the margin and enough only to reduce the death rate. It has not been sufficiently far reaching to increase his produc-

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tivity to the point where the birth rate is affected. Until this is done, with the public sensitivity being what it is today, there will be increasing Indian mouths wailing for food. The cries will be magnified in the press. Congress will respond only to meet the emergency. Institutional resistances will not permit direct measures to decrease the birth rate so this leaves the taxpayer with only one less costly way out -- enough funds with a generous portion of the political and social sciences thrown in to do the job.

The foregoing should be enough to recommend the task of the relocation of the Fort Berthold Indians as one that holds for its participants, if adequately done, a deep sense of fruitful public service.

But it will call for stout hearts and sober thinking to break through the problems of population, employment, nutrition, land ownership and use, credit, planning, and cultural adjustment that lie in the path to successful relocation. Each of these and others will concern us in the following chapters.
Chapter III

GENERAL PROBLEMS

Relocation of the Indian population on the Fort Berthold Reservation must be considered in terms of a process that has as its objectives, reestablishment, rehabilitation and habilitation. The overall goal is self-supporting family units within or outside of Indian communities which in turn are meeting, in an acceptable fashion, their obligations to their members and to the public generally. The resident population is already too large for the land resources. Moreover, as we shall see in the chapter on population, it has increased 3\% per cent annually for the past 40 years. This means that immediately and over the long pull we must consider ways and means of establishing families off the reservation until a reasonable balance between the population and the land resources is reached. This is problem number one.

The nature of the land and climate is such that 1000 to 5000 acres will be required for the support of a family of five or six. The areas on the Reservation into which the families will move are unoccupied. This is some advantage in that it will be possible to start off with whatever type of individual family farm.
organization and community pattern of settlement appears to be the best. The ownership of this land at present is so fractionated that a great deal of difficulty will arise in any attempt to get it into economical units for the type of agricultural production for which the land is best suited. This, however, need not be an insurmountable barrier and is at present being handled without too much trouble. The major problem, in this connection, will be one of determining the best pattern for the settlement of the families on the lands available.

The areas open to settlement are largely rolling prairies to very rough hilly land. If the reservation is divided into suitable units for the economical operation of farms and ranches without regard to public services and isolated farm life, the families will be so separated as to require a road-net, the expense of which would be almost prohibitive of construction. Even with a reasonably good all-weather road system its annual upkeep would be high. Also the winter winds and snow would make them impassable at frequent intervals usually during the months of December, January, February and March. About the only effective means of keeping the roads open is the use of expensive motorized rotary plows. But even if this
problem was met somehow, there is still the difficulty of getting children to school over long distances in order to provide them with adequate school facilities. This latter situation in the Plains region, where farms and ranches have begun to reach units of economical size, is creating a serious problem of finance for school authorities. Most of the ranchers in the vicinity of Fort Berthold Reservation are sending their children to small one room schools at excessive costs per pupil. Where such facilities cannot be maintained the family must then have a separate home in a nearby town, send the children to boarding school or have them board and room in town in order to keep them in school. It becomes extremely important, therefore, that families be located, not only on units that will be large enough to provide them with a decent level of living, but also in such physical relationship to each other that they may have the necessary public services at a minimum cost to themselves as well as to the public.

The highest order of use to which most of the reservation lands can be put is for livestock grazing and it would appear that a good deal of grouping of families may be possible. Much care will have to be taken, of course, to see to it that congenial families be brought together if such a settlement pattern is worked out. Little is known at the present time of the extent to which the families may
be crowded together and still be able to function effective-
ly. Under the policies which guided Indian Bureau
activities from 1880 until 1934, emphasis was focused on
individual ownership and individual enterprise in nearly
eyery aspect of Indian life. While this disregard for
group solution of economic problems did little if anything
to bring about much economic development, a half century
of its continuous application has developed a sense of
private ownership which will make any resort to use of
property in common unacceptable to most families. How-
ever, this is not to say that some form of organisation
cannot be worked out in a combination of cooperative or
group operation with individual family units.

One will find considerable group participation in
recreation, ceremonials and other activities of a purely
social nature. But when it comes to rights over property
and its use the attitude of the Ft. Berthold people are as
individualistic as those of any group of American farmers
or ranchers. Generosity is one of their attributes and
probably is indulged in to a fault; this, however, must
not be identified with a ready willingness to part with
property for the welfare of the group. In economic af-
fairs involving a group each will be interested to know
how much it is going to cost him and what he will get out
of the undertaking. There is, nonetheless, some point
between totally isolated farm units on the one hand and a
compact village social system on the other that will best
fit families, land and public facilities together.

No opportunity must be overlooked in providing the
youth of Ft. Berthold with experiences that will increase
their knowledge of the life and opportunities that exist
beyond the Reservation. This will need to include mean-
ingful experiences that will enable them to make a good
living away from the Reservation. Unless many leave the
farms each year there will be too many people to share too
little and public funds will be required in increasing
amounts merely to keep families from starving.

Families will need to be brought close enough to-
gether so that children may stay at home and yet have ac-
cess to the necessary school facilities and have a chance
to learn under well trained teachers. Churches, meeting
houses, recreational centers, good roads, rural electrifi-
cation, mail service that will bring the daily papers,
public health, and social welfare activities and other
similar services may be had in better quality and greater
quantity for each dollar expended if the right relation-
ship of farm sites to these facilities and services are
worked out. Finding the right combination to meet this
situation is problem number two.

Reestablishing families, that is getting them start-
ed anew implies, of course, a great deal of planning and
deliberate action. This is also true of rehabilitation, which is a matter of restoring them to their previous conditions. These efforts present difficulties but, in working them out, the problem is largely one of getting the necessary funds and personnel to accomplish the task. Proven methods and facilities to get the job done are, in most instances, ready at hand. As evidence of this one only needs to recall the havoc visited upon thousands of families by flood, fire, hurricane and the like in almost any year in this country and yet, seemingly, in no time at all, they are reestablished and rehabilitated. The Farm Security Administration (Farmers' Home Administration) provided such assistance to one out of every six farmers\footnote{J. D. Black and Charles D. Ryson, "Post-War Soldier Settlement", Quarterly Journal of Economics, Nov. 1944.} not too long since. The bulk of this type of client knows pretty well what to do and how to do it and some help in the way of funds and expert advice is about all that is required to get him back on his feet. There are some families at Ft. Berthold who are in this position. Little, if anything will be required beyond that of getting the amount of the Government purchase price of their lands distributed to them. But this group makes up a small minority.

The majority of families have not as yet reached the point where they may be regarded as even being habilitated;
in other words, these families still need to be helped to acquire the ability to function effectively within the framework of the economic forces that now bear upon their lives in this time. Customs that grew out of a village and hunting economy and developed habits that were valid for their day no longer fit modern requirements. These habits were adequate to an ecological balance that sustained life for over 600 years in the Missouri river valley. It was a balance that required no basic change in the economics of living over this long period. Whatever else may have happened through wars or pestilence to disturb this stable relationship with nature it always returned to a state of equilibrium on the same economic underpinning. Their economic world was static. Moreover, it was the women who performed the tedious labor in the fields. Our social customs require that the men do most, if not all, of the hard and unexciting labor of the farms and ranches. Not only is there this drastic shift for them in the labor of the sexes but more important the even tempo of the village economy has changed to a "world in motion"1. But habits have a way of hanging on and especially does this seem to be true where old ones are asked to be displaced by new ones which require sustained

that the warrior gained prestige in the measure that he gave to others. (The new economy puts a prize on the accumulation of property.) Elaborate customs developed to sanction this practice of giving and many of them continue into the present. They operate in devious ways and often make it impossible for a family to accumulate the capital necessary to function effectively in the present circumstances.

Little or no attention has been turned to the development of sanctions in the social system that is meaningful to the group for the doing of "women's work" by men and for the accumulation of working capital sufficient to maintain a good income. It is possible that something helpful could be worked out in this area of social behavior. The resistances created by this cultural lag make the habilitation process an uphill struggle. They remain to plague, in some measure, every effort to improvement. It becomes an easy escape for the administrator to brand the individual as lazy instead of suspecting something wrong with the system which is responsible for the untoward behavior.

Habilitation - which will come through a process of acculturation, then becomes problem number three.

Thus we see that as far as the relocation proper is concerned there are involved three general problems -
bringing the population into balance with the land resources; getting a settlement pattern that provides the maximum of public services at minimum cost; and developing habits of work and capital accumulation sufficient at least so that maximum use will be made of the Reservation resources and the need for welfare assistance will be no greater than for the public generally.

None of these is so isolated in character as to be mutually exclusive of the other when measures to solve them are considered. Each fuses into the other so that when a given situation is analyzed in connection with a specific problem the solution should be checked in terms of its effects in regard to all of them. This seems particularly obvious but it must be remembered that there are several divisions within the Bureau of Indian Affairs itself. There are also seven other independent units of government - the State of North Dakota, the governing body of the Three Affiliated Tribes and five counties. This does not include at least five religious denominations that will be building chapels and missions and designating cemeteries to which bodies in the present cemeteries in the valley will be reinterred. Each of these has a direct interest, for one reason or another, in what is done. Each is in a position to take action on its own behalf that could retard rather than aid in the solution of the general problems. For this reason
the matter of coordinating the activities of all agencies bearing on relocation is added as problem number four.

These four general problems include most of the specific problems that will arise in the relocation activity. Policies to guide actions must be made in terms of them. Every effort will need to be made to see that each decision-making unit, in working out solutions peculiar to its own requirements, makes its full contribution to the solution of the larger ones. For example, there is nothing to prevent one of the religious denominations from materially affecting a grazing unit by purchasing, for church use, a strategically located piece of land that provides the only water for livestock. The education authorities might build a school too large for the number of children who will ultimately live in the vicinity. Similar situations can be multiplied in other fields. Each though seemingly serving its own purposes, the action would militate against meeting the broad problems to full advantage. Efficient use of resources all the way up and down the line must be the paramount consideration in every act.
Chapter IV

IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMICS IN RELOCATION

If the relocation is to be accomplished with any degree of success, the Indians themselves, and all who assist them in the task at hand, must give paramount attention to "the utilizing of human and natural resources to best advantage, insofar as considerations of value and price are involved".¹ This is the science and art of economics. Moreover, the emphasis will need to be focused on that branch of economics that concerns itself with the problems of production.

The 426,415 acres remaining to the tribes in the upland will reasonably support around half of the rapidly increasing population of 2,472, if this resource is put to its highest use. By the highest use, I mean, the use of the Indian land by the Indians themselves in crop and livestock production rather than through rentals to Whites. Traditional attachment to the tribal group plus many other factors, such as lack of vocational skills and experiences of living in communities different

from their kind, are going to operate as barriers to any early reduction in this over-population. This creates a situation, therefore, in which it becomes extremely important that the lands be used in such a manner as to yield the greatest possible net returns while at the same time providing employment to a maximum number of the Indian population with a decent income for its labor or hire.

Economic analysis must also encompass the over-all costs of relocation. What turns out to be profitable for the reestablished family may be too high a price for society and the family itself to pay in the long run. For example, the Federal government is certainly under some moral obligation to see that Indian families are provided with public services equal to, if not better than, those they enjoyed before removal. However, should this be done at all costs? Let us take the "Western Segment" of the reservation. After careful soils, water and ranch management studies it is estimated that this area will support around 65 families, 64 to be exact. Public facilities to service the families expected to occupy this segment are estimated to cost as follows: $965,092 for school buildings, $229,000 for other facilities and $2,662,000 for roads. This initial outlay would total $3,476,692 or an average of $55,000 for each of the 65
units that the area is calculated to accommodate according to the land use capability study. The following buildings and positions are proposed:

**Buildings**

1. Day-school
2. Living quarters bldgs.
3. 2 4-car garages
4. 1 Office building
5. 1 Root cellar
6. 1 Poultry house
7. 1 Shop building
8. 1 Roads garage
9. 1 Fire garage
10. 1 Water tower
11. 1 Well house
12. 1 Jail

**Positions**

1. Farm management supervisor
2. Constr. Foreman
3. Patrol operator
4. Auto Mechanic
5. Range conservationist
6. Agric. engineer
7. Public health nurse
8. Janitor-chauffeur
9. Chief of police
10. School principal
11. Teachers
12. Bus drivers
13. Janitor-fireman
14. Housekeeping aids

The above does not include the overhead costs of the central agency of which this would be a sub-agency.

Surely there is some way of measuring the social benefits of using this amount of money in this way as against, for example, a housing project in some industrial city where the excess population may be trained and provided with jobs.

It is a many-sided problem which will require, to be sure, the aid of other fields of the sciences and the arts. Primarily, these will be in government, sociology, social anthropology, social psychology, education and public health, not to mention the array of natural sciences which need to be leaned upon heavily. However, it goes without saying that any activity in this process of
re-adjustment will require labor, funds and usually land, and unless economic considerations are handled intelli-
gently, no matter how well conceived in terms of all else, the plans will be less sound and the results if
good will be accidental. Much will necessarily have to be left to chance in human affairs because science, as yet, cannot give us all the answers. Still there is enough to get us a long way by a rational approach and economics is one of the fields to which we must continually turn in order to keep properly armed for the journey.

This is not to say that human relations will not be an important consideration. It will be tremendously so. Especially is this the case in the present instance, where we are dealing with a people who are in the initial stages of emerging from one culture (way of life) and shifting over to another. This, however, makes it all the more necessary that we be certain, insofar as that is possible, that each step is taken on an economically sound basis. If a social analysis seems to suggest that some aspects of the program can best be carried out around a social pattern still viable and unique to a given group, we cannot safely avoid determining in just what combination the human and natural resources, and the proportions of each, that will be the right one if any improvement is to be achieved with a minimum expenditure
of time and effort. This gets us right back to economics—in this case largely production economics. This is the "science of combination"\(^1\) and we find need to return to it again and again at every point in our calculations.

Moreover, there are many of the principles of economics that can be put immediately in the possession of individuals and families. These can be enlarged upon. As their literacy in this respect is increased they will be in a position to apply, with greater effect, the help that can come from the other sciences. Government, sociology and social anthropology will be helpful in the improvement of actions that come at a higher level of decision making than the individual or the family. Economic activity enters in at all levels and, to the individual or the family, its principles can become tools that have meaning in terms of their every day experiences. When these principles are applied to the family budget or to the operating unit of the farm or ranch, and the Indians begin to make rational decisions on the basis of them, the gap that now exists, for many of them, between knowing how to make a living in a simple village economy and in doing so in the complexity of the one they face today will be materially reduced.

This emphasis on economics as an important tool in

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1 *ibid.*, p. 58.
the relocation effort stems from the writer's conviction that Indian societies need not be blotted out of existence in the process of readjusting to new situations. The "melting pot" seems all too rapidly on its way to boiling its contents down to one uniform cultural stew in which each human element must conform in thought as well as overt behavior.

It is estimated that there were over 600 Indian societies in North America in 1492. These have been "boiled" down to about 100 now. We are dealing here with 3 of these survivors. Conform or perish seems to have been the national edict. Extermination was the first order of the day but that was found to be too costly. "Indian wars had become unpopular. Between 1862 and 1867, wars with the Sioux, Cheyenne and Navajo alone had cost the United States Government $100,000,000. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1869 officially estimated that the cost per Indian killed was running at $1,000,000."

Then followed the reservation system and the program to make them over. This effort has been couched in various terms; each equally meaningless - at one point it would be "christianize", another "amalgamation", still another "assimilation" and the latest to catch people's fancy is "integration". The "Hoover Commission" resorted to the term, "Our Task Force on Indian Affairs, supported by

2 Ibid., pp. 127-28.
a considerable body of thought both inside and outside the Government, advocates progressive measures to integrate Indians into the rest of the population as the best solution of "the Indian problem." ¹

It is for the philosopher to muse over the meaning of ancient American Indian societies to our way of life and for time, in the end, to say whether, "They had what the world has lost. They have it now. What the world has lost, the world must have again, lest it die. Not many years are left to have or have not, to recapture the lost ingredient." ² If some thing of social value does inhere in these little societies the members thereof can best preserve it in their own way. But I dare say it will not come by the use of "magic" terms or by plans handed down from above. The way they get the physical necessities of life may be accomplished by modern methods of production integrated with their social system. The "right combinations" can be made within the cultural context of each of them. The "economic" tools to accomplish this demands no allegiance from the users as to how the results will be employed.

Economic well-being can be had without material revision of the remaining areas of the social system. True, the production activity and the products therefrom of the village economy coupled with hoe agriculture once for home use and barter has now shifted to a highly complex process.

² John Collier, ibid., p. 7.
of production and sale of the results in an impersonal market place. Rites regarded essential for good crops, were once performed over the seed corn in ceremonies conducted by the village Corn Priest. (This practice, considered contrary to the policy of the federal administration at the time, was prohibited.) Had this seed cleansing ceremony survived, nothing in it would require change if economic considerations dictated the use of some of our more profitable hybrid varieties of seed corn over the less efficient early native plants. The women folk could still work together in preserving corn, this time in modern village canning kitchens, as many of them are now doing, instead of using old tedious drying methods that were good in their time but are now less effective. Little in the old way of life needs to be changed by such increased efficiency if that way has meaning and continues to be cherished.

The American Society should be content if these "little societies" are enabled by an understanding of economics, in time, to be completely self-supporting. These tools are "non-sectarian", "non-societal" and non-ideological; in other words, they are neutral in the sense that a hoe is so. An applicable body of economic principles will enlarge the opportunities for the survival of such traditions as are worthy of preservation. Economic literacy

to make informed decisions, then, must be as much a part of the goal as physical relocation.

It is for these reasons then that, in addressing this thesis to the relocation problems at Fort Berthold, more emphasis will be directed towards their economic aspects than to some of the other components. However, there are involved in significant ways the problems of administration on the part of the federal government, the tribal governing body, the State of North Dakota and several county units. Decisions will have to be made at all these points in matters of education, agricultural extension, health, law and order, social welfare, soil conservation, land use, range management, employment, and community organization. The relocation involves more than the kind of assistance usually provided in the physical reestablishment of self-supporting individualistically inclined American farm families such as was true of the T. V. A. The Fort Berthold people are the descendants of three tribes that have a history of some 600 years or more in the Missouri river valley and not a few still live by traditional patterns of behavior, this makes it necessary that as much use as possible be made of sociology, social anthropology and social psychology in order that violence is not visited upon the social organization that survives

1 D. M. Thorpe, Assistant Supervisor in Agricultural Readjustment, Annual Narrative Reports, Kentucky Dam Areas, Tennessee, 1940-1945.
and remains meaningful to its members. It is therefore of great importance that principles in all of these fields be employed as tools for the task at hand. The relocation program will be the weaker for having neglected any one of them. Applicable phases of all of them need to be brought into the planning and action on all fronts.

It is not an easy task and, outside of economics and government, which will receive the most emphasis, the applied principles are none too clear particularly for the layman. Nonetheless, decisions are being made and will continue to be made on the aforementioned problems involving all these fields. An attempt will be made here to turn to those principles that appear to lend themselves to improving the decisions that have to be made.

However, since we are dealing with the members of social systems that reach into the long past, we must not be guilty of breaking the "relationship of the generations"; rather the Indians, and we with them, must try to understand it and move creatively in its stream. Edmund Burke phrased it somewhat differently in another social context. "Society ... is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it

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1 Collier, ibid, p. 185.
becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are dead, and those who are to be born."\(^1\) It might be in order then to turn, if briefly to the early history of the tribes involved in this study before considering further the details of analysis and plans for their future.

There is, of course, no reason to assume that a society must go successively through all the stages of the principal economies beginning with direct appropriation, to hoo culture and/or pastoral, to village, town and finally national, in order that its members may function effectively in the highly complex system of our time. Fortunately, this need not be the case. It will be observed that the Fort Berthold people were just entering the early stages of a settled village economy at the beginning of the 19th century and this came to an end when they were forced to move out on individual allotments around 1900. In this new situation, they were expected to behave like hard-working white farmers whose ancestors, centuries before, did go through just such a series of stages. Professor Black writes:

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\(^1\) *Reflections on the Revolution in France 1790*, The Works of Edmund Burke, Boston, Little and Brown, 1839, p. 120.
"... nearly all people of the earth seem to have passed through a feudal period. ... It has been suggested many times that hard conditions of slavery and servitude were necessary as a stage in the economic development to accustom the men to the tedious grind of daily labor. There is no doubt much truth in this suggestion."

The problem of successful readjustment to the complexity of modern day living will require a great deal of sustained application of tedious hard work in the field and the shop.

The difficulties in relocation will be increased to the extent that this suggestion is valid in the present situation. It will be observed from the account that follows, that the activity for men up to the beginning of this century was confined entirely to the hunt and tribal warfare. But this is a subject for later consideration. It is time now to turn to the story of 550 years of village life along the banks of the upper Missouri river.

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1 ibid., p. 109.
Chapter V

HISTORY OF THE THREE TRIBES

The Mandan Indians have lived on the banks of the Upper Missouri for 550 years. The Arikara were below them in what is now South Dakota in about the same period. The Gros Ventres entered the valley about 300 years ago and stayed on as neighbors of the Mandan. The Arikara and the Gros Ventre left the Missouri on occasion but never for long. Lewis and Clark in 1804 visited with the Arikara who then lived in earth lodge villages near the mouth of the Grand River. The expedition spent the winter of 1804-1805 near the Mandan and Gros Ventre villages at the mouth of the Knife River. These tribes continued to live as separate tribal groups until 1862 when they joined in a common village on the east bank of the Missouri at a point within the eastern limits of the present Ft. Berthold Reservation.

The authors of "Ten Rivers in America's Future", say, "It (the Missouri River) had little significance for Americans until after the Louisiana Purchase and became known only after Lewis and Clark had reported upon their explorations of the West."1 For the Mandan

and the Arikara, it had by then been their home for 550 years!

But now the descendants of these people must give up their homes on the fertile valleys of the Missouri and build anew. Smallpox and cholera since the coming of the Whiteman at times reduced their village population by 30 to 85%. Continuous attack from powerful warring nomadic tribes pushed in upon them from all sides and recurring periods of dry years lasted as long as 16 years. Such hardships did not drive them away, rather it left them always with an even greater dependence on the Missouri, their life blood over the generations. They leave now, that great plans for the Missouri River Basin may go forward.

Because Indians traditionally liked to live along streams where they could have easy access to water and wood and be sheltered from the winds they settled in these places. Reservation boundaries were traced around them. Thus the government finds it must consider the effects of the Missouri River Basin development projects that reach

1 The total population as of December 31, 1951 was 2472; 338 live off the reservation but within radius of 100 miles and 447 reside over 100 miles beyond its limits.

2 George F. Will, Tree Ring Studies in North Dakota (Agricultural Experiment Station, North Dakota Agricultural College, Fargo, North Dakota. Bulletin 338, April 1946.) pp. 21-22. Precipitation record 540 year period 1406-1940, see Appendix B.
into ten reservations and take 379,850 acres. There are 70,000 Indians in the basin and their landholdings run into thirteen million acres. Some will get new acres under irrigation in return; others will have only a part of the reservation homes to relocate. Table 1 shows the reservations and acreages involved.

From the table it can be seen that the Indians at Ft. Berthold are making the greatest sacrifice measured in acreage taken. The 14,352 "New Indian acres to be irrigated" is in error since all the remaining lands of the reservation will be too high above the lake and this will make pumping too costly, so they can expect no increase in crops from irrigation.

Here a people are being pulled root and branch from an ancient setting. As we walk with them from this valley it may be well to search into the written record of the past, yes, even into the earliest times that speak to us only through the remains of pottery, timbers and bones that still lay in the places where their fathers before them once lived - a search to discover elements of strength that may serve to carry them into a future with hope. Figure 2 traces out the migration into the upper Missouri river.

The Arikara, often spoken of as the Reda, are one of the divisions of the Caddean family who it appears were once living on the Red River that forms a part of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Reservations Affected</th>
<th>Acres lost by Indians</th>
<th>New Indian acres to be irrigated</th>
<th>Acres with supplemental irrigation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Garrison, N. Dak.</td>
<td>Reservoir</td>
<td>Fort Berthold</td>
<td>155,000</td>
<td>14,352</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oshe, S. Dak.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>Standing Rock</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cheyenne River</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Randall &amp; Big Bend, S. Dak. (combined)</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>Yankton, Rosebud</td>
<td>60,896</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Crow Creek &amp; Lower Brule</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boysen, Wyo.</td>
<td>Dam site &amp; reservoir</td>
<td>Wind River</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>48,000</td>
<td>58,700</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yellowtail, Mont. &amp; So</td>
<td>Crow</td>
<td>8,850</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri-Souris, Reservoir &amp; canal, Mont.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fort Peck</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>92,600</td>
<td>23,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>379,850</td>
<td>215,848</td>
<td>82,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Agriculture.
Fig. 2. Routes of migration of Arikara, Gros Ventre and Mandan Tribes into the Upper Missouri River.
the boundary between Oklahoma and Texas. From there they with the Pawnees moved north; the latter settled along the Kansas and Platte Rivers and the Arikara separated and continued into what is now South Dakota. "The tribe was once much more numerous than when it became known to the traders, and the remains of its ancient villages can be traced all the way from the Missouri to the Cannonball River along the shores of the Missouri. The Arikara claimed no particular country except that which they actually occupied. At the time of the voyage of Lewis and Clark they probably numbered 5,600 souls."

One of the village sites called the La Rocke Site located below Pierre, South Dakota is regarded by the Tree Ring method to be an Arikara village at least 500 years old. The Gros Ventres, also called Mimicerees in an earlier period and now occasionally referred to as the Hidatsa came into the Missouri valley to stay at a much later time. The Gros Ventre and Mandan belong to the Siouan linguistic stock; that is, the language of the Gros Ventres and the Mandan are alike in many ways.

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Bowers' studies lead him to conclude that the Gros Ventre and the Mandan started westward and parted company; the Gros Ventre going north to settle on the waters of the Shakeem and the Red River of the North while the Mandan continued to the Missouri. This happened about 1300 A.D. They remained apart, it seems, for about 250 years when the Awitixa branch reached the Missouri somewhere near the mouth of the Heart River in 1550 A.D. and remained as neighbors to the Mandan. The Awasawi branch migrated to the Missouri above the mouth of the Knife River between 1600 and 1650 from the Devil's Lake region. The Hidatsas apparently moved farther north into Canada; in 1700 they came into the Missouri by way of the Turtle Mountains.

The Mandans, as before mentioned, according to Bower, came into the Missouri about 1300 A.D. at the mouth of the White River in what is now South Dakota and by 1550 had reached the mouth of the Heart River where they established several villages and continued to live until 1770. He states that "Prior to 1735, the entire river section between the Cannonball and Yellowstone was allotted by mutual agreement (between Mandans and Gros Ventres) for permanent settlement."  

2 ibid, p. 146.
Wills, referring to four Indian village sites along the Missouri River in North Dakota from which timbers were dug out and which according to the tree ring method showed cutting dates to range from 1626 to 1675, 1613 to 1637, 1527 to 1563 and 1485 to 1545 states that,

"All of the sites, from which these dates have been determined from a number of timbers, are almost certainly Mandan. Mandan occupation has already been culturally divided into three periods. Sites of the earliest period, distinguished by lack of fortification and widely spaced, rectangular houses, have been classified as belonging to an archaic period. Following them are a large number of sites placed in a middle Mandan period. These sites average considerably larger and pottery artifacts show definite advance in design and manufacture. The houses are still widely spaced, but a new feature is introduced, the fortifying by means of a wall, ditch and bastions of the village area. These fortifications vary from very crude in the earliest middle period site to a highly elaborate and perfected system such as is found at the Huff Site (first cutting date of our timber in this site, 1485). This fact leads to the placing of this site as towards the end of the middle period.

"The last period which ended in the practical dissolution of Mandan culture is termed the Late Heart River Period. --- The distinguishing marks for the sites of this period are a much closer crowding of houses in relatively smaller areas, the use of the round earth lodge instead of the rectangular one, and a very noteworthy advance and unification of type and method of pottery manufacture. --- This period ended about 1760. Later sites further north show a very definite cultural decay."
The Huff site cutting dates taken from eleven different timbers range from 1485 to 1543. Will says,

"Thus it would appear that building started at the Huff site some 455 years ago from timber which started to grow as early as five hundred and forty years ago." (Huff site is about 20 miles south of Mandan, North Dakota and on the west bank of the Missouri River. Elbowoods, the present agency headquarters for the Ft. Berthold Reservation is 130 road miles via Richardson, north and west of Mandan.)

"It would appear that Mandan people occupied the area at a much earlier date than had previously been supposed. It is to be hoped that timbers from some of the earlier period sites and the Archaic site may in time be found. Meantime we have the story of a successful occupation of this area along the Missouri by an agricultural population for a period MANY TIMES LONGER THAN THAT OF OUR OWN WHITE RACE.

"It would seem probable that material from the very large number of sites very evidently older than the one at Huff, when available, will carry the occupancy of the region by the Mandan people very nearly two hundred years farther back to a date probably between 1200 and 1300.

"The history obtained from the tree rings seems to carry considerable comfort to the present inhabitants of the region. If human beings have found the area well enough suited for some seven hundred years to be a home from which there was no high incentive to move in search of better surroundings, and since there has obviously been no change in rainfall conditions for a period of some five hundred and forty years, the present dwellers in the region may well look forward to centuries of continued occupancy of the region by a reasonably prosperous population."

1 George F. Will, Tree Ring Studies, North Dakota, pp. 13-18.
The earliest written reference to the Arikara could possibly begin with the Coronado expedition in July 1541. Deland writes,

"Before making extracts from the Hodge paper, however, it should be stated that the conclusions arrived at by Hodge, Bandelier, Brower and others, after an exhaustive study of the Spanish chronicles of the Coronado expedition, are to the effect that after leaving the New Mexico country they reached and crossed the Arkansas river in southern Kansas and that they followed its northern bank to the Great Bend, then passed northwardly or northeastwardly to the Kansas river and they reached the Quivira villages about the middle or latter part of July 1541; that they had as assistant guide an Indian named Xabe, or Ysopete, who was reliable and who had insisted that another Indian known as the "Turk" was leading the expedition too far eastward. Those natives being of the tribe of "Harehoy", according to their own account."  

He then goes on for 18 pages in an effort to show evidence that "Harehoy" is Arikara and that these two "guides" of Francisco Vasques Coronado "were Arikaras".  

One of the earliest actual accounts regarding the location of the Arikara appears in 1701 when they are reported to be living on both sides of the Missouri river some distance west of possibly the James River.

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1 Deland, *ibid.*, p. 310.
3 *ibid.*, p. 279; here he refers to LeSueur’s map of 1701, *South Dakota Historical Collection*, Vol. 1, p. 49.
Bowers refers to La Harpe who in 1719 gave the location of the Arikara at the Big Bend on the Missouri river (30 miles southeast of Pierre, South Dakota.)

In 1742 the Arikara villages then located about the mouth of the Bad River (vicinity of Ft. Pierre, South Dakota) were visited by the sons of Verendrye who were returning from a search to the west for a route to the Pacific. They remained here until about 1797 when they abandoned all the villages from the mouth of the Bad River to the mouth of the Moxeau.

Lewis and Clark came upon the Arikara villages in October of 1804 in the neighborhood of the Grand River on the Missouri.

In 1782 a severe smallpox epidemic swept across the Indian country. Bower's estimates that this reduced the Mandan and Gros Ventre in the following proportions: Hidatsa 55%; Awtiux 50%; Awaxawi 75%.


3 Deland, ibid, p. 381
Eastside Mandan at the Heart River 82%; Westside Mandans of the Heart River 75% and Mandans at the Painted Woods 50%.¹ I could find no estimate for the Arikara, no doubt their losses were as great. Shortly after this disaster Will's precipitation record shows a 16-year period of wet years (1786-1802)² which gave them a favorable period in which to begin reestablishing themselves.

Thus as the 19th century begins the three Upper Missouri tribes have formally met for the first time in the Lewis and Clark Expedition, official representatives of the United States. Three little primitive agricultural nations, centuries old, have heard firsthand that a new nation, itself hardly 30 years old now commands their loyalty and respect. They are well pleased. The Mandan and the Gros Ventre have not defaulted in their promise to keep the peace with this new nation. The Arikara for a time did not keep the faith, but more of that later.

There were altogether not more than 6000 at this time. Bowers⁵ quotes Thompson (1797) in stating that there were in that period 1330 Hidatsa (Gros Ventre) of all

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¹ Bowers, ibid, p. 144.
² See Appendix B.
³ ibid, p. 145.
villages and 1520 Mandan. Chittenden writes that, "At the time of the voyage of Lewis and Clark they probably numbered 3600 souls."¹

They were entirely self-sufficient in their economy of primitive agriculture, the hunt and trade with Whites and nomadic tribes. Will² says La Verendrye wrote in 1738 "Their fort is full of caves in which is stored such articles as grain, food, fat, dressed robes, bear skins ---. They brought me every day more than twenty dishes of wheat (corn), beans, and pumpkin all cooked"; Le Raye (1801-02) is quoted also as writing to the effect that the Arikara raised corn, beans, melons, pumpkins and tobacco.³ In this same place he refers to Bradbury (1811) who writes, "I have never seen, even in the United States, any crop of Indian corn in finer order or better managed than the corn about these three (Arikara) villages."

The Mandan did not take to the hunt as much as did the other two tribes. While the Mandan and the Gros Ventre did not have horses until 1750,⁴ the latter

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2 George F. Will and George E. Hyde, Corn Among the Indians of the Upper Missouri (The William Harvey Miner Co. Inc.), St. Louis, Missouri, 1917, p. 60.

3 ibid., p. 62.

4 Bowers, p. 167.
had a tendency by tradition to be nomadically inclined and when once in possession of horses found it more to their liking to increase their dependence on the hunt. The Arikara were probably amongst the first tribes to accommodate their economy to the horse. They are of the same family as the Pawnees who were visited by Coronado in 1542 and by this means came into its early possession. Of their horsemanship and proficiency on the hunt Deland says,

"It may be said that their social economy and the policy of their ways combined to evidence their close relationship with the regime of the buffalo; their skill in making those monarchs of the prairie their prey being second to that of no other Indian nation; that while expert horsemen and possessing herds of them in numbers indicating a prominent traffic which became a leading characteristic, yet that in more remote times they became famous as predatory agents on foot in quest of that animal, with results which were remarkable for cunning and valor."¹

Some reference to income by trade is to be had from several sources. Verendrye (1758) wrote of the Mandans that they were shrewd traders and that the Assiniboines were on no occasion equal to their superior ability to drive a hard bargain. Lewis in his "Travels of Capt., Lewis and Clarke writes:

"They (the Arikaras) claim no land except that on which they cultivate. The Teton (Sioux) claim the country around them. Though they are the oldest inhabitants, they may properly be considered the farmers or tenants at will of that lawless, savage, and rapacious race, the Sioux Teton, who rob them of their horses,

plunder their gardens and fields, and sometimes murder them without opposition. If these people were freed from the oppression of the Tetons, their trade would increase rapidly, and might be extended to a considerable amount. They maintain a partial trade with their oppressors, the Tetons, to whom they barter horses, mules, corn, beans, and a species of tobacco which they cultivate, and receive in return guns, ammunition, kettles, axes, and other articles which the Tetons obtain from the Yanktons of the north, and Sissetones, who trade with Mr. Cammeron, on the River St. Petera. These horses and mules the Ricaras obtain from their western neighbors, who visit them frequently for the purpose of trading.

"They (Mandans) live in fortified villages, hunt immediately in their neighborhood and cultivate corn, beans, squash, and tobacco, which form articles of traffic with their neighbors the Assiniboins; they also barter horses with the Assiniboins for arms, ammunition, axes, kettles, and other articles of European manufacture, these last they obtain from the British establishments on the Assiniboine River. The articles which they thus obtain from the Assiniboins and the British traders who visit them, they again exchange for horses and leather tents with the Crow Indians, Cheyennes, Wetpepahtoes, Kiwas, Kanavichcs, Stacton, and Gataka, who visit them occasionally for the purpose of traffic. Their trade may be much increased. Their country is similar to that of the Ricaras. Population increasing.

"They (Wetpepahtoes) are a wandering nation, inhabit an open country, and raise a great number of horses, which they barter to the Ricaras, Mandans, etc., for articles of European manufacture.

"These people (Crow Indians) annually visit the Mandans, Monetares (Gros Ventres) and Awhoibaways, to whom they
barter horses, mules, leather goods and many articles of Indian apparel, for which they receive in return, guns, ammunition, axes, kettles, awls, and other European manufactures. When they return to their country, they are in turn visited by the Pawnee and Snake Indians, to whom they barter most of the articles they have obtained from nations on the Missouri, for horses and mules, of which those nations have a greater abundance than themselves. They also obtain of the Snake Indians, bridle-bits and blankets and some other articles which those Indians purchase from the Spaniards. The bridle-bits and blankets I have seen in the possession of the Mandans and Menestrees.1

In spite of pestilence, the harsh elements and the constant pressure from the nomadic tribes they were able to turn their labors to good account, as we have seen. Of the most devastated, the Mandans, Lewis was also able to write "Population increasing". The condition of the teeth is usually a good measure of the general health of the human body and of this he was also able to remark, "--- their teeth are large and white. I never observed any decayed among them, which makes their breath as sweet as the air they inhale."2

It could be hoped, that with their lands now under a new flag, peace would come to the valley and they could go forward enriching their cultures, devoting their full time and labors to agriculture, their hunt

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2 ibid, p. 31.
and their trade. But there came no respite from any quarter. For the next 30 years the Arikara were alternately friend and foe to both the Mandan and the United States.

The year 1811 was a time of friendship for the three Upper Missouri tribes and the Whites. On August 27 of that year the Hunt-Astoria Expedition met with great anxiety about 100 warriors some 25 miles below the site of Fort Pierre, S. D., and were relieved to find that they made up a war party of Arikara, Mandan and Gros Ventres. It was learned later that they would, at that time, have fallen victim to the war party had not the Arikaras, being in the majority, prevented any hostile act.¹

One of the purposes of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, in addition to seeking a passage to the Pacific, was the development of the fur trade with the Indian nations along the route. Capt. Lewis in his introduction to "Travels" offered an account of the trade at the time and the possibilities for its increase. He writes,

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¹ Deland, ibid, pp. 434, 467.
"The following statement of the commerce of the Missouri, is made by a gentleman, which will sufficiently show the advantages that arise from it.

"The products which are drawn from the Missouri, are obtained from the Indians and hunters in exchange for merchandise. They may be classed according to the subjoined table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Weight/Quantity</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>C.</th>
<th>Dols.</th>
<th>Cts.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Castor</td>
<td>12281 lbs.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14737</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otters</td>
<td>1267 skins</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>5063</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Foxes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Poocha Foxes</td>
<td>302 skins</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>401</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tyger Carts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Raccoons</td>
<td>4248 skins</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1061</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bears, black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>grey, yellow</td>
<td>2541 skins</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5032</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fusses</td>
<td>2541 skins</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5082</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffaloes</td>
<td>1714 skins</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>5142</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressed cow-hides</td>
<td>189 skins</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shorn deer skins</td>
<td>96926 lbs.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9770</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deer skins, with hair</td>
<td>6331 skins</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3190</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallow and fat</td>
<td>8313 lbs.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1662</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bears oil</td>
<td>2310 gals.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2472</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskrats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martens</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

S. 7797120

"The calculation in this table, drawn from the most correct accounts of the products of the Missouri, during fifteen years, makes the average of a common year 77,971 dollars.

"On calculating, in the same proportion, the amount of merchandising entering the Missouri, and given in exchange for peltries, it is found that it amounts to 61250 dollars, including expenses, equal to one fourth of the value of the merchandise.

"The result is, that, this commerce gives an annual profit of 16721 dollars, or about 27 per cent."
"If the commerce of the Missouri, without encouragement, and badly regulated, gives annually so great a profit, may we not rest assured that it will be greatly augmented, should government direct its attention to it. It is also necessary to observe, that the price of peltry fixed by this table, is the current price in the Illinois: if it were regulated by the prices of London, deducting expenses of transportation, the profit according to our calculation, would be much more considerable."  

In the development of this commerce the fortified villages of the Arikara, Gros Ventre and Mandan were an important element. They were located nearly 1500 miles up the Missouri from St. Louis. This was nearly 2/3 of the distance to the Rocky Mountains and over 1/2 the way to the Pacific coast. They furnished settled communities that had already become the outposts for French and British Fur Companies for the trade to the interior.

The Lewis and Clark journal entry on October 26, 1804 quoted by Deland reads, "... we proceeded to the camp of the grand chiefs (Mandan) ... Here we met Mr. MacCracken one of the Northwest or Hudson Bay Company, who arrived with another person about 9 days ago to trade for horses and buffalo robes." Moreover, the primitive agriculture of these tribes provided corn and beans and from the surplus they were able to carry on trade with other tribes. They had in addition horses, mules, meats

1 ibid, pp. VII-VIII
2 ibid, p. 390.
and hides. These products and articles available at this distance upstream into the heart of the fur trade territory meant that the fur companies could add of them as their parties required after arrival. This not only reduced the cost of travel but more important the trapping and trading parties were enabled to travel through the hostile Sioux territory with greater security through increased speed because of their lighter loads. Horses were coming into importance. In 1811 the Hunt-Astoria Expedition decided to go direct over land from the Arikara villages rather than follow the water route of Lewis and Clark to the west. Of this Deland writes:

"Brackenridge also republishes in his said book, 1 from the "Missouri Gazette" of St. Louis, its account of the experiences of the Hunt-Astoria expedition, that portion of which referring to their stay and doings at the Arikara villages we here quote; all going to show that those villages constituted at that time the first real land-mark in trade existing on the upper Missouri: 'Messrs. Hunt, Crooks, Miller, McClelland, McKenzie, and about sixty men, who left St. Louis in the beginning of March, 1811, for the Pacific Ocean, reached the Arikara village on the 15th day of June, where, meeting with some American hunters, who had been the preceding year on the waters of the Columbia, with M. Henry, and who, giving such an account of the route by which they passed, as being far preferable in point of procuring with facility, an abundant supply of food, at all times, as well as avoiding even the probability of seeing their enemies, the Black Feet, than by the track of Captains Lewis and

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1 "H. M. Brackenridge, Esq., a lawyer of St. Louis --- traveled with Manuel Lisa up the Missouri to the Mandan and Arikara villages. Lisa having been sent --- on behalf of the American Fur Company --- the book, "Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River! Baltimore, 1816", ibid. pp. 408-69."
Clark, the gentlemen of the expedition at once abandoned their former ideas of passing by falls of the Missouri, and made the necessary arrange-
ments for commencing their journey overland, from this place.

Eighty horses were purchased and equipped by the 17th of July, and on the day following they departed from the Arickaras, sixty persons in number, all on foot except the partners of the company. 1

These "land-marks of trade" soon became centers also of conflict. The interests of competing fur com-
panies could only be regarded as a worsening element in the highly unstable political relationship that inevit-
ably existed amongst the numerous tribes who were re-
garded by the United States as separate nations. A hands off policy was maintained as to inter-tribal war-
fare and the Federal Government brought its power to bear on a tribe only when it committed hostile acts against United States citizens or property.

In June 1823, following a day of seeming friend-
ly settlement of terms of trade for horses between General Ashley of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, the Arickaras made an unexpected attack upon his party during the night. 1

On August 10, 1823 United States troops under com-
mand of Colonel Leavenworth with about 800 men, moved against the Arikara villages. After some resistance the Arikara sued for peace. 2

1 Deland, ibid., p. 536.
2 ibid., pp. 481-85.
Shortly after this episode the United States began entering into treaty agreements with the tribes of the west in order that the development of this newly acquired region might go forward under peaceable conditions. Henry Atkinson, Brigadier General, U. S. Army and Benjamin O'Fallon, U. S. Agent, Indian Affairs, were the commissioners to negotiate one series of treaties which included the three upper Missouri tribes. These treaties on which all the proclamations are dated February 6, 1826 are:
(The language of the proclamations gives some clue to the relations between the treating parties, particularly with respect to the Arikara and are therefore quoted in part.)

7 Stat. 259--Treaty with the Arikara Tribe
July 13, 1825.
"To put an end to an unprovoked hostility on the part of the Arikara Tribe of Indians against the United States and to restore harmony between the parties---"
"Done at the Arikara village."

7 Stat. 261--Treaty with the Belanti-etoa or Minnetaree (Cros Ventres) Tribe, July 30, 1825. 
"Whereas acts of hostility have been committed, by some restless men of the Belanti-etoa or Minnetaree tribe of Indians, upon some of the citizens of the United States; therefore to put a stop to any further outrageous of the sort, and to establish a more friendly understanding---"
"Done at Lower Mandan Village."

7 Stat. 265--Treaty with the Mandan Tribe of Indians, July 30, 1825.
(Proclamation same as in 7 Stat. 261).
"Done at Mandan Village."

7 Stat. 266--Treaty with Crow Tribe, August 4, 1825. 
"For the purpose of perpetuating the friendship which has heretofore existed, as also to remove all further cause of discussion or dissension as it respects trade and friendship and their citizens, and the Crow Tribe of Indians---"
"Done at Mandan Village."
Whatever these treaties may have produced in the way of peaceful relations between the United States and the other tribes, it did not prevent the Arikara from continuing with their unfriendly behavior. They deserted their villages on the Grand River and in 1832 were reported living at the mouth of the Cannonball. On this point Deland quotes from the artist, George Catlin, in his "North American Indians" (London, 1842), pp. 204-5, in which Catlin writes of his painting of the "Riccaroe village":

"This view was taken from the deck of the steamer when I was on my way up the river; and probably it was well that I took it then, for so hostile and deadly are the feelings of these people towards the pale faces, at this time, that it may be deemed most prudent for me to pass them on my way down the river, without stopping to make them a visit. "When Lewis and Clark first visited these people thirty years since ... the Riccaroes received and treated them with great kindness and hospitality; but owing to the system of trade, and the manner in which it has been conducted in this country, they have been inflicted with real or imaginary abuses, of which they are themselves, and the few traders, the best judges; and far which they are now harboring the most inerterate feelings towards the whole civilized race."¹

Another reference on the attitude and condition of the Arikara at this time is taken by Deland from Maximilian, Vol. XXII of "Early Western Travels" writing under date of June 10th, 1833:

¹ ibid., pp. 491-492.
"It is not quite a year since these villages (of the Arikara near the mouth of the Grand River) had been wholly abandoned, because their inhabitants, who were extremely hostile to whites, killed so many Americans, that they themselves foresaw that they would be severely chastised by the United States, and therefore preferred to emigrate. To this cause may be added, a dry, unproductive season, when crops entirely failed; as well as the absence of the herds of buffalo, which hastened their removal. It is said that the Indians now roam about the road from St. Louis to Santa Fe, and the late attacks on caravans are ascribed to them.

The Arikaras had by then left the Missouri and were living with the Pawnee Loups along the waters of the Platte River. Of this Deland writes:

"Colonel Henry Dodge started from Leavenworth on his expedition of 1836 to the Rocky Mountains, on May 29th of that year --- with --- mission of peacemaker amongst the warring tribes of the Platte and the Arkansas ---.

"The journal of July 5th (1836) runs thus: --- They (Arikara) have now no land that they can call their own, and are wandering about like Arabs of the desert, killing and robbing almost everyone they met. They were originally a band of the Pawnee Loups, and had been living with them for sometime previous to our arrival."[1]

The Arikara returned to the Missouri on March 28, 1837, a year of disaster. Smallpox broken out in the village of the Mandans about June 15, and spread quickly to all of the tribes in the region. The Arikara and Gros Ventre were out hunting at the time and as a re-

1 Ibid, pp. 523, 527.
"At last they determined to seek the Crows and unite with them again. They deserted their villages, abandoned their corn fields, left the bones of those loved and lost and severed all old ties, crossed to the east shore of the Missouri, and started on their pilgrimage.

"It was in the fall when they arrived at the site of the present village. (Pt. Berthold.) The Four Bears thought it would be a good place to winter in. When spring came, the Fur Company's steamboat arrived, and at the urgent solicitation of the Indians, a trader was left with a few goods ... The squaws cut and dragged timber for a fort: the Gros Ventres gave up their idea of rejoining the Crow."1

The Mandans, except for one branch, the Hupadai, joined the Gros Ventres at Like-a-Fishhook Village and in 1851, the Hupadai because of differences with the Sioux came to share this village location for a brief time.2 In that year there were reported to be 80 lodges in the village — 66 Gros Ventres (Hidatsa, Awasin, and Awaaxawi) and 14 Mandan.3

Festilence, like the Sioux, was ever at their village gates. This time it was cholera. Its toll was not as staggering as the smallpox epidemics of 1782 and 1837 but the blow had its telling effects and this village, so recently settled, was for a time abandoned.4


3 ibid, p. 151. The information regarding the total number of lodges was obtained from Journals of Rudolph Friederich Kuras, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 115, ed. J. H. B. Hewitt, p. 27.

4 ibid, p. 152.
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themselves being denied this territory by white settlers. The Minnesota Massacre of 1862 brought about the driving out of the Santee Sioux from their hunting grounds. Most of the Sioux were now crowded into the area west of the Missouri. Trobriand\(^1\) quoting from an Indian Bureau report to Congress in 1866 gives the following population figures: 16,460 Sioux in this region of the Missouri; (he estimated an additional 3000-3500 Mississippi Sioux were also crowded into Dakota at the time); 400 Otoe Ventre; 400 Mandan and 1500 Arikara. These figures are probably too high but it reveals the proportional numerical strength of the enemy forces. It is to be recalled too that some twenty years earlier "in 1845 the human rivulet following the Oregon Trail rose to a broad stream\(^2\) and cut in two the buffalo range that extended from Texas to Canada. The buffalo that was nearly the whole of plains Indian life was rapidly disappearing\(^3\). The men of the village found fewer buffalo on the plains and had, at the same time, to contend with the increasing numbers of their traditional enemy. Their women were less secure in

\(^1\) Ibid., pp. 280-82.


\(^3\) Reginald C. McGrane, The Economic Development of the American Nation, Boston, Ginn and Co., 1932, p. 345; "Within three years (1871-1874) -- about 5,000,750 buffalo were systematically slaughtered. By 1875 the southern herd was annihilated ... The northern herd... was practically exterminated by 1885."

their gardens. Their surpluses, when they had any, did not trade for as much meat as before. Moreover, there was no need for their oppressors to trade for what they now could have for the taking with little, if any, effective opposition.

The village of the three tribes was supplied with a small garrison stationed at Ft. Berthold in 1864 to protect them against the Sioux. Fort Stevenson was established a short distance away in 1867 and Ft. Berthold was discontinued as a military station. To get a feeling of the human struggle all round in this period the following is quoted from "Translator's Introduction" by George F. Will in "Army Life in Dakota".

"The period was one of great turbulence among the tribes of the Great Plains .... "The Indian community with its loose government seldom recognized the right of any chief to deal for it or to bind it. While the elders of the tribe might follow a wise chief, the young men were seldom, if ever, under control. The social organization forced the youths to make their names and reputation on the war path. Consequently, in spite of wise counsel or definite orders, the young men were beyond restraint and at any time might embroil a whole band in undesired hostility with other bands or tribes. As a result, the treaties made by the chiefs were even less valid and binding than were those made by the whites.

"The period dealt with (1867-69) was a particularly crucial one in the history of the Great Plains region. Thousands of discharged soldiers from both the Union and Confederate armies returned to their homes with the thrill of danger and adventure still in their blood, to find no satisf-
factory places for themselves, or to
discover a permanent estate for hard
and humdrum labor. The West was develop-
ing, and talk of it was everywhere rife;
railroads building across the Plains,
gold and silver to be dug in the hills
of Montana, free land for the settlers,
profitable hunting for fur and for buf-
falo robes, big money from the sale of
firewood to the steamboats. Naturally
the most turbulent and adventurous were
drawn to the West; and the United States
Government was almost as powerless to
control them as the Indian chiefs were
to manage their young men. As a result,
there were continuous clashes between
the two races, and the deeds of the
Plainsmen were scarcely less cruel and
terrible than those of the wild Indians
of the Plains. The Indians saw their
lands invaded, their game destroyed or
driven away, and the buffalo on the
road to extinction. Without the buffalo
their old life was dead. Food, clothing,
and shelter all derived from him. It
is no wonder, therefore, that the bravest
and strongest leaders felt that their
only hope was definitely and finally to
expel all whites from their lands,
killing them wherever and whenever they
found them. The struggle they initiated
lasted for a full decade, and the horse-
man of the Plains tribes are fully
entitled to rank with the great fighters
of the world."

"Big money from the sale of fire wood to the
steamboats" resulted in complaints that the whites
were taking wood from the Fort Berthold Reservation
and the Indians asked for protection. The investi-
gation revealed that the Treaty of 1851 had not been
ratified and that the Three Tribes had no reservation.

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1 ibid, pp. XX-XXXI
The Executive Order of April 12, 1870 established a reservation somewhat reduced in size from that agreed to in the 1851 treaty. ¹

Treaties, Executive Orders and Acts of Congress in the years 1866, 1888, 1870, 1880, 1891, 1892, 1910 and 1949 have reduced the Fort Berthold Reservation from 18 million to 550,269 acres.

While Fishhook village served as a permanent home for the three tribes until 1900, each tended to keep its separate tribal customs. Each had its own language and this was a factor to be sure, but there were other important elements that made possible the preservation of the distinct qualities of each tribe. Each tribe in a real sense had its own village and the activities of its members continued much as if the other two tribes were living at some distance.

One can well imagine that this period was one of great emotional disturbance and its effect must certainly have brought forth an increase in all tribal religious ceremonies. The native rites and ceremonials were yet without competition. The Christian missionary influence did not come until 1876.

The traditional movement from the permanent villages to winter hunting camps was also practiced during this time. In these winter camps each tribe went

to such places as best suited its needs. On this point
a few entries from Trobridge's journal will be of
some interest:

"Sunday September 22: (1867) . . . During
dinner . . . I was informed that the three
chiefs, accompanied by the principal person-
ages of their tribes, would call upon me to
have a pow-wow . . . to discuss their affairs.
So, when the table had been cleared, Crow-
Belly entered the room . . . The second chief
of the Gros Ventres, Poor Wolf followed imme-
diately . . . The chief of the Mandans, Red
Cow, was not long in doing the same. White
Shield (Chief of the Rees) had gone to fetch
the interpreter, Pierre Gareau. They arrived
 together, accompanied by the second chief of
the Rees, Son-of-the-Star . . . Crow Belly . . .
rose . . . and spoke as follows:

"My Father is welcome among us . . . his chil-
dren wish to ask of him that he permit trade in
powder, of which they have such great need to
defend themselves against their enemies, and to
hunt for meat and skins . . . We have become
weak and our enemies harass us and attack us.
They steal our horses, and when they meet our
young men out hunting, they kill them whenever
they can; and as we are weak we have need of
powder to defend ourselves. We cultivate the
earth, and live in lodges on the land that is
left to us. We trade the corn that we can
spare from our own needs; but that does not
suffice for all our requirements. The hunting
season has come; buffalo are very scarce and
very hard to kill; our bow and arrows have
become useless, and we ask of our Father that
he permit us to buy powder as in times past!

. . . I replied: "Our Great Father in Washin-
ton has ordered that powder may be sold to
them . . . I have already given orders that will
assure for you a good hunt and permit you to
fight your enemies under more favorable con-
ditions.

1 Commanding Officer, of the U. S. Army Post, at Fort
Stevenson and of the middle District.
'And now to conclude: . . . my children of the Three Tribes . . . may trade for a quantity equal to two kags per tribe . . . but no warrior (there were 250 at the time) may have more than one pound at a time . . . ' When I arose to close the council the chief of the Gros Ventres who had consulted the others, announced to me that they would not leave for their winter quarters without coming to see me at Ft. Stevenson, in token of their respect and affection.'

According to the journal, the chiefs of the Three Tribes came to say goodbye on October 8 before leaving for their winter camps. Further reference to the journal reveals something of the conditions that prevailed and the length of the winter camps in this period:

"Tuesday, February 4 (1868) . . . The old chief of the Hespa, White Shield, has come with several warriors to ask for some provisions . . . The reports from Fort Berthold are bad. Those Indians who have returned there are literally dying of hunger, having exhausted their stores of corn. Those who are still in winter camps or who rove the Plains are in no more favorable condition."

"Wednesday, February 19: . . . The Mandans, back again at Ft. Berthold on account of the absence of big game and the consequent famine, came yesterday to visit and to ask for . . . provisions."

"Saturday, March 7: The Gros Ventres on their return from winter quarters have come to pay me a visit . . . It is their turn. . . . (for provisions)"

Trobiand's journal entry for Sunday, February 28, 1868 makes reference to scurvy which in two weeks

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1 Trobiand, ibid, pp. 71-85.
2 ibid, p. 94.
3 ibid, pp. 223, 226, 239-40.
caused the death of twenty or twenty-five Indians.
The Journal entries August 19, 1867 to April 25, 1869 which covered the period of General Trobriand's assignment at Ft. Stevenson make frequent reference to the continual tribal warfare that went on between the Three Tribes and the Sioux. One of his last entries reads:

"Thursday, April 15: Twelve or thirteen days ago a party of seventeen Arikaras coming from Fort Berthold passed in front of the fort going down the river in bullboats. They were painted and armed for war, and in fact they reached the neighborhood of Fort Rice with the intention of surprising the Sioux there, and striking a good blow. Today they returned . . . They came back triumphant, and this evening there is great rejoicing in the quarters of the scouts, where the victors are singing their chants and dancing the scalp dance. They bring back two scalps and a horse. They have brought back two of the number seriously wounded . . . All the Rees were on foot; the Sioux whom they fought were mounted. (They were Yanktonias from the band of Two Bears). To have brought off their wounded, and to have despoiled the enemy, the Rees must have fought bravely and skillfully."\n
Thus we see that by the end of the third quarter of the 19th century the Three Tribes' totaling about 6000 in 1800 were reduced from several villages in each tribe, to one small village, of probably 1400 souls in all, but they still retained the principal

1 ibid, pp. 361-62.

2 ibid, pp. 238. "Dr. Roland B. Dixon of Harvard University had charge of the Indian census of 1910 and performed a complete and unusually accurate piece of work . . . Mandans 165, Arikara 372, Hidatsa (Gros Ventre) 418. G.F.W."

elements of their way of life, centuries old. They had their gardens for their corn, beans, squashes, melons, sunflower seeds and tobacco together with their field songs, corn priests and traditional systems of heri-
tance of garden land. They still carried on a little trade with whites and Indians and they added to their food and clothing needs by the hunt. Neither were they rid of the pestilence and the Sioux. It will be recalled that the United States was still regarding Indian tribes as separate nations and therefore did not attempt to take sides in these inter-
tribal conflicts. Trebriand's observation is of interest in this connection:

"Sunday, September 1: At sundown two Indian scouts arrived, equipped and armed like our soldiers, except that the boots or shoes are replaced by mocassins, though they travel on horseback. This type of foot-gear of deer skin is very much softer to the feet, and nothing is better for a long march. These Indians were sent to us from Fort Rice. They are bearers of a letter from

1 Gilbert Livingstone Wilson, Accia, of the Hidatsa Indians, an Indian Interpretation, (The Univ. of Minn. Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 9. Minneapolis, Bulletin of the U. of Minn., Nov. 1917.)

2 This policy ended with the adoption of the following language in the Appropriation Act of 1871: "Hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent tribe or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty" and the Indian people by this decision were brought under the legislative control of Congress and for the first time the stage was set for the establishment of inter-
tribal peace.
Lieutenant Colonel Otis commanding the post, in which by instruction of eastern District, he informs me that a considerable band of Sioux Indians, just now camped in the neighborhood of Fort Sully, are preparing an expedition against the Hce Indians, located with the Mandans and Gros-Ventres near Fort Berthold. These three tribes are peaceful and not very strong, partly due to their small numbers, partly to their character. Nevertheless they have long been at war with the Sioux of lower Dakota, who from time to time make raids against them to run off their horses, mules, and cattle, and get as many scalps as they can lift without too much risk. As both sides are friends of the United States, we are not supposed to mix in their quarrels, and we have nothing to lose by the redskins destroying each other. Nevertheless, I have sent word immediately to the Three Tribes of the attack that threatens them, so that they may prepare for it. I

Of the period ten years later Will and Hyde write:

"1879, Indian agent reports, 1292 people (not counting 108 Gros Ventres at Ft. Buford) families working, 325; acresage 300; corn 15000; wheat none; vegetables 3913 bushels; and barley 960 bushels. Support from agriculture 15%, from hunting, 10% and from government 75%, the game was rapidly disappearing at this time.

"Also at this time the Fort Berthold Indians had reached about lowest mark in physical and moral degeneration due largely to being crowded together in the village with no incentive to hunt and with too large number of the most vicious white men among them."2

1 Trobriand, *ibid.*, p. 43.
2 Will and Hyde, *ibid.*, p. 103.
Bowers states at this time, too, the male population was much reduced:

"Plains warfare greatly unbalanced the proportion of women and men. By census of the Mandan as of 1870-72 showed that males constituted only 32% of the total population. A similar proportion was found for the Hidatsa. If we disregard all children under 15 years of age, the proportion of men to women would be even smaller."

Freedom from the oppression of the Sioux was in sight. Arikara men enlisted in the United States Army as scouts to help bring their traditional foe to heel. With security to live at peace in the valley, denied them these 125 years, could they at last begin to mend their social and economic life that was now near destruction from disease, war and famine?

Friends of Indians in the East believed Indian life and tribal ways kept the tribesmen from getting the good things of life that could come to them if they would put their time and labor to their lands. They believed that the Indians held back from cultivating and developing their land because they did not have secure title to the land they would work. There was also strong pressure on Congress to open up Indian reservations for white settlement. Railroad right-of-ways took large areas. Some believed that tribal title could not hold up against this pressure. Allotment of land in severalty

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1 Bowers, ibid, p. 147.
seemed to be the answer. It would secure title to
the owner against loss to whites. At the same time,
it was believed, the Indian would move out on his
allotment and work it with the same energy as the
whites who were then equating title to a piece of land
with freedom to live.

The Commissioners of Indian Affairs beginning in
1873 advocated general legislation for the allotment of
Indian Lands. The Commissioner in 1876 went so far as
to ask for a law "not only permitting, but requiring
the head of each Indian family, to accept the allot-
ment of a reasonable amount of land." He went on to
say, "It is doubtful whether any degree of civilization
is possible without individual ownership of land."

The Three Tribes began to question the security
in their homes under tribal ownership. Of this Otis
writes:

"... In 1883 the agent of the Fort
Berthold Reservation, in Dakota, wrote
that his charges were anxious for titles
to their lands, since they were still
smarting from the fact that the Govern-
ment, in order to fulfill a grant to the
Northern Pacific, had taken over half
their reservation and offered them in
recompense a much smaller tract of land
which was 'rough and undesirable'. He
said, 'It is difficult to reconcile them,
as they fully believe that because they
are weak the Government has taken advan-
tage of them and dealt unjustly with
them, * * * and would not dare to treat
the more powerful and war-like Sioux in

1 Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1876), p. IX.
2 Idem.
such manner. * * * I am constrained to confess that I am unable to answer these complaints, which seem to be well taken, in a satisfactory manner to myself or to the Indians.

The General Allotment Law known as the Dawes Act was passed and signed by the President February 8, 1887 (22 Stat. L. 388); the lands of the Fort Berthold Reservation were scheduled for allotment in severalty beginning in 1895 and the first group of allotments were actually made in 1900.1

In 1882 the first group of Indian families left the village and moved to the Elbowoods area where 133 acres of farm land had been prepared for them. The Arikara left in 1885 and the Mandan, historically the true village people, were the last to forego their group life but final abandonment came by 1897.

The Reverend Dr. C. L. Hall, the Congregational Missionary who had arrived on May 9, 1876, began immediately to build the Mission but the Gros Ventre Chief threatened to burn it if the work continued. A meeting was called for the following day, June 28, 1876 and an agreement was reached and signed by the chiefs of the Three Tribes, Crow Heart for the Gros Ventre, Son-of-the-Star for the Arikara and Red Cow for the Mandan, in order that the building of the Mission might be continued.

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1 Social and Economic Report on the Future of Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota (Prepared by Missouri River Basin Investigators Staff Region No. 46, No. 2, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Billings, Montana January 15, 1948) p. 55. These reports will hereafter be referred to as MRE; a list of these will be found in Appendix E.
Dr. Hall went to Washington in 1882 to advocate the conversion of abandoned army posts to Indian boarding schools. Ft. Stevenson, which was adjacent to the reservation, was included in the legislation. Twenty Indian children arrived by sleigh on December 18, 1884; the enrollment rose to one-hundred. Six years before, in the fall of 1879 Capt. R. H. Pratt, founder of the once famous Carlyle Indian School, visited the Reservation to interest the tribes in sending some of their young men and women to Hampton, Virginia, and on October 51, 1878, nine boys and four girls left by steamer for Hampton Institute. On November 3, 1881 six boys and one girl left the Reservation to attend the Santee Congregational Mission School under Dr. A. L. Riggs on the Missouri River in Nebraska.

The Agency headquarters was moved from Old Fort Berthold to its present location at Elbowoods in 1891.

The first Roman Catholic church on the Reservation was built in 1889 at Elbowoods.

The Congregational Mission was moved to the new agency site at Elbowoods in 1895.

The turn of the century brought with it a new world of experiences. Schools, churches, peace from warring tribes and vaccines against the dreaded smallpox made it possible for the people to begin their march back to self
sufficiency. In 1800 they were completely independent but soon after they were gradually forced to look to the Federal government for help. They have not, as a people, known in a hundred years the joy of economic independence. The present crisis could check that march but it need not.

Past generations have had the will to survive every challenge to their continued existence. Many of these have been more calamitous than anything the present one has to face. This one need not bring about a break with the long and valiant past. The valley will be gone but it was only a stage. The drama can live on in the hills of the reservation and the cities of America for later generations of Arikara, Gros Ventre and Mandan to look back upon with humility and to wonder if they too can do as well.
Part Two

Parts of the Problem
Chapter VI

POPULATION

The significant aspect about Berthold population is its increasing rate of growth. In 1931 when a determination of membership was made in order to distribute a Federal Court judgement for tribal claims which resulted in the amount of $1,392.50 paid to each member living and enrolled on December 1, 1930 the number was found to be 1446. It should not be necessary to add that an incentive so attractive would have failed to insure a complete census as of that date. By January 1, 1946 the population figures stood at 2034. This was an increase of 40 per cent or about 2.7 per cent a year over this 16-year period. Table 2 was prepared at the Fort Berthold Agency from population data obtained in 1951. In this year, again, another sizeable payment ($1,000) was made in August and so the census is probably as accurate as it is possible to get it. On December 31, 1951 the total population is given as 2472. This is an increase of around 21 per cent over 1946 - an annual increase of 3½ per cent. Since 1910 when the population was reported to be 955 and considered to be one of the most accurate census figures of the Berthold tribes at that time (165 Mandan, 372 Arikara and 410 Gros Ventre)
Table 2
Total Enrolled Fort Berthold Population, 2472:
Distribution by Age Groups and Location, 1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Resident on Reservation Within 100 M</th>
<th>Resident on Reservation Within 100 F</th>
<th>Resident off but within 100 miles of Res. M</th>
<th>Resident off but within 100 miles of Res. F</th>
<th>Resident over 100 miles from Reservation M</th>
<th>Resident over 100 miles from Reservation F</th>
<th>TOTALS: M</th>
<th>TOTALS: F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>149 F</td>
<td>133 F</td>
<td>173 M</td>
<td>159 M</td>
<td>31 M</td>
<td>29 M</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 14</td>
<td>252 F</td>
<td>219 F</td>
<td>202 M</td>
<td>271 M</td>
<td>51 M</td>
<td>55 M</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 24</td>
<td>174 F</td>
<td>193 F</td>
<td>205 M</td>
<td>231 M</td>
<td>39 M</td>
<td>52 M</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 34</td>
<td>96 F</td>
<td>91 F</td>
<td>116 M</td>
<td>115 M</td>
<td>43 M</td>
<td>57 M</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 to 44</td>
<td>70 F</td>
<td>65 F</td>
<td>84 M</td>
<td>81 M</td>
<td>17 M</td>
<td>26 M</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 to 54</td>
<td>58 F</td>
<td>58 F</td>
<td>69 M</td>
<td>70 M</td>
<td>9 M</td>
<td>16 M</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 to 64</td>
<td>54 F</td>
<td>40 F</td>
<td>39 M</td>
<td>50 M</td>
<td>10 M</td>
<td>1 M</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 &amp; Over</td>
<td>32 F</td>
<td>22 F</td>
<td>39 M</td>
<td>22 M</td>
<td>5 M</td>
<td>6 M</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>865 F</td>
<td>822 F</td>
<td>1627 M</td>
<td>238 M</td>
<td>2025 M</td>
<td>358 M</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1697</td>
<td>2025</td>
<td>2025</td>
<td>2025</td>
<td>2025</td>
<td>2025</td>
<td>2472</td>
<td>2472</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fort Berthold Agency.
there has been, then, a yearly average increase of 3.8 per cent.

While the three Berthold tribes, as we have seen maintained traditionally, more or less, separate ethnic groupings, they were forced by circumstance to confederate and in 1851 they made their first treaty with the United States as a politically affiliated body. In the 100 years since, they have, for all practical purposes in political affairs affecting tribal property, become one tribe. There is still considerable tendency towards maintenance of the three original ethnic identities. The agency census for January 1, 1946 listed 762 as Arikara, 897 as Gros Ventre and 375 as Mandan. A study in that year indicated that 50 per cent of the marriages were intra-tribal, 30 per cent among the three tribes, 15 per cent with Sioux and Chippewa and 5 per cent with Whites.

There are several sides to the Berthold population situation that need to be considered in connection with the relocation planning because of the bearing they will have on education facilities, land use, employment and the like. These will be taken up in the following sections.

1 Della Ryan, "Social Study of Fort Berthold Indians", MABR Region 2, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Billings, Montana, 1946.
Comparison with North Dakota Population and Five Counties

The North Dakota population rose rapidly from 36,909 in 1880. The peak was reached with 680,845 in 1930 and stood at 619,636 in 1950. The rural population, which would be comparable to the Berthold population, reached its peak in 1920. It declined, as seen from Chart 1, more rapidly than the population in the state as a whole. The rural population decreased since 1940 by 10 per cent. Of course, as seen from Table 3 the resident population of the reservation was 1687 in 1951 as against 1920 in 1945. However, with 336 tribal members living within 100 miles of the reservation and these mostly in the neighboring towns the likelihood of their return to the reservation in a time of economic uncertainty is high. But for the present, at least this reduction in the resident population by an average of 2 per cent a year is of some comfort since one of the problems in relocation is an unfavorable ratio of people to land.

The population figures for the five counties in which relocation of Berthold families will take place according to Table 3 all show a decrease since 1930 except one. This increase is in incorporated places mostly as a result of the activity in connection with the construction of the Garrison Dam. Four such places near the dam show a total increase of 1732 in the last 10
years according to the 1950 Census. The largest town in the five counties is Garrison, about 20 miles from the dam, which increased in population from 1117 in 1940 to 1890 in 1950.

Table 3. Population of the Fort Berthold Reservation and the five counties that include the Reservation, 1950, 1940, and 1930.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Per cent Change 1940 to 1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunn County</td>
<td>7,212</td>
<td>8,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McKenzie County</td>
<td>6,949</td>
<td>8,426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>18,324</td>
<td>16,032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercer</td>
<td>8,686</td>
<td>9,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountrail</td>
<td>9,418</td>
<td>10,482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Berthold</td>
<td>1,687(^1)</td>
<td>1,922(^2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: 1950 and 1950 Census of the Population and Fort Berthold Agency records.

1 Resident Population in 1951.
2 Resident Population in 1945.

A school census completed in December 1951 indicates that 153 out of 380 families or 42 per cent of the resident families intend to move into Dunn and McKenzie counties.
These are the two counties with the largest percentage decrease in population 15.9 and 18.7 respectively. It so happens that it is in this part of the reservation where the ranchers in these counties graze around 10,000 head of cattle each year. Much of this range, it is hoped, will eventually return to Indian use but at the same time the Indian population in the two counties will have increased by 50 per cent.

Public assistance has been running unusually high. This is the expenditure for Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind and Aid to Dependent Children which the counties and state have had to assume for Indians on the same basis as for other residents in the State under the Social Security Act of 1935. The average annual cash outlay for the 4 years 1942 to 1945 for Berthold families was $16,313 and the relief issued by the Indian Agency for the same period averaged $9,137 per year. Table 4 gives the cost of this program for Whites and Indians for three counties during the fiscal year 1946-47. No Indians were living in the other two counties and receiving aid at that time. In 1948, 35 families received payments for Aid to Dependent Children in the amount of $26,428. This drain on the counties has been eased by the recent payment of $1000 to every Berthold member. With the increase in Berthold families, in these two counties especially, it remains to be seen whether the
relocation will be well enough worked out so that welfare demands will not return to the 1948 levels. The usual situation until the recent per capita payment is one which is summarized in a recent study as follows, "An unusually high percentage of the ADC funds goes to unmarried mothers, the balance to mothers who are divorced or separated. The frequency of households in which some form of family disorganization is present is very high. The fatherless family, which is usually a non-productive family, clearly presents an economic problem on this reservation." 1 Table 5, taken from this study, shows 171, or almost one-half of the 350 families included in the survey at that time, as receiving the largest part of their income either from the leasing of land or from relief, pension or insurance funds.

### Table 4. PUBLIC ASSISTANCE: NUMBER OF CASES AND PAYMENTS IN PROGRAM AND BY INDIAN AND WHITE FOR FISCAL YEAR JULY 1, 1946 - JUNE 30, 1947.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY</th>
<th>OLD AGE ASSISTANCE</th>
<th>AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN</th>
<th>AID TO THE BLIND</th>
<th>GENERAL ASSISTANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INDIAN</td>
<td>WHITE</td>
<td>INDIAN</td>
<td>WHITE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Amount of Assistance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY</th>
<th>INDIAN</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>INDIAN</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>INDIAN</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>INDIAN</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>INDIAN</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>INDIAN</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>INDIAN</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>INDIAN</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dunn</td>
<td>$464</td>
<td>$59,039</td>
<td>$11,820</td>
<td>$11,359</td>
<td>$400</td>
<td>$304</td>
<td>$756</td>
<td>$7,226</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>$3,420</td>
<td>$78,361</td>
<td>$14,901</td>
<td>$21,306</td>
<td>$1,249</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$1,272</td>
<td>$8,058</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercer</td>
<td>$1,161</td>
<td>$44,712</td>
<td>$4,407</td>
<td>$21,880</td>
<td>$697</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$11,594</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$5,535</td>
<td>$162,112</td>
<td>$31,028</td>
<td>$55,045</td>
<td>$2,425</td>
<td>$304</td>
<td>$2,028</td>
<td>$26,876</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Public Welfare Board of North Dakota
Table 5. **Average Annual Income - 1948**

**According to Source from which Largest Part of Income was Derived**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>No. of Families</th>
<th>Average Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Those receiving the largest part of their income from agricultural sales (livestock or crop production).</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>$3,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Those receiving the largest part of their income from wage work.</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>1,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Those receiving the largest part of their income from the lease of land.</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>1,764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Those receiving the largest part of their income from relief, pension, or insurance funds</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1,353</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total = 350

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Assuming the Indian population to be 1800 in the three counties included in Table 3 and the white population to be 33,200 there would be 1 ADC case for each 450 persons for the whites as against 1 case for each 45 persons amongst the Indians.

The counties and the state of North Dakota cannot escape the costs of Aid to Dependent Children, Old Age Assistance, and Aid to the Dependent Blind for eligible Berthold members so long as the State receives funds from the Federal government for its social welfare program. The counties will naturally be deeply interested in the resettlement pattern because of the demands the welfare program might make on their county budgets.

With all the valley lands included in the 155,000 acres purchased for the Garrison Reservoir, this will mean reduced income not only from leases but also from the necessity in future to buy fuel since the woodlands will be flooded as well as the accessible outcroppings of lignite coal. A community that has been gradually reducing its total population over the past 30 years from 61,426 to 50,939 or 17 per cent, will need to consider most carefully just what impact Berthold relocation will have on its resources. Especially where the counties will find new demands for public services for which they may not be reimbursed. The 1930 census figure
of 50,889 for the five counties includes the Berthold population. Up to this point the only expense the counties and State have had to assume for Indians has been the categorical aids that have run annually from $13,020 in 1942 to $36,367 in 1947. And while the Indians paid only a negligible amount in property taxes, benefits did accrue to the counties through the leasing of around 53,000 acres of crop lands and 300,000 acres of grazing lands to non-Indian residents from these counties. Around 20,000 acres of the crop land will be flooded and to the extent that Berthold families take over grazing lands for their own use both will reduce the taxable income and increase proportionately the burden over the total area.

Resident Berthold families now make up 3.3 per cent of the total population of the five counties. This would be equivalent to an Indian population of 5 million as against the present 400,000 in the United States. This is an overstatement of the case but it does give one an idea of the drain that could be placed on county budgets in the event of a return to high levels of welfare assistance following relocation. This is not a remote possibility when one considers the high fertility and the high probability of a decreasing death rate.
Fertility Ratio

The fertility of the resident population on the Fort Berthold Reservation (as measured by the child-
woman ratio) is higher than for that portion of the population that is away from the reservation. A com-
parison of the fertility ratios of various popula-
tion groups is made in Table 6. It will be noted there
that the fertility of the Berthold resident population
exceeds even that of Puerto Rico which is regarded as
one of the most rapidly expanding populations in the
world. It stood in seventh place out of 53 countries
in the world in 1940 with a 20 per cent increase between
1936 and 1940.\(^2\) In 1940 the fertility ratio was
606.\(^3\)

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1 Charles D. Loamis and J. Allan Beagle, Rural Social
"A measure of the rate of reproduction which
expresses the relationship between the number of
young children and the number of women in child-
bearing ages. The formula frequently used is as
follows:

\[
\text{Number of children under 5} \times 1000 \\
\text{Number of females aged 15-49}
\]

2 Harvey S. Perloff, Puerto Rico's Economic Future,
Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1950,
pp. 190-91.

3 ibid, p. 219.
Table 6. Children Under Five Years per 100 Women Aged Fifteen to Forty-Four by Residence, 1950a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Fertility Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berthold-resident</td>
<td>823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; (off reservation but within 100 miles)</td>
<td>775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; (over 100 miles from reservation)</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico - total</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota-State total</td>
<td>590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; -urban</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; -rural non-farm</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; -rural</td>
<td>680</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a 1951 for Berthold population. Other computations are made from the 1950 Census of the Population, Advance Reports.

The high fertility for the Berthold resident population is attributable to a number of causes. First, of course, is the general tendency for rural populations to be higher than urban populations. Second, is the break down in social controls resulting in a large number of births by unmarried women, many bearing children at quite early ages. Even if such controls were still operative they would probably be inadequate. The cultural
imperatives of the past created a set of norms with respect to marital relations and sexual behavior that do not fit present conditions. In the American society stigma attaches to illegitimacy, fortunately in this case for children born out of wedlock at Berthold, there are no such sanctions, as a rule, in the attitudes of Berthold families. This custom has no doubt grown out of its importance to tribal survival.

As noted elsewhere there were times in their history when the males made up as little as 33 per cent of the total population. Notestein, writing on the processes of population growth, states,

"Any society having to face the heavy mortality characteristic of the premodern era must have high fertility to survive. All such societies are therefore ingeniously arranged to obtain the required births. Their religious doctrines, moral codes, laws, education, community customs, marriage habits, and family organization are all focused toward maintaining high fertility. These change only gradually and in response to the strongest stimulation. Therefore — a fertility high enough to permit survival in an earlier period began producing rapid growth."

This tendency for a culturally prescribed high fertility to persist and thus contribute to the population increase may be added to somewhat by the larger number of females to males between the ages of 15 to 24 amongst the resident population in 1951. This disparity arises in part from

some 55 men in the armed forces in 1951. There was no
doubt the same imbalance during the World War II years.
With the women deprived of the opportunity for experi-
ences in being away from the reservation the conditions
are created whereby population increases are readily
perpetuated.

**Age Distribution**

Life expectancy at birth is apparently considerably
less for the Berthold population than it is for the
State of North Dakota as a whole. 47 per cent of the
total state population and 50 per cent of the rural popula-
tion are under 24 years of age as compared with 66 per cent
for the Berthold resident population. Chart 2 shows the
distribution of the two by age groups. It is to be not-
ed that the age groups remain fairly constant between
15 and 45 and also that the rural male population is larg-
er throughout than is the case with the Berthold distribu-
tion between male and female. The 1950 Census figure
for the rural farm male population is 140,359 and 114,128
for female or a difference of 26,231, a ratio of 100
females to 131 males. At Berthold the resident ratio is
100 females to 105 males.

Another significant element in the population dis-
tribution at Berthold that may have important implications
for future planning is that 30 per cent of the members be-
Chart 2. Age-sex pyramids for North Dakota rural and Fort Berthold resident population
(Data from 1950 Census of Population, Advance Reports PC 12 No. 26 and Fort Berthold Agency Superintendent's Report for December 31, 1951).
tween 25 and 34 years of age are amongst those reported in Table 2 as living away from the reservation. This very likely consists of those most willing to accept a change in old practices and their absence from the reservation increases proportionately in the number of those remaining who would tend toward conservatism.

Another observation of interest in this connection is the following made by Merrill:

"The relatively high rate of family disorganization which is responsible for many (economically) non-productive families appears to be partly due to the problems connected with illegitimacy discussed above, partly due to the traditional brittleness of early marriages --- men are apparently not expected to 'settle down' until they are in their thirties --- and partly due to tensions and conflicts among younger people stemming from the stresses and strains of the acculturation situation in which they live." 1

Summary

The resident Berthold population has decreased in recent years but if those who live within 100 miles of the reservation are likely to return in periods of economic difficulty then the local population can be regarded as remaining about constant over the past 5 years.

The high fertility and the high ratio of female to male as compared with the rural population of the state creates a strong possibility for the Berthold resident population to increase rather than remain at its present

1 Merrill, Robert, Fort Berthold Relocation Problem, (Preliminary Draft) University of Chicago, August 1, 1951, p. 38.
levels. The Federal and State welfare, health and education programs along with the religious and private agencies working in these fields are going to continue reducing the death rate amongst Berthold families. Every effort in this direction is certainly to be encouraged but equally important is the need to get the pressure of the population off the land. This aspect of the problem will be considered in later chapters. But it may be indicated at this point that such efforts need not look to solutions in the controversial field of planned parenthood. We appear to be entering a period in which employment levels will remain high and the prices of the main agricultural products of the reservation, wheat and beef, will continue to yield a favorable net return with reasonably good management. This side of the task then will be one of increasing the efficiency and capacity to put the land to its highest use and also training for and guidance into job opportunities away from the reservation.
Chapter VII

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE ON THE RESERVATION

The social structure, specifically has not been considered in the various studies made of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation in North Dakota until most recently. Each investigation, until Merrill\(^1\) began his, has attempted to search out the relevant information about some particular activity such as health, extension, education, law and order, social welfare and so on or physical facts like soil conditions, water table and grass coverage. These investigations have provided an important store of material that will be useful to all who will have some part in the relocation. There still remains, however, the need for some means of relating all of this to the Indian families.

With the complete uprooting of all the physical facilities such as schools, hospital, dormitories, houses and roads, coupled with the mass relocation of all households, a knowledge of the social structure of the Reservation would be a useful aid in the formulation of policy and the development of action programs.

If families are to relocate in unfamiliar surroundings, rural or urban, knowledge of the social structure

\(^1\) Robert Merrill, *Fort Berthold Relocation Problem* (Preliminary Draft) University of Chicago, August 1, 1931.
of the communities into which they will go will also be important to have.

That we have not had an analysis of the social structure of an Indian Reservation is not surprising. Nearly all the social relations studies in regard to Indians have been made by anthropologists and confined to one segment of the human society that goes to make up the total social structure of the Reservation. The writer hastens to add that this is in no way a criticism of these scientists. He has been closely associated with them over the past 17 years in connection with his work in the Indian Service and knows from first-hand experience the importance of their findings to Indian administration.

Their work so far would probably be adequate for our purposes if there were land enough for all the Indians and the problem was one of understanding the patterns of their culture in order to facilitate administration for the main purpose of exploiting land resources by Indians. However, the problem is much more than that; throughout the United States half or more of the 400,000 Indians will have to be established off the Reservations or be given relief if they are not to go hungry. The 56 million acres of Reservation lands can support only about half the Indian population for which the Federal Government has assumed some measure of responsibility.
that the social structure includes more than the non-
literate aspects of the three Indian tribes that are
a part of it:

"There are certain fundamental conditions
which must be met if a substantial plurality of
human beings are to live together in continuous
interaction on a certain level of complexity and to
maintain their system and recruit it through birth.
Most fundamental of these would appear to be (a)
meeting through socially determining mechanisms the
fundamental biological needs of a sufficient propor-
tion of the component individuals, (b) securing an
adequate system of order so that the society will
not break down through war of all against all
or mutual hostility and aggression, and (c) adequate
motivation for the performance of socially essen-
tial functions so that the society will not die
out from the necessary things simply not getting
done. Under these categories more specific
functional imperatives may be further developed,
such as: adequate minimum communication, adequate
mechanisms of socialization of children and the
like."

As to the types of institutional patterning
genetically characteristic of social systems, the
following statements will serve: ... the structure
of a social system may be thought of as consist-
ing of behavior which conforms with a system
of normative or ideal patterns which prescribe
how, as structured in the values and sentiments
of the members of the society, people in the
relevant statuses, situations and roles "ought"
to behave. Three main groups or complexes of such
patterns may be isolated:

A. Situational Patterns
These are the patterns in which all individuals
somehow participate because of their sheer
situation as human beings. Every human being

"18 This statement appears in an unpublished document,
Assumptions of Basic Social Science, which was the
result of the collaborative efforts of a number of
persons in the Department of Social Relations at
Harvard University."

"19 From a recently written and as yet unpublished manu-
script of Professor Talcott Parsons."
is born belonging to one sex and with biological relatives and traverses the various stages of the life cycle. Every human being is born in a certain place and lives as a member of a certain territorial group. All men react to the individuality of other men. All men make some responses which are conditioned by the feeling of uncertainty, of insecurity in the presence of disaster, of life and death. These situational patterns, then, inevitably affect the lives of all human beings.

B. Instrumental Patterns

These patterns might be called 'Patterns of specialization'. They are the patterns which are organized primarily about the functional role element of the relevant statuses. They are particularly relevant to the guarantee that certain things, important to the social system or its component units and individuals, 'get done'. The specific functional content of these roles contrasts with the diffuser content of the roles involved in the ascribed patterns.

C. Integrative Patterns

These patterns operate to lessen the potential conflict and obstruction between the various statuses and roles of different individuals. Ideally, these patterns bring it about that all the statuses of the society intermesh like a series of interlocking wheels. Without integrative patterns, individuals would, because of mutual obstruction and conflict, be unable to fulfill their roles as defined by the first two groups of patterns.

"Persons and others who have used the concepts of situational, instrumental and integrative patterns agree that kinship structures are one of the most important kinds of situational pattern; that various patterns of the economic system, including differentiated societies like our own, the occupational role structure, are instrumental patterns of primary importance; that one very important type of integrative pattern is that of social stratification."

Since taking up individual allotments of land and maintaining separate homes, reservation life has gradually increased in complexity as to economics, law and order, health, education, recreation, travel, communication, and religion. This complexity grows out of the fact that this "plurality of human beings" now "living together in continuous interaction" encompasses more than the members of the tribes. There are resident on the Reservation non-members who are

1) employees of the federal government,
2) missionaries,
3) traders and shopkeepers,
4) renters of Indian owned lands,
5) ranchers and farmers who own land purchased from tribal members, and
6) married to members of the tribes are men and women who are non-Indian or are of other tribes. The behavior of this plurality is ordered by patterns beyond anything that may be found in the non-literate norms extant in the tribal portion of the total human group.

The structure of the social system prescribing how "the people in the relevant statuses, situations and roles "ought to behave" derives from a variety of influences but the most important one is the peculiar integrative force of the Indian Agency.
The Fort Berthold people, free to come and go, and in contact with many agencies of county and State governments and other Federal activities, have been, nonetheless, conditioned to a highly centralized constellation of Federal controls and services. This system has evolved into what it is over a period of 65 years. It has developed into an institution around which a whole series of inter-related cultural complexes have taken form. Every service is inextricably interwoven with the others in a way vitally meaningful to the Fort Berthold people. Especially has this been true since the revival of tribal government in 1935. In the 15 years that followed, the components of government have been added to, modified, and regrouped to accommodate the enlarged structure that now actively includes the Indians for the first time in history.

Unfortunately tribal self-government has not been in operation long enough to reduce the reliance on Federal employees. In some ways it may have increased this dependency feeling because the venture was new and it had the effect of increasing the frequency of contacts with employees in search of guidance.

This practice of turning to the Agency staff for assistance requires further comment. It will be maintained in the Chapter on governmental units that the Fort Berthold Indians were in reality an ethnic entity in political isolation; a situation which will require special attention
for that reason during relocation. Particularly where families must turn to agencies other than the Indian Agency for help.

The Bureau employee, whatever he may have been in an earlier period, has in the last 25 or 30 years been the person to whom the Indians have turned in almost every situation that raised a problem they could not solve themselves. Especially is this true of the Superintendant. He has a staff and equipment, literally at his beck and call, plus access to public funds for welfare and medical use. There are in most cases funds in minors' accounts of families in difficulty that can be used by some broad interpretation of the regulation. This will be especially true in the future since every minor has $1000 to its account at the Agency from a recent per capita payment. It is thus possible to assist Indians in the most personal kinds of situations. For example, a widowed mother may telephone in from one of the schools on the reservation and complain that the welfare worker has denied her further assistance from A.D.C. The Superintendant is in a position where he can then and there direct a member of his staff to go out and investigate the case, or go himself. He can then authorize use of Agency welfare funds if need be. He might even think the case merited further consideration by the county worker and take the matter up with the latter. Frequently law enforcement
Hence, Fort Berthold Reservation typifies the national Indian situation and an analysis of its social structure could well demonstrate whether such a concept would not add to the body of knowledge that will be sorely needed to meet the problems ahead.

The anthropological studies so far available, because of their orientation to the non-literate tribal segment of an Indian Reservation, have given us something less than the complete social structure. An Indian Reservation, because of its peculiar legal status does establish a geographic entity which forms the basis for a social system. This system requires treatment in its totality if problems of relocation and placement are to be intelligently considered. The human population of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation analyzed in terms of the following criteria will bear out the contention

1 "An Indian reservation -- is part of the state of its location and non-Indian residents are subject to state civil and criminal laws which according to the Supreme Court, have the same force on Indian Reservations as elsewhere, `save that they can have only restricted application to Indian wards. Private property within such an Indian reservation, if not belonging to such Indians, is subject to taxation under the laws of the State'. Surplus Trading Company v. Cook, 281 U.S. 647 (1939)"; quoted from The Indian & the Law I by Theodore H. Hams, Chief Counsel, U. S. Indian Service, 1949.

officers and the courts will be glad to have the Super-
intendent intervene for the Indian in difficulty with
the law because these officials are usually not familiar
with the background and circumstances of reservation life.

The Superintendent and his staff are to the Indians
on the reservation what the precinct captains are to the
citizens who would otherwise be thwarted by the functional
deficiencies of the official structure in which they live.
The important difference in the Indian situation is that
the Bureau employee is a civil servant and, while a "go-
between" of sorts, his official status prohibits the
creation of a system that ties the Indians with the
sources of political power in the same way that the pre-
cinct captain in the political machine does it.

1 Merton writes,

"The machine welds its link with ordinary
men and women by elaborate networks of personal
relations. Politics is transformed into
personal ties. The precinct captain 'must be
a friend to every man, assuming if he does not
feel sympathy with the unfortunate, and utilizing
in his good works the resources which the
boss puts at his disposal'. The precinct
captain is forever a friend in need. In our
prevailing impersonal society, the machine,
through its local agents, fulfills the important
social function of humanizing and personalizing
all manner of assistance to those in need.
Food baskets and jobs, legal and extra-legal
advice, setting to rights minor scrapes with
the law, helping the bright poor boy to a
political scholarship in a local college,
looking after the bereaved - the whole range

1 Robert K. Merton,
Social Theory and Social Structure, p. 73–74.
of crises when a fellow needs a friend, and above all, a friend who knows the score and who can do something about it, — all these find the ever-helpful precinct captain available in the pinch."

This informal link now supplied by the Federal employee is an important one in the otherwise highly impersonal society the Indians face in their relationships with the world outside; it is probably the most important integrative pattern in the reservation social system.

In switching from services by the Indian Bureau to those of the State, where that is contemplated, it must be kept in mind that there has been no acquaintance with the function of the precinct captain and a little guidance in this respect will have its place before and after such a transfer is made. It is too often the practice that in such situations the Bureau employees make all the contacts and arrangements. The Indians who should be the most vitally concerned are left to wonder what is going on. There might be some excuse for this if the Federal employee were a permanent resident of the community but usually he happens to be someone from the Area Office or even Washington or if a local employee he may be transferred within the month. A carefully selected resident Indian participant, though he may not be as well informed as the employee, will at least remain in the community and what he has gained through his participation in conferences on programs and transfer of services will not be lost.
 Paramount in whatever is done, the Indians should be encouraged to participate in all deliberations at all levels. This has been the practice thus far but it needs to be carried even farther. In the recent efforts to get a satisfactory settlement for the reservoir lands, the tribal business council managed to get audiences with the Governor of North Dakota, every Senator and Congressman of the Congressional Committee that would handle their problem in the Congress, the Chief of Army Engineers, the Secretary of the Interior and the President of the United States. The entire membership of the council, at considerable personal sacrifice, spent near a total of six months in Washington over a period of 5 years in effecting an acceptable settlement. In this process the tribes and the Council, particularly the latter, have developed a sophistication about the processes of government and politics, at least, at the national level.

However, in order that participation by the Indians may be complete and therefore fully meaningful, it will be necessary to go beyond the tribal council organization. This is an agency that works admirably for the resolution of certain overall tribal and reservation problems but it has its distinct limitations. The consideration of relocation problems must get nearer to the families than it is possible through the tribal council.
The reservation at present is divided into 8 areas for a variety of purposes. Federal day schools are in each of these areas. These areas form voting districts for the tribal council. Cattlemen within them are organized into district livestock associations. The P.T.A. organizations coincide with these areas since they are formed on the membership made up of parents whose children attend the schools in each. Recently a planning group has been organized in each area. These organizations are referred to as civic clubs. They are being organized under the guidance and leadership of Mr. Robert Rietz who is the social scientist on the Superintendent's Staff.

Copies of recommendations by 2 of these civic clubs are to be found in Appendix C. These recommendations reflect a serious consideration of relocation problems. The difficulty with all of these organizations is the danger that they are not revealing what really operates underneath and, more important, what those think who do not belong.

What usually happens is that in government sponsored programs leadership is taken over by the same formal leaders in each of the 8 areas. It will be necessary therefore to determine who else, if any, in the social structure, besides the recurrent leaders have some influence
on public opinion. Loomis and Beagle\(^1\) call attention to the "natural" or "grass roots leader". This is the person who does not look upon himself as a leader and yet there are those who depend on him for guidance. If it so happens at Fort Berthold that the administration is actually dealing with all of the leaders, then planning may go forward with increased reassurance but there is much that places such a possibility in doubt.

For example, it was necessary for the Superintendent on February 15, 1952 to state in a public letter, "Mr. Cooper (Area Director) talked about the Tribal Council resolution to use \(\$2\frac{1}{2}\) million in a rehabilitation fund approved by the Secretary of the Interior on May 4 which most of you signed petitions to put over. He said that resolution was an action by your legal tribal representatives acting under your instructions at the time.....It looks like many of you have changed your minds about the resolution and you now want to act directly for a per capita payment and not use your elected tribal council to act for you."

It is altogether possible that groups organized on a geographical basis buries more leadership than it harnesses for effective planning and program development. Getting the majority of 10 men on a council to approve some thing could

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well be the final act of a "grass roots" development;
if it is the maneuvered resolution of 10 tribal members
who happen to be on the tribal council then it is Indian
participation only by the worst kind of definition.

One approach to this problem of getting at the real
leadership within an area may be through the visiting
pattern between families. This is so well set out by
Loomis and Beagle that it seems worthwhile to quote them
at length at this point:

"Figure 38 presents a simplified sociogram
of the White Plains neighborhood in Charles County,
Maryland. Lines representing non-neighborhood visit-
ing are removed, and the spheres representing families
which visited most frequently are located in the cen-
ter. This chart has the advantage of dramatizing the
central position of family number 7, which has the
most visiting contacts. It has the disadvantage of
giving the impression on first inspection that the
neighborhood group is a clique. Actually 59, or 32.4
per cent, of the 182 relationships of 44 white families
who said they lived in White Plains neighborhood were
visits outside the neighborhood. Twelve per cent of
the outside contacts were within the trade center in
which the neighborhood fell, and 20 percent were with
families in Baltimore, about 40 miles distant, or in
Washington, D.C., about 25 miles distant. There were
five families living in the neighborhood who had no
visiting contacts within the neighborhood. Of these
who visited outside the neighborhood, 75 percent vis-
ited relatives. When the extra-neighborhood relation-
ships were included on the original chart, this neigh-
borhood certainly did not resemble a clique. Even as
it is, close observation will reveal several cliques
on Figure 38. With a matrix system of analysis, one
would quickly isolate the cliques and congeniality
groups among the families. If one is interested only
in the neighborhood relationships, families 43, 42, and
41 form a triangle clique of families with kin-
ship ties. Although family 7 is related directly or
indirectly with all but seven interesting families in
the neighborhood, at least four sizable cliques with
their separate leaders can be discerned. For in-
stance, family 39 stands in closer relation to families
Fig. 38. Visiting among the families in White Plains neighborhood, Charles County, Maryland.
Any contact between agents would be interested in knowing which of the 11 families with the largest number of contacts in the neighborhood are related by blood. The large circles in Figure 58 represent families related by blood. The large circle is the one with the largest number of contacts in the neighborhood, and outside both, those who should represent the neighborhood, trade centers, and outside both. A person wishing to influence people must know the limits of their leadership, which will be rooted in the interaction pattern of the neighborhoods and trade centers. To know the boundaries of influence people through their leaders, one must know the interactions of their leadership, which will be rooted in the interaction pattern of the neighborhoods and trade centers. To know the boundaries of influence people through their leaders, one must know the interactions of their leadership, which will be rooted in the interaction pattern of the neighborhoods and trade centers. To know the boundaries of influence people through their leaders, one must know the interactions of their leadership, which will be rooted in the interaction pattern of the neighborhoods and trade centers. To know the boundaries of influence people through their leaders, one must know the interactions of their leadership, which will be rooted in the interaction pattern of the neighborhoods and trade centers. To know the boundaries of influence people through their leaders, one must know the interactions of their leadership, which will be rooted in the interaction pattern of the neighborhoods and trade centers. To know the boundaries of influence people through their leaders, one must know the interactions of their leadership, which will be rooted in the interaction pattern of the neighborhoods and trade centers. To know the boundaries of influence people through their leaders, one must know the interactions of their leadership, which will be rooted in the interaction pattern of the neighborhoods and trade centers.
But to find these leaders is not to assume that our problem is solved. We have merely unearthed an important facet of the social structure. Hardin says that in a homogeneous community "natural leaders who personify the culture may actually freeze a situation that must be broken somehow before agricultural innovations are widely accepted. Some such leaders may need to be discovered—in order to neutralize their influence as living embodiments of an outmoded culture." It should be added that the leaders should not be sought out in order that they may be manipulated to get across some plan. Rather that they remain to retard. Instead, when singled out attention needs to be directed toward increasing their economic, political and social literacy in order that they will be in a position to make better decisions.

The process of acculturation from any ethnic to American is most difficult. But unlike any other ethnic in the United States the American Indian "didn't ask for it". Others, except for slaves, came to the United States because they were seeking a changed environment in one form or another. Yet even these immigrants from other countries, and most of them with the same general western European orientation, do not have an easy time making the

adjustments necessary to survive. In view of the important differences in kind between the behavior patterns of the Fort Berthold Indian culture that existed only 60 years ago from that of the American, and the unfavorable social and psychological setting in which culture change has had to take place, one will have to grant that there has been considerable assimilation of various traits and trait complexes of the American culture. These changes have not been uniform throughout the population. It is this disparity in degree of acculturation amongst Fort Berthold families that makes the development of a relocation program difficult.

The changes necessary in the social and economic situation to bring the level of living of the people up to acceptable standards would be difficult enough with families who were fully oriented to the American culture where the adjustment would be primarily an economic one. With such a group there would, of course, be considerable cultural change insofar as the improved economic conditions caused the families to move into a different social class. Nevertheless, the changes would be taking place within a general Western European social structure in which these families have been rooted for generations.

Fort Berthold families, in the majority of cases, have to make this adjustment at the same time that they uproot themselves from their own cultural orientations. The reloca-
tion program needs to take into account not only this
difference in cultural orientations but it must also
recognize the personality conflicts that are involved
in it. What Dr. Ruesch has written on this point bears
directly on this phase of the problem and is quoted at
length because it describes quite clearly the situation
in this regard at Fort Berthold.

"It is a common observation that immigrants from
various countries show differences in speed and
degree of assimilation to the American culture.
This, of course, is not only a function of the
immigrant's personality, but it is also related to
the similarity or difference of his native culture
to that of his adopted country. Though nationals
of a given country vary in their culture because of
differences in class and caste, one can observe
national features which run through all classes.
The American culture, for example, can be described
as that culture which is represented by the lower
middle class, composed of people of Anglo-Saxon
descent and of Protestant religion. It is the
core culture, because the first settlers came from
English countries, because they were middle-class
and Protestant, and because they set the cultural
standards for the new country. All later immigrants
were compelled to adapt to these standards. Public
opinion in America is largely an expression of this
core culture. We find it in novels, on the radio,
in newspapers, public speeches and in the opinion
of the man on the street.

Acculturation to the American core culture is
a function of the number of cues and responses
which an individual possesses in common with Amer-
icans

Whenever an individual differs from the Ameri-
can core culture, public opinion will put pressure
upon him to adapt. These unacculturated personality
areas represent sources of conflicts as well as of
stress and strain, leading invariably to disruption
of proper functioning of the individual. Areas where
difficulties in acculturation are encountered usually
deal with responses and cues which are characterized
by strong reward or punishment values. Cues, for ex-
ample, which have purely technical value, are taken over easily, as can be seen by the role of the foreign worker in America. Whether people speak the language or know the culture does not matter; they all can work. But as soon as we touch upon such problems as eating habits, religion, attitudes towards parents, success, or public, and in matters of child rearing, we find that the learning of new cues and responses is difficult; first, because the old ones are characterized by reward value, and second, because the new ones may have punishment values for the individual, being in contrast to the teaching of his old culture. The problem gets even more complicated in the second generation. Whenever the values of parents and environment coincide, there is no conflict. But, if the new culture offers reward value, while the parent punishes for acceptance or rejection of a given cue, the result is ambivalence, confusion, and possibly total rejection or rebellion against acceptance of any values."

There is at Fort Borthold every degree of acculturation from the family living on the reservation in the horse culture age of the original village life to a few well-to-do ranchers with nearly every modern convenience in their homes. Formal education ranges from none at all to a few with college degrees.

The basic techniques and skills in the production of crops and livestock and the management practices as a necessary accompaniment for successful operation are yet a long way off. Only a few families at present can be considered as having the requisite managerial ability to successfully operate a ranch on a tax-paying basis and without supervision and assistance.

The wide differences in property, acculturation, income, education and land use knowledge, skills and managerial ability emphasize the complexity of the relocation program. The situation faced in relocating the other 4000 families in the Missouri river basin development is simple in comparison. These families have their holdings usually in one contiguous area, with no tribal or family ties in the locale extending back for more than 100 years. They will make the change with little if any disruption in their social and economic pattern of activities.

The Federal governmental structure began first with the occupation of the Army and later continued and expanded by the civilian arm of the government. It now includes a staff of over 100 employees. This has been supplemented by the activities of the State and County governments in recent years, particularly in the fields of politics, social welfare, education and public health. Certain other federal agencies reach into the lives of the people, such as; the Veterans Administration as to benefits to the 125 to 150 veterans of World Wars I and II; the U. S. District Federal Court, etc. The Roman Catholic and the Congregational churches have had organized missions in the area for longer than two generations.

Family incomes range from those with barely enough to keep body and soul together to a few with incomes of more
than $10,000 per year. Some of these Indian family heads are successful ranchers and farmers who operate their units with a high degree of efficiency. Others of them are on the federal agency staff in responsible positions.

The foregoing sketches the pertinent elements of the system so that when set against the criteria previously quoted, the outlines of a social structure can be discerned. "Fundamental conditions" are being met; i.e., the basic biological needs are being satisfied, the system functions with a degree of order and the things needing to be done are being done. There are normative patterns in the laws, rules and regulations of the several governing agencies that impinge on the area. The churches prescribe others. The customs and traditions of the peoples of other cultures who live on the Reservation have no doubt modified some parts of the value system of the Indian people in some degree. These and many others define for all the residents of the Reservation how they are expected to act.

The occupational role structure is one of a rank order of positions in order that certain functions important to the community are performed. The kinship system is not uniform; in those areas where the jobs in the government, for example, require breaking away from the extended family pattern to one made up only of the parents and their children, because of salary income and government housing
limitations, this has occurred. The rank ordering of position as to jobs and by meeting the demands necessary to be successful in ranching and farming suggests a social stratification.

It is this social stratification that it is proposed exists and is considered of crucial significance. It would appear to exist, as a crude approximation, in three layers. There is the "ruling class" stratum. This would include the federal employees, missionaries, Indian traders and certain of the leading Indian and white ranchers and farmers. A second layer is a "middle class" made up of white farmers and ranchers who have little in common with the "ruling class" but are associated with Indian families who operate on a somewhat equal economic and social level and then finally there is the third layer including only those Indian families who are oriented definitely toward a folk culture of which they are the carriers.

Assuming that such a social structure exists on Fort Berthold or any other Reservation then, may not the anthropological approach be too limited especially where the studies are directed to the non-literate elements of the system? When the total structure is considered won't the influence of civilized society be determining in many situations? On this point but in another situation having
to do with this type of approach to the analysis of modern communities one social scientist has this observation to make:

"Any method which emphasizes the non-literate aspects of culture at the expense of the literate invites a set of conclusions which, however sound and suggestive in themselves, are destined to miss the main stream of significance in a literate society.

"Civilized societies are continuous developments, their destiny accords with their history, and their most complex and intricate structures have been conceived from causes operating in both the near and the distant past. Such is the power and importance of a written tradition. Nothing like it can be discovered in the annals of non-literate peoples, not because their past, too, may not have been important but because they have no annals. No man knows their history. The application of anthropological methods to literate societies, therefore cannot help but encourage the illusion that it is possible to understand a culture without understanding its history.

"The temperament and character of individuals are given more weight than are historical antecedents and events, some of which may have been of momentous consequence. Indeed, the problem of personality takes precedence over problems of institutional history.

"Some things and some important things - anthropological methods may accomplish when applied to literate societies. They may for instance, illuminate the 'character structure' or 'basic personality type' of literate peoples, as Mead has tried to do for the Americans and Benedict for the Japanese. They may also invite attention to customs, mores, and behavior patterns which obtain in the relatively more unlettered and passive members of a population and so disclose areas of conservatism and of resistance to change which is useful for administrators of public policy to know. They may, in addition, correct or partially compensate for a comparable one-sidedness in a historical approach which concerns itself sometimes too narrowly with the succession of political regimes or the sequence of singular events. The sociologist
can unquestionably use anthropological methods to advantage in some areas of his research, just as he can use historical methods in other areas. Since both approaches are susceptible to the excess of enthusiasm, the sociologist has the unique privilege of combining them in a judicious way and of utilizing, in addition, methods which are distinctly sociological, only by so doing can he discharge his equally unique responsibility as a student of literate societies.¹

Professor Parsons makes the following comment as to the difference between the analysis of culture and the analysis of the institutional structure of the social system,

"The point of view developed in this paper does not give sociological theory the most ambitious place ever claimed for it. It does, however, give it a key place in the total theory of social systems. It may be argued that institutions constitute as it were the structural "backbone" of social systems. The science which above all focuses on the study of this skeletal backbone is a strategically important part of any large scale study of social phenomena. It can quite definitely be claimed that no other major tradition of social science fulfills this vitally important function in the whole. The nearest competitor would be social anthropology, but the concentration on the cultural point of view in anthropological tradition precludes recognition of its claim in this specific respect. There is a fundamental theoretical difference between the analysis of culture in the anthropological sense and the analysis of institutional structure of the social system. It is, however, of the first importance that the two should be satisfactorily articulated with each other."²


The writer's elementary knowledge of sociology and anthropology leaves him in no position to argue the merits of either discipline in their application to social analysis but in his work as an administrator it seems that something has been left out in much of the anthropological studies prepared for Indian Service use. They provided helpful information as far as they go but they do not seem to go far enough. The above references were quoted since they seemed to suggest the area within which the weaknesses may exist.

We need some conceptual analytical tools that get at the entire social system of the Indian Reservation. It is not enough to know about the value patterns of the tribal folk culture.

We need to know also as to the "ruling class" and the "middle class" and how all three interact and the effect of that interaction on the individuals. Professor Clyde Kluckholm suggests that the analysis given to the Navajo culture is long over due also for the ruling class (employees, missionaries and traders). It appears equally valid that the treatment not stop there but extend to all of the human activity that impinges on the Reservation to include the social scientist and other intellectuals who help to formulate policy.

This is remarked in all earnestness for the following reason: all those having to do with Indian policies and programs other than the non-literate elements of the society are products of our American culture. These include legislators; social scientists; an array of intellectuals consisting of writers, leaders of women's clubs and the like; government employees, missionaries, traders and so on. Being products of the American system, this includes the formally trained Indians in the above categories; all, in the main, are striving to improve their own statuses. The employees struggle and hope for promotion; the traders hope to make enough money to retire. Writers and Social Scientists, no doubt, have struggles up the ladder of success peculiar to their fields. This struggle for status undoubtedly requires the sublimation of certain urges. Many of these urges or impulses are by the mechanism of identification harmlessly satisfied. But there comes a time when they may, unknown to the person, project themselves on to the Indian people in programs that serve as a vicarious substitute.

It is entirely possible that seeing the Indian in his once simple life gives to the hard-driving American something he himself cannot have in real life. The employee can put forth land use programs with unusual vigor because he can thus "live on the land" in a way not open to him directly and especially when the government pays
the bill if the venture is not successful; he may have always yearned to own a ranch but he did not want to give up his struggle for status. The planners and program-
makers, may not be entirely realistic because of this process of identification; and being thus carried away unknowingly in their glorification of the man on the land and the joys of the simple life see less than they should. Many might thus be having their cake and eating it, too, except the Indian for whom they make plans.

Some conceptual scheme such as the social structure that sets out the total system could serve to show up any such tendencies toward undue emphasis on certain phases of relocation to the exclusion of other areas of Indian rehabilitation such as the relocation of Indians away from the Reservation or preoccupation with Indian families who approximate the behavior of the employee.

The importance of recognizing that there is a social stratification and the need to find some way to get communication between the strata is well stated by Loomis and Beagle as follows:

"For those who are attempting to facilitate the spread of improved practices or who are other-
wise working with groups, it is necessary to know the basis on which the class structure rests and the channels of communication between the strata. The Agricultural Extension Service has been criti-
cized for working too little with what has been called the lower one-third of the farmers. If there is communication between strata, this is not always a legitimate criticism, since cultural diffusion usually takes place from the upper classes downward to the lower classes. Since the agent does
not have time to work with all groups where channels between the classes are open, we may expect that working with middle- and upper-class leaders will result in eventual diffusion throughout the system. However, very frequently blockage exists between strata and groups, and in order to get acceptance of a new practice, the agent must work with the informal leaders of the "lower element" as well as the leaders of other strata.

Unfortunately, we have insufficient knowledge of the class structure in the various parts of the nation. Very frequently it is complicated by ethnic and racial sub-cultures. It is important that the workers should know how such groups are related to the general structure. If the Yankee leaders in a community adopt a new practice, will the leaders of the Polish or Negro groups follow suit? Studies of the class structure would reveal the answer to such questions, and professional workers in the rural areas can then orient their programs accordingly."

In the relocation of families at Fort Berthold the movement will be in the following three general directions:

1) a regrouping on the reservation,

2) individual families into predominantly white rural communities, and

3) individual families into urban areas.

For the purposes of reestablishment by regrouping on the reservation the information the anthropologists have supplied thus far in such excellent studies as "The Navaho"², the "Navaho Door"³, and "Warriors Without Weapons"⁴ will help to minimize administrative errors. The thinking of men like Professor Clyde Kluckholm and Sollen T. Kimball in

1 ibid, p. 391.

2 op. cit.


regard to Indian administration as outlined in their recent articles on this subject keeps the alert administrator mindful of the importance of continuously searching for a clearer understanding of the life ways of the administered.

Such studies will also provide much basic information in regard to the best way of dealing with those cases moving into white rural and urban communities. But it is in these last two areas that we need particularly to know those aspects of the social structure of the Reservation and those of the communities into which movement will take place that are relevant to the success of the program of relocation.

If the analysis of the Reservation social system were addressed to this problem it should provide criteria that might serve to broaden the scope of investigation of those who make policies and programs. One receives the definite impression from present policies, programs and the literature admonishing better Indian administration that placement to take care of the 50 per cent over-population of Fort Berthold (and all Reservations) is a secondary concern and of peripheral interest. And yet if half the population are affected, the placement phase of the problem should receive somewhere near equal attention. A few

examples are related below in support of this observation.

There has been at Ft. Berthold a tremendous expansion in personnel and a considerable outlay in surveys and investigations but nearly all of this has been directed toward resource use. There is one federal employee at the Area Office level who gives part time and one other, only recently assigned to the Reservation full time, to work on placement problems.

The placement programs announced by the Washington Central Office and the Area Office recognize definitely the need for white community acceptance of Indians and the adjustments that will be required on the part of the migrating Indians, but so far, all that the limited staff and funds available for this purpose can provide is the recognition of the situation and to proceed as best it can on the information available. The program therefore amounts to little more than exhortation directed at white communities of their duty to help Indians adjust, plead with migrant Indians to behave properly, and to try to connect job seeker with job wherever they can be found and the Indian is willing to accept it.

This is not in criticism of the placement personnel; they are doing all that is humanly possible under the circumstances. The limitations under which they function is merely a reflection of the preoccupation with
Reservation resource use to the near exclusion of searching for ways to accelerate intelligently a highly necessary migration.

The Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1949 quotes briefly from the Hoover Commission Report about the importance of placement and the report itself makes one short reference to placement in these words "As a coordinate of this program, the government must intensify its efforts to train Indians, to secure them in good health, and to work toward placing them in communities where they can support themselves; when such support cannot be obtained in the reservation areas", but otherwise the 50 pages are devoted to reporting on resource management and interestingly enough, in pointing up the ultimate purpose of the government, closes with this quotation from Thomas Jefferson who wrote at a time when America was mainly a rural society, "The ultimate point of rest and happiness of them (the Indians) is to let our settlements and theirs meet and blend together, to intermix, and to become one people."

Solen Kimball in his article mentioned earlier argues for greater recognition by the administration of tribal political and other native organizational patterns in order to make better use of local human and physical resources amongst the Navajo. No reference
is made to the over-population by 25,000 Navajos and how this aspect of the problem may be attacked.

It is believed that the social anthropologist, and if the tools of his discipline are not adequate to giving us a total analysis of the social system of the Reservation, then the sociologist should be called in to provide us with the outlines, at least, of the social framework within which Ft. Berthold relocation will be taking place.

In conclusion, it is maintained that an Indian Reservation has an institutionalized social structure which is stratified into discernible classes; that social investigations so far have been oriented to only a part of the structure and that the results leave the Indian Service administrator and the Indian leaders of the Reservation with an inadequate analysis of the existing situation. It is further suggested that a good look at the total social system, along with a working knowledge of the social structure of the United States, is essential for the intelligent planning of educational programs and the successful placement of Indian families in off-reservation opportunities to meet in some degree the 50 per cent over-population at Fort Berthold. Any effort in this direction that meets even with partial success would have important implications in coping with this same problem for Indians in the United States generally.
Chapter VIII

ECONOMICS OF RESERVATION AGRICULTURE

Early Berthold agriculture was carried on by the women. The men were occupied in protecting the villages and fields from marauding tribes and in hunting wild game, primarily buffalo, to provide meat and hides. Thus the labor was divided between men and women. At the same time full use, within the means available to them, was being made of both land and the animals upon it. Customs and beliefs fashioned by the experience of generations at high cost dictated this arrangement. Ceremonies kept it in place. The women had their field songs and the men their war cries. Corn grown by the women figured as prominently in ritual symbolism as did the buffalo, object of the men in their quest for food. Corn Priests performed fertility rites for seed corn with the same sense of necessity for the survival of the tribe as the wife who in the ceremonial dance stroked the arms of one possessed of magical power in order that she might infuse her husband with the spirit to return victorious from the warpath or the buffalo chase.

Agriculture, like the buffalo hunt, the religion and every other aspect of Berthold life, was a part of an ecological complex. The people found over the generations
in the upper Missouri valley a way that tended to keep them in harmonious relationship with the land, river, plants, animals, climate and the seasons. This "way" could not have been easy to come by when it is remembered that extremes of temperature have been recorded at 112 degrees above and 56 degrees below zero, Fahrenheit; that periods of dry years are occasionally as long as 15 years and that the growing season is from May 21 to September 15. Agriculture, as a human art, was imbedded in the culture which was a totality greater than the sum of its parts. In many ways it was an end in itself. It formed a part of the essence of life for the woman. The first visitors to the Berthold tribes estimate that each adult woman cultivated from one-third to three acres of land. Corn, squash, pumpkins, beans, sunflowers, melons and tobacco were the crops that they raised. The climate in the upper Missouri river valley was not an altogether congenial host for corn, melons, and tobacco. Once the way to grow them successfully was learned the knowledge could be preserved only by tradition handed down from grandmother, to mother and to daughter and grand-daughter.

"Let us realize that in primitive conditions tradition is of supreme value for the community and nothing matters as much as the conformity and conservatism of its members. Order and civilization can be maintained only by strict adhesion to the lore and knowledge received from previous generations. Any laxity in this weakens the cohesion of the group and imperils its cultural outfit to the point
of threatening its very existence."  

Slowly the ecological balance that sustained Berthold life began to totter as we have seen in the history of the three tribes. They were driven from the confluences of tributaries with the Missouri river where the first benches above the banks retained their fertility by siltation from spring floods. Later the buffalo herds disappeared in the wake of the westward migration of land hungry and gold crazed Americans. By 1835 protection of the village from enemy tribes and the buffalo hunt lived only in the memory of those who would want it otherwise. Men could no longer validate their worth to the community by these two activities which had dominated their lives from time immemorial. Up to this period the women were more fortunate for they still had their gardens. But even this last vestige of getting a return from the soil by traditional ways was not to continue. The policy of the Federal government required that Indians abandon group life and that families settle over the reservation on individual farms like white folks. So thoroughly were the women, the real agriculturalists of the family, disregarded in the land use program that was to implement this policy that the law under which the first allotments were made left married women out completely! This law provided for 160 acres for the head of the family.

1 Bronislaw Malinowski, Magic Science and Religion and Other Essays, Boston, Beacon Press, 1948, p. 22.
2 G. L. Wilson, Agriculture of the Hidatsa Indians, An Indian Interpretation, Univ. of Minnesota, Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 9, 1917.
30 acres to a single person over 18 years of age,
30 acres to an orphan, and 40 acres to each child under
18 years of age. Allotments were made to married women
later but this is an excellent illustration of thwarting
existing traditions that might have been employed in the
realization of a Federal policy. There was no tradition
in the entire history of the Berthold people for men to
till the soil. The arts of agriculture were traditionally
entrusted to the women. But the incessant drive over the
past 50 years to get Indian land into Indian use at Fort
Berthold has continued as it started, to be directed pri-
marily at the men. With 447 resident women between the
ages of 15 and 54, by minimum early village standards one
would have expected 220 acres in gardens - the 1951 Annual
Extension Report shows 162 acres and even this figure in-
cludes potatoes.

The Federal government has been so preoccupied with
getting the acceptance and use of some of the arts of ag-
riculture and some of the science too, particularly the
applied natural sciences such as improved seeds and breeds
of livestock, that it has not stopped to give more than
incidental consideration to the economics of agriculture
on the reservation. This is not a weakness of which the
Extension Department of the Indian Bureau alone is guilty.
The problem of maximizing farm income through balanced
farming operations is only recently beginning to receive
any degree of attention in some of the agricultural colleges.

Agriculture in the upper Missouri valley has been an unstable industry, at best. The region around the Fort Berthold Reservation, especially on the west side of the Missouri river is primarily suited to livestock but war time demands for flax and wheat and the resulting high prices for these crops is shifting much land into cultivation that would better remain in grass.

The number of farms of the five "reservation" counties has decreased 22 per cent and the average number of acres per farm has increased 29 per cent between 1930 and 1950 as indicated in table 7. Turning from livestock to wheat and flax when prices of the latter go up together with the increasing size of farms makes it difficult to know just what should be considered a unit of optimum size for planning purposes. This same state of fluidity creates a problem of determining what types of organization would prove the most desirable. However, in spite of the readjustments that these five counties are experiencing with respect to organization and size it seemed useful to compare some aspects of reservation agriculture with similar aspects in these counties. Inasmuch as the relocation of Berthold families interested in agriculture will be in these areas this would permit of a comparison with a going industry and would also indicate the extent of the adjustments that may need to be made.
Table 7. Number of Farms, Average Acres per Farm, per cent in crop land and per cent summer follow, in 5 North Dakota Counties near Reservation, 1930, 1940, 1950.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dunn</th>
<th>McKenzie</th>
<th>McLean</th>
<th>Mercer</th>
<th>Mountrail</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number Farms 1950</td>
<td>1157</td>
<td>1234</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>1494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; 1940</td>
<td>1359</td>
<td>1563</td>
<td>2423</td>
<td>1057</td>
<td>1831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; 1930</td>
<td>1407</td>
<td>1739</td>
<td>2389</td>
<td>1050</td>
<td>2098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av. acres per farm 1950</td>
<td>1063.3</td>
<td>967.5</td>
<td>654.7</td>
<td>754.5</td>
<td>769.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; 1940</td>
<td>743.2</td>
<td>586.0</td>
<td>491.2</td>
<td>594.8</td>
<td>522.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; 1930</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crop land harvested plus cultivated summer follow average acreage per farm</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent in crop land</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent of crop land cultivated summer follow</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of Agriculture.
It will be important to keep in mind that the Annual Report of Extension Work, Fort Berthold Agency, North Dakota, 1951, from which much of the data on reservation agriculture is taken, reports 329 as the total number of resident Indian families. Of this number, 186 families who have cattle or do some farming are classified as "agriculturalists" as distinguished from 41 potential agriculturalists families, not now doing any farming, and the remainder who are regarded as welfare, off-reservation placement possibility and Federal employee families.

There are between 30 and 50 families employed by the Indian Agency but if the relocation results in many services transferred to other units of government this number will be materially reduced. As an example of this, the closing of the Agency hospital, and the services contracted for from the State Health Department and private hospitals and doctors, has reduced the number employed from 14 positions normally filled by resident Indians to 3.

In these instances of personnel reduction, where employed members of Berthold families are not able to find jobs elsewhere they, too, will have to look for some kind of livelihood from the reservation lands. A further qualification as to the 186 families is that probably not more than 20 per cent are yet sufficiently
experienced to survive in agricultural pursuits under the same terms as the white farmers in the counties. To put it another way, as many as 80 per cent of the 188 families, which is slightly over half of all families, have still a long way to go before they may be regarded as self supporting farm families. Therefore, these limitations must be kept in mind with respect to the 188. Moreover, while reference will be made to 188 farms and farm families in this chapter, we must not disregard the remaining 141 families. These will continue to press on the land and look to the "agriculturalist" families for assistance to some extent, especially if they do not migrate or receive inadequate assistance from public agencies. This is an important consideration in this comparative analysis because the 6758 farm families in the five counties do not constitute an ethnic group such as the Berthold people whose social expectancies generally require that those who have must share with those who have not.

According to Table 8, 44 per cent of the 188 Berthold farm families received a gross income of $1500 or over, as compared with 82 to 90 per cent for the 6758 farms in the 5 counties. 50 to 57 per cent of the farms in the counties received $4000 or over with $83 or 13 per cent receiving over $10,000 gross income. The average gross income per farm in the five counties is from $5107 to $5935, as com-
pared with $2020 for the reservation farms. When it is noted that 76 per cent of the Berthold income is from livestock, see Table 9, and that only 33 families had between 41 and 75 head of cattle, 6 families between 76 and 150 and one family with more than 150, the extreme inadequacy of even the main agricultural enterprise, as it now stands, is readily apparent.
### Table 3. Farms by total value of product sold, average income per farm, and per cent of farms with gross income over $1,500. Compiled from Preliminary 1950 Census of Agriculture, Farms, Farm Characteristics, Farm Products, Series AG 50-1, and Annual Report 1950, Agricultural Extension Work, Port Berthold Indian Reservation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dunn County</th>
<th>MacKenzie County</th>
<th>McLean County</th>
<th>Mercer County</th>
<th>Mountrail County</th>
<th>Reservation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farms</td>
<td>1157</td>
<td>1234</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>1434</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Sales</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1 to $249</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>$250 to $399</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$400 to $599</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$600 to $999</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1000 to $1499</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1500 to $2499</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2500 to $3999</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4000 to $5999</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>$6000 to $9999</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 and over</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av. 3 gross income per farm</td>
<td>$5107</td>
<td>$5985</td>
<td>$5905</td>
<td>$5638</td>
<td>$5779</td>
<td>$2070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of farms with gross income over $1500</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9. Number of Farms on Reservation and in 5 North Dakota Counties, including part of reservation, 1950. Value of crops, crops and livestock and livestock products sold in 1949.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dunn</th>
<th>McKenzie</th>
<th>McLean</th>
<th>Mercer</th>
<th>Mountrail</th>
<th>Berthold 1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Farms,</td>
<td>1157</td>
<td>1234</td>
<td>1693</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>1484</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All crops sold,</td>
<td>2,175,522</td>
<td>3,092,030</td>
<td>8,775,930</td>
<td>2,556,275</td>
<td>6,901,033</td>
<td>90,946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dollars, 1949</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All livestock</td>
<td>3,733,166</td>
<td>3,388,903</td>
<td>2,990,625</td>
<td>2,460,746</td>
<td>1,976,275</td>
<td>298,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and livestock products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sold dollars, 1949</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crops as per cent of</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>.50+</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>value of all farm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>products sold</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock and livestock</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.50+</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>products as percent of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>value of all farm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>products sold</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled from Preliminary 1950 Census of Agriculture and Indian Agency Reports.
Livestock

Efforts to encourage the Berthold families to raise livestock and plant fields crops has been a major emphasis of the government ever since the village life was abandoned in 1935. As early as 1882 the Federal government plowed up 133 acres several miles from the Fishhook village to encourage the first group of families to give up their village ways and to begin farming. The raising of cattle was, of course, encouraged from the start. This was done, at first, by the government managing tribal herds. At one time the raising of horses was a major effort. As late as 1926, 7 families were each provided with 20 head of sheep and by 1928 there were 19 families with sheep, some having as many as 90 head. This was considered so singular that the Secretary of the Interior in his Annual Report for that year took occasion to make special mention of it. (p. 59). Until the dry years of the 1930's and the general economic depression of that period, the kind of livestock and crops Berthold families raised depended more on what some Bureau official believed best rather than on what a rational analysis might reveal.

Following the "dust bowl" era of the 1930's and all the publicity that followed it in warnings that the Great Plains region was primarily a cattle country the Bureau of
Indian Affairs has held consistently to the policy of encouraging the livestock industry almost to the exclusion of the growing of field crops on Indian reservations in this region. As late as 1947 only 2293 acres were planted in crops by Indian families. At Fort Berthold, as on many other reservations, the cattle industry was actively encouraged. This was done largely through what was known as a "repayment cattle program" under which heifers in multiples of 10 head would be issued to a borrower and he would make repayment by returning 11 yearling heifers over a designated period of years.

The present reservation cattle program began in 1934 and 1935 when special arrangements were made with the use of Federal emergency funds to purchase high quality cattle in drought stricken areas to begin the repayment cattle program on reservations where feed was available. By 1938 there were 2552 head of cattle in the possession of Berthold families. During the years 1943 and 1945, 1564 heifers were added to the reservation herds by purchase from outside. Table 10 shows what has happened to the cattle industry from January 1, 1938 to January 1, 1952. The weaknesses of this program and recommendations for its improvement are covered elsewhere.  

and need not concern us here further than the comments that follow in the next paragraph.

Table 10 shows a steady decline in the number of cows and heifers on hand from 5375 in 1947 to 4100 in 1951 or 23 per cent. This reduction is to be accounted for in part by the severe winter of 1948-49 when baled hay had to be dropped by army planes to many herds in order to save them with even worse conditions the following year when two blizzards in May 1950 caused the death of practically all early calves and many of the cows. According to the Preliminary Agricultural Census for 1950, the two counties, McKinsey and Mercer, with the largest numbers of cows, including heifers that have calved were less than 1 per cent and 15 per cent smaller respectively in 1950 than in 1945. The other three counties were 16, 28 and 31 per cent smaller in 1950 than in 1945. The Berthold numbers for the same period were 18 per cent smaller by 1950. But with 76 per cent of the agricultural income from livestock even an 18 per cent decrease, while not out of line with the county averages, is a significant reduction in the breeding herd.
Table 10. Record of Beef Cattle, Fort Berthold Reservation, 1938 to 1952.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Cattle on hand January 1</th>
<th>Cows &amp; Heifers on hand January 1</th>
<th>Purchased</th>
<th>Sold</th>
<th>Bulls on hand and Purchased</th>
<th>Ratio of Bulls to Cows No. % Participating Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>2,632</td>
<td>2,260</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>40 1005 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>3,141</td>
<td>2,145</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>38 1297 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>3,306</td>
<td>2,335</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>38 1249 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>3,496</td>
<td>2,295</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>27 1693 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>4,404</td>
<td>2,953</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>28 2029 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>4,870</td>
<td>3,199</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>24 1689 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>6,452</td>
<td>4,523</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>22 1933 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>7,311</td>
<td>5,442</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>28 2697 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>9,758</td>
<td>5,661</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>34 3048 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>8,493</td>
<td>5,765</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>35 2656 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>6,839</td>
<td>4,465</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>6,237</td>
<td>4,458</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>26 1695 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>5,579</td>
<td>4,112</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>28 1983 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>6,065</td>
<td>4,100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bureau of Indian Affairs, MRBI Report No. 63 and Indian Agency Records.
One other aspect of the livestock program at
Fort Berthold needs to be introduced at this point before go-
ing further with our analysis. The Department of Econ-
omics, North Dakota Agricultural College is in the pro-
cess of developing some farm budgets for the Fort Berthold
Reservation. The manuscript is soon to be published.

The farm budget for a 50-cow ranch with a total livestock
inventory of 100 head (50 cows, 3 yearling heifers, 20
heifer calves and 22 steer calves) shows the following
income summaries. 1949 prices received and paid by
North Dakota farmers were used in arriving at the income
and costs. Net income of tenants is more favorable be-
cause the rent paid for the land was less than the inter-
est on the investment they would have to pay if they
owned the land plus the upkeep and depreciation costs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>50-cow ranch</th>
<th>Full Owner</th>
<th>Part Owner</th>
<th>Tenant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3% death losses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yearlings sold</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65% calf crop</td>
<td>$5758</td>
<td>$5758</td>
<td>$5758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70% calf crop</td>
<td>$4748</td>
<td>$4748</td>
<td>$4748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Cash Income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65% calf crop</td>
<td>$3680</td>
<td>$3107</td>
<td>$3477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70% calf crop</td>
<td>$2697</td>
<td>$2164</td>
<td>$2533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Farm Income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65% calf crop</td>
<td>$684</td>
<td>$631</td>
<td>$1694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70% calf crop</td>
<td>$421</td>
<td>$270</td>
<td>$792</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Annual Report of Extension Work, Fort Berthold
Agency for 1950 and 1951 shows death losses for cattle of
14.9 and 11.5 per cent, respectively, for these two years.
The calf crops for the same years are also equally discouraging; they were 33 per cent in 1950 and 43 per cent in 1951. With only 11 families reported in 1950, and 12 in 1951, as having over 75 but not more than 150 head of cattle and only 1 with more than 151 head for both years it would appear, if the "50-cow budget" is used as a measure of efficiency, that terrific losses are being incurred. The North Dakota budget takes into account every item of expense, including interest, upkeep, depreciation, and insurance. Taxes, either real or personal, were not included.

The 50-cow budget demonstrates the need to go behind the tallies on numbers of livestock and bushels of grain to see what is economically involved. Certainly it is important that the Fort Berthold Stockmen's Association provide its members with high quality pure-bred Hereford bulls. It is also important that many other technological practices be observed. However, this will not be enough. The livestock industry or any other phase of reservation agriculture will continue to flounder and to require subsidy "until they are worked economically as well as technologically".¹

As shown in Table II, 92 per cent of the 188 Berthold families have an average of 31 head of cattle as compared with 70 to 90 per cent of the farms in the county with an average of 27 to 55 head. Over against this 87 to 90 per cent of the farms average from 153 to 189 acres of wheat and 19 to 64 per cent with an average of 35 to 65 acres of flax with only 19 per cent of the Berthold families with 110 acres for both wheat and flax.

Horses have continued to be a problem generally because traditionally they have been permitted to roam the range with little attention paid to them by their owners. They not only compete with the cattle for the grazing lands but they are also destructive to growing crops. A vigorous campaign to reduce their numbers has been under way for several years but they still persist. Table II shows an average of 12 head for each of the 188 Berthold families and there is probably an equal number amongst the other reservation families.
Table 11. Population by counties and reservation; number of farms and percentage of farms reporting milk, cows, chickens, vegetables, hogs and pigs, wheat, flaxseed, cattle and calves, and horses; and average number of each class of animals or average number of each crop per farm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dunn</th>
<th>McKinley</th>
<th>McLean</th>
<th>Mercer</th>
<th>Moundtrail</th>
<th>Berthold</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population 1950</td>
<td>7212</td>
<td>6249</td>
<td>18824</td>
<td>3686</td>
<td>9418</td>
<td>17951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of farms 1950</td>
<td>1157</td>
<td>1234</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>1494</td>
<td>1581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of farms reporting milk, cows and cattle</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>av. number in each</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of farms reporting chickens and calves</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>av. number in each</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of farms reporting vegetables harvested for home use other than potatoes</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.70 ²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of farms rptg. hogs and pigs and av. number per farm</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of farms rptg. spring wheat (other than Durum) harvested 1949 and av. number acres per farm</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.10 ³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of farms rptg. flaxseed harvested 1949 and av. acres per farm</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of farms rptg. cattle and calves 1950 and av. number per farm</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of farms rptg. hogs 1950 and av. number per farm</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed from information in Advance Reports, 1950 Census of Population, Series PC 8, No. 33; Preliminary 1950 Census of Agriculture, Farms, Farm Characteristics, Farm Products, Series AC 50-1; Fort Berthold Indian Agency Report Relocation Planning and Activities in 1951; and Annual Report, 1950, Agricultural Extension Work, Fort Berthold Indian Reservation.

¹ Population in 1951 ² Potatoes included ³ Wheat and flax acreage combined
Field Crops

The growing of field crops is an important element in the agriculture of the five counties. Tables 7 and 9 show that on an average 35 to 70 per cent of the farm acreage is in cropland and 35 to 60 per cent of the value of all farm products sold is from crops. Berthold families planted 2283 acres of dry farm crops in 1947 and, as indicated in Table 12, have increased this acreage to 19,933 in 1951.

Table 12. Crop acreages on the Ft. Berthold Reservation by years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Flax</th>
<th>Feed Crops</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>1125</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>2293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>2230</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>1128</td>
<td>4045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>3707</td>
<td>1662</td>
<td>919</td>
<td>6288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>3903</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>2144</td>
<td>6499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>8171</td>
<td>1080</td>
<td>1752</td>
<td>10953</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The residual areas of the Reservation include the following acreages of Indian owned land by county: Dunn, 150,000 acres (approximately); McKinley, 140,000
acres (approx.); McLean, 65,610 acres; Mercer, 30,000 acres (approx.); and Mountrail, 19,860 acres. The total is 428,413 acres of Indian owned land in the five counties. A detailed reconnaissance land use capability study reveals that approximately 66,000 acres of this is arable land. Almost all of this is Class III land; i.e., it is moderately good land that can be cultivated safely with intensive practices. It is the considered judgment of the resident Soil Conservationist\(^1\) that this classification is too high in some cases.

If the farms in the five counties are taken as a guide, since as indicated by Table 13 most of the farms come under the classifications, cash grain, livestock or crop and livestock with crop land acreages averaging from 323 to 407 acres per farm, around 170 farms could be established with 320 acres of crop land. The problem arises here, however, as to the retention of unplowed Class III land for hay land since it is on this land that most of the present wild hay is harvested. Around 22,000 acres of wild hay was harvested in 1950 and 16,500 in 1951. Successful cattlemen who have operated on reservation lands suggest that the same land should be cut only once in three years for the best results. It is usually not possible to harvest hay from the same field two years in succession. Yields vary from one-fourth ton to one-ton per acre depending upon


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1950 Farms</th>
<th>Dunn County</th>
<th>McKinley County</th>
<th>McLean County</th>
<th>Mercer County</th>
<th>Mountrail County</th>
<th>Berthold Reservation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Field crop farms other than vegetable &amp; fruit &amp; nut no.</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>1463</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>1219</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash grain no.</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>1463</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>1219</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other field crop no.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy farms no.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock farms other than dairy and poultry no.</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Farms no.</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primarily crop no.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primarily livestock no.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>174¹</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crop and livestock no.</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. &amp; unclassified farms no.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Classified on basis that two-thirds of agricultural income is from livestock sales.
the amounts and timeliness of seasonal rains.\(^1\)

There were 38,555 acres of cropped land in the residual areas in 1948 which means that not more than 20,000 acres of Class III land remains in grass at the present time. Crop farming has been a hazardous undertaking for Berthold families because of their inexperience as much as unfavorable weather conditions. Any expansion in this direction will have to be approached with extreme care and certainly with a well-planned operating budget. Cultivated summer fallow will need to be encouraged. Table 7 shows that the two northern counties keep about 23 per cent of the crop land in cultivated summer fallow while in the most southerly county about 11 per cent of the crop land is given this treatment. The other two counties run 13 and 20 per cent.

**Farm Family Living**

In addition to getting only $2070 average gross income per farm as compared with $5107 to $5985 for the five counties, the 188 Berthold families present some other discrepancies in farm income that are important to

---

the well-being of the family. These are set out in Table II. From 64 to 84 per cent of the farms in the counties report having from 4 to 9 milk cows while less than 3 per cent of Berthold families have an average of 2 milk cows each. With chickens the record is a little better. 63 to 83 per cent of the farms in the counties report from 47 to 63 as compared with 27 per cent of the Berthold families with an average of 50 chickens per family. 40 to 80 per cent of the farms in the counties reported vegetables harvested for home use other than potatoes. 70 Berthold families were reported to have gardens, including potatoes. There has been a steady decline in the number of gardens since 1945. The numbers really began going down after 1933 when irrigated gardening was made possible through the use of emergency rehabilitation funds. 29 to 75 per cent of the farms of the counties are reported as having from 5 to 10 hogs and pigs as compared with 13 per cent of the Berthold families with 5 each.

Milk, cream, butter, eggs, vegetables, pork and chickens not only provide the farm families with nourishing and protective foods but at the same time helps materially in keeping down the family living costs. The care of the chickens and pigs and the milking of the cows has a disciplining effect on the habits of the children in the farm family that gives added importance to having these animals on the farm. The timbered areas along the banks of the Missouri River and its tributaries
on the reservation have made up for these deficiencies to a degree as indicated in Table 14 which is based on data compiled in 1948.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Estimated Cash Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Building logs (138 k. ft. B M @ $8 M ft.)</td>
<td>$1,104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel (Firewood @ $3 per load and Coal @ $3 per ton)</td>
<td>22,174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fence posts (14,500 posts @ 10¢ each)</td>
<td>1,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corral and Roof Poles (7750 @ 35¢ each)</td>
<td>2,702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild Game (1,215 deer @ $50 each)</td>
<td>60,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7,824 small game- pheasants, rabbits, etc. @ 50¢ each)</td>
<td>3,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild Fruits Canned or Dried (23,668 Qts. or lbs. @ 25¢ each)</td>
<td>5,917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Value</strong></td>
<td><strong>$98,009</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since this source of income will disappear with the flooding of the Missouri river bottom lands it becomes all the more important that every means be taken to insure that Berthold families replace this loss in other ways in the development of their farm and home plans. The deer and the way in which the entire animal was used and the wild fruits that were available beginning in June with the June berries followed by choke cherries, plums, currants, grapes and finally buffalo berries which are available until the first frost in the fall provided many of the nutrients that must now be furnished in other protective types of foods which may be grown in the new locations.

Promotion of Reservation Agriculture

Berthold families have always had more land than they were prepared or willing to use fully by their own efforts. There were numerous reasons for this. Cultural resistances were probably as important as any. The manner in which the land was divided up by the allotment process and the inheritance system that followed it were also contributing factors. 3401 allotments of 40, 80, 160 or 320 acres were made to individuals from 1885 to 1928. In 1948 out of 1442 allotments in the area to be flooded
710 were subdivided by inheritances into 4240 individual interests. Coupled with this was the lack of funds to do much development of reservation lands until the 1930's. And, of course, up to that time, along with agriculture generally in the Great Plains there was no settled policy as to what turn agriculture should take with the result that Berthold families were never certain what the next administration policy would be either with a change of superintendents on the reservation or of Commissioners of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington.

One will have to say, however, that since the dry years of the 1930's, as indicated earlier, the livestock industry and gardening have both been given increased emphasis. Through most of the past 20 years the reservation has had the services of 4 extension workers and a range conservationist. Credit has been made available in the form of repayment beef cattle beginning in 1934-35 which by 1948 reached 2874 head; these were to be paid back in kind over a period of 18 or 20 years. 80 bulls purchased with rehabilitation funds were made available to reservation stockmen in 1941. A loan of $15,000 was approved for tribal use in 1938. By 1948 the tribal corporation had borrowed $150,000 from the Federal Government under the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (48 Stat. 984) at 1 per cent and relend to individuals at 4 per cent. A tribal bull herd was started with this fund. In the 10 year period
1938 to 1948, 92 individuals made 143 loans. By 1951, the tribal corporation credit fund amounted to $708,870. 47 operators had loans ranging from $3000 to $9467 totaling $283,394.39 of which $204,963.19 was unpaid and covered by mortgage. These same operators also had 2576 head of cattle and owed 1235 head to the re-payment cattle fund.

During the drouth and depression years allotments were made from the various emergency appropriations for the development of the range in the construction of small reservoirs for stock water and trails for fire prevention. Community gardens were also developed under a system of watering by pump irrigation. This naturally reduced the number of dry land gardens and with the return of a period of wet years the irrigation gardens and the pumps have been neglected, abandoned and gone into disrepair. But neither was there a return to gardening on dry land on the same scale as previously. The maintenance of irrigation gardens was primarily from emergency funds and when these funds were discontinued after 1948 irrigation gardens came to an end with it.

Another item that needs mentioning here is a judgment by the U. S. Court of Claims which awarded the Berthold tribes over $2 million. Congress appropriated the funds to pay this judgement and in March and April 1931,
$200 was paid to each enrolled member of the three tribes living on December 1, 1930, then in October of the same year the balance of $1193.50 was paid to each eligible member.

In the face of supervision by agriculturally trained personnel, increased credit and personal funds, the development of the grazing ranges and the loan of over 2000 head of high grade cattle there were 55,208 acres under farm lease to non-Indians in 1948. See Map 3A. In 1946 non-Indian cattlemen were grazing 10,226 head on the Reservation and paying $3.75 per head. The grazing fees were increased to $5.25 per head in 1947, plus 50¢ per acre where hay is harvested. In 1951 the Berthold people were still using only 20% of the 300,000 acres of grazing land in that part of the reservation that will not be flooded. Half of this will be required for the present 6000 Berthold cattle when relocation is completed.

According to Table 15 income from agriculture actually decreased by $10,500 from 1942 to 1944. During that same period cattle other than milk cows in the United States increased from 76 million to 86 million head. In 1950 the total value of sales from agriculture was $392,337 and the value of products consumed in the home was $62,235 for the 133 families designated as "agriculturalists". In 1951, the figures were $326,334 and $26,704
The map shows a layout of land use by Indians and Non-Indians in the 1946-47 period. The legend indicates:

- Yellow: Land used by Indians, 251,033 acres
- Gray: Land used by Non-Indians, 392,335 acres
Table 15. Net Income of Fort Berthold Indians by Sources and Amounts, and as Earned and Unearned; also Number of Resident Families and Average Family Income 1942-1945.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native products: fur, game, etc.</td>
<td>4,056</td>
<td>7,435</td>
<td>7,067</td>
<td>12,395</td>
<td>7,745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts &amp; Crafts</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>169,969</td>
<td>139,766</td>
<td>148,458</td>
<td>179,616</td>
<td>154,457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Business</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>2,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Service Salaries, regular</td>
<td>25,374</td>
<td>35,972</td>
<td>35,484</td>
<td>35,450</td>
<td>32,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Service wages, irregular</td>
<td>9,216</td>
<td>7,435</td>
<td>5,160</td>
<td>8,294</td>
<td>7,559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages, relief projects</td>
<td>22,057</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages, non-Indian employers</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>10,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages, others</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total wages &amp; salaries</td>
<td>66,303</td>
<td>51,894</td>
<td>53,246</td>
<td>56,061</td>
<td>56,326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Earned Income</td>
<td>230,327</td>
<td>202,035</td>
<td>212,299</td>
<td>245,492</td>
<td>222,038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unearned Income:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian timber sales</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>3,901</td>
<td>3,354</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>2,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leases, permits, royalties</td>
<td>63,380</td>
<td>119,799</td>
<td>162,281</td>
<td>193,749</td>
<td>154,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service men's dependent's allotments</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>27,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Security Assistance</td>
<td>13,020</td>
<td>13,671</td>
<td>20,582</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>16,913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relief issued by Indian Service</td>
<td>17,610</td>
<td>6,673</td>
<td>9,497</td>
<td>3,769</td>
<td>9,137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other unearned income</td>
<td>23,339</td>
<td>24,000</td>
<td>24,000</td>
<td>25,600</td>
<td>24,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Unearned Income</td>
<td>143,696</td>
<td>193,044</td>
<td>248,694</td>
<td>272,592</td>
<td>214,306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Individual Income</td>
<td>374,025</td>
<td>395,079</td>
<td>460,993</td>
<td>516,080</td>
<td>456,544</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of resident families                          | 362   | 360   | 332   | 340   |                   |
Average family income                                | $1,083 | $1,097 | $1,090 | $1,500 |                   |

have to be taught. If Berthold families encouraged
to take up agriculture, are to become self supporting
thereby, they must understand the economics involved in
their enterprises. Farm operations supported by sub-
sidies must take such subsidies into account so that the
operator may see how much short of success his farm busi-
ness would be if all costs were to be deducted from his
gross returns. When he has reached a point where he can
see that "all costs" are exceeded by his returns, then he
will be able to go forward with confidence, otherwise
successes will often be more apparent than real.
Chapter IX

LAND OWNERSHIP

Among the major problems requiring solution in connection with the relocation of Fort Berthold Indians is the consolidation of land interests on the reservations into manageable blocks of sufficient size to enable an operator to use the land advantageously.

The land in its present pattern of ownership, as we shall see, is now owned by many whose only desire is to sell it or lease it. Some of it is owned in amounts too small for profitable use. Then there are those who have enough land for an economic unit but it is not in one piece.

Map 3 is a pictorial land history of the Three Affiliated Tribes from the establishment of the Fort Berthold Reservation in 1851 to the present. By treaties, Executive Orders and Acts of Congress the Reservation was reduced to 643,588 acres by 1910.

Table 16 shows the ownership status of the lands of the Reservation at the time of the enactment of Public Law 437 on October 29, 1949 (this is the law under which the Indians were paid for their lands included in the Garrison Reservoir).
Table 16. Acreages of the Fort Berthold Reservation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gross Area of the Reservation</td>
<td>643,668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-trust land, White and Indian owned</td>
<td>63,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust land</td>
<td>579,668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking area (trust land)</td>
<td>146,695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual trust land within the reservation</td>
<td>426,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accrued land</td>
<td>9,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scattered tracts outside reservation</td>
<td>6,350</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The first allotments to individual members were made under the Act of March 3, 1891 (26 Stat. L. 929-1093).

949 allotments scheduled under this authority were approved on July 10, 1900. These allotments were made in three different sizes depending on the status of the individual as follows:

- Head of family: 160 acres
- Single person over 16 years of age: 80 acres
- Orphan: 80 acres
- Child under 16 years of age: 40 acres

During the next 29 years all of the land was allotted to individuals except 27,729 acres of tribal land and 1860 acres held in Federal government reserves. During this period a total of 3401 allotments were made, ranging
in size from 40 to 320 acres.

Ten years after the first allotments a second group of 765 was made.

The first allotments were along the Missouri river and the 765 that followed blocked out what was still un-allotted along the river and extended into the lands adjacent to the valley. The allotments that were made later, see Table 17, were on the prairies away from the first two groups of allotments and had no relation to them from the standpoint of creating usable units on an individual operating basis.

Table 17
Allotment Periods and Allotments Affected
by Garrison Project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Allotment</th>
<th>Number of Allotments</th>
<th>Approximate Percentage in Heirship Status</th>
<th>Approximate Percentage Affected by Garrison Project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>949</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>765</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912-15</td>
<td>1,131</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-29</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 prohibited further allotments of tribal land and there was also a Departmental order issued about the same time that virtually stopped the sale of Indian land. However, before 1934 some land was sold to Whites and a few Indians received fee title to their lands which accounts for the 65,510 acres of non-trust land.

There are at the present time 550,269 acres of allotted land within the reservation of which 146,595 is included in the Garrison Reservoir.

The lands that remain to the Indians in the five segments that will be created by the Garrison Reservoir are shown by acreages, ownership and type of use in 1947 in Table 18. Map 2 shows the location of these segments in relation to the present reservation and the reservoir area within it. This map also shows the distribution of the families as they are now established prior to relocation.
Table 18. Lands in Residual Segments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation of Segment</th>
<th>Total Acreage in Segment</th>
<th>Indian-owned</th>
<th>Alienated</th>
<th>Indian Land by Type Under Farm Used for Lease in Grazing in 1947</th>
<th>Grazing in 1947</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>25,492</td>
<td>19,860</td>
<td>5,622</td>
<td>4,227</td>
<td>15,633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeastern</td>
<td>27,591</td>
<td>21,432</td>
<td>6,159</td>
<td>11,418</td>
<td>10,014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeastern</td>
<td>85,051</td>
<td>67,373</td>
<td>17,673</td>
<td>18,155</td>
<td>49,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>79,658</td>
<td>74,483</td>
<td>5,160</td>
<td>4,480</td>
<td>70,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>252,761</td>
<td>243,245</td>
<td>9,516</td>
<td>3,397</td>
<td>239,848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>470,543</td>
<td>426,413</td>
<td>44,130</td>
<td>41,677</td>
<td>384,736</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The better lands on the reservation were naturally along the river bottoms and the nearby foothills and as we have seen these were allotted 50 and 40 years ago. Much of this land is now in the possession of heirs of the original owners. These lands, when the owner died, were probated in accordance with state law. Usually no will was made so that the land went to several heirs and the land became more fractioned as owners and heirs died.

What can happen in 47 years by this process by fractionation can be seen in what has taken place with an 80-acre allotment of Comes Along Pink, Allotment No. 100.
Trust Patent was issued December 31, 1900. The allottee died December 10, 1902. The estate was probated in 1915. There were 18 original heirs. Since then 15 of these have died. As of March 1947 there were 47 heirs with inherited interests in this 80 acres as shown in Table 19.

Table 19. Inherited interests of 47 people in 80-acre tract of Reservation land 47 years after allotment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Heirs</th>
<th>Acres Each</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 heir</td>
<td>11.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 heirs</td>
<td>6.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 heir</td>
<td>6.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 heirs</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 heir</td>
<td>4.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 heirs</td>
<td>3.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 heir</td>
<td>2.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 heir</td>
<td>2.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 heirs</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 heirs</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 heir</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 heirs</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 heirs</td>
<td>0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 heirs</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 heir</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 heir</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 heirs</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 heirs</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 heirs</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since the best lands have been in allotments for more than 40 years and 2845 of the 3401 allotments were made over 25 years ago, the bulk of the land is not in the hands of those who by age would be most able and interested in using the land themselves.

According to Table 20 which included a study of the Agency records of 1891 enrolled members only 38 persons 40 years of age or under owned 600 or more acres of land as against 125 members age 41 or over. Few members under 40 years of age own enough land to make a living by the use of it.
### Table 20. Individual Land Ownership by Age of Enrolled Indian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acres Owned</th>
<th>0-15</th>
<th>16-20</th>
<th>21-25</th>
<th>26-30</th>
<th>31-35</th>
<th>36-40</th>
<th>41-45</th>
<th>46-50</th>
<th>51-55</th>
<th>55-60</th>
<th>Over 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-100</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-200</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-300</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301-400</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401-500</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501-600</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>601-700</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>701-800</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>801-900</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>901-1000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001-1100</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1101-1200</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1201-1300</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1301-1400</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1401-1500</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 1500</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Number (Enrolled) Landless - 887
Total Number (Enrolled) with Land - 804
Total Number (Enrolled), not included because of incomplete land records - 91
Some idea of the wide differences in the family ownership of the 426,412 acres outside the Garrison Reservoir can be seen by examining Table 21. There one may also note the extent of fractionation by inheritance and the large concentration of pieces of land in the hands of a few families.

One family may own several pieces of land in every one of the five segments. Map 4 shows one such case with some shares ranging from a few acres to around 200 acres in 37 allotments and full ownership of 2 allotments of 320 acres each. This illustrates the amount of work that would be involved in the negotiations that will be required to consolidate the holdings of one family.

Most of the inherited interests in land are not partitioned. The allotment of Comes Along Pink is an illustration of this. This situation further complicates negotiation for sale, purchase or consolidation because it becomes necessary in such circumstances to get agreement on the part of all heirs in order to complete a transfer of title.

Map 5 is a similar case of land holdings of a typical resident family and proposed consolidation. These two cases illustrate, too, how most of the proceeds from the Garrison Reservoir taking will be spent. Families that have a sizeable acreage outside the reservoir
IAN RESERVATION
AKOTA

MARK MAHTO FAMILY

3544.88 Acres.
Exclusive of interests within Garrison taking area.

CONSOLIDATED INTERESTS
OUTSIDE THE TAKING AREA
(2218.85 Acres.)

Garrison Project
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

FORT BERTHOLD INDIAN
NORTH DAKOTA

LAND OWNERSHIP

LAND HOLDINGS OF A TYPICAL INDIAN FAMILY
SHOWING PROPOSED CONSOLIDATION OF

LEGEND

- Indian owned
- Non-Indian owned
- Sole ownership
- Unpartitioned interest
- Garrison project

MAP 5.
Proceeds from sale of land interests within reservoir area to be used for rehabilitation at proposed new homesite.
area will be inclined to feel they have enough land
and will use the land sale money for purposes other than
the purchase of land. The result will be that the re-
maininl lands will not be added to and there will be no
increase in the overall carrying capacity of the reserva-
tion.

There is another complication growing out of this
fractionated ownership pattern and this centers on the
non-resident. Map 6 is illustrative of this situation.
Here is a case of a non-resident family with ownership
in 26 different allotments. Only 3 tracts are in sole
ownership and nearly 1000 acres are scattered across the
reservation in 23 unpartitioned interests which means
that in 23 pieces in which this family has an interest
it will be necessary not only to negotiate with its
members but with all others who may have interests
in the same 23 pieces.

One further complication in the ownership pattern
on the reservation outside the reservoir area is the land
in taxable status. This is nearly all held by White
operators. Table 18, column 4, shows the way these
44,150 acres of alienated land is divided amongst the
five segments. These alienated pieces of land are
scattered throughout each of the segments and as can be
seen from Map 6, only a few tracts are larger than 530
acres. Most of them are 320 acres or less. The problem
DEPARTMENT OF THE INDIAN
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

FORT BERTHOLD INDIAN
NORTH DAKOTA

LAND OWNERSHIP

LAND HOLDINGS OF A TYPICAL INDIAN FAMILY

LEGEND

- Indian owned
- Non-Indian owned
- Garrison project

MAP 6
in this situation will be one of attempting to minimize the disruption of economic operating units that have been built up around the white owned lands by the operators with the use of adjacent Indian land. Frequently the white farmstead will have so large an investment in buildings and other improvements that the Indians will not be able to purchase it. On the other hand the white operator will not be able to continue to operate economically without the lands that he formerly leased from the Indians who now must use this land themselves.

In readjusting the land ownership and use pattern in these cases, the plans will need to take into consideration the interests of the White operators as well as the Indians. Disregard for the proper consideration of such operators on the reservation may result in difficult public relations in other areas of the relocation problem.

The necessity for an almost total revision of the present ownership pattern is best illustrated by Chart 3. Here a township of land containing 22,641 acres considered sufficient for not more than 9 family sized ranches is divided into 91 allotments with 117 individual owners having 248 separate interests. This block of land is on that part of the reservation which was subject to the allotments made after 1912 and were mostly 320 acres in size. Therefore, while the most fractionated tracts will...
TOWNSHIP 148 N. RANGE 94 W.

IN WESTERN SEGMENT

FORT BERTHOLD INDIAN RESERVATION

22,641 ACRES, SUFFICIENT FOR 9 FAMILY-SIZED RANCHES

PRESENT STATUS:

91 Allotments
117 Individual Owners
248 Separate Interests
be eliminated by the purchase for the Garrison Reservoir, the problem of pieces too small for economic use in the type of agriculture that prevails in this region is by no means eliminated.

In addition to getting the Fort Berthold lands consolidated into usable units is the problem of developing a land use and ownership program for the future that will prevent the land from becoming further fractionated by the present system of inheritance.
Chapter X

CREDIT

Funds for the development of the resources of the Fort Berthold Reservation were never made available in sufficient amounts before the 1930's to enable the Indians to do very much with their lands. This is not the sole reason that the people were not able to get ahead economically. There were a host of other barriers, as we have seen; cultural resistances on the part of the people themselves, disregard for the Indian culture on the part of the Federal government, allotments being too small and becoming even more unusable through fractionation by inheritance and lack of trained extension workers were the major ones and these will continue to hamper the relocation program. However, credit, or rather the lack of it, will also continue to set limitations on reservation development.

Greater than the lack of credit, however, is the need for the Fort Berthold Indians to understand the role of credit in a productive enterprise. Credit in this sense is an all too recent concept and education for its proper understanding will be an important phase of relocation.

Very little credit was available to Indians prior to 1930. Guidance in the use of what little credit was
available up until then was also extremely limited.

Such property as Indians had was usually held in the name of the United States in trust. Property in this status could not legally be mortgaged. This cut off any opportunity to borrow from private lending agencies. There would be individuals here and there who, through personal friendship and confidence, had sources of credit for production purposes but these instances were the exception.

About the only way an Indian could borrow through mortgage of his property was to obtain a patent-in-fee for his land. This gave him an unrestricted title. The property became taxable. As a rule, up to this point he had had very little experience in the management of an enterprise which included the payment of interest (usually high) and taxes. The Federal government was ill equipped as we shall see to provide any guidance. Furthermore, when an Indian obtained a patent for his allotment the policy was to regard him as being "on his own". This combination of circumstances seldom left him in possession of his property for long. His experiences with credit could hardly be regarded as fruitful in such a situation.

Another way open was to sell some trust land through the facilities provided by the Government. The proceeds would be placed to the credit of the seller at the Indian Agency. The money would then be used supposedly to improve
his remaining lands for farming or ranching purposes.
Again there was the lack of trained personnel to carry on an
educational program for the effective use of the money.
Most of the funds eventually went for consumption goods.
Equipment was bought with the use of purchase orders. The
Indian never handled any money. He merely told a govern-
ment official what he wanted and presented a long verbal
justification along with his request. If it was approved
he was given a purchase order. The item of purchase was
later inspected and if found satisfactory the order was
submitted to the Indian Agency finance section for pay-
ment.

The purchase order system resulted in many persons
with funds to their credit trying to figure out ways of
getting orders to buy things they really did not need.
Such items were later converted, at much less than their
costs, to something else the regulations or the whims of
the officials did not permit them to buy on a purchase or-
der.

The only remaining means of getting equipment, live-
stock, seeds, etc. was through a system of reimbursable
loan agreements. Its educational value as to either the
proper use of credit or the intelligent management of land
was worse than nothing. No money was loaned. Federal
officials decided what the agricultural program would be
and used whatever Federal or tribal funds Congress approva-
ted for the purpose to buy what they thought was needed to
carry out the program. It might be sheep, cattle, 
grain, garden, or hog raising that would be emphasized. 
The Indian came to the Agency to get whatever was avail-
able. If the official in charge thought the applicant 
was entitled to such help he gave him what he thought he 
should have and had him sign a reimbursable agreement. 
The items thus obtained may be a bushel of seed potatoes, 
50 pounds of alfalfa seed, a dozen sheep, a bull and so 
on. Whatever it was there was never enough involved to 
enable the development of any meaningful plans for the use 
of land even if the official was capable of giving such 
assistance.

These agreements were held as a lien against any 
funds that should accrue to the signer's credit in the 
Indian Agency accounts. They would be satisfied eventually 
if Congress did not cancel them in the meantime. There 
was no sense of urgency or obligation about their repayment. 
In 1947 when the writer was superintendent at the Fort 
Berthold Agency there were several thousands of dollars 
owed either to the tribe or the Federal government as the 
result of such agreements. Unfortunately, for the signers 
or their heirs the agreements were all that remained to 
remind them of this experience. One old man and his wife 
still owed for a band of sheep that had long since dis-
appeared. Sheep raiding was in vogue at Fort Berthold in 
1928. The "fashion" disappeared but this old couple were 
left with a claim against their account. The account, if not
already paid, will be closed when payment is made for their lands that will be included in the Garrison Reservoir.

A report on the social and economic condition of the American Indian completed in 1928 by the Institute for Government Research attributed much of the inability of Indians to use their land to inadequate credit and employees ill prepared to teach them. The following excerpts are taken from that report to indicate the limited nature of agricultural extension work amongst the Indians as late as 30 years ago.

The first requisite for success in this endeavor is to supply the Indian Service with a group of specialists connected with the Washington office, who are thoroughly familiar with those methods which have proved successful in the advancement of a rural agricultural people.

The Indian Service greatly needs on its staff at least one agricultural economist of high professional attainments and a wide acquaintance among the men and women in agricultural departments, agricultural colleges, and experiment stations in the several states.

The second requisite is a local staff at each jurisdiction adequate in number and in training and experience really to educate the Indians in subsistence farming. The Indian Service has long had positions which have been designated by the title "farmer". An examination of the personnel cards of 145 of these farmers selected at random shows that of this number forty-nine, or over 41 per cent, had an eighth grade education or less; forty-five or less than 32 per cent, had some high school work in addition, but of these only fourteen had completed a four-year high school course; fifteen reported some business school training and eight some normal school training. Only sixteen had done any college or

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university work, and of this number only six had finished college and only three of these had done graduate work. Forty-five of the 143 reported that they had had special courses of one kind or another. The total number of such special courses taken by the forty-five was sixty-three, but only twenty-six of these special courses show any direct relation to agriculture or stockraising.

Since 41 per cent of the total number were entirely without high school training, and 89 per cent were without college training, obviously most Indian Service farmers have an educational equipment wholly inadequate for teachers or demonstrators of agriculture. Their lack of the necessary technical training accounts, in part, for the slow progress made by the Indians in farming.

In justice to these farmers it should be said that they have been far too few in number to give adequate attention to all the Indians in their districts, and they have been loaded up with numerous other duties in no way concerned with teaching the Indians farming.

The Indians' lack of both cash and credit will be a serious handicap, because it often means that they cannot get the necessary implements, livestock, and tools for a start. The government has in the past often supplied implements and stock either as a gratuity or through reimbursable loans. The results have generally been disappointing because the furnishing of implements and tools was not the primary need. The primary need was intelligent competent leaders present in sufficient numbers so that when the Indians made up their minds to try they would be rewarded by reasonable success. Implements and stock without leadership and education could not solve the problem. Reimbursable loans for equipment could not be repaid unless the results of the labor were successful.

---If the government is to make a real effort to encourage and teach the Indians to be successful subsistence farmers and supplies an adequate number of well-equipped agricultural teachers, it would be a serious mistake to withhold credit facilities.

The recommendation is therefore made that if really competent agricultural teachers are sent to the Indians, provision be made for reasonable reimbursable loans for productive purposes.
It was not until 1930 that the Bureau of Indian Affairs began getting appropriations large enough to begin improvements in its credit and agricultural programs. Table 22 shows a comparatively large increase in that year and they have held up since except for the war years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agriculture, Extension, etc.</th>
<th>Loan Funds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>$ 20,000</td>
<td>$ 200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>452,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>385,000</td>
<td>550,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>474,500</td>
<td>575,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>410,000</td>
<td>475,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>326,050</td>
<td>449,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>357,735</td>
<td>325,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>562,170</td>
<td>2,650,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>615,220</td>
<td>1,145,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>660,500</td>
<td>735,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>745,300</td>
<td>640,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>750,000</td>
<td>575,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>1,543,220</td>
<td>399,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>902,740</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>794,340</td>
<td>240,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>790,200</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>766,250</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>766,770</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>1,177,305</td>
<td>925,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>1,056,300</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In addition to the adverse influence that Indian administration had on the development of attitudes and con-
cepts of credit use up until 1930 other factors need to be mentioned to see clearly the problem ahead in education for the development of proper attitudes regarding the use of credit.

The Fort Berthold Indians were supported to a large extent by proceeds from the "sale" of tribal lands to the Federal government under the national policy of the latter to open up for settlement any lands that were considered surplus to Indian needs. With some income from this source, which was in effect living up their capital over a period of 100 years, there was also some revenue from leases. This latter source has not been inconsequential by any means. A study completed in 1948 shows 123 out of 350 families receiving an average annual income of $1,764, the largest part of which was from the leasing of land. Commenting on the General Allotment Law of February 8, 1887 (24 Stat. L. 388), Otis had this to say with regard to leasing of Indian lands:

"One student of the allotment movement believes that the Act of 1891 (this is law under which first allotments were made at Fort Berthold) was the most important step toward ruin. This law by granting the Indian the right to lease and at the same time allotting to each member of the family - to babies and octogenarians - an equal amount of land developed in the Indian idleness and avarice. Children ceased to be a responsibility and became indirectly a source of revenue through their leased allotments. As a result the family was disrupted as a reproducing unit and the Indian's

1 MRE Report No. 94.

interest became pecuniary instead of industrial. The present writer agrees with this analysis, but he is inclined to think that basically the leading policy in almost any form would have meant ultimate defeat of the allotment policy.

Congress—removed almost every restriction upon the leasing practice. So the Indian came more and more to look upon land as a source of revenue from the labor of someone else. And he was started on this course almost at the outset of what was to be his career as a hard working, independent farmer. 1

A barter system of trade until 1862 had little in it to condition the Fort Berthold Indians for the understanding of present day credit. The effect of the series of experiences they have had up to 1930 can hardly be regarded as helpful training along this line. Living up their capital to begin with and then being able later to lease what lands they had left did not create a situation where much interest in resource development for improved living would result. Particularly, would this be true where the established practice satisfied most of their wants. There was no necessity to postpone want satisfactions by storing labor and capital in production goods in order to satisfy wants at a higher level later. The present was acceptable economically. With incentives thus limited the task of getting increased levels of living through land use with credit playing a major role would have been difficult even with the best trained personnel.

functioning in a loaning system that developed a concept of credit as an important element in the production process.

For years the Government provided equipment and subsistence in satisfaction of certain agreements with the tribes each time the size of their reservation was reduced. These were received as legal entitlements. Later when individuals began to receive money, they were required to obtain capital goods with purchase orders. Then when the reimbursable loans were made, in practice their effect was hardly distinguishable from what the Government had already been doing for decades. It was the same Government giving out the same things. The recipients signed for what they got as they always did. The only difference was that when tribal benefits or personal accounts were being depleted they did not have to repay. Under the reimbursable loan it was, in its consequences, much the same because nothing happened if no repayments were made and there was a strong feeling that the Government should have furnished the items for nothing any way.

Of recent years tribal claims have been successfully prosecuted in the United States Court of Claims. These awards had two effects that are relevant to the consideration of credit. The one is that they give encouragement to the feeling that the Federal Government has not lived up to its obligations and there would be no necessity for a loan to any one if the Indians could only get what they had coming to them. The other is that when an award is made by the Court it should be paid out on a per capita.
basis. The Fort Berthold Indians received a per capita payment of $1,392.50 in 1931. The total paid at that time was $2,007,302.41.

Another claim resulted in a judgement of $400,000 in 1946. A few members and the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs strenuously urged the use of some of this in their tribal loaning system but the majority refused. They carried their case to Congress which authorized the use of $800,000 for per capita payments.

$2½ million was paid out in per capita payments of $1,000 in August, 1951 from the $7½ million settlement for tribal damages in connection with the Garrison Reservoir taking.

More claims are now before the United States Indian Claims Commission for consideration.

The foregoing history of the use of land and funds needs to be kept in mind in dealing with credit problems at Fort Berthold.

With the background that the Fort Berthold people have had up to the 1930's it might be expected that the progress in the proper understanding and use of credit for agricultural production would be extremely slow.

Attention will now be turned to credit activities on the Reservation since 1930.

The per capita payment in 1931 would give a family of four $5600. This would be equivalent to $10,000 today. $5000 is the maximum for operating loans under F.H.A. at
present. However, this money became available in a period of extremely dry years which played some part along with the other barriers previously discussed so that there is little evidence of any economic development resulting from its use. The moneys belonging to minors could not be used for living expenses except in cases of emergency. This was obviated by using it for building houses or the purchase of land from the parents. The only tangible evidence from this windfall on the eve of relocation is a few frame houses most of which are in disrepair. A survey in 1949 showed 42 per cent of the houses of log construction, 55 per cent frame and 3 per cent stucco or logs. Those who were then minors and had their funds used in this manner for property now in the Garrison Reservoir area will of course realize a good return on the original investment. But the net effect, as far as the productive capacity of the Reservation from the 1931 payments are concerned, was little indeed. There was no increase in land holdings since there was merely an exchange of ownership of land intra-tribally and an accompanying overall reduction in cash balance equivalent to whatever the Government appraisers regarded as a fair price for the land.

During the drought years of 1934 and 1935 the Bureau of Indian Affairs was permitted to obtain a number of high grade beef cattle in some of the drought stricken areas to
issue to Indians on a repayment plan. Some of these cattle were received at Fort Berthold and loaned in multiples of 10 head with the provision in the loan agreement that 11 head of heifers would be returned in repayment. This program together with cash loans for the purchase of cattle plus the natural increase has slowly developed a herd of 6000 head of cattle by January 1, 1952. Nearly 2000 head of this number are still owed to the Federal government from the original issues.

The Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984) authorized the appropriation of not to exceed $10 million for loan to Indian tribes incorporated under the Act. The Fort Berthold Indians ratified a charter in accordance with the provision of this Act in 1937 and shortly thereafter established a revolving loan fund by borrowing from the Credit Fund established under the Act.

The tribe borrows from this fund at 1 per cent and re-loans to cooperatives, tribal enterprises and individual members at 3 per cent at first and this rate has since been increased to 4 per cent interest. The tribal corporate loan fund on January 1, 1952 had advances totaling $708,379. $200,000 of this was borrowed from the Federal credit fund and $508,379 from tribal funds.

On January 1, 1952 there were 47 loans exceeding $2500 per borrower plus some repayment cattle in nearly all cases.
The average loan was $6000 and the average amount unpaid was $4360. There was also an average of 30 head of cattle amongst 40 of these borrowers that was owed to the repayment cattle pool. Cash loans were exceedingly small up to 1947 and it has been only in the last 4 years that any effort has been made to increase the cattle herds to a minimum of 50 breeding cows. This recent expansion accounts for the large amount yet unpaid on the loans.

A house-to-house survey was made of 188 families, whom the Extension worker’s believed capable of making a living by farming and ranching, to find out what the credit needs would be. The estimate, broken down in Table 23, was a total need of $1,864,580. Excluding the $916,240 estimated for land purchase it was believed that $500,000 would be sufficient to cover all other needs for the first year of the relocation program.1

Table 23, Estimated Credit Needs of 188 Fort Berthold Families Selected for Agricultural Enterprises

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>$916,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings, new and remodeled</td>
<td>385,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock</td>
<td>329,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery</td>
<td>125,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other: furniture, tools, etc.</td>
<td>108,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>$1,864,580</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1 1951 Reservation Extension Report, ibid, p. 33.
At the annual meeting of the Fort Berthold Livestock Association in February 1932 a program was adopted which incorporated the credit need estimates made by the Extension workers. Final action on this will have to be taken by the Tribal Council and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. It or any other attempt to use tribal funds for a credit program will incur strenuous opposition from within the tribes.

The resistance has its roots in the past when tribal funds were used for per capita payments. In addition to the pressure for per capita payments there is also the opposition on the part of those who know they will not be able to qualify for loans. This has always been a difficult problem to meet when tribal funds are used as a source of credit. Even when Federal funds were borrowed and tribal resources were advanced for security there was a feeling that anyone should be privileged to get a loan. In this last situation at least the argument could be advanced that extreme care was required in making loans from borrowed funds in order to protect the equity in tribal assets of those who were unable to borrow.

The amount that was available in the beginning for loans to individuals was small in comparison to the total demands. It seemed advisable under these conditions to make loans only to those from whom the repayments would be made in the shortest time so that the funds could be re-loaned. It happened in many instances that large loans
were made to the members of the Tribal Council and to mem-
bers of their families. In an extended kinship system
there was no way the loans could be made without being
subject to criticism for making loans to relatives. And
there was a tendency for those with the qualities that
made them the more desirable credit risks to get elected
to the Tribal Council. This has resulted in open oppo-
sition to the use of any tribal money for a credit fund.

The $5 million that remains to the credit of the Fort
Berthold Indians would be more than adequate to meet all
their needs if loans are made available only as they are
prepared to use credit in connection with plans that
are carefully worked out and closely followed up.

There is every opportunity here to work out a credit
program that would embody all of the principles that the
experience of public credit agencies have found desirable.

Most of the members under 40 years of age who are in-
terested in farming and ranching do not have enough land
to get established. The tribes could do no better than
to set aside whatever is necessary to buy land from those
who want to sell and, by an exchange program, block up
economic units of land that could then be sold on some long
term basis patterned after the farm purchase loans under
F.H.A. The investment is doubly protected in that the
land is free from taxes and the only encumbrance that
could ever be added would be from loans made by the people's
own lending agency. If care is used in assisting the pur-
chaser with his program the land under the right kind of
management could increase in value. As the repayments came
in over the years ahead the tribal funds would still be
available for similar use in behalf of coming generations.

With the land purchases handled in this way, operating
loans of an intermediate nature could also be patterned
after the F.H.A. operating loan program. In fact this
is about the way the loans are made at the present time,
except that it is possible to go even further than the
limits as to amount loaned and the length of time in which
the loan is to be repaid. This is along the lines which
the Family Farm Policy Review Sub-committee suggested for
improvement of F.H.A. operating loans in its recent Provi-
sional Report and tentative recommendations.1 It was sug-
gested there that the limit on such loans be increased from
$5000 to $10,000 and the repayment period be extended to
10 years instead of the present 5 years.

Professor Black2 has outlined under six heads the
progress that agricultural credit needs to take in the
future. These are listed below and each of them could be
made a part of a program to meet the credit needs of the
Fort Berthold people, if they decided to use some of their
tribal funds for this purpose:

1 Family Farm Policy Review, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture of
June 11, 1951, p. 102.
2 John D. Black, "The Future of Government in the Farm
Mortgage Field", The Journal of Land and Public Utility
1. "—mortgages to enable farmers to buy farms should ordinarily be made on an amortization basis and should include variable payment provisions.

2. "—such mortgage loans should be freely available to enable farmers to get enough land to have an economic unit.

3. "—farm mortgage loans should be more freely available for improving or for raising the productivity level of farms without increasing their acreage much or any.

4. "—loans should be obtainable for equipment, livestock, minor land improvements and other intermediate term purposes—.

5. "—special consideration needs to be given to the financing of farm buildings, including dwellings—.

6. "—an uncertain amount of what has been called 'supervision' by the Farm Security Administration (F.S.A.) can be provided by private agencies. The amount will vary greatly by regions and areas. The term 'supervision' is an unfortunate one. The most important part of this supervision is the making of a good farm plan and program for the operation of the farm, and a schedule of advances and repayments adjusted to this program, with flexibility to allow for variations in income. Perhaps the best terminology for loans thus serviced is 'budgeted loans.'"

A great deal of education of the people as to the advantages of an adequate credit program needs to be undertaken. Once the importance of such a venture is accepted, the rest of it will not be too difficult. But education will be the key to its solution. The first step will have to be accomplished in a minimum of time or it will be too late to take advantage of the opportunity that is now at hand. It may be out of the question; however, there remains the obligation to present
the facts about credit, especially as they apply to
the Fort Berthold Indians and their future. It is possi-
bile that some may become interested enough, though in the
minority, to appear before Congress and explain there the
history of per capita payments and the limited opportunity
to borrow even from the F.H.A. So that some of the tribal
funds may be set aside for use in a credit fund.

The Family Farm Policy Review points out that in
the fiscal year 1950 there were 56,500 veterans' applica-
tions for farm ownership loan applications considered
and only 1215 initial farm purchase and 508 initial
enlargement and development loans could be made to veter-
ans. Few other loans could be made although 19,250
applications were received from non-veterans in 1950.1

Operating loans in F.H.A. are probably equally inade-
quate to meet all demands. Table 24 indicates that only
5.3% of North Dakota farmers borrowed from F.H.A. in 1950.
These loans were for production and subsistence with an
average per borrower of $772. Of course, Fort Berthold
Indians are eligible to borrow from F.H.A. and it is possi-
able that they might obtain some credit from this source.
But it is doubtful that even F.H.A. requirements could be
met by more than 20 per cent of the 186 families for whom
it is estimated that $5000 per family would be required.

Agricultural enterprises as a means of making a
living is going to be a difficult struggle for most

1 ibid, p. 93.
Fort Berthold Indians and it will be a long time
before any appreciable number will have reached a point
where they will be able to pay taxes and interest rates
over 4 per cent and survive as operators. In the meantime
a credit program such as they could develop from tribal
funds now available would go a long ways toward economic
self-sufficiency through the use of land.

Loans from private agencies will not be likely un-
less patent-in-fees are first obtained for land that may
be put up for security. Even this possibility, if it were
feasible, would be of no comfort to those who have no land
or too little land to get a loan large enough to do any
good.

Loans from the Federal Credit Fund under the Indian
Reorganization Act have never been available in sufficient
amounts to be of much consequence at Fort Berthold. Dur-
ing the period the Indians are using up their tribal funds
in per capita payments it is not likely that any advances
will be made to Fort Berthold. With the high demand for
credit funds amongst other tribes in the United States such
funds as are available will probably be committed to other
places. Moreover, since the Fort Berthold Indians will
have had an average of $6000 per capita through the Garrison
settlement they would probably have a very low priority for
 sometime to come.
Table 24. The credit service received by NORTH DAKOTA farmers from banks during 1950 is indicated by the following data, based on the American Bankers Association survey. For purposes of comparison, similar data are shown for certain cooperative and government agencies lending to farmers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Farmers Borrowing in 1950</th>
<th>Amount Borrowed by Farmers in 1950</th>
<th>Amount outstanding Jan. 1 1951</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of all farmers in state</td>
<td>Total Average per Borrower</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000 Del.</td>
<td>1,000 Del.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. From all Commercial Banks:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-real Estate Farm Loans</th>
<th>36,221</th>
<th>55.4</th>
<th>$63,992</th>
<th>$1,767</th>
<th>$28,657</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loans on Farm Real Estate</td>
<td>882</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3,181</td>
<td>3,607</td>
<td>4,231</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL all Commercial Banks |

| 37,103 | 56.7 | $67,173 | $32,888 |
### Table 24 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B. From Co-op. &amp; Govt. Agencies:</th>
<th>Farmers Borrowing in 1950</th>
<th>Amount Borrowed by Farmers in 1950</th>
<th>Amount outstanding Jan. 1 1961</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>% of all farmers in state</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production Credit Ass'ns</td>
<td>2,233</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>$7,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Land Banks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers Home Administration:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production &amp; Subsistence¹</td>
<td>3,450</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>2,670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Ownership-R/E Mtgs.²</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL CO-op. &amp; Govt. Agencies</strong></td>
<td>5,769</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td><strong>$11,259</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Includes disaster loans
2 Includes insured loans

The figures for farmers served by cooperative and government agencies are those reported by the agencies as the number of loans made during the year. The amount outstanding as of January 1, 1961 for the Production and Subsistence Loans of the Farmers Home Administration includes Rural Rehabilitation Loans of the old Farm Security Administration and Emergency Crop and Feed Loans of the Farm Credit Administration. The latter two loans have been in liquidation since 1946.

Source: Agricultural Commission, American Bankers Association, August 1, 1951, letter on Farm Credit in North Dakota.
In a recent survey of 101 families receiving a total of $966,926 in payment for land and $1000 in per capita payments, it was found that, after 3 months, only 15 per cent or $149,474 was not withdrawn from the Agency accounts.

The Superintendent cautioning against another per capita payment wrote in the Reservation News Bulletin on February 15, 1952, as follows:

Of course, out of the $7,500,000 you have already received $2,500,000 in a per capita payment which leaves only $5,000,000 or about another $2,000 each. One of the things to think about, of course, is that the people of the reservation have had more than $8,000,000 in cash given directly to them since last June. You know what this money had done for you as members of the tribes on an individual basis and now you should compare that with what you think could be done with a long-range tribal program that would be planned to help everybody.

In the same issue one of the Indian leaders stated, "We were astonished to learn that the Fort Berthold Indians
withdraw about $6,000,000 within 8 months. If we would only stop now to wonder how the next generation will react to such free spending."

Also in this same bulletin was an announcement that only 60 families had so far worked out their relocation plans and had them approved.

Whether to use tribal funds for a long range tribal credit program for rehabilitation after relocation or to distribute it now is a public policy issue of the first order of importance. It is hoped that Congress or the Bureau of Indian Affairs before making a decision will insist on a careful analysis of what the effects of each course is likely to be.

If per capita payments are made with the balance of the tribal funds it should still be possible to work out a large number of programs with those who have managed to invest their funds in land and capital goods. For example, a family of 5 would have received over $15,000 and surely with some land available on the Reservation such a family would have enough initial equity in capital goods to enable it to borrow from a private bank since it is possible to use personal property for security in transactions of this kind.

There are, of course, several disadvantages with using this source of credit over the tribal corporation system possible with the use of tribal funds. With private credit
the conditions will be much more restrictive and inflexible. The interest rates will be from 25 to 100 per cent higher and it is likely that property offered for security will become taxable by the State. The advantages will be largely psychological. The borrower will not feel under obligation to other tribal members who under a tribal program will not overlook the opportunity to remind him that he is using their money.

In summary, an adequate credit program, which is possible with present available tribal funds, is essential to the successful relocation of Fort Berthold Indian families. Of equal importance, however, will be education of the tribes and borrowers in the proper understanding of credit for productive use. For if a tribal credit program is not developed it will be necessary for many members to seek loans from private and other government lending agencies.

In view of the long history of mis-education in the use of capital the educational aspect is going to be a slow process, one that will require optimism and patience. But fundamental progress will be made only in this way.
DEFINITION OF THE TERM 'INDIAN'

All resident Fort Berthold Indians are citizens of the State and Nation with exactly the same rights, duties and privileges as all other citizens as that status of the person is defined in the Constitution of the United States and the North Dakota State Constitution. This has not always been true.

The State Constitution adopted in 1889 contained the following qualification with respect to an Indian person who was otherwise eligible to vote: "Civilized persons of Indian descent who shall have severed their tribal relations two years next preceding such election". (Art. V Sec. 121). This restriction was removed by Article 40 of Amendments adopted June 28, 1922 and no distinction has since been made between an Indian and others in regard to voting.

Congress by the Act of June 2, 1924 (43 Stat. L. 253), conferred citizenship on all Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States.

The so-called General Allotment Law approved February 8, 1887 (24 Stat. L. 338) had provided that full citizenship be conferred on all those to whom allotments were made in
accordance with the Act and declared them subject to the state and territorial laws. This applied to around 900 Fort Berthold Indians who had received allotments in 1900.

The 1887 law was amended by the Burke Act of May 8, 1906 (34 Stat. L. 182). By this latter act the Indian became a citizen only after the fee patent was granted to the allotment. So at Fort Berthold those who had received allotments in 1900 and those who received allotments in 1910 and subsequently received fee patents were citizens although they may not have been qualified electors in North Dakota until 1922. By 1924 all Fort Berthold Indians were citizens.

Citizenship as a personal and political right is frequently confused with title to land either in trust or in fee as a property right. Because the majority of the Fort Berthold Indians have trust allotments, inherited interests in such land or are members of the Tribes which own tribal land that is also in trust, it is frequently believed that Indians are somehow restricted in their person. Legally there is no incompatibility with the Indian having full personal and political freedom on the one hand with Federal guardianship over his property on the other. On this point the Supreme Court has held:

Citizenship is not incompatible with tribal existence or continued guardianship, and so may be conferred without completely emancipating the Indians or placing them beyond the reach of Congressional regulations adopted for their protection.

However, in the work-a-day world, even on the Reservation, such nice distinctions become blurred and Indians themselves have difficulty in reconciling the seeming inconsistency. Men and women who have served in the two world wars and who request fee patents for their lands cannot see what right the Federal Government has in denying them this property right. People outside the Reservation regard the restriction on property as not only a denial of property right but also a limitation on the personal right of the Indians to return to or leave the reservation at will. There was a time when Indians could not leave the Reservation without a permit from the Superintendant (Indian Agent). This may be responsible for the general erroneous belief that Indians are confined to reservations.

It is in this general area that one order of difficulty arises. While the Fort Berthold Indians are citizens and are privileged to take part in political affairs in the school districts, the county, the state and the nation they are at the very same time regarded as "wards" of the Federal government.

The term "ward" is an unfortunate one because, to many, including Indians, it has come to mean a condition of incompetence and dependence of the individual on the Federal Government as a matter of legal right. It creates the idea of a guardian-child ward relationship that suggests a greater degree of responsibility to and control of the ward by the guardian than is actually the case. Haas states
that Chief Justice Marshall first used the term in 1831

"to describe the relationship between the United States and Indian tribes and to denote a special responsibility for protection, which the United States owes to Indian tribes by virtue of treaties and the grant of power to the Federal government over Indians in the United States Constitution.  -- it has subsequently been applied to individual Indians as well as tribes and been frequently used by courts, legislators, officials and Indians."¹

The term has been used in so many different ways and so ambiguously since Chief Justice Marshall first applied it to Indian tribes that the relationship between the Federal government and Indian ward is not always clear. In one situation the Indian's legal status as a "ward" may be recognized and in an almost identical situation it may be disregarded. There is probably no other subject in the entire realm of Indian affairs that is so confused as the status of an Indian.

"The determination of who is an Indian in the legal sense in any specific case depends upon the specific wording of some treaty, statute or rule involved. The provisions vary greatly, and a person may be legally an Indian for some purposes and not for others."² Thus different units of government or different branches within one unit giving different interpretations to the status of an Indian can often result in the Indian being left in a state of not knowing where to turn for help. Unfortunately, consequences growing out of this confusion nearly always are

² ibid, p. 18.
of a distressing nature to the Indian because the question as to his status usually comes up over financial aid or legal procedures in a time of crisis for him.

In addition to the difficulties in regarding who is responsible to provide public services to Indians because of their status as wards, there is also the peculiar status of the Indian Reservation on which the Indians live. Since the Federal government holds title to the Indian lands within its boundaries such lands are not taxable by the state. Neither does the state have any legal jurisdiction over such lands. The language in Sec. 203 Article XVI of the Constitution of North Dakota referring to Indian land reads as follows:

The people inhabiting this state do agree and declare that they forever disclaim all right and title to the unappropriated public lands lying within the boundaries thereof, and to all lands lying within said limits owned or held by any Indian or Indian tribes, and that until the title thereto shall have been extinguished by the United States, the same shall be and remain subject to the disposition of the United States, and that said Indian lands shall remain under the absolute jurisdiction and control of the congress of the United States;—nothing in this article shall preclude this state from taxing as other lands are taxed, any lands owned or held by any Indian who has severed his tribal relations, and has obtained from the United States or from any person, a title thereto, by patent or other grant, save and except such lands as have been or may be granted to any Indian or Indians under any acts of Congress containing a provision exempting the lands thus granted from taxation, which last mentioned lands shall be exempt from taxation so long, and to such an extent, as is, or may be provided the act of Congress granting the same."

With the Fort Berthold Indian lands thus beyond the control of the state, as to taxation in particular, it is
to be expected that the State and counties would tend toward the view that the Indians are the responsibility of the Federal government, their citizenship rights not withstanding.

The winter of 1948-49 was especially severe and the drain on North Dakota welfare funds for Indians was high. The tax payers of the state felt that even the categorical aids under the Social Security Act should all be paid by the Federal government rather than as at present where the State and counties share in the cost. The controversies as to who is responsible for public services to Indians tend to detract attention from the causes that create the need for the services in the first place and then energies get spent on how to take care of effects rather than the conditions that produce them.

The North Dakota Senate Concurrent Resolution No. Q is quoted in its entirety as an illustration of the feeling that has come to prevail over the question of who is to be responsible for services to "ward" Indians.

"Senate Concurrent Resolution No. Q
(Duffy, Nordhausen and Streibel)

INVESTIGATION INDIAN BUREAU

A concurrent resolution memorializing the congress to investigate the Indian Bureau."
WHEREAS, for many years there has existed on
many of the Indian reservations in the United States
a deplorable condition under which the red man is
a stranger in his own motherland, a condition which
has resulted not from the choice of the Indian, not
through lack of substance on the part of this nation
nor through a parsimonious attitude upon the part
of its citizens generally, but a condition which
has resulted from the greed of a few white men and
the inept and irresponsible attitude of the representa-
tives of the Indian bureau either in the several states
or in Washington, D.C., or in both places; and

WHEREAS, there has been a total lack of any con-
sistent policy upon the part of the federal government
in dealing with the Indians of the country but rather
a vacillating policy which on the one hand makes them
citizens with the rights and duties of free men and
on the other hand makes them wards of the government
who have been herded upon reservations which are over-
crowded and wholly unsuitable for self maintenance, a
policy which has made the Indian dependent without any
effective action toward his rehabilitation; and

WHEREAS, these conditions have resulted in great
suffering among the Indian people, malnutrition among
the children, disease, lack of decent housing or
shelter, and all the ills to which abject poverty is
heir; and

WHEREAS, the severity of the present winter has
aggravated these conditions, making it difficult or im-
possible for the Indians to procure fuel, feed for their
livestock, or supplies for their families; and

WHEREAS, the policy of the Indian bureau in con-
solidating agencies and operating some reservations by
remote control has further involved the Indian agencies
in additional red tape, inefficiency, and confusion; and

WHEREAS, these conditions are well known to every
agent and employee of the several reservation agencies
and knowledge of these conditions has been brought
directly to the Indian bureau at Washington, D.C.,
by the welfare and other agencies of the state, but
nevertheless the Indian bureau now professes a total
lack of knowledge of the conditions prevailing on the
Indian reservations, and now propose to wait until
the snow melts and the weather becomes mild so that
their employees may visit about the reservations to
observe conditions; and
WHEREAS, this attitude of indifference and procrastination is likely to result in a total failure of the federal government to meet its obligations to its Indian wards;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE SENATE OF NORTH DAKOTA, THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CONCURRING, that the Congress of the United States be memorialized to investigate the dilatory attitude of the Indian bureau and to take such further action as may be necessary to make such bureau an efficient agent of rehabilitation or to abolish the same entirely.

Filed February 9, 1949."

The increased interest in Indian matters indicated in the above resolution resulted in the creation of the North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission by the thirty-first Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota.

The membership of this Commission includes the governor, commissioner of agriculture and labor, superintendent of public instruction, executive director of the public welfare board of North Dakota, state health officer and the chairman of each of the boards of county commissioners from Sioux, Mercer, McLean, McKenzie, Dunn, Rollette, Benson and Eddy Counties.

The official publication of the Commission sets out the functions that the Commission has defined for it by law as follows:

1). To study, consider, accumulate, compile and assemble information on any phase of Indian affairs;

2). To formulate and develop proposals for the benefit of Indians who may be in need of assistance in securing employment in agriculture, business or other usual occupations, on a self-supporting basis;
3. To cooperate with and secure the assistance of the federal government or any agencies thereof, in formulating any such program, and coordinate such program, as nearly as may be possible, with any program regarding Indian affairs adopted or planned by the federal government to the end that the state may secure the full benefit of such federal program;

4. To investigate relief needs of Indians in North Dakota and to prepare plans for the alleviation of such needs;

5. To confer with officials and agencies of other governmental units and congressional committees with regard to Indian needs and the coordination of state, local and federal programs in regard thereto.

To paraphrase a sentence taken from Gaus and Walcott\(^1\) by substituting the words "Bureau of Indian Affairs" for "Department of Agriculture", one could say that the State Legislature is taking the position that "such questions (services to Indians) are not the responsibility solely of the (Bureau of Indian Affairs) or of the National government; their solution requires far more alert local civic consciousness by means of which wiser use can be made of the resources of the National government in facilitating a healthy local civic life." The organization in October 1951 of an inter-governmental committee to grapple with Fort Berthold relocation problems at the behest of the Executive Secretary of the Commission is a further example of an alerted local civic consciousness.

\(^1\) John M. Gaus, Leon O. Walcott, Public Administration and The United States Department of Agriculture. Committee on Public Administration Social Science Research Council, 1940.
With the prospects of the Indians being widely scattered and at great distances from the Agency headquarters, continued confusion over services to Indians can become a serious obstacle to the relocation program. The following examples are given to point out the difficulty the Indians face as a result of this situation.

At Fort Berthold, none of the county authorities as a regular practice will assume responsibility for a needy Indian until his 65th birthday. (The Federal Welfare program in which the states participate prohibits his exclusion from such assistance) Up to that point he is expected to exercise his status as a "ward" and get his help from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Since the Indian lands within the counties are held in the name of the United States in trust for the Indians and are therefore non-taxable by the State or County, the authorities at those levels of government take the position that they have no responsibility for him until he reaches the age of 65. (It is immaterial in the circumstances that he himself may not possess any land or other property). The Congress recognizes this position to a degree and makes annual appropriations to meet this need but it is never adequate to provide assistance to needy Indians under 65 equivalent to that given needy non-Indians under 65 by the county welfare authorities. In addition to this difference, there is a continual state of indecision between the Federal agencies (usually the
Bureau of Indian Affairs) on the one hand and the State and County units of government on the other as to where this responsibility should rest. Each attempts to get the other to take more and more of the welfare load and the Indian because of his legal status as a "ward" gets caught in between. The determining factor in this specific situation turns on age 65:

Let us next take an example where personal property is stolen from an Indian. If the theft took place on land held in trust by the Federal government the case would be considered either in the Federal or the tribal court. If the theft occurred just outside the exterior boundaries of the Indian reservation then the tribal court in some circumstances would have jurisdiction if the offender were an Indian who was also a "ward". If the offender was a non-Indian or Indian the federal or the state court would have jurisdiction depending on whether the stolen property was considered trust or non-trust. Prosecutions are costly and time consuming and here again the area of responsibility can become sufficiently blurred so that the Indian gets caught in the "squeeze".

In the field of credit the then Farm Security Administration undertook to include Indians at Fort Berthold in its program but discontinued the practice in 1937 because it believed the Indians should receive such assistance
through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Indians felt
the F.S.A. left them stranded at a time when this aid
could have been the most beneficial to them.

The foregoing reflects the confusion that exists over
legal status of an Indian and examples similar to these can
be found over and over again in every activity of govern-
ment at all levels in health, education, employment, and
agricultural extension. Actually the protective powers of
the Federal Government extend merely over certain restric-
ted property of the Indians and not over his person. The
legal responsibilities of the Federal Government are stated
in treaties and statutes, e.g., in Public Law 437 where
the Fort Berthold people were to receive and have received
$7½ million is a case in point. The legal obligations are
sufficiently specific and manageable but there is a host of
activities performed for the benefit of Indians that is based
on moral considerations. These are hospitalization, public
health, placement and resource development. They have no
legal standing. Therefore, Congress frequently denies
appropriation requests for such activities.

It becomes extremely important then in the relocation
efforts to keep clearly in mind the legal status of the
Indian in every situation and also to recognize the dis-
tinction between those activities of the Federal Govern-
ment that are based on legal obligations and those on moral
considerations. In the latter case, for example, by
Section 2 (b) of P.L. 437, it is the legal obligation of the Federal government to effect the physical relocation of the Fort Berthold families who reside within the "taking" area, and the appropriation requests have been granted to accomplish this. On the other hand the hospitalization and the public health activities have been carried on because of moral considerations. Therefore, the requests for appropriations to continue them will depend on the attitude Congress takes in the years ahead. Congress is not required by law to provide this service or many others such as education, social welfare, law and order (except in a limited number of situations) roads, and soil conservation. The Fort Berthold people are, however, by virtue of their citizenship, entitled to education, social security or any other services by the state, Federal or local governments on the same basis as non-Indians.

The fact that the Federal Government because of treaties, agreement and statutes owes certain special legal obligations such as tax free land, relocation of families and the like does not detract from this obligation any more than Federal pensions to veterans or governmental exemption from certain taxes granted to veterans and homesteaders do not detract from their rights to governmental services. About 75% of the Fort Berthold tribal population will relocate on what remains of their reservation and because of their entitlements as citizens and their further peculiar status
as "wards", the problem centers around who will provide these services. They are now being provided by four levels of government and from a variety of sources at each of these levels with the major share being borne by the Federal government. But as we have seen, this later unit of government bases the majority of these on moral considerations. This naturally raises the question as to how long the Federal Government plans to assume this responsibility. If Congress intends to discontinue these services now furnished through the Bureau of Indian Affairs but the Fort Berthold people still have need for them who will provide them? The Fort Berthold people through their own tribal organization? The five counties? The State of North Dakota? Other Federal Agencies? Or some combination of two or more from all of these governmental units?

Services of the kind discussed are performed by organizations which must be authorized and provided with personnel and funds by governmental units before they can operate. Occasionally a private citizen or society might furnish schools or medical aid but normally such services are furnished by governments and this will be the case at Fort Berthold. If the Federal government does not operate the schools on the Reservation then some other governmental unit such as a school district, a county or the state will have to do so if the Indian children are going to have a chance to receive a grade school and high school education. This holds for any other service now made available by the
Relocation involves the continuation of most of the present services and possibly the introduction of new ones if certain goals are to be attained. However, it is paramount that all governmental units understand what is to be accomplished in relocation so that all will work to the same end. The "ward" status of the Indian and the "trust" status of the lands on the Reservation and the distinction between federal obligations on the basis of legal requirements and moral considerations makes this essential. It is not difficult to imagine the confusion that would result if objectives and policies bore no relationship to a common end.

The aim of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is to turn its activities over to the state of North Dakota one at a time wherever it is believed such transfer will result in improved or equal services to the Indians at the same or less cost to the Federal Government. The Indians may oppose this policy because they know how the present system operates but are not sure that a transfer will result in any improvement. The state and counties may object because they are not at all certain that the Federal government will continue to reimburse them for services to Indians once the present machinery by which Federal services are provided is abandoned. In such a struggle for or against transfer of services the Indian families would continue

Federal Government.
to suffer from circumstances over which they would have little control.

Before turning to a consideration of common ends for governmental units in connection with relocation this will be as good a place as any to see what kind of units exist at the various levels now concerned with Indian affairs at Fort Berthold and what others might possibly be included in the relocation and future adjustment of the Indians. While this study is approached from the standpoint of developing a relocation program under the leadership of the Reservation superintendent representing the Bureau of Indian Affairs it will be essential to the planning to recognize that other governmental elements are involved in the existing situation and that others may need to be included.
Chapter XII

GOVERNMENTAL UNITS

The functions of government have been performed for Fort Berthold families by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to, one could almost say, the complete exclusion of all other governmental units. Until 1871 the Berthold tribes were treated as separate nations by the United States. The functions of government up to that time were performed largely through custom and improvised measures. At that time the Bureau was little more than a distributing point for rationing of supplies to the Indians in accordance with treaty agreements. Since then, however, its functions of government gradually expanded until at present it is capable of providing every service that any modern state can furnish its citizens. Chart 4 shows the present array of branches at the area level equipped to meet Indian needs.

Services flowing out from one source over a period of eighty years must surely have created some "designs for living" that will figure importantly in relocation where the system is not likely to be duplicated. If the present system is not duplicated but the several activities under the various functions of government must continue
then relocated Berthold families must turn to other governmental units. Old ways of doing things and getting things done will no longer fit the new conditions. There are also in the Missouri River Basin around 4000 to 5000 White families who are confronted with inundation of their farms and the problem of relocation. However, their changes in location will be primarily adjustments to geography. Their relationships with units of government and other social settings will take place within a familiar system. This difference is crucial. Successful relocation by whatever standards cannot fail to take account of it. For this reason special attention will be given to this phase of the relocation problem in this chapter.

It will be helpful to look at government as the arm of a politically organized public created to perform the functions of protection, regulation, assistance and service, (International relations might be included but not essential to this analysis) and as a social arrangement that creates a problem of relationships. It will be useful also to keep in mind that the cultural setting in which the Berthold people carry on and the American mode
of life out of which the governmental units have come
into existence spring from widely differing bases. The
former had its origins in a non-literate culture which,
as indicated in an earlier chapter, was in the early
stages of village hoe culture until 1890, and the latter
is that of one of the most complex industrial societies
of the 20th century.

The relationship of the governmental units of this
mid-century to the relocation of Berthold families needs
to be looked at from such a perspective or the agencies
of government that will be considered will be little more
than a catalog of officials, agencies, bureaus, depart-
ments, commissions and branches of government. The Berthold
people have been more or less, as we shall see, in political
isolation and they may now suddenly be thrust into the
governmental arrangements of 5 different counties. It
is in their meaning and relationships with respect to means
and ends in connection with Berthold relocation that
makes knowledge of these governmental units in planning,
and of their possible participation in planning, important.

Are there meaningful inter-unit connections or possible
coordinated combinations of them that may facilitate re-
location? Are the Berthold people a functional part of
such structural arrangements as now relate most American
families to school, road, and other local districts, to
county, to state, to region and finally to federal activ-
ities of state or do they constitute an element outside
such a governmental complex? We noted that they were something more and often less than citizens because of their status as wards of the Federal government. Also that those lands held in trust for them in the name of the United States were not taxable by the State or counties and that only the laws and regulations of the Federal government and the Tribes acting through their governing body could have any legal force and effect on those lands.

Before going further in this analysis it will be helpful to turn to some definitions of government and culture and an hypothesis with respect to the manner in which a state comes into being in order that there may be this thing called government.

Munro says a "government is the mechanism through which the public will is expressed and made effective." 1

The Dimocks write:

"The functions of government, therefore, have been much the same throughout the ages, but the degree of attention given each has differed widely, depending, among other factors, on physical and social invention. Different classifications of function are possible, but the following list has been found fairly inclusive and reliable:

Protection-maintenance of internal safety and repulsion of outside aggression.
Regulation—controls and prohibition imposed upon various groups within society, such as regulation of prices, quality, trade practices and so on.
Assistance—the giving of subsidies, franchises or other forms of encouragement or charity, such as relief to the unemployed or subsidies to the shipping industry.
Service—provision of schools, libraries, postal service, municipal transportation, and the like.

International relations—the conduct of relation with other sovereignties, including foreign policy and diplomacy.

"Government itself is a lesser concept than that of society, which is the most comprehensive of all ... The requisites of society are law and order, stability, and a general security, all of which depend on the state. The state includes a definite territory, a population, sovereignty and governmental organization. Thus, the state is greater and more inclusive than government, which is the organized agent or political and administrative arm of the state—the state viewed in the institutional sense, so to speak.

"Although government resembles many other social institutions, it has several distinguishing characteristics: Membership in the organized political state is compulsory, whereas in other associations it is usually voluntary; and it possesses legal supremacy and a near monopoly of force." 1

In these definitions of government action is confined to explicit territory and the "membership in the organized political state is compulsory". What is the state for the Berthold person? Is it the State of North Dakota or the United States? Might it be neither? Is the tribe a state in this sense? Moreover, there is the problem of relationships in any state. Of this Herring says,

"Government, good or bad, is a problem of relationships ... I suggest that we consider as factors in the political equation: (a) individuals and the groups into which their common interests cluster them; (b) ideas, aspirations, and philosophies which men accept for belief and guidance; institutions and organizations which channel human behavior." 2


Kluckhohn and Kelly\(^1\) define culture as

"... a historically derived system of explicit and implicit designs for living, which tends to be shared by all or specially designated members of a group at a specified point in time."

Moreover, Herskovits advances the following propositions on the theory of culture:

1. Culture is learned;
2. Culture derives from the biological, environmental, psychological, and historical components of human existence;
3. Culture is structured;
4. Culture is divided into aspects;
5. Culture is dynamic;
6. Culture is variable;
7. Culture exhibits regularities that permit its analysis by the methods of science;
8. Culture is the instrument whereby the individual adjusts to his total setting, and gains the means for creative expression."\(^2\)

Going back to the definition of culture the terms "explicit" and "implicit" as parts of the culture will require some elaboration since the concept of culture will figure importantly in our present analysis. Kluckhohn\(^3\) says:

"... explicit culture includes all those features of the designs for living of a group which can be described to an outsider by participants in the culture. . . ."

and that:

"... the implicit culture has a different meaning for the culture carriers. Since (it) is largely unverbalized it tends to be taken for granted as a part of the natural order of things and is extraordinarily resistant to change." (Under-scoring supplied).


Going back to explicit culture it is said to have both content and structure. A "description of culture content consists in stating what is done, said and made - by whom, when and under what circumstances. The most easily isolable elements in designs for living are called culture traits".\(^1\) Under this might be listed in American culture such things as going to a basketball game, a balanced diet, and the court house gang. Traits may be grouped according to function to form a trait complex, e.g. the Indian Bureau, treaties, trust lands and wards go to make up the reservation system. On the other side structure is "characterized by relatively fixed relations between parts rather than by the parts or elements themselves."\(^2\) It is this area of the explicit culture that will figure more importantly in our analysis.

One further concept in the field of culture and this will complete those deemed useful to our analysis and this is Herskovits' cultural focus concept which

\[\ldots\] designates the tendency of every culture to exhibit greater complexity, greater variation in the institutions of some of its aspects than in others. So striking is this tendency to develop certain phases of life, while others remain in the background, so to speak, that in the shorthand of the disciplines that study human societies these focal aspects are often used to characterize whole cultures.\(^3\)

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1 ibid., p. 38.
2 ibid., p. 39.
3 ibid., p. 542.
Last of our conceptual tools by which this analysis will be made is the hypothesis advanced by Dewey\(^1\) on the theory of the state. He holds that a public is brought into existence by the

"... lasting, extensive and serious consequences of associated activity ... By means of officials and their special powers it becomes a state. A public articulated and operating through representative officers is the state; there is no state without a government, but also there is none without the public."

But Dewey\(^2\) also suggests that in a face-to-face group such as an isolated village where every member knows what every other one is doing; where the participants of "conjoint behavior" with indirect harmful consequences are readily detected, "the state is an impertinence" in "such a condition of intimacy". He points out that

"A part of the problem of discovery of a public capable of organization into a state is that of drawing lines between the too close and intimate and the too remote and disconnected. Immediate contiguity, face to face relationships, have consequences which generate a community of interests, a sharing of values, too direct and vital to occasion a need for political organization ... Only when the tie is extended to a union of families in a clan and of clans in a tribe do consequences become so indirect that special measures are called for ... Custom and measures improvised to meet special emergencies as they arise suffice for its regulation."\(^3\)


\(^2\) *ibid.*, p. 41.

\(^3\) *ibid.*, pp. 39–40.
These then are the concepts that will be employed:

1) an association of persons so intimate in their relationships that there is no "need for a political organization" and "too narrow and restricted in scope to give rise to a public" or too isolated to fall within the same public of another association;

2) a politically organized public;

3) culture, particularly that of implicit culture;

4) structure and content in culture;

5) government as function;

6) government as a problem of relationships.

From the history of the Berthold peoples we observed them to be never more than an association of "clans in a tribe" meeting serious indirect consequences of "conjoint behavior" by custom and improvised measures. They were a public that was "unorganized and formless" right down to the time that the Congress of the United States in the Appropriation Act of 1871 established the policy that Indians would no longer be dealt with as separate nations and would come under the legislative control of the Federal government. Certainly they suffered from "lasting, extensive and serious consequences of associated activity" that originated in remote regions. The Chippewa Indians
obtained guns from the British and were able to drive out the Sioux from the Great Lakes region and they in turn became the scourge of the Berthold peoples. The fur trade was probably responsible for the introduction of smallpox beginning about 1780 which nearly decimated them on several occasions. The Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the Oregon Trail, land settlement following the war between the states, the General Allotment Act of 1887, the drouth and the great depression of the 1930's and now the Missouri River Basin Development Program of 1945 each set in motion a wave of consequences that has tossed them about like a cork in the sea.

From 1862 when the three tribes confederated at Fishhook village to 1895 when they scattered out over the reservation in separate allotments they had not formed what might be regarded as a politically organized public.

If the Berthold peoples have continued over the past 80 years, in their internal political arrangements, to live by custom and improvised measures they could do so only to the extent

1) that they were protected not of themselves from the harmful consequences of the acts of others,

2) that such consequences were anticipated by others than themselves and protection accordingly pro-
    vided or
3) that forces external to them operated to relieve or allay unforeseen discomfort without any assumption of group responsibility on their part.

Conversely if they lived by custom and improvised measures the environment would have to remain sufficiently congenial so that custom and temporary measures would suffice. E.g., if the movement from the village to allotments meant that horses, harnesses, wagons and roads were called for but these were all anticipated and on hand when the families were ready to move out there would be no call for the formation of a politically organized public on the part of the villagers. The office of the chief might still be important as an administrative device in getting the people to move out on allotments but the functional responsibilities would be little different from that of working out arrangements for the evacuation of the village in preparation for the winter hunts.

The Berthold group, and for that matter this is characteristic of all tribal groups as wards on Indian reservations in the United States, tends to function in just such a context. The Federal government assumed the responsibility of certain governmental functions. Some of these were based on legal obligations and others on moral considerations. However, over the years these
functions have come to encompass the servicing of nearly every need through the Bureau of Indian Affairs as we noted at the beginning of this chapter. Dewey says that one mark of a politically organized public

"... is indicated by the idea that children and other dependents ... are peculiarly its wards. When the parties involved in any transaction are unequal in status, the relationship is likely to be one-sided, and the interests of one party to suffer. If the consequences appear serious, especially if they seem to be irretrievable, the public brings to bear weight that will equalize conditions."¹

That what we have here literally is a group in a wardship status relative to the functions of government as those are now performed. Yet at the same time the services provided by the Federal government have not supplanted any meaningful aspect of the functions of government that the tribe as such has always carried on by custom or some temporary measure.

There is a margin or space within all these services where these customs continue and manage in some cases to flourish. Let us take a few examples to illustrate this point: in the field of law and order, the anthropologists point out that a peace chief² as well as a war chief was elected. It was the duty of the peace chief to help others and compose quarrels. Murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson, burglary and larceny were not crimes triable in the Federal Court.

¹ The Public and Its Problems, p. 62.
² Robert M. Merrill, Fort Berthold Relocation Problems, (Preliminary Draft) University of Chicago, August 1, 1951, p. 40.
until 1885. Assault with a dangerous weapon, incest, and robbery were not included until 1932. Courts of Indian Offenses under Bureau control were authorized by Secretarial order in 1882. In 1894 the tribes were permitted to select judges from the body of the tribes. The practice has continued down to the present time. In this instance traditional methods were dressed up sufficiently to permit of formalization in a written code. The present judge of the Tribal Court is one of the leaders amongst the older members of the tribes. He frequently served as spokesman for the tribes as a delegate to the nation's capitol. On various occasions he was elected as Chairman of the Tribal Council. Since his appointment some 4 years ago to the office of tribal judge by the Tribal Council he has retired from active tribal politics and gives his full time to the settlement of problems that come before his court. In recognition of his services the Tribal Council on January 10, 1952 increased his salary to $200 per month. All this conforms to the traditional pattern wherein a tribal peace chief was appointed by the village council.

In the matter of health every modern innovation is tolerated but the services of native "medicine men" are still in demand. A shaman presently makes regular visits to the reservation and it was of interest to note that
even native members of the hospital staff were amongst
his clientele. It was not strange, therefore, to have
the social worker on the agency staff, herself a Berthold
member, become extremely critical of a request from a
relief client for an increase in his monthly food allow-
ance because the medicine man had recommended a meat diet.
In this case the patient was a long and faithful employee
of the Indian Agency. He had suffered from a stroke and
was undergoing observation and care of the Government
physician to determine his eligibility for disability
compensation. He was being given general assistance
temporarily until his eligibility was established.

In spite of the somewhat elaborate system of wel-
fare services within the Indian Agency, the counties and the
State to provide for families in need, there is every lee-
way for the traditional ways of giving to continue and it
does so in every conceivable form. In fact, there is
reason to believe that the organized public welfare assis-
tance just mentioned makes possible a greater intensifica-
tion of rituals and ceremonials by which the more
spectacular traditional means of wealth distribution are
achieved through the "give-away" custom. What we may have
here is what Devereux and Loeb\(^1\) call "antagonistic accultur-
tion" which they say is the "diffusion of the means segment of covert-culture (or overt culture) complex of traits". They mention 3 types and one of these appropriate here is "the adoption of new means in order to support existing ends". Here the complex of traits adopted is the ready acceptance of any and all assistance of the kind furnished by the public agencies. It may not be done consciously in order to support existing ends, the "give-away" in this instance, but since the "give-away" appears to have strong survival value it amounts to the same thing. Of the "give-away" Merrill makes the following comment and observation:

"Public generosity, as manifested in 'giving-away' at Indian dances, meetings of the Indian 'societies', funerals, and memorial gatherings is a traditional way of gaining prestige, and is still meaningful to many. Money, blankets, quilts, and other consumption goods are given away to visitors from other reservations, old people, people in especially difficult circumstances, men going off to war, and to various groups, dance societies, American Legion Posts, etc. The meaning of this activity is indicated in the following statement by an older man referring to a dance:

After the people get all painted up--this is decoration, like lipstick--and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another . . ."
People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards.

Another way of "giving-away" is donating food, household equipment, etc. to a group giving a dance or party at which the goods are auctioned off. The name of the donor is mentioned so that he as well as the lavish purchaser may be praised. The proceeds go to the organization. Also, on most social occasions, women provide the food and are praised for the quantity and quality of what they supply. The strength of the generosity pattern among present-day adults is indicated by the fact that many organizations are supported primarily in these ways, and that in some groups small factions have developed which compete in providing the for their group activities."

Such organizations as the "Soldiers' Entertainers", "Morales" and "War Sisters" are manifestations of this implicit element in the culture. These organizations came into being in response to effects of the present "cold war". This is not to question the activity. The motives are laudable. It is presented only to illustrate the carry-over into the present of old ways that still survive under modern banners. It would be helpful to know to what extent such organizations are the counter parts of the Women Societies that figured so prominently in the social organization of the tribes in an earlier period. The following excerpt from the Fort Berthold Agency News Bulletin of February 1, 1962 bears repeating in this connection:

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1 Robert Merrill, idem, pp. 26-27.
2 idem.
"THE SOLDIERS ENTERTAINERS"

"The Soldiers' Entertainers were organized in the spring of 1951. Mr. Alex Sage gave the Club the name "Soldiers' Entertainers".

We organized this club for our boys' sake, not only for our brothers, but all the boys that are in the service. We have had numerous parties for the soldiers that have come home on furloughs and gave them money for their spending money.

We put on basket socials and sales for raising funds. Also, we have prayer meetings at some of our members' homes. After all, we should be 100% back of our boys and not let them down . . .

Two members have joined another club . . . "The Nishu Morales" . . . " (The Soldiers' Entertainers Club has a membership of 21, 18 women and 3 men).

The issue of the News for January 15, 1952 carried an item on the "War Sisters" from which the following excerpt is taken:

"The War Sisters of Elbowoods held a sale for the purpose of raising funds to benefit the Service Men, on January 8th, 1952 . . . Over $331 worth of sales were made . . . Among the items sold were War Bonnets, Blankets, Shawls, and goods of various kinds.

After the sale, a dance and party was held . . . in honor of Russell Gillette and Tracy Packineau, two of our Service Men. Almost $100 was collected to be divided between the two boys . . ."

Even the monstrous land management system of the Bureau and meticulous supervision of personal trust funds (the latter now completely relaxed except for minors and those adjudged mentally incompetent) have not interfered materially with traditional ways of owning and disposing of property. Regulations permitted almost complete free-
dom of exchange between members and as to the land this,
too, could be passed from one member to another under a wide
range of circumstances. Wills came into early and wide use.
The Bureau provided free service for their preparation
and it was thus possible to leave property, real and personal,
right down to the present in accordance with tradition.
There was some complication, of course, in the formality
involved for recording purposes but as far as the individual
was concerned, if he did not talk English, he was provided
with an interpreter. All he had to do was go to the office
and have an employee write down, in a prescribed manner on
a prescribed form, his wishes. There were no official co-
erisions - no deterrent even economically because the instru-
ments were filled out and recorded without charge.

The remainder of the services such as education, ex-
tension, roads and soil conservation is peripheral to the
traditional current of concern over what might be regarded
as governmental functions. These, too, are responsibilities
carried on by the Federal government which appears to be
the one most concerned. It is actually the manifestation
of a public attempting to channel the "consequences of con-
joint behavior". It is a part of a national concern for
human and soil deterioration. However, the activities in
its name makes few coercions on traditional ways.
All of this suggests the existence of a group with a mode of life in which the state is still "an impertinence". Viewed in this fashion one can begin to see the outlines of a sub-culture that is the product of a subtle incorporation of Bureau services into a traditional system that continues and is changed but little as to its form and possibly even in content, for in the few examples in the preceding paragraphs we find such traits as giving away at funerals, the tribal court, the women's societies, native treatment of ills and items like war bonnet, blanket, shawl, medicine man which are signatory. If these explicit aspects of culture survive and if, as the anthropologists hold, the implicit culture is highly resistant to change and at the same time a favorable medium has been provided for its continuance the hypothesis that a unique sub-culture exists appears plausible.

The concept of a sub-culture, i.e., a system of social relationships in a given mode of life within the same general but larger system, is not difficult to visualize. The upper-middle and lower class in American society, the rural as contrasted with the urban social systems in the United States is to mention only a few. But what we have here in a reservation society is a social phenomenon of an entirely different order. Its dimensions are difficult to assess because the "designs for living" are to a large degree implicit.
At the same time little is known as to the **structural arrangements** of the explicit. Unfortunately most cultural studies of Indian tribes in the United States are focused on a given tribe and even here the outcome is largely descriptive. But, eighty years of Bureau activity cannot be disregarded if any analysis is to have a meaningful consequence for Indian administration.

This reservation cultural entity itself has an implicit element in which the Bureau activity figures importantly. One example of this will be mentioned: a modern dial telephone system was installed during the "recovery" days of the 30's when emergency funds were readily available for such purposes. Telephones were placed in each of the eight communities, usually at the schools, and were readily accessible to nearly every family. This service was free, so while the families may have been scattered out over the reservation here was a modern device that brought them together almost as close as they were during the village days prior to 1885. Since all these telephones were connected with the hospital, the school office, the welfare office, the home of the police officer and to the homes of most department heads, it is not difficult to imagine that any structural changes in the social or political organization would be extremely limited. The social organism could move through time quite unmodified.
In reality it is this social organism that is the "ward". It is a community in political isolation. It has just enough traits of the politically organized public existing in what Sorokin calls a state of "spatial adjacency" to have the superficial appearance of giving its members some meaningful relationship with such publics as the United States and the State of North Dakota. The Berthold members are citizens in that: they are privileged to vote; they serve in the armed forces; they own personal property some of which, like a car is taxable by the state; they may and frequently do move about the United States the same as any other free person; many are high school graduates, and so a listing of such traits would show them no different from most other social groups in the U. S. It is when these are arranged according to trait complexes which in turn are related to the reservation social system that they begin to take on meaning in a sense that will be useful in attempting to establish policy and work out programs for relocation.

We need now to apply to this cultural entity Herskovits' concept of cultural focus—the tendency for "the interests of a people to concentrate on a given phase of their culture". He points to the focus on social organization by the aboriginal Australian; on religion by the Puyallup-Nisqually of the Northern Pacific Coast of the United States; the Buffalo

1 From lecture notes in course on "Inter-personal and Inter-group solidarity".
diary amongst the Toda of Africa; Yams by the Ponapean on the Micronesian island of Ponape, in the Eastern Caroline and on technology and the associated phases of business activity needed to promote technological change by Americans. He writes of this last,

"We can see this in our readiness to accept technological changes, when contrasted to the resistance to changes in economic theory . . . or in social institutions, or in religion. The lad who tinkers with a broken-down automobile until he has a workable vehicle, or plays with a set of chemicals is prepared to welcome 'improvements' when he grows up. In this he is merely responding to a deep-seated enculturative drive. But nothing comparable exists outside the focal aspect; it is in these other phases that our cultural conservatism is most manifest."

In the "Berthold culture" the focus is on Federal government activities affecting its members and tribal claims. Federal government activities began with the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804 when these intrepid representatives of the President and Congress offered these three beleaguered tribes some respite from their nomadic enemy, the Sioux. In the present, promises of continued services are at least implied in the law under which they are being relocated. We noted earlier that the Treaty of 1851 supposedly establishing their right to 12½ million acres was found to be of no effect because it was never ratified.

1 ibid, pp. 544-549.
by the Senate. The United States Court of Claims awarded them $2 million in 1931 and $400,000 in 1946. The January 15, 1952 issue of the Agency News Bulletin carried a two-page report of the Claims Committee of the Berthold tribes following a visit to Washington, D. C. Through a Washington firm of attorneys, Petition 350 was filed with the Indian Claims Commission on August 11, 1951 on behalf of the Arikara, Mandan and Gros Ventre Tribes. It is natural therefore that interest would center around government services and tribal claims. Like the American concern with technology and technological change the more there is of them the greater the satisfactions that flow from them. It is entirely possible that this is a "deep-seated enculturative drive" behind much of the motivation on the reservation that gives rise to seeming incongruities and inconsistencies and yet for this reason has an underlying unity for the members.

The Bureau employee is unhuman, indeed, if he can remain aloof in all of this. But he cannot escape it, particularly if he is employed on the reservation. He may regard himself in a class apart but he is nonetheless in a sub-system that goes to complete the social structure. It may be out of enlightened self interest, more often it is from a sincere desire to relieve hunger and pain, that
he identifies himself with the cause in the hopes of getting more funds.

... A still further isolating (insulating would be a more apt term) factor as far as the Federal employees are concerned is their lack of interest in politics. This stems from their official status, and the transitory nature of their residence in the community. The assessment and collection of property taxes are usually effective means of getting interest and participation in discussions, at least, of local and state politics. But here again the Federal employees escape taxes on real estate because the Government as a rule provides furnished quarters at a nominal rental. At the same time the State income tax is extremely low in comparison with the Federal income tax so this taken with the small amount of taxes they may have to pay on a few items of personal property leaves them about as "tax-free" as the Berthold families on the Reservation. The result is even less interest in state and local units of government than that possessed by the people with whom they work.

We can now see how really isolated from and insulated against the politically organized public the Berthold people are.

The circumstances, as we have seen, have been such that, while the Berthold community happens to be geographically within the limits of the State of North Dakota and
the United States, it has not fallen within the public
of either, yet it has all the "requisites of society-law
and order, stability and a general security, all of
which depend on the state". But since, as a social
organism, it is treated as a ward of the Federal govern-
ment the "state is an impertinence", and we have an excep-
tion to the Dimocks' proposition.

We may now turn to the last of our concepts in this analy-
sis. The concept that government is a problem of relation-
ships. Our analysis so far has been one of getting a look
at one aspect of existing conditions and, of course,
the relationships between the Bureau and the Berthold
group. Relocation of Berthold families means a complete
disruption of the reservation social system just describ-
ed. Even with the closest approximation of present ser-
VICES by the Bureau there will remain many gaps that will
have to be filled in by other units of government. Those
families previously most dependent on the local Federal
agency particularly for health, education and welfare ser-
VICES, will find it extremely difficult if they find it
necessary to turn to other agencies for this assistance.

Consideration of the problem of relationships, however,
might best be delayed until we take a look at the existing
conditions regarding governmental units and other agencies
that might conceivably furnish the present services pro-
vided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

1 Dimock and Dimock, idem.
Berthold families who choose to remain on the reservation will be relocated in the following five counties, each of which will include some parts of the reservation which is not taken by the government for the Garrison Reservoir: Dunn, McKenzie, McLean, Mercer and Mountrail. Elective officials in each of these counties are: auditor, treasurer, sheriff, clerk of court, register of deeds, states attorney, county judge, superintendent of schools, coroner and 3 county commissioners. Two counties elect a surveyor in each. In addition to these elected officials there are the following appointive officers and boards in each county; these are appointed by the Board of County Commissioners: county engineer, county agent, county nurse, veterans service officer, county physicians, superintendent of the board of health, members of the insanity board, foreman of the county machine shop, janitor of the court house, deputy sheriff for collection of delinquent personal property taxes and the county board of welfare (9 members). Berthold families at present have occasion to deal with only the welfare board and this applies to just those families receiving categorical aid.

Even much of this is being handled through the Agency welfare office and it is seldom necessary for the client to go to the county office.

After relocation it will probably be necessary to go to county offices for this service. See Chart 5 for a

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1 Paul W. Wager (ed), County Government Across the Nation, Chapel Hill, the University of North Carolina Press, 1950.
Chart 5. Distances to County Welfare Offices and Agency headquarters from Reservation segments. Before relocation few families had to travel more than 25 miles to the Agency where all welfare administration was then centralised.
graphic illustration of the extent of readjustment this one item alone could entail. There are some 20 officials and boards in each of these counties, each of which could conceivably be important to Berthold families if the Indian Bureau services were withdrawn completely. At least half of them are not responsible to any one except the electorate; the remainder stand in some kind of supervisory relationship to the three-man board that appoints them. At this point alone Berthold families would have to go in nearly 100 different directions where before, in any difficulty whatsoever, they could always turn to the reservation superintendent who was in a position to help work out some kind of solution by use of the staff and facilities available to him.

When we turn from counties to districts that include more than one county the complexity continues to increase. Amongst these there are three that may be of concern. The Public Health Districts are of immediate concern since the Bureau is contracting for public health services for Berthold families. It has also contracted with several hospitals for hospital and medical services. Until August, 1951 they had only to telephone or drive not more than 25 miles, at the most, to get in touch with the
doctor or reach the Agency hospital. Map 7 shows
the way in which the Public Health Districts cut across
reservation communities. This map also shows the distances
families must now travel to obtain hospital services. For
example, to take an extreme case but one that could become
a reality: two families relocated in the so-called "Western
Segment", one on the Dunn county side and the other on
the McKenzie County side: for the Dunn county resident the
District headquarters would be in Dickinson 30 miles south
and for the McKenzie county resident the District head-
quarters would be in Williston 100 miles in a northerly
direction.

Three separate judicial districts divide the reser-
vation. Here again the "Western Segment" of the reserva-
tion is divided by two of these districts. See Map 8. One
judge is elected for a term of 4 years in each district.¹
This office along with that of the county judge, states
attorney and county sheriff could become of practical con-
cern to Berthold families if the present efforts of
several senators and congressman are successful in getting
a bill² passed that would transfer to State governments
the control of law and order on Indian Reservations in the
States of Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota,

¹ Section 104, The Constitution of the State of North Dakota.

The reservation is divided into 4 legislative districts. Here also the "Western Segment" is cut across by two districts. See Map 9.

None of the three sets of districts have ever been of more than academic interest to the Berthold families. If law and order jurisdiction is conferred on the State and the State accepts this responsibility or the Berthold people are interested in having the State accept such responsibility by legislative act, then legislative, as well as the judicial district, would become a very meaningful unit of government.

The State of North Dakota has, of course, the following elective State Officers: Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, State Auditor, State Treasurer, Attorney General, Commissioner of Insurance, Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Tax Commissioner, Public Service Commissioner and Judges of the Supreme Court. In addition to the elective officials there are 44 appointive boards, 9 appointive commissions, 33 appointive departments and 17 state institutions. Of immediate concern to Berthold families amongst the appointive units in the foregoing are: the Health Council, Public Welfare Board, Indian Affairs Commission, Health Department, Highway Department, Highway Police Patrol and Drivers
STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA

MAP 9
License Department, the Agricultural College, School for the Blind, School for the Deaf, State Training School, State Penitentiary, State Hospital, State School (feeble-minded) and Tuberculosis Sanitarium. At the present time nearly every one of these last-named provide some type of service to reservation families but largely through the initiation of Indian Bureau officials. Several are under some contractual arrangement wherein payment by the Federal government is called for in the furnishing of the services.

Federal offices in the State that have responsibility to the Indians are: the Fort Berthold Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the United States District Court, particularly the Judge, District Attorney, Marshal and the Probation Officer. Others on whom the Berthold families may have occasion to call are: State Employment Services affiliated with the U. S. Employment Service, District Office of the U. S. Corps of Army Engineers, Farmers Home Administration, Soil Conservation Service, Production Credit Association, Rural Electrification Administration, and Production Marketing Administration. Some of these have offices in the 5 counties. Dunn County has one S. C. S. unit conservationist with 6 supervisors, a PMA Committee, and a FHA supervisor clerk. Mercer County has one SCS unit conservationist with 6 supervisors, a PMA committee, a FHA supervisor.

Each of the counties has 3 PMA committeemen and each county has from 7 to 11 community committees of 3 community committee members each, e.g., McLean County has 33 community committeemen.
part time and a REA Cooperative. McKenzie County
has one SCS unit conservationist with one technician
and 3 supervisors, a PMA committee, a FHA supervisor,
assistant supervisor and clerk, and a REA Cooperative.
McLean County has two SCS unit conservationists with 2
technicians and 6 supervisors, a PMA committee, a FHA
supervisor and 1 clerk and a REA Cooperative. Mountain
County has two SCS unit conservationists, 2 technicians and
6 supervisors, a PMA committee, a FHA supervisor, 1
assistant supervisor and 2 clerks, and a REA cooperative.

Going beyond the State the Berthold families are con-
cerned with the Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs, at
Aberdeen, South Dakota and the Missouri Basin Inter-Agency
Committee. In Washington there is the Bureau of Indian
Affairs in the Department of the Interior, the Corps of
U. S. Army Engineers in the Department of Defense and the
Indian Claims Commission on all in the Executive Branch.
In the Legislative Branch frequent appearances are made
by representatives of the tribes before the Committee on
Public Lands in the House of Representatives and the
Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in the Senate.
In the Judicial Branch tribal claims in the Court of
Claims have received much attention.

Last in this list of the units of government is that
of the tribes’ own, the Tribal Business Council of the
Three Affiliated Tribes. The council was created by a con-
stitution adopted by the tribes in 1936 and approved in the same year by the Secretary of the Interior. Authority for this constitution is contained in section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984). The powers of the Tribal Council will be found on pages 4, 5, and 6 of the constitution in appendix D.

Most of the foregoing array of governmental units have had little meaning to Berthold people but it now appears that they will be plunged in the very midst of them. If the Federal government, by contract, attempts to transfer to them the services it now performs through the Bureau of Indian Affairs or if the State of North Dakota and the Berthold people suddenly find the Federal government refusing to furnish or finance some or any of them there will be the need to face the problem of relationships in either event. This aspect of the problem will be considered in the Chapter on Planning and Administration.

It did seem necessary in the analysis of the general situation to do the commonplace in order to visualize the magnitude of the problem of relationships. One example will illustrate what is involved here. In the capacity of Superintendent it was important that the writer meet periodically with the Welfare Board in each county.
The Berthold families were then living in only 3 of the 5 counties. These 3 counties together with the State of North Dakota were paying around $30,000 a year to Berthold welfare clients. This meant driving 40 miles to one county seat, 60 miles to another and 90 miles to another; all in different directions. It was also necessary at times to drive to the State Capital 185 miles away for conferences with State Welfare officials. Relocation will result in Berthold welfare clients living in all 5 counties with the Agency headquarters likely to be located even farther away from the State Capital and the 3 county seats originally dealt with.

County and the State governments organized as they are together with the uncoordinated proliferation of Federal agencies out in the State and the counties creates a herculean task for the mere dissemination of information regarding Indians not to mention the conjoint formulation of policy to guide the programs of each as these are related to Berthold family needs.

In summary, the Berthold people on the Reservation constitute a group that has received its public services through the Bureau of Indian Affairs and together with it has developed a sub-culture that has made it possible not only for implicit traditions to continue but to permit the formation of new implicit aspects to become incorporated. Thus on the eve of relocation Berthold families and the
Bureau of Indian Affairs face government as a problem of relationships with more than 100 units, more or less. Previously, it was largely an internal problem managed largely by custom and habit developed over a period of some 80 years. Moreover, the new relationships will call for learning new ways of doing things, complicated, at the same time, by cross cultural resistances. Berthold families have turned out at the polls on election day about as well as other citizen groups in North Dakota. Their young men, and their young women, too, since 1940, have responded to every call to arms since the 1870's. There are over 50 in the Armed Forces at the beginning of 1952. This is one out of each 50 of the Berthold population. But important to the welfare of the nation as voting and serving in the armed forces are, this is not the whole of citizenship responsibility. Its realization and the enrichment of the personality that goes with it will depend on how well government - the problem of relationships - is managed.
Chapter XIII

MISCELLANEOUS PROBLEMS

The problems considered in the preceding chapters were taken up in greater detail than the ones that will be mentioned here, not because they are more important but because there is more information available about them.

Drinking to Excess

There is no analysis of the use of spirituous liquors amongst the Fort Berthold Indians. Its use is prohibited, as we shall see, by Federal Law but those who will have it have no difficulty in obtaining it. It is usually the younger men who use it to excess.

If they were permitted to step up to the bar for a drink or go into a liquor store to make a purchase and take it home where it could be used in moderation as other citizens are allowed to do, there may be much less of drinking to excess or in a socially disapproved manner than appears to be the case at present.

Under the Indian liquor laws it is illegal for any person to furnish Fort Berthold Indians with any kind of spirituous beverages, this includes 3.2 beer. Sacramental
wine and intoxicants for mechanical, scientific, and medicinal purposes are excepted. The sale, gift or other disposition of intoxicants to a Fort Berthold Indian or any other "ward" Indian, like the writer himself, is a misdemeanor punishable for the first offense by imprisonment of not more than one year, and by a fine not exceeding $2000 and imprisonment of not more than five years for any additional offense. It is important to note that under this provision it is not the Indian that violates the law by purchasing or otherwise receiving illicit liquor; it is the seller who is guilty even if he did not know that the purchaser was an Indian. It is also illegal to bring intoxicating liquor on the Reservation.

In Jefferson's day when Congress, in 1802, authorized him to take steps to control the liquor traffic with the Indians, and until the repeal of the national prohibition law less than two decades ago, it was possible to exercise some measure of control over the sale of liquor to Indians and to prevent its introduction on the reservation. In that period the outlets were limited as were also the opportunities for Indians to associate with persons who used it.

The situation is profoundly different today. Over 100 men and women were in the armed forces in World War II. An even larger number left the reservation and worked in defense plants as far away as Seattle, Washington. In
Army camps and communities a few hundred miles from
Indian Reservations no one pays any attention to the
Indian liquor laws. Its sale is illegal but no one is
around to enforce the law. Every cross road store and
hamlet within a few miles off the reservation sells beer,
if not hard liquor. If advertising of liquor through all
its media is effective on Whites it can be expected to
have its influence on Indians as well. The feeling is quite
general that since the Fort Berthold Indians are citizens
it is absurd to try to prevent them from buying liquor.
There is probably less public sympathy with these laws than
there was for the national prohibition legislation when
it was in force between 1918 and 1933.

White employees may go into bars and other places
where liquor is sold off the reservation and have their
liquor as they choose. This may be indiscreet when they
know they work with people who are not allowed the same
privilege. They do nonetheless, in many instances, and
some of them are not beyond bringing liquor back on the
reservation for use in their homes. The Indians are not
so stupid as not to know about all this.

The State courts, as we have seen, have no juris-
diction on Trust Indian lands. The Federal Courts are con-
cerned only with those who sell liquor to Indians. How-
ever, drunkenness and possession of liquor by an Indian
on the reservation is defined as an offense against Tribal
laws and triable by the Fort Berthold Tribal Court.

Thus the situation is one in which the Indians, where so inclined, have, when away from Indian country, obtained liquor whenever they wanted it. The prohibition is considered an infringement on their rights as citizens, particularly after they have served in the armed forces of the United States, and most of their White friends agree with them on this point. Use or possession of intoxicating beverages considered properly within the law for non-Indians outside the reservation are unlawful for Indians on the reservation. The mere smell of liquor on the breath of an Indian makes him suspect because he is not supposed to have it in the first place. If a member of the family or some other member of the tribes suspicions that an Indian does have liquor in his possession chances are good that it will be reported to the tribal or agency police and an arrest will be made if all the poor fellow has in his possession is a bottle of 3.2 beer.

"Despite the law", writes Merrill, "drinking is fairly common on the reservation, especially among young men. This appears to be connected, in part, to the fact that many of these people have acquired through school, the Army, etc., wants that they are unable to find satisfactory means to satisfy. Thus, there seems to be a correlation between economic difficulties and drinking among young and also older men but this is somewhat modified by some internalization of white moral standards against drinking. Drinking, because it involves violating a white law which many resent, may also have the meaning of a hostile attack against white authority. Though there are other factors involved, it seems probable that reducing excessive drinking is primarily a matter of alleviating the

1 Robert Merrill, Fort Berthold Problems, University of Chicago, August 1, 1951, p. 19.
underlying social maladjustments. Abolition of the discriminatory liquor law is undoubtedly a necessary part of any such effort.

Connected with drinking is "disorderly conduct", which often occurs under the influence of alcohol. Fights or beatings occur with appreciable frequency, often within families, and again young adults appear to be most frequently involved. These acts, like drinking, appear to be ways of relieving anxiety and tension especially prevalent in this age group."

It can be expected that tensions and anxieties will be increased during the period of relocation and to the extent that drinking and beatings result from these as causes, the liquor problem cannot safely be overlooked in any planning that is done.

It is usually the men that fall victim to the use of liquor. Why are the women less likely to come under its influence? Is it because the women still carry over into the present day life the duties connected with child care and rearing which give them something to do while the men have little that remains of their traditional modes of meaningful activity that gives rise to tensions and anxieties?

There is some evidence that the younger women are involved in drinking more frequently than before. Does this mean that internalized controls were present from the old culture and they are no longer being incorporated in the personality make-up? If so, will there be some ways that relocation may be handled so as not to lose this
last element of family resistance to the excessive use of liquor in the home?

To the writer's knowledge there are as yet not more than one or two cases of addiction to alcohol. But if there is something to the idea that the Indians are reacting to the White Man's imposed controls by protest drinking, that is, "violating a White law which many resent", then isn't it quite possible that the continued enforcement of the discriminatory liquor law will continue a situation in which the Indians in many cases will be only one step removed from alcoholism - "getting drunk just to get drunk"?

If drinking is partly a protest reaction, the situation on an Indian reservation sets up ideal conditions for its motivation and expression. There are the tensions growing out of acculturation. There are the frustrations that Indians experience from seemingly arbitrary decisions by government officials. There is often reason for them to suffer the devastating effects of racial discrimination. These lay the foundation. The liquor laws are such that the Indians run little risk to themselves in obtaining intoxicants. There can hardly be any feeling of guilt resulting from violation of the law in buying liquor when their very mentors, the Whites generally and the White employees in particular, are legally entitled to use it. It is not suggested that the repeal of the liquor laws applying to the Indians will eliminate the tensions that bring on the drinking. The bases for these tensions, of
course, will have to be altered; that will come with acculturation and habilitation.

The important thing to keep in mind throughout the relocation and habilitation period is that drinking will result primarily from two sources. One will be from frustrations that grow out of the adjustment process and the other from protest reactions. It is possible that one will aggravate the other. If the liquor law were not there to attack, the aggression would not thereby be eliminated; but to the extent that they focused their protest in some other area that did not require the use of alcohol to achieve their purpose one could feel that they were at least getting a step away from eventual addiction to it.

There is little that can be done at Fort Berthold to bring about the repeal of the Indian liquor law. All that can be done is to attempt to understand its effects on the people and their relocation problems. It is just as important to try to understand this aspect of human behavior as it is to attempt to find out what limitations the Fort Berthold reservation soils have in the growing of crops.

Malnutrition

Out of 326 families in 1951, it was reported\(^1\) that

\(^1\) Annual Extension Report, ibid, pp. 2, 4 and 5.
9 have milk cows (a few milked beef cows through the summer), 55 have chickens and 113 had gardens. 6240 quarts of vegetables and fruits were canned; this would be around 20 quarts per family.

There are certain principal vitamins and minerals essential to the maintenance of good physical health. The following dietary patterns were developed by the National Research Council to meet its daily Recommended Dietary Allowances for an average adult:

- **Milk** .................1 pt.
- **Egg** ..................1 daily, if possible (on eggless days substitute beans, peanuts, cheese or more milk or meat)
- **Meat, fish, or fowl**....1 or more servings
- **Potato** ................1 or more servings
- **Vegetables** ............2 or more servings (1 green or yellow)
- **Fruits** .................2 or more (1 citrus fruit or tomato or other good source of vitamin C)
- **Cereals and whole-grain or enriched bread**
- **Other foods needed to complete the meals**

From these recommended allowances it is obvious that if Fort Berthold families are to have adequate diets it will be necessary to purchase most of the protective foods over the counter. The level of the nutritional intake was probably increased somewhat by the wild fruits, deer and pheasants in the timbered areas along the river during parts of the year but these sources will be gone once the families leave the valley and relocate in the hills and prairies.

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However, even the advantage of the natural and ready source of wild fruits and game has left much to be desired. It is estimated that of the 329 Fort Berthold resident families 5 families meet the National Research Council recommended daily allowances, 75 are near it and can be regarded as having "fair" diets, and the remainder are considered "poor" to "very poor". 40 families have 1 pint of milk or its equivalent in canned or dried milk per person at least 9 months of the year or more; 60 families have 1 egg per person or its equivalent each day at least 9 months of the year, 20 families have two servings of vegetable (1 green or yellow) at least nine months of the year, and 50 families have fruits each day at least 9 months of the year.

Something of the nutritional problem is implied in the following observation by the reservation Home Economist:

"All merchants interviewed regarding the buying habits of reservation people mentioned the unusually large percentage of money spent for candy. '50¢ to $1.00 worth every time they buy groceries', 'For every $1.00 they spend for groceries they spend 50¢ for candy' were the remarks made by reservation merchants. The amount of store space taken up by pastries and soft drinks is an indication that these are popular.

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1 Results of a spot check by Adele B. Harrell, Home Economist, Fort Berthold Agency with cooperation of reservation Merchants and the Agency Extension Staff. Letter April 7, 1952.
items.

The one food group (of the basic 7) for which the merchants reported no demand was green and yellow vegetables. Since there is no demand for them the grocers do not stock them.¹

Where the food is not raised at home and is not obtainable in the wild state it will be necessary to travel 25 to 30 miles to the nearest stores to buy it. Even then it is not always possible to buy fresh vegetables and fruits. But given their availability and the money with which to purchase the proper kinds of food and in adequate supplies it is doubtful that more than 10 per cent of the families are familiar with their dietary needs.

There was a time when the right foods were eaten because that was all that was available. Lewis and Clark, following their expedition in 1806, report that the Indians, including the Gros Ventres, Mandans and Arikara, all had excellent teeth and were otherwise strong and healthy in appearance. Meat, corn, beans, squash, sunflower seeds, melons, wild fruits all fresh in season and dried when not otherwise available provided a good balance. All parts of the meat animal were eaten. Even the bones were cracked and boiled to extract from them their fats to be used in cooking.

The dietary patterns were a part of the culture.

¹ idem.
Food was something to eat when one became hungry but the system provided the right foods. Today food continues to have the same definition. It is nothing more than something to satisfy one's hunger. The choice depends on what the individual has come to like; usually meat, white bread, sugar, and coffee and potatoes.

The problem of raising what one can of the right foods and then making the food dollar go as far as possible in supplementing these in the purchase of such others as to make up a good diet is not one that confronts the Fort Berthold Indians alone, it is a general problem. Black and Kiefer¹ state,

"Still, we must not think that better nutrition is only a matter of income. There is a vast amount of poor nutrition that must be blamed on factors other than lack of ability to buy or produce the needed foods. This is the other part of the problem. Thus one part of the nutrition problem is increasing or supplementing the incomes of large masses of populations. The other part is inducing families to use their energies, resources, and buying power to obtain good diets for themselves."

It will not be enough to make plans in terms of increasing income by improving methods of production. For sometime to come it will probably be even more important that as much, yes, more attention, be paid to the use of the food dollar. For, at present at least, and there will be no marked change in the next 8 or 10 years, only about

one-half the families will be engaged in agricultural production and as much as half of these, along with the other half not in agriculture, will be buying nearly everything they eat.

**Discrimination**

Rebuffs because one is Indian result largely from lack of conformity with White behavior expectations rather than from the fact that the person may be Indian. Much of what might come under the heading of discrimination is confined to some of the towns near the Fort Berthold reservation.

The official position of the State of North Dakota is for equal treatment. State officials stand ready to correct any instances of different treatment on account of race where it is within their power to do so. The discrimination is often found in the refusal to provide hotel accommodations. The reason for this action is to the effect that Indians really have no occasion to rent a room since they live near by and only do so to have a place to bring their friends in order to have a drinking party. However, even with such establishments an Indian properly vouched for has no difficulty in getting a room.

Here again the proprietor is probably fearful of
becoming involved with Federal authorities under the Indian liquor law and would prefer to do without the business than to take a chance.

There are enough examples of Fort Berthold Indians receiving complete acceptance into full participation in the White community that discriminatory treatment of them should not be too difficult to eliminate. It will disappear as their social and economic status approaches that of Whites. Fort Berthold Indian girls are now teaching in rural and city schools. Some of the men belong to the Knights of Columbus, others to the Masonic lodge and other organizations of mixed membership cutting across all age groups to include both sexes have wide membership on the reservation. In the religious field there are the Congregational, Roman Catholic, Mormon, Episcopal Churches and the Church of God. Secular organizations are P.T.A., American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Federated Women's Clubs, 4-H, Boys Scouts, Girl Scouts and various political organizations.

Organizations such as the above could include in their common goals the elimination of whatever tendencies there were in the outside communities toward discriminatory treatment of Fort Berthold Indians.

So far the Indians have been sufficiently isolated and lived near enough to each other so that their out-
side associations have been more on an economic plane rather than a social one. Relocation will result in some important social and economic changes that must not be overlooked.

After relocation they will be divided into five different groups geographically which will limit the number of associations amongst themselves. They will at the same time be located nearer to surrounding towns. There will thus result a greater demand for outside contacts and the nearness to town will facilitate the meeting of this need to some extent. If tensions are high in the new situation and aggressive tendencies become channeled toward drinking, unfriendly attitudes toward Indians could develop very rapidly. In those situations where Indian children are in public schools in the same communities discriminatory treatment could readily be visited upon the Indian children with all that that could mean for undesirable consequences in their personality development.

There has been considerable tolerance of Indians in nearby towns in the past because their lands have been an important element in the agricultural industry. This has kept White ranchers and farmers from feeling too unhappy about having to pay for certain services to Indians through the county tax. Net returns have been larger for Whites using Indian trust land since in most cases it was
much more economical to lease it for crops on a 1/4 share basis or $1.00 per acre or for grazing at a few cents per acre than to own the land outright. Relationships between the White tenant and the Indian owner have generally been favorable enough for a fairly stable tenancy pattern to have developed over the years. Income from these leased lands and payments growing out of treaties and claims together with the business resulting from the Indian Agency staff needs and activities have gone into the trade of the surrounding towns. This, too, has had its effects on the maintenance of a tolerant attitude toward the Indians.

After relocation when many of the economic units of White farmers and ranchers have been reduced by the Indians moving on their own land and most of the $12.5 million have been spent, the present friendliness could easily take a different turn. The misconduct and un- tolerant behavior of a few, even though no greater than the present could easily create unfavorable attitudes that could be generalized to apply to all Fort Berthold Indians.

The present relationships are such that Indians are considered on their individual merits. Indian girls teaching in rural white communities is an indication of such acceptance. There are no better relations anywhere between Whites and Indians than those now obtaining in
Western North Dakota where Fort Berthold relocation will take place. But the setting is one in which there is every promise that these relations can become strained and can readily develop into serious proportions within a generation.

As we have seen the number of children born out of wedlock is high and result in high costs to the counties for the Aid to Dependent Children program. There is a tendency toward excess use of liquor partly from tensions inherent in the acculturation process and partly from protest drinking. "Outsiders" will be seeing more Indians on a social plane than before.

Out of this situation it will not be difficult to rationalize the conclusion that Indians are inferior. The social climate will allow for the free play of what Narton calls the "self-fulfilling prophecy". If a few Indians are found drunk about the streets it will make no difference that were it not for the Federal law, they might have taken their liquor home and used it in moderation. A decreasing rate of illegitimacy may be overlooked where it is comparatively high in a given county. Children in the public schools for the first time may be slow to make the adjustment to the new situation and this difficulty might well be reflected in inferior school grades. These

1 Social Theory and Social Structure, Chapter VII.
Part Three

PROGRAMS FOR ADJUSTMENT

TO THE NEW CONDITIONS
are but a few examples out of many that would strengthen those who wanted to believe that Indians were inferior. This attitude in the homes and on the streets would soon permeate the class rooms and school grounds. The community could be on a long harsh road where Indians would be condemned to a lower status with a high incidence of warped personalities and of inferior economic worth both to themselves and the community. It need not be. But it will not solve itself.

With good diets it might even be possible to reduce the excess use of liquor and to the extent this is a casual factor in discrimination, growing out of disapproved behavior from excess use of liquor, will also tend to be corrected. To the extent that relocation and habilitation are successful all three may be sufficiently eliminated as to be no longer regarded as being any more of a problem with Indians than for Whites. All classes of society suffer from one or more of these plagues.
Chapter XIV

PUBLIC POLICIES, PLANNING, and ADMINISTRATION in the FORMULATION AND EXECUTION OF PROGRAMS

Policies

Policies are decisions about what to do or what not to do in given situations. Congress, the North Dakota Legislature, the counties of Dunn, McKenzie, McLean, Mercer and Mountrail, and the Tribal Business Council will each be making decisions about what to do and what not to do in given situations regarding the Fort Berthold Indians. These public policies will determine in large measure the outcome of the Fort Berthold relocation. Administrative policy-decisions of officials to carry out public policies—will be equally important. This will be considered in the final section of this chapter.

Berthold people, as we have seen in the previous chapter, have not been a meaningful part of the publics that have made policy affecting them with the exception of their activity in connection with the legislation
under which they are presently being relocated. They have been beneficiaries of such decisions at one time and victims at another. The Social Security Act of 1935 which replaced the abominable and degrading ration system with an enlightened approach to welfare needs and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 which initiated the beginnings of a system of political organization for self determination are examples of the former. The placement of Indian affairs in the Interior Department in 1849 which was then and until very recently an agency of the Congress to "liquidate" the American national estate, the General Allotment Act of 1887 and the Missouri River Development Plan of 1944 are instances of the latter. Berthold people like all Indians in the United States had no part in the making of those policies.

1 Marion Clawson, "Administration of Federal Lands In the Public Interest," Journal of Politics, Vol. 15, Number 3, August, 1951. "Every student of American History knows that most of the land acquired by the new nation, by conquest, by treaty or annexation became the property of the central or Federal government. For nearly 150 years the federal government offered its best lands liberally to whosoever wanted them and would take them." p. 442.

Arnold Tilden, The Legislation of the Civil War Period Considered a Basis of Agricultural Revolution in the United States. (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1937). "To recapitulate, it may be said that the legislation --- continued and pushed forward a policy of robbery and murder in order to deprive the Indians of that which had been solemnly guaranteed to them". p. 150.
Public policy decisions adversely affecting Indians whether at Berthold or any place else in this country can no longer be made with impunity. Indians are on the conscience of America. An example of this is the storm of protest recently raised against regulations proposed to govern tribal attorney contracts and published in the Federal Register on August 11, 1951. It became necessary for the Secretary of the Interior personally to hold public hearings on the issue on January 3-4, 1952. 25 Indians representing tribes from across the nation, a special committee of the American Bar Association, representatives from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, several organizations interested in Indian Affairs, the Civil Liberties Union, the National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, and many others, 45 in all, made statements before the Secretary in protest of the regulations. On November 1, 2 and 3, 1951, the New York Times carried a series of three long articles on this controversy when it first attracted public attention.

Because of our position in the world today and our moral pronouncements abroad with respect to injustices in mandated areas, the American Indians have suddenly come into political prominence as a minority group out of all proportion to their numbers.
Public policy considerations presents one of the most difficult and at the same time, extremely important aspect of Berthold relocation.

Berthold people have, for the most part, since 1871 lived under public decisions they had no part in making.

It has been only within the last 30 years that Fort Berthold Indians could begin to exercise some influence through the ballot.

Voting in national, state and county elections has had the effect of acquainting the Indians with the mechanical procedures. This has been a helpful first step. However, most issues settled in these elections have had little direct bearing on the Indians since their problems where handled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They were able to some extent to influence Bureau decisions as that is possible through appeal to Congressmen and Senators. But all of these experiences in public policy making have been too remote as well as too recent to result in any degree of proficiency in the consideration of public problems.

One might have expected some training along these lines right at home. This was the ideal place to begin. There was some, but it was not Bureau policy to regard Indians as having the ability to help make decisions and
therefore little could be expected from even this quarter although it was the most strategic position from which to help Berthold Indians raise the level and content of their political literacy. It was not until 1936 when the Indians organized under the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984) that they began to participate in the solution of the problems they faced.

Policy decisions by governmental units make up part of the policy problem that will be important to Fort Berthold relocation. The organization and education of the Indians so that they may, wherever practicable, take an intelligent part in policy formulation is another element. A third factor is the realization of the difference between analysis and policy.

Policies, for Indians in general, formulated at the Federal level may make the situation at Fort Berthold more difficult to deal with because of the circumstances peculiar to it. An example of this is to be found in the recent liberalization of the regulations governing the expenditure of funds belonging to individual Indians. The regulations were arbitrary and did need revising. In most instances they did not allow for payment to an Indian of more than $500 per year without special authorization. They were a little less restrictive with the use of funds
for agriculture and improvements on land; here an
Indian could get up to $5000 in one year without
special permission from the Bureau of Indian Affairs
in Washington. Since June 27, 1951 all this has been
changed and any Indian over 16 years of age and not a
mental incompetent may now have any funds to his credit
by merely asking for it. It is a commendable policy.
However, the relaxation at Fort Berthold coincides with
the payment of over $5 million to tribal members. This
includes a per capita payment of $1000 made with $2½
million of the $7½ million appropriated by Congress
in the relocation legislation. This over-night shift
in policy could result in many funds being spent without
due care and thus increase the difficulties of reloca-
tion.

An analysis of the expenditures of 101 families who
received money from land sales and the per capita
payment showed that out of $966,826 there was left a
balance of $153,474 or 15 per cent in the Agency ac-
counts by December 1951. Of the amount spent the study
indicated that around 47 per cent went for the purchase
of land, machinery, livestock, and household improve-
ments.

Vigorous efforts are being made by many members in
February of 1952 to get Congress to authorize pay-
ment of the balance of the $7½ million to the members
rather than use any part of it in a rehabilitation
program.
Policies of units within the State of North Dakota may conflict but for different reasons. Where the money regulations had the goal of encouraging individual Indian responsibility, its application to varying conditions through the United States may fall short of its purposes in some cases. With the units in the State of North Dakota, their conflicts may come as a result of policies having differing goals. The latter can be corrected somewhat by a system of interested agencies coming together periodically to find common ground on which to formulate their policies. An organization along these lines was formed as the Fort Berthold Inter-Agency Committee on October 19, 1951. It includes in its membership representation from the five counties that will be affected by relocation, the Indian Agency, the Fort Berthold Tribal Business Council, and the North Dakota Indian Commission.

The Indians have the Tribal Business Council as the machinery to formulate the policies for the tribe. The real problem here is education. The brief time in which this Council has been in existence has not as yet permitted it to function as an effective vehicle for the resolution of conflicting interests. This weakness arises out of its limited authority and the way open to by-pass it on many important issues. For instance, the Council adopted a resolution in April 1951 to use $2 1/2 million for
a per capita payment and a similar amount to be used in a relocation program. No protest was made until after the payment was made to individuals in August 1951. As mentioned earlier a movement is on amongst the tribal members to have all the remaining tribal funds paid out per capita.

There is a conflict in interests here as there is in most policy matters. It is understandable that there would be those who want to have their part of the tribal estate now rather than to have it held in common for the general benefit of the tribe. Too often this effort comes from those who see this as an "opportunity to sell their capital and live on the proceeds, without the vision to look into the future and consider what will become of them and their children when the capital is gone."  

With the transfer of increasing responsibilities to Indians to manage their own affairs, the need for public policy discussions becomes the more acute. The disposition of $12½ million and the management of 450,000 acres of land cannot be handled intelligently without careful attention to this problem. A statement made at a conference²


on public policy bears repeating at this point, "We need much educational work designed to help people reach rational decisions regarding long time solutions to public problems."

The Fort Berthold Indians will very likely have the Bureau of Indian Affairs guiding their affairs for some years to come. But whatever unit of government that works with them, it will be important for the personnel, in their efforts to raise the political literacy of the Indians, to guard against making both the analysis of the problems and the policies for their solution. This distinction seems obvious enough and yet it is difficult to see and follow. But it is of prime importance where Indians are concerned. As we have seen, it has been in just these last 15 years that the Indians at Fort Berthold have had a chance to consider matters of public policy. The process is hardly in its introductory stage.

Telling people what to do rather than to give them the facts by which they may make up their own minds is a tendency in us generally. But in the Bureau of Indian Affairs with a staff of European oriented people dealing with a dependent society of another culture. This inclination has been all too pronounced. They have too frequently been treated as subjects of a superior will. Education in public policy matters will not come in this way.
The Bureau is an action agency and as such its personnel are continually making policy. It therefore makes it exceedingly difficult to refrain from playing the role of policy maker as well as analyst in those situations where the employee's sole responsibility should be limited to gathering and presenting data in meaningful terms. The Bureau is now reorganized to function as efficiently as modern techniques may make that possible. It would be unfortunate, however, if its concern with efficiency for action (management of Indians) disregards the importance of education. This can easily happen if areas for education are not distinguished from those for analysis and the Indians are not helped to think out their problems but rather the thinking is done for them.
Planning

Planning for the relocation of Fort Berthold Indian families can be limited to working out ways and means of helping them move from where they are to some place outside the Garrison Reservoir area.

Planning can also take on a broader significance. It can have as its goal Indian families resettled in an environment that relates Indians to the American community in meaningful terms. This is an ambitious objective but it is no less than we want to achieve for all Americans. It should be the overriding goal on which all lesser objectives are oriented.

"If, amidst this shattered world, we wish to preserve the goods of civilization for our children we must realize - even more, constantly materialize - the basic conditions under which a healthy and productive society can grow and persist. There must first be sufficient opportunities for physical survival, such as food, shelter, and warmth; second, there must be an opportunity to work; third, a people must have standards of excellence; fourth, a people must have the possibility to think freely and courageously; fifth, it must have faith; and sixth, it must have the experience of sharing and love. From these conditions depend all the other properties of a civilized life."

Professor Ulich's "conditions" are a challenge to any society in any age but particularly in ours and with

special force and significance to Fort Berthold for here the effects of a "shattered world" are twice felt.

The task of planning is to help the Fort Berthold people toward a fuller realization of these conditions.

It is planning in this more comprehensive sense, planning for the long run, that will concern us here. Planning from this point of view will go beyond that done by the Fort Berthold Indian Agency to include many of the units of government listed in Chapter XII. Particularly will it involve planning by the counties and the Tribal Business Council. Whoever deals with Fort Berthold Indian problems until the Indians reach a given minimum level of self-support will need to hold this higher aim if Indians are to occupy their rightful place in American society.

Right now the Superintendent of the Indian Agency occupies a key position in this planning process because the bulk of the relocation activity will be handled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and much of this will take place right at the Reservation.

Planning as "a process—— of facilitating better decision-making"\(^1\) is a tool of administrative management

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\(^1\) John M. Gaus, Professor of Government, Harvard Univ. Education for the Emerging Field of Regional Planning and Development. A paper presented at the Conference on the need for a Program of Graduate Education, Research and Science at the University of North Carolina in the field of Re-Regional Planning and Development at Chapel Hill on Saturday, November 18, 1950, pp. 3 and 4.
that has been used in the Bureau with respect to Indian relocation. As soon as it was discovered that some 700 families and nearly 380,000 acres of Indian land on 10 Indian reservations would be affected by the Federal projects in the Missouri River Basin Development Plan of 1944, consideration was given to equipping this Bureau to meet this new situation.

Anticipating the necessity for planning to provide just treatment of Indians thus affected, the Missouri River Basin Investigations Unit was created within the Bureau of Indian Affairs and established at Billings, Montana. This unit makes whatever studies and analyses are required to assist Area Directors, Reservation Superintendents, and Tribal Councils with their problems of land adjustment and family resettlement.

Fort Berthold Reservation was one of the first and the most seriously affected because the 1944 plan would require the relocation of the entire Indian population. The Investigations unit began its studies in Fort Berthold in 1945 and has continued to the present to make whatever investigations seemed necessary to obtain information that would help to make better decisions in regard to relocation. This unit was an invaluable aid to the Fort Berthold Indians, the Congress and the United States Army Engineer Corps in collecting and presenting data that formed, in large part, the basis on which determinations were made.
that resulted in the enactment of Public Law 437-81st Congress 1949. This is the law under which the Indians are being compensated for their lands that will be included in the Garrison Reservoir. A list of the reports of this unit from 1945 to 1950 will be found in Appendix E.

There is no planning staff as such on the Reservation. The Superintendent's staff has been expanded so that each activity such as the schools, roads, extension, land, etc., could carry on its operations simultaneously with its planning work in connection with the coming relocation of the Indian families. The Bureau organization, as shown in Charts 6 and 7, is organized on the "line and staff" principle. The investigation Unit functions in a staff capacity at the area level. This makes it possible to have planning activities incorporated in the operational responsibilities at the place where the employees and the Tribal Business Council and Indian families are able to work together. Any special planning agency under these circumstances might have a tendency to become isolated from the realities of the situation. It could also make for difficulties of coordination as well as of acceptance by operating units of the findings of the planning staff even within an organization as small as the Fort Berthold Indian Agency.

Fortunately the proper role of the planning agency need not concern one at this point in the administrative
Chart 3a. Illustrations of relationships in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, April 11, 1961.
hierarchy, since it is the Superintendent himself who requests additional help as he sees the need for it and the persons assigned to give the assistance are responsible to him. There is little likelihood, therefore, even where his operating staff functions in the capacity of planners, for obstructions to grow up that would deny to planning its proper role.

The Superintendent, as mentioned earlier, is in a strategic position since he is able to influence whatever is done by each of the operating departments of his administrative organization. This in itself requires a high degree of administrative management ability when he functions in the larger context of planning considered here. What Walker says of city planning has special meaning for the job of the superintendent in the integration of the activities of his various department heads.

"Planning is a term of broader significance (than mapping physical features of a possible future city). Functions and activities, as well as land areas, can be planned as units as what has been termed the level of management planning; and many city street, health, welfare, public works, fire, and police departments plan quite competently at this level. Over and above this kind of planning, however, is planning for the integration of these activities in realization of their common purpose - the creation of a better community in which to live."\(^2\)


Still keeping to our larger goal for planning the Superintendent's role is to integrate within his organisation. But with the broader objective, he has a further role of probably even greater importance to the Fort Berthold Indians over the long run. He and his staff are in reality a planning agency for other units of government concerned in one way or another with the future of the Indians.

This is the more difficult for a variety of reasons. Only three aspects will be considered here. Again, to make the analogy between Reservation planning and city planning, Walker writes of the latter as follows,

"City planning, if it is to be truly comprehensive, must not be segmented and must rest on a thorough knowledge of the social and economic conditions it seeks to improve."

"The several operating departments can and should plan for their respective spheres of activity. The contribution of the planning agency is not found in a duplication of this work but rather in supplying the element of 'comprehensiveness' and hence integration, to planning the future development of the city. This calls for a systematic program of assembling information about the city (research), discovering what it means (analysis), and indicating what action it seems to call for (planning and specific recommendations)."

The several organisations within the counties, and the State may be regarded as separate operating departments that plan for their respective spheres of activity. The Fort Berthold Agency is in a position to make its contribution: "in supplying the element of 'comprehensiveness'

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and hence integration. In this capacity as self styled planning agency to other units of government it operates with all the weaknesses of an independent planning commission and it runs the danger always of creating hostility toward itself and its proposals. It becomes a matter of public relations where it is of utmost importance that a clear distinction be maintained between political science and political economy.

"Planning, of whatever character and no matter how good", states Walker, "is useless unless it influences official action. This in turn requires the confidence and good will of those who decide public policy. As long as the planning agency is outside the governmental structure, however, planning will tend to encounter resistance from public officials as an invasion of their responsibility and jurisdiction."

Policy-making bodies will usually welcome carefully made and well prepared analyses but they will be pleased to be left alone to decide what to do. The relationship in this regard requires especially careful handling in dealings with the Tribal Council which now becomes an important decision making body because of its position to influence the manner in which several millions of dollars of tribal funds may be used in relocation of Indian families. The use of ill-advised methods to get the accept-

1 Robert Walker, ibid, p. 166.

2 ibid, p. 166.
ance of plans "no matter how good" will often meet with flat rejection and too frequently it may be followed by hostility to any further proposals.

The problem of sheer distances to the offices of other units of government creates a barrier in itself to getting a common understanding of Fort Berthold Indian conditions. When to this matter of travel distance is added the almost baffling array of such units that may have to be dealt with, the limitations of the Fort Berthold Agency functioning as a planning agency are readily apparent. But, if the Indians are eventually to merge with the other elements of the American society in equal partnership, this must become a part of relocation responsibility.

The third and the most difficult aspect of planning is to get the Indians to see it as a process that will improve decision making. Planning in the sense that the term is employed in this section begins as Millett suggests with a basic dissatisfaction. And what constitutes a basic dissatisfaction for the Superintendent and his staff and the counties and the State are often not the same for the Fort Berthold Indians. The writer senses a need for improved nutrition, more training in technical and social skills in order for the Indians to have jobs away from the reservation with decent wages, and an
effective credit program to develop the reservation resour-
ces. All of this could be done with the $7 1/2 million of
Tribal funds used as a revolving fund. It could be
managed in such a manner as not to impair the principal
and handed down to succeeding generations as a patrimony
for improved living. The dissatisfaction of the majority
of the Indians is not with their social and economic
conditions as something that can be corrected in this
manner. Their unhappiness lies in their not being able
to have this money divided up equally and paid out to
them immediately.

Planning for the Indians means a change in their
mode of life. In that sense Americans are in vigorous
opposition to the idea and writers on the subject find
it advisable to make their position clear, as to what
they mean when the word planning is used. Operational
planning that seeks change from less efficient to more
efficient methods to improve the same order of things is

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1 John M., Gaus, "The Planning Process in Government" in
Problems of the Post War World, ed. Thomas C., McCormik,
"Our problems are so vast and difficult that we
cannot afford to dissipate energy and good will
in conflicts due to ignorance and misunderstanding
concerning the nature of our tools."

2 John D., Millet, The Process and Organization of Government
Planning, New York, Columbia University Press, 1947, p. 25:
"Perhaps it is too much to hope that in the use
of this word 'planning' writers and students will
refer only to operational planning. The excite-
ment aroused by Hayek probably demonstrates the
illusory nature of any such proposal."
a much different thing from bringing about change to a different order. The problem is really one of getting consensus on objectives. This involves more than getting a resolution adopted by the tribal council. It means understanding by and support from those who influence the majority public opinion. In such a political climate the tribal council functions merely as a vehicle that formalizes the public will.

Planning needs to be considered in its cross-cultural setting. The persons who take the initiative in planning are usually college trained middle class Americans. Even the Indians employed in the Federal government and those who achieve economic independence on the reservation will find more in common with this middle class American social and economic value system than the Indians for whom the planning is primarily conceived.

If people believe that the human body requires a certain intake of calories, minerals, vitamins and other protective substances there can be consensus that a recommended nutritive level should be maintained. If they believe in the germ theory of disease, agreement can be reached on some minimum degree of sanitation. If the culture defines one as being sick only when he has pain, there will be little concern for the hospitalization of tuberculosis patients who are not "sick". If there is no
concern with profit maximization, an input-output analyses and farm budgets are not going to evince much interest.

Too often planning by middle class Americans will take as given that the people being dealt with, believe that disease is caused by germs; that they are interested in improving their position to make money; understand that if their children do not get the right kinds of foods they will be sickly, and so on. But if the people do not maintain these premises, planning as though they did believe these things would be as fruitful as designing an irrigation project that required water to flow up hill.

It is necessary to attempt to understand what people believe and how they react as a result of their beliefs. Myrdal says that "People have ideas about how reality actually is, or was, and they have ideas about how it ought to be, or ought to have been. The former we call 'beliefs'. The latter we call 'valuations'."

If it is believed that the Federal government owes the Indians a living as a matter of treaty agreement "as long as the rivers flow and the grass is green" and the valuation is that when tribal funds are available they ought to be distributed in per capita payments, then those who believe otherwise and have differing valuations will have their plans resisted by those for whom they plan.

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This is not to say that planning is not a useful concept to be employed in relocation activities. Without it there will be only aimless drifting.

Where the Indians look at things and do things in such a way that cannot possibly achieve the overall objective of self-sufficiency, at some minimum level of health and self respect, it is only pleaded that it is useless to plan as though this were not the case.

In these instances the planning must include the reorientation of such behavior as a first step before moving to greater ends. This is planning for the short run and should become the objective in action programs.

On this tendency for governmental planning to be ineffective, Simon and his collaborators have this to say,

"There is little doubt that much planning is ineffective, and that the prime reason for this ineffectiveness is the failure of planners to appreciate the difficulty of the problem they set themselves. The task of planning is not merely one of visualizing brave new worlds. It is a task of constructing sequences of behavior that can be carried out and that will bring these brave new worlds into actual being. Planning is likely to be successful only in proportion as the planner recognizes the magnitude of the problem and starts out with a proper humility as to what can be accomplished through planning."

Administration

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is a clientele Agency organized on the "line and staff" principle as indicated in Chart 5. Its field organization is achieved through "decentralization by hierarchy"¹ and Millett's "Theory of Dual Supervision" is recognized as vital to the effective functioning of the administrative machinery. "There is a common appreciation---throughout the organization that supervision can and does come from different sources."

The Superintendent does not determine what the carrying capacity of the reservation range should be, that is the specialty of the range conservationist who in turn may consult the Area Range Conservationist. A particular problem may have to go to the Range Conservationist on the Commissioner's staff in Washington. However, the question of whether the use of the range will be withheld for the Indians or advertised for sale to outsiders is a matter of general administration on which the Superintendent will make the final decision following consultation with the Extension Agent and the Tribal Business Council. There is general acceptance of this particular "theory" of administration and little if any conflict is encountered.

¹ John D. Millett, "Field Organization and Staff Supervisor," from New Horizons in Public Administration, A Symposium, Birmingham, University of Alabama Press, 1945, p. 98.
The Bureau organization has operated quite loosely under the line and staff principle until very recently. There has been a rigorous tightening up on the basis of this principle and the reorganization is now about completed.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs was selected a few years ago to be studied by a firm of management consultants which submitted their report to the Department of the Interior on November 15, 1950. The existing organization by areas was considered undesirable, however, it was suggested that there were too many people reporting to the line officers. Much that the consultants recommended is being embodied in recent reorganizations in the Washington and Area Offices. Four tools considered fundamental to the conduct of management activities in this survey are objectives, policies, long-term programs and annual work programs and budgets. These are each developed in detail as they apply to each level of Bureau administration and need not concern us here.

The Bureau organization, at least on paper, is geared for efficient operation in accordance with some of the most recent thinking on what constitutes a good

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administrative set-up. This is an important first step, but it is still only a mechanical arrangement.

"It must be recognized also that a nice blueprint, an attractive looking chart, is not the end of reorganization". It can unintentionally become a cold and calculating organism that gets plans formulated on the Washington-Aberdeen-Fort Berthold Agency axis and bring Fort Berthold Indians into the planning of programs only tangentially. A cross-cultural perspective must be developed and it is extremely important that the Indians take part in program planning. As pointed out previously middle class Americans will have difficulty in seeing and understanding the beliefs and valuations of people of another culture. Thus where, in the planning process, they are in the position to impose their views the outcome is likely to contain requirements that the Indians will not be able to follow. We are too prone to think that people are free to choose when actually their background setup rather rigid limitations to the exercise of free will. Bernard's remarks in another connection have relevance for us here,

"---the exaggeration in some connections of the power and of the meaning of personal choice are vicious roots not merely of misunderstanding but of false and abortive effort. Often, as I see it, action is based on an assumption that individuals have a power of choice which is not,

I think, present. Hence, the failure of individuals to conform is erroneously ascribed to deliberate opposition when they cannot conform. When the understanding is more nearly in accordance with the conception of the free will stated above, a part of the effort to determine individual behavior takes the form of altering the conditions of behavior, including a conditioning of the individual by training, by the inculcation of attitudes, by the construction of incentives. This constitutes a large part of the executive process, and is for the most part carried out on the basis of experience and intuition. Failure to recognize this position is among the important sources of error in executive work; it also results in disorganization and in abortive measures of reform, especially in the political field.¹

Objectives, policies, programs, etc. are fundamental tools but getting their use on a bi-lateral basis is one of the more difficult tasks that we face in Fort Berthold relocation. The Superintendent, in this situation, must know the systems of belief on both sides and be able to reconcile them where they are in conflict so that they tend to effect change with the support of the people administered. This will require the organization of the people into some form of discussion groups so that results of surveys, studies, and other information may be considered by them in meaningful terms as a first step to program formulation.

The crucial elements in the administrative situation at the Reservation are the following:

1). With the line and staff type of organization and the decentralization of authority the Superintendent and his staff find it necessary to make decisions that are vital to the Indians with whom they deal in their daily contacts. Most of these decisions are based more on judgment than on regulations and policies that tell them exactly what to do in every case. These decisions touch directly upon the hopes and aspirations of the administered.

The Superintendent is 350 miles from the office of the Area Director and 2000 miles from the office of the Commissioner. Regulations and directives cannot possibly cover every situation in reservation administration which includes services that reach into almost every aspect of human existence. Neither is it humanly possible for the Superintendent to make every decision that must be made on the reservation. He, too, must delegate authority to his staff to make decisions in order to get things done.

2). The Indians governed by the administrative machinery are of another culture. The employed personnel, including even the Indians, are usually so steeped in the Anglo-Saxon penchant for efficiency that there is
little patience left for the development of a cross-cultural perspective between the administration and the administered.

3). The Indians have been accustomed to having most of the community decisions - public policy - made for them by Federal employees.

4). People in any culture who influence public opinion do not walk around with discernible labels on their backs, reading, "I am a leader". Loomis and Beagle conclude, "that many individuals who occupy key positions in networks of relationships are not formal leaders and do not recognize themselves as leaders." And they go on to suggest that "Those who will carry their programs to the people must relate such individuals both to the accepted formal leaders of organizations and to the informal 'grass roots' leaders." ¹

5). Any projects or programs that are dependent on appropriations by Congress (and most of them are) are continually subject to revision and are likely to get over-sold. This applies both to long-range goals and especially to the formulation of annual programs for the short run. Loomis and Beagle make a pertinent observation on this point.

¹ Rural Social Systems, ibid., p. 171.
"Governmental projects conducted on a broad community basis seldom live up to the expectations of the people to whom they are sold. Students of such projects almost invariably find that more was promised than was delivered. The people almost universally agree that "too little good was done and too late." Why this so frequently tends to be the appraisal people make of bureaucratic action will not be discussed, except to indicate that Taos County villagers were often impatient with slow-moving governmental machinery in getting through a new ditch, making available more grazing land or medical facilities."

The Indians, who have to base their individual plans on such projects or programs, regard these delays and revisions as pure capriciousness. To a group of people as completely dependent on what legislators and administrators will do 2000 miles away, as in the case with the Fort Berthold Indians, this creates a distinct problem. A national forest can keep right on growing or burn down whether appropriations for fire protection are cut or not. But humans who hopefully, and too often wishfully, plan on what Congress might appropriate to carry out a program two years hence are frequently disappointed and soon consider any planning just a bunch of hokum.

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1 Loccis and Beagle, p. 544.


"The annual fund for the United States Indian Bureau, which operates the program for the nation's 400,000 Indians, was reduced from $122,350,000 to $74,201,426 (for the fiscal year 1952-53). The Indian Bureau cut the Navajo-Hopi program from $20,394,200 requested by the area office in Window Rock, Arizona, which administers the program, to $2,500,000."
Most communities in the United States have a framework of an ongoing economy that continues to operate without any dependence on what Congress does or does not appropriate. By definition this cannot be true of Indians on a reservation so long as a Bureau of Indian Affairs is needed for their protection and where rehabilitation is still to be achieved for most of the inhabitants.

Something of the complications and opportunities of a slip "betwixt the lip and the cup" in the annual formulation of budget and work programs is to be seen in the procedural steps described in the following taken from the recent management survey:

**PROCEDURAL STEPS TO BE APPLIED ANNUALLY IN FORMULATING BUDGET AND WORK PROGRAMS**

Any procedure recommended to a Federal agency for the development of annual work programs and budget estimates is limited in scope because the basic steps must tie in with the sequence and due dates established on a Government-wide basis. Furthermore, the basic form and content of documents comprising the annual budget estimates are necessarily standardized.

With these limitations in mind, this report section describes, in the following twelve steps, the development of annual budget and work programs in a Bureau like Indian Affairs.

1. Determine program goals
   (Area Directors and Commissioner meet early in May to discuss goals of each Area and Agency)

2. Develop preliminary estimates
   (Prepared by Area Directors and Bureau's Budget Staff and submitted by latter to Bureau of the Budget)

3. Develop tentative work programs
   (Area Director and Superintendents complete by July 1st)

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4. Allocate budget ceilings
   (Commissioner notifies Area Directors as soon as President's determination of ceilings is known)
5. Revise tentative work programs
   (Area Director allocates ceilings to Superintendents who revise tentative work programs to bring them in line with amount of funds allocated. Submit revised work programs to Area Director not later than mid-August)
6. Issue policy and procedure instructions for the preparation of estimates
   (Bureau's Budget Officer transmits "call" for budget estimates to Area Directors as soon as received from Bureau of Budget)
7. Prepare Budget estimates
   (Area Director prepares, completes and submits to Commissioner by Sept. 1)
8. Submit Budget estimates to the Bureau of the Budget
   (Submitted by Sept. 15 Commissioner and Major Assistants appear at hearings)
9. Revise proposed work programs
   (After allowances recommended by Bureau of Budget and approved by President about Dec. 16. Commissioner revises proposed Area and Agency work programs in accord with allowances)
10. Submit budget estimates to the Congress
    (Bureau's budget staff submits to Congress)
11. Allocate and apportion funds
    (Commissioner notifies each Area Director of amount of funds available for each function in area)
12. Make final revision of work programs
    (Upon receipt of approved allocation of funds Area Director in collaboration with Superintendent prepare final revision of work program which is then guide for ensuing year).

The foregoing process is probably intelligible only to the superintendent and one or two others on his staff. Nonetheless, enough Indians in position to get it to their followers should have at least a general idea con-
cerning it so they will know there are reefs between them and the shore. Such knowledge should help Indians to see that getting appropriations can be about as dependable as the annual precipitation in Western North Dakota. This knowledge might well influence the manner in which tribal funds are used.

The ultimate success in the relocation and rehabilitation of Fort Berthold Indian families will depend on the opportunities they have to increase their economic and political literacy. "---political and economic literacy of a high order---is the only hope for a sound-working democracy."

The Superintendent and his staff, since they must make decisions that bear on the life of other people, are thus placed in positions of responsibility of the most serious magnitude. It becomes all the more so when it is remembered that the administered have long been deprived of the privilege to make decisions and have traditionally come to expect that they will not have an opportunity to help make them. That the governed have so recently come from a way of life foreign to the American system; that the budget and program processes are so involved from their standpoint as to appear as deliberate designs for evasion, only serve to make the decision-makers’ task all the more difficult.

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1 John D. Black
Too often, however, the employee working with Indians does not realize the significance of his role as an educator. If he or she were a county extension worker such a role would be less difficult to visualize. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is concerned with action programs, regulation and education and it is not always clear where the emphasis should be placed at a given time and place. However, if it can be kept in mind that one of the objectives is education and that almost every situation can be turned into an educative one this will be of some help. Another thing that will help is the realization that almost every employee on the reservation, and not the Superintendent alone, is a policy maker par excellence.

Fort Berthold relocation may be designed in the most elaborate manner. Broad policies may be laid down by Congress in regard to it (as it already has in Public Law 437). The Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Area Director may have announced some general decisions as to how certain things must be carried on in different programs. But nothing happens from this that affects one one directly on the Fort Berthold Reservation. Nothing will happen either until the Superintendent or someone on his staff makes a decision to act or not to act.
All the policy decisions and program making are never complete enough to cover every situation that will arise. Every employee will find himself in situations where he can decide in favor of something an Indian proposes to do or he can turn it down. When he does this he is making policy. He is at a "strategic point" where he influences governmental action. Whether it is in the right direction will depend on the ability of the employee to make good decisions. The level of decision making by employees will depend on their past training but it will also reflect the leadership that they receive from top administrators.

The problem in reservation administration and in relocation is to get each employee to visualize his role as policy maker at these strategic points in the administrative process. But as mentioned earlier he has a dual role; he also has certain educative responsibilities. This will require that he should seek opportunities wherein he may decide to provide the pertinent facts and strive to put the Indian in a position where he can make sound decisions of his own.

1 I am indebted to Professor John M. Gaus for this concept of strategic points within the administrative process. They are points at which there is an opportunity to give added meaning to governmental action. (Seminar-The Planning Process in Administration, 1951).
The Superintendent will delegate much of his authority to members of his organization. Like the policies and programs on which his authority is based he, too, will not be able to tell each employee what to do in every case. Much will of necessity be left to arbitrary decisions.

The person in charge of the accounts may have wide latitude as to when checks may be written - imagine the strained relations that would be created by a situation in which an Indian has to spend all day getting necessary approvals at other "strategic points", faced with a twenty mile ride on horse-back in midwinter in late afternoon only to find when he approaches the money clerk that that individual has made the policy decision not to write any more checks that day because he has a report to get out before 5 o'clock and "he's damned if he is going to work more than forty hours a week"! Or the case where, after an agricultural program is worked out for the use of the $1000 per capita payment of a minor child, the Extension worker refuses to allow the operator to sell one of the animals because in his judgment it would throw the farm plan out of balance. There are very few occasions in which the last two examples would be an actuality but they do occur. They are here related as illustrative of "strategic points" further out toward the end of the line.
I hope I have not labored the point too long. And yet I think the concept of the "strategic point" can be a useful one. What I have attempted to indicate is that policies-decisions— are made at these points. It is at these places that the planning process, put into action by administration, makes its contribution. The decisions may be good or bad, nevertheless they take place. For example, all are not in agreement that the decision to develop the Missouri River Basin according to the Pick-Sloan Plan is the best; that the Fort Berthold Indians received enough money for their lands; that the Reservation Superintendent set up the right policies in supervising the expenditure of minors' funds — but planning can come to fruition at these strategic points in decisions that would be more desirable than would be the case if we merely "drifted". And it is important to keep in mind also that these "points" are not in some far away place like Washington but that the more important ones, at least to the individual directly affected, are right in our every day activities. When the teacher calls in the truant officer; the policeman gives you a ticket for driving at an "unreasonable" speed; when the Superintendent decides your plan for the use of funds belonging to your minor children are not sound and refuses to let you have "your money"; these are extremely important "points"
at which policy is being made. Full realization of this as-
pect of decision making in administration engenders in the
employee a sense of the significance of his acts and thus
is wise to base his decisions on carefully thought out
plans.

It should be clear from the foregoing that the Super-
intendent occupies the most important strategic point in
the administrative process on the reservation. This
office calls for an unusual ability in "integrative
skills". His hand is strengthened in this situation
by virtue of the "hierarchical decentralization" and the
practice of "dual supervision" observed in the agency
throughout the Bureau organization. As a planner he will
need to guard against over-emphasis in any one of the
fields involved. E.g., if he was formerly an Extension
Agent he needs to remember that there are other programs
like health, education, welfare and so forth that
require the attention of a generalist and not a specialist.

One might wonder that so highly centralized an
authority as the Bureau might not do violence to the
property and personal rights of the Indians while they

1 Melville C. Branch, Jr., "Planning is not a simple ex-
tension on any one of the traditional fields of
specialization. Nor do the integrative skills, analyti-
cal and projectional in nature, which are essential to
over-all planning, result osmotically from a limited
knowledge in a potpourri of fields", "Coordinative
Planning and the Architect", from Land Economics,
stood by as helpless victims. This is a real danger. For while they are voting citizens and are at the same time familiar with procedures open to them to have their grievances aired they may complain about matters of little consequence while harmful effects of well intentioned decisions are overlooked. Every effort is being made and should continue to be made to keep open and develop new lines of communication in order that the Indian people will have every opportunity to participate in the planning activities intelligently. Should all these fail, the Senators and Congressmen, the U. S. District Attorney, the Governor along with a host of other public officials and private citizens in North Dakota are always approachable to them in the event they feel a wrong is being done and they are not able to receive satisfactory consideration through the regular channels open to them.\(^1\) This is a particularly important point. It is seldom resorted to but when it happens a flood of letters begins to stream through from Washington through the Area Office to the Agency Superintendent for an explanation. Usually it is not too serious, but enough is indicated as to what would

\(^1\) See Paul H. Appleby, "Actually it is a government in which there appears to be not the least danger that its officials will become isolated or separated from the people". Big Democracy, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1945, pp. 36-38.
happen if anything serious did take place. It serves as a healthy check on over-enthusiastic efforts that could infringe unwittingly on personal rights and at the same time it gives the Indian people a feeling of security that is essential in situations of this nature. This also serves to prevent perpetration of "full-blown" plans on the people and helps to keep the planning on a participatory basis.

The lines of communication to and from the administered is a most important aspect of reservation administration. The problem is one of reaching those who influence public opinion on the one hand and finding out how people think and feel on the other. On this latter point Leighton\(^1\) writes, "Communication from the people to the administration is no less important than the stream in the other direction, although it is even more often neglected. 'I know how these people think and feel' should be classed as among 'famous last words' of administrators."

In addition to employees visualizing themselves as occupying strategic points within the administrative process they will need to search for ways and means of getting this two-way communication.

It is difficult to know just how to go about getting this kind of communication for effective participation in

planning. Whole books are written on the subject. One of the recent ones to which reference has been made is "Rural Social Systems". It is pointed out there that communication between social strata within the American culture, of which even yet knowledge is insufficient in various parts of the nation, is often further "complicated by ethnic and racial sub-cultures". Loomis and Beegle emphasize the importance of "natural leaders" as contrasted with formal leaders in program development.

At Fort Berthold the discovery of these two types of leaders, their education and participation in planning as one of the major administrative tasks is probably not too clearly recognized and certainly is far from being achieved as yet.

With the carriers of two cultures in social interaction, a high degree of acculturation has taken place, at least in its explicit aspects, over the years since the people gave up their primitive village life around 1890. Yet there remains an important segment of population amongst whom certain patterns of living and thinking need to be understood if the relocation job is to be done properly. In many situations it is not the Indian that needs to be studied, rather, as mentioned earlier, it is the European oriented employee on whom the social science microscope needs to be focused; the values of another

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1 ibid., p. 391.
people are difficult to understand when they show up in things we can see that the people of that culture do. It is even more baffling when these values are out of sight, like the lower part of an iceberg, but still influence their actions. Most of the employees who will be engaged in the planning process are products of the western European background and are conditioned to "change in time" as a cardinal value. And change is essential to many adjustments that will have to be made. In order that change, where it must come, will be introduced and the people helped to accommodate themselves to it with a minimum of tension, the assistance of a social anthropologist is being utilized. This is not to say that the right solution will be reached in every case. It is well to keep in mind that decisions are going to be made and they can be better ones with the help of the social sciences.

1 Dorothy Lee, "With us, change in time is a value, and place in a developmental sequence is necessary for evaluation". "For members of our culture, value lies ideally in change, in moving away from an established pattern; and safety is ensured through scientific prediction not exact experience. We hopefully expect next year to be better, brighter, different; if, as we hope, it brings change, we can safely meet it with the use of logic and science. Our advertisers thrive on this value of the different, the non-experienced; our industries have long depended on our love for new models. The Trobriander, on the contrary, expects and wants next year to be the same as this year and as the year before his culture emerged from underground". "Being and Value in a Primitive Culture" (Journal of Philosophy, Vol. XLVI No. 13, June 25, 1949), pp. 402 and 413.
Evans-Pritchard\(^1\) states in his chapter on applied anthropology:

"Social anthropology cannot be an applied science like medicine or engineering. Nevertheless, it is a systematic body of knowledge about primitive societies and like all knowledge of the kind, it can be used to some extent and in a common-sense way in the running of affairs. In the administration and education of backward peoples decisions have to be made, and those responsible for them are more likely to make wise decisions if they know what the facts are. They are also more likely to avoid serious blunders."

In summary reservation administration is largely a problem of helping employees to make intelligent decisions at strategic points in an administrative process that encompasses a two-way channel of communication between the administration and the administered. For, as Leighton points out in the closing sentence of his book "—in the long run it is the governed who will determine the governing of men".\(^2\)

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2 ibid, p. 367 (Leighton)
Chapter XV

PROGRAM FOR ADMINISTRATION

Bewilderment as Relocation Approaches

Since the Federal government began working out a settlement six years ago the accumulation of all the essential physical and most of the necessary economic and social facts has been accomplished. But the long and tortuous course over which the negotiations for settlement were carried has left the Indians in a state of psychological unrest. First it was believed that the construction of the Dam could be prevented. This proved to be an illusion. Then began the struggle to get a decent settlement. No one knew what he would get for his land until 1950 and it was not until 1951, 5 years after the negotiations began, that land owners received the first cash for their land.

Long after most non-Indians in the Reservoir area have moved away the Fort Berthold Indians in March 1952 are still there. But the construction work on the Dam has continued space in the meantime. According to estimates in 1951 the Missouri River channel will be closed in the summer of 1953. With the Missouri river on its worst rampage in recorded history in 1952 the
work might be speeded up so that the closing could
take place sooner than this. In that case the channel
would be closed before rather than after the spring
floods. If the closing is after the spring rise has
past, and the flow is normal, no water will be backed
up on the Reservation in that year. However, there is
always the possibility of heavy rains and if they come
the lower 1/5 of the reservation reservoir area could
be under water by the fall of 1953. Under normal flow
the water will be backed up over most of the present
homesites in the Reservoir area by the spring of 1955.

Thus there is left only 18 months of moving time
for about 1/5 of the families and 24 months for the re-
mainder. And a strong chance that there may be less
than 12 months.

These past 6 years have been turbulent times for
the Fort Berthold Indians. Just when it appeared as
though things would settle down so that people could
begin to consider individual plans for the future,
oil was discovered near the reservation. The Standolind
Oil Company in November 1951 was the successful bidder
on a block of 75 different allotments containing over
17,000 acres that were advertised for oil leases. A
bonus of $34 per acre was bid plus $1.25 per acre annual
rental. This has slowed up land exchanges and tended
to increase the distractions attendant to relocation.

Those charged with administrative responsibilities
will need patience and understanding as programs are
developed and carried out. The source of strength
for many generations is soon to disappear. It will
be difficult for those not emotionally involved to
grasp its implications.

Some General Considerations Regarding

The Fort Berthold People and Government

"Government is a going concern, not a static
institution. Each activity therefore has its
period of initiation and developments, its
period of normal operation, and in some cases
also its period of decline and liquidation.
While this does not change the principles of
organization it does alter profoundly their
application in individual cases.

Government is a human institution. It
is made up of men and women who work together
in groups to protect and serve other men and
women and children scattered over a great con-
tinent. It is human throughout; it rests not
only on formal arrangement, skill and numbers,
but even more upon attitudes, enthusiasms,
and loyalty. It is certainly not a machine, which
can be taken apart, redesigned, and put together
again on the basis of mechanical laws. It is more
akin to a living organism. The reorganization
of the government is not a mechanical task. It is a
human task and must be approached as a problem of
morale and personnel fully as much as a task of
logic and management.

It must be recognized also that a nice blue-
print, an attractive looking chart, is not the
end of reorganization." 1

The foregoing excerpt sets out a principle around which
to consider the problem of reestablishing a workable
system of government for the Fort Berthold people.

1 Administrative Management in the Government of the
United States, Report of the President's Committee
on Administrative Management, U. S. Govt. Printing
Office, p. 34.
The Bureau of Indian Affairs may be entering a "period of decline and liquidation". The Hoover Commission recommended:

"that, pending achievement of the goal of complete integration, the administration of social programs for the Indians should be progressively transferred to State Governments. The States should receive appropriate recompense from Federal funds until Indian taxes can help carry the load. The transfer to the States should be accompanied by diminishing activities by the Bureau of Indian Affairs."\(^1\)

The North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission in its report October 1930 concludes

"that, although the welfare of Indians is properly accepted as the moral and financial responsibility of the federal government, administration of many of the present activities relating to Indians might as well be transferred from the Indian Service to other agencies."\(^2\)

In the same year the House of Representatives passed a House Joint Resolution 490 which directed the Secretary of the Interior to

"specify not later than the first day of the first regular session of the Eighty-second Congress which tribes, bands and groups of Indians are, in his opinion, qualified to be relieved of all supervision and control by the Federal Government in the management of their affairs ..."

The centralization of administration in a Federal Bureau as a policy has ardent supporters and equally

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vigorous opponents both amongst the Indians and their white friends. Curiously enough, the Fort Berthold people feel that their chances for a readjustment will have greater likelihood of success if it is done under the present Bureau organization.

The Hoover Commission and its task force on Indian Affairs concluded that the Indian would one day be completely swallowed up by the larger community, but it was not in complete agreement as to how this could proceed without doing violence to the Indian and his human rights, and in such manner as not to repeat the injustices of the past but rather to rectify and at least be able to maintain national honor in the process.

This brings us to the crossroads. A decision must be, and will be made, as to the manner in which the various components of government will be regrouped and implemented. The slate is wiped clean. What is the best design of government to draw upon it? It is possible to either continue with the present centralized system with the Federal Government playing the major role, or swinging to the other end of the scale, eliminate the Indian Bureau, and let the State take over.

Either extreme or some combination of the two can be worked out. There is an opportunity now to rebuild for the future along whatever line seems best. Here is a chance to regroup, for the whole tribal community, as well as for the individuals, a constellation of the trait
complexes of their cultural pattern in a way as to challenge, inspire and motivate constructive action in the desired direction.

The mechanics of government can be fashioned to the purpose if we can know the route to follow. In the past 65 years every aspect of their culture has been under the pressure of western civilization which engulfs it. This disturbing situation has not been made the easier for the fact that the dominant white culture in this same period has also been experiencing its most dynamic changes.

It is entirely possible that the centralized form of Federal administration that has prevailed in this time has served as a life raft in this rapidly shifting sea of culture conflict. It may well have become a supporting crutch for the old culture, and to take it away suddenly could throw the entire inter-personal relationships into such disequilibrium as to result in overwhelming frustration and social chaos.

The proponents of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 believed that the transition could be achieved with less damaging effect on the Indian through a Federal system working through tribal organizations. The late Scudder Mackel, who was one of the few anthropologists of his time to apply the science to the practical problems of Indian Administration, wrote,
"...The Indian Reorganization Act continues the policy of segregating the Indian population from the white -- a policy inherent in the reservation system itself. Segregation, however, allows for the development of divergent minority population groups according to the social destiny of these groups, instead of dispersing their members into the dominant American social structure where the great majority would be lost on the lower rungs of the social scale."¹

If the policy of segregation and the present pattern of reservation administration seems to leave the Indians clutched in the dead hand of the past it is possible now to turn to other policies and other means. Were it a fact that if the Indians can best turn toward the same agencies for community services as do other citizens, few places could provide a better laboratory in which to see how it will work out. The attitude of the White community toward the Indian is excellent. There prevails here what Malinowski in his "Dynamics of Culture Change"² calls the "Common Measure", a condition that "exists wherever there is a long-run identity of interests between" two groups. The Indian population when settled in the five counties will not place an overwhelming burden on their governments, particularly if they are reimbursed in part for the cost of the services that would be extended to the Indian families. There is not at present so much as a

¹ Scudder McKee, American Anthropologist, April-June 1944.
² Bronislaw Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1945, p. 66.
wagon trail or a one-room school building in the areas of resettlement. Every facility, including the homes, must be erected from the beginning. The Indians and their White neighbors have a chance here to explore, invent and innovate a truly meaningful system of home rule. It will require a new perspective, however. The point of view that it is an Indian problem that is the sole responsibility of the Federal government needs to be changed to seeing the situation as a local community problem in which the National government can give important help but not take over. The aim should be an organization of services that will bring the Indians, in the shortest period of time, into a meaningful relationship with the total community with at least a reasonable level of living for each family.

In the present situation the dominant role in government is played by the Federal Government and the way it is starting out it looks as though it may continue to do so for a long time to come although the State and the counties will be in a position to play a greater role in government for Indians after relocation than may have been possible before.

Costs of Federal administration in 1948 at Fort Berthold totaled $235,700. This year was selected because it was the last one before additional personnel was added to the staff to assist with relocation activities. The allocation of this sum was as follows: head-
quarters administration, $40,700; Extension Services, $15,197; Forestry and Range Management, $5,400; Road Maintenance, $46,357; Maintenance of Utilities and Construction, $5,850; Welfare, $6,600; Health, $48,099; Education, $117,577.

The present proposal for staff, buildings and roads are:

**Agency Headquarters at Newtown**
*(See Map 10 for location)*

**Buildings**
1 Office Building
1 Storage & Servicing Garage
1 Warehouse
19 Living Quarters

**Staff**
- Extension Agent
- Credit Officer
- Home Economist
- Road Engineer
- Superintendent
- Administrative Officer
- Realty Officer
- Soil Conservationist
- Range Conservationist
- Chief Operations & Maintenance Engineer
- Maintenance Man
- Medical Officer
- Placement Officer
- 7 Clerks
- 3 Stenographers

**Eastern Segment**

- 1 Day-school
- 12 Living quarters bldgs.
- 2 4-car garages
- 1 Office building
- 1 Root cellar
- 1 Poultry house
- 1 Shop building
- 1 Roads garage
- 1 Fire garage
- 1 Water tower
- 1 Well house
- 1 Jail

**Staff**
- 1 Farm Management Sup.
- 1 Constr. foreman
- 1 Patrol operator
- 1 Auto mechanic
- 1 Range conservation
- 1 Agric. engineer
- 1 Public health nurse
- 1 Janitor-shauffeur
- 1 chief of police
- 1 School principal
- 5 Teachers
- 4 Bus drivers
- 1 Janitor-fireman
- 9 Housekeeping aids
### Southern Segment

**Buildings**
- 1 Day school
- 1 Extension office
- 1 Root cellar
- 1 Poultry house
- 1 Fuel shed
- 3 Living quarters
- 1 Bus garage
- 1 Roads garage
- 1 Extension garage
- 2 Two-car garages
- 1 Pump house

**Staff**
- Farm Management Supervisor
- Patrol Operator
- Principal-Teacher
- Teacher-Elementary
- 2 Bus Drivers
- Housekeeping Aid

### Eastern Segment

**Buildings**
- 1 Day school
- 1 Office
- 1 Poultry house
- 1 Ice house
- 1 Root cellar
- 1 Bus garage & shop
- 1 Water tower
- 1 Roads garage
- 1 Fire garage
- 2 Garages
- 7 Living quarters bldgs.

**Staff**
- 1 Farm Management Supervisor
- 1 Patrol operator
- 1 Soil conservationist
- 1 Public Health Nurse
- 1 Janitor-Chauffeur (Ambulance)
- 1 School Principal
- 3 Teachers
- 3 Bus Drivers
- 2 Housekeeping Aids
- 1 Janitor-Fireman

### Northeastern Segment

**Buildings**
- 1 Day-school
- 1 Bus garage
- 1 Poultry house
- 1 Pump house
- 1 Fuel shed
- 1 Fire cache
- 1 Living quarters
- 2 outhouses

**Staff**
- 1 Housekeeper
- 1 Teacher
- 1 Bus driver
PERIMETER MAP
FORT BERTHOLD RESERVATION
NORTH DAKOTA
Showing Education Facilities in Adjacent Towns
1st Grade through 12th Grade

LEGEND:
E = Enrollment
C = Capacity

1951-52 School Census
Proposed Indian Service Road Program.
Scale: 1 Inch = 8 Miles

MAP 10.
No public facilities other than roads are proposed for the Northern Segment. It is believed that this is near enough to Newtown so that the families can be serviced out of the Agency headquarters and the children can be transported there by bus for school.

Buildings for the sub-agencies in the Western, Southern and Eastern Segments were estimated as of June 1950 to cost $229,600, $113,000 and $64,300, respectively. The grade school facilities were estimated to cost $386,482 in the Northeastern Segment, $386,482 in the Eastern Segment, $126,850 in the Southern Segment, and $985,092 in the Western Segment. The 235.6 miles of new road construction shown on Map 10 is estimated to cost: $3,660,000 (by segments as follows: Western - $2,262,500; Southern - $596,250; Eastern - $507,500; Northeastern - $101,250 and Northern - $112,000).

The above, excluding construction in Newtown, would total $5,663,824.00. The annual maintenance cost would be considerable. The cost of snowplowing alone during the winter of 1950-51 was more than $24,000. The initial investment in buildings and roads taken by themselves would run over $2800 per person for the 2000 population that are now on the reservation.

With an expenditure of this size for the above services and facilities it is not likely that the State and counties will take over any one of them to
any appreciable extent in the next few years without substantial reimbursement. Even if the Indian trust lands all became taxable or the Federal government paid over to the State and counties an amount equal to that which could have been obtained had the lands been taxable, this revenue would not be enough to meet the cost of the services as now provided. A study was made in 1950 to see what the possibilities were of turning the responsibility for education over to the State and counties. It was estimated there that the revenue, if Indian trust lands were taxed the maximum of 34 mills on the basis of a taxable valuation of $1,714,871, would be $68,505.61 or around 45 per cent of the total cost for that year ($132,197.00).

It is therefore reasonable to assume that the Bureau of Indian Affairs will continue providing directly, most of such services as are provided in the foreseeable future.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs proposed not to perform any services for Indians that any other federal or state agency could do equally well or better at the same or less cost to the Federal government. At Fort Berthold prior to relocation, with the established facilities

1 MRBI Report No. 110, October 6, 1950.
and Indians living within a radius of 25 miles of the main headquarters, most of the services probably would have remained within the Bureau under the above formula.

With the families living in widely separated areas and in five different counties after relocation there will no doubt, be some activities in their entirety, and others in part, that can be carried on by the State and counties as well or better and more economically under contract if, at the outset, facilities are constructed with that possibility in mind. However, it is difficult to see in the present demands of the tribes and the State such a possibility. What seems to be reappearing is the old system all over again.

In order that resources will be used most economically in this period and later, if there is to be an inter-governmental transfer of services, common over-all goals need to be agreed upon among those agencies between whom the transfer is ultimately to take place. Millett1 in his chapter on the Planning Process says,

"The preparation of plans for administrative activity involves at least at least three phases: the determination of objectives, the measurement of an existing situation, and the design of a program for positive action."

In the foregoing chapters measurement of the pertinent elements of the existing situation was made.

The overall objective is self supporting families at a decent level of living with no more governmental assistance than that provided for the general public. This means education and training in social and technical skills and credit that will enable the excess population to leave the reservation for permanent employment and those who remain to make efficient use of the reservation lands. To accomplish this there lies ahead a long process of cultural adjustment for the majority of the families. And where other agencies besides the Bureau are to help bring this about, there is the problem of cross-coordination to maximize the results of the joint efforts.

Program

Since whatever is done by way of government will be more or less by functional categories, it seems desirable that programs for positive action be developed by separate activities like education, health, credit and so on. This approach makes it possible to break the general problems down into manageable areas for planning and administration. For example, a program for grade and high school education can be worked up in close cooperation with a county and the State, while other activities such
as credit or the maintenance of land records could continue within the tribal organization and the Bureau. Programs for such activities will therefore be presented in other chapters following this one on administration where they have not been clearly inferred in the consideration of relocation problems up to this point.

The proposal for school buildings as outlined above was approved as a feasible plan at a meeting of a sub-committee of the Fort Berthold Inter-Agency Committee on March 11, 1952. This sub-committee was made up of the Tribal Council Chairman, a Tribal Council Member, the Reservation Superintendent, the Executive Secretary of the North Dakota Indian Commission, the County Superintendents of Schools, and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The Area Director of Schools and the Area District Engineer were also present at this meeting when education problems in connection with relocation were discussed. The motion approving the plan for reservation school buildings was reported in the Fort Berthold Agency News Bulletin of March 15, 1952 as follows:

"It was moved by Martin Cross and seconded by Ed Milligan that the plan for the construction of elementary schools in the Northeastern, Eastern, Southern, and Western Segments as outlined by Mr. Quinn be approved as a feasible plan and that all of the necessary facilities be constructed as part of that plan because it has the favorable reaction of the Indian people and meets their needs as far as elementary education is concerned. The motion was approved unanimously."
The road system as shown in Map 10 is an essential part of this plan.

The Inter-Agency Committee appears to be functioning as an excellent coordinating tool and as such it needs to be utilized in this same manner with every other problem, the solution of which will require inter-governmental or inter-agency consideration.

Before these recommendations are acted upon alternative uses of the same amount of funds should be further considered in the administrative program.

One important consideration to keep in mind is that these segments are now yielding about their maximum in crops and livestock. It is not a question of economic development; it is largely a matter of shifting the use of land from white tenants to Indian owner-operators and improving land management practices. If the above proposal is carried out and the 1952 estimates of costs for road construction are somewhat near right this last item alone would mean a cost per acre of $3.90 in the Western segment and $4.30 per acre in the Northern segment, apportioned equally to all the land including the 43,594 acres of taxable land. See Table 25.
Table 25. Indian Owned and Fee Land by Segments and the estimated cost of proposed road system in each.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Segment</th>
<th>Indian Owned Acres</th>
<th>Fee land Acres</th>
<th>Total Acres</th>
<th>Est. Cost per Acre</th>
<th>Cost of Roads per Acre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>71,067</td>
<td>16,875</td>
<td>87,942</td>
<td>$507,500</td>
<td>$5.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeastern</td>
<td>21,467</td>
<td>6,372</td>
<td>27,839</td>
<td>191,250</td>
<td>6.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>20,507</td>
<td>5,681</td>
<td>26,188</td>
<td>112,500</td>
<td>4.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>243,958</td>
<td>9,916</td>
<td>253,864</td>
<td>2,262,500</td>
<td>9.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>73,849</td>
<td>5,050</td>
<td>78,899</td>
<td>596,250</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Of course, this does not look like much alongside some of the estimates of future costs per acre in the Missouri Basin development plan. Nonetheless, when it is recalled that only 15 per cent of the land is

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1 Christian Science Monitor, April 4, 1952.

"Divide the total cost already contemplated, almost $18 billions, by the acreage of the (Missouri) basin, and one sees that the total projected expenditure would run between $50 and $60 an acre for its whole area, including grasslands and semidesert.

The $9.4 billion of work under way or planned will cost nearly $30 an acre. This giant has already bloomed out of the "Little" original $2 billion project. Has it all been justified? Has there been waste and extravagance?"
Class III or better, 54 per cent is Class IV and VI
and 51 per cent is Class VII and VIII, the cost of roads
alone, on a per acre basis, would be about equal to $2/3
the value of 85 per cent of the land and about $1/5 of
the value of the remaining 15 per cent. There will be little
or no increase in productivity resulting from the expendi-
ture. Table 26 shows the appraisals for certain types of
land, without improvements, made in 1946 for lands that
the government then expected to buy to replace what would
be taken from the Indians for the Garrison Reservoir.
These appraisals need to be increased 50 per cent to bring
them in line with increased land prices in North Dakota
since that time.

Table 26. Appraisal of reservation and other
lands by Indian Bureau and Corps
of Engineers in 1946.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of land</th>
<th>Reservation</th>
<th>Corps of Engineers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upland crop-</td>
<td>$19.37</td>
<td>$21.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land</td>
<td></td>
<td>$22.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upland meadow</td>
<td>7.64</td>
<td>5.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and pasture</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>8.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MRR Report No. 35, Feb. 4, 1948, p. 45. The
index of land prices (1912-14 100) for North
Dakota was 85 in March 1946 and 131 in July
1951.

Class III can be cultivated safely with intensive practices.
Class IV can be cultivated occasionally.
Class VI - suited for grazing with minor limitations.
Class VII - suited for grazing with major limitations.
Class VIII - suited only for wild life or recreation.
Under these circumstances one should look for other ways of using this amount of money for the development of Fort Berthold human and physical resources. Especially, since this land will not be irrigated and all the arable lands are already accessible to markets and can be readily reached by farm machinery. A road system such as the one proposed will very likely bring into crop production much land that is now in grass and should not be plowed up.

The Western segment is probably the most critical area, in this regard, not only because of its having the highest road cost per acre but for several other important reasons. The major portion of the small acreage of arable land in this part of the reservation is already served by an all weather road as can be seen from Map 11. In 1948 only 3,397 acres were under cultivation in this segment. The $2½ million road system would provide considerable protection against prairie fires and make every part of the area accessible. However, it is this very accessibility that brings with it several disadvantages. This is largely an open range area suited primarily for livestock grazing with the arable lands used for hay lands. Nearly every family has some land in this area and from an inspection of Map 11 it is readily apparent that it could be completely broken up into a large number of small holdings even if only the potential home sites were occupied.
Note: A.U. is abbreviation for Animal Units.

Arable Land

WESTERN SEGMENT

FORT BERTHOLD INDIAN RESERVATION

Showing Hypothetical Economic Ranch Units based on soils classification and carrying capacity of Range and Well Drilling Survey

Scale: ½ Inch = 1 Mile
LEGEND:

PROPOSED ROADS
RESERVATION LINE
COUNTY LINE
TOWNSHIP LINE
SECTION LINE
GARRISON RESERVOIR TAKING LINE
BOUNDARY HYPOTHETICAL UNIT
POTENTIAL HOMESITE LOCATION
WATER BEARING HOLE
DRY HOLE
DEEP TEST HOLE
Such a settlement pattern would greatly reduce the productivity of the range lands but this loss would be insignificant in comparison with the rural slum conditions that would result from the isolated existence of the families that would be encouraged to move into this area.

With the Indian Agency headquarters at Newtown the northern part of the Western segment would be the most accessible to it of any place on the reservation. If the facilities and staff now proposed becomes a reality the area could become heavily overpopulated. The maintenance costs of roads and other public facilities would be so high that the State and Counties could not afford to take them over and the Reservation system would be perpetuated. The better lands in the segments east of the Missouri would start being leased or sold and families would migrate to this area because there will be some firewood along the breaks and streams and possibly some outcroppings of lignite that could be obtained for fuel.

The Western segment is now as accessible as it needs to be for the extensive type of agriculture for which it is best suited. Any expenditures on roads and other public facilities would tend to over-intensify its use beyond its most profitable point. This would bring about over-grazing and the plowing of land that should remain in native grass both of which would create a serious conservation problem.
An alternative would be to leave this area as it is and see if Congress would not authorize the use of the $2-3 million in other ways to bring about the rehabilitation of the Fort Berthold Indians. This would increase the number of families on the other segments but if all the white owned land on the reservation within these segments (34,614 acres) were purchased there would be enough land to take care of all that would be capable and interested in using land for several years to come. Since this would leave the white ranchers in the western segment more or less undisturbed in their operations, some equalization of the welfare and other service costs would need to be worked out if this were done. Of course, there would be several Indian operators who would move into this segment at the outset because of its advantages for cattle raising and as others became more proficient they could move there or remain on the east side of the river and trail cattle there for summer pasture. This should be encouraged.

If the idea of the Federal government to get out of the Indian business is something more than just a gesture this could be a place to give it a fair trial. The Indians would need to be assured that in turning the services over to the State, the Federal government would see to it that such services were adequate to their needs. It would be unfortunate, indeed, to perpetuate a system of administra-
tion that seems to have produced so little in results if this was an opportunity to change to a better one.

The possibility of terminating all Federal services through the Bureau of Indian Affairs should be explored and, if this seems to be the thing to do, a termination date should be set as soon as possible so that all plans and programs may be developed accordingly. This situation provides an excellent opportunity to determine experimentally whether the time has arrived when services for Indians should be turned over to the States.

Every service that the Bureau provides has its counter part in the counties. If the needed services could be provided for education, extension, credit, health, law and order, roads, soil conservation, social welfare and the maintenance of land records by the same agencies as service the other citizens in the State it should prove politically, sociologically and psychologically advantageous.

Politically the Indians would be having some voice in affairs vitally affecting them. For instance, if they could now organize into school districts and select their own teachers instead of having them designated as at present by the Civil Service Commission this would be good adult education. Sociologically the contacts would be directed outward into the community around them instead of as at present, where they all look to the reservation
The Indians are citizens, eligible for the Extension Services in their county of residence. This may be a necessary condition but it is not a sufficient one. Most public services will require considerable increase in staff and methods of approach to meet Indian needs.

Nevertheless, just as the Farmers' Home Administration moves in and lifts a farm family to its feet, after which the family returns to its self-supporting status in the community, so the Indian Bureau or any other agency must serve a similar function but on a much wider scale, and under much more difficult circumstances, for in this instance the families have never been self-supporting members of the community. It must raise them to that level and establish them in the community.

Therefore, prior to any transfer of services from the Bureau the agency accepting the responsibility should be prepared to give the extra assistance required to provide for the special needs on the reservation. Here such questions as the following should be raised in reaching a decision in the matter: Will the emotional disturbances associated with leaving the river valley home lands be serious enough to warrant special attention? If so, to what extent do the people experience a sense of emotional security in present relations with the Bureau?
of Indian Affairs? To what length may one go in turning services over to the counties and the State and to other Federal Agencies without developing a state of frustration and thus reduce the optimum conditions for healthy transition? By way of illustration, suppose the entire school program was transferred to the counties, would the children feel out of place and thus not attend regularly or even learn less though attending regularly? Would they continue through the 12th grade in the increasing percentages that has characterized their education during the past 10 years? Similar questions must be answered in regard to the effects to be expected in the transfer of other activities. The important question to answer in each area is where can we break off from one agency and turn to another.

Even with the most vigorous effort there will remain many aspects of the problem in the area of cultural considerations without any answer. These must be approached with utmost care and wherever possible the highest degree of flexibility consistent with program effectiveness should be maintained.

A start was made over 2 years ago to explore the possibilities of transfer of services to the counties and the State. The Tribal Council met in a series of conferences with the Governor of North Dakota and his staff. These meetings were also attended by Bureau officials and the county
officials concerned. The subjects considered were:

Public Health, Education, Law and Order, Social Welfare and Extend on. The only concrete result so far has been a contract with the State of North Dakota to furnish Public Health Services to the Indians.

The resistance to this approach on the part of the State and the counties is the fear that the Congress may continue to reimburse them for extra cost. The Indians are reluctant because the services would become atomized and could easily become so disconnected that the Indian would be lost in the shuffle. They presently feel that the Indian Bureau serves as a coordinating agency in addition to giving special services. They are aware that under the present arrangement they need turn to only one place to air their feelings and to get action.
Chapter XVI

PROGRAM FOR EDUCATION AND PLACEMENT

Grade and High School

It is generally believed that Indian children should be in public schools because they will profit by the association with White children. This is probably true to a degree. However, more is needed in the learning situation than simply inter-racial involvement. The pupils must feel a sense of being truly welcome.

Certain gaps in experience which most Indian children do not get at home need to be provided for in the curriculum. Much training that prepares the child to cope with his environment in our society is provided in his daily experience in the average American home. The school makes up for a small part of the total. For Indian children, however, a great deal of this experience will have to come through the school if they are to have it at all.

With the need for reducing the number of people on the land courses should be given that will provide social and technical skills which will enable the boys and girls to get jobs and remain away from the reserva-
Funds and properly trained personnel will probably not be made available to achieve the ideal in classroom learning experiences. But to the extent that school administrators and teachers recognize such needs much can be provided beyond the "three r's" even within limited budgets.

A Long Range Approach: the federal government provides 8 grade schools and one four year accredited high school. Bus routes are established where the families are not in walking distance of the schools. A modern dormitory for 20 boys and 20 girls is operated in connection with the high school. All the schools furnish a noon meal. The dormitory is prepared to keep the children for 9 months. A few children attend public schools near the reservation; for this service the government pays tuition to the State of North Dakota. In addition to these facilities several children attend federal government Indian boarding schools away from the reservation. Still others are sent away to parochial schools; the cost in these schools is borne by the parents or the church organization. The parents are free to send their children to any school they desire.

Reestablishment of a high school on the reservation is desired by many parents. Having a high school of their
own which was at the same time attended by children of White employees and White ranchers had many advantages. To some extent the Indian children had the feeling that they were attending a public school. The central location of the school made it the center of many reservation wide activities. After relocation there is not much likelihood that any white families will be living near enough to any segment in which a high school may be located so that there would not be the intermingling of white and Indian children as at present. The population in any one segment or in all of them combined would not be large enough to support a high school with a curriculum varied enough to give the students the training they should have. If the population is to be reduced to levels that the land can support, school facilities must be planned for accordingly.

It is therefore suggested that the Indians and the Federal government arrange with Newton to enlarge its facilities to take care of all the Indian high school students on some reimbursable basis. Newton shown just off the reservation to the north in Map 10 is a new town that is being formed out of two towns, Sanish and Van Hook, that will be inundated by the Garrison Reservoir. There would be several advantages to having
the Indian children attend high school in this community. It will be the most accessible to all parts of the reservation. Being a newly formed community there will be less likelihood of the Indian children running into already strongly formed social cliques that would prevent ready acceptance. The Indian students added to the town population would make it possible for the school to have a greater variety of courses than would be possible if a separate high school were maintained for the Fort Berthold Indians.

Wherever possible the children under high school age should be transplanted to white public schools and Federal schools built only where there is a pretty clear indication that the land in the region will support enough families to warrant a school. In this connection it seems particularly important that any construction of school buildings and bus routes in the Western Segment be done only after the most careful analysis of all costs.

Program for the immediate future: On December 15, 1951 the Superintendent's report showed 503 eligible for grades 1 to 8 and 138 for grades 9 to 12. If the high school students attend school in Newtown the remaining 500 children on the reservation eligible for grades 1 to 8 could be cared for in non-reservation government and mission boarding schools and temporary schools on the
reservation until it is determined what the settlement pattern should or will be. Temporary grade school facilities might be set up at sites that would later be used as ranch headquarters. Extreme care must be exercised to keep from repeating over again the establishment of school buildings that are convenient for administration but are so located as to require Indians either to maintain two homes or to live in idleness near the school because there is no way of making a living in the area.

**College and Special Education**

With the tribal funds now available an educational program, beyond the grades and high school, is now possible to enable boys and girls to get whatever additional training seems best suited to his or her needs.

It is obvious that all the Fort Berthold people will not be able to maintain a decent level of living if all of them remain on the reservation. In order that the excess population be provided with a means of draining itself off, its members must be able to find jobs away from the reservation and in addition be able to hold the jobs after they get them. Further, the job seeker must be "at home" in an urban environment. All this will come about very largely through education all
through the grades and beyond. For those with ability to do college work, loan funds should be made available, possibly even with partial grants, to finance them in the best colleges and universities in the country. Others with aptitudes for the trades should be given an opportunity to attend the best of such institutions. A sum for this purpose could be set up where the student could repay his loan over a liberal span of years after he was on the job and earning an income.

If the parents and children knew that such a fund was open to them it would have a tremendous influence on the desire to continue their education beyond high school.

No finer patrimony could be left for the coming generations of young people than a well planned educational loan fund that would enable a worthy student to borrow up to $4000 or $5000 and even more in special cases. Such loans could be protected to some extent by requiring the borrower to take out a life insurance policy to cover the amount of his indebtedness.

Such a fund should be available to any worthy student regardless of his place of residence. If it was restricted to resident members such a policy may not encourage parents and students to leave the reservation.
Since the tribal funds are now drawing 4 per cent interest in the U. S. Treasury, a million dollars could be tentatively designated for this purpose and for the next two or three years a thorough study could be made of the amount that would be needed in such a fund. In the meantime, loans could be made to worthy students on some interim plan.

In setting up a loan program of this kind from tribal funds the usual objection that it would benefit only selected families would not have the same force as the same objection leveled at a program for agricultural loans. If the fund was large enough to take care of all worthy students every family with young children could be depended upon to support it.

Well trained and well educated young men and women accepted and established in various parts of the United States within the next 10 or 15 years would do much to pave the way for the migration of the excess population from the reservation.

The existence of such a loan fund would tend to improve school attendance and influence a desire to continue formal schooling beyond the grades and high school.

Training for Out of School Youth and Others.

In the present period of a high demand for employment it will be well to find out as soon as possible what
skills are in demand for which employables on the reservation may be trained. Some of this training may possibly be accomplished in adult classes on the reservation or in connection with the New Town high school. Every effort should be made to see that the women are included. The over-population problem is not going to be solved if only the men are trained and helped to get work away from the reservation.

If there is a demand for some skills that can be obtained in short courses at special schools in Minneapolis, Denver, Omaha, Chicago, Detroit and similar places a loan program for this purpose should be considered.

Such a program can be worked out with the assistance of the United States Employment Service and the Placement Service in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Bureau placement program which is tied in with the Federal and State Employment Services is prepared to find jobs for Indians. However, skills in demand are lacking. A training program is needed in conjunction with it.

Placement Program

Emphasis on land use and particularly the popularity of the subsistence homestead idea in the depression days of the 1930's put education for agriculture upper most on
the Indian school curriculum. Training for employment away from the reservation has received scant attention. With a 50 per cent over-population on the land a great deal more needs to be done to get families jobs away from the reservation.

The placement program needs to be tied in very closely with the reservation program for education. The curriculum of the primary and especially the secondary schools can have an important bearing on the kinds of attitudes and skills that are developed for adjustment to urban living.

Two difficulties in placement, even where a member of the family has the necessary skills to get a job in industry, are to get suitable housing and the inability of the family to adjust to an urban environment.

The first of these could be met by the tribal corporation contracting for the rental of apartments in a city where it is known that jobs are available. This would provide a family with a place to get established immediately upon arrival. It would provide a place to live until suitable housing was located for more permanent residence. The tribes would be reimbursed, of course, and as one family got established in this way another could be brought in from the Reservation.
The second could be overcome by working out some short courses with the Agricultural College or the State University where a small group of 5 or 6 families at a time could go to get training in urban living. The husbands could take such courses as would develop or improve the skills they would be required to use on the job. The little children could be put in the nursery school during the day. The mothers would take courses in urban home living during that time. Arrangements could be made with church groups where the entire family would have an opportunity to be entertained in urban homes.

A half-dozen or more trailer houses could be set up near the campus, as was done for veterans, and the group of families would then have an opportunity for actual experiences in urban family life. Shopping for the right foods, arranging and paying for gas, water and lights, getting the children enrolled in the public school, being called upon by the minister of their faith, visiting social service agencies and health clinics and many other things that will be well to know, if one lives in the city, can be crowded into such a program. It could be extended over 2, 3 or even 4, weeks. After such an experience they could then return home and if they felt ready to try a job in the city their chances
to succeed will be much better.

The placement program is not going to get very far if the family as a whole is not prepared to live and be satisfied in an urban situation. If the family is separated in order to get the husband a job in the city not only is one courting disaster but nothing is done toward out migration of the families.

Another thing that needs to be worked out is some means of getting public assistance for the family in periods of unemployment or sickness. If medical attention is provided for nothing on the reservation and Indians are expected to get their welfare assistance back on the reservation also because they are regarded as "wards" then the first crisis the Indian family encounters it will return to the reservation. On the other hand if the family could remain away a year at least so as to have time to make acquaintances and establish legal residence the chances of the members staying on will be much greater.

The cooperation and support of labor organizations will need to be brought in as a part of a placement program.
Chapter XVII

A PROGRAM FOR LAND USE

It is estimated that the Indian lands at Fort Berthold will support 175 families. However, with the present knowledge of the arts of agriculture and the managerial capacity of the Indians, the number that can operate units of this size is negligible. The time when there will be 175 families prepared to manage farms and ranches of this size is a long way in the future. Much education and training by intelligent and patient leadership will have to come first. A desire to save for the purposes of increasing productive capacity and habituation to long and continuous application of physical effort will have to be developed along with education in the arts and science of agriculture.

For many the present standards of living are so low that not much is required to meet it. These will have to be raised. It will be an exceedingly slow process. A large percentage of the families belong to that "sizable fraction of the low-income farmer's now on the land" who as Black and Kiefer\(^1\) state "would benefit very

\(^1\) *Future Food and Agriculture*, p. 103.
little from more and better land and equipment, or they would benefit so little that it would be a wasteful use of resources to supply them with more.---The reformation of many should have begun back in their childhood or when they were first starting out as heads of households."

There will be around 400 families that will be re-located back on the reservation segments. The land use program must be designed to help each family utilize its capabilities to the best possible advantage. Results of today's labors may not show up until the next generation.

Again to quote Black and Kiefer who say,

"What of the fraction of low-income farmers that will benefit little from a larger command of agricultural resources? The important point is that their children should not be deprived of such resources even though they themselves cannot profit by them. Society has a strong interest in seeing to it that the new generations do not have to start life with stunted, malformed, and diseased bodies, ignorant and untrained, with no opportunity to get a start in the world. Even with the low-income farmers already discussed who can use more resources effectively, the benefits that the children will receive in better diets, education, medical care, and more than all else, outlook on life will be far more important than any other effects. Larger incomes for these farmers will not alone ensure that their children have all these advantages. Government, by one means or other, must take a hand in the provision of education, health, and probably good diets to some extent. While it is doing so, it should make additional provision of these advantages for the children of families whose resources are irremediably low. There is absolutely no escape from this if large numbers in the new generations in low-income areas are not to be ir-retainably lost to the nation so far as any real contribution to society is concerned."

1 ibid., p. 109.
It is going to be as much a problem in human relations as it is one of imparting technical skills. While eventually, at least half the population needs to leave the reservation these are now as ill prepared to make a living elsewhere as at home. Therefore, a great deal of preparation for life will need to take place right on the land. Fortunately many habits can be formed and a wide variety of skills can be learned, on even a part-time or subsistence farm, that will enable boys and girls to adjust to most situations that they will meet anywhere later in adult life. The reservation can be made into the kind of training ground for the adjustments to new ways that must come if the Berthold people and those who assist have the will to meet the challenge. The writer accepts as gospel these remarks of President Conant of Harvard,

"It is my belief that methods have already been developed to the point where studies of society by competent scholars can provide basic information to assist all those practical men who struggle with the group of problems we list under the head of human relations ... Powerful tools are in the process of being forged by the scientist who studies man as a social animal. These tools can be used to further or to destroy certain types of behavior and certain social patterns." [1]

One need not worry too much during the next few years about the question of adequate land. There is enough land

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now for all who will be able to use it and more besides. The limiting factor will be skills to use it. All the help that will be forthcoming to assist in the development of those skills and the attitudes necessary to the full and proper use of the land will not begin to meet the need. The waiting list will be a long one for some time to come. The problem will be one of organizing the available help so that it will give maximum results.

Estimates of Land Use Capabilities

The latest estimate of around 175 economic crop-farm and stock-farm units for the entire reservation by segments are as follows: Western, 64; Southern, 24; Eastern, 57; Northeastern, 17; and Northern, 11. A study made in 1948 gave the following break-down (215-250 units) on the basis of 50 cow units (100 head in all) or their equivalent.

1 MRE Report No. 38.
Western Segment

96 50-cow ranch units

Southern Segment

30 50-cow ranches each with approximately 2,354 acres of range and 140 acres of cropland.

Eastern Segment

14 50-cow ranches utilizing 35,000 acres of range and 1200 acres of cropland
50 crop-livestock farms of 640 acres or
40 crop-livestock farms of 800 acres to utilize the remaining 17,000 acres of cropland and 15,000 acres of pasture.

Northeastern Segment

5 livestock-crop farms with 200 acres of cropland and 1300 acres of range and 25-cow herds of beef cattle.
22 cash grain farms of 640 acres or
17 cash grain farms of 800 acres.

Northern Segment

3 50-cow ranches with 1955 acres of range and 125 acres of cropland
5 cash grain farms with 640 acres of cropland.

While the reservation agricultural program has centered on cattle raising primarily and some grain farming in recent years, there is a wide diversity in the kinds of livestock, crops and farm products produced in the five-county area surrounding the reservation. Table 27 shows cash-grain farms, livestock farms and crop and livestock farms predominating. Table 28 gives some idea
Table 27. Farm by Type of Farms in Dunn, McKinley, Mercer, and Mountrail Counties, North Dakota, 1950.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Farm</th>
<th>Dunn</th>
<th>McKinley</th>
<th>McLean</th>
<th>Mercer</th>
<th>Mountrail</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farms-total</td>
<td>1157</td>
<td>1236</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>1484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Crop farms</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>1464</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>1219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash-grain</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>1463</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>1219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other field crop</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy farms</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock farms other than dairy and poultry</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Farms</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primarily crop</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primarily livestock</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crop and livestock</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous and unclassified farms</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from Preliminary 1950 Census of Agriculture (Series AG 50-1)
Table 28. Number of farms reporting possession, sale, harvesting or raising various livestock, livestock products and crops in 1949 or 1950.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counties</th>
<th>Dunn</th>
<th>McKinsey</th>
<th>McLean</th>
<th>Mercer</th>
<th>Mountrail</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farms-total</td>
<td>1157</td>
<td>1234</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>1484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle &amp; calves</td>
<td>1063</td>
<td>963</td>
<td>1546</td>
<td>806</td>
<td>1049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk cows</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>1568</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cream sold</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>1138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hogs</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>796</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>1336</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken eggs sold</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkeys</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn harvested for grain (1949)</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorghum for all purposes except syrup</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macaroni or durum wheat threshed or combined (1949)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring wheat (1949)1019</td>
<td>1079</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>1320</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oats (1949)</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>1274</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley (1949)</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rye (1949)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emmer (1949)</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaxseed (1949)</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>1275</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfalfa cut for hay (1949)</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clover of timothy cut for hay (1949)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables harvested for home use other than potatoes</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>1122</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apples (1950)</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plums (1950)</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from Preliminary 1950 Census of Agriculture (Series AG 50-1)
ALL WHEAT
Acreage Seeded, 1944

UNITED STATES TOTAL
65,684,000 ACRES

Each dot represents 5,000 acres

Fig. 3.

VALUE OF LIVESTOCK
DOLLARS, JANUARY 1, 1945

UNITED STATES TOTAL
$8,472,431,333

1 DOT = $500,000
(COUNTY UNIT BASIS)

Fig. 4.

* Figures 3 to 32 are taken from Guide to Agriculture, U.S.A., Agriculture Information Bulletin No. 30, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations and Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, 1951.
VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS SOLD OR USED, BY FARM HOUSEHOLDS, 1944

UNITED STATES TOTAL
$18,108,132,494

1 DOT = $1,000,000
(COUNTY UNIT BASIS)

VEGETABLES GROWN FOR HOME USE
VALUE, 1944

UNITED STATES TOTAL
$456,033,437

* EXCLUDING IRISH AND SWEET POTATOES

1 DOT = $100,000
(COUNTY UNIT BASIS)

BUTTER MADE ON FARMS, 1939

UNITED STATES TOTAL

Each dot represents 10,000 pounds

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
IRISH POTATOES
ACREAGE, 1944

UNITED STATES TOTAL
2,536,715

1 DOT = 500 ACRES
(COUNTY UNIT BASIS)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Fig. 28.

CORN HARVESTED FOR GRAIN
ACREAGE, 1944

UNITED STATES TOTAL
84,349,033

1 DOT = 10,000 ACRES
(COUNTY UNIT BASIS)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Fig. 29.
of the fairly wide range of livestock and crops that are produced on these farms. Beef cattle, milk cows, chickens and hogs are kept on most of the farms. Spring wheat, oats and flax are the main crops. Figures 3 to 32 indicate that the Reservation is on the edge of the heaviest wheat and flax producing regions and definitely in the cattle raising region. These figures show the Reservation as being entirely outside of or just on the edge of the other livestock and crop areas.

Thus, while there are certain limitations to kinds of livestock and crops that may be profitably raised on the reservation there is enough diversity so that most individual family interests can be accommodated.

The operating statement of 3 farms in a county which includes one of the reservation segments given in Table 29 and the principal items of income and expense and percentages of the total in this same county for averages of 27 farms under the Farm Ownership Program, F.H.A. shown in Table 30, both taken from MRB Report No. 35, illustrates the importance of farm crops, milk cows, hogs and poultry in land use activities.

While there are limitations on the amount of intensification of agriculture that should be practiced on the Reservation, there will be a place in the program for field crops, milk cows, chickens, gardens and even hogs in some cases. These additions to the beef cattle
Table 29. Size of farm, acres in crops and facts regarding inventories, incomes and expenses for three southern Mntrail County farms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2*</th>
<th>3#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acres in farm</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acres in crop</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inventory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feed</td>
<td>1,030</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>2,525</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipment</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>2,690</td>
<td>4,676</td>
<td>2,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operating expenses</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>2,089</td>
<td>992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family living expenses</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>1,166</td>
<td>833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net income (less family living)</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>1,431</td>
<td>905</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Seventy per cent of the income on this farm came from the sale of cattle ($2,974) and dairy products ($381).

# Of the total income, $1,784 was from sale of wheat.

Source: Mr. Ray Schoff, FHA Supervisor, Stanley, North Dakota.
Table 30. Principal items of income and expense and percentages of total: Averages for 27 farms in the Mountrail County Farm Ownership Program, 1945.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Income</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crops</td>
<td>$2,412</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>1,111</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cream</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hogs</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAA</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>$4,691</td>
<td>99.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Expenses</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Expense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm operating</td>
<td>$1,601</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family cash living</td>
<td>1,201</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm ownership payment</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital goods</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other debts</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>$4,691</td>
<td>99.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Courtesy, Mr. Ray Schaff, FHA Supervisor, Stanley, North Dakota.
program will permit fuller use of the family labor re-
sources and keep down family living expenses. This will
not come all at once but it should be the goal toward
which to work.

A straight beef cattle program will not only keep
down the number of families that may make a living from
the land but it will also deny large numbers the opport-
tunity to develop a sense of time and habits of work that
come with milking cows, caring for a garden, raising
chickens, planting and harvesting crops. Income throughout
the year from the sale of eggs and cream will give experi-
ences in the use of money and dealing in the market that
the annual sale of beef cattle cannot provide for the whole
family. This socializing influence will be as important
as the money income and serve as important preparation for
the depopulation that must come.

It is a good principle, in efforts to induce social
change, to begin with those things which people are most
likely to accept. Professor Black in speaking of pro-
moting good forestry practices says the foresters face
"a difficult problem in social psychology. They must find
something in the attitudes and reactions of the people at
large, and of timber owners, that they can seize upon
that will draw these groups into their programs. They
must find good handle-holds. The measures to take first, unless other factors are more important, are those that have the best handle-holds.¹

With large areas of range land available to the Indians in the past and Indian attitudes seemingly more favorable to the promotion of cattle raising, this has no doubt been the best handle-hold to get them to use the land. And in doing so the concern was more with getting them to understand the arts and some of the science of cattle production. However, we have now reached the point where attention must be given to management as well.

It must be realized that the Indian family cannot escape the effects of the U. S. industrial economy. The farm family to survive and maintain a decent level of living in these times must know as nearly as possible what is going on in the farm as a business. It must also know how to keep the management of the household within the means of the net income of the farm as a business to support it. We have not had impressed upon us sufficiently, either Bureau personnel or the people we serve, the significance of the farm or ranch unit as being a business organization. When in the several enterprises, the receipts did not exceed the expenditures the difference was made up through the use of tribal funds or public monies to keep the people going.

The things the Fort Berthold families require in order to live are, for all practical purposes, produced some place else. If a family is to have the things that will enable it to maintain a decent level of living, it must have money to buy them. To have money it must have something to sell. If it has land which it sells that it may buy these things then it is gradually killing off the "goose that lays the golden egg". If the family takes the land and produces on it things to sell then it must think of producing as cheaply as possible what it sells and of buying as cheaply as possible those things it must get from others. This is like running a grocery store; only here the storekeeper buys as cheaply as possible the things he believes people want to purchase and he sells these items for all that he can get for them. If he buys things people don't want, or he pays too much so that his selling prices are too high and people won't buy from him he will soon be out of business. Now the economist has developed some principles that the business man can use to help him figure out how his business unit (the store, grain elevator, restaurant, etc.) can get the highest net return from its operations. These principles make up a body of knowledge which is called the "theory of the firm". The main point about this theory is that one gets the highest net return at the point where the additional income, or
marginal revenue, from the last unit of input used just equals the additional, or marginal, cost of that unit. To illustrate: take the potato patch, one hoeing to keep the weeds down will usually increase the yield so that the extra potatoes will more than pay for the hoeing. Another hoeing may still pay in extra potatoes but a point will soon be reached when the value of the extra potatoes will just equal the extra cost of the labor. This is the point where marginal revenue equals marginal cost. To hoe less than this or more than this does not bring the highest return. It is only when the two are equal that income is maximized.

To maximize income on the farm or ranch calls for specialized planning. One way to get at it is to use what is called a budget method of analysis. The preparation of these budgets will require special skill and knowledge if the resulting enterprises fit family and land capacities and capabilities and are at the same time intelligently adapted to the economy of the region.

The Department of Agricultural Economics, North Dakota Agricultural College, Fargo, has worked out 12 different budgets to be used as guides in setting up operating units. With some adaptation these budgets will

fit most of the situations that will have to be met at the outset. Information regarding these budgets, the summaries and a copy of one of them will be found in Appendix F. They were prepared for use in working up the following types of operating units.

100-cow ranch, yearlings sold, 85% calf crop
      calves sold, 86% calf crop

50-cow ranch, yearlings sold, 85% calf crop
      70% calf crop

50-cow herd, 320 A. cropland Rot. I,
      70% calf crop
      Rot. II,
      70% calf crop

25-cow herd, other labor income
      70% calf crop

25-cow herd, 480 A. cropland, 70% calf crop

480 A. grain farm

800 A. grain farm Rotation I
      Rotation II

The college budget guides go a long way in the direction of outlining what the farm or ranch as a business should be but the real test will come in adjusting them to fit the family and land together at the Reservation.

In the actual development of budgets with the families the above should be used as guides only. With the land use capability maps and the information
on the water table, it is now possible to work out rather complete plans as to pasturing, cropping, and the location of the buildings with respect to roads, etc.

The ranch units shown in Map 11 have been tentatively designated on the basis of proposed roads and the soils and water studies. A portion of this area showing the soil classification as taken from the land use capability map will be found in Chart 7.

At the time credit to Indians was expanded back in 1936 and since, farm plans and farm budgets have been required. But the unfortunate tendency has been for the Extension worker to develop an ideal budget and then expect the farm family to adapt itself to it; as a consequence the budget amounted to little more than a form to be filled out in order to get a loan.

One needs to begin with the family as it is and develop the budget accordingly. If a given family has no history of milking cows, raising chickens and canning vegetables, then the basic operating plan on which repayments are scheduled should not include these items at the outset. Instead, if these items are essential to efficient use of resources and to a more adequate level of family living, they should be set up separately as elements in an adult education program. Only after a
family has demonstrated an effective desire to milk cows, raise chickens or to can vegetables, should the budget be revised to include these. A new element in cultural practices will not add to the productivity of the family unit by its mere appearance in a budget. Moreover, it would be a mistake to introduce milk cows into a farm family program without proper training in the care of milk. Serious health problems could develop. The resultant costs in medical care could outweigh any gains that might be had over out-of-pocket expense for butter and canned or powdered milk. The budget method has tremendous possibilities if it is developed realistically. A periodic summary of the operating statements would also serve as an important tool in the evaluation of the land use program.

The importance of using the budget is to develop a consciousness of the economies involved in farming.

At present it is not possible, after more than 20 years of supervision by college trained agricultural extension workers, to determine what the net cash returns are for even the 13 largest Indian operators on the reservation who have more than 76 head of cattle. The most careful estimate that can be made is that there has been "very little, if any, net income the past three years"1 for most of the operators. The writer is as much

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1 Letter from Agency, April 14, 1952.
responsible for letting this situation prevail as any one. He was superintendent on the Reservation for 3 years. The trouble has been that the emphasis was placed on techniques and cattle tallies. This situation must not be permitted to continue. The economics behind the results needs to be understood. The budget method will help to accomplish this.

Each Indian family that is going into the ranching and farming business should be schooled in the use of budgets developed to suit its needs. This should include the man and wife, even children where they are old enough, and an individual plan developed from the ground up. Neighborhood, and even community meetings, may be helpful to increase the interest and meaningfulness of this approach.

The development of these plans will require the close cooperation of the Range supervisor, the Soil Conservationist, the Extension Agent and the Home Agent. In addition to getting the best possible farm program worked out with a family, wherever it can be done the program needs to be tied in with the County P.M.A., S.C.S., R. E. A., and Extension activities. The men and women both need to be identified with the Extension programs and the youth with the 4-H Clubs. These contacts would serve as additional influences to induce
change. If families can begin to develop meaningful
connections with such organizations, the friendships
formed in this way would help to step up the accultura-
tion process. 1

The use of the sociogram suggested by Loomis would
help to spot the leaders who could assist with, or stand
in the way of, the development of a community understand-
ing and support for this type of farm planning. It
would be useful also to find out what groups may be ex-
pected to work well together. These could be brought
into conferences where they could work out and later
carry out their plans together.

We all need the support of friends to keep us go-
ing, someone to turn to to discuss our successes as
well as our difficulties. Our Western European orienta-
tion to accumulate property in order to maintain a giv-
en standard of living is frequently sufficient motiva-
tion in itself to overcome a certain amount of isolation;
but even in the extremes of this situation there are many
things one has in common with those about him. Compare
this situation with that of a family in a community where
the tone for respect and prestige is not set by accumulat-
ing more and more property. Take this family and set it
apart with a cattle program. It will have little in common

1 "Friendship is not the cause of arrangements that serve
the common interests of several units, but the outcome
p. VII.
with any other family. At community gatherings, anyone be interested if the husband explains to another that he had a good self crop? That he just finished vaccinating his calves for blackleg? That one of his cows had twins? But four or five families working together would provide the necessary nucleus for social support.

There will always be more families needing assistance than the available personnel can handle. Under these circumstances each employee is inclined to over-extend himself. More families will be assigned to one worker than he can adequately supervise in a loan program. There is also danger of devoting all of a worker's time to one group such as loan clients of the credit program or the more capable operators and those amongst the lowest income groups tend to be neglected.

As long as families are on the reservation with nothing else to occupy their time they should be actively encouraged to make use of the land if only to raise a garden.

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1 Maurice Colombain, "Reforms in these directions, however, run up against well known difficulties. But, as has been observed, 'a novelty which is alarming for a single person is not alarming if a number of persons adopt it together'; from Cooperatives and Fundamental Education, Publications No. 532 UNESCO 19 Ave Kleber, Paris. The quotation within taken from C. F. Strickland, Cooperation for Africa, London, Oxford University Press, 1933, p. 67."
In the past the reservation has been divided into districts with an extension worker assigned on this basis. He handled many administration matters with all the families and attempted to do extension work along with it. As a consequence some classes received more attention than others. Jealousies that developed in this way reduced the effectiveness of the worker. Another difficulty has been that extension personnel have been required to administer the loan program which could not help but engender ill will toward themselves from those who were unable to get loans. And yet those who could not get loans are as sorely in need of the guidance that the extension worker could give them as those who received loans.

This difficulty may be eased somewhat by a division of resource development work on the basis of an action program on the one hand and education on the other with personnel assigned accordingly. The Farm Supervisor of P.H.A. who works with P.H.A. loan clients and the County Extension and the Home Demonstration Agents who do only educational work are cases in point. There should be on the agency staff at least one extension worker who, together with the home economist, would have no action program or reservation administration responsibility whatsoever. These two employees could then devote their entire
time on an all-out extension program. Those who worked with credit could be designated loan supervisors. Such an arrangement would make it possible, then, for those families unable to get loans to work with personnel against whom there would be no need for animosity.

The employees functioning entirely in the capacity of extension workers, could be free to give full time to demonstrations, 4-H Club and the like and at the same time keep the reservation extension activities related to those in the Counties and the State.

If the resource development work was divided so that the loan supervisors would concern themselves with a loan program and nothing else, such as the F.H.A. Farm Supervisors, these supervisors should then limit the loans to the number that can be handled effectively. Farm budgets need to be developed most carefully with the family and then followed closely. This will cut down the number of loan clients at first but it would make for a much sounder program in the long run. As it is now, where it is not possible to determine whether there are any loan clients on the Reservation who are making or losing money is surely not the proper way to carry on such a program.

The loan program needs to be developed around the "grass roots" leaders previously discussed. It is not necessary, it will be remembered, that such a person be an obvious leader. Where such persons are qualified to
receive loans or already have loans, budgets should be developed with them. As they begin to understand the meaning of this procedure and the process they will help to impart the information to those who look to them for leadership. In this way, informed groups can be developed so that each supervisor will be able to handle a larger number of clients each year on a much sounder basis than is possible under the present system.

In such a division of work, the loan supervisors could keep themselves and the Indian clients in touch with private and public credit agencies in the territory. The extension workers would function in cooperation with the County and State Extension Staffs. This would lay the ground work for the eventual transfer of these activities out of the Indian Agency, if that became desirable.

The land use program should provide for the classification of the land as to its future use. There will be a sizeable number of families such as those receiving old age assistance, aid to the dependent blind and aid to dependent children and some who have no interest in having more than a few acres of land for a homesite. Suitable areas should be set aside for such families where it will be possible for them to have a good garden, be near school, stores and other public facilities.
Certain portions of the reservation range land could not be put to its best use if it were broken up with too many small farmsteads. Such areas should be designated and every effort made to discourage families from moving into them.

All lands over Class III should not be plowed up. All classes above III are now described on the land use capability map and such means as possible should be used to keep these lands in grass and any that which is now in crops reseeded to grass.

There are also strategically located springs, dams and wells that are essential to the proper use of the range. Grazing units are now set up in such a way as to utilize this water supply to the best advantage. These need to be continued. Many of these were dug or built by the Federal government during the C.C.C. days of the 1930's and have easements signed by the land owners agreeing to their use in connection with grazing units. Where use rights are not so guaranteed these should be obtained by purchase if necessary.

Not much will be possible in the way of zoning the reservation to control its use, unless funds are made available to buy up key tracts so that the Tribal Council may decide how such land will be utilized. It will also help if credit funds are handled through the Tribal Coun-
oil with a policy that loans will be made on condition that farm programs comply with the zoning plan.

Planning for land use up to the present has been mainly at the administration level. Individual families have all received sizeable sums from land and per capita payments. There is nothing settled on the eve of relocation whether the remaining $5 million will be used as a tribal rehabilitation fund or distributed in per capita payments. All this unsettledness has kept planning by families from getting very far. Therefore, most of the planning for land use, if it gets done, will have to come after removal. Much will depend on the way in which the tribal funds are managed.

Land Conservation

Section 6 of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 directs the Secretary of the Interior to manage reservation lands in such manner as to conserve the soil. The regulations have prohibited the plowing of land that had been out of cultivation over two years. Such lands were not plowed up at Fort Berthold until World War II when there developed a strong demand for land on which to plant wheat and flax. This pressure was so great that in spite of every effort to enforce the regulations even lands that had never been plowed up before went under
cultivation. This breaking up of native grass land was confined mostly to the land now in the reservoir area. But now with the movement of the population into the up-lands there is going to be increased pressure to bring virgin prairie sod under the plow. It has been possible up to the present to keep the range lands under good conservation practices. Under the C.C.C. program of the 1930's fire guards and stock dams were built and springs were developed to improve these lands. Ranchers who have obtained grazing permits on the Reservation since that time have made further improvements under the various Federal programs.

How well these lands have been managed even during the dry years of the 1930's can be seen from the following statement made by M. B. Johnson, Agricultural Economist in Bulletin 347:

"Drought was the main cause of liquidation of range herds during the thirties but contributing factors were the heavy stocking of the ranges and a lack of feed reserves. On the Fort Berthold Reservation ... results obtained indicate that a more conservative rate of stocking on the other lands might have averted some of the forced liquidation. These Indian lands of the reservation administered by the Indian Service ..., are leased to a group of ranch men under a system of controlled grazing. Approximately 15,000 head of cattle are grazed annually on these lands. The rate of stocking is fixed by the Indian Service. During 1934, cattle numbers on these Indian lands were up to

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1 M. B. Johnson, Range Cattle Production in Western North Dakota, N. D. Agriculture Experiment Station Bulletin 347, 1947.
the full estimated carrying capacity of the range. The conservative stocking rate resulted in a carry-over of old grass so normal numbers of cattle were handled throughout the season. No cattle were sold to the Government. The usual numbers were marketed during the fall marketing season and the remainder of the herd were wintered largely on old grass supplemented by cottonseed cake. No forced liquidation of cattle from the reservation lands took place at any time during the drought period. The stability of operations among this group of operators can be mainly attributed to controlled grazing and larger than average reserves of winter feed."

Johnson in this same bulletin states, "It is believed that a 100-cow ranch is about the minimum size that will provide the average family an adequate living standard". His analysis was based on the experience and operations of 42 North Dakota ranchers in the general area of the Reservation.

With 85 per cent or more of the land considered suitable for grazing only, and that with minor to major limitations, makes a program for conservation extremely important. There are only 13 families on the reservation now with more than 75 head of cattle. The bulk of the range lands heretofore has been leased by a few ranchers who had to comply with the regulations. Now with 200 to 250 small Indian operators likely to be settled in every segment on these same lands presents a most difficult control problem because there is no way to force compliance with approved practices on one's own lands. We have done a good job of controlling and enforcing the proper land use practices but our education
has been weak.

The soil conservationist and the range supervisor are two staff members who will have the primary duty of developing good conservation practices. Here again the answer rests with the individual operators and owners of the land. Much can be done through individual farm plans, some through the purchase of key tracts and retaining them under tribal ownership and a little through the use of credit. If anything lasting is accomplished, it will come primarily through education - a long process.

The soil conservationist and the range supervisor can assist the loan supervisors in the development of farm plans. They will need to work with the schools. They will also need to seek out the "natural leaders" to assist them in getting conservation understood.

With the soils maps available for the entire reservation it is now possible to discuss land use practices in concrete terms with every family who owns or uses any reservation land.

This is an opportune time to work out some long time adjustments if the people can be brought to see it. There are, as yet, no established patterns of settlement. Everyone has received a sizeable payment and the immediate
pressure to get land leased for farming will not be significant for a few years. With a vigorous program it should be possible to accomplish some lasting adjustments.

Home Construction

The desire to see families established in good modern homes may result in the investment of more money in a house than a family and the land around it can support. Certain minimum standards will need to be met in order to maintain satisfactory health conditions. A survey made in 1949 reported 63 houses of one or two rooms in which the family contained 6 or more persons. Every effort should be made to correct overcrowding of this kind.

However, much of the relocation is going to take place under entirely new conditions. Initial selections of places to live are going to be found unsatisfactory in many instances. During this period families, unless they are quite certain of their location, should be encouraged to build a house just large enough to get by on until they are sure what they want to do. Such houses could be designed so that they may be enlarged later.

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1 MRB Report No. 94.
There will be those situations in which funds available to a family, if not invested in a house, will eventually be used up for living expenses in one form or another. In instances of this kind the family should be encouraged to build a good home even though it would be desirable to wait. However, where there is a genuine interest in rehabilitation and the funds available to a family are not likely to be dissipated, the entire building program needs to be planned with care. No two situations will be identical. Those who expect to make their living from the land, may, at the time they develop their farm budgets determine how much of their available cash they can invest in a house. Where there is not adequate land or equipment over-investment in a house would prolong the rehabilitation period unnecessarily.

If any portion of the $6,105,625 now available for relocation remains unspent, it might be well to set it aside to make further relocation adjustments after families were moved out of the valley.

While there will be no taxes on buildings charged against income, any funds spent for fixed assets in this way that is not entirely essential cuts down on the amount that can be invested in more land and capital goods. Land, livestock, seed and equipment are the important items in the farm or ranch business. These will make it possible to
build as necessary later.

**Improving Nutrition**

It is unfortunate, indeed that the Federal government's handling of affairs amongst the Fort Berthold tribes has not kept alive their original interest in garden work. If much is accomplished in improving nutrition on the reservation this interest will have to be revived. It will be much more difficult after relocation because suitable garden lands will not be as plentiful as they were in the river valley. Nonetheless, gardening needs to receive primary attention, principally because it is one thing that every family will be able to do in making use of the land.

The majority of the families who relocate on the Reservation will not be prepared to go into farming and cattle raising but every one of them may have a garden. The United States Northern Great Plains Field Station, near Mandan, North Dakota, about 100 miles south of the Reservation, carried on a demonstration under dry-land conditions with a 1-acre garden from 1920 to 1945. A garden this size "was ample to supply the needs of a family of five besides producing surpluses for sale in good years."

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Such crops as tomatoes, potatoes, pumpkins, onions, rutabaga, early peas, beets, early and mid-season plantings of carrots, squashes, parsnips and early cabbage gave good average yields, few failures and the yields were not below average in too large a percentage of the years.

A garden with these crops, some chickens and two or three milk cows would materially improve the present diets and help to keep down the living expenses.

It has been only since the fall of 1950 that the service of a home economist has been available on the Reservation. The teachers in the 8 community schools, of course, for years have each maintained a school garden that has served to some extent as a demonstration. But an overall nutrition program needs to be initiated with a much more active program of home gardens.

The home economist has been added to the staff to assist with relocation work but it is hoped that this position will be retained until the habits of gardening, keeping chickens, etc., have been established amongst the families. They could then come under the State and County Home Extension programs.

The Federal schools have furnished a noon-day meal through the school year. Some attention has been given to nutrition here but they can be organized to do much more. It will be especially important to emphasize nutrition education in the grades as many of the boys and girls
drop out of school at the end of this time and they are usually from families in which good nutrition is the most lacking. Unfortunately when school budgets are reduced noon-meal outlays are the first to be affected.

If in these early years the children are gotten into the habit of eating nutritious foods that can be produced on the reservation there will be a greater chance of getting them as adults to provide the same foods for their children.

The growing of gardens and the keeping of chickens and milk cows can be encouraged by the provision of facilities for the purpose. There will be a large number of women with children who will be on the A.D.C. program. These could be relocated where good garden plots are available and also furnished with chicken houses. In time arrangements could be made where each would be able to have a cow or two. The social welfare authorities of the State could cooperate on such a program as it should eventually help to reduce relief costs.

If the Agency staff is organized so that at least one extension worker and the home economist could give full time to extension work, nutrition could be one of their main activities. Under their leadership garden and poultry clubs for both youth and adults could be formed over the entire Reservation. Achievement days could be held in each segment. Participants in these clubs could later
take part in a Reservation fair or the county fairs in which they live.

The largest gains to be made in a nutrition program in the immediate future can come in wise buying. As was pointed out earlier there are few families that have milk cows and chickens. In the new locations it will be some time before much in the way of green and yellow vegetables and tomatoes will be grown or canned. Nearly everything that is consumed will have to be purchased. Most families will have enough money to buy the right foods for a few years to come if they knew and were interested enough to do so. Beyond this there is the matter of the proper preparation of food so as not to destroy its nutritive content.

A program can begin immediately on the right foods to buy and the proper way to prepare them. The schools and the churches can be expected to help in such a program.

The difficulty here, as it will be with most other programs, is to get a cultural redefinition of food. Food is now merely something to assuage the appetite. It will be a problem of reaching the adults. The leaders in the community must be identified to help with the program. Various devices will help but without the cooperation and support of the adults, progress will be exceedingly slow.
So far, most of the Agency programs to help the people have dealt largely with production of cattle and a few major crops like hay and grain. This has reached only a minority of the families. In the future equal emphasis needs to be given to consumption. Any successes in this direction will be reflected in increased savings on returns from production. Little is gained if production is increased only to be used up in the purchase of food much of which could have been raised at home.
Chapter XVIII

PROGRAM FOR TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

The Tribal Business Council can become the most important element in the relocation program and the future rehabilitation of the Fort Berthold people. It was created under the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984) by the adoption of a Constitution and Bylaws, approved by the Secretary of the Interior on June 29, 1938, and is empowered to exercise certain corporate powers set out in a Federal corporate charter ratified by the Indians on April 24, 1937.

Sixteen years of experience in the rudiments of self-government have not given time to the people to overcome the habits built up over two generations of management by a bureaucracy that looked after every need. Except for a few full powers such as the determination of membership, the establishment and management of a law and order code for a limited number of offenses and control of small sums of tribal funds specifically turned over to it, the Tribal Business Council has
functioned more in the capacity of an advisory body to the Superintendent than anything else. It is also the first time that the Indian people have tried to operate under a constitutional form of government which has required an entirely different concept of political organization than the traditional system of leadership by tribal elders who acquired their positions partly by hereditary right and to some extent by achievement. Election to office by secret ballot is a recent innovation. To function effectively in the present governing body one must be able to read and write. Things move so rapidly and the business at hand so varied that there is not the time for hours of deliberation that was once possible. These conditions have placed younger men in the saddle while older men still retained a sizeable following.

These dissident elements have provided rallying points for any who were disaffected by the actions of the Tribal Business Council and strong cleavages have come into existence as a consequence. The following news item appearing in the Agency News Bulletin of March 15, 1952 is an example of this intra-tribal conflict:

**Burdick Asks For Investigation of Tribal Council**

Last Thursday, Rep. Usher L. Burdick (R ND) introduced a Resolution requesting the Secretary of the Interior to make an investigation into the business affairs of the Fort Berthold Tribal Council. According to the resolution as reported, some Indians are complaining that the Tribal Council has:
1). Expended tribal funds in an unauthorized manner and in amounts not justified.

2). Withheld funds due some Indians from payments made by the government to compensate for flooding of Indian lands by the Garrison Dam.

3). Sold allotted lands without the knowledge and consent of the individuals affected.

4). Shown favoritism in making loans to Indians from tribal funds.

5) Refused to give some Indians information with respect to their mineral rights on lands taken over by the government.

Tribal Council members interviewed stated that the accusations were "false and foolish", but that the investigation would be "welcomed, because it would give us a chance to put an end to the rumors and wrong information that has been passed around on this reservation", and that "it's just too bad that the tribe has to spend a lot of their money to pay for the investigation; should make those guys pay."

This situation is not to be viewed with alarm but should be understood as being a part of an adjustment process that requires sympathetic and patient guidance.

It is well to remember that the American people had over 150 years in preparation for their present form of government.

The Tribal Business Council will be necessary for the management of business peculiar to the needs of the people so long as the Indian people have property and political problems in common. Some organization of this kind will be needed to handle tribal claims against the Federal government, to determine who will be entitled to rights in tribal property and to administer any property that may
come into the common possession of the people.

A governing body will be necessary to maintain law and order in those areas not covered by Federal and State laws. At present there is a wide gap between the point where Federal regulations and State laws leave off and the Federal courts take up with the 10 major crimes. (Manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson, burglary, larceny, assault with a dangerous weapon, incest and robbery.) Cruelty to children, for example, could go unpunished without tribal rules to prevent it. Until the State is empowered to assume jurisdiction to fill out this hiatus the tribal governing body has an important function to perform in this area.

There are those who believe that a tribal system of government interposes unnecessarily and harmfully a government within a government. This criticism stems from the autonomous position of the Tribal Business Council in establishing a law and order code which sets up a court of domestic relations empowered to grant divorces to its members, in its right to hold tribal property that is not taxable, and in its powers to tax its members.

However, there are many ways in which a tribal governing body can serve in a program of economic development and political and social readjustment which no other governmental unit can perform at all and there are ways in
which other agencies will not be able to do as well. These must be clearly defined and explained both to the Indians themselves and the general public so that rehabilitation will not be retarded through an ignorance or misunderstanding of them.

Tribal Business Council procedures should be worked out wherever possible to approximate those of the municipalities, counties and the State so that the Indian people will become accustomed to governmental processes that will prepare them for life off the Reservation and for the eventual acceptance of jurisdiction by the State. The present system of representative government, election to office by secret ballot, right of petition and referendum, and a written and published code of offenses, are examples of such stepping stones designed to raise the political literacy of the people.

A governing body of the tribes also has an important psychological value. It is an organization of the people, to which they may turn with complaints and alleged wrongs. It stands as a court of appeal where tensions may be released in a way that is not possible any place else. Without it many types of frustration, that may be corrected in this way, would continue and retard a healthy adjustment as a result.
What can be done to make of the tribal governing body an effective instrument in the future rehabilitation of the people? A concept of representative constitutional government must be developed. The idea of a constituted authority as the best way to manage tribal affairs must be acceptable to a majority of the people. The people need to feel that major interest groups have representation. Wherever possible the Federal government should prepare the way and release to the Tribal Business Council those actions of the Council that are now subject to approval by some Bureau official. Representation on the Tribal Business Council at the present time is drawn from 3 geographical areas of the Reservation. These were delineated in such a manner that the interests of those descending from the original three tribes were fairly accommodated. Upon relocation the natural tendency may be to establish the 5 segments as districts from which the representatives will be elected. This may work out satisfactorily if, as Hardin suggests, the group has moved from a state of homogeneous relationships in which there is automatic acceptance of general leadership and far enough toward one of heterogeneous social ties that allows for allegiance to many leaders. In other words, if a majority of the families in each segment

1 op. cit., p. 281.
have reached a point where they look to the school man
for advice on education, to the extension agent for
help on decisions with regard to agriculture, to the
public health authorities for suggestions on what to
do about the prevention of certain illnesses, etc. It
will not matter to them who is finally elected to the
Tribal Business Council so long as they are regarded as
capable of doing the job.

Here again an analysis of the Reservation leadership
will provide important clues as to the manner in which
representation could best be had. It may be necessary
to have representation on the basis of interest groups
rather than by districts. The former would include the
livestock association members as against those who are
not participating in a land use program. This would be
on an economic basis. At present these two groups divide
the resident population in about equal numbers. Another
may be on a sociological basis, where congenial groups,
identified by membership regardless of residence, are each
permitted one or more representatives depending on its
size.

When the time should come that the present services
are transferred to the State and Counties, the Tribal
Business Council could take over all the land records
which would be about the only present activity of the Bureau that would be inconvenient to turn over to the county for administration. Many families will have holdings in all five counties and some central office for all reservation land records would facilitate administration dealing with land matters. The Council could handle all leasing arrangements and provide an office of record for these transactions. This could well be started immediately while a staff was present to help make the transfer and to instruct.

Thus, the Council could be a residual agency to which the Bureau could transfer any remaining administrative tasks after the schools, health, roads, etc. were turned over to the State. This would enable the Federal government to relieve itself completely, except for probate work on estates, of providing directly any public services to the Indian people on the Reservation. At the same time the Council could be an effective force in helping to see that the tribal members were receiving the public services to which they were entitled. It would be in a position to represent the Indian people in making appearances at County Board meetings, in the State legislature, before the Committees of Congress, and State and Federal officials in the interest of Indian problems.
Chapter XIX

A PROGRAM FOR CREDIT

If Fort Berthold families do very much toward putting Reservation lands into use by their own efforts a great deal of capital is going to be required. The necessary capital is at hand; it will all depend on how it is used.

Actually only 60 out of 234 families according to Table 31 classed as families that would be interested in making their livelihood from the land have received less than $2000 from the reservoir land. 95 of the remainder have received between $4000 and $20,000. There has been added to this $1000 per person from the tribal funds. If the remaining $5 million of tribal funds were paid out $2000 per capita there would be enough for nearly all families to get a good start if they used their funds wisely.

There would be around 150 families with 2 or more children. A family of 4 with $12,000 in per capita payments plus at least $2000 in land payments for some and more for the rest could provide an equity in capital goods that should enable these families to borrow enough more from private and public lending agencies to start out with a 50-cow ranch unit. According to the North
Table 31. Fort Berthold families classified according to income from land included in the Garrison Reservoir Area and by occupational interests.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>1.00</th>
<th>500.</th>
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<th>2000.</th>
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<th>7000.</th>
<th>10,000.</th>
<th>15,000.</th>
<th>20,000.</th>
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<tr>
<td>I.</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>V.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>74</td>
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<td>139</td>
<td>122</td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
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**SUMMARY**

The families were classified according to the knowledge we have of the people and their indications in past surveys. The names and amounts were taken from the agency land office records of all people who have lands in the taking area whether or not their listed appraisals were accepted or rejected. The name listed is the family head and the amount includes all members of the family. The "Off Reservation" group includes men in the armed services, people whose whereabouts is unknown and those employed off the reservation. The welfare group includes all family heads who for various reasons are not able to work. Widows with families are included here. The people who live in nearby towns that are not gainfully employed were not included in the "Off Reservation" group.
Dakota budgets, if they began on a tenant basis they could do it with $20,000. They should have no difficulty in borrowing $6000 on $16,000 worth of property. 100 families would not have to borrow anything. They would have more than enough to start with this size of unit. Investment along these lines is not likely to happen in view of the inexperience with agricultural enterprises, the limited personnel to assist with plans and the pressure to put available cash into consumption goods. There will therefore be an important place for a credit program if Indian lands are put into productive use by Indian families. It is not likely that the present private or public lending agencies will be equipped to furnish such credit. It will be necessary, then, to continue and to expand the present Indian credit system which operates under a joint-arrangement between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the tribal corporation. This system permits the tribes to borrow from the Indian Credit Fund under the control of the Bureau. The program is administered on the Reservation by a Credit Committee appointed by the Tribal Business Council. Under the regulations all loans must be approved by Bureau officials. This approval requirement applies also where tribal funds are used for loans. As pointed out elsewhere the Reservation revolving credit fund
now has on deposit and in loans outstanding a total of $708,879. $200,000 of this is from the Federal Indian Credit Fund. The tribes are paying 1 per cent interest on this amount. $508,879 is from their own funds. Loans are made at 4 per cent interest at the present time. Loans from the Federal Credit Fund may legally be loaned at 3 per cent.

Estimates\(^1\) for credit needs of 188 "agricultural" families on December 31, 1951 are as follows, land, $916,240; new and remodeled buildings, $385,500; livestock, $329,600; machinery, $125,000; furniture, tools, etc., $106,240, making a total of $1,864,530. How much of the tribal funds the people will agree to have used in this manner is yet to be settled.

The Tribal Council and the Credit Committee have had over ten years of experience in the handling of loans. One would like to have seen this experience built around carefully prepared farm budgets that were truly meaningful to the Council and Credit Committee members as well as to the loan clients. However, it is not too late to follow such a procedure from here on out.

As was pointed out previously, more progress may be made in the development of a sound credit program if a part of the present extension staff were assigned full time to the supervision of loans.

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1 Superintendent's Report
The use of tribal funds for a tribal credit program confronts much opposition from those members who know that they will not be eligible for productive loans. The credit program should, therefore, be a part of a comprehensive plan in which tribal funds are used to benefit tangibly all elements of the tribal membership. An educational loan fund, and a housing project for old people and dependent mothers will help to correct this but it will not be entirely eliminated. This is the greatest obstacle to the proper functioning of such a program.

The only answer is one of education. This may come too slow to prevent dissolution of the tribal estate through per capita payments. If this happens then, of course, all that can be done is to work with those families that save enough to develop what resources they have and get such additional loans as may be possible from the Federal Credit Fund and other sources. It just means that the job of rehabilitation will take longer.

If the tribal group is convinced that its common funds should be used in land purchase and education and rehabilitation loan funds in the large amounts proposed so far, more than the presentation of a rational analysis will be necessary. This whole effort will need somehow to appeal to the emotions as well.

At the present time the tribal group is divided into two political camps. One is referred to as the "no bunch"
and the other as the "yes group". The former was initially opposed to the adoption of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. This law applied to a tribal group only if a majority voted in favor of it. Their opposition won them their present informal designation, the latter obtained theirs at the same time by voting in favor of the law. The "no" group is made up of most of the older members and is the more conservative but it includes its share of all age groups from all three tribes. It is the group which insists on per capita payments and is opposed to the use of tribal funds for rehabilitation purposes.

The credit and repayment cattle programs on the Reservation are in disrepute with this group, largely because $40,000 in tribal funds have been used in connection with them and only a few of their members have benefited from it. What is needed now is some way to symbolize a tribal program around some figure or idea that will command the loyalty of all groups. Unfortunately there is no elder statesman in the membership so that a "Marshall Plan" can be developed and so far some innocuous term like "Point-4" has not been hit upon as a rallying point by which to carry forward a comprehensive tribal program.

It may help if representatives from the Production Credit Associations, Farmer's Home Administration, economics department of the Agricultural college, and local banks were
invited to reservation meetings to explain what is required for loans from other types of organizations and to answer questions on credit problems. One difficulty comes from there being only one source of credit and members have no way of comparing the Indian loans against those made by other types of lending agencies.

Once support for a reservation credit program with the use of tribal funds is assured it will be possible to develop a credit system that should become the most effective tool in the rehabilitation effort. The latest principles in proven credit practices could be employed.

The present system could be improved by delegating more responsibility to the tribal representatives. There is no good reason to suppose that the entire program with final authority to approve all loans could not be delegated to the Tribal Council within a short period of time.

One thing that can be done immediately is to create an advisory committee that could sit with the Tribal Council to advise it on credit policies. Such a committee could be made up of a Farm Loan Supervisor from F.H.A., a local banker and a successful farmer or rancher selected by the Tribal Council who would pay them on a per diem basis. This would give the Tribal Council members first-hand information about credit management from individuals actually in the business. It would also start opening the way to outside credit opportunities.
If the Agency headquarters is located in a town with banking facilities, as it very likely will, credit funds could be deposited with the local bank and some authorized official of the Tribal Council could draw checks upon it for loans made. The Superintendent may at first be required to countersign them but eventually even this could be dispensed with. Arrangements might be worked out in time where the Tribal Council would be given financial assistance for the hire of its own loan supervisors who would then be directly responsible to the Council. While such supervision was required as a public service, this way of handling it would be no different in principle than the present practice of contracting with the State for public health or social welfare service. As the program developed and reached a point where it was self supporting the Tribal Council could then assume this responsibility also.

It will be proposals with innovations of this kind that may capture the imagination and support of the Indian people to get behind a credit program for the future. Where the people will be using their own funds for the loans this would seem like the democratic way to proceed.
Chapter XX

A PROGRAM FOR LAND CONSOLIDATION

An important barrier to the efficient use of Fort Berthold lands is the fractionated ownership. Administratively it is rapidly developing into an impossible situation. It is reaching the point now where some allotments have so many owners via inheritance that when one dies and before his estate is probated another will have passed away. Take the case referred to in Chapter 9 where there were 10 heirs each owning 0.07 acres in an 80-acre tract along with 37 other people. If this was grazing land and it leased for 50¢ per acre these 10 heirs would receive 3¢ cents apiece.

Under the present federal laws these trust lands are probated by Federal employees. There is a nominal charge which is placed against the trust title. The owners are not in the least inconvenienced. Their only concern is to appear for hearings when the Federal employee sets the date. Since there are no taxes to pay no one, thus, gets excited over costs. But this free embalming service must come to an end somewhere.
There are more creative ways in which the taxpayers' money should be spent.

There are two ways out of the dilemma. The owners can be charged the costs of administration and when the income from the land is not enough to pay for the supervision then a fee patent should be issued for the land in question. This would have the advantage of making owners conscious of the costs and force them to take some action on a land program that would keep their lands off the tax roll if they wanted to retain it.

The disadvantage to this procedure is that land would pass out of Indian ownership. This should be prevented if land is going to be an important factor in the future rehabilitation of the Indians.

The other approach is to work out exchanges and sales within the tribes and amongst the members to get the land into manageable units from a land use standpoint as well as from the administrative angle.

The monstrous ownership pattern has not as yet affected the use of the land as far as tenants on the grazing land are concerned. This land is blocked out into grazing units and the operators deal with the Agency officials who have the responsibility of dividing the rental income amongst the various owners. Recently the agricultural lands have been leased directly between the
tenant and the land owners. In those cases where there
are a large number of heirs and the tenants have ex-
perienced difficulty in working out a satisfactory
settlement amongst all of them, such tenants are beginning
now to question whether it is worth all the trouble it
takes to get to use the land. Thus, it will not be long
until much land will be idle or in trespass and about the
only solution will be to sell it for what it will bring,
pay the heirs and close out the account.

Much of the land is of little value unless it is
used in conjunction with the other key tracts. This is
especially true of the grazing land which makes up 85
per cent of the reservation lands. Here one allotment of
40 or 80 acres with the only stock water on it within a
radius of 1 or 2 miles makes the remaining area useless
for livestock unless this piece can be used with it.
Yet the people who own this 40 or 80 acres may not be in-
terested in livestock raising nor in owning any land.
There are instances where exorbitant rentals are demanded
and such land along with all that around it remains out
of production. If the owners want to sell and there are
Indians who want the land for production purposes, but have
no funds with which to purchase it, the sale may go to
an outsider and with the loss of so small a tract hundreds
of acres of other Indian land become of no use to the Indians.
It would not take many such losses of strategically located minor tracts of land to deny large blocks of the reservation for Indian rehabilitation.

The consolidation of land will be accomplished to some extent by exchanges and sales between individuals. The Missouri River Basin Staff began in 1946 to get all Indian land records up to date and the Probate Division of the Bureau placed Fort Berthold at the head of the other reservations to keep all estates probated as rapidly as they occurred. The approval of deeds and other real estate transactions were decentralized to the Area Office. Water table, soil, and ranch management studies (see Map 11) were made. All this was done as early and as rapidly as possible so that sales and exchanges could be facilitated. The Agency land section was enlarged and appraisals of all the lands were made so that there would be a minimum of delay when the Indians desiring to purchase land received their money for the reservoir lands. And yet by December 31, 1951 only 159 deeds involving 24,741.86 acres had been approved. 167 deeds pending approval had to be renegotiated and an agreement worked out between seller and buyer as to what to do about the gas and oil rights which came into prominence over the recent discovery of oil near the reservation.
Transactions by individuals is going to be an extremely slow process in getting lands blocked out and to approach the problem of consolidation in this manner will not adequately meet many important land problems. What is most needed is a third party arrangement that will facilitate a large number of transactions that will be difficult to accomplish without it. Some few families will save enough from their land payments to make the necessary consolidation of their scattered holdings. Still, even amongst these, there will be small inherited interests that will be impossible to bring into consolidation without some intermediate buying and selling agent. This third party could best be an agent of the Three Tribes but it would require a land purchase fund in order for it to operate.

The tribes are provided with the authority in their constitution and charter to establish an agency, which for purposes of discussion here may be called a Tribal Land Board, to handle all transactions. A Land Purchase Fund on which to operate could be allotted from the $5 million now in the treasury of the United States to the credit of the Fort Berthold Indians.

The size of this fund would depend on how far the tribes wanted to go in the purchase of land for consolidation purposes.
At one point in the development of relocation plans it was hoped that Congress would establish a fund specifically for consolidation of land. Instead Congress has made a lump sum appropriation of $7½ millions and it is now up to the people whether they use a part of this sum for this purpose. At that time (1948) it was believed that to initiate such a program it would be desirable for the tribes to buy as much as 1/4 to 1/3 of the acreage on the reservation; this would consist principally of range land. The prices as shown in Table 26 were averaged, and increased by 20 per cent. This gave a figure of $24.40 per acre for upland or upland and 7.75 for upland meadow and pasture. Using these prices it was estimated that it would take $1,332,886 to purchase 1/3 of the Indian land on the reservation and $999,665 to buy 1/4 of it. The fee patented land of 14,676 acres at $7.75 per acre would take $115,768. It was also contemplated at that time that 320-acre homesteads would be bought in the range area to be supplemented by lease of the necessary acreage to make an economic unit. It was suggested that, at least, 40 landless families could be cared for in this way. To do all this it was then estimated that on a revolving fund basis, i.e., buying land and reselling it, a minimum of $1 million would be necessary.

If the tribes planned to go this far now, they would need to add 30 per cent to this figure.

The latest estimate for land purchases was $916,240 which was made by the Agency Extension Staff following a home-to-home survey of 183 "agricultural" families on the reservation. The Fort Berthold Stockmen's Association at its annual meeting in February 1952 adopted a proposed agricultural program presented by the Nishu Stockmen's Association from which the following is extracted:

It is felt that since the Fort Berthold Stockmen's Association represents a membership of 174 families, who reside in all 3 districts of the reservation and have common interests in agriculture, that it is the group most logical to assist in the formulation of an over-all agricultural program. The amounts specified for the indicated purposes in this program were arrived at through a farm-to-farm survey among all agriculturalists who stated their needs for relocation. It is with this thought in mind that the following program is submitted.

I. Land- $916,240.00
   That an amount of $916,240 be set aside from monies appropriated through Public Law 437 for a Land Program, and used as follows:
   A. Basic Requirements.
      (1). Average of 2500 acres on a straight grazing basis, and 800 acres in farm land. (As determined from the land use survey)
      (2). Any combination of the two requirements listed above.
      (3). Acquisition of less acreage than that listed above, if an individual so desires.

   B. Land Consolidation and acquisition.
      (1). Purchase and sale of individual allotments and white-owned land, and land owned by non-members of the Tribe. (Requires change in the present Constitution)
(2) Land exchange between Tribe and individual owners, and between individuals.

(3) Land assignment to individual members by the Three Affiliated Tribes.

C. Methods and mechanisms.
   (1) Land Committee - which is established. (recommended functions).
      (a) Land consolidations.
      (b) Land exchanges between individuals and the Three Affiliated Tribes.
      (c) Determine repayment schedules of all land loans, with a maximum of 25 years for individual contracts.
      (d) Determine and recommend action on land loans.
      (e) Recommend approval or rejection of land assignments, leases, and permits of all Tribally owned or controlled land.
      (f) Review and recommend action on all land purchases between the Tribes and individual tribal members, and also other acquired lands.
      (g) Recommend land use and conservation methods on all lands within the bounds of the reservation, or outside Tribally purchased lands.

(2) Working relationships.
   (a) That the Agency Administration be required to set up facilities to speed up action on all land transactions.
   (b) That the Superintendent be granted authority to approve all land transactions including deeds, on the recommendation of the land committee and local land officer.
It would be an ideal arrangement, of course, if anything like $1 million could be set aside for a land purchase fund. However, with careful planning much can be accomplished with even 1/4 of that amount.

Priority should be given to the purchase of land in the following order:

1. Key tracts that individuals are anxious to sell. This would retain control of strategic allotments within the tribal group.

2. The pieces most fractionated by inheritance. Much of such land could probably be purchased at nominal prices. In the example given in an earlier chapter the largest interest out of 47 heirs in an 80-acre tract was 11.01 acres. At 50 cents an acre for grazing purposes this person would receive only $5.50 per year. It usually rents for as low as 10 cents per acre. An allotment this badly fractionated could probably be purchased for $2 or $3 per acre. Especially if the owners knew it was going to become part of the tribal estate.

3. Lands of the aged, the widowed and the orphaned.
4. Lands of those who it is believed would establish their homes off the reservation if their lands were bought from them. There will be those who will advance this as a reason to sell their lands only to use up the money and crowd in on relatives or on tribal land.

5. Land of those now established away from the reservation.

6. Any lands available for sale within the reservation boundaries.

Even with an adequate land fund it will be desirable to develop some policy of selective acquisition, always balancing money used in this way against other enterprises of social benefit to the tribal members because there will not be enough even if all the remaining $6 million were put into various types of funds for rehabilitation.

One of the precautions that needs to be taken in a reservation land program is to see to it that owners get a fair price for their land. Because of the trust status of the land it has been the experience on other reservations that one Indian with funds can purchase from
The Land Section of the Fort Berthold Constitution Article IX provides two devices called "Standard" and "Exchange" assignments that are designed to correct this difficulty. However, great care needs to be exercised in the use of them. Title to the land under these two assignments remains in the tribes. The "standard" assignment is used where tribal land is made available to landless members and the "exchange" assignment is employed where the assignee gives up something of value for the assignment. In the latter, grazing lands are not permitted by inheritance to be subdivided into units smaller than 160 acres and farming land is not to be subdivided into units smaller than 40 acres. This is a drastic departure from the American fee simple system and for that reason is subject to severe criticism.

These two devices can be utilized along with the present fee simple and trust titles to decided advantage in a land program if they are thoroughly understood. The Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe in South Dakota consolidated thousands of acres by using the exchange assignment but considerable agitation has developed against it. Some feel that the use rights are less secure than they are under a trust title and that the holder of an assignment is at the mercy of some future irresponsible tribal council. Bills have been introduced in the Congress to give the
present holders a trust title and to discontinue the further use of the "exchange" assignment. The advantage of this assignment device is that it operates to prevent the future fractionation of the land. If the lands are to remain in trust some such ownership system needs to be worked out.

Where the tribes have some tribal lands to begin with, a person owning several pieces of land over the reservation could deed them back to the tribes and take an exchange assignment to a tract equal in value on tribal land that was suited to his needs. Let it be assumed that a family had 640 acres in a dozen different places over the reservation these could all be exchanged for 640 acres of tribal land that could then be of some use to the family where the scattered interests were valueless except as they might be leased for a pittance. If after receiving an exchange assignment the family needed an additional 640 acres to block out an economic unit the Land Board could make a standard assignment for this acreage if tribal lands were available in the immediate vicinity. If no tribal land was available but land adjacent to the exchange assignment was offered for sale this could be purchased and then assigned. An exchange assignment may be leased by the holder but a standard assignment after two years of non-use returns to the control of the tribes.
By the use of the above assignments it is possible to do considerable in the way of land consolidation with even a very limited amount of land purchase funds. These devices should not be overlooked in a land program.

One further means of keeping down the number of heirs is to explain how wills may be prepared to prevent some of it. What usually happens is that a person may have several pieces of land but who will be concerned with giving one particular piece to a certain individual. Then for the remainder of the holdings the usual statement is included to the effect that the rest and residue of the property, real and personal goes to the heirs at law.

If the land inheritance problem were understood the person may be willing in many cases to designate specific pieces of land to be inherited by individuals and thus keep down some of the fractionation.

If the tribes decided to provide a land purchase fund large enough, so that immediate resale of the land is not necessary in order to keep funds available for further purchases, the Land Board should give serious consideration to long term leases of tribal land to the Indian operators. Most of the operators will not be experienced enough to handle an economic unit of 5000 acres in a ranch or 300 acres in a crop farm at the outset. Most of them will have to borrow funds to purchase live-stock and equipment to say nothing of buying land. Under
a leasing system a plan could be worked whereby the
operator could expand his unit as he gained in proficiency.
On this point Professor Black and his associates say that,
"it is an excellent idea to rent a farm for a few years
in the area so as to have time to learn all (one) can
about it and to select a farm very carefully". Such a
plan would allow the flexibility that will be needed over
the next 10 or 15 years to permit family and land capabilities
to get fitted together.

For some years to come there will be many individuals
who are not interested in farming as a way of making a
living but will have no other means of supporting them-
selves until something else comes along. By a system of
leasing tribal land such persons could be cared for during
this period of transition.

Another consolidation device that has proven fairly
effective in getting lands blocked out into usable units
and at the same time correcting the inheritance problem
is a corporate organization of the tribes in which its
members hold shares in terms of land. Under this system
the reservation lands are classified into 3 or 4 categories
according to valuation.

Certificates are issued in exchange for land turned
into the corporation. This land becomes tribal land.

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1 Farm Management, p. 759.
The member receives a certificate representing one share for each "dollar's worth" of land turned in. For example, if a member turned in 30 different pieces of grazing land totaling 640 acres valued at $8 per acre he would get in return a certificate representing 5120 shares in the corporation. The land turned in would come under the management of the Land Board and dividends would be paid to share holders. A share holder has the right to turn any portion or all of his shares back to the corporation in exchange for other tribal land. In this example the holder may turn in his 5120 shares for 520 acres of crop-land valued at $16 per acre. If the corporation had a land purchase fund the shares could be sold to the corporation. The system works very well so long as the land is classified to reflect fair relative valuations and these are applied uniformly throughout and also where it is used primarily as a device to block out land holdings with only the corporation buying any land that is sold at fair market prices. If shares are issued on low valuations, and prices go up in the meantime without a corresponding change in the value of the shares and the shares are allowed to become negotiable, serious difficulties will result.

On the Rosebud Indian Reservation where it has been
in operation for more than 10 years the bulk of the
transactions have been with grazing lands. At the time
the enterprise was set up such lands were renting for
10 cents per acre. This was capitalized at 5 per cent
which gave this category a value of $2.00 per acre. At
the time of organization, land values in South Dakota
were extremely low.\footnote{\(1912-1914=100\)} No provision was made to reflect any
changes in land values in the shares because it was not
intended that the shares would be sold. It did not work
cut in just this way. The policy permitted sale of the
shares from one Indian to another in special situations.
This soon got out of hand and the more enterprising members
began buying up shares at the initial valuation of the
land. Most of the share holders did not realize how
much the land represented in the shares had increased
in value and were thus at a disadvantage.

If such a device were to be used at Fort Berthold,
the Land Board would need to study the Rosebud exper-
ience most carefully and correct the weaknesses that have
come to light.

One final point for consideration needs to be made
and that is the need for setting up some kind of zoning
ordinance. This is more a question of land use, but con-

\footnote{\(1912-1914=100\)} Index numbers representing average prices
for South Dakota as of March were 44 in 1939, 62 in 1945
and 100 in July 1950 and 117 in July 1981.
solidation can be carried out much more intelligently if the 5 segments were set out by areas for certain types of uses. For example, if certain of the arable lands shown in Map 11 should be reserved for wild hay rather than plowed up for crops it may be necessary to buy up these lands in order to bring them under control. As long as these lands are in trust title and the proposed road program is carried out there will be no way to prevent "suit-case" farmers from running in with their rubber-tired machinery and taking a chance at the end of the season after they have their own crops planted. Their only costs would be out of pocket expenses to plant the crop since they and their equipment would be idle anyway. The owners of the land, if they are not themselves equipped to operate an economic unit and are interested only in leasing their land, would be equally agreeable to taking a chance on a cash crop on shares that might net them $5 to $10 per acre as against $1.00 acre for hay land.

Much could be done in control of the land both from the standpoint of good conservation practices and economic use units by the combined use of a purchase program and a zoning plan. The devices suggested are means to bring this about.

The land consolidation program is one that can be a 100 per cent home-rule activity. All Bureau and State
officials can stand by to provide the technical assistance. The decisions will be made by the tribal group. All the tools for its operation are available to the tribes. The tribal constitution and federal charter of incorporation provide the authority for the Tribal Business Council to establish a Land Board to carry out some plan. The funds are at the disposal of the tribal group. The State is making its contribution in tens of thousands of dollars each year indirectly in that the land is non-taxable. Their title is secure.

An extra-ordinary opportunity is provided in this situation for some original and creative thinking on the problem of land management. The genius of the tribe has an excellent opportunity to express itself through the use of the most modern techniques. It is possible to work out a sensible "bundle of rights" to land that can be fair to all, conserve the soil, and preserve the homelands as a life-giving national and tribal monument to the valorous generations of the past and of hope to the future for those descendants who choose to stay where their fathers before them were wont to remain.

But the people themselves must want it this way. The urge must come from a vision that a great heritage can continue to survive as a gleaming thread in a pattern geared to 20th century conditions. The mind can and has evolved ways to carry out such a program. Is it in the hearts of
the men and women to do something about it? Those who work with the people, missionary and employee, have a responsibility to help inspire. The idea of a homeland must stand out as a symbol that stirs the emotions. This land can be the basis upon which half or more of the Indians may find their rightful place in the community. All other programs will be affected by the way in which the land ownership pattern is approached. If there is no determined emotional group concern about the symbolism of a homeland then this generation will help write the closing chapter of their people's history on the upper Missouri.
Chapter XXI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Garrison Reservoir takes away, at least, one-half the agricultural productivity of the Fort Berthold Reservation. At the same time, the remaining lands, outside the reservoir area, will be peopled by about the same number that lived on the whole of it prior to inundation.

A rapidly growing population with half enough land and ill-equipped by tradition and training to utilize effectively even that remaining fraction is the situation presently faced. Little can be done to increase the productivity of this land base. Any development in the way of roads and schools will tend to over-populate areas suited only for extensive agriculture.

The shelter of the river valley made up in part for much that was lacking in the managerial capacity of the Indian families in the operation of their cattle raising enterprises. The hills and open prairies will not have this protection for livestock against the destructive storms of winter. Indeed, there will be added care that cattle do not drift to their death in
the lake that replaces the once natural haven from
the stinging storms and the biting cold.

Development of habits and skills for the full
and efficient use of the remaining land is only a
partial answer. A program of training to live and
make a living away from the reservation will also be
necessary if the Fort Berthold people are not ultimately
to be reduced to a state of social and economic impover-
ishment.

Two cultures in conflict complicates this task
of adjustment. The one is dynamic and dominant. The
other is static and resistant. The members of the
latter way of life find much that is attractive in the
former and still there is the old that will not let go
altogether. This is the crux of the problem.

The Fort Berthold people are moving toward assimila-
tion into the social and economic life of the nation.
It will not be prevented. This does not mean that they
need to lose their racial identity in the process.

It is the job of the government at all levels to
provide the setting within which this transition may
occur at an optimum rate and at a level of living that
gives the Indian a sense of belonging, or standing on
his own feet, and of having a meaningful place in the
total community.
If the Fort Berthold people are to one day be "full-fledged" citizens of the community, taking on the responsibilities as well as the privileges of citizenship, then that citizenship must develop in an environment of equality. Such equality does not exist as long as an Indian Bureau must fill in the gaps. These gaps can be closed (1) by raising the level of living and (2) by having the State and Counties extend their services to where they will reach the Indian needs and reimbursed by the Federal government where necessary. In order to achieve this there will be a transition period during which the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Indians themselves, their Tribal Council and their White neighbors through their State and County officials must jointly explore, even grope, and act to this end.

Action plans must maintain flexibility where there is doubt and programs must of necessity be on a cut and fit basis. It will be necessary to call on the social sciences for such help as they are able to give. If shifting a service out of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to a local agency should be done only after there is good reason to believe that it is advantageous on balance to do so but only after there is sufficient willingness on the part of the Indians for such a change. If these conditions are not met, the frustrations that follow could prove costly in both human and financial resources.
The Indians must be active partners, not passive agreees, in the planning in its every aspect and at every level.

Each aspect of relocation needs to be treated in relation to every other element that has an important bearing upon it.

Families should be helped to see the economic limitations of the reservation and the commitment to a life of poverty and government relief if it has more people on it than the land will support.

Families need to be given time and help to locate in congenial groupings.

Land consolidation and credit programs must be planned in terms of land use on the basis of economic units.

Programs for primary and secondary education and educational loans should provide training for jobs off the reservation as well as for land use.

Farm plans and budgets will need to be developed for families who expect to make a major part of their living from the use of the land.

The production and use of vegetables, milk and eggs by all families on the reservation must be actively encouraged for the purpose of raising their nutritional in-take. In the foreseeable future this may be the only
source of income from the land for the majority of
the families and, if all the rehabilitation effort is
directed only to those who are expected eventually to
operate economic units, too large a portion of the popula-
tion will be neglected.

Education and training for life off the reservation
must give primary attention to the female side of the
population. A favorable man-land ratio will not be
achieved if circumstances are such, as at present, where
the men are enabled to migrate faster than the women.

This is a time in the life of the Fort Berthold
people wherein the future can be one of hope or despair.
This dynamic and exciting last half of the 20th century
is full of opportunities for American Indians. The
nation is anxious that they have a share in them. The
problem is to get them to see it. It will come if they
are helped to help themselves along the right lines.
For the Fort Berthold people, the means are at hand.
There is an answer in the science of our times.

By increasing their political and economic literacy
they can create a future of high promise. This is the
help that those of us who work with them may give.
JOINT RESOLUTION

To vest title to certain lands of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota, in the United States, and to provide compensation therefor.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of United States of America in Congress assembled, That, if within six months from the date of its enactment the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation accept the provisions of this Act by an affirmative vote of a majority of the adult members, the sums herein provided for shall be made available as herein specified; and all right, title and interest of said tribes, allottees and heirs of allottees in and to the lands constituting the Taking Area described in section 15 (including all elements of value above or below the surface) shall vest in the United States of America.

SEC. 2. The fund of $5,105,625 appropriated by the War Department Civil Appropriation Act, 1949 (Public Law 296, Eightieth Congress), shall not lapse into the Treasury as provided therein, but shall be available for disbursement under the direction of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior (hereinafter called the "Commissioner") for the following purposes:

(a) Payment for tribal and allotted Indian lands and improvements, including heirship interests, and values above and below the surface, within the Taking Area;

(b) Costs of relocating and reestablishing the members of the tribes who reside within the Taking Area; and

(c) Costs of relocating and reestablishing Indian cemeteries, tribal monuments, and shrines within the Taking Area.

APPENDIX A

"(PUBLIC LAW 437-81ST CONGRESS)

(CHAPTEP 790 -- 1ST SESSION)

(H. J. RES. 23)
Any unexpended balance remaining from the said fund of $5,105,625 after the completion of the purposes set forth in subsections (a), (b) and (c) shall remain in the Treasury to the credit of the tribes.

SEC. 3. There is hereby established a board of appraisal which shall consist of one member designated by the Secretary of Agriculture, one member designated by the Secretary of the Interior, and one member designated by the Chief of Engineers. It shall be the duty of the board to prepare an appraisal schedule of the tribal and individual allotted lands and improvements, including heirship interests, located within the Taking Area. In the preparation thereof, the board shall determine the fair value of the land and improvements, giving full and proper weight to the following elements of appraisal: Value of any tract of land, whether full interest or partial interest, including value of standing timber, mineral rights, and the uses to which the lands are reasonably adapted. Upon completion of the said schedule of appraisal it shall be submitted to the Chief of Engineers.

SEC. 4. Upon receipt of such schedule of appraisal by the Chief of Engineers, he shall transmit to the tribal council the schedule of appraisal in its entirety and such portions of the said schedule to individual Indians as relate to their respective interests. The tribal council and the interested individual Indians shall have ninety days from the date of receipt of such schedule of appraisal in which to present to the Commissioner their objections, if any, for consideration and action thereon.

SEC. 5. The right of the tribes and of the allottees and heirs of allottees to accept or reject the appraisal covering their respective property is reserved to them. Upon the rejection of the appraisal affecting the lands or the respective interests, the Department of the Army shall institute proceedings in the United States District Court for North Dakota for the purpose of having the just compensation for such property judicially determined. Any judgment entered against the United States in such proceedings shall be charged against the said fund of $5,105,625: Provided, That if said sum should be inadequate to cover the purposes provided for in section 2 (a), (b) and (c) hereof, and such judgments as may be obtained in such proceedings, then the amount in excess of the said fund of $5,105,625 shall be paid out of the $7,500,000 provided for in section 12 hereof.

SEC. 6. In all proceedings instituted in accordance with section 5 of this Act, individual members of the tribes may
request the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to designate attorneys of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to represent them.

SEC. 7. The amount determined to be due the individual allottees and other individual Indians shall be deposited to the credit of such individual Indians in their individual Indian money accounts.

SEC. 8. The tribes and the members thereof may salvage, remove, reuse, sell, or otherwise dispose of all or any part of their improvements within the Taking Area without any deduction therefor in the appraisal schedule to be prepared by the Commissioner, subject to the condition that the district engineer, Garrison district, may not enter for the purpose of clearing the said improvements until at least October 1, 1962, and subject further to the condition that the district engineer shall serve notice of such purpose at least three months prior thereto.

SEC. 9. The tribes and the members thereof shall have the privilege of cutting timber and all forest products and removing sand and gravel, and may use, sell, or otherwise dispose of the same until at least October 1, 1950, without any deduction therefor in the appraisal schedule to be prepared by the Commissioner, subject to the condition that the said date may be adjusted to a later date by the Chief of Engineers on the request of the Commissioner, and subject to the further conditions that the district engineer, Garrison district, shall serve notice of clearing at least three months prior thereto.

SEC. 10. The tribes and the members thereof may remove, sell, or otherwise dispose of lignite until such date as the district engineer, Garrison district, fixes for the impoundment of waters.

SEC. 11. The district engineer, Garrison district, will give notice at least six months in advance of the date on or after which impoundment of waters may begin, and no damage for loss of life or property due to impoundment of waters on or after the date specified in said notice may be claimed. The date established by such notification will not be earlier than October 1, 1952.

SEC. 12. In addition to the $6,105,625 appropriated by the War Department Civil Appropriation Act, 1948
(Public Law 296, Eightieth Congress), the further sum of $7,500,000 less any part thereof that may be required to cover balance due said tribes or allottees or heirs as provided for in section 5 hereof shall, upon acceptance of the provisions of this Act by the tribes, be placed to the credit of the tribes in the Treasury of the United States, which sums notwithstanding anything contained in this Act to the contrary shall be in full satisfaction of: (1) all claims, rights, demands and judgments of said tribes or allottees or heirs thereof arising out of this Act and not compensated for out of the said $5,105,625; (2) and of all other rights, claims, demands and judgments of said tribes, individual allottees or heirs thereof, of any nature whatsoever existing on the date of enactment of this Act, whether of tangible or intangible nature and whether or not cognizable in law or equity in connection with the taking of said land and the construction of said Garrison Dam project.

SEC. 13. The fund of $5,105,625, appropriated by the War Department Civil Appropriation Act, 1948 (Public Law 296, Eightieth Congress), and the fund provided for by section 12 of this Act shall bear interest at 4 per centum per annum from the date of acceptance of this Act until disbursed. No part of either of such funds shall be used for payment of the fees or expenses of any agent, attorney, or other representative of any individual Indian or tribe.

SEC. 14. When electric power is available from Garrison Dam project, the said Three Affiliated Tribes and the members thereof shall have equal rights and privileges on an equal basis which are accorded the persons, cooperative associations and others by the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 and all Acts amendatory thereof or supplemental thereto as fully as if said tribes and members thereof were named in said Rural Electrification Act of 1936.

SEC. 15. The Taking Area is described as follows:

(areas not herein described)

October 29, 1949."
APPENDIX B

Recipitation Record as read from a tree ring chart for the 540 year period 1406-1940.¹

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<th>Wet yrs.</th>
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APPENDIX C

"TRIBAL SECURITY PROGRAM
to be submitted to
The Lucky Mound Civic Club
for its consideration by
THE LUCKY MOUND CIVIC CLUB PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Pursuant to the decision of the Lucky Mound Program Committee of the Lucky Mound Civic Club, June 5, 1951, this general outline for the Tribal Program to be recommended to the people of Lucky Mound for their approval.

I PROGRAM FOR OLDER AND DISABLED PEOPLE, MEMBERS OF THE THREE AFFILIATED TRIBES:

(1) Provisions

As soon as information is received as to which segment the older people 65 years of age and over are moving to, homes for them to be built by the Tribe, in a community center. These houses are to be built in various sizes, from 2 to 4 rooms. The houses are to be well insulated against heat and cold. Each house will have inside toilet, running water, wired for lights and other modern conveniences, and heated by automatic heating system.

Initial funds to be set aside to provide 40 of these homes together with the conveniences, and to provide for maintenance costs and garden space for each dwelling.

The above houses to be built for the convenience and security of the older and disabled members only. Any enrolled member who becomes 65 years old is automatically eligible to occupy any of the above houses. In the event that all the houses are occupied by members who are 65 or over, additional houses to be constructed, with all the installations. Additional funds to be set aside for this purpose.

Any members of the Three Affiliated Tribes who have children and who are unable to provide for themselves and their children shall be eligible to participate in the Tribal Security Program.

All enrolled members over 65 years of age to get $50.00 per month security pension. They do not have to pay this money back.
(2) **Management**

All people over 65 years old to form a body to be known as the Elders Society, who will either elect or appoint a committee of 5 members (one from each segment). This committee to be given the power to manage the old age program under authority from the Tribal Council.

If the people are not satisfied with the work of their committee, they can have them put out by petition signed by a simple majority of the members of the Elders Society.

(3) **Points for further consideration in the program for older and disabled people.**

This is designed not only to add to the security of the older and disabled people, but to help to provide lands for the landless members of the three Affiliated Tribes.

Persons 65 years of age and over, and adult members who are disabled, shall have the privilege of receiving from the Tribes, in addition to the $50.00 monthly payment provided in the security program a further monthly allowance. This additional monthly allowance will be paid to them provided they turn their land and other property in to the Three Tribes. The value of the land and the age of the person will be the basis on which the extra monthly allowance will be figured.

A chart can be figured out, based on dividing the total value of the lands and property turned in by a member by a number of years that the average person of that age can be expected to live, to get the figure for what this extra monthly allowance should be.

This would mean that if the member lives longer than the average person could expect, then he or she would get more money all together from their monthly allowance than their lands and property were worth. If the member does not live as long as the average person of that age can expect, then they would have gotten less than their land was worth. But what this will do is to make sure of a regular monthly allowance for life for all those members who take part in this part of the old age program. Anybody who takes part in this section of the old age program could keep all oil and mineral rights to the lands that they turn in, for as long as they live.
II LAND POOL PROGRAM:

(1) Provisions:

All alienated lands within and adjacent to the reservation to be purchased by the tribes. In view of the fact that land purchasing has been done with per capita funds and other sources, it is estimated that $1,000,000 will be more than enough for a land pool of lands to be sold, leased or exchanged to any enrolled member. This fund is also to be available for loans to any member who wants to buy land.

It is further recommended that the Tribal Council prepare and approve a land code which will provide for the use of all Tribal Lands. Landless members to be given assignments for homesites. Members of the Tribes who need the use right of lands owned by the Tribes shall only use the land under an assignment, lease, or permit. No free use of Tribal lands for grazing or farming to be permitted, and trespassers to be prosecuted.

Legislation should be obtained to permit the Tribes to sell lands to enrolled members, so that eventually, those who want to will have the opportunity to own all of the land that they use.

All money coming in from the lease, permit or sale of Tribal lands should be placed into the land acquisition fund of the Tribes, so that we will have a revolving fund with which to meet the heirship problem.

In all possible, the oil rights to be obtained by the Tribes for the benefit of all of the members of the Three Tribes. If this is not possible, then we recommend that the Tribal Council obtain all of the mineral rights.

(2) Management:

A Land Committee should be composed of 5 members, appointed by the Chairman of the Tribal Business Council, and empowered to manage all land transactions for the Three Affiliated Tribes.
III Educational Aid Program:

(1) **Provisions**

   Every year, in order to encourage getting higher education for our enrolled members who have graduated from High School, a scholarship to be given to the boy and the girl who have made the best showing in High School, upon their graduation.

   Tribal scholarships should be limited to the average cost of room and board and all other incidental expenses normally faced by college students, except clothing or other purely personal expenses.

   The costs of tuition, books and other school expenses normally a part of college attendance shall be covered under a loan arrangement.

   It is recommended that the Tribal Council prepare the schedule of costs based on the information that they can get from the Agency records and from other reliable sources.

(2) **Management**

   A Committee consisting of 5 members to be appointed or elected by the enrolled members who have children in High School at the time. This Committee to manage the educational section of the Tribal Security Program.

IV SECURED LOANS TO NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS OF THE THREE AFFILIATED TRIBES:

(1) **Provisions**

   Funds to be made available to assist enrolled members who relocate and re-establish outside the boundaries of the reservation. These funds are to be on a loan basis to finance housing and/or small business enterprises where security can be provided through a chattel mortgage or other means.
Funds also to be made available to enrolled members living off of the reservation for use in getting educational or vocational training. These are to be fully secured loans, chattel mortgages being placed on any property owned by the borrower, either on or off the reservation.

(2) Management

Since it would be impossible for non-resident members to form a workable committee to manage the off-reservation section of the Tribal Security program from a centrally located office, it will be necessary to form this committee from membership of the Tribal Business Council.

The committee to manage the off-reservation section of the Tribal Security program to be composed of 5 members to be appointed by the Chairman of the Tribal Business Council of the Three Affiliated Tribes, with such appointments subject to the approval of the Tribal Business Council.

V FARMING AND RANCHING PROGRAM

(1) Provisions

Funds to be made available out of any funds not used by the above purposes for loans to farmers and ranchers. The loans to be used for equipment, livestock, seed, fuel, subsistence, buildings and any other purposes necessary in the operation of farming or stock raising enterprises.

(2) Management

A Committee of 5 members to be elected by all members who make most of their living from farming and stock raising operations other than leasing out land, will manage this loaning fund.
GENERAL PROVISION RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Interest on all loans shall be at the rate of 5% per year.

2. Funds shall be set aside to pay for yearly audit services. An auditor or certified public accountant to be hired to give a report to the people on all of the money that belongs to the Three Affiliated Tribes. This report to be published for everyone to read.

In all fairness to the Indian Bureau and the Tribal Business Council, this report to be done by an outsider at the expense of the Three Affiliated Tribes.

3. If the people of any society or participating group are dissatisfied with the work of any or all of the members of their managing committee, the committee members can be removed from office by petition signed by a simple majority of the members of the participating group involved. Replacements shall be by election or appointment as provided for above in each group in the foregoing program.

4. Old age program money does not have to be paid back to the Tribes. All other loans to be paid back to the Three Affiliated Tribes with 5% interest and in accordance with the terms of each loan contract.

REMARKS

We are writing this kind of program because we do not want a program that will benefit only farmers or stockmen. We realize that up to now, most programs work out to benefit mostly farmers and stockmen. We want our program to be for the members, members unable to provide for themselves and their children, students, landless members, non-resident members, and farmers and stockmen who are enrolled members.

The Lucky Mound Civic Club Program Committee:

George Charging

(for signature) Arthur Mandan

Tom Spotted Wolf
REPORT TO THE WELFARE COMMITTEE OF THE WESTERN SEGMENT
CIVIC CLUB:

This report is to tell about what we have done so far, because we have not yet finished working out a Welfare section for the Tribal Program yet.

We think that there should be three main parts to the Welfare Section, as far as our community is concerned:

1. A Housing Program for old and disabled people.
2. Taking advantage of County, State, and Federal Welfare Programs.
3. Social Welfare, for the community.

1. Housing Program for old and disabled people.
   a. The tribes to build homes for old and disabled people.
   b. The Tribes to keep title to these houses.
   c. These houses to be on land owned by the Tribes.
   d. The houses can be used by the old people for as long as they live, and then the houses go back to the Tribes to be given to somebody else for awhile.
   e. People who are over 65 years old or who are too old or too disabled to work, could get the houses.
   f. The people would apply to the Welfare Committee of the Tribal Council, to get a house.
   g. The houses should be close together in each segment, and hear the schools and the churches.
   h. There should be enough space for a garden, with seed furnished by the Tribes, if necessary.
   i. The Tribes should have a man to repair and keep up the buildings.
   j. There should be different size houses, with some two, three and four rooms.
   k. There should be one place fixed up for everybody to come and do their laundry.
   l. There should be one central well, and an electric pump for running water.
   m. There should be inside toilets, electric lights, a coal stove furnished.

2. Taking advantage of County, State, and Federal Welfare Programs.
   a. Members of the Welfare Committee should take turns and go around the community to see if there are people who need some of these welfare services, because some of the people don't know about these programs and because the case-workers or welfare workers do not get around to all of the homes. The Civic Club should pay for the gas and oil for the Committee members to go around and do this.
b. The members of the Welfare Committee should get together regularly with the State Welfare people and work with them, and learn about the different Welfare Programs, so that they can help our people with them.

c. The Chairman of the Civic Club Welfare Committee should meet with the Tribal Council Welfare Committee, so that the Civic Club Committee will do their welfare work in the ways that the Tribal Council wants it done.

3. Social Welfare, for the Community:

a. The children should have a place to come to and play. It should be a heated place, like a Community Center. They could have games, white and Indian dances, and a show once in a while.

b. If the Three Tribes do not want to pay for this place in the Tribal Program, then the Western Segment Civic Club should raise the money for it.

c. All mothers should take turns to be at the Place when it is open, and some of the older girls.

d. Some of the things that could be in the place are:
   - a place to cook coffee and other things.
   - some kind of way to have music, like a juke box
   - Games, like a pingpong table, a pool table, card games, dart games.
   - there could be drawing and writing materials.
   - there could be pop and candy for sale.
   - there could be movies once in a while.

e. The children should have some say in how the place is going to be set up and run.

This would give our children more of a chance to have some good fun and recreation without getting into trouble.

This is as far as the Welfare Committee has done, and we want the people of the Western Segment to tell us what they think about this so far, and make some suggestions so that we can figure out what they would like to do, and go ahead further with it.

/s/ Grace Holmes, Chairman

/s/ Helen Good Bird

/s/ Jessie Benson

/s/ Mercy Walker

/s/ Gladys Turner
APPENDIX D.

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS OF THE
THREE AFFILIATED TRIBES OF
THE FORT BERTHOLD RESERVATION
NORTH DAKOTA

APPROVED JUNE 29, 1936

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON: 1936
APPENDIX E

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
MISSOURI RIVER BASIN INVESTIGATIONS
Billings Area Office, Billings, Montana

Check List No. 7
September 20, 1951

NOTE: This check list itemizes all surveys and studies relating to Missouri River Basin Investigations issued to date by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Billings Area Office, Billings, Montana. An asterisk (*) indicates that a report has NOT been mimeographed and/or that copies are not available for distribution. Permanent numbers have been assigned each report, so in requesting copies, refer to the Report Number as well as by title and project.

(Only those reports pertaining to the FORT BERTHOLD RESERVATION are given below.)
NORTH DAKOTA

Fort Berthold Reservation

Garrison Project:

Report No. 1

*Memorandum: The effect of the Proposed Garrison Dam and Reservoir on existing and potential Irrigation Developments within the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, North Dakota. (4 pp., and 1 map). August 30, 1945.

Report No. 2

*Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs cepitulating replacement cost of Indian Service Roads situated within the area to be inundated by Garrison Reservoir. (3 pp.) September 24, 1945.

Report No. 3

*Memorandum: Replacement cost of all Buildings and Improvements which will be Flooded or Moved on Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota. (3 pp., and list of Indian homes). September 24, 1945.

Report on Lieu Lands offered by the Secretary of War:

Report No. 11

*Report and Recommendations to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on the Offer of Lieu Lands to the Indians of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota, by the Honorable The Secretary of War. (102 pp., and frontispiece). Over-all final report. December 10, 1946.

Supporting Documents of Over-all Final Report on Lieu Lands Offered by the Secretary of War:

*(Reservation Lands: Report No. 1.)

Preliminary Economic Report.
(15 pp., 15 tables, 4 figs., Appendix and 3 maps). August 1946.

*(Reservation Lands: Report No. 2.)

The Fort Berthold Indians. Establishment of Their Reservation and the Cession and Allotment of Their Lands.
(17 pp., and 8 maps). November 1946.

*(Reservation Lands: Report No. 3.)

Land Classification of that Portion of the Garrison Reservoir Area Within Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, North Dakota.
(13 pp., 3 tables and 5 maps). September 1946.
Report on Lieu Lands Offered by the Secretary of War:

- **Report (Reservation Lands: Report No. 4.)**
  - No. 11 Timber Survey (Cont.). (16 pp., 1 table and 32 township maps). August 1946.

- **Report (Reservation Lands: Report No. 5.)**
  - Irrigation Developments and Projects on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, North Dakota and their Relation to the Garrison Dam and Reservoir Project. (66 pp., Frontispiece and 6 maps). August 1946.

- **Report (Reservation Lands: Report No. 6.)**
  - Preliminary Inventory of Mineral Resources. (13 pp., 1 table and 2 figs.). September 16, 1946.

- **Report (Reservation Lands: Report No. 7.)**

- **Report (Reservation Lands: Report No. 8.)**
  - Roads to be flooded by construction of Garrison Dam. (2 pp., 3 tables and 1 map, 9 photos). Oct., 1946.

- **Report (Reservation Lands: Report No. 9.)**

- **Report (Reservation Lands: Report No. 10.)**

- **Report (Lieu Lands: Report No. 2.)**

- **Report (Lieu Lands: Report No. 3.)**

- **Report (Lieu Lands: Report No. 4.)**
NORTH DAKOTA (Continued)

Fort Berthold Reservation (continued)

Report No. 11
Cont. *(Lieu Lands: Report No. 5.)*

Preliminary Description of Mineral Resources of Stanton-Washburn Lieu Land Area. (17 pp.) Nov. 1946.

*(Lieu Lands: Report No. 6.)*


*(Lieu Lands: Report No. 7)*


60 *The Resources, People and Administration of Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota. (30 pp.) August 24, 1948.

Fort Berthold Reservation (cont.)

Report No.


64  Re-Establishment of Law and Order Facilities on the Residual Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota. (8 pp. and 1 map). October 12, 1948.

66  Land Consolidation Problems on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation Arising from the Garrison Project. (7 maps, 2 charts, and explanatory text). April 20, 1948, Revised November 1, 1948.

69  Attitudes of the Fort Berthold Indians Regarding Removal from the Garrison Reservoir Site and Future Administration of their Reservation. (25 pp.) November 30, 1948.

Notes: Bureau of Indian Affairs Conference with the Honorable Fred G. Aandahl, Governor of North Dakota, Bismarck, August 31, 1949, on the Administrative Reorganization and Re-establishment of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation. (8 pp.) August 1949.

90  Preliminary Investigation of Dry Land Farming Possibilities in the Western Segment, Fort Berthold Indian Reservation. (5 pp., 1 map) July 15, 1949.


NORTH DAKOTA (CONTINUED)

Fort Berthold Reservation, Cont.

Report No.


104 Location and Census of Indian Cemeteries and Burials Within the Taking Area, Garrison Dam and Reservoir, Fort Berthold Reservation, N. Dakota. (4 pp., list of burials, list of private burials, chart on location and census of burial grounds (3 pp.) map of location of Indian burials, and photographs of organized cemeteries on the Fort Berthold Reservation.) July 31, 1950.

110 Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Preliminary Survey of Possible Plans for Re-establishing Educational Facilities on the Fort Berthold Reservation, Elbowoods, North Dakota. (36 pp., Appendix and 1 map). October 6, 1950.
APPENDIX F

FARM BUDGETS FOR THE FORT BERTHOLD INDIAN RESERVATION

Prepared by the Department of Agricultural Economics, North Dakota Agricultural College, Fargo, North Dakota.

The purpose of these farm budgets is to help the Indians of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation who are interested in agriculture to:

1. Give them some idea of the probable results from using various farm enterprises or combinations of enterprises on various sizes of farm units.

2. Capital required for
   (a) Land
   (b) Buildings
   (c) Machinery and equipment
   (d) Livestock
   (e) Cash-operating expenses

3. Probable labor and machinery requirements for the various size of farm units and farm enterprises.

Farm budgets are a method of looking into the future as to the probable results of using the different farm enterprises. Some assumption has to be made as to what the prices received for the products to be sold will be and what the farm costs will be. In these farm budgets
it was assumed that the future price-cost relationship would be at about the level it was in 1949. The 1949 prices received and paid by North Dakota farmers were used in arriving at the income and costs.

The people who are to make decisions based on these farm budgets must keep in mind that the budgets are a goal to be striving for. In most cases the people will not have the capital to start at the top level and also it will take a few years of experience to be able to handle the size of farm units used in the budgets. This is assuming that some of the people who choose to be on farms have not been actively farming in the past and that some have been farming small units. The yields and returns used in the budgets are based on the better farm management practices which in many cases take a few years of active farming experience to obtain. These people will be adjusting themselves to new conditions other than a change in earning a living or changes in farming methods which will require time to get everything in balance. Under these circumstances the people must not be discouraged if they do not obtain the results as listed in the farm budgets the first few years.

**Explanation of the Terms Used in the Farm Budgets**

The type of livestock sales refers to the major class of livestock sold. For example, most ranchers sell either
calves or yearlings. The livestock inventory includes the livestock that would be on the farm at the beginning of the year, January 1.

The machinery inventory lists the size of the machine to be used and the new price for the machine in the spring of 1960 at Williston. The machine inventory includes all new machinery. The machinery investment could be reduced by the use of second hand machines. This would also lower the interest expense charged against the machinery investment.

Total man-hours required to operate the farm were worked out for each enterprise. The man-hours required for an acre of wheat or taking care of a beef cow were taken from other studies. The distribution of the labor was worked out so that the number of hours in which the work required more than one man could be obtained. These budgets were set up on the assumption that no family labor would be available. Family labor refers to any member of the family other than the operator himself working on the farm without pay. The hired labor may in many cases be substituted for family labor.

The asset structure of the farm is made up of the total investment in land, buildings, machinery and equipment and livestock. This part of the budget shows the distribution of the total capital among the different assets. The present values were used in arriving at the total investment.
The values for the various classes of land were those set up by the land appraiser of the Fort Berthold Agency.

The expenditure structure of the budgets can be broken down into three categories, the cash operating expense, the cash maintenance expense and the interest, depreciation and perquisites for labor expense. The cash operating expense includes those items which must be paid for sometime during the year and are essential in the production of crops and livestock. The maintenance expenses are those such as taxes, insurance and upkeep on buildings. They are cash expenses but they go for maintaining the farm unit rather than for production. The interest, depreciation and perquisites for labor category is not a cash expenditure but it is a farm expense and has to be paid sometime in the future. For example, depreciation is an estimated value that has been taken out of the machinery or building for one year's use. Sometime in the future the machine or building must be replaced. This yearly depreciation is not a cash expense until the machine or building has to be replaced but the use taken out for the one year's use must be charged to the farm for that year.

The gross farm income indicates the volume of business done by the farm. The gross farm income is the total of all sales made, increased inventories and value of all farm products used in the household. In other words, it is the total value of goods sold without any expense being taken out.
The net cash income is the gross farm income minus the total cash operating and maintenance expense. The net cash income is the amount that could be available for family living and reinvestment in the business. It does not allow for depreciation, interest and cost of boarding hired labor.

The net farm income is obtained by subtracting the total farm expense (cash and noncash) from the total of all farm sales, increased inventories and value of farm products used in the household. The net farm income shows the net earnings from the use of all the farmer's own resources, including his capital, labor by himself and members of his family, as well as his management. It is from the net farm income that he must obtain his family living and build up his investment.
Budget Summary

The budget summary shows the total value of the structural assets, net cash farm income and net farm income for the various types of farm budgets and tenure. The summary of the total structural assets shows the total capital that would be required to equip the farm with land, buildings, machinery and livestock under the various types of farms and tenure. Real estate is by far the farmer's most important single asset if he is an owner or a part-owner except in the case of the livestock ranches. In these cases the value of the livestock about equals the investment in real estate.

The summary of the net farm income may not show the results that one would expect from the various types of tenure. In nine out of the twelve budgets shown the tenants had the higher income. The part-owners had the lowest incomes in eight of the budgets. There are several reasons for this happening in the net income category. In the net farm income a charge is made for interest on investment. In other words, if a person were to borrow all of his capital for his structural assets this would be about the interest he would have to pay the first year for the use of the money. The reason why the net income of tenants is more favorable is that the rent paid for the land was less than the interest on investment they would pay if they owned the land plus the upkeep and depreciation costs.
Part-owners were in the less favorable position because in the budgets it was assumed that they would own some land with buildings. The investment costs are greatest where there are buildings since it increases the investment by the cost of the buildings plus depreciation and upkeep costs.

The net cash farm income gives the better picture of the cash that the farmer will have available to spend. The net cash farm income is the income before the non-cash expenses are deducted. In the net cash income the owners had the largest incomes in all cases. The part-owners had the lowest income in the ranch budgets while in the grain budgets they fall in the intermediate position. The reason for this is largely that the rent charged for grazing land was more favorable than the upkeep costs which the part-owners pay on the property they own.

Assumptions Used in the Budgets

Assumptions used in the ranch budgets

*Acres in ranch* - Grazing land was determined at the rate of 25 acres for each animal unit. Hay land was determined at the rate of one ton of hay for each animal unit and a yield of 1/2 ton per acre.

*Livestock* - Weights of the various classes of livestock were based on Table 10 of Bulletin 347, "Range Cattle Production in Western North Dakota" by M. B. Johnson. Prices used were the 1949 Sioux City price minus freight and
handling charges. Since the price of steers was the only ones listed at Sioux City, the assumption was made that among the other classes the same differential would exist at Sioux City as at Chicago. The prices and weights are as follows:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cows (dry)</td>
<td>$17.38</td>
<td>1,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cows (mixed)</td>
<td>17.38</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yearling heifers</td>
<td>20.68</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yearling steers</td>
<td>21.66</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heifer calves</td>
<td>25.62</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steer calves</td>
<td>25.62</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Machinery and equipment: Assumed that new machinery was used. The price used was the retail price of new machinery at Williston, North Dakota for the spring of 1950.

Labor requirements: The following labor requirements were used:

- Beef cows: 15 man-hours per head
- Other cattle: 11 man-hours per head
- Wild hay: 4.5 man-hours per acre

About a month's labor was allotted for fixing fences and other general work.

Value of land and equipment:

- Grazing land: $4.50 per acre
- Hay land: $9.00 per acre
- Fences (wood posts & three wires): 0.04 per foot

Buildings - values used in bulletin 347 and other sources.

Expenses:

Protein supplements for all cattle based on the rate
of one pound per day for 90 days.

Bulls rented from the Association at $37.50 per bull.

One bull for each 25 cows.

Spraying - 21 cents per head.

Hired labor - $100 per month plus room and board.

Machine repair - 4 per cent of inventory value.

Upkeep on buildings and fences - 3½% of inventory value.

Interest on real estate investment - 4 per cent

Building depreciation - 3 per cent of inventory value.

Interest on machinery and livestock investment - 6%.

Machinery depreciation - 10 per cent of inventory value.

Assumptions Used in the Budgets for Grain Farms

Ninety-two per cent of the land cultivated. Remainder in roads, farmstead and waste. Used the rotations in the crop system that resulted in the better yields at the Mandan and Dickinson Stations for the period 1914-1948. The crop yields used were 60 per cent of the Mandan yield for the particular rotation used. The 60 per cent was based on the yields that the farmers in the area were actually getting compared to the Mandan average.

Labor requirements - The following man-hours per acre were used to arrive at the total man-hours of labor required. About a month's labor was estimated for general work of fixing machinery, etc.
Crop | Total Man-hours per Acre
--- | ---
Corn (harvested for grain or silage) | 9.0
Corn (harvested by livestock) | 4.0
Wheat | 5.0
Oats | 6.0
Summer fallow (plowed and worked 3 times) | 2.2

**Machinery inventory** - All machinery was included which was needed to operate the farm. Assumed that new machinery would be used. The prices are the retail price of new machinery at Williston, North Dakota for the spring of 1950.

**Asset structures** - The following land values were used:
- Grazing land: $4.50 per acre
- Hay land: 6.00 per acre
- Cropland: 27.50 per acre

The price of buildings was the approximate cost of putting up a new building. The cost of material for erecting a three-strand barbed wire fence was four cents per foot.

This was using wood fence posts placed 12 feet apart.

These posts could probably be obtained in the area at about 25 cents per post.

**Expenses** - Seed was charged the market price. This eliminated carrying a grain inventory. Seed cleaning and treating was charged at the rate of six cents per bushel, which was the common charge at the elevators in 1948.

The amount of gasoline used was based on the following rates. These rates were based on the dry-land farm organization study made in the Underwood area in 1942.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operation</th>
<th>Gallons per Acre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>4.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat (seeded on fallow)</td>
<td>4.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oats</td>
<td>4.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fallow</td>
<td>3.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Allowance was made for other general work around the
farm.

The amount spent for grease and oil was estimated
from the dry-land study of the Underwood area.

Machine repairs were based on using 4 per cent of
the inventory value.

The cost of operating the truck was based on the dry-
land study.

Labor hired - The assumption was made that only the
operator's labor would be used. Hired labor was used in
the rush season where more than one man was required. The
price paid was the North Dakota price paid farm labor during
the rush or harvest season.

Upkeep on buildings and fences was charged 3\% per cent
of the inventory value.

Interest on real estate investment - 4 per cent.

Building depreciation - 3 per cent of the inventory value.

Machinery depreciation - 10 per cent of inventory value.

Interest on machinery and livestock investment - 6 per

cent.

Room and board charged hired labor was $2.30 per day.

This was the difference between the wages paid North Dakota
farm labor with room and board and that paid without room
and board.

Grain sales - 1949 prices paid North Dakota farmers

was used:

Wheat $2.05 per bu.

Oats .50 " "
### Farm Budgets: Fort Berthold Indian Reservation

#### A. Budget Summaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Structural Assets</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Part Owner</th>
<th>Tenant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100-cow ranch, yearlings sold, 85% calf crop</td>
<td>$73,397</td>
<td>$47,034</td>
<td>$53,114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yearlings sold, 70% calf crop</td>
<td>69,978</td>
<td>45,542</td>
<td>31,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calves sold, 85% calf crop</td>
<td>53,980</td>
<td>32,592</td>
<td>24,672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-cow ranch, yearlings sold, 85% calf crop</td>
<td>42,058</td>
<td>29,064</td>
<td>19,084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yearlings sold, 70% calf crop</td>
<td>40,460</td>
<td>28,365</td>
<td>16,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-cow herd, 320 A. cropland Rot. I, 70% calf crop</td>
<td>58,375</td>
<td>45,233</td>
<td>24,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rot. II, 70% calf crop</td>
<td>58,441</td>
<td>45,233</td>
<td>24,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-cow herd, other labor income, 70% calf crop</td>
<td>25,555</td>
<td></td>
<td>9,519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-cow herd, 480 A. cropland 70% calf crop</td>
<td>48,288</td>
<td>41,338</td>
<td>16,379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>480 A. grain farm</td>
<td>31,054</td>
<td>22,254</td>
<td>8,654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 A. grain farm Rotation I</td>
<td>45,713</td>
<td>36,913</td>
<td>12,213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotation II</td>
<td>45,932</td>
<td>37,132</td>
<td>12,432</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### B. Net Farm Income

| 100 cow ranch, yearlings sold, 85% of calf crop | 3,552 | 3,443 | 4,934 |
| yearlings sold, 70% calf crop | 1,611 | 1,510 | 3,001 |
| calves sold, 85% calf crop | 1,953 | 1,887 | 3,378 |
| 50-cow ranch, yearlings sold, 85% calf crop | 884 | 851 | 1,694 |
| 70% calf crop | -221 | -270 | 792 |
| 50-cow herd, 320 A. cropland, Rot. I, 70% calf crop | 1,127 | 1,181 | 1,771 |
| Rot. II, 70% calf crop | -513 | | |
| 25-cow herd, other labor income, 70% calf crop | -1,106 | | -8 |
| 25-cow herd, 480 A. cropland, 70% calf crop | 1,422 | 1,540 | 1,917 |
| 480 A. grain farm | 360 | -157 | 554 |
| 300 A. grain farm Rotation I | 3,026 | 2,472 | 2,768 |
| Rotation II | 1,849 | 1,332 | 1,807 |
### Net Cash Farm Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>100 cow ranch, yearlings</th>
<th>50-cow ranch, yearlings sold</th>
<th>25-cow herd, 490 A. cropland, Rotation I</th>
<th>300 A. grain farm, Rotation II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sold, 85% calf crop</td>
<td>$8,410</td>
<td>$7,247</td>
<td>$7,746</td>
<td>$7,706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yearlings sold, 70% calf crop</td>
<td>6,302</td>
<td>5,224</td>
<td>5,706</td>
<td>5,706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calves sold, 85% calf crop</td>
<td>5,965</td>
<td>5,134</td>
<td>5,706</td>
<td>5,706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85% calf crop</td>
<td>3,680</td>
<td>3,107</td>
<td>3,477</td>
<td>3,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70% calf crop, yearlings sold</td>
<td>2,997</td>
<td>2,164</td>
<td>2,533</td>
<td>2,533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-cow herd, 390 A. cropland, Rot. I, 70% calf crop</td>
<td>5,635</td>
<td>5,131</td>
<td>4,829</td>
<td>4,529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rot. II, 70% calf crop</td>
<td>3,844</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-cow herd, other labor income, 70% calf crop</td>
<td>707</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-cow herd, 490 A. cropland, 70% calf crop</td>
<td>5,983</td>
<td>4,883</td>
<td>3,837</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>490 A. grain farm</td>
<td>2,997</td>
<td>2,113</td>
<td>2,023</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 A. grain farm, Rotation I</td>
<td>6,776</td>
<td>5,702</td>
<td>4,723</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotation II</td>
<td>5,576</td>
<td>4,707</td>
<td>3,849</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following three budgets are for a 50-cow ranch selling as yearlings. The only difference between the three budgets is the type of tenure. It was assumed that an 85 per cent calf crop would be weaned.
FARM BUDGET FOR A 50-COW RANCH ON THE FORT BERTHOLD INDIAN RESERVATION

Type of tenure - Full owner

Type of livestock sales - yearlings

Total acres in ranch 2,769
Grazing land (25 acres/a.u.) 2,550
Hay land (yield 2T/acre) 204
Farmstead 15

Livestock inventory
50 cows (950 lbs. @ $17.38/100) 8,256
8 yearling heifers (550 lbs. @ 20.68/100) 1,075
20 heifer calves (375 lbs. @ $25.62/100) 1,922
22 steer calves (400 lbs. @ $25.62/100) 2,255
2 horses ( @ $100/head) 200
Total $13,706

Machinery and equipment inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>New Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-plow</td>
<td>1,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tractor 7'</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mower (tractor) 10'</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dump rake</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stackers</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagons</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay rakes</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sled</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddles</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harness 1½ T</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truck</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous equipment</td>
<td>3,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total man-hours
Operator 2,520
Hired 480

Asset structure

| Value of land | 11,542 |
| Grazing land ($4.50/acre) | 1,632 |
| Hay land ($6.00/acre) | 9,300 |
| Value of buildings, corrals, fences | 5,376 |
| Value of machinery and equipment | 13,706 |
| Value of livestock | 42,058 |
| Total structural assets | 42,058 |
Expenditure structure

Cash operating expense

- Protein supplement (4½ tons @ $86/ton) $397
- Bull rental (2 bulls @ $37.50/bull) 175
- Spraying (21½ per head) 21
- Drugs 25
- Labor (2 months) 200
- Fuel (1250 gal. @ 22½) 275
- Oil and grease 40
- Machine repair (4% of inv. value) 215
- Truck (gas, oil, license, insurance) 250
- Salt 12

Miscellaneous

- Land taxes 0
- Personal property taxes 0
- Insurance 35
- Upkeep on buildings and fences (3½% of inv.value) 543

Total cash expense $2,078

Interest on real estate investment @ 4% 919
Building depreciation (3% of inv. value) 284
Interest on machinery & livestock invest. @6% 1,145
Machinery depreciation (10% of inv. value) 538
Room & board for hired labor ($50/month) 100

Total farm expense $5,074

Gross income structure

Livestock sales $1,095
- 6 cows (1,050 lbs. @ $17.38/100) 1,479
- 11 yearling heifers (650 lbs. @ $20.66/100) 3,194
- 21 yearling steers (700 lbs. @ $21.66/100) 5,759

Total gross income $8,128

Net income $3,680
Net cash income 684

Death losses (3%)
- 2 cows
- 1 heifer calf
- 1 steer calf

Assuming 85% calf crop

Feed requirements per animal unit
- 2,000 lbs. hay
- 90 lbs. protein supplement
FARM BUDGET FOR A 50 - COW RANCH ON THE FORT BERTRAND
INDIAN RESERVATION

Type of tenure - Part owner

Type of livestock sales - yearlings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total acres in ranch</th>
<th>Owned</th>
<th>Leased</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grazing land (25 acres/A.U.)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>2,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay land</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmstead</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2,729</td>
<td>2,769</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Livestock inventory

50 cows (950 lbs. @ $17.33/100) | 3,266 |
6 yearling heifers (650 lbs. @ $20.63/100) | 1,075 |
20 heifer calves (375 lbs. @ $25.62/100) | 1,922 |
22 steer calves (400 lbs. @ 25.62/100) | 2,255 |
2 horses (@ $100/head) | 200 |
Total |

Machinery and equipment inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tractor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mower (tractor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dump rake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stacker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay rack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total man-hours

Operator | 3,000 |
Hired | 2,520 |
Total | 4,520 |

Asset structure

| Value of land |
| Grazing land ($4.50/acre) | 9,800 |
| Value of buildings, corrals, fences | 5,376 |
| Value of machinery and equipment | 13,706 |
| Value of livestock | 29,062 |
| Total structural assets | $61,584 |
Expenditure structure

Cash operating expense

Land rental ($31/acre) $573
Protein supplement (4½ tons @ $86/ton) 397
Bull rental (2 bulls @ $87.50/bull) 175
Spraying (2½ per head) 25
Drugs 200
Labor (2 months) 275
Fuel (1,200 gal. @ 22¢) 40
Oil and grease 275
Machine repair (4% of inv. value) 12
Truck (gas, oil, license, insurance) 250
Salt 100
Miscellaneous

Cash maintenance expense

Land taxes 0
Personal property taxes 0
Insurance 35
Upkeep on buildings & fences (3½% of inv. value) 345
Total cash expense $2,881

Interest on real estate investment @ 4% 329
Building depreciation (3½% of inv. value) 294
Interest on machinery & livestock investment @ 6½% 1,145
Machinery depreciation (10% of inv. value) 539
Room & board for hired labor (50/month) 100

Total farm expense $5,127

Gross income structure

Livestock sales
6 cows (1,080 lbs. @ $17.38/100) $1,095
11 yearling heifers (850 lbs. @ $20.68/100) 1,470
21 yearling steers (700 lbs. @ $21.66/100) 3,194

Total gross income $5,759

Net income

Net cash income $3,107

Net farm income 631

Death loss (3%)
2 cows
1 heifer calf
1 steer calf

Assuming 85% calf crop
Feed requirement per animal unit
2,000 lbs. hay
90 lbs. protein supplement
**FARM BUDGET FOR A 50-COW RANCH ON THE FORT BEARSKOLD INDIAN RESERVATION**

**Type of Tenure - Tenant**

**Type of livestock sales - Yearlings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total acres in Ranch</th>
<th>2,769 acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grazing land (25 acres / animal unit)</td>
<td>2,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay land</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmstead</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Livestock Inventory**

| 50 cows (950 lbs. at $17.65 / 100) | $1,075     |
| 9 yearling heifers (650 lbs. at $20.68 / 100) | 1,922     |
| 20 heifer calves (375 lbs. at $25.62 / 100) | 2,255     |
| 22 steer calves (400 lbs. at $25.62 / 100) | 200        |
| 2 horses ($100 per head)           |             |
| **Total**                         | **$13,708** |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Machinery and Equipment Inventory</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>New Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tractor</td>
<td>2-plow</td>
<td>$1,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mower (tractor)</td>
<td>7'</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dump rake</td>
<td>10'</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stacker</td>
<td></td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagons</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay rack</td>
<td></td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sled</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddles</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harness</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truck</td>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous equipment</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$3,376</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>$5,376</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total Man-Hours**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operator</th>
<th>5,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hired</td>
<td>2,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Asset Structure**

| Value of Machinery and Equipment | $5,376 |
| Value of Livestock               | $13,708|
| **Total Structural Assets**      | **$19,084** |

**Expenditure Structure**

| Cash Operating Expense | 327 |
| Protein supplement (4$rac{1}{8}$ Tons at $86 / ton) | 175 |
| Bull rental (2 bulls at $37.50 / bull) | 21 |
| Spraying (21$\frac{1}{2}$ per head) | 25 |
| Drugs | 200 |
| Labor (2 months) | 275 |
| Fuel (1,250 gal. at 22$\frac{1}{2}$) | 40 |
Machine repair (4% of inventory value) 215
Truck (gas, oil, license, insurance) 250
Salt 12
Leases (21% per acre) 561
Miscellaneous 100

Cash Maintenance Expense
  Land taxes 0
  Personal property taxes 0
  Insurance 0
  Upkeep on buildings (3½% of inventory value) 0

Total Cash Expense $2,231

Interest on real estate investment at 4% 0
Building depreciation (3% inventory value) 0
Interest on machinery and livestock investment 6% 1,145
Machinery depreciation (10% of inventory value) 533
Room and board for hired labor ($80 / month) 100

Total Farm Expense $4,064

Gross Income
  Livestock Sales $1,095
  6 cows (1,050 lbs. at $17.38 / 100) 1,479
  11 yearling heifers (850 lbs. at $20.68 / 100) 3,184
  21 yearling steers (700 lbs. at $21.66 / 100) 5,758

Total Gross Income $3,477

Net Income $1,694
  Net cash income
  Net farm income

Death loss - 3 per cent
Assuming 85 per cent calf crop weaned
Feed requirements per animal unit
  2,000 lbs. hay
  90 lbs. protein supplement
The following three budgets are also for a 50-cow ranch selling as yearlings. The only difference between the three is the type of tenure. Also, the only difference between these and the previous three budgets is that in these it was assumed that a 70 per cent calf crop would be weaned while in the previous three an 85% calf crop was assumed.
**FARM BUDGET FOR A 50-COW RANCH ON THE FORT BERTHOLD INDIAN RESERVATION**

**Type of tenure - Full owner**

**Type of livestock sales - yearlings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total acres in ranch</th>
<th>2580</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grazing land</td>
<td>2375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay land</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmstead</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Livestock inventory**

50** cows (950 lbs. @ $17.38/100)  $8,256
8** yearling heifers (650 lbs. $20.63/100)  1,075
17** heifer calves (375 lbs. @ $25.62/100)  1,845
18** steer calves (400 lbs. @ $25.62/100)  200
2 horses ($100 per head)  

**Total**  $13,005

**Machinery and equipment inventory**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>New Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-plow</td>
<td>$1,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7'</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10'</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$5,375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**  

**Total man-hours**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operator</th>
<th>2,520</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hired</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Asset structure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value of land</th>
<th>$10,755</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grazing land</td>
<td>1,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay land</td>
<td>9,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of buildings, fences, etc.</td>
<td>3,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of machinery and equipment</td>
<td>13,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of livestock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total structural assets</td>
<td>$40,450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Expenditure structure

Cash operating expense

Protein supplement (4.2 tons @ $86/ton) $361
Bull rental (2 bulls @ $87.50/bull) 175
Spraying (21¢ per head) 20
Drugs 25
Labor (2 months) 200
Fuel (1,250 gal. @ 22¢) 275
Oil and grease 40
Machine repair (4% of inv. value) 215
Truck (gas, oil, license, insurance) 250
Salt 12
Miscellaneous 100

Cash maintenance expense

Land taxes 0
Personal property taxes 55
Insurance 0
Upkeep on buildings and fences (3% of inv. value) 343

Total cash expense $2,051

Interest on real estate investment @ 4% 563
Building depreciation (3% of inv. value) 294
Interest on machinery & livestock investment @ 6% 1,103
Machinery depreciation (10% of inv. value) 538
Room and board for hired labor ($50/month) 100

Total farm expense $4,969

Gross income structure

6 cows (1,060 lbs. @ $17.38/100) $1,095
8 yearling heifers (650 lbs. @ $20.63/100) 2,875
17 yearling steers (700 lbs. @ $21.66/100) 4,748

Total gross income $8,718

Net income

Net cash income $2,897
Net farm income 221

Death losses (3%)
2 cows
1 heifer calf
1 steer calf

Assuming 70% calf crop
Feed requirements per animal unit
2000 lbs. hay
90 lbs. protein supplement
FARM BUDGET FOR A 50-COW RANCH ON THE FORT BERTROLD INDIAN RESERVATION

Type of tenure - Part owner

Type of livestock sales - Yearlings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total acres in ranch</th>
<th>Owned</th>
<th>Rented</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grazing land (25 acres/A.U.)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2,350</td>
<td>2,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay land</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmstead</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2,340</td>
<td>2,380</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Livestock inventory

- 50 cows (950 lbs. @ $17.38/100)
- 8 yearling heifers (850 lbs. @ $20.63/100)
- 17 heifer calves (375 lbs. @ $25.82/100)
- 18 steer calves (400 lbs. @ $25.62/100)
- 2 horses ($100 per head)

Total $13,009

Machinery and equipment inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>New Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-plow</td>
<td>$1,595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7'</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10'</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1½T</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total $6,376

Total man-hours

- Operator 2,580
- Hired 480

$5,000

Asset structure

- Value of land $1,800
  - Grazing land ($4.50)
  - Value of buildings, corrals, fences
- Value of machinery and equipment $13,009
- Value of livestock $28,535
- Total structural assets $42,444
Expenditure structure

Cash operating expense

- Land rental (21$/acre) $333
- Protein supplement (4.2 tons @ $86/ton) 361
- Bull rental (2 bulls @ $87.50/bull) 175
- Spraying (21$/per head) 20
- Drugs 25
- Labor (2 months) 200
- Fuel (1250 gal. @ 22$/) 275
- Oil and grease 40
- Machine repair (4% of inv. value) 215
- Truck (Gas, oil, license, insurance) 280
- Salt 12
- Miscellaneous 100

Cash maintenance expense

- Land taxes 0
- Personal property taxes 0
- Insurance 35
- Upkeep on buildings & fences (3/4% of inv. value) 543

Total cash expense $2,564

Interest on real estate investment @ 4% 399
Building depreciation (5% of inv. value) 294
Interest on machinery & livestock investment @ 6% 1,103
Machinery depreciation (10% of inv. value) 558
Room & board for hired labor ($50/month) 100

Total farm expense $5,018

Gross income structure

- 6 cows (1,050 lbs. @ $17.33/100) $1,095
- 9 yearling heifers (650 lbs. @ $20.66/100) 2,578
- 17 yearling steers (700 lbs. @ 21.66/100) 4,743

Total gross income $8,416

Net income $2,164
Net cash income
Net farm income

Death loss (3%)
- 2 cows
- 1 heifer calf
- 1 steer calf

Assuming 70% of calf crop
Feed requirement per animal unit
- 2000 lbs. hay
- 90 lbs. protein supplement
FARM BUDGET FOR A 50-COW RANCH ON THE FORT BERTHOLD INDIAN RESERVATION

Type of Tenure - Tenant

Type of Livestock Sales - Yearlings

Total Acres in Ranch
Cropping land
Hay land
Farmstead

Livestock Inventory
50 cows (850 lbs. at $17.38 / 100) 8,256
8 yearling heifers (650 lbs. at $20.68 / 100) 1,975
17 heifer calves (375 lbs. at $25.02 / 100) 1,653
18 steer calves (400 lbs. at $25.82 / 100) 200
2 horses ($100 per head) 150

Total

Machinery and equipment Inventory
Size
2-plow

New Price

Tractor
2-plow

270

Mower (tractor)
10 ft

120

Dump rake

700

Stacker

165

Wagons

100

Hay rack

128

Sled

50

Saddles

100

Harness 1 1/2 ft

2,100

Truck

250

Miscellaneous equipment

5,376

Total

3,000

Total Man-hours
Operator
480

Hired


Asset Structure

Value of machinery and equipment

13,000

Value of livestock

18,388

Total Structural Assets

Expenditure Structure
Cash Operating Expense

361

Protein supplement (4.2 tons at $86 / ton)

175

Bull rental (2 bulls at $97.50 / bull

20

Spraying (21% per head)

25

Drugs

200

Labor (2 months)

275

Fuel (1,250 gal. at 22c)

21.5

Oil and grease

250

Machine repair (4% inventory values)

12

Truck (gas, oil, license, insurance)

542

Salt

100

Lease

Miscellaneous
Cash Maintenance Expense
- Land taxes: 0
- Personal property taxes: 0
- Insurance: 0
- Upkeep on buildings (3% inventory value): 0

Total Cash Expense: $2,215

- Interest on real estate investment at 4%: 0
- Building depreciation (3% inventory value): 0
- Interest on machinery and livestock investment at 1%: $1,103
- Machinery depreciation (10% inventory value): 538
- Room and board for hired labor ($50 / month): 100

Total Farm Expense: $3,956

Gross Income
- Livestock Sales
  - 6 culls (1050 lbs. at $17.38 / 100): $1,095
  - 8 yearling heifers (650 lbs. at $20.66 / 100): $1,075
  - 17 yearling steers (700 lbs. at $21.66 / 100): $2,573

Total Gross Income: $4,743

Net Income
- Net cash farm income: $2,535
- Net farm income: $702

Death loss - 3 per cent
Assuming 70 per cent calf crop weaned

Feed requirements per animal unit
- 2,000 lbs. hay
- 90 lbs. protein supplement

Agricultural Commission, American Bankers Association, 12 East 36 St., New York 16, N. Y. Farm Credit in North Dakota, 1951.


Congress of the United States.
Act of February 8, 1887 (24 Stat. L. 339)
* * * March 5, 1891 (26 Stat. L. 936-1033)
June 2, 1894 (43 Stat. L. 293)
May 2, 1924 (38 Stat. 167)
June 28, 1946 (60 Stat. 333)
Public Law 554, 78th Congress Second Session (1944)
* * * 296, 80th Congress (1947)
* * * 437, 81st Congress, 1st Session (1949)

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