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The Effects of the Garrison Dam on the Community of Elbowoods

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The Effects of the Garrison Dam on the Community of Elbowoods

by

Melford MJ W. Gunderson
Bachelor of Science, University of North Dakota ~ Grand Forks

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Masters of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota
May 2001

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This thesis submitted by Melford MJ W. Gunderson in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done hereby approves the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota.

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(Chairperson)

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This thesis meets the standards for appearance and conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

Carl Fox
Dean of the Graduate School

5-14-01
Date

PERMISSION

Title The Effects of the Garrison Dam on the Community of Elbowoods

Department Sociology

Degree Master of Arts

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This Thesis is dedicated to Mel and Gloria Gunderson and the rest of my family, immediate and extended. I would also like to dedicate this Thesis to my Godfather and loving uncle, Clyde Baker, and family.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to describe and explain the social disorganization and community upheaval of Native Americans in Elbowoods created by the construction of the Garrison Dam. The construction of the Garrison Dam in 1954, by the United States Army Corps of Engineers, was devastating not only for Fort Berthold Indian Reservation but also for Elbowoods. Flooding of the thousands of acres caused the residences of Elbowoods to give up farmland, natural shelter for human and cattle, family structure, community gardens, and a way of life that existed for thousands of years.

The data was collected by interviews, emphasizing qualitative analysis. Ten individuals who previously lived in the community of Elbowoods were the subjects for the interview. The questions consisted of personal experiences explaining how the dam changed the community and what affect the relocation had on individuals. Additional information came from newspapers, published reports, pictures, a video, and Congressional reports and hearings.

The theories guiding the research were social disorganization and a concept known as community theory. Community theory has been used to explain the function and importance of the conceptualization that community life provides to its residence. The theory of social disorganization provides the perspective of the drastic change in lifestyle that the community of Elbowoods experienced. The data collected provides evidence to enhance that history and also serves as a voice to those who were not heard. It reveals the attempts to cope and adapt to a "loss of community" that others have experienced.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

What was the effect of the Garrison Dam on the community of Elbowoods? How did this project by the U.S. Army Corp of Engineers totally destroy a way of life for a small community on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation in North Dakota? The purpose of this study is to explain the social disorganization and community upheaval of Elbowoods that was created due to the construction of the Garrison Dam, and understand the loss of Native American culture. An examination of how technological change and its impact on individuals, families, and communities has occurred over the past decades is included. Americans have adapted to increasing technological changes by modifying or radically changing lifestyles. In this study, the focus is on social change and its impact on a unique community with a Hidatsa tradition and the adaptation to change over centuries. Specifically, this was a planned change resulting from the U.S. Corps of Engineers. Flooding of the thousands of acres caused by the Garrison Dam resulted in the residence of Elbowoods to give up farmland, natural shelter for human and cattle, family structure, community gardens, and a way of life that existed for thousands of years.

Planned Intervention

The community and its individuals experienced what is known as critical incidence. It was set up by the concept of planned intervention. Planned intervention was a "top-down" change occurring in the community or regions. This concept is related

to social change, but different than gradual change arising from different sources. Over the years, sociologists have tried to identify patterns and people's reactions to social change. Underlining this concept of planned intervention there seems to be a strong influence by what is known as "the planners." Typically, these "planners" are the agencies or businesses that induce change to social structures, such as communities. This is the essence of Garrison Dam. The government, in this situation, acts as the "planners" while using the U.S. Corps of Engineers as a mechanism to accomplish the plans. These plans were developed for flood control and hydroelectric power.

Similar studies have identified the concept of planned intervention as related to dam construction. A 1969 study, entitled "Factors Affecting Relocation in Response to Reservoir Development," by Burdge and Ludtke focused on how people anticipate "forced" moves because of flood control projects. The results dealt with lifestyle change due to mandatory migration. In the findings, the study describes people's levels of apprehension to change. A central finding was a variable specifically related to this research. The variable identified was "identification with place" and relates to this study. This concept was strongly related to the apprehension of moving. It was found that people have attachments, whether strong or not, to their homes. Ultimately, it was found that the more people identify themselves with a place or home, the less the person is willing to move (Burdge and Ludtke, 1970). These small communities in Ohio and Kentucky were similar to Elbowoods. Although, no Native people were present.

The government's planned intervention was a critical incident that disrupted the solidarity of the community of Elbowoods as well as Fort Berthold. The community as a social system identified themselves through it's norms, values, and culture. This

solidarity created cohesion among the community. The solidarity that best describes the community would be what Durkheim called mechanical solidarity. He defined mechanical solidarity as cohesion based on shared culture, values, norms, and beliefs. He believed that this was especially represented in tribal societies where individuals and society distinctions were minimal (Johnson, 1995).

Community

Construction of the Garrison Dam in 1954, by the United States Army Corps of Engineers, was devastating not only for Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, but also for a little community named Elbowoods, which was on the reservation. It was a farming and ranching community of approximately 60 to 80 families. The town itself consisted of a Post Office, grocery store, school, hospital, lumber and flourmill, and a Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Office. The uniqueness of Elbowoods was the way in which the people strive to live as a self-sufficient community. The community provided for itself acting as its own economic unit. This was possible by the community sharing food, labor, machinery, and family support. This posture and ideology arose from the desire to have independence from the Bureau of Indian Affairs support. Through the concept of community unity, the people were able to achieve this goal.

Data

The data was collected by interviews emphasizing qualitative collection and analysis. I also applied triangulation by combining the data from the prior interviews with existing historical literature dealing with the events leading up to the construction and the subsequent reaction. From the analysis of the data, I constructed a questionnaire based on the results of the research. Approximately 10-15 individuals who previously

lived in the community of Elbowoods were the subjects for the interview process. The theories used to best describe the situation that occurred to the community were social disorganization and a recent concept known as "community theory." Social disorganization provides the theoretical view that puts into perspective the drastic change in lifestyle that the community of Elbowoods experienced. Community theory is the concept that has been used to explain the function and importance of the idea of what a community provides to its residents.

Purpose

The purpose for this research is to show how not only a community can exist within itself, to reveal what happens to the residents when the physical community is lost. The loss was not only material and land but also a way of life that existed for thousands of years. The hardships and struggles endure for the residents of Elbowoods today. I am reporting the story of what was, what is, and what will be for this community that suffered a total disorganization due the Garrison Dam.

The study, while focusing on the impact of the Dam on the Elbowoods community, does incorporate a brief history of the Three Affiliated Tribes, the politics and deception that was involved in the planning and construction of the Dam, and finally what was lost in the Native community of Elbowoods due to the construction of the Dam.

History

The history of the Three Affiliated Tribes has been one of pride, adversity, and struggle. The Fort Berthold Reservation is a combination of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara tribes. The tribes were a very unique group of Native Americans. Throughout their history they have hosted many famous historical figures. Explorers and trappers

have spent time among the three tribes. The three tribes were among the few Native American tribes that have not ventured far from where they were first discovered. The location that was settled by the tribes was both beneficial and sacred.

The initial purpose for the contact with Natives was for trade. The U.S. Government wanted to open the West for trade with the settlers and trappers. Explorers such as Lewis and Clark spent significant amounts of time with the Three Tribes. The majority of the time was spent with the Hidatsa and Mandan. Lewis and Clark created a very unique relationship with the tribes.

The expedition spent the winters of 1804 and 1806 camped at Fort Mandan with the tribes. It has been said that the tribes saved their lives by taking them in during the winter. Lewis and Clark were not prepared for the harsh winters that the Midwest had to offer. At Fort Mandan the relationship between the tribes and Lewis and Clark flourished. They shared food and clothing but also traditions, stories and language. The relationship grew into a trust and respect. There was a genuine caring and understanding between them.

The tribes and Lewis and Clark traded during the time they spent together. The expedition traveled with its own blacksmith. The blacksmith would fix tools and make weapons in return for corn and food. In fact, Clark went with the Hidatsa and Mandan on raids against the Lakota (Amborse, 1996).

This relationship grew stronger over the years. Before proceeding after the winter, Lewis and Clark asked an Arikara Chief to accompany a corporal back to report the progress of the expedition but the chief died on the journey. In 1806, on the return back from the journey west, Lewis and Clark were greeted with hugs and happiness from

the tribes. Lewis and Clark later asked Big White (Hidatsa Chief) to join them in the return to Washington D.C. Big White was reluctant at first, but later, he did accept, if he could bring his family with him (Ambrose, 1996).

The Three Tribes were considered unique in many ways. Explorers earlier and later spent time with the tribes. The Three Tribes have a unique place in the early history of this country. For the most part, they were considered to be friendly and hospitable to others. This ideology still continues today.

Before the Hidatsa joined the Mandan, the Mandan lived along the Missouri River, and later up river to what was known as the Knife River. Here, the Mandan comfortably adapted to the conditions of the western portion of what is now known as North Dakota. Insufficient rainfall forced the Mandan to adapt to unique techniques of dealing with the lack of rain and the flooding in the spring. The Mandan adapted by a technique of growing and retreating. The Mandan did not build permanent homes along the river; they instead would construct earthlodge dwellings that would be vacated during the winter and early spring. The dwellings were used in the summer for the purpose of planting crops along the river.

The flooding in the spring provided many advantages to the Mandan's way of life. The flooding would flush the used topsoil and replace it with new soil. The flooding would also bring driftwood to shores to be used for fuel and construction. Along the river, the vegetation consisted of abundant woods and brush. The woods provided shelter for the Mandan and their game. This was also a quick source of building material and fuel. The brush were filled with berries to be picked in the summer and preserved for the winter.

Summary

The community and its individuals experienced a critical incident with the building of the Garrison Dam. The government, through planned intervention, changed the social and cultural structure that existed for thousands of years. The solidarity and cohesion that the community based itself upon was altered by planned intervention. The history of the Three Affiliated Tribes has been one of pride, adversity, and struggle. The tribes are very unique in many ways. The close relationships the tribes have had with explorers, such as Lewis and Clark, are a tribute to the unique stature for which the tribes are considered to still have today.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

I remember, as a child, my relatives speaking and telling stories about Elbowoods. They would talk about life at the bottomland and how good they had it. They talked about the river, the soil, and the prosperity. It seemed to be a happier time for everyone in this place called Elbowoods. They used to say how the Dam changed all of that and created hard times for the family. I can remember stories about how “Mama” had a huge garden and all of the girls had to pick weeds in it. Then they would say statements like “it will never be like that again” and “those were the good days.” Over the years, I tried to learn more about what had happened. I looked into materials here and there, but could never decide what to do with it. Throughout my graduate education, I began to secure materials such as newspaper articles, literature, published reports, prior interviews, pictures, videos, and congressional hearings that related to the town of Elbowoods and the building of the Garrison Dam. I reviewed the material and did preliminary analysis of what I had gathered. This analysis produced some interesting observations.

With this in mind, I constructed interviews with ten individuals who had previously lived in the community of Elbowoods. The observations from this research were fascinating to me. In an effort to support my observations, I added the analysis and observations from the material I gathered to create three themes. These three themes will help explain the result of how planned intervention affects a community of solidarity.

These three themes are: 1) The actual loss of land. Sub-themes: a) Meaning of the land, b) Loss of gravesites, c) Loss of economic stability, d) Loss of school.

2) The loss of self-sufficiency. Sub-themes: a) Loss of community gardens, b) Loss of livelihood, c) Reliance on welfare.

3) The loss of cultural identity. Sub-themes: a) Loss of community, b) Loss of pride, c) Loss of family, d) Separation of clans, e) The rising problems.

Theoretical Perspective

The theories emphasized description of the situation occurring to the community derived from social disorganization and concept known as "community theory." Social disorganization provided the theoretical view that put into perspective the drastic change in lifestyle that the community of Elbowoods experienced. Community theory is a concept that has been used to explain the function and importance of the idea of what a community provides to its residents.

Interviews were conducted with the former residents of the community of Elbowoods because they best represent the population who experienced the disorganization of their lives. Since it was difficult to find a listing of the population who lived in the community at the time of the dislocation, the sampling design that best fit this research was snowball sampling. It also allowed me a chance to best represent the population. The clear advantage of this design is the simplicity and low cost in sample and fieldwork.

Interview Process

The interviews were conducted in the homes of the individuals. They ranged from forty-five minutes to one hour in length. All participants were eager to share their

knowledge and memories. The atmosphere of the interviews was always pleasant and enjoyable. However, at times, real emotions took over and focused the purpose of the research.

The technique I used to identify the themes was by observation and by visual sorting. While taping the conversation with the participants, I took notes on the person's body language and mood. If the information being given was strong in feeling, I made note of it on a legal pad. After conducting the interviews, I looked through my notes and picked out the relevant material that I deemed important for this research. I then listened to the taped interviews and extracted the information that was relevant. Direct quotations and paraphrased quotations were used to illustrate the strength of the feeling expressed for each of the themes. Supplemental quotations from previous research were added to demonstrate validity in the current study.

To conceal the identities of the subjects, I randomly assigned a number between one and ten to each individual interviewed and refer to that person only by the number. Thus, I am the only person with the knowledge of whom was directly quoted. I believe this to be important due to the sensitivity of the research. Many feelings and opinions were shared in the collection of the data, and thus I have done my best to conceal the identities of these people.

To establish a consistency in the research, I looked for other interviews that existed by the same individuals I interviewed to explore or confirm the interpretation of the meaning. I looked at other research and government projects that used the same individuals and similar topic. I then read or listened to the interviews and compared

those to my interviews. This gave me a consistent correlation for the information I obtained.

Summary

Archival materials provided statements that were descriptive and relational about the Elbowoods community and its people. A questionnaire done in 1949 by MacGregor provided information about the attitudes of the community and Fort Berthold before the flooding occurred. Prior interviews in the 1940's, 1950's, and 1990's resulted in collaborative observations generating themes from personal interviews. These personal interviews established and supported the themes by creating evidence to which I have presented using their voices through direct quotations from the interviews.

CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT:

The People

In the 1450's, the Mandan lived as far down the Missouri River, today known as South Dakota. By 1650, they settled around the mouth of the Knife River, today in the area of Washburn, North Dakota. In the early 18th century, the Mandan made progress to the mouth of the Heart River, which is in the area today's cities of Bismarck and Mandan. The Hidatsa were primarily in the eastern part of North Dakota in the area of what is today known as Devils Lake. They eventually moved to the mouth of the Knife River. The Hidatsa brought with them new techniques of agriculture.

The Mandan did not bury the dead. They would place the body upon scaffolds just above human reach. These scaffolds were placed in the back of the village. Many called these cemeteries "village of the dead." The body was customarily dressed in the best clothes, painted in oils, and supplied with weapons, which could be used in the next life, then wrapped in a soaked buffalo robe. After the body had been decomposed, the remains were buried, except for the skull. The skulls were then placed in a circle where a male and female buffalo skull sat in the middle with a medicine pole. Wild sage was put on the skulls along with food to feed the one's who have passed (Catlin, 1996).

The early history of the three tribes goes back to 900 A.D. and possibly two centuries earlier in the region of North Dakota and South Dakota. After 1400, the

Arikara began to move north to the Big Bend Region of the Missouri. In 1450, the Mandans began to abandon the Missouri River Valley. Soon after, the Arikara followed also up the Missouri. Then about 1650, the Mandan settled along the mouth of the Cannonball and Knife Rivers. The Mandan houses were earthlodges made from lumber, soil, and grass. They were rectangular in shape, which was very cold in the wintertime. Because it was so cold, they adopted the Arikara version of a circular home, which was more efficient (Meyer, 1977).

There have been numerous trappers and explorers who visited the Three Affiliated Tribes over the last three hundred years. Many have debated who was first and at what time each spent time with the tribes. According to Meyer, the first French trader to have contact with the three tribes was Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de La Verendrye around 1741. But, according to Bowers (1950), the first was the French trader La Harp in 1797. Since that time there have been many others. For example, Macintosh in 1773, Bellen in 1755, Thompson in 1797, LaRaye in 1802, Lewis and Clark in 1804, Catlin in 1832, and Maximilian in 1833 (Bowers, 1950). There have been many others since then.

In 1780-1782 the three tribes were plagued with the first of two smallpox epidemics. The population loss was dramatic. The Mandan went from six to nine villages down to just two. The Arikara loss was from ten to forty villages down to just three. Then around 1837, there was another small pox out break. The Hidatsa lost up to two thirds of its population (Boyers, 1992). The loss of tribal members created many problems. This life was hard, it demanded that individuals worked hard and protected themselves from other raiding tribes. For these reasons in 1845, the Mandan and Hidatsa joined together to live in the village called Like-a-Fishhook village. Here both tribes

flourished and began to share cultures and traditions. The Arikara joined the two tribes in 1862 at the same location (Boyers, 1992).

This started the process of the outside world again looking in on the Three Tribes. In 1864, the United States Army troops set up posts in and around this location. In 1868, the U.S. Government established the first agency of the Fort Berthold Reservation. Then in 1870, a day school was built and six years later missionaries came to the area (Boyers, 1992).

The people of Fort Berthold were accustomed to visitors over the years. The unique nature and friendliness placed the tribes in positions to experience and gain from the individuals who came to trade or explore. It seemed each trader or explorer who came into contact with the tribes had a positive experience. The Three Tribes, specifically the Mandan and Hidatsa, lived for thousands of years and flourished in this particular area. This caused a strong attachment to this area for the people.

U.S. Government Control

Throughout the history of the U.S. Government, it has dictated policies for all Native Americans, insisting on creating policies that are beneficial only in the government's eyes, ignoring the Natives' concerns and interests. During my research the interviewees had strong statements which illustrate this problem. For example

Interviewee # 7 stated:

"When the Corps of Engineers put that Dam in down there, the less they could tell the public and the less the people in the general United States knew about it, I think the better they felt because they didn't want any repercussions against them for putting a people out who had been put out many, many, many times to various

United States... They gave it to the Indians and suddenly they say hey, we shouldn't had done that and they take it back... Just take a map and look at the United States, almost every one of the big Dams are built on an Indian reservation. They're not built above or below or anything, they are built on an Indian reservation... A whole bunch of the big Dams are all built on Indian reservations because they were what do you call it, expendable. They could get rid of them and move them anywhere they wanted... They knew they were gonna build a Dam there whether we liked it or not, it was already set up, so we could have had meetings for the next eight, or ten, or twelve years, but they were going to build a Dam there."

Also, interviewee #9 stated:

"The United States for years has been trying to do with the Indians. They have all these plans, these plans. For many years assimilation, the next it's acculturation, and then it's relocation and eventually the Americans, the white people, have always thought the best way to deal with any minority culture is to acculturate them... Some got the wild idea we had to keep them in their own paradise and not contaminate them."

These matters have been documented in other historical documents. They go as far back as the discovery of this land by Columbus. The first European settlers recognized the problem of recognizing the original owners of this land. Based upon Victorian philosophy, the settlers decided this land belonged to Natives and was ultimately the Natives responsibility (Deloria and Lytle, 1983). This philosophy did not last long.

From 1828 through 1887, the U.S. Government adopted the policy of removal and relocation of Natives. Thomas Jefferson had begun this policy when he forced the Cherokee out of the area of the Louisiana Purchase. Shortly thereafter, Andrew Jackson made it one of the first items to be addressed when he came into his term as President. Beginning December 8, 1829, Jackson ordered the removal and relocation. It became official in May 28, 1830, with the Indian Removal Act. The reasoning behind this decision was the thought that whites and natives could not live together (Deloria and Lytle, 1983). However, this was just the beginning.

Between 1887-1928, the Allotment and Assimilation policy was introduced. The purpose of this policy was to introduce the natives to mainstream society. It was later decided among the politicians that the natives owned too much land, which hindered settlers from expanding. To accomplish this task, the General Allotment Act of 1887 or Dawes Act was authorized. Under this Act, the President had the discretion, which was supposed to benefit the natives, of allotting the following: the head of each family received one-quarter section of land, each single person over 18 years old received 1/8 section of land, and those under 18 years old received 1/16 section of land. The land was generally held for twenty-five years at which time the native learned the proper business methods of farming. This caused many problems for the natives. The most traumatic problem was the reduction of land of 138 million acres in 1887 to 48 million acres by 1934. To make matters worse, Congress passed the Burke Act on May 8, 1906. This Act gave authority to the Secretary of the Interior to grant legal ownership before the time period had expired, which promoted the natives to sell their land (Deloria and Lytle, 1983).

Over the years, Congress further passed Act's which allowed the government further control over natives. These were the Major Crimes Act of 1885, which granted Federal jurisdiction over felony crimes and the Indian Citizen Act of 1924, which allowed natives citizenship. From 1928-1945, the government attempted to allow natives some power over their government; these were known as reorganization and self-government policies. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, officially ended the policy of allotment. At this time there was also a push by the government to recognize and support tribal self-government. However, many of these new policies of government undermined the traditions and customs of leadership of many tribes (Deloria and Lytle, 1983).

The time between 1945-1961 was considered the Termination period. During this time, in 1953, Congress passed Public Law 280, which permitted the jurisdiction of state government over native reservations in both civil and criminal matters. There were other consequences such as changes in land ownership, trust relationships ended, state legislation and judicial authority were created, ending state tax exemption along with Federal programs, and most significantly effectively ended tribal sovereignty. After enduring the above, things started to get somewhat better. In 1961, Congress passed the Area Redevelopment Administration Act. This allowed tribes to purchase lands and facilities for commercial or industrial use. Acts such as the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968, the Indian Education Act of 1972, and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 were attempts by the government to assist natives in poverty and problem areas (Deloria and Lytle, 1983).

The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 set the stage for the events that would take place in the next 100 years for the tribe. Due to the stipulations in the treaty, the reservation was reduced to 12.5 million acres. An Executive Order in 1910 reduced the land even further to one million acres. The land was then sold between 1910-1920 to non-natives under the "Homestead District" campaign. This action reduced the land to 650,000 acres (Serial 2480, 35).

The concept of sovereignty for Natives in the U.S. is not a recent concept. Over the last 500 years policies have been created and treaties made in an effort to find a solution for both to live together. However, over the years almost all of these policies and treaties have been violated or broken. The U.S. Government has granted tribes throughout the U.S. to be sovereign nations but has limited it in many areas. Today the sovereignty that does exist is considered to be limited sovereignty.

The limited sovereignty undermines the agreements that were made by the U.S. Government over the years. For example, tribes have jurisdiction on their own tribal land only when misdemeanors are violated. The tribes have no jurisdiction when dealing with felonies that have been committed on tribal land. This has created problems throughout the years and caused bad relations between the tribes and U.S. government. These bad relations occur because many of the tribes have had their own justice system in place for years before the government intervened. Many times these U.S. government policies directly undermine traditions and culture.

Proposal and Construction of Garrison Dam

The idea of building a dam was first discussed in 1903 by a water company in Minnesota. The objective was to provide cheaper electricity for the Midwest. Then, in

1931 the Army Corps of Engineers submitted their own study for the purpose of a Dam, but found the site unsuitable. Later, in 1940 the government submitted a plan called the Pick Plan. This was a plan to build dams for the purpose of flood control and irrigation of the land for farmers. The idea was to flood 154,000 acres of the Fort Berthold Reservation. After the Pick Plan was reviewed, another assessment called the Sloane Plan was implemented. According to this plan, the Fort Berthold land was not suitable for a project. This plan concurred with the earlier assessment by the Army Corps of Engineers in 1931. Although this information was presented and agreed upon the idea of the Garrison Dam project continued (Serial 2480, 13-14).

In a preliminary report done in 1927 by the North Dakota Office of State Engineer, it was estimated that the dam would store thirty percent of the Missouri River drainage. It would reduce flood crests in Bismarck, North Dakota by eighty percent, Sioux City, Iowa by seventy percent, and Kansas City, Missouri by thirty percent, while producing thirty thousand horsepower continuously. The report also mentioned that along with getting power, it would also provide an outlet to the sea for shipping wheat, coal, and clays. Overall, the primary beneficiaries to this would be the cities down the Missouri River by protecting farm soil and providing cheap energy (N.D. State Engineer, 1927).

The Corps of Engineers, reported tentative figures and purposes for the dam, did another report in 1946. The dam was considered the world's largest rolled fill dam. It would cover the length of 500,000 acres and its maximum operating pull with the height of 210 feet from the stream with five generators produced 320,000 kilowatts. In the report, they listed the dam as a multipurpose project. It would provide flood control,

improve navigation, water for irrigation, power, diversion to Devils Lake and James River Basin regions, providing minimum water flow to stabilize municipal water supplies, and facilities for recreation and wildlife preservation (Corps of Engineers, 1947).

After the Army Corps of Engineers agreed to go ahead with the project, the Tribal Business Council filed resolutions in the U.S. Congress directly opposing the construction of the Garrison Dam project. The concern of the Tribe was not only the amount of land being flooded, but also losing future land and mineral rights. The Tribal Business Council continued to file amendments in Congress from 1951-1961 to restore and protect the grazing and mineral rights to no avail.

An important aspect to consider is the time in U.S. history this planning was happening. The county was in or coming out of the Great Depression, World War II was ending, and the New Deal was just being implemented. President Roosevelt created policies and agencies that would increase employment and market flow. These new policies consisted of establishing insurance for banks, securities in the exchange, loans for homes, and one in particular the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in 1933 was a project to build dams for the purpose of flood control, improving navigation, and power for electricity. The project consisted of fifty dams operated by TVA. This project produced thousands of jobs and cheaper power for the county and economy. The conception of the Garrison Diversion grew from this project. This was to be the project that lifted the country for the depression and give President Roosevelt his grand contribution to the economy and country (Encarta, 1993-1997).

The policies that involved the tribe constituted for many "broken promises." Politicians would make promises for restoring lost rights for votes and lobbying purposes. As the Tribal Business Council filed all of the amendments, Congress refused to vote or even hear an argument in favor of the Tribe. It seemed that Congress was more concerned with the farmers and recreation activities than the people who were about to lose everything they owned.

In 1944, Congress passed the Flood Control Act. Under this Act, President Roosevelt signed and supported the construction of the Garrison Dam. Congress knew that by passing this type of Act, it would hinder any chance of negotiations by the Tribe. The Tribe filed and lobbied to Congress for some type of rectification of the natural and mineral rights. In 1945, the Tribe did get a promise that there would be a delay in the building of the dam. The delay was approved in 1946. It was to be included in the War Department Civil Appropriations Act of 1947. This is interesting considering that WWII ended August 8, 1945. It does not make sense for the U.S. government to put this type of legislation in the War Department. One could speculate that it was an attempt to bury the delay of building the dam. The promise was given because the United States was in the middle of WWII and needed support by whatever means necessary. Even though Congress promised the delay through verbal agreements and Acts, the building of the dam continued.

Congress, recognizing they had broken promises and still continued to build the dam, offered the tribe 150,000 acres to replace the 154,000 acres that would be flooded. This was a good chance on behalf of Congress to justify their actions, but the land that they proposed was inadequate and unsuitable for any type of farming and grazing. The

biggest problem with this land was much of it was located downstream. This posed a problem because it violated cultural and religious aspects of the Tribal members. It was considered a bad omen to move backwards, specifically in the eyes of the Hidatsa and Mandan Tribes.

Public Law 296 was passed July 31, 1947. This law offered the Tribe a payment of \$5,105,625 along with several other articles. Some of the most interesting articles were Article X, Article XI, and Article XII. Article X stated that the Tribe would be entitled to free use of the waterline in the Taking Area for grazing, hunting, and trapping. Article XI further granted the Tribe the right of timber, sand, gravel, and coal from the Taking Area. Article XII entitled the Tribe to receive royalties from the oil and natural gas that would be discovered in the Taking Areas (see Appendix C and D). A very devastating issue was that these entitlements were restricted to the Taking Areas and not the Reservation in its entirety. Public Law 296 also forced the Tribe to surrender all right to challenge these entitlements in court. This became known as the "final satisfaction" in the eyes of Congress. To give an idea of how little was offered by the government, by 1946 the government spent \$6,000,000 on just preliminary work of the dam (Serial 2480, 35-40).

On October 29, 1949, Congress increased its offer to \$12,605,626. The problem with this was that it was not considered to be a voluntary settlement. The government forced the signing by giving an ultimatum of either signing it and receiving monetary compensation or not signing and receiving nothing because it was going to go through regardless. The reason why this was not a sufficient offer was because the tribe had to give up rights of the land, minerals, titles, allottees, and tribal interests to the government.

Tribal Chairman Gillette signed the agreement in tears. By comparing the previous offer made by Public Law 296 and the final agreement, the Public Law offer was increasingly substantial, even though the money was less; the Tribe still had the entitlement to some portions of the land.

The construction of the Garrison Dam in 1954 by the United States Army Corps of Engineers was devastating not only for Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, but also for a little community named Elbowoods. The town itself, a farming and ranching community consisted of about 60 to 80 households, a Post Office, grocery store, school, hospital, lumber and flourmill, and a Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Office. The uniqueness of Elbowoods was as noted previously, the way in which the people strived to live as a self-sufficient community. The community provided for itself, acting as its own economic unit. This was possible by the community sharing food, labor, machinery, and family support. The reason was community, self-sufficiency, and little dependency on the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Through the concept of community unity, the people were able to achieve this goal.

Elbowoods Community

According to The Blackwell Dictionary, community is defined as “a term that has many meanings, both sociological and non-sociological. A community can be a collection of people who share something in common without necessarily living in a particular place. It can be a feeling of connection to others, of belonging and identification, as in “community spirit” or “sense of community.” It can be a collection of people who do related kinds of work, as in “the health community” or “the academic community.” And, in perhaps its most common and concrete sense, it can be a collection

of people who share a geographical territory and some measure of interdependency that provides the reason for living in the same place. To some sociologists, such as Ferdinand Tonnies, the idea of community includes a fairly strong feeling of belonging and mutual commitment based on a homogeneous culture, shared experience, and close interdependency. Tonnies contrasted this sense of community with other settlement patterns – most notably the city, which in his view did not qualify as a community at all” (Johnson, 1995, p.48-49).

Such distinctions are sociologically important because of their effects on community life. For example, the effects of urbanization on social relationships, crime, tolerance, environmental pollution, work, politics, and family life, have been of sociological interest. In similar ways, modernization has been linked with the family, promotion of democracy and economic development” (Johnson, 1995).

The Elbowoods community was based on the idea of sharing. Each community was considered to be its own economic unit. In social standards today, the activities would definitely fall under the category of community living. The government, through planned intervention, changed the social and cultural structure that existed for thousands of years. The solidarity and cohesion that the community based itself upon was altered by planned intervention.

There were approximately 350 families living on Fort Berthold Reservation and of those, 60-80 lived in Elbowoods at the time of the flooding. Approximately 85% of the families lived on the bottomlands next to the river. The community had its own gardens from which food was provided to the people. Farming and ranching made up 40-70% of the income in the community. The most essential and strongest element of this

community living was the family structure. Members of the community never went "without." The concept of welfare was nonexistent. Everyone in the community worked, thus everyone prospered. The sharing aspect not only provided assistance in the forms of food, equipment, and labor, but also the security of being looked cared for by other community members.

The U.S. Post Office, a church, a school, two grocery stores, a lumber mill, a flourmill, a hospital, and a Bureau of Indian Affairs area office provided the security and support of the community, specifically the lumber mill, flour mill, hospital, and school. At the lumber and flour mill, a resident could take the lumber and grain to be processed without charge. The hospital was vital, due to the fact that it was so close for all to reach immediately and tribal member did not have to drive a long distance to a larger community. The same could be said for the school. This was important because many other native youth went to boarding schools as a consequence of not having a school in the community.

The losses to the community of Elbowoods from the Garrison Dam Project took many forms. The losses that occurred caused a social disorganization in the Elbowoods community that is devastating still today. The most obvious would have to be the land itself. The 154,000 acres consisted of approximately 25% of the land left on Fort Berthold. The concept of the government taking the land from this Tribe is not a new one. As I have mentioned before, this tragedy dates back to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851. Because the taking of land has been drastic over a short period of time, it left families with limited amounts of land to pass from generation to generation. The true

misfortunes will be felt most by the next generation. They will essentially be left with nothing to call their own.

Not only was a large amount of land lost in the Garrison Dam Project, I think more important was the quality of the land lost. Since the land that was flooded was close to the river, it fell into the most fertile and rich land classifications. According to reports that are out today, it was considered to be Class I and Class II of fertile land that rarely exist today. Natural and mineral resources were also lost. Coal, for example, used to be exposed in the ground where community members could easily dig for use. Not only did the people themselves suffer, but also their economic strengths. Many cattle were lost due to the lack of shelter that was provided by the bottomlands. The loss of the hospital and school also played a huge part in the social disorganization that followed. To this day, there is still not a hospital on Fort Berthold. In a conversation with my Godfather, Clyde Baker, three of his biggest concerns were the absence of a school, ranching concerns, and separation of families by a lack of bridges across the lake. He told me a story about how he would have to get up very early in the morning to get the team of horses and the sleigh in order to get his children to school on time.

When the floodwaters came, the people were moved into five segments. By doing this, it separated the families and the clans were broken. The Hidatsa and Mandan culture and religion relies heavily upon this clan structure. Many have stated that the loss of our traditions is in direct relationship to the separation of families.

The clan structure of the Hidasta and Mandan is complex. It was a vital social structure that provided guidance and assistance. Clanship relates to marriage, naming, family structure, and parental techniques. When a child was born, they took the mother's

clan family. The clan members then took the responsibility and duty of caring for their clan family. There were many ways of doing this. For example, the clan took care of orphans and elderly. If a person passed away or could not manage their own family, then it is the responsibility of the clan person to take care of that family (Bowers, 1992).

Respect was the essential element in this structure. Respect was given to elders not only in ones tribe but even more so in ones clan. The need was there for a social system that would guarantee and ensure that everyone in the tribe was cared for. This need could have stemmed from and for many reasons. The most prominent is probably the small pox epidemics that struck the tribes twice. Many died leaving the families without parents and guidance.

Many social structures evolved from the clan system. The person who you could marry was directed by the clan system. The clanship also directed who could give names. Teasing was a unique trait attributed to the clan structure. A person could only tease certain people in their own clan. Teasing was an important social dynamic to the tribes. It provided a hierarchy of social status as well as a humorous gesture to another clan member.

Today there are approximately 8,000 enrolled members of the Three Affiliated Tribes. All of these people have felt the devastation in one way or another. The Garrison Dam Project is an example of a government policy that has wronged so many, causing a true sense of social disorganization. The past has a way of repeating itself.

Research Purpose

The purpose for this research is to show how not only a community can exist within itself, but also to show what happens to that community when it is destroyed. The

loss was not only material and land but also a way of life that existed for thousands of years. The hardships and struggles endure for the community of Elbowoods today. This study will provide research and knowledge of a historical event that is unknown to many people. The data collected not only provide evidence for the research, but also act as voices for those who have not been heard. I would like to present the story of what was, what is, and what will be for this community that suffered a total disorganization due to the Garrison Dam.

The building of the Garrison Dam caused many problems for the people of Fort Berthold. The community that existed in the town of Elbowoods flourished since its conception. The community lived well in troubled times in U.S. history. The community and the rest of Fort Berthold lost many traditions that were essential for the tribe. The separation of the families also separated the clans causing social disorganization. The government sought to improve the flood control and produce cheap energy along with providing jobs while ignoring the pleas of the tribe. This is not a recent phenomenon. The U.S. Government has had a long history of dictating what would be best for the Natives to do. Acts and policies set by the government have established the court that the Natives are forced to play on.

The community of Elbowoods had what could be considered "stand out characteristics." The integration of the characteristics of solidarity and work ethic created an environment of unity and stability among its residents. The loss of community and solidarity directly related to the collective and personal self-esteem of the community. The critical incidence that the individuals experienced by planned intervention directly affected the functional aspect of the community solidarity.

CHAPTER IV

RELEVANT LITERATURE, THEMES, AND DISCUSSION:

ARCHIVAL MATERIALS REVIEW

After conducting a content analysis on newspaper articles regarding the construction of the Garrison Dam, I have noticed that the articles supporting the dam increased as the construction came to an end. In the 40's, when the dam construction was beginning, articles throughout the area supported the native's view. The support could also have been seen in the surrounding area. But, as the construction continued and the support from Washington and the White House increased, the articles changed. The stories began to support the project as well as the workers and planers. I believe this shift of support was due to the political influence and pressures that the Corps placed upon the area.

A close comparison can be made to the book *Everything in its Path* written by Kia T. Erikson, especially the chapter titled "Collective Trauma: Loss of Communnality." This book recounts a flood event that occurred on February 26, 1972, in the mining community of Buffalo Creek, West Virginia, destroying the entire community. (Water had built up behind makeshift dams that the mining company had created out of materials extracted from the mines. When rain and high water saturated them, they give way. The water ripped through the canyon destroying the community of Buffalo Creek.)

This chapter is an excellent choice as it describes and explains what community is and importance of its function to a particular society. Erikson not only deals with the

concepts of community, he interviews the people who were affected. Erikson uses the term "communality." The reason he used this term was not to relate community to a particular area, but to "relationships that make up their general human surround." The point that he wanted to get across by using this definition was that the people of Buffalo Creek were considered "neighbor people". This type of relationship, Erikson relates back to Tonnies "gemeinschaft, Cooley's "primary" Durkheim's "mechanical," Redfield's "folk," and Gans's "person orientation," perception of what community is. I feel that the statement that Erikson used which best represents the ideology is, "It is the community that cushions pain, the community that provides a context of intimacy, the community that represents morality and serves as the repository for old traditions" (Erikson, 1976, pp.193-4).

Erikson, a sociologist, was hired as a consultant by a law firm to take the statements of the survivors of the disaster. He agreed at first just to recommend a person to take on the task, but after a short visit to Buffalo Creek, Erikson decided to do the job himself. He stated that he was "awed and depressed by what he had seen." He mentions that he had become emotionally involved, even though it was against the traditional social research method.

What Erikson needed to know in order to write this book would probably be among the most obvious, such as some concept of what community theory is, how to do qualitative methods (interviews), knowledge of other related theories, and a question to be answered or a story to be heard. His thinking, as he mentioned, was not that of the traditional sociological research. His interest was in a historical event that was for the

purpose of a civil suit, and then he extracted from the interviews the theory of community.

The organization and method found in his study is somewhat unconventional in the realms of "sociology." He noted in the introduction, he could have definitely followed the traditional lines of social science research in order to shed light on a single human event, but choose not to. Community theory for Erikson explained his observations. The community was the backbone describing the strong attachment that the residents of Buffalo Creek had for one another. It could be the same concept of what C. Wright Mills called "social studies." Erikson used qualitative methods to achieve the data that was recovered. Extensive interviews were taken of the residents of Buffalo Creek.

Erikson's use of theory is rich and relevant for the results that were achieved. He used an unconventional method of social research that would best explain and bring out the true tragedy that the residents of Buffalo Creek experienced. Erikson did not dismiss traditional social research, but used what was available to get at the heart and essence of the experience. This experience would be the loss of community.

In order to successfully complete my thesis, I first applied a method to the topic. Following Erikson's approach and using the concepts community and social disorganization enabled the development of an explanation of the loss idea "community" and causes of social disorganization. The same definition that Erikson used of "communality" rather than "community" explains the loss of relationships rather than territory. This concept captures true human experience without drowning it in statistical data.

Themes and Discussions

Prior to the dam and the flooding, there was a community that flourished and maintained independence from the outside world. Involuntary migration from the land ended tribal practices and traditions in Elbowoods. Natural settlement patterns which evolved over decades were destroyed, and the re-distribution approach fragmented the clanship which sent children to boarding schools resulting in the dissolution of the family. The impacts also included high rates of alcoholism, crime, and the decreased sense of identity of both tribe and individuals.

In 1949, before the flooding, Gordon MacGregor conducted a survey with questionnaires to 300 of the 357 residents who were to be affected by the dam. The questionnaire was designed to measure the attitudes regarding the removal and the problems attributed to the taking of the bottomlands. The primary focus was on whether the residents would stay on the reservation or leave. Some items assessed whether they would prefer cash, cattle, or other land. He found eighty-four percent planned to stay on the reservation after the water came. Ten percent planned to leave the reservation, while only two percent intended to go to other reservations, leaving six percent undecided. When they were asked the question "Do you want to move with your own community or move into another?" Sixty-eight percent wanted to move with their own community, twelve percent would go with another, leaving twenty percent undecided. An item on preferences of living in an Indian community or a "White" community revealed that Seventy-eight percent would choose to live in an Indian community, nine percent would live in a "White" community, leaving fourteen percent undecided. In response to

questions in regard to making a living from the land resources, seventy-five percent planned to use the land where available to continue, sixty-eight percent would like to run cattle, seven percent would like to farm, and twenty percent planned to do both farming and cattle. Seventy percent reported that they would like to continue making a living after the relocation. In answer to the question of what type of compensation payment would the residents like, sixty-five percent wanted land for agricultural operations, thirty-three percent wanted cash, and two percent were undecided (MacGregor, 1949).

MacGregor results support the concept of the "identification to place." Before the water came the majority of the residents of Fort Berthold and the community of Elbowoods would still remain on the reservation. Also, the majority would like stay with the community that they are presently living among. The majority would also wish to continue farming and ranching. These findings support the concept that although the water was coming and the residents were going to loss their homes and land, they to wished to stay and continue the same way of life.

The purpose of this research was not only to give the residents of Elbowoods a chance for their story to be heard, but also to analyze themes that have risen form the data collected. These themes can provide a patterned explanation of how planned change can influence and disorganize a community that was unaware of the final result.

These themes arose from the interviews with former residents of Elbowoods along with information from newspapers, published reports, prior interviews, pictures, videos, and Congressional reports and hearings. There are three prominent composite categorical themes that evolved from the data. They are:

Theme One: The actual loss of land; Sub-themes: a) Meaning of the land, b) Loss of gravesites, c) Loss of economic stability, d) Loss of school.

Theme Two: The loss of self-sufficiency. Sub-themes: a) Loss of community gardens, b) Loss of livelihood, c) Reliance on welfare.

Theme Three: The loss of cultural identity. Sub-themes: a) Loss of community, b) Loss of pride, c) Loss of family, d) Separation of clans, e) Rising problems such as alcoholism and crime.

Theme One and Supporting Evidence

The loss of land was devastating for the people of Elbowoods. The land, itself, carries many spiritual meanings for them. The loss was more than economic it was as if a piece of them were being lost. Attachments were made to the gravesites and were lost was the attachment to the school. Many spent their childhood there. Schools are key in the development and stability of any community. However, most important was the direct tie to the land itself. Over time the tribe had established spiritual and personal significance to this area. The loss of all this changed and caused disorganization among the community and Fort Berthold.

Theme one: The Actual Loss of the Land

Meaning of the Land

The land that was flooded was held special to the people who lived on it. It provided food, fuel, and shelter. The government did offer land downstream from the community to replace the land lost, however, this was not logical for the members of Fort Berthold. To the Fort Berthold people, this was considered taboo to move downstream. Tradition was always to move upstream. Interviewee #1 stated:

“According to Indian legend there was some sacred thing that you couldn’t go back down river, but because of that, we didn’t take that opportunity to move down there.”

The economic, physical, and emotional hardships that have been caused by the Garrison Dam are still prevalent. When the decision was made to build the dam, non-native farmers were allowed to receive compensation immediately. However, the members of Fort Berthold and the community of Elbowoods were not able to have this luxury. Interviewee #2 states:

“They took land from the whites too you know. Then they didn’t like their appraisal on their land. They felt they were getting jipped. So they had a right to...the engineers said well, we’ll condemn your land and we’ll go to court. And you may receive a higher pay. So that’s what they did. A lot of them, maybe one out of ten, or maybe it was more like three out of ten went to court. Non-Indian owners said they wanted so and so many dollars an acre. Some, they raised their appraisal price. They had regular court and most of the time they got a little bit more.”

Loss of Gravesites

The flooding of the land also created problems with gravesites. Similar to most cultures, Native culture puts a tremendous amount of symbolism and cultural relevance in gravesites. The Corps of Engineers moved many, but many graves were not always in cemeteries. These were lost and along with them, the cultural significance to the people. Similar to how individuals feel about the loss of schools, grave sites, too, were lost and family members can never go back to see them. Interviewee #9 stated:

"The shame of how the graveyards look now compared to how they looked fifty years ago. People were really honoring the dead in those days."

and also:

"I object to leaving my land and home where my children have walked and played... Where can the army find a place as good as our lands. If there are such lands the whites would not give them up. Our cemeteries would be molested-here where we have placed flowers on the graves of those who have gone ahead of us"(Meyer, 215).

"The army's job is to fight wars, not build dams to flood out people like us. This land is our home, our people are buried in the hills of our lands. We are opposed to leaving our homes"(Meyer, 215).

Loss of Economic Stability

The loss of land had a huge impact on the economic stability of the community. The loss of land led to the loss of jobs. The people lived there for thousands of years and adapted their lifestyle and needs to what the land provided. This lifestyle and economic structure was farming and ranching. The farmers and ranchers were forced to move to the higher country because of the flood. This land was not suitable for this type of lifestyle. Interviewee #1 stated:

"Well, the Garrison Dam is what changed our lives altogether, we had to move out of the river bottom and move up on the top. I was a rancher when I moved up there first and I was very successful for about 14 or 15 years, my herd was getting big and I had a lot of good friends."

And interviewee #5 stated:

"It was good cattle country because of the trees. The high country was no good for farming so the farmers started moving into towns."

Quote taken from the Declaration of Indian Purpose presented at the American Indian Chicago Conference in June 1961:

"When our lands are taken for a declared public purpose, scattering our people and threatening our continued existence, it grieves us to be told that a money payment is the equivalent of all things we surrender. Our forefathers could be generous when all the continent was theirs. They could cast away whole empires for a handful of trinkets for their children. But in our day, each remaining acre is a promise that we will still be here tomorrow. Where we paid a thousand times the market value of our lost holdings, still the payment would not suffice. Money never mothered the Indian people, as the land has mothered them, nor have any people become more closely attached to the land, religiously and traditionally" (Meyer, 234).

The loss of land was emotional to many of the residents. Still today, many of the residents have difficulty facing the reality of losing their land and homes. These changes forced individuals to start over again without their full consent. Interviewee #4 stated:

"I'm pretty sad because it used to be my home, like home, I graduated there and I spent most of my time in Elbowoods. I really felt bad because we spent most of our life there. I still dream about it today. Everyone had to start over again. All our family's land is underwater. It is not the same. It will never be the same."

The land provided not only fuel and food, but also provided shelter for the people and the livestock. Interviewee #1 stated:

"In 1953 we moved out, uphill. Most of the people didn't want to go because it was my grandma's land, so that land was no problem really, but leaving that location was the problem. We didn't have any trees and we didn't have any windbreaks like we had down at the river bottom. That's what we really missed."

and also:

"Well, the first thing I can think about is our livestock surviving in that river bottom during the blizzards in the wintertime. It was like heaven down there compared to what I had to put up with when I had to move out of the river bottom. Then, we were independent down there, I mean that way our way of life and that can never be replaced. So those are a couple of the things that I can think about now."

Interviewee #6 stated:

"Most of the ranchers had a camp, a cow camp where they moved in the winter from the top you know. We took our cattle down to the brush... And that's where we wintered our cattle, right along the Missouri River. I used to break ice for the cattle to drink."

Loss of School

The loss of the school was difficult for all of the residents of Elbowoods. With the relocation of residents, the individuals had to either travel several miles for their children to get to school or they would have to send them to boarding schools. The education was key in Elbowoods because it set patterns for people. When the children

went off to boarding schools, there was no pattern's which affected the children as well as the parents. Interviewee #1 remembered the hardships stating:

"The Mandaree School wasn't done yet... When (son) got to be six years old he got to start school and he had to go twenty-five miles on the school bus. That was getting up really early in the morning and getting home late at night. The bus came about a mile from the house and he wouldn't get off the highway, he stayed on the highway. In the winter time I had to round up the team and take them to the road."

The building of the dam also hindered young people from continuing their education, specifically attending college. When interviewee #2 was asked what would be different on the reservation if the dam were never built, it was stated:

"I always wish sometimes when I lay there, if they didn't have that dam, a lot of kids would have went off to college. They would have went gradually. They already knew how to work."

The high school in Elbowoods was built around 1934. It was considered to be a BIA school. It contained classrooms and a dormitory. Many of the residents lived in the dormitory because it was hard for the family to get the children to school in the winter. The residents had strong feelings toward the loss of their high school. Many stated that it was hard because they could never go back for class reunions. Interviewee #3 stated:

"As a matter of fact, we graduated the 7th of May, had early graduation so people were already moving then."

Interviewee #5 stated:

“If you went to school in Elbowoods, the kids and stuff, you know Elbowoods had a big ranch operation there. They raised their own cattle and hogs and stuff. Then when you went to school and stayed in the dormitory part of your job, your chores was to take care of them animals.”

The loss of land led to other problems. As stated above, the meaning of the land, the attachment to the school, and economic loss were devastating to the community and Fort Berthold. However, many problems arose from the loss of these social pillars. The critical incidence that the individuals of Elbowoods experienced tore down the social structure that provided stability over the thousands of years. The solidarity the community enjoyed was put in jeopardy.

Theme Two and Supporting Evidence

Loss of the land attributed to the loss of self-sufficiency along with the loss of community gardens, loss of livelihood, ending with the reliance of welfare. The loss of the land caused high rates of unemployment by destroying farm and ranch land. Self-sufficiency was jeopardized because function such as “community gardens” and farming ones own food was lost. Through the use and enjoyment of the land the tribe was able to establish identity. This identity was a reflection of working the land for food and economic needs. The loss also put a tremendous strain on the economy of the community. The land was the employer that most all the people worked for.

Theme two: Loss of Self-Sufficiency

Loss of Community Gardens

As stated earlier these tribes have lived in this same area for hundreds of years. Early settlers, trappers, traders, and explorers have documented this fact. Interviewee #6 stated:

"The life was there, we never had a pile of money, but when we needed something, we got it. And I still don't understand how my parents done it. Nowadays if you don't have a hundred dollar bill, you're nobody or you can't do damn thing... We didn't have jobs, but there was a living there. You try to live that way nowadays and you'll starve. They destroyed a life that I will never see again."

The land provide for the needs of the community. Most families used the land on small scales to provide food for personal use. Interviewee #3 stated:

" My parents always had a big garden and my mother preserved the vegetables and whatever came out of the garden she preserved it. She had just quarts and quarts and then there was no refrigerator so she didn't freeze. The food she dried, the corn and the squash and then when butchered the beef they dried it and then she canned it. She put it in jars. Groceries weren't really problem like today... My parents had to milk cows, we lived off what we owned."

and also about the land:

" The soil was so rich, no matter what you planted it grew."

However, a few of the younger people felt that this was an opportunity to change from the old way of life. This life was hard and had very little conveniences and during

this time period in American history it wasn't always profitable. Many of the young had experienced luxuries that cities and other communities had. Interviewee #5 stated:

"I knew I wasn't going to be a farmer or a rancher because I was fed up to here with that uh... I was going to be something else other than a rancher or a farmer. The younger people too at that time seemed to have the same attitude... And when you move somewhere, a lot of the families all had big families too. Once you move and get started and stuff there, there really isn't that much land or livestock or anything to go around, you know, for everybody so..."

Interviewee #5 stated:

"The wheat we got we took a truckload or two into the flour mill. They would process the wheat, make into flour so we didn't have to buy flour. Beef w₂ had plus wild game. Most ranchers were self-sufficient back then. Electricity didn't come in there until about 52 or something like that. You see Elbowoods had their own generator plant. Most of the farms they did have electricity, they had those old wind chargers. They had a big water tower there you know."

Reliance on Welfare

Interviewee #1 stated in 1990:

"There was no- I never heard the word "welfare" before I went into the service. Never heard of welfare, everybody was independent, on their own, and everybody had a – each family had at least a team of horses, because we had to get our water at the river. And they had to haul their water, see, there was no convenience in them days, no phones or anything like that" (National Park Service, 1990).

In my interview with interviewee #1, ten years later, there was reinforcement of this prior independence by stating:

“Well no, there was no such thing as wages back then, they expected independence. Every family had their, I think I said it before, everybody had livestock to take care of and that’s how they made their living, livestock and the old gardens and a lot of us had fields, small fields, 40 acres. Forty acres was a lot of farm in them days you know, everything had to be done by horses.”

Interviewee #3 also mentioned that welfare was rare, if any, stating:

“I don’t even remember welfare. I don’t know if there was welfare in my days. But, I know today after I grew up, it’s all together different living than when I was a little girl.”

Interviewee #10 also stated:

“When people moved to towns like Parshall and the other towns, it would be tough for them because there was no way they could make a living. They had to go on welfare... It was a tough time for all the people. We had been pretty independent and self-sufficient... In Elbowoods we always called it relief, but it was very rare that anybody was on relief, it was unheard of almost.”

The diet of the tribe was radically changed. The food and meat was fresh and plentiful for all the community to enjoy. As stated by interviewee #2:

“He lost his livelihood, but still he farmed and I helped him farm...They planted corn and potatoes and vegetables by the acres, especially corn.”

The change from community gardens to government subsidized food has led to the most prevalent health problems today including diabetes, obesity, and hypertension.

The loss of self-sufficiency due to the dam caused the destruction of sense of community. Among these related problems are loss of community gardens that not only provided food and support, it also was a representation of the values that this community had. Lending a hand to some one in need was a way of life for the people of Elbowoods. The loss of land also means the loss of livelihood. This led to the reliance on welfare. This was a proud community. The pride was not arrogant, but they were proud of the work ethic and morals the community established over the thousands of years of living in this same area. As a result of these losses, the culture was directly affected. The identity that was preserved and passed on over all the years was in jeopardy.

Theme Three and Supporting Evidence

The building of the Garrison Dam stated a chain reaction of events on Fort Berthold and specifically, the community of Elbowoods. The losses of the land led to many problems that exist today. Cultural identity is key to everyone and every community. It seemed to be more significant to the people of Elbowoods. Identity was a combination of cultural beliefs, religion, morals, ethics, and cultural awareness. This was important to the tribe and community because this was the process by which traditions, songs, stories, and costumes were passed to the next generation to continue.

Theme Three: The Loss of Cultural Identity

Loss of Community

The sense of community was strong among the residents of Elbowoods. Helping each other and sharing was a way of life. Interviewee #6 stated:

"Elbowoods was really a gathering place for everybody. It was the center because the agency was there, the schools were there, the jail was there. It was

really, there was some stores, there were three stores. It was all cut out when the Garrison Dam came in."

Interviewee #1 stated:

"This district where I was raised, Independence, it was called, we had a thrashing machine, an old tractor, that wasn't given to us it was the people of the community it was before my time. I don't know how they got the money, but they bought, the community bought this tractor, the thrashing machine, that's how we got our wheat in the plow."

Interviewee #3 also stated:

"We lived in harmony, it was a lot different then it is today the dam has changed our ways of living."

Loss of Pride

The residents of the community as well as Fort Berthold had a very strong sense of pride. Pride in the sense of self-respect, a pride in family, the community, and their culture. The Dam took away pride from some residents and replaced it with despair.

Interviewee #9 stated:

"I think if you talk to people here you'll find that they think that we really are in trouble as a race of people, we really are. We lost a lot of our values, we're not very nice to each other, we do things that in the past we looked at as very bad like greed and selfishness all those seven great sins. It seems more rapid now, everybody is mean to each other, we don't help each other, we talk about each other... People will say that often we lost, it's gone, kids don't respect their

parents anymore, too much booze, too much lack of any kind of sense of pride in themselves."

Loss of the Family

The construction of the dam not only caused economic hardships, it also created family separation. Family played an essential part for the residents in creating the idea of community. Most of the residents considered others in the community to be family. The separation was hard for many, physically and mentally. Interviewee #4 stated:

"It was hard on everybody. To this day, people, some of them are still lonely today. It spread everyone all over. Some of them died you know, so lonely they died. Different people moved and it was hard for them, from Lucky Mound area. Friends were scattered all over. People used to stick together, now they are scattered all over. Family was always together."

Separation of the Clans

Clanship contributed to marriage, naming, family structure, and parental techniques. It was the backbone of the family structure. Interviewee #8 stated:

"The clanship was really alive then and everybody respected each other, really helped each other when someone got sick why then two or three ranchers would come and help them with their kids... There was a lot of respect in families not only toward each other, but toward other families and helping one another."

The life was hard on the bottomlands for the residents of Elbowoods. But it was full of pride. There seemed to be a sense of accomplishment and pride in this type of life. Interviewee #3 commented on this hard lifestyle by stating:

" I can remember shucking for farmers, they hired us out and we were all girls, my sisters and I. There was two sisters and myself. We shucked for this farmer and that fall we bought our own farm clothes, I mean our own school clothes, from farming... We were really encouraged to work. I remember my dad getting us up early in the morning he would say, my mother would say, that meadowlark is making fun of you. She would say it's making fun of you girls, get out of bed. So, we would have get up early and have to milk cows and have to do the separating of the milk. Then we always had chores to do."

Rising Problems of Alcoholism and Crime

The building of the dam sent a ripple through the community, which caused many problems. One of the problems that exist today is alcoholism. Before the dam, there were few alcohol problems reported on Fort Berthold. In fact, according to Meyer, when an inspector came in 1920, he claimed there was no drunkenness problem. There was also no problem reported with drugs or marriages. The reasoning behind this, according to the inspector, was the isolation of the community and it's high moral tone, which kept it away (1977). In an interview, done in 1990, interviewee #2 stated:

"I think the worst thing that ever happened to our tribe, the Three Tribes, is when they had to move from the bottom. There was a big change. They moved, we weren't used to cluster type like this. And there was no drinking among ????, and they cared for their children."

Ten years later, another respondent stated:

" In our days our parents disciplined us right and I never heard of drugs or not that many drinking. I don't remember too much drinking."

Interviewee #9 stated:

"There are things that we have now that we didn't have then, things like alcohol. When I grew up it was most of the men that drank. They would get a hold of some booze, put it in their car or wagon and go up and drink it all till it's gone. But now people tend to go to bars and sit around and go to the casino and sit around and it's become more family oriented and have parties in their homes. It's become more open and the acceptance is stronger. It used to be the wives would get very angry for their husbands getting drunk."

Much was lost due to the construction of the dam. Many of the former residents of Elbowoods feel there was a huge loss, which created many problems. The residents faced a critical incidence that destroyed the solidarity the community had experienced for thousands of years. The social pillars of community, pride, family, and clanship were changed by the governments planned intervention.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This "identification with place" is strongly represented in the interviews that were conducted. Throughout the three themes presented here, this concept is very much evident. The community and culture made and represented the people's identity. Consequently, they identified themselves and others through this pattern.

The community and its individuals experienced what is known as critical incidence. It was set up by the concept of planned intervention. Planned intervention was a "top-down" change occurring in the community or regions. This concept is related to social change, but different than gradual change arising from different sources. Over the years, sociologists have tried to identify patterns and people's reactions to social change. Underlining this concept of planned intervention there seems to be a strong influence by what is known as "the planners." Typically, these "planners" are the agencies or businesses that induce change to social structures, such as communities. This is the essence of Garrison Dam. The government, in this situation, acts as the "planners" while using the U.S. Corps of Engineers as a mechanism to accomplish the plans. These plans were developed for flood control and hydroelectric power.

The loss of land was devastating for the people of Elbowoods. The land itself carries many meanings that are spiritual to them. The loss was more than economic; it was as if a piece of them were being lost. Attachments were made to the gravesites that were lost along with the attachment to the school. Many spent their childhood there.

Schools are key in the development and stability of any community. The loss also put a tremendous strain on the economy of the community. The land was the employer for which the people worked. The loss disrupted and caused disorganization among the community and Fort Berthold.

Loss of the land attributed to the loss of self-sufficiency along with the loss of community gardens, loss of livelihood, and ending with the reliance of welfare. The loss of the land caused high rates of unemployment by destroying farm and ranchland. Self-sufficiency was jeopardized because function such as "community gardens" and farming ones own food was lost. Through the use and enjoyment of the land, the tribe was able to establish identity. This identity was a reflection of working the land for food and economic needs. However, most important was the direct tie to the land itself. Over time the tribe had established spiritual and personal significance to this area.

What are the true benefits of technology? If these benefits exist, who gains from them? Many times people need to look at the costs of progress. Here is an example of government promoting technology and progress for a price. The people of Elbowoods and the Fort Berthold were again sacrificed just like others had been many times throughout history. These problems still occur today. Loss of community can also be attributed with the loss of rural settlements. Look at the flooding in the Devils Lake region that occurs today. Again the Government is suggesting releasing the water on reservation land to benefit the farms in the area. Canada does not want the water to be diverted to their area and the farmers want the land back. So everyone looks to the Native Americans to give up land that they have lived and flourished on for hundreds of years.

I would like to conclude not in my words but the words of those who experienced this tragedy. I have not lived enough or gained the wisdom to take their voice. So I end with their voices finally being heard. Interviewee #10 stated:

"If Elbowoods existed today, it would be a shining example of Indian people. All three tribes were pretty much leaders... They were very progressive people."

Interviewee #8 stated:

"It was hard in those days...that's why they talk about it all the time. All the people that lived and all the footprints that was erased because of this water here, that's why today some of our elders are still lonesome, they still talk about it. Now the people are talking about wiping of the tears, wiping away the tears, until that happens, until we release the enjoyment that our elders had, but when they talk about it, it affects us so we take it until that happens and bringing back our values, our lifestyles, our clanships, the respect, everything that we have lost. If we can regain all those, the language, the Indian language, I think we can go forward. Fort Berthold Indian Reservation can go forward."

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Appendix A

**Questions on the Effects of the Garrison Dam on the
Community of Elbowoods.**

1. What year were you born?
2. Where were you born?
3. How large was Elbowoods?
4. What buildings were in the community?
5. What did most people do for work?
6. When did you hear about the Dam for the first time?
What was your reaction?
7. What year did you move?
And were?
How much time and notice was given?
8. What changes did moving have on the jobs and income?
9. How much support did the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers give?
10. What changes, if any do you see come from the Dam?
11. In what ways has the Dam changed you and your family?
12. How do you think the Dam changed the future of Fort Berthold?

Appendix B

Consent Form**The Effects of the Garrison Dam on the Community of Elbowoods.**

You are requested to participate in a research project on the effects of the building of the Garrison Dam among former residents of Elbowoods, North Dakota. This research is being conducted by Mr. MJ Gunderson a graduate student in the Department of Sociology at the University of North Dakota under the supervision of Dr. James Larson, Chair, Department of Sociology, University of North Dakota.

The purpose of this study is to explore the perspectives and experiences of former Elbowoods' residents after the loss of their community. The results of this research will help us better understand the nature of community loss and reorganization. It will also give you an opportunity to express your views and relate your experiences. This research involves in-depth personal interviews, which (with your permission) will be revealed. It will take about 45 to 60 minutes for the interview.

Please be advised that your participation is completely voluntary and you may stop the interview at any time you desire. Many people welcome the opportunity to discuss their experiences. However, this research does explore the nature of community loss and, therefore, may bring up upsetting memories. If you would like, a list of contact individuals from the Indian Health Service mental health services will be provided if the research proves to be too emotionally taxing.

The results of this research will be used in the completion of Mr. Gunderson's master thesis and may also be used toward a professional presentation and/or publication. The tape-recorded interviews and the consent forms will be locked in a secure location and only Mr. Gunderson will have access. After a period of three years, all materials will be destroyed.

Agreement:

I agree to participate in this research project and understand that my name and identity will be protected.

 Signed

Date

Mr. MJ Gunderson
 Department of Sociology
 University of North Dakota
 Grand Forks, ND 58202
 Phone: (701) 777-4003

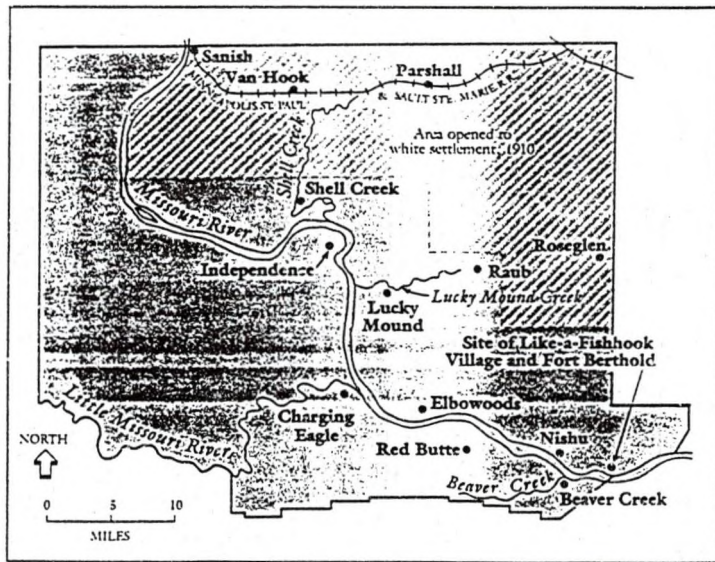
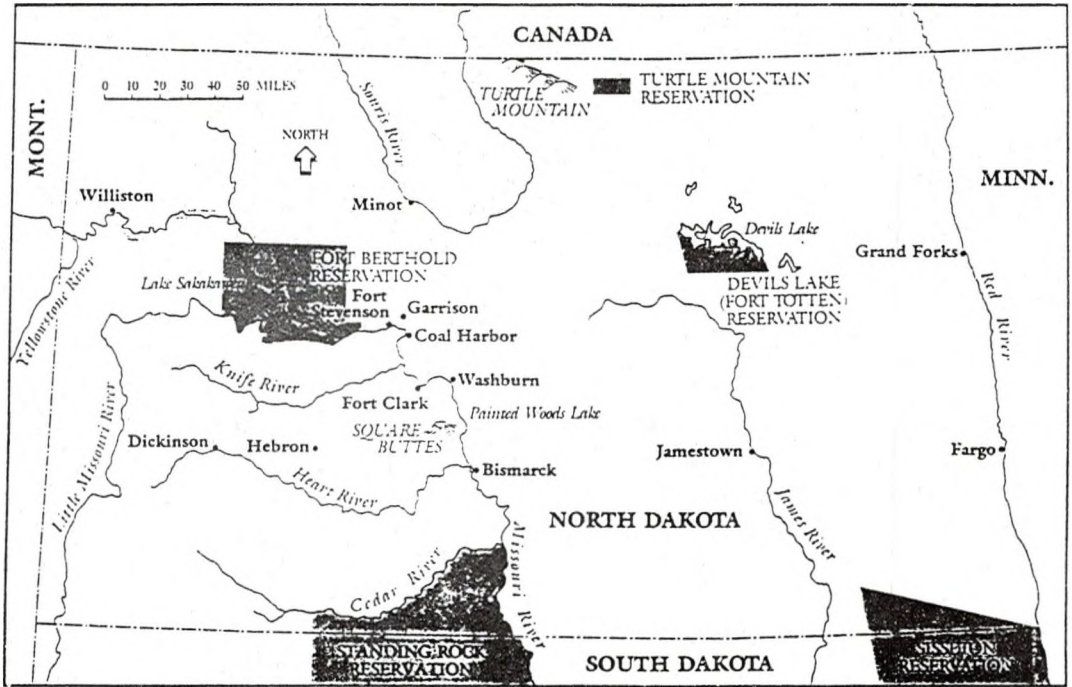
Dr. James Larson
 Department of Sociology
 University of North Dakota
 Grand Forks, ND 58202
 Phone: (701) 777-3158

If you have any further questions regarding this research please contact the Institutional Review Board, University of North Dakota at (701) 777 4279.

Appendix C

Map of North Dakota and Magnified Area of Fort Berthold Before the Building of the
Garrison Dam

Courtesy of Meyer, 1977



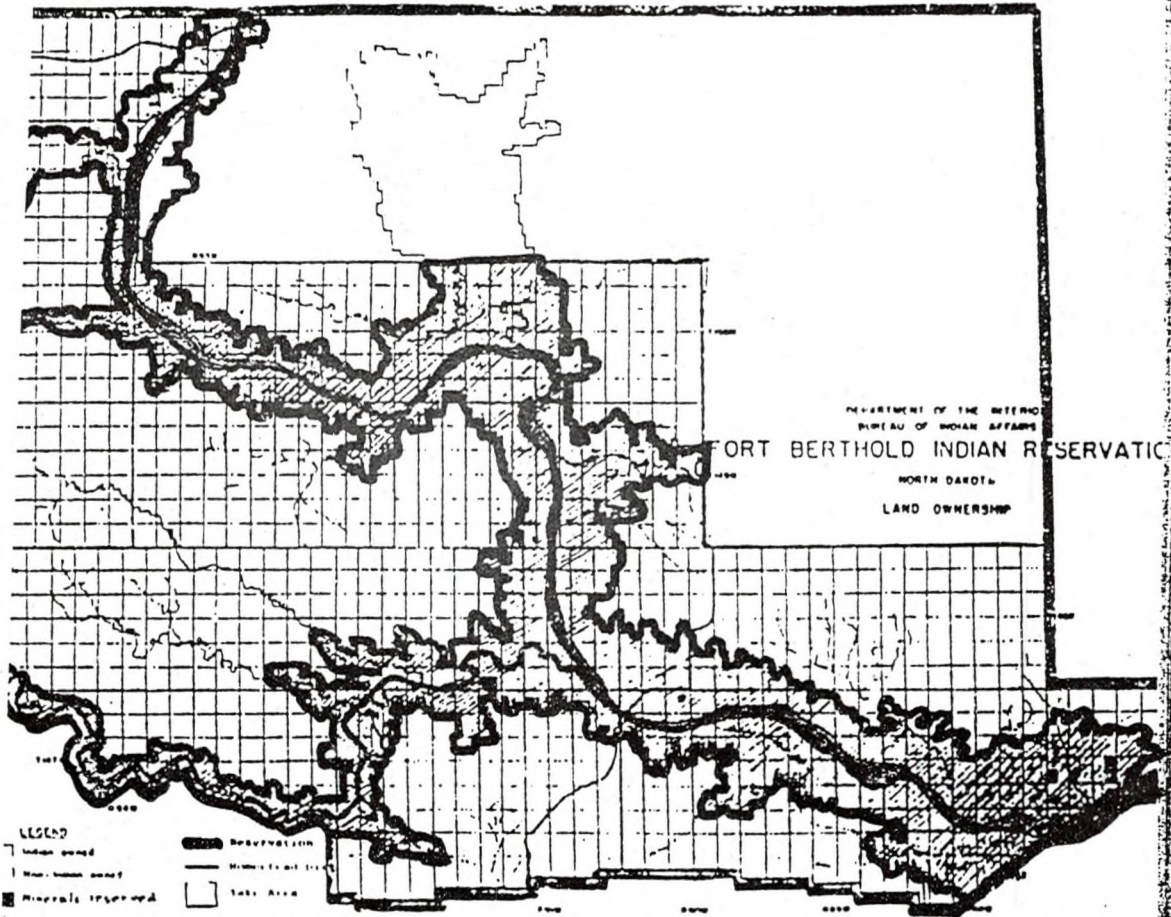
NORTH DAKOTA AND FORT BERTHOLD RESERVATION, 1915
 Based on Cram 1907 and Meyer 1977: opp p. 192
 The shaded area in the map of North Dakota shows the area flooded by Lake Sakakawea, created by the Garrison Dam in the 1950s.

Appendix D

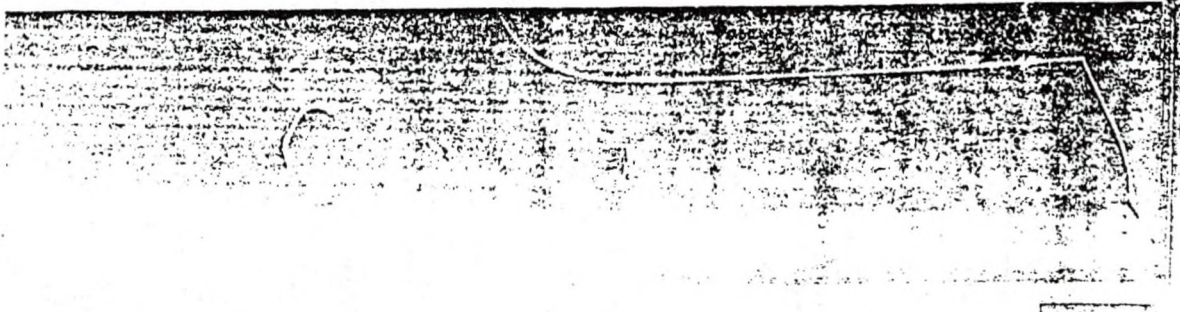
Map of the River on Fort Berthold

Dark area is were the ran before the Garrison Dam

Shaded area is the land flooded due to the Garrison Dam



27



Appendix E

Chart Identifying the Statutes Authorizing Acres of Land and Rights Taken from
Reservations in North and South Dakota

Courtesy of Bureau of Indian Affairs

COMPARISON OF FORT BERTHOLD'S TREATMENT AND
THAT OF OTHER MISSOURI RIVER TRIBES

Tribe & Project	Statutory Authority (Year)	No. of Acres Taken	Extent of Taking	Co
1. <u>Lower Brule Sioux</u>				
a. Big Bend Dam & Reservoir	76 Stat.698 (1962)	14,299	Tribe reserved all mineral interests except gravel and retained grazing privileges	\$
b. Fort Randall Dam and Reservoir	72 Stat.1773(1958)	7,997	All mineral interests revested in Tribe and grazing privileges retained	
2. <u>Crow Creek Sioux</u>				
a. Big Bend Dam & Reservoir	76 Stat.704 (1962)	6,284	Tribe reserved all mineral interests except gravel and retained grazing privileges	
b. Fort Randall Dam and Reservoir	72 Stat.1766(1958)	9,149	All mineral interests revested in Tribe and grazing privileges retained	
3. <u>Standing Rock Sioux</u>				
Oahe Dam & Reservoir	72 Stat.1762(1958)	55,994	Tribe reserved all mineral interests & retained grazing privileges	\$1
4. <u>Cheyenne River Sioux</u>				
Oahe Dam & Reservoir	68 Stat.1191(1954)	104,420	Tribe reserved all mineral interests and grazing privileges	\$1
5. <u>Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation</u>				
Garrison Dam & Reservoir	63 Stat.1026(1949)	154,000	All interests taken	\$1

* The Act authorized compensation equalling the difference between the sum and the award in the condemnation proceeding U.S. v. 9,148.69 of Land and the Crow Creek Tribe of Sioux Indians.

Appendix F

Pictures of the Community, School, Elbowoods, and Taken Areas

Courtesy of Marilyn Hudson



Clyde Baker, Alonzo Young Bear, Charles Blake, Jr.







E. O. MOHRMAN
SUFF.



DUANE VOIGT
TREAS.



IRMA CAMERON
PRES.



EUNICE BLOCKER
V. PRES.



GLENN DALE
SECRET.



MR. CAMPBELL
PRINCIPAL



PHYLLIS ODELDMAN

ELBOWOODS HIGH SCHOOL

CLASS OF 1950



GRETA YOUNGBIRD



FREDIA FOOTE



PAUL PARSHALL



ALFREDIA HAND



JOSEPH CHASE

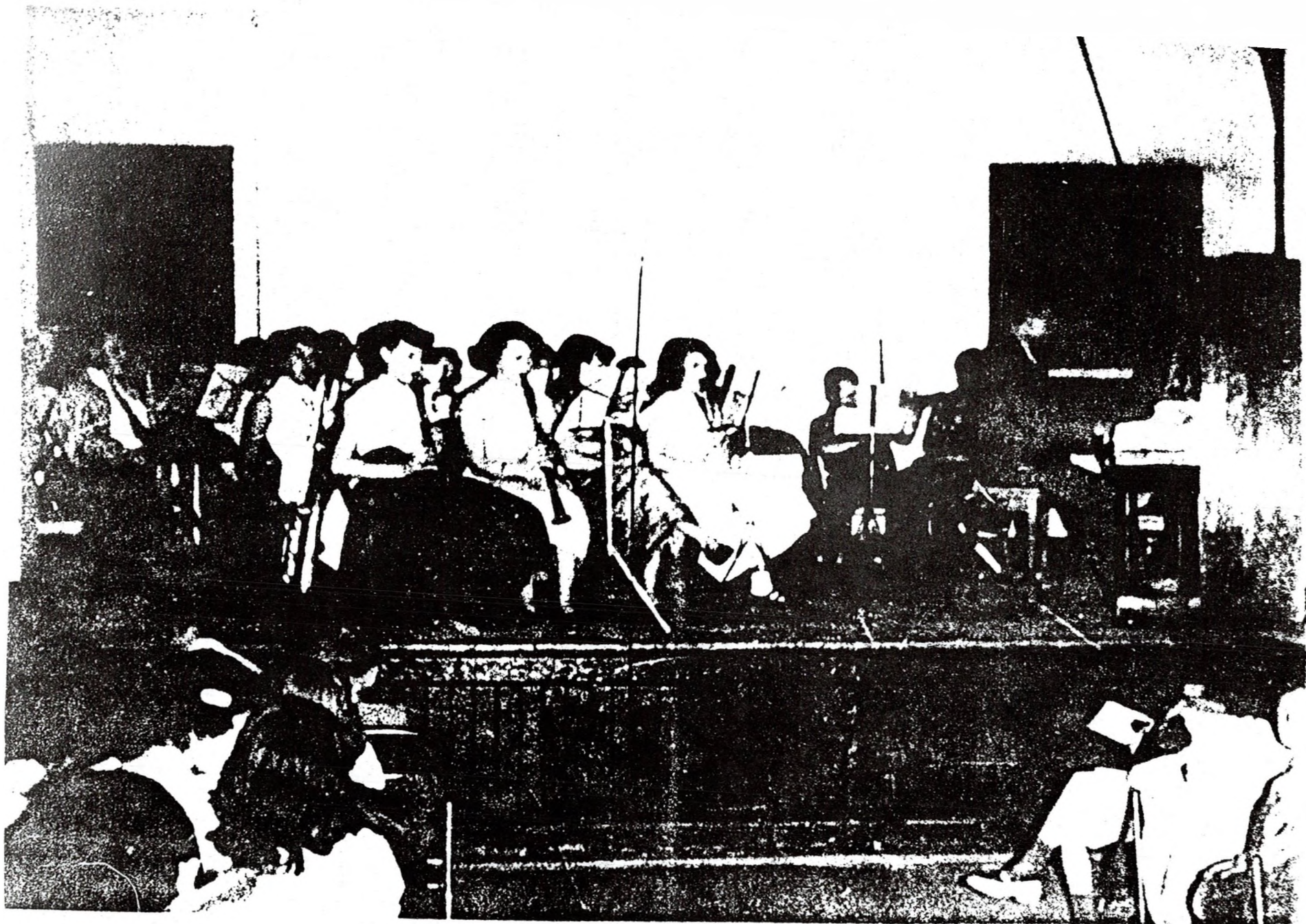


BERTHA BLUESTONE

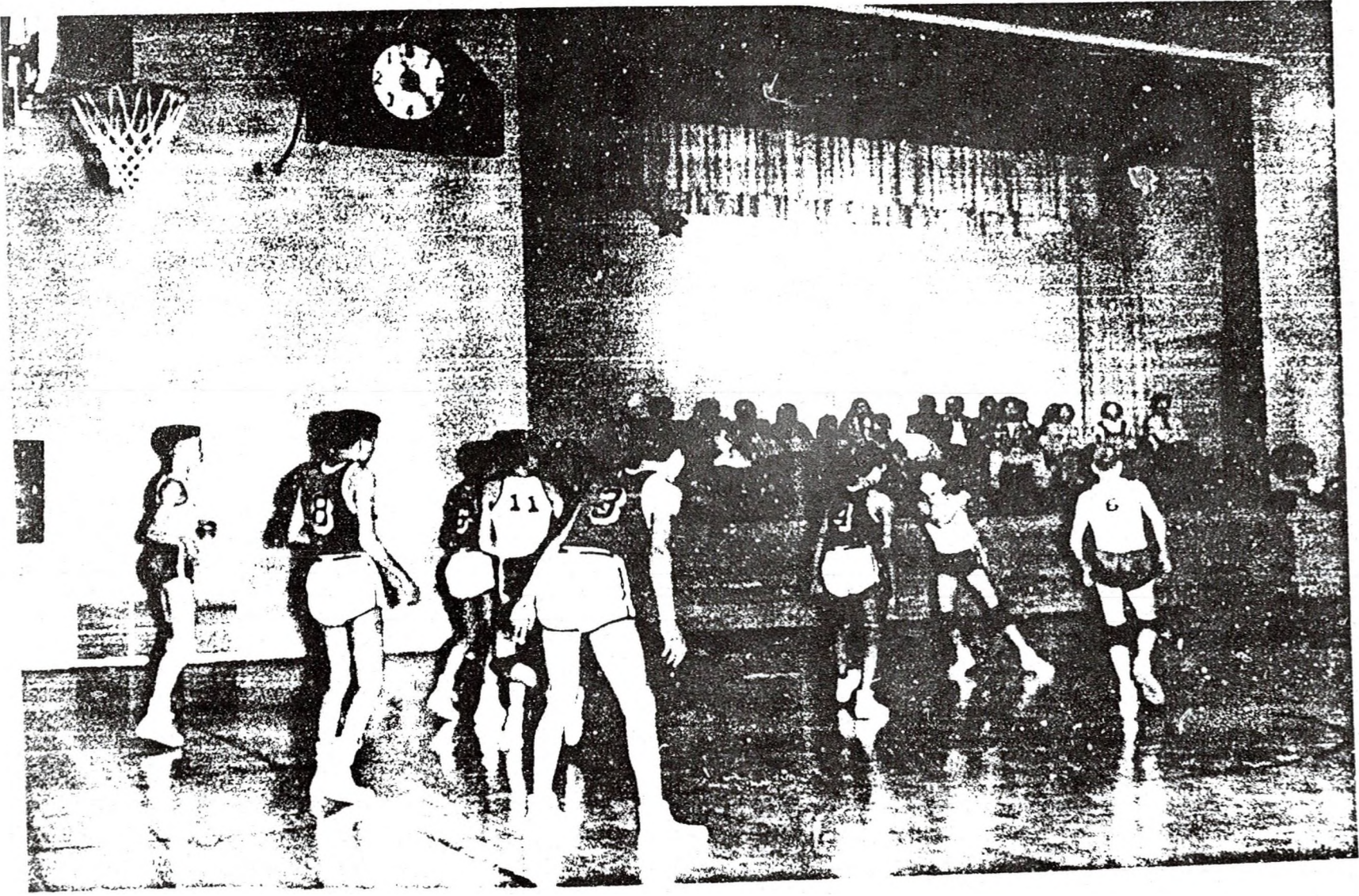


CLEMENT BAKER

Horsman Studio







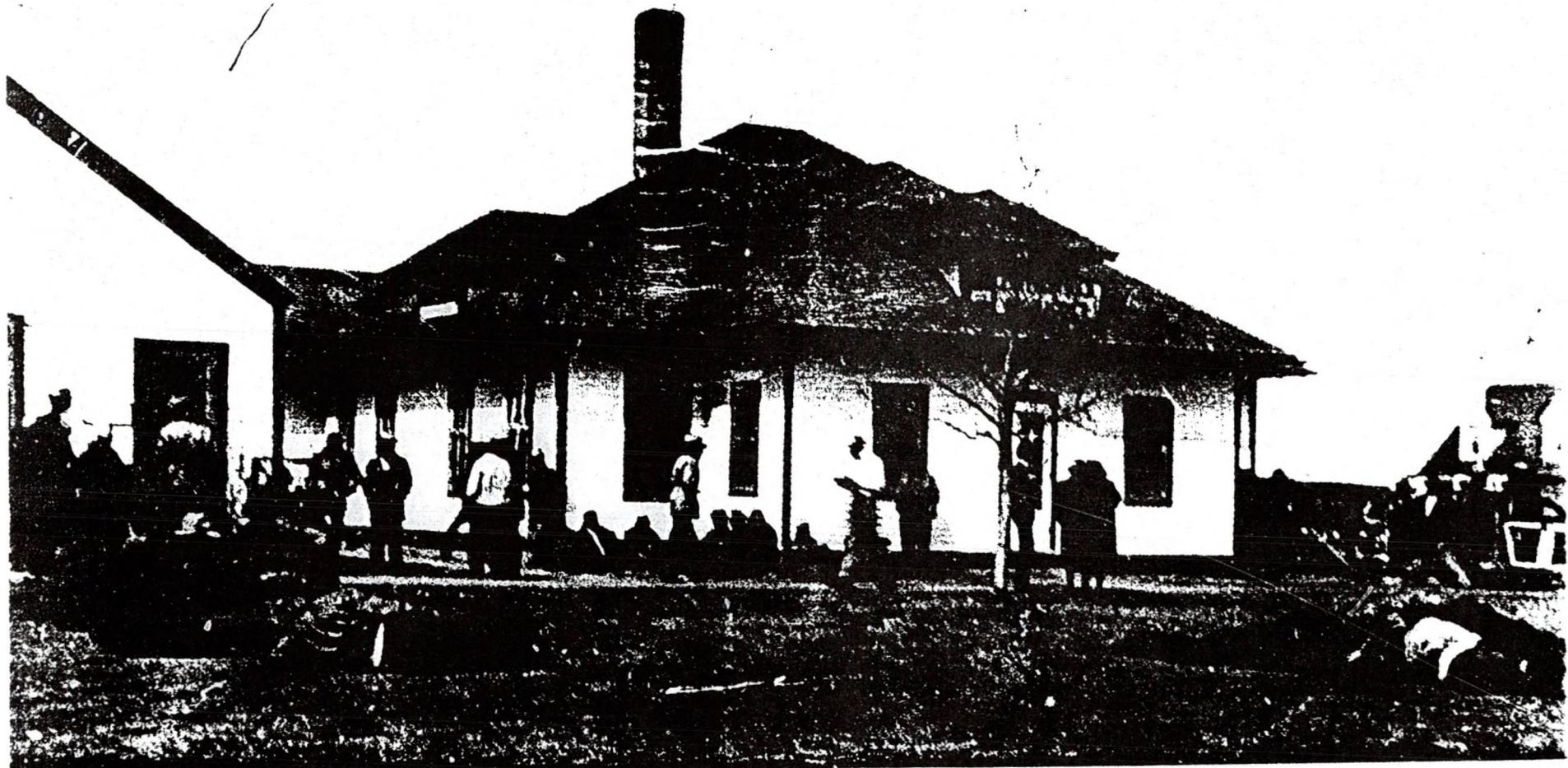
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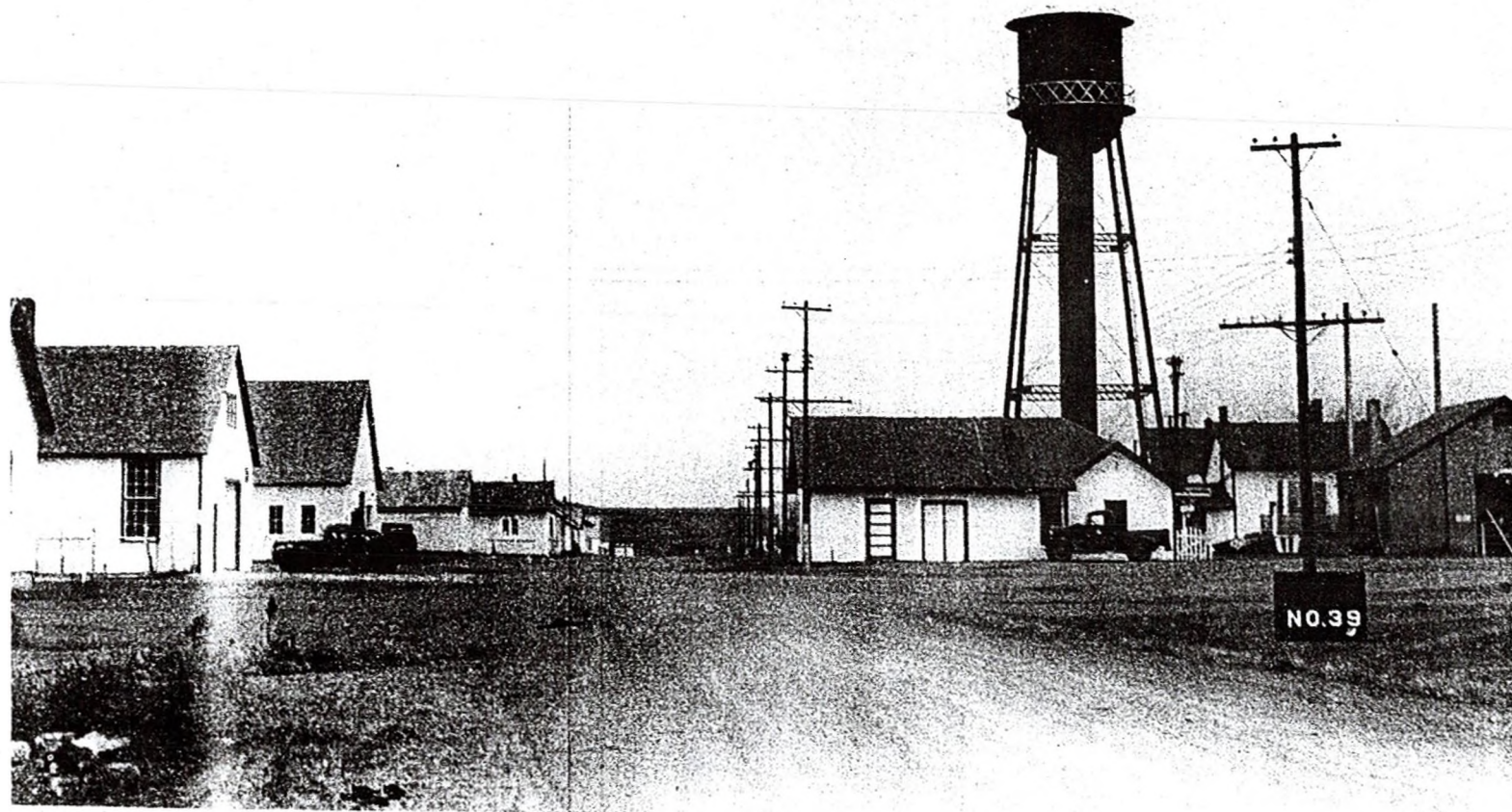






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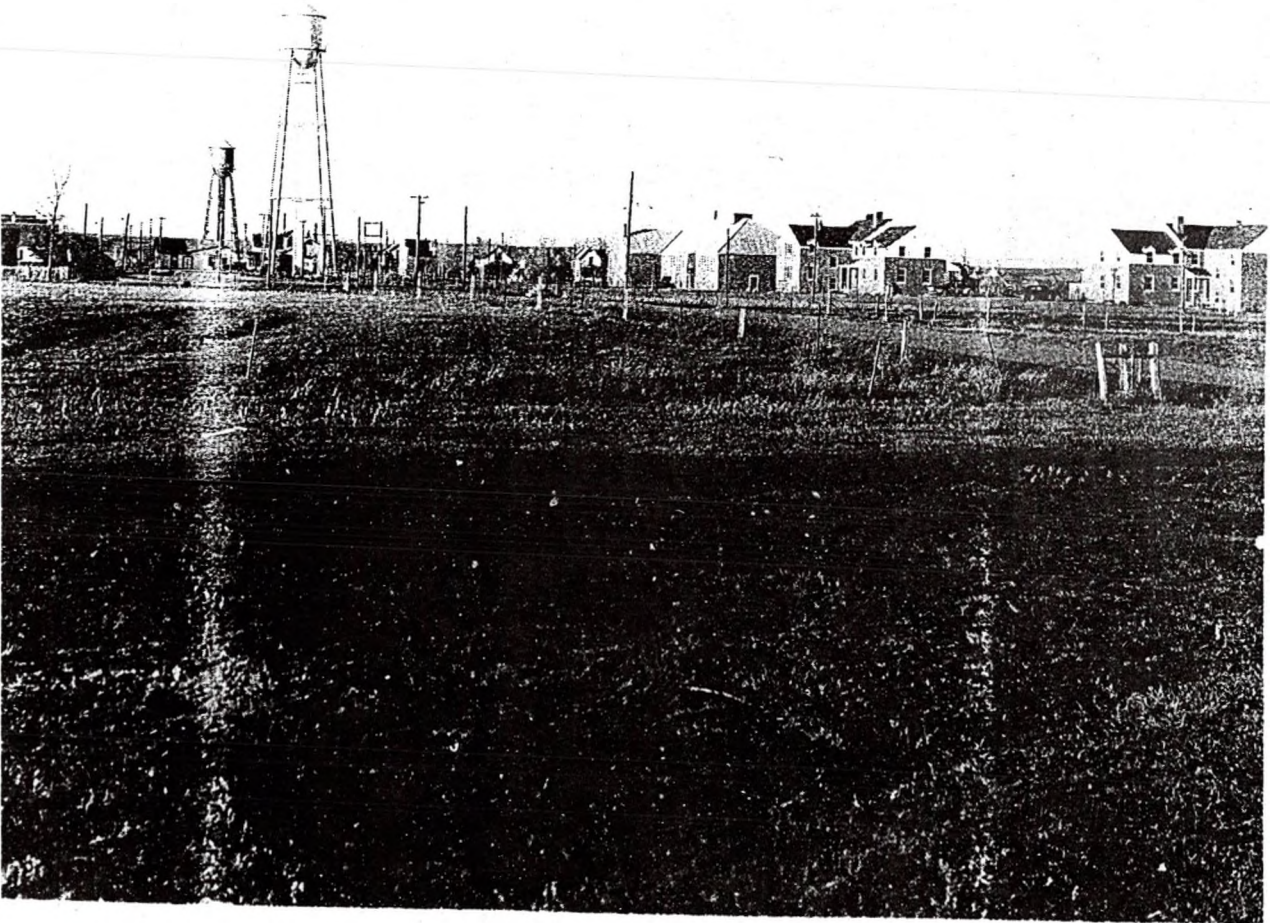
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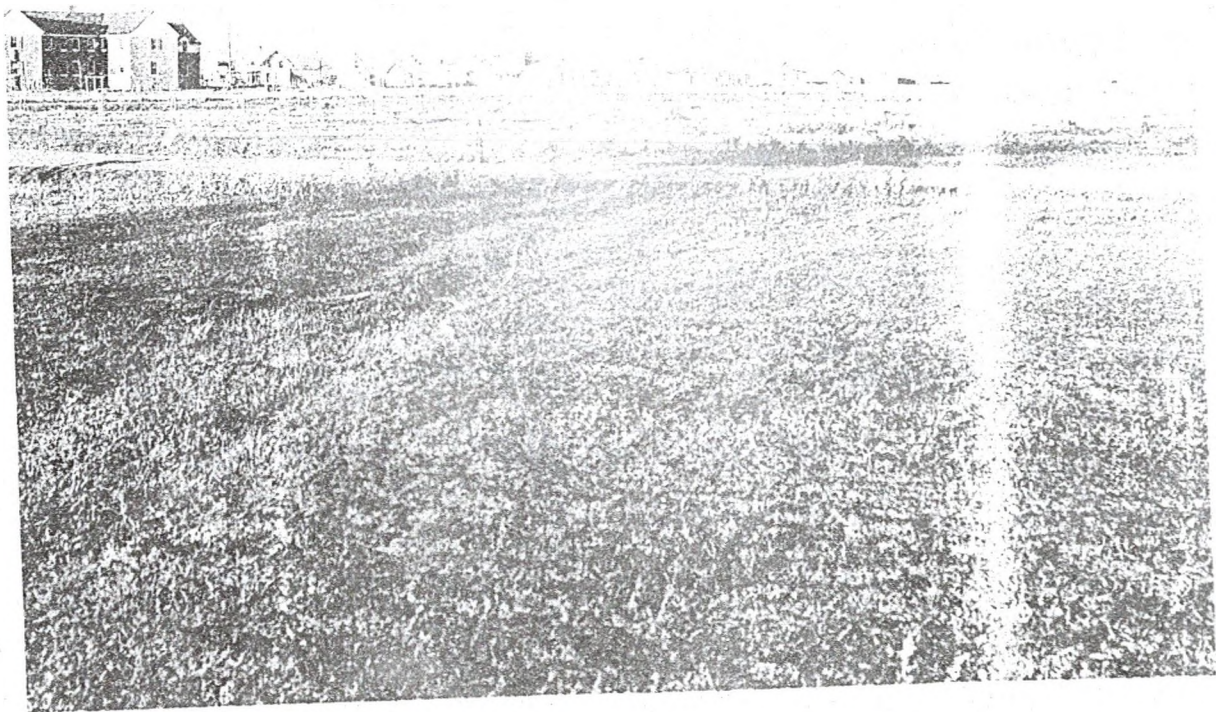
CATHOLIC CHURCH & KILN

PRINCE GEORGE





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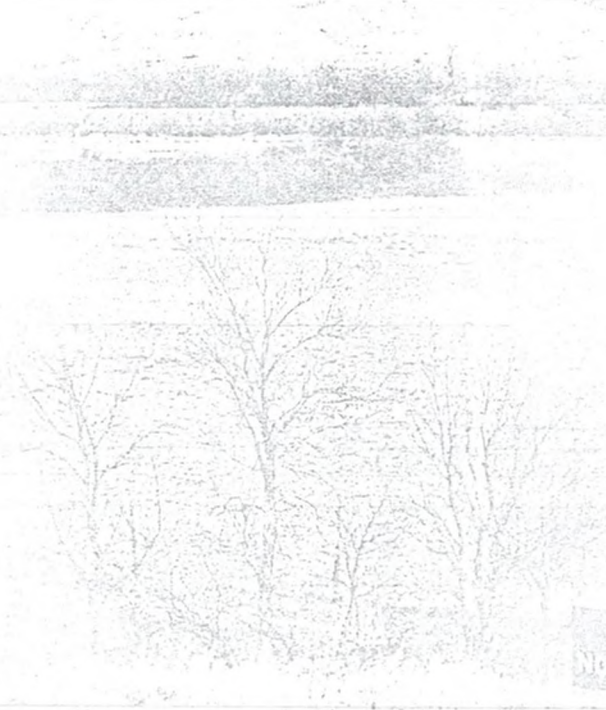


VIEW OF ELEGWOODS
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