THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE MANDAN, HIDATSA, SAHNISH (ARIKARA)

North Dakota Department of Public Instruction
Dr. Wayne G. Sanstead, State Superintendent
Bismarck, North Dakota

Front cover photos

Mandan men's moccasins, quillwork on Indian-tan leather
circa 1860-1869
State Historical Society of North Dakota
SHSND 9951

Hidatsa moccasins, quillwork on Indian-tan leather
circa 1880
State Historical Society of North Dakota
SHSND 12967

Sahnish mens's moccasins, quillwork on Indian-tan leather
circa 1890
State Historical Society of North Dakota
SHSND 10399

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Most of the research for the development of this guide was provided from several significant historical journals, traders' papers and ethnographic studies conducted in the early 1900s among the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara (who now call themselves Sahnish). Other resources have been made available through the work of reference staff and collections of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, Minnesota Historical Society, the State Historical Society of North Dakota and through books and materials on the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara. Most significant are the recollections of tribal oral historians, elders and members who shared their memories, knowledge and wisdom.

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RESEARCH/WRITERS:

Linda Baker, *Teacher, Mandaree Public School, Mandaree, North Dakota*

Dorreen Yellow Bird, *Community Journalist, Grand Forks Herald, Grand Forks, North Dakota.*

Cheryl Kulas, *Director of Native Education, ND Department of Public Instruction, Bismarck, North Dakota.*

Greta White Calfe, Yvonne Fox, Melvina Everett, Lena Malnourie, and Rhoda M. Star, *Sahnish Culture Society members, White Shield, North Dakota.*

REVIEWERS & CONTRIBUTORS:

Edwin Benson, *Halliday, North Dakota*
Roger Bird Bear, *Mandaree, North Dakota*
Mark Bluestone, *New Town, North Dakota*
Candace Bridges, *New Town, North Dakota*
John Charging, *New Town, North Dakota*
Maynard Fox, *New Town, North Dakota*
Marilyn Hudson, *Parshall, North Dakota*
Edward Lone Fight, *Mandaree, North Dakota.*
Adam Tony Mandan, *New Town, North Dakota*
Iris Bird Bear Obes, *New Town, North Dakota*
Curtis Young Bear, Sr., *Mandaree, North Dakota*
Sahnish Culture Society

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

- Migration
- Treaties and Treaty Making
- Reservation
- Boarding Schools
- Indian Policy and Federal Legislation

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Where did the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara people originate?
2. Over what period of time did their migration occur?
3. According to documented history, how long have the people lived in their present location?
4. How did the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara record the events of their existence?
5. What was the long-term effect of the treaties made with the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara?
6. How did these treaties affect others ?-e.g. United States, settlers?
7. What effect did language have on the treaty-negotiations process?
8. Why were reservations created?
9. What was the impact of boarding schools on the cultures and languages of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara?
10. What was the impact of federal legislation on the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara?

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INTRODUCTION

This Resource Guide is written for to provide information about the histories and cultures of the Three Affiliated Tribes - the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish.

The Tribes believe their presence in North America is from the beginning of time.

The Mandan call themselves "the *People of the First Man.*"

The Hidatsa were known as Minnetaree or GrosVentre. "Hidatsa" was formerly the name of a village occupied by these tribes. The term "Hidatsa" became a corruption of the word "midah-hutsee-ahti" translated meaning "house/ lodge made with willows." The name Minnetaree, spelled in various ways means, *"to cross the water."*

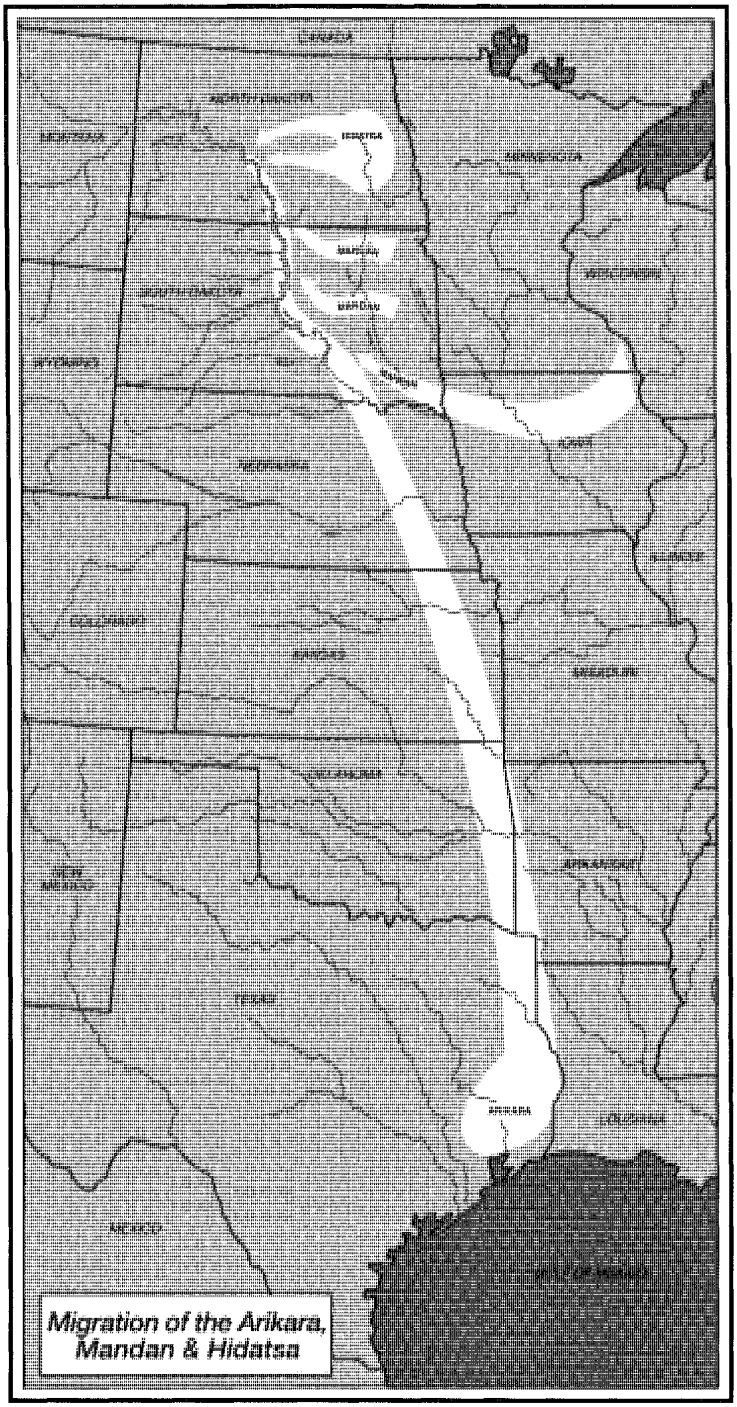


Figure. 1 Map of the migration of the Arikara, Mandan and Hidatsa to Fort Berthold, adapted from a map by Marcia Busch, in Cash, et al, 1974, p. 30.

Oral and written history say the names "Arikara, Arickara, Ricarees and Rees" were given to them by the Pawnee and other informants to describe the way they wore their hair. The name "Sahnish" is the chosen name used among themselves which means *"the original people from whom all other tribes sprang."* For purposes of this guide, the name of "Arikara" and its derivations which appear in treaties and in reference to legal documents, will be used to preserve historical accuracy. All other references to these people will use the term "Sahnish."

Although sharing cultures and histories for so long, the people keep a distinct sense of tribal relationships.

TRIBAL HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara live in the Missouri River area. Historians document the first tribe to occupy this area was the Mandan with the Hidatsa, and the Arikara moving up the river later. One group of Hidatsa came from the east.

The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara have separate and distinct narratives of their origins. The origins of the several bands within each group are separate. The Mandan indicate that there are two prevalent origin theories. One theory is that the Mandan migrated North along the Mississippi River area through southern Minnesota and northern Iowa to the plains in South Dakota. Archeological findings carbon date that the Mandan inhabited a village in the Heart Butte area about 900 A. D. Another theory is that the Mandan originated in the area some distance South of the Scattered village site in what is now Mandan, North Dakota. The Hidatsa moved from central Minnesota to the eastern part of what is now North Dakota near Devils Lake, and moved to join the Mandan at the Missouri River about 1600 A.D. The

Mandan and Hidatsa believe they were created in this area and have always lived here. According to anthropologists, the Sahnish people lived in an area that extended from the Gulf of Mexico, across Kansas, Nebraska and South Dakota.

Dates of migrations of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara have been determined by archeological investigation of village sites constructed along the Missouri and elsewhere. Many of these sites, although collapsed and abandoned long before, were excavated along the Missouri River during the 1950s and 1960s.

In 1995 the North Dakota Historical Society completed the Missouri Trench National Historical Landmark Theme Study that summarized the archeological investigation of the Missouri River area from southern South Dakota through North Dakota to Montana. Many of the sites were of Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara origins.

Ethnographers (people who study cultural societies) group people by the languages they used or were likely to be used by a single group at one time. Indian nations were divided into several linguistic groups. The Mandan and Hidatsa tribes belong to the Siouan linguistic group, along with the Crow, Dakota, Lakota, Yanktonai, Assiniboine, Iowa-Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, and Omaha-Ponca-Osage-Kansa. The Arikara (Sahnish) belong to the Caddoan linguistic group, along with the Pawnee, Caddo, Wichita, Anadarko, Skidi, Tawakoni and Waco.

This guide links the oral and written histories of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish to provide a more accurate viewpoint. The oral tradition preserved the history and ceremonies of the Tribes through a strict and sacred process, thereby adding to the validity of oral tradition.

THE MANDAN

The first known account of white traders/explorers with the Mandan is that of French trader, Sieur de La Vérendrye, in the fall of 1738, and Charles MacKenzie in 1772. Written accounts came from Merriweather Lewis and William Clark who arrived among the Mandan in the fall of 1804. Alexander Henry, a trader for the Northwest Company, came to trade fur with the Mandan in 1806. Later, Henry Brackenridge and Bradbury came to the area

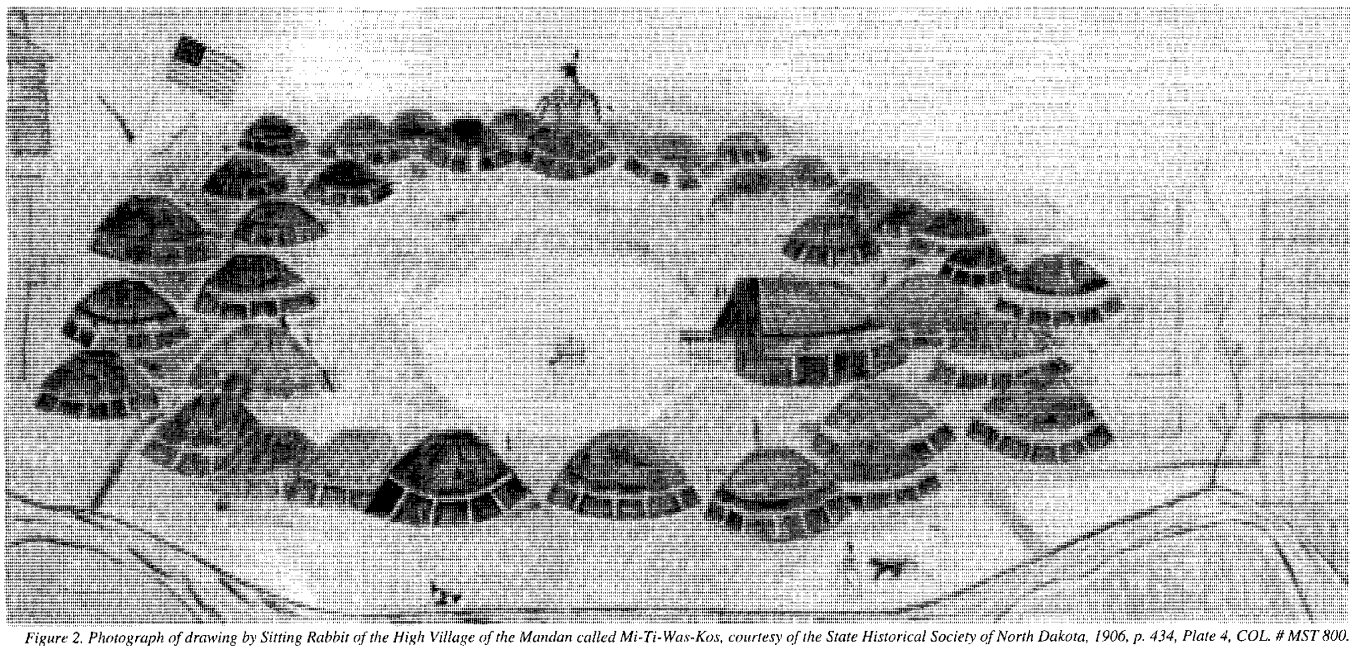


Figure 2. Photograph of drawing by Sitting Rabbit of the High Village of the Mandan called Mi-Ti-Was-Kos, courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1906, p. 434, Plate 4, COL. # MST 800.

together in 1810. The next visitor was the artist, George Catlin, who visited in the spring of 1833. Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied, spent the winter months of 1833-34 among the Mandan. (Will, Spinden, pp. 86-88).

According to La Vérendrye and Charles Mackenzie, the nine villages they visited in 1738 and 1772, were the oldest Mandan villages. Vérendrye described the Mandan as being in full power and prosperity. The Mandan had not yet suffered the losses by disease and war, which caused them to leave these villages.

Lewis and Clark wrote in their journals on March 10, 1805, "The Mandan formerly lived in six large villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River." Maximilian says, "After the first alliance with the Hidatsa, the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages at and above the Heart River." These villages were abandoned between 1772 and 1804. (Will, Spinden, p. 90).

The Mandan had a origin narrative of coming out of the earth. In relating their story to Maximilian, they came from the East out of the earth and entered the Missouri at the White Earth River in South Dakota.

The eastern origin corresponds with that of the rest of the Siouan speaking people to which the Mandans, both linguistically and culturally belong. The Ohio valley would seem to have served as a point of dispersal where the Plains members of the Siouan people are supposed to have moved in four successive migrations. The earliest groups to leave consisted apparently of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Crow. Of these the Mandan were probably a number of years ahead of the other tribes. The Mandans have vivid recollections of the coming of the Hidatsa many years later and established fixed villages on the Heart River. They describe the Hidatsa as a wandering people whom they taught to build stationary villages and to raise corn, pumpkin and other vegetables, and who soon moved up to the Knife River. (Will, Spinden, p. 97).

In the earliest historical accounts, the Mandan were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River. Vérendrye says they were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors. The goods they produced were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. Their villages were well fortified. The smallest village he visited had 130 lodges. Vérendrye's son visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large. There were at least 1,000 lodges in several villages. Lewis and Clark declared that in the two villages of 100 lodges there were 350 warriors. At this rate there should have been at least 15,000 Mandan in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified villages. (Will, Spinden, p. 99).

In 1700, the entire section of the Missouri from the Cannonball to the mouth of the Yellowstone was occupied by groups of Mandan, Hidatsa and Crow. The largest villages were near the mouth of Heart River. The Mandans were divided into bands while living at the Heart River. The bands were *Is'tope,* meaning "those who tattooed themselves"; *Nup'tadi* (does not translate), which was the largest linguistic group; *Ma'nana'r* "those who quarreled"; *Nu'itadi* "our people"; and *Awi'ka-xa* (does not translate).

THE NUPTADI, NUITADI AND AWIGAXA BANDS

The *Nuptadi* and *Nuitadi* bands of Mandan lived on both banks of the Missouri; the *Awigaxa* band of Mandan lived further upstream at the Painted Woods. All these bands practiced agriculture. These groups moved little until the close of the 18th century, when their populations were sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. Each village had an economic unit, hunting and protection for older remaining people, and each had a garden section.

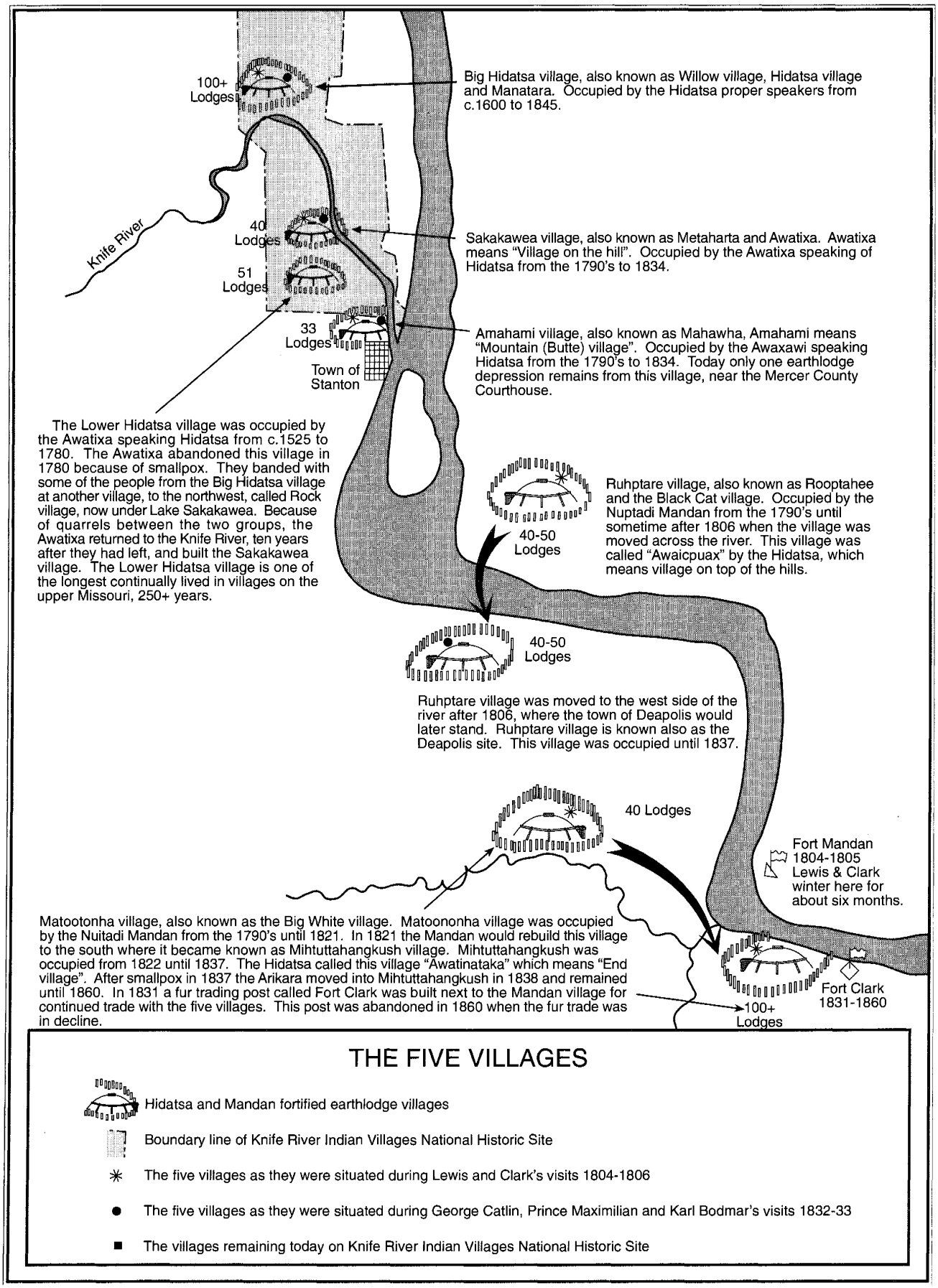


Figure 3. Map of the Five Knife River villages of the Mandan and Hidatsa at Knife River, as situated in 1832 - 1833 from a map by the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish Cultural Curriculum Review Committee, June 2001.

The Mandan had created an focal point of trade on the Missouri River in the Protohistoric period. The Mandan-Hidatsa Trade Center traded garden crops for centuries. Goods bartered on the plains reached as far as the West coast. Called the "Marketplace of the Central Plains," the Mandan established what was to be the forerunner of trading posts that came later to the area.

The Mandan prospered and grew powerful up to 1772. Six or seven of these villages were on the West side and two or three were on the East side of the river. In 1782, smallpox struck the villages on the East side of the river. The survivors then proceeded up the river some 40 miles where they settled in one large village.

The smallpox reduced the villages on the West to five. A great many Mandan had died. The five went up to where the others were, in the neighborhood of some Arikara, and settled in two villages. Reduced in number, an alliance was formed with the Arikara against the Sioux. All this happened before 1796 and is chronicled in Alexander Henrys' journal and in Henry Schoolcraft.

Lewis and Clark found the two villages one on each side and about 15 miles below the Knife River. Both villages consisted of 40 to 50 lodges and united could raise about 350 men. Lewis and Clark describe them as having united with the Hidatsa and engaging in continual warfare against the Arikara and the Sioux. The description given by Lewis and Clark agrees with the conditions two years later when Henry visited them.

In 1837, smallpox struck the Mandan villages again, raged for many weeks and left only 125 survivors. The Mandans united with the Arikara, many of whom intermarried. They separated, again forming a small village of their own at Fort Berthold. In 1850 there were 385 Mandans, largely of mixed blood living. There are only a few of the full-blooded Mandan left. The culture has changed, the language has changed, and as a nation the Mandan are practically extinct. (Will, Spinden, p. 101). These groups combined as the tribe was decimated with each smallpox epidemic. (Bowers, 1950).

THE HIDATSA

Accounts of recorded history in the early 18th century identify three closely related village groups. These groups were identified as the *Hidatsa Proper*, largest of the three, the *Awatixa*, a smaller group, and the *Awaxawi.*

The three Hidatsa village groups spoke distinct dialects. The largest of the three were the Hidatsa Proper *(Hiratsa)* whose own name for themselves meant "willows." The French and English traders called them Gros Ventre, mistaking them for an Algonquian-speaking tribe living in north-central Montana. A smaller group, the *Awatixa*, lived near the Hidatsa Proper. Lewis and Clark referred to them as the "Little Mentarre Village" in contrast to the "Grand Village of the Minetarrees." The most separate group, in culture and dialect, from the others were the *Awaxawi*, who lived further south of the Knife River and were closely associated with the Mandans. Another name traders and travelers used for this group was *Wiitas how nu*, a Sahnish term used to name all the Hidatsa groups, which translates both as "well dressed men" and "people of the water." (Matthews, 1877, p. 36ß).

During 1600-1700, these groups of Hidatsa moved westward, occupying sections of the Missouri and its tributaries. The *Awatixa* band of Hidatsa became agricultural and settled at the mouth of Knife River. According to the traditions of the Mandan and Hidatsa, the last migration was of a nomadic people who had lived northeastward of Devils Lake. This group separated after quarreling over the division of a buffalo. Those who moved farther upstream

along the Missouri and Yellowstone were the River Crow who became known as the "Paunch" Indians, those who remained near the other Hidatsa villages were known as the Hidatsa.

During the period of recorded history, beginning with Thompson in 1797 and continuing to 1837, the Hidatsa were three, independent, closely related, village groups whose size remained unchanged. Thompson visited these groups in their winter camps in 1797 and gave the following figures for households by village groups: Awatixa, 31 earth lodges and 7 tipis; Hidatsa, 82 earth lodges; Awaxawi and Mandan, 15 Awaxawi and 37 Mandan; Mandan 153 earth lodges. Thompson estimated the population to be 1,520 Mandans and 1,330 Hidatsa. Maximilian in 1833 estimated the total population to be between 2,100 to 2,200. (Bowers, 1992, p. 11).

Subsequent explorers and fur traders such as Mackintosh in 1771, LeRaye in 1802, Lewis and Clark in 1804-1805, and Alexander Henry in 1806 were aware of the different cultures of the three Hidatsa villages and the Crow. Catlin in 1832 did not recognize the *Awaxawi* as a separate tribe.

In 1833, Maximilian reported that the Hidatsa groups were in the same villages when Charboneau came to the Missouri in 1797. The *Awatixa* and *Awaxawi* were not living at the mouth of Knife River when Maximilian described an attack by the Sioux. This incident provides a date for the final union of the three Hidatsa village groups at the mouth of Knife River. There they remained in close associations until 1837 when they scattered to escape a second smallpox epidemic. (Bowers, p. 17).

THE AWAXAWI

The *Awaxawi* at one time, lived as nomads in the east, as agriculturists, and later at Devils Lake. They later lived downstream of the Heart River and beyond the Crow to the West and the other Hidatsa/Crow group to the northeast and upstream. They lived in the Painted Woods region around the Square Buttes where they remained on friendly terms with the Mandan. The *Awaxawi* were downstream near the Mandan of the Hensler-Sanger region where Lewis and Clark described ruins of their villages in 1804, near old Fort Clark.

Prior to the epidemic of 1782, they had few enemies. The Hidatsa hunted upstream from the earth lodge villages at and below Knife River of the Missouri. Here, between the Knife and Yellowstone, they were numerous enough to withstand attacks of the Assiniboine, who hunted in the area but rarely wintered on the Missouri River.

During this time, the *Awaxawi* moved upstream and attempted to build a permanent village above the Knife River only to be driven out by the Hidatsa Proper. War broke out between them that lasted three years. The *Awaxawi* moved downstream near Fort Yates and built a village near the friendlier Cheyenne. This conflict with the Hidatsa Proper and temporary residence below the Mandan was prior to 1782, as the *Awaxawi* were in the Painted Woods region during the first recorded smallpox epidemic. (Dunn, 1963, p. 159).

THE AWATIXA

Early history and migrations of Awatixa have them occupying positions on the Missouri, specifically around and upstream from Painted Woods. They have no traditions of permanent residence elsewhere. It was in this area that they believe the clans originated.

THE HIDATSA PROPER

The group known as the Hidatsa Proper lived on the North bank of the Knife River. They were an agricultural and nomadic group. Their territory ranged upstream along the Missouri, its tributary regions to the West, the Mouse River and Devils Lake regions to the northeast.

The Hidatsa Proper were recognized by Thompson to be formerly agriculturists living at the headwaters of the Red River. They were a confederation of nomadic Hidatsa who came from the north to settle near the Mandan, where they adopted agriculture and permanent villages.

At the close of the 18th century, Canadian fur traders from the North, and St. Louis traders from the South, reported that the Hidatsa had 2,000 members living in three villages located near the mouth of the Knife River close to the two villages of the Mandan.

During the years 1804, 1832, 1833 and 1834, travelers to the Knife River villages indicated these villages remained the same since 1796. There was no change until the epidemic of 1837, when the survivors of the three villages formed as one on the Knife River. They remained there until 1845, when the Hidatsa and the Mandan moved up the Missouri and established Like-a-Fishhook Village (Matthews, 1877, p. 40).

THE SAHNISH (ARIKARA)

The oral history of the Sahnish people is documented in sacred bundles and is verified by archeological findings. Ancient objects and ceremonies are part of the oral history of the people. The Sahnish history has its roots in the South central part of North America where numerous village sites were found. Oral history tells of "Closed Man" who brought these villages together in a union to allow freedom for religious practices. He helped each village and their sacred bundle have an assigned position. Archeologists confirm there was a drawing together into large villages on the Elk Horn River in what is now called Omaha, Nebraska, at the end of the prehistoric and beginning of the protohistoric period.

In 1714, explorer "Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont, who spent several years with the Sahnish, described three Sahnish villages on the West bank of the Missouri above the Niobrara River and 40 villages still farther up river on both banks. By 1723, the Sahnish had gone up the Missouri into South Dakota near the Arickara River (called Grand River today). In 1738, Pierre de Varness Gaultier de La Vérendrye, a French fur trader from Montreal, seeking a route to the Pacific Ocean, reported villages of the Panaux (Skidi) and Panai (Sahnish) living a day's journey from the Mandan villages near the mouth of the Cannonball River. In 1743 La Vérendrye's son arrived at the Sahnish villages at the mouth of the Bad River and was met by the Little Cherry Band of Sahnish. La Vérendrye commemorated the event by planting a tablet that today is kept in a museum at Pierre, South Dakota.

Jean Baptist Trudeau, a French fur trader, encountered the Sahnish living at the mouth of the Grand River around 1794-95. Trudeau was the first trader to live with the Sahnish for a long period of time.

Their westward movement has sometimes prompted historians to promote the myth that the "Arikaras seemed to have wandered aimlessly up the Missouri River." According to Sahnish oral historians, the extensive movements of the tribe were not at random or without purpose, but was the westward migration in fulfillment of the directive given to them by *Neesaau ti naacitakUx*, Chief Above, through an ancient tradition and from a sacred being called "Mother Corn." (Dorsey, 1904).

Lewis and Clark encountered the Sahnish people at the mouth of the Grand River in 1804, and found them living in three villages that numbered about 3,000. The first village was on an island two miles above the Oak Creek and contained about 60 lodges. The whole island was under cultivation. The other two villages were on each side of a creek, which from its references, appears to be the Cottonwood Creek of today.

WAR OF 1823

A part of a national policy to show Indian nations the strength of the United States, the government requested that tribal people be brought to the East as representatives of their nations. In some cases, it was an effort on the part of the explorers and traders to showcase their discoveries.

The result of this policy can be seen with the incident with Leavenworth. The incident began when explorers Lewis and Clark negotiated the trip that sent the Sahnish village chief, *Ankedoucharo* to Washington, D.C. where he died. There was no explanation of how and why he died. Lewis and Clark, fearing the wrath of the Sahnish, did not tell them until a year later. When the Sahnish found out about his death, they became rightfully angry. President Thomas Jefferson tried to appease the Sahnish with the following eulogy:

> *He (Chief Ankedoucharo) consented to go towards the sea as far as Baltimore and Philadelphia. He said the chief found nothing but kindness and good will wherever he went, but on his return to Washington he became ill. Everything we could do to help him was done but it pleased the Great Spirit to take him from among us. We buried him among our own deceased friends and relations. We shed many tears over his grave. (Delegates in Buckskins).*

The President's explanation did not impress the Sahnish. For the next twenty years they were hostile to white people. The inexplicable death of their chief was the major reason for their so-called belligerence.

The most notable of these hostilities was in the 1823 battle where the Sahnish took revenge for the death of their chief on General Ashley and his men who were coming up the river from St. Louis. The Sahnish killed several men, took some of their goods, and set their boats adrift in the river. The attack angered the white military forces and they set out with soldiers, artillery, cannons and 800 to 900 Sioux for Leavenworth to "teach the Arikara (Sahnish) a lesson." (Leavenworth Journal).

The Sahnish had fortified their villages well. The Sioux were first into the battle, and when they met the Sahnish, they both lost lives. The Sioux, fearing Leavenworth was losing the battle met with the Sahnish. It was presumed they wanted to join the Sahnish. They then left the battle taking with them corn and other crops of the Sahnish leaving Leavenworth's forces to their own tactics. The Sahnish were surrounded by the United States military who lobbed cannonballs and other artillery into the village of men, women, and children. The Sahnish, realizing they were outnumbered and at risk, began negotiating for surrender. Before the battle could be settled, every man, woman, child, horse, and dog disappeared during the night.

This time in history was a turning point in the relations between the Arikara and whites. Prior to this battle, traders and travelers had described the disposition of the Arikara towards the whites as "friendly." After this war, there were reports of hostilities and murders on both sides. The result of the battle infuriated the traders who further antagonized the Arikara worsening the already deteriorating relationship between the Arikara and the whites.

On June 10, 1833, George Catlin passed the Arikara villages at the Grand River but did not come ashore because he considered them hostile. He sketched their villages from the deck of the steamer "Yellowstone." That same year, the Sahnish left the banks of the Missouri River after two successive crop failures and conflicts with the Mandan. They rejoined the Pawnees in Nebraska on the Loop River, where they stayed for three winters. Because this location made them susceptible to attack by the whites and the Sioux, after only a few years, the Arikara moved back to the Missouri River area.

Upon their arrival back to the Missouri River area, they were stricken with smallpox. In June 1836 and into 1837 the Arikara people were decimated by the third epidemic of smallpox at their village below the Knife River near Ft. Clark.

In 1856, the fourth smallpox outbreak occurred in the Star Village at Beaver Creek. The smallpox outbreak and the constant raids by the Sioux forced the move in August of 1862 of some Arikara to Like-a-Fishhook Village, while some remained at Star Village at Beaver Creek.

Their bout with smallpox was the final blow that left the Arikara people weak. They lost almost half of their population. Later, fire destroyed the old Mandan lodges, and they built a new village on the site of the old Mandan villages and remained there until the abandonment and destruction of Fort Clark in 1861. In 1862, the Arikara moved up to join the Mandan and Hidatsa at Like-A-Fishhook Village.

THE THREE TRIBES

The Mandan, Hidatsa & Arikara maintained separate bands, clan systems and separate ceremonial bundles. After the devastation of the small pox epidemics of 1782, 1836 and 1837, similar societies among the tribes evolved for economic and social survival.

The three tribes lived in earth lodges, were farmers, hunted wild game and relied heavily on the buffalo for food, shelter, clothing and animal parts for making various utensils and garden tools. They maintained a vast trading system and were considered middlemen by neighboring tribes with different types of trade products.

EPIDEMICS

After European contact, the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish were subjected to several devastating smallpox epidemics that nearly destroyed them. They had no immunity and were trusting. Unprotected from these diseases, they became infected. Whole families, clans, specific bands, chiefs, spiritual leaders and medicine men died quickly, taking with them many of their social and spiritual ceremonies and clan rites.

> *The great plague of smallpox struck the Three Tribes in June of 1837, and this horrible epidemic brought disaster to these Indians. Francis A. Chardon's journals state that on July 14, a young Mandan died of smallpox and several more had caught it. The plague spread with terrible rapidity and raged with a violence unknown before. Death followed in a few hours after the victim was seized with pain in the head; a very few who caught the disease survived. The Hidatsa scattered out along the Little Missouri to escape the disease and the Arikara hovered around Fort Clark. But the Mandans remained in their villages and were afflicted worst; they were afraid of being attacked by Sioux if they ventured out of their villages. By September 30, Chardon estimated that seven-eighths of the Mandans and one-half of the Arikara and Hidatsa were dead. Many committed suicide because they felt they had no chance to survive. Nobody thought of burying the dead, death was too fast and everyone still living was in despair. The scene of desolation was appalling beyond the conception of the imagination. The Mandans were reduced from 1800 in June to 23 men, 40 women, and 60 to 70 young people by fall. Their Chief, Four Bears, had died. (Shane, 1959, p. 199).*

On July 28, 1837, Chardon translated from Mandan into English the words of Four Bears: "the second chief of the Mandans was the brave and remarkable Four Bears, life-long friend of the whites, recipient of the praises of Catlin and Maximilian, and beloved by all that knew him." Now, as his people were dying all about him, he spoke:

> *My friends one and all, listen to what I have to say — Ever since I can remember, I have loved the whites. I have lived with them ever since I was a boy, and to the best of my knowledge, I have never wronged the white man, on the contrary, I have always protected them from the insults of others, which they cannot deny. The Four Bears never saw a white man hungry, but what he gave him to eat, drink, and a Buffalo skin to sleep on in time of need. I was always ready to die for them, which they cannot deny. I have done everything that a red skin could do for them, and how have they repaid it? With ingratitude! I have never called a white man a Dog, but today, I do pronounce them to be a set of black-hearted Dogs, they have deceived me, them that I always considered brother, has turned out to be my worst enemies. I have been in many battles, and often wounded, but the wounds of my enemies I exalt in, but today I am wounded, and by whom, by those same white Dogs that I have always considered, and treated as Brothers. I do not fear Death my friends. You know it, but to die with my face rotten, that even the wolves will shrink with horror at meeting me, and say to themselves, that is the Four Bears, the friend of the Whites -Listen well what I have to say, as it will be the last time you will hear me. Think of your wives, children, brothers, sisters, friends, and in fact all that you hold dear, are all dead, or dying, with their faces all rotten caused by those dogs the whites, think of all that my friends, and rise up all together and not leave one of them alive. The Four Bears will act his part. (Abel, p. 124, 1932).*

After the devastation of the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara combined forces for protection, economic and social survival. They still maintained separate ceremonies, clan systems and bands and maintained their cultural identity.

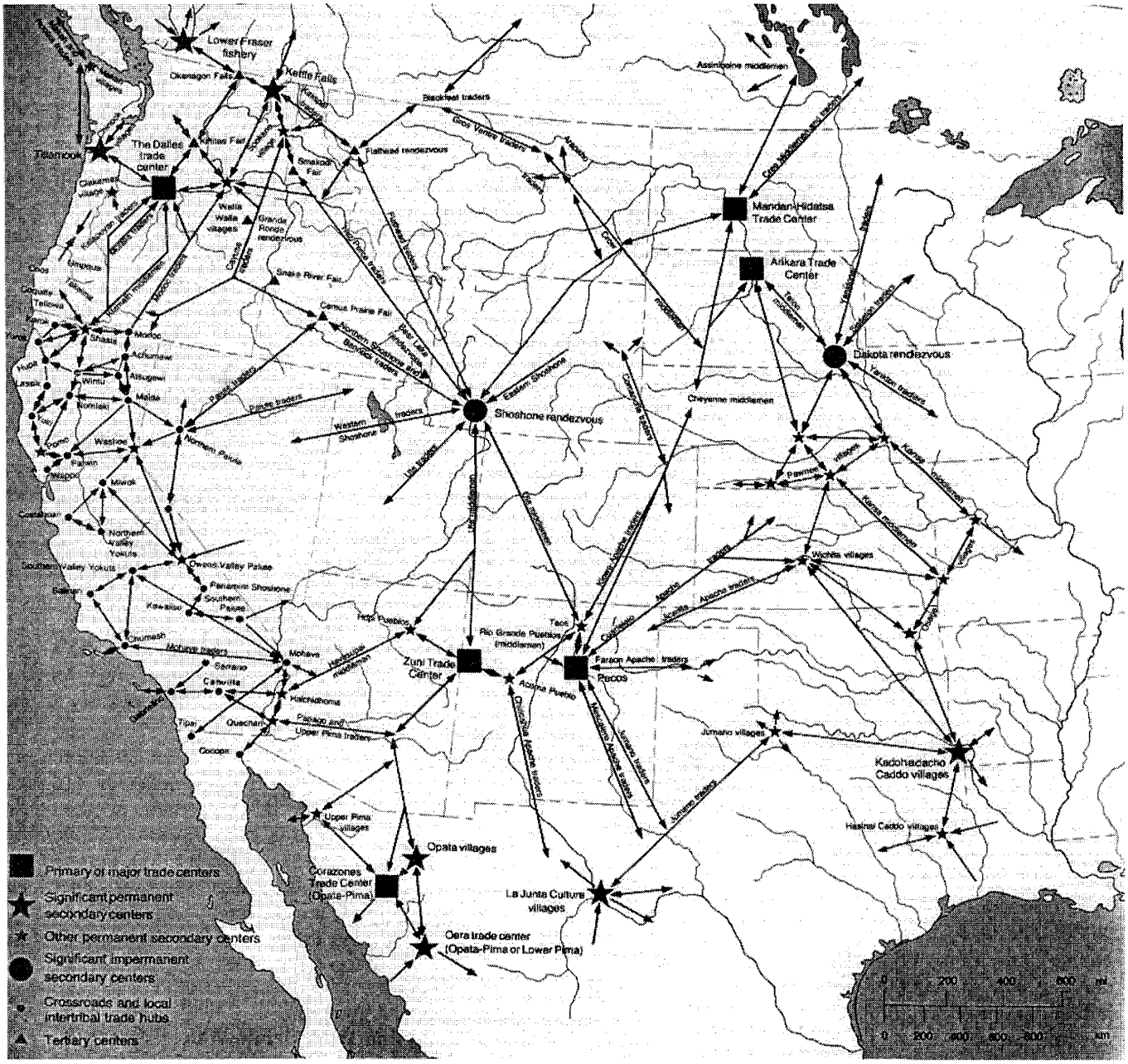


Figure 4. Primary trade centers for the Southwest and Plains, by NR Wood, 1972, 1980, from Swagerty, in the Handbook of the North American Indians, Volume 4-, p. 352.

TRADE

Centuries before Euro-American penetration of the Far West, Native Americans had established networks of trails and trade relationships (fig. 1). Prized trade commodities, such as marine shells, obsidian and turquoise traveled hundreds, and in some cases, thousands of miles from their origins. Among closely related tribal groups, intra-regional exchange of commodities bearing common social and ceremonial value was well organized throughout the continent. In addition, certain places served as important "trade centers" (Ewers 1968), with routes to other elaborate, "trade nets." (W.R. Wood 1972, 1980).

The tribes of the Mississippi River and West were linked by a web of commercial relationships prior to European contact. Indian-White trade relations were an outgrowth and creation of Native trade patterns rather those of European design. (Ewers, 1968).

Pre and protohistoric patterns of Indian trade persisted at traditional primary and secondary centers. Although later modified by European ideas and commodities, inter-Indian trade among the Plains, Southwest, and Great Basin tribes in historic times was significant (vol. 9:201-205, vol. 11:238-255).

It is not clear how many and from what distance separate groups traveled to the trading places of the Missouri River (Bowers, 11950:14-118; W.R. Wedel 1961:181-193), however by 1805 Crow, Assiniboin, Plains Cree, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache and Comanche of the Plains traded dried meat, deer hides, bison robes, mountain sheep bows and other leather goods for garden produce and Knife River flint at the Mandan-Hidatsa center and were occasionally joined by bands of Teton Sioux at the Arikara center on a regular basis (Ewers 1968: 17-18; Wood and Thiessen 19855:4-5).

All major trade centers were located among established and sedentary native populations with surplus-abundant economies able to selectively harvest and trade food and other commodities.

On the northern Plains, well before horses and European trade goods intensified the frequency and diversity of intertribal exchanges, a self-sufficient and surplus-abundant trading system as elaborate as that of the Southwest had been long established. The primary focuses of this system were the earth lodge villages of the Mandan-Hidatsa near the mouth of the Knife River in present day North Dakota and the Arikara near the mouth of the Grand River in present day South Dakota.

The geographic location was as a valuable resource as was the craft specialization that enabled the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara to assume the position of middlemen linking riverine horticulturalist with up-land hunters (Ewers 1954; 1968:14-33). This East-West network was labeled the Middle Missouri System (W.R. Wood 1972, 1980).

FUR TRADE

The significance of the fur trade was an inextricable part of Indian-White relations. Euro-American efforts to find and extract resources from lands occupied by Indian tribes had its greatest impact on Indian tribes universally.

Among the more extractive Industries was the fur trade. (Chittenden 1902; Innis 1962; P.C. Phillips 1961). The fur trade of the Far West extended and was built upon long established Indian trade networks that involved the exchange of numerous commodities in addition to undressed pelts and hides. Second, there is no single contact experience or pattern of response in the Mississippi River area and West even within culture areas or among close linguistic relatives.

This relationship was felt in other than economic terms. The ecological impact of commercial fur hunting was greatest on previously stable ecosystems (Wishart 1970; Kay 1979), the cultural impact because of the significance fur-bearing animals played in the mythology, religious observances, diets and material cultures of various Native Americans societies.

The trade may well have been the most important meeting round between Indians and Whites from first encounter to the beginning of the reservation era (Peterson and Anfinson 1984).

The role and impact of the fur trade on the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara is succinctly described by author Adrian Dunn in 1969:

> *"The fur trade era with the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara was the motive for much of the early exploration of the frontier. It was also a prime factor in the destruction of their traditional cultures. The trade in the Upper Missouri became highly competitive, and in their quest for profits, corrupt traders resorted to the most brazen forms of deceit and trickery. Most harmful was the unrestrained use of whiskey in trading with the Indians, who were physically and spiritually defenseless to alcohol. Little regard was shown for the Indians' welfare by the fur companies, but the damage could not have been nearly so devastating had it not been for the cooperation of the Indian agents of the United States government. The crime of traders, politicians, and other exploiters during this era, was that not only did they steal the Indians' land, they crushed their spirit and destroyed their cultures." (Dunn, 1963, p. 235).*

LAWS AND TREATIES

ATKINSON & O'FALLON TRADE AND INTERCOURSE TREATY OF 1825

The first major treaties made with tribes in this region were made in 1825. A group under Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon and General Henry Atkinson traveled up the Missouri to the Yellowstone with nine keelboats and a large military escort, making treaties with the Teton, Yankton and Yanktonai Dakota; Cheyenne, Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara. In the Adkinson & O'Fallon treaties, also known as the "Friendship Treaties" the Indians acknowledged the supremacy of the United States, which in turn promised them its protection. The tribes, along with the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara agreed not to trade with anyone but authorized American citizens. They also agreed to the use of United States law to handle injury of American citizens by Indians and vice versa. (Schulenberg, 1956, p. 101). On July 18, 1825 The Arikara signed, and on July 30, the Belantse-Etoa or Minitaree Tribe (Hidatsa) and Mandan signed the Atkinson and O'Fallon Treaty.

THE 1851 TREATY AT FORT LARAMIE

In 1851, a tribal delegation of Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara (Sahnish) accompanied by Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet to Fort Laramie to hold council with representatives of the government of the United States. *White Wolf* spoke for the Mandans, *Four Bears,* the Hidatsa and *Iron Bear,* the Arikara. Colonel M. Mitchell and Major Fitzpatrick represented the government. The boundaries of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara territory were set-aside in the 1851 Fort Laramie treaty:

> *Commencing at the mouth of the Heart River; thence up the Missouri to the mouth of the Yellowstone River; thence up the Yellowstone to the mouth of Powder River, thence in a southeasterly direction to the headwaters of the Little Missouri River, thence along the Black Hills to the headwaters of the Heart River; thence down the Heart River to the place of the beginning.*
>
> (11 Stats., p. 749, in Kappler, 1972, p. 594, Article 5).

This was the largest treaty council ever held. More than ten thousand plains Indians from the Lakota, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Crow, Mandan, Arikara, Assinboine and Gros Ventres (Hidatsa) nations attended. In exchange for 50,000 dollars a year for 50 years, the nations agreed to allow the United States to construct roads and military posts through their country. The tribes also established the boundaries of their territories and agreed to maintain peaceful relations with one another and with the United States. Several tribes, including the

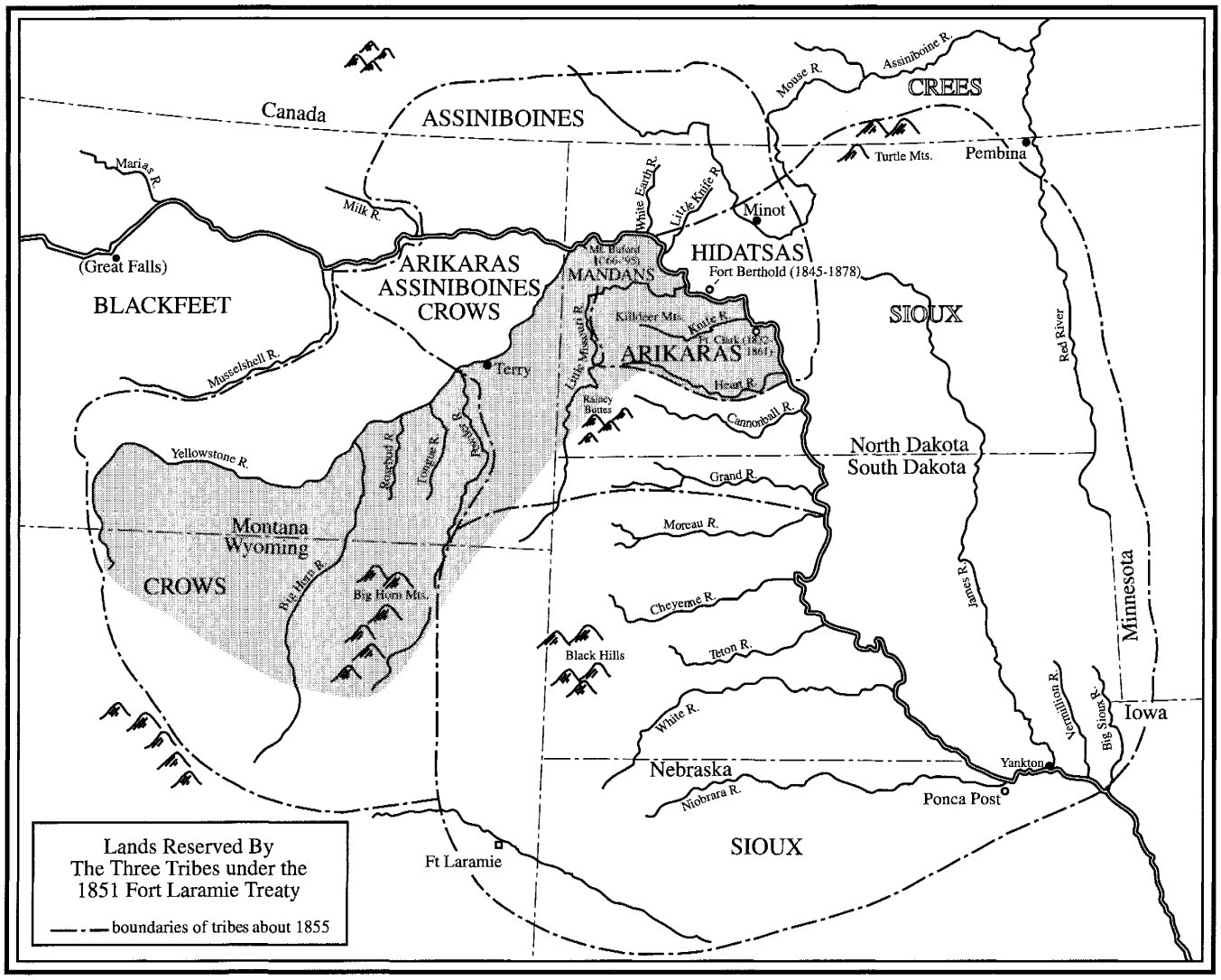


Figure 5. Map of the lands reserved by the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara under the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty. Palocios, 1964, in Prucha, 1990.

Mandans, Gros Ventres (Hidatsas), Crows, Blackfeet and some bands of the Cheyennes and Araphaos, accepted reservations. (O'Brian, 1989, p. 141.)

Under the terms of agreement, the United States would supply the several tribes with $50,000 for fifty years, designate territorial boundaries of each tribe, punishment for depredations, gave authority for the Government to lay roads and build military forts in Indian country and other provisions. (Kappler, (compiled and edited) 1904 Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, Washington. Vol. II, pp 594-596.)

When the treaty was returned to Washington, the Senate refused to give its approval to the long term financial arrangements, and amended the treaty by limiting the appropriation to ten years. The Indians were not a part of this amendment and believed the original treaty was still in force.

In this form, the treaty was ratified by the Senate on May 24, 1852, and the amendment was not sent to the tribes until 1853. While the Government secured some signatories to the amendment, in some cases under threat to withhold annuities, the amended document was never approved by all of the tribes concerned. This amendment has been a source of controversy ever since.

Following the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, the government established several forts along the Missouri. In 1864 the cavalry was sent to Fort Berthold and remained there until 1867 when they moved to Fort Stevenson, 18 miles down river. The establishment of forts brought numerous groups up river by steamboat - twenty to thirty steamboats stopped at Like-a-Fishhook village every summer. By 1869, the railroad had reached the territory of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara, a bustling economic center for the region.

By 1871, federal Indian policy shifted radically for several reasons. An act of Congress in 1871, "Provided that no treaties shall hereafter be negotiated with any Indian tribe within the United States as an independent nation or people." Thereafter, all Indian land cessions were achieved by act of Congress or by executive order.

Indian societies were being transformed radically from a combination of forces - U. S. Army troops stationed at posts near Fort Berthold after 1864, Indian agency personnel resided on the reservation after 1868 and day schools were being opened on reservations as early as 1870.

AGREEMENT AT FORT BERTHOLD 1866

As more settlers poured into the West the government, pressured by the railroads and settlers for more land, approached the tribes to cede additional lands. On July 27, 1866, the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara signed an agreement by which they granted such rights-of-way to territories East of the Missouri, and were to receive in return an annuity of $10,000 for the next 20 years. When the treaty was presented for ratification, Congress added an addendum onto this agreement, including the Mandan and Hidatsa in its terms and provided for cession of a tract of land on the East bank of the Missouri roughly forty by twenty-five miles. (Kappler, 1904-41, report. ed. 1971, Vol. 2, pp. 1052 - 56).

These lands were well below the villages of where the Mandan and Hidatsa were in 1866. Although no longer continuously occupied by them, they used these lands for hunting purposes. These were their ancestral homelands for centuries to which the Arikara settled in 1837. In addition, these lands contained ancient burial sites, and like many cultures considered the area as sacred ground. Congress, however, pressured by the railroad companies, was unwilling to recognize the tribes claim to these lands and the treaty was never ratified. (Meyer, 1977, p. 111).

EXECUTIVE ORDER OF 1870

The Fort Berthold Reservation was established under the Executive Order of 1870. In the late 1860's the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara complained of their wood supply dwindling by whites cutting timber on their lands and selling it to passing steamboats. When the chiefs complained to Washington, a Captain Wainwright, officer at Ft. Stevenson, met with the chiefs. They consented to the establishment of a reservation that included most, if not all of the territory claimed by them at Fort Laramie. (Meyer, p. 112).

Because the Sioux had claimed possession of a parcel of the land in question the previous year, the Government took off the southern boundary of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara (Sahnish) territories. The southern boundary of the reservation became a straight line from the junction of the Powder River from the Little Powder River to a point on the Missouri River four miles below Fort Berthold. In order to accommodate the villages then occupied by the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish, the United States Government included a strip of land east of the Missouri River. These provisions became legal in the Executive Order of April 12, 1870. (See map on p. 48).

BATTLE OF THE LITTLE BIG HORN

Some of the bands of the Sioux were on friendly terms with the riverine tribes, but many of the Sioux were openly hostile, and for a hundred years, from 1775 to 1875, the tribes from Pawnee and Otoe in the South to the Mandan, Hidatsa and the Arikara/Sahnish in the North were constantly under the pressure of Sioux hostility. The Assiniboine and other tribes occasionally attacked the villages, but the Sioux danger was the ever-present problem. These wars were fed willingly by the traders who sold guns and ammunition to both the Sioux and the sedentary tribes.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s the Sioux began to raid the villages of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish because their sources of food, the buffalo and other game animals were disappearing with the advancement of white settlers and hunters. The intensity and hostility between the Sioux and the United States Army was leading to war.

In 1874, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs called for Chief Son-of-the-Star to come to Washington, D.C. to meet with him. Son-of-the-Star, Bull Head, Peter Beauchamp (interpreter), Arikara; *Bad Gun, Bald Eagle,* and *Shows-Fear-in-the-Face*, (Mandans), met with the officials in Washington on several issues and to seek agreement to scout for the military in trade for protection from the vast numbers of Sioux.

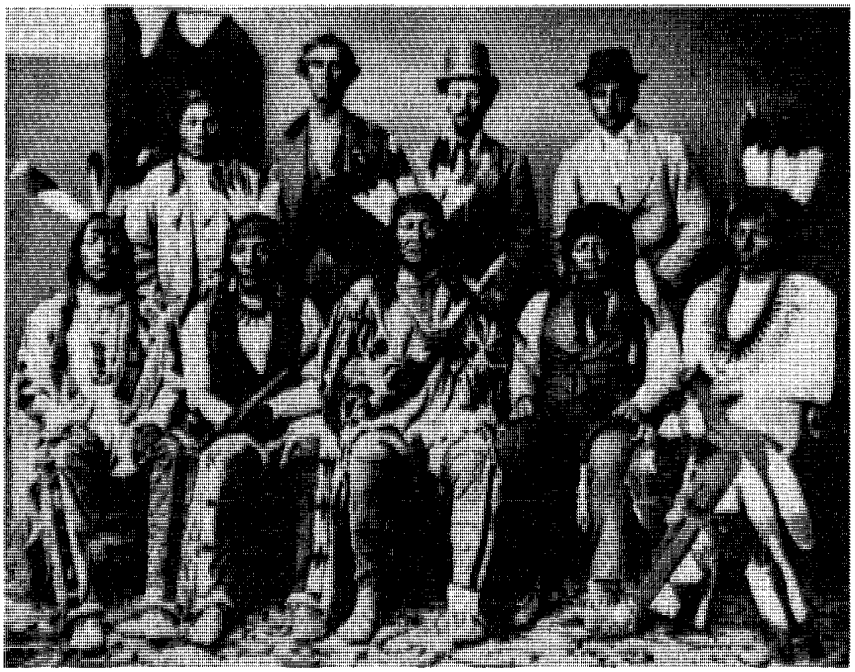


Photo courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota (Col. 384/1-Delegation of Arikaras, Gros Ventre & Mandans meet with President Grant, May, 1874.

In early May and June of 1876, a call was put out for scouts to assist Custer. In 1874, the Arikara scouts, also called "Ree Scouts" had assisted Lt. Colonel George Custer in Sioux country and the Black Hills. This time it was to find the small, resistant bands of Sioux and bring them back to the reservations. All military reports said these bands of Sioux were in the Montana territory. The agent at the reservations had failed to report that large numbers of Sioux were missing from the reservations.

An accounting of the Ree scouts surrounding the battle is included in the Appendix. The circumstances that led up to that battle were far reaching and complex. White settlers, backed by military forces, began to encroach on the territory claimed and assigned to the Sioux. Skirmishes followed with the Sioux losing most of the conflicts. On June 25, 1876, the Ree Scouts were involved in the infamous Battle of the Little Big Horn in Greasy Grass, Montana where they were pitted against their historic enemy, the Sioux. The Sioux nations defeated a stunned military force of the government.

EXECUTIVE ORDER OF 1880

In 1864, when the Northern Pacific Railroad was chartered, it was granted right-of-way 40 miles on either side of the proposed line. This right-of-way went through the lands of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish. The construction of the railroad reached their lands in 1879. The Railroad Company drew up a resolution asking for a reduction of the reservation. This proposal brought the railroad outside the boundaries of the land grant. When asked about the tribes' use of the territory, Colonel Dan Huston, commanding officer at Ft. Stevenson,

asserted that the land in question was the territorial hunting grounds of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara. However, the response was made by Colonel Nelson A. Miles, stationed at Fort Stevenson, who reported that the tribes did not occupy, nor require the use of the land, and "never had." The land he said had been reserved for the benefit of the fur traders. (Meyers, p. 113.)

Brigadier General Alfred H. Terry, endorsed the railroad company's request, ignored Huston's letter, and favored revoking the 1870 Executive Order. The Indian Bureau, represented by Commissioner Roland E. Trowbridge, who came late to the negotiations, wrote to a special agent:

> *In my judgement, any alterations or change in the present reservation would greatly mitigate against the interests of the Indian. He went on, "the land west of the Missouri was better for farming and had more timber, he said, so giving the Indians additional land east of the river, would not compensate them for the loss."*
>
> (Trowbridge to Gardner, April 5, 1880, NARS, RG 75, LS: Kappler, Indian Affairs, vol. 5, p. 745-63) in Meyer, p. 113)

On July 13, 1880, an Executive Order was issued, depriving the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara of the greater part of their lands. Everything south of a line forty miles north of the Northern Pacific right-of-way was ceded. This involuntary cession also included an extensive tract of land south and west of Fort Buford. The tribes were not consulted when the Executive Order was drawn up. As compensation, the tribes were granted a parcel of land north of the Missouri River, extending to within thirty-five miles of the Canadian border. This action, viewed as bad faith on the part of the government, did not pacify the injured and angry feelings of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara. The land to the North offered in compensation to the tribes was rough and undesirable. The Government believed that because the tribes were confined to an area near their villages, fearful of raids by the Sioux, and the buffalo nearly depleted, they were unable to use the land as they previously had. However, the land had legendary and historic connections for them. This land included their villages on the Knife River, and those villages below on the Missouri River. Within twenty-five years, the Government reduced more than 12 million acres of their territory to one-tenth of its original size. (Meyer, p. 113).

Like most Indian claims cases, those pursued by the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/ Sahnish had a long and tangled history. They had never reconciled themselves to the loss of territory resulting from the executive orders of 1870 and 1880 for which they had not been compensated. The reductions suffered by the reservation amounted to roughly 90 percent of what the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish had been acknowledged to own at the time of the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty. The treaty specifically noted that recognition of these claims and did not imply that the Indian signatories should "abandon or prejudice any rights or claims they (might) have to other lands." The precedent set by the 1880 agreement, together with the history of Indian treaties generally, led the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish to believe that they ought to have been compensated for these reductions. (Meyer, 1977, p. 186).

In 1898, the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara submitted a petition to the President of the United States asking permission to send a delegation to Washington to present their claims. When nothing came from this effort, they tried again in 1911, reminding Washington of the tribes' history of government relations. A delegation was allowed to come to Washington about a year later. This was to discuss the different interpretations of the terms of the agreement drawn up in 1909 for the opening of the reservation. They were told to get an attorney to pursue their case. Another delegation was sent three years later. The only subject the government would discuss with them was the distribution of proceeds from the land sales following the recent opening of the reservation.

Besides the land seizures under the Executive Orders of 1870 and 1880, the tribes now wanted to take up the disposition of the Fort Stevenson military reservation. When the school at Fort Stevenson was closed in 1894, 45,585.75 acres were transferred to the Interior Department. It was sold a few years later for $71,000. The proceeds were placed in the United States Treasury instead of being used for the benefit of the tribes. According to Congress, since Fort Stevenson was established before Fort Berthold, the tribes had no rights to the land. (Meyer, 1977, p. 187).

In 1920, Congress passed legislation conferring to the Court of Claims jurisdiction in the determination of the Three Tribes' dispute with the government. This act stipulated that a suit must be filed within five years and the attorney's fees should not be more than ten percent of the amount to be recovered. The first lawyer the Tribes hired, was from Fargo, who did nothing but file a petition with the Court of Claims on December 30, 1922. This claim was dismissed on December 17, 1923 and the tribe cancelled his contract.

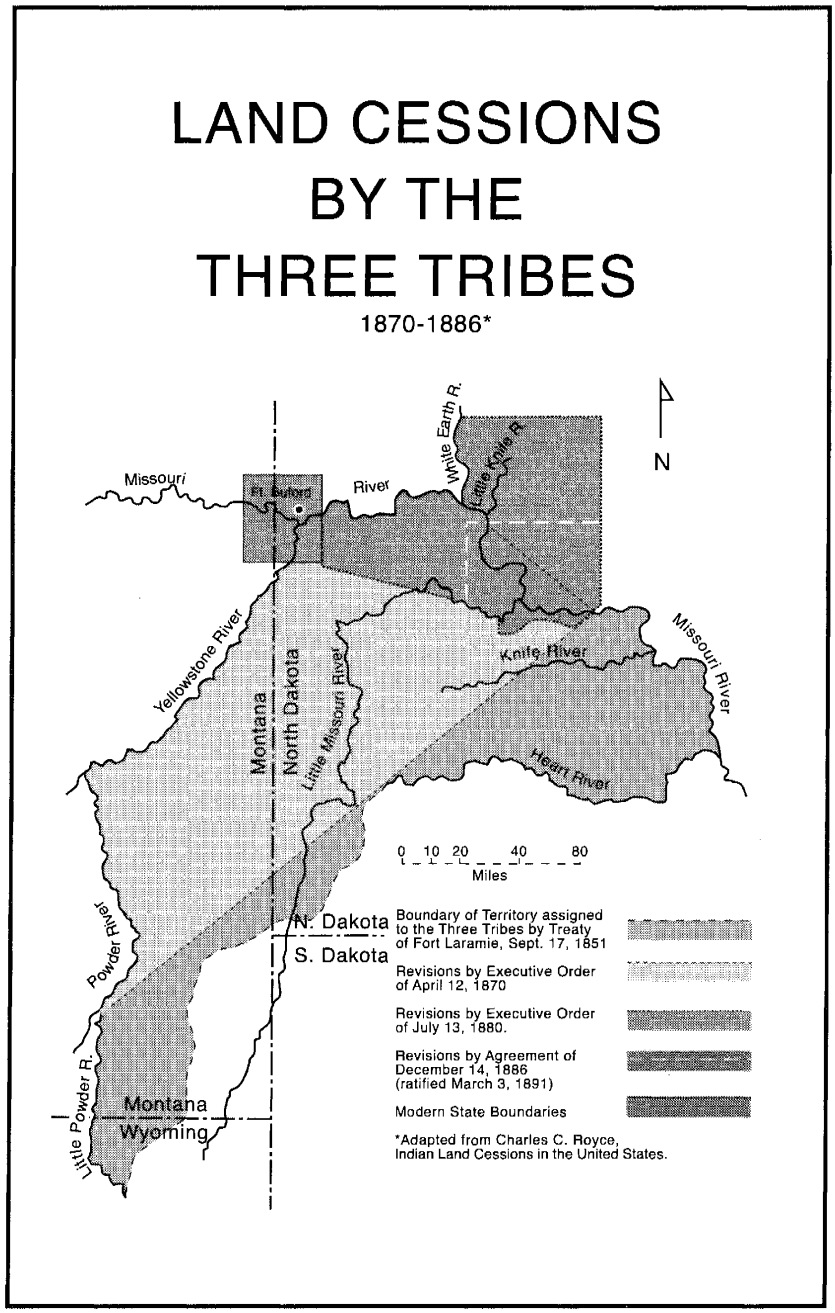


Figure 6. Map of Indian land cessions by the Mandan, Hidatsa. Adapted from Royce, Charles C. in Meyers, 1977, p. 112.

Charles Kappler and Charles H. Merillat, were hired by the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara in 1924. They filed a formal petition with the Court of Claims on July 31 of that year. The evidence, both documentary and traditional, prepared by these two men, brought about a court settlement. Because of the impossibility of determining the precise acreage of the territory recognized as belonging to the three tribes in 1851, the court settled on a round figure of 13,000,000 acres, from which 11,424,512.76 acres had been withdrawn without compensation, mainly by executive orders in 1870 and 1880. From this area were deducted 1,578,325.83 acres added to the reservation by these executive orders and that of 1892, leaving a total of 9,846.93 acres, for which the three tribes were to be compensated at a rate of fifty cents per acre. From the sum of $4,923,093.47, however, Congress deducted $753,924.89 in offsets - money appropriated down through the years and expended for the "support and civilization" of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara. When the claim was finally settled on December 1, 1930, the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara were awarded $2,169,168.58 or $1,191.50 per capita. (Meyer, 1977. pp. 187-88).

EARLY RESERVATION LIFE (1866 - 1900)

INDIAN AGENTS

U. S. Government agents were assigned to various forts along the fur trading routes. These agents, who were former military officers, were entrusted to carry out federal policies put forth by treaties. Distribution of annuities, yearly cash payments, and provisions promised to the Three Tribes, were sometimes never received. They became more restricted in their range and their ability to live from hunting and became more dependent on the United States for subsistence.

The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara and the Sioux had been unfriendly for centuries. The Three Tribes, numbering 2,000 were at a disadvantage to the 40,000 Sioux. During the period of the early 1860s, several bands of the Sioux, deprived of their home by the flood of whites into what is now Minnesota, pushed westward onto the plains of the Upper Missouri.

When the Civil War started in 1861, military obligations in the Upper Missouri were neglected. Problems increased as whites passing through tribal lands to the gold fields caused restlessness among the Sioux. The military became lax in their obligations to the military forts along these territories. Because the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/ Sahnish remained friendly to the government and the whites, they were repeatedly attacked by Sioux. (Dunn, 1963, p. 201).

Only after Fort Berthold and the surrounding villages were burned by raids did the government see fit to move the fort 17 miles further east. The new military post, known as Fort Stevenson, was built in 1867, on the North bank of the Missouri River at the mouth of Douglas Creek, near present-day Garrison. At the same time as the Sioux signed several treaties to remain on friendly terms with the whites and other tribes, exploitation by Indian agents and fur traders continued cheating and depriving the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/ Sahnish of their provisions from the government.

When the Arikara Chief, White Shield, refused to sign a receipt for goods he did not receive, Agent Mahlon Wilkinson was angry and declared White Shield removed as chief and declared him ineligible for his $200 annuity. Agent Wilkinson replaced White Shield with a younger man, Son-of-Star, as chief of the tribe.

Agent Wilkinson said to White Shield, "My friend, you are getting too old. Age troubles your brain and you talk and act like an old fool." The honorable Indian replied firmly, "I am old it is true. But not so old as not to see things as they are. And even if, as you say, I were only an old fool, I would prefer a hundred times to be an honest red fool than a stealing white rascal like you." (de Trobriand, Army Life).

A severe smallpox epidemic ravaged the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish in 1866. Their fall crops were a failure. After being robbed of their annuities, the authorities refused them any assistance. De Trobriand stated that the agents of the Indian Bureau were nothing but a vast association of thieves who made their fortune at the expense of the Indians and to the detriment of the government.

Between 1866 and 1870, the Indian wars began to die out and the fur trade dwindled because of the scarcity of game. Immigration increased ten-fold and the railroads cross-cut the prairies, invading the homelands of the tribes.

In 1870, a group of Hidatsa and some Mandans, who wanted to maintain their traditional way of life, left the village and moved 120 miles up river (outside the reservation boundary) and established themselves at Fort Buford, near what is now Williston, North

Dakota. There were a number of reasons for the move, but one may have been a disagreement between Crow Flies High and government-supported leaders, Poor Wolf and Crows Paunch. Another was over the distribution of rations, and internal conflicts over leadership.

CHANGE

During the late 1880s and early 1890s, a severe drought gripped the country. Bad weather and severe droughts destroyed the crops of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/ Sahnish. Government attempts to "civilize and "christianize" the Indians governed Federal policy, as was the blatant focus at breaking up of Indian lands.

In 1883, Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller initiated the Court of Indian Offenses. His goal was to eliminate "heathenish practices" among the Indians. (Secretary of Interior Report, Nov. 1, 1883). J.D. Adkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1885 to 1888 exerted great influence and pressure to promote use of the English language in schools attended by Indian children stating "A wider and better knowledge of the English language among them is essential to their comprehension of the duties and obligations of citizenship." (Report of September 21, 1887, in House Executive Document, No. 1, part 5, vol. II, 50th Congress, 1st Session, serial 2542, pp. 18-23).

School age children were sent to school. The course of study in addition to teaching English and writing included manual labor in preparation to live in an agrarian society. Adult Indians were to follow the laws of the Court of Indian Offenses, which punished them for having more than one wife and for participating in dances and traditional religious ceremonies.

Although many men agreed to become farmers or wage earners, difficulties were encountered in doing large-scale farming. Year after year, the crops were killed by droughts, early frost, insects or other disasters. The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish were accustomed to farming only the floodplain of the Missouri for their crops. But the government wanted them to plant and raise surplus crops away from the river bottom in the benchlands above the river.

In 1871, Indian agent Tappen reported that the men had broken 640 acres in the flood plain and grew enough corn and squash to last the winter. As a reward, the men were given wagons and horse harnesses. Later, they were to grow wheat and oats to be turned over to the agent to sell. The agent controlled the money made from the sale of these grains. Agent Tappen's 1873 report, described the general surface of the land as not fertile, sparsely timbered and without water. The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish were surrounded by prairie wilderness for hundreds of miles where very little game lived, hardly a good location to start an agricultural economy. They worked diligently with the primitive implements given them and had 900 acres under cultivation. Corn, wheat, oats, barley, field peas, potatoes, turnips and garden varieties were raised.

Agent Tappan requested proper accommodations for himself and his employees, a schoolhouse, with a dwelling for the teacher, two or more storehouses, a hospital building to house patients to separate them from native doctors and a new building for a sawmill.

Indian agent, L. B. Sperry succeeded Tappan in 1874, and initiated a policy of giving annuities directly to the families instead of a chief. This policy eroded the role of the chief and the tribal system of the people.

In 1874 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Edward P. Smith, urged the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish to leave Fort Berthold, with its unproductive soil, unfriendly climate, scant supply of wood, poor water, high winds, dust, drought, frost, flood, grasshoppers and the Sioux. That year a delegation of Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara went to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) to investigate the possibilities of moving to that area. Although pleased with the country, they refused, fearing it would be too warm, dreading the long journey and, most of all, losing their attachment to the place of their birth and homes of their dead. (Dunn, 1963).

MISSIONARIES

In 1876, a mission, the combination of a church, school, and residence, was built near Like-a-Fishhook village by a Congregational missionary named Charles L. Hall. These missionaries tried to get the tribes to adopt White ways. But the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish continued to follow their traditions and occupied their own sections of the village, practiced their own religious ceremonies and established their own governments. To encourage the spread of Christianity, the Office of Indian Affairs authorized the Indian agents to punish people who participated in traditional religious ceremonies. Those who did were jailed and had their hair cut off. In 1889, Father Craft was assigned to Elbowoods to start a Catholic Mission. A school was built to accommodate 100 children.

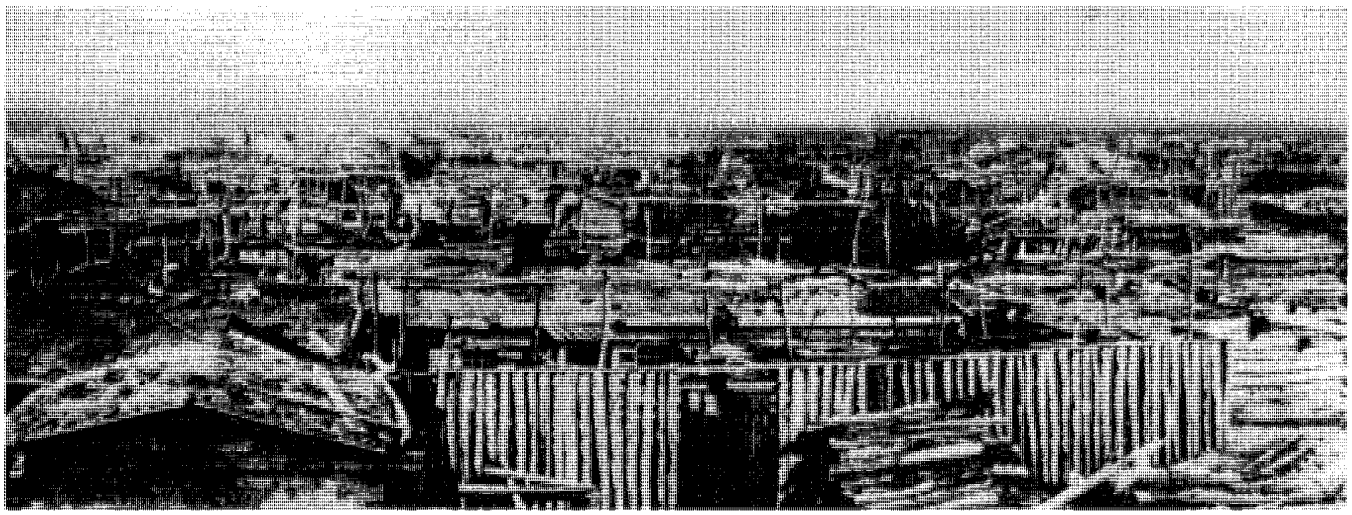


Photo of Like-a-Fishhook Village by S.J. Morrow, 1872, courtesy of the Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, Col. # 248.

ELBOWOODS

By 1888, Like-a-Fishhook village was practically deserted as people were encouraged to establish communities on other parts of the reservation. Some of the people moved 20 miles up river where they established the new community of Elbowoods. A few elders refused to move and they remained at Like-A-Fishhook village. Again the government took land from the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish tribes. It was declared that the "Indians are desirous of disposing of a portion thereof in order to obtain the means necessary to enable them to become wholly self-supporting by the cultivation of the soil and other pursuits of husbandry." (From Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties).

The agency of Elbowoods was located on the northeast side of the Missouri, so most people moved to the southwest side of the river, away from the agent. Many people settled in small communities near the river, where they had previously wintered or hunted. They situated themselves near a steep, sloped hill with a flat top, on the West bank of the Missouri, and on the east-side of the river. The Elbowoods agency later included a boarding school, hospital, agency headquarters and a jail.

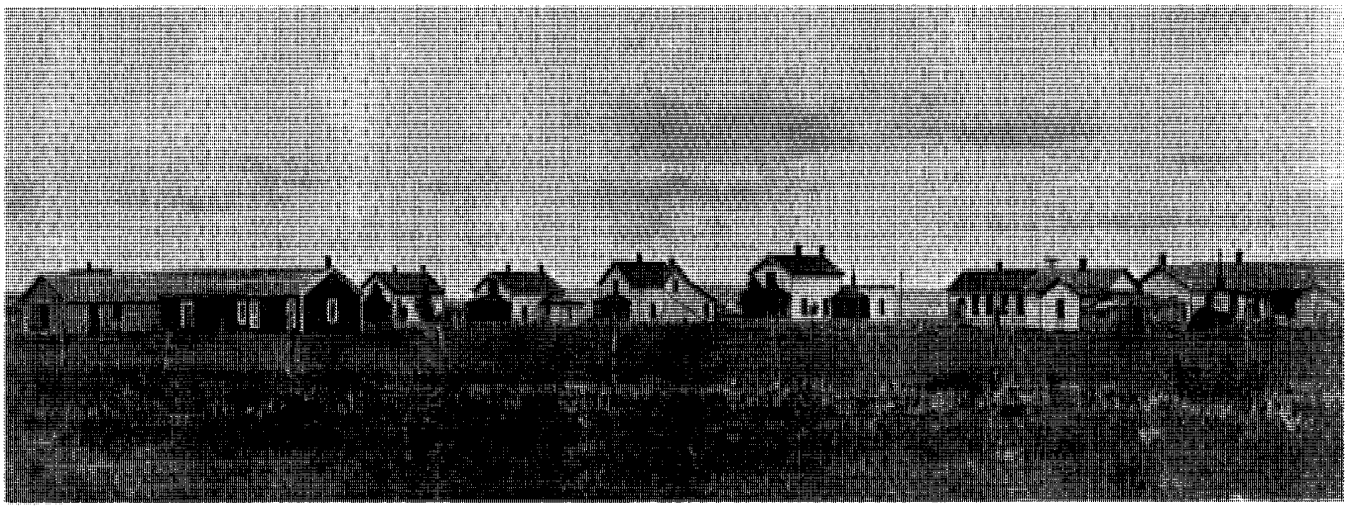


Photo of Elbowoods, North Dakota, courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

ALLOTMENT

Congress passed the General Allotment Act of 1887, about the time the tribes moved out of Like-a-Fishhook Village. This Act was to put an end to the Indians' tribal rights to reservation land and make them individual land owners. It was also a well orchestrated and thought out scheme to separate the Indians from their lands. Any unallotted Indian land was then labeled government surplus, and dealt with how ever the government saw fit. It was given over for homesteads of settlers.

The Executive Order of 1891 provided for the allotment of the Fort Berthold Reservation. This order restricted the sale of unallotted lands and reserved them for future members of the tribe. The reservation was to be divided into standardized plots - heads of families received 160 acres each, women and men over the age of 18 who were not heads of families were allotted 80 acres each, children received 40 acres each. The actual allotment of reservation land began in 1894.

The General Allotment or Dawes Act of February 8, 1887, is an example of the change in the Governments' policy towards Indian leadership that encouraged Government officials to deal with individuals or families, to bypass tribal leaders, and to ignore tribal governing structures. Had the Act been successful, the allotment policy would have brought an end to the reservation system.

When people moved onto individual allotments, they were given each a cookstove, yoke of work oxen, breaking plow, stirring plow, cow, wagon, ax, hoe, spade, hand rake, scythe and a pitch fork. They were expected to build a frame or log house on their allotment. All adult males were to work to support themselves, and children between eight and eighteen were to attend school. Farming on the benchlands did not go well those early years because of the lack of rain and poor soil. The agency recommended cattle, sheep, and swine be added to supplement grain crops.

This policy and practice contradicted Indian beliefs and practices. The Indians traditionally thought of land in terms of communal use and never as individually owned. Individual ownership made it easier for white people to purchase Indian lands. Millions of acres were lost as a result of this Act. The Dawes Act granted to individual Indians selected rights and privileges, but included constricting regulations, bringing them under control and watchful eye of the government. The goal of allotment was to replace tribal culture with the white man's culture. On December 14, 1886, the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara signed away, under duress, 1,600,000 acres of Fort Berthold land and the reservation was opened to white settlement.

By 1891, through successive executive orders, epidemics, Indian agents, and allotments, the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish were stripped of their property and disorganized as a group. Expected to assume a philosophy of individualism, they were, as individuals, pushed to lower and lower social and economic levels. (Dunn, 1963).

1900s

At the turn of the century, Indian lands were a primary focus of government interest. It was evident to the white man that the Indians had too much land. Continuous pressure was brought to bear on Congress and the Federal Government by many outside interests. Through the successive allotment acts, and encroachment, Indian lands were being lost at a phenomenal rate.

Jurisdiction over Indian lands continued to be the responsibility of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but seemed likely to disappear as the Indians became independent landowners when they received patents and ownership of their own lands. It was the Indian Bureau's idea of ending the task of administering Indian lands by allowing millions of acres of their lands to be transferred to white ownership.

In the 1901 Annual Report of the Indian Commissioner, Agent Richards stated that the annuities had expired and the agency would have to operate on the savings from the ten installments they had received since 1891. The agent thought they could sell a strip of land twelve miles wide on the north side of the reservation. A special agent later that year suggested selling off 200,000 acres on the west side. Congress passed a law on March 3, 1901 to provide employment of a number of special agents to visit Indian reservations and negotiate for the sale of 'surplus' lands.

James McLaughlin, veteran agent with many tribes, arrived at Fort Berthold in June, 1902. He proposed that the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish sell about 315,000 acres of their land. They opposed. Upon reaching an agreement, the tribes agreed to sell 208,000 acres at $1.25 per acre, to build a fence, and to purchase bulls, mares, mowing machines and rakes. The remaining funds were to be distributed equally to each individual. For unknown reasons, this proposal submitted to Congress was never ratified. A bill was introduced opening reservation land. The tribes objected because the government failed to hold a council with them and get their consent to the proposed legislation.

The Act of June 1, 1910, provided for the outright cession of 13 and eight fractional townships and the rest of the reservation North and East of the Missouri except for allotments made to individuals. Certain lands were also reserved for agency, school, and mission purposes on the left bank of the river, and provision was also made for the protection of the site of Like-a-Fishhook Village. Allotments of 160 acres of agricultural land or 320 acres of grazing land were to be made to every member of the Three Tribes, over and above all previous allotments.

Individuals were to receive a sum equal to the appraised value, not a flat sum as proposed. Although this represented a victory for the Indians, not all were satisfied. The reservation was becoming a narrow strip on both sides of the Missouri. More land went out of Indian ownership.

EARLY EDUCATION

In the mid 1870s, the government focused it's policy of education on bringing Indian children into "civilized" society. The agent declared that families who did not send their children to school would have rations (government annuities of food) withheld. Mandan,

Hidatsa, and Arikara/Sahnish children at Fort Berthold were attending school at Fort Stevenson boarding school or C. L. Halls' Congregational mission school. Many children were taken forcibly from their homes and sent off to schools such as Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, and Hampton Institute in Virginia.

According to oral historians, the children were forced to wear uniforms and carry wooden guns. They were given Christian names and in some cases, lost their original names completely. Elders say many of the Indian people's ancestors became confused because the government agents were careless in keeping records and assigned names randomly. Many children ran away from the schools because the environment, food, clothing, language and school personnel attitudes were unfamiliar to them. They were often caught and returned to the schools. They were not allowed to speak their own languages. If they did, they were severely punished. As a result of this, parents were afraid to allow their children to speak their own language. Very little English was spoken which hampered the children's ability to learn in school.

GARRISON DAM

According to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, the territorial lands of the Three Tribes was an area of more than 12 million acres, extending from east of the Missouri River into Montana. In the following years, to justify taking more land, the Federal Government, through several allotment acts and the Homestead Act, reduced the reservation further to less than three million acres. The flooding of the prime river bottomland was yet another assault on the autonomy and cultures of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish. Flooding the reservation bottomlands reduced the reservation even further, leaving a one-half million acres of individual and tribally owned lands.

The Corps of Army Engineers built five main-stem projects that destroyed over 550 square miles of tribal land in North and South Dakota and dislocated more than 900 Indian families. The most devastating effects suffered by a single reservation were experienced by the Three Affiliated Tribes whose way-of-life was almost totally destroyed by the Garrison Dam, as a part of the Pick-Sloan Project (Lawson, p. 27).

The construction of Garrison Dam on their land resulted in the taking of 152,360 acres. Over one-fourth of the reservations' total land base was deluged by the dam's reservoir. The remainder of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish lands were segmented into five water-bound sections. The project required the relocation of 325 families, or approximately 80 percent of the tribal membership. For many successful years as ranchers and farmers, these industrious people lost 94 percent of their agricultural lands. (Lawson, p. 59).

The Corps of Engineers entered Fort Berthold Reservation to begin construction on the dam in April, 1946. The first of the army's Pick-Sloan Project on the main stem of the Missouri River was Garrison Dam, which became America's fifth largest dam at a cost of over $299 million. (Lawson, p. 59)

The Corps of Engineers, without authorization from Congress, altered the project's specifications in order to protect Williston, North Dakota, and to prevent interference with the Bureau of Reclamation irrigation projects. However, nothing was done to safeguard Mandan, Hidatsa or Arikara/Sahnish communities. When the army threatened to confiscate the land it needed by right of eminent domain, the Three Affiliated Tribes protested in Washington, succeeding in having Congress halt all expenditures for the Garrison Dam project until they received a suitable settlement. This legal action was based on the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, which provided that land could not be taken from the tribes without their consent and that of Congress. (Lawson, p. 60).

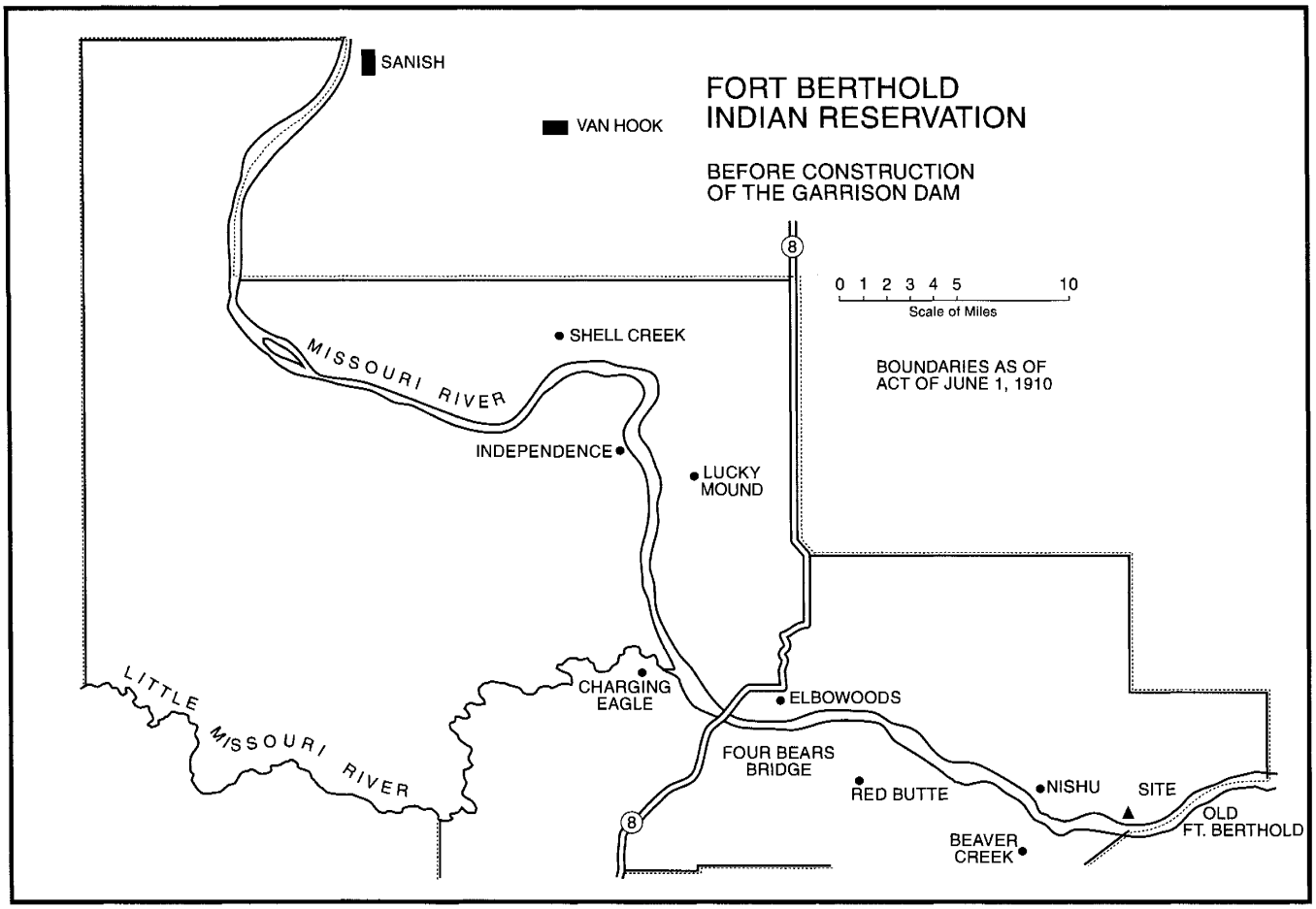


Figure 7 Illustration of the communities existing on the Ft. Berthold Reservation before the construction of the Garrison Dam. Adapted from a map in Meyers, 1977, p. 193.

Negotiations with the army began in earnest. The Tribal Council offered an alternative reservation dam site free of charge. This optional site, whose selection would have caused considerable less damage to the land base, was rejected by the Corps of Engineers because it would not permit adequate storage capacity. Army negotiators did offer to purchase an equal amount of land in the Knife River valley to replace that lost to the Garrison project, but the Tribes found it unsuitable for their needs.

In 1947, the Three Affiliated Tribes finally had to accept the $5,105,625 offered by Congress and the Corps for their losses. This settlement, considered generous by many on Capitol Hill, meant that they received about $33 for each acre of their land with improvements and severance damages. From this amount they were expected also to pay relocation and reconstruction expenses. The agreement did not permit them to claim additional compensation through Congress or the courts.

The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara/Sahnish were determined to exercise this option, and they petitioned for more money and additional benefits, such as exclusive rights to a small portion of Garrison's hydroelectric power production at a reduced rate. After a private appraisal claimed damages to the tribe were $21,981,000, legislation requesting that amount was introduced in Congress. Following two years of debate in the House and Senate finally agreed to a compromise figure of $7.5 million. Legislation for this final settlement received President Truman's signature on October 29, 1949. (Lawson, p. 61).

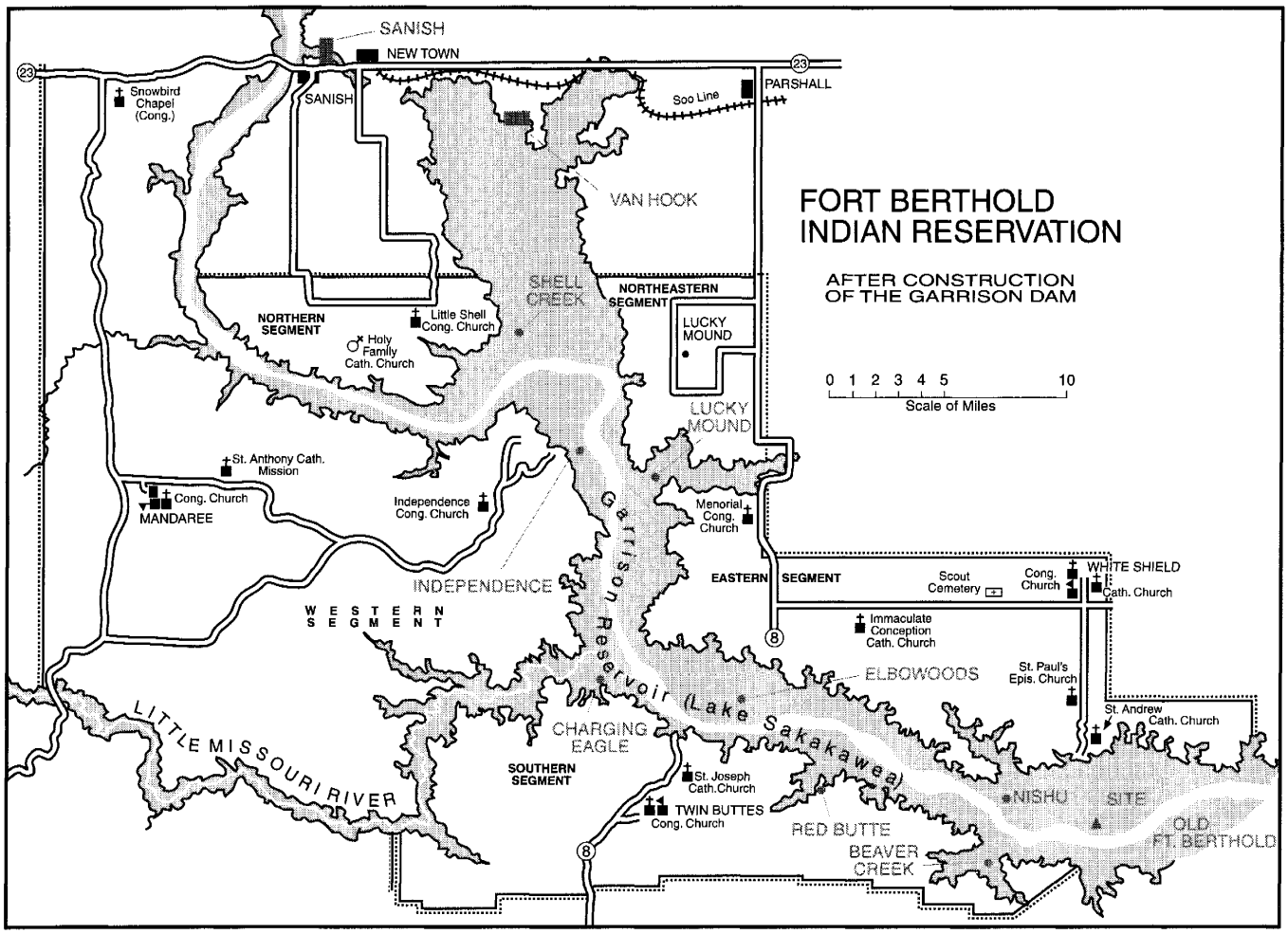


Figure 8. Map of the Fort Berthold Reservation and inundated communities after the construction of the Garrison Dam. Adapted from Meyers, 1977, p. 193

The total compensation of $12,605,625 was over 9 million less than the Tribes felt was the fair market value of the damages they sustained. The final piece of settlement legislation denied their right to use the reservoir shoreline for grazing, hunting, fishing or other purposes. It also rejected tribal requests for irrigation development and royalty rights on all subsurface minerals within the reservoir area. The petition for a block of Garrison Dam power was denied on the grounds that the granting of exclusive rights to the Tribes would violate provisions of the Rural Electrification Act of 1936. The legislation provided for distribution of funds on a per capita basis and its failure to bar the collection of previous individual debts from this money proved to be a serious handicap. Because the law required that it was a final and complete settlement of all claims, the Three Affiliated Tribes were unsuccessful in their 20 year struggle to have its deficiencies corrected by amendatory legislation. (Lawson, p. 61).

The lands that the Three Affiliated Tribes were forced to give up were not just some undesirable tracts assigned them by a government more concerned with encouraging the westward movement of the American pioneer than with the fate of the native inhabitants. The river valley environment of the Three Tribes had been their home for perhaps more than a millennium, although not the particular segment of the valley that lay above the Garrison Dam. They had developed ways of adjusting to this environment over a time span nearly inconceivable to white Americans. Moreover, they had emotional and religious ties with it that no American descended from old world immigrants would fully comprehend. (Meyer, p. 234).

The blame for building the dam in the first place must fall on Congress and on those segments of the public who brought pressure on their elected representatives to have it built. The Corps of Engineers must bear part of the blame, to the extent that Colonel Pick imposed his plan rather than accept that of W. Glenn Sloan when the two were presented to Congress. For the way the Three Tribes were compensated and their wishes in matters overridden by considerations of expediency, the responsibility falls squarely on Congress, especially the Senate for its high-handed revision of House Joint Resolution 33. Nor are the Three Tribes themselves without responsibility, as some of them recognized after the ordeal was over. By rejecting the lieu lands offer, they denied themselves the opportunity to rebuild their cattle and farming enterprises on a more nearly adequate land base than they were left with when the waters of the Garrison reservoir backed up over their former homes. According to Meyer, by persistent demands for per capita payments, the Tribes destroyed the possibility of long-range economic benefits such as tribal development programs might have provided. (Meyer, p. 233).

The original communities before the flooding of the Garrison Dam were Elbowoods, the central business community, which housed the Indian Bureau, the Indian school and the hospital; Red Butte, Lucky Mound, Nishu, Beaver Creek, Independence, Shell Creek and Charging Eagle. The Mandans had settled in the Red Butte and Charging Eagle area, and the Sahnish settled in the Nishu and Beaver Creek area. Independence was settled by the Mandan and Hidatsa, and Lucky Mound and Shell Creek by the Hidatsa. Elbowoods was a combination of all three tribes. The other communities had government, Indian day and boarding schools, churches, communal playgrounds, parks, and cemeteries. Some had ferries. Although parts of these communities remain, gone were the close traditional gatherings and community living; as were natural resources, such as desirable land for agriculture, timber that provided logs for homes, fence posts and shelter for stock, coal and oil deposits, natural food sources and wild life habitats for which most would or could never be compensated.

RELOCATION FROM THE BOTTOMLANDS

Within a few years the Three Tribes' members were obliged to move to new homes. Relocation and salvage procedures established by the Corps proved unsatisfactory. Private movers contracted by the army were unreliable, and tribal members were denied permission to cut most of their timber prior to inundation. Flooding of the bottomlands rendered the residual reservation useless. Settlement payments were too low to provide full reestablishment of most families. The uprooting of kinship and other primary groups destroyed the community life so fundamental to the Tribes' cultures. Farms and ranches were liquidated, unemployment rose as high as 70 percent and many tribal members were driven to a life of despair in nearby towns. Millions of dollars in federal funds were pumped into the reservation to counteract social and economic damages. After a generation of hard work the Tribes began to show signs of recovery, but psychic scars from the ordeal remained evident today. (Lawson, p. 61-62).

The concern of many tribal members was to find sites for wells in the area to which most of them were going to move. In April, 1950 actual test drilling began. By September 27, wells had been drilled in the Western Segment, and possible home sites were being selected.

Another concern was disagreement over how the $7,500,000 appropriated by Congress in 1949 was to be distributed. On November 13, 1950, land appraisers arrived at Fort Berthold and invited the people to accept or reject the appraisals made in 1948. According to an agency official, an overwhelming majority of the landowners accepted the appraisals. By January 1951 road surveys were completed and construction to begin as soon as funds were appropriated. The relocation committee devised a relocation plan identifying agricultural

potential and how a typical tract of land should be used and reference to classification of the soil was given to each household. Unlike the soil of the bottomland that was Class I and Class II, these tracts were Class III to Class VI, not as rich & fertile, or accessible to water.

By the fall of 1954, relocation was complete. A new road system was constructed, school buildings were built, churches and cemeteries were moved and the agency was housed in its new quarters at New Town. The Four Bears bridge was removed from its original site, and installed as part of the new bridge West of New Town, North Dakota.

The immense loss of natural resources by the flooding of the Garrison Dam was only a part of the adjustments that had to be made by the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish. In the following years, as the Garrison Dam was under construction, no attempt was made to reestablish the small village environment that existed. Families were forced to relocate on isolated holdings throughout the reservation. Many moved off the reservation.

George Gillette, Sahnish Chairman and the Business Council as the tribe sells 155,000 land for the Garrison Dam and Reservoir, courtesy of the Associated Press, May 20, 1948, #1393.

GARRISON DIVERSION UNIT COMMISSION

In the early 1980s, the Three Affiliated Tribes sought compensation for lands that were lost to construction of the Garrison Dam. A committee was established to gather testimony and evidence in hearings held on the Standing Rock and Fort Berthold Reservations, as well as other sites. The Final Report of the Garrison Diversion Unit Commission pointed out that "the Tribes of the Standing Rock and Fort Berthold Reservations shouldered an inordinate share of the cost of implementing the Pick-Sloan Missouri Basin Programs" mainstream reservoirs. (Final GDUC Report, Appendix F., p. 57). This report highlighted the inequities borne by the tribes:

- The tribes were not only unwilling to sell their land, but strongly opposed the taking of their land.
- They felt intimidated by the fact that construction on the dams began before Indian lands were acquired. They then felt that the taking of their lands was inevitable.
- During the negotiation phases, assurances were given expressly or by implication by various Federal officials that problems anticipated by the Indians would be remedied. The assurances raised expectations which, in many cases, were never fulfilled.
- The quality of replacement homes was inadequate in many respects, but most notably with regard to insulation and construction necessary to meet severe climatic conditions. The deficiencies, in many cases, resulted in inordinately high heating bills.
- Indian lands taken were "prime river bottomland" and the most productive parts of the reservation.
- The quality of life enjoyed by the tribes on the river bottomlands had not been replicated in the removal areas.
- The rise in the incidence of trauma and stress-related maladies and illnesses following removal suggested a causal relationship.
- They were not justly compensated by the United States for the taking of their lands and related expenses resulting from the land taken.
- United States land acquisition practice resulted in the taking of a substantially larger area of Indian land.

JOINT TRIBAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE (JTAC)

On May 10, 1985, the Garrison Unit Joint Tribal Advisory Committee (JTAC) was established by the Secretary of the Interior. This committees' role was threefold: a) to examine and make recommendations with respect to the effects of the impoundment of waters under the Pick-Sloan Missouri Basin Program (Oahe and Garrison Reservoirs), b) to study their impact on the Fort Berthold and Standing Rock Reservations, and c) to replace what was destroyed by the creation of the two dams.

The committee was authorized and directed to examine and make recommendations to the following issues:

- Full potential for irrigation
- Financial assistance for on-farm development costs
- Development of shoreline recreation potential
- Return of excess lands

- Protection of reserved water rights
- Funding of all items from the Garrison Diversion Unit funds, if authorized
- Replacement of infrastructures lost by the creation of the Garrison Dam, Lake Sakakawea, the Oahe Dam and Lake Oahe
- Preferential rights to Pick-Sloan Missouri River Basin Power
- Additional financial compensation, and
- Other items the committee deemed important (JTAC - Executive Summary, 1985)

The substance of the JTAC Report provided the initiative for the Three Tribes to seek legislation for additional economic and financial recovery funds. The tribe's efforts continued until 1992, with the assistance of the state's Congressional delegation. As a result, Congress, in 1992, passed Public Law 102-575 that provided $142.9 million in economic recovery funds to the Three Affiliated Tribes. The fund, known as the Economic Recovery Fund, was to be used for education, economic development, social welfare and other needs. Only the interest could be expended.

After the Garrison Dam settlement funds were distributed, there was a steady economic decline until about 1961. The Three Affiliated Tribes faced the reality that their settlement funds were gone, the economic base of the reservation was not producing enough wealth to enable them to recoup their losses, the plans for educational and health services were not working and their relations with federal, state and local governments were aggravating their problems.

The thirty-first legislative assembly authorized the creation of the North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission in 1949, along with an appropriation of $20,000 and a membership of thirteen. The first biennial report stated, the Commission believes that the Indians in the State of North Dakota are now and should remain, the responsibility of the Federal Government until such time as the individual Indian and his family have become assimilated into the social and economic structure of the community in which he lives. The Commission was instrumental in the formation of the Fort Berthold Inter-agency Committee on October 19, 1951. This group held at least six meetings in the following fourteen months, at Stanley, Garrison, Elbowoods, Killdeer and elsewhere, on such topics as health, education, roads, welfare, law and order and legislation. The subject concerning the precise boundaries between state and federal jurisdiction (not to mention tribal) were obscure and in a state of flux. (Meyer, p. 239).

Two changes in federal Indian policy in 1953 precipitated state action. The old ban on the sale of liquor to Indians was lifted that year by an act of Congress, but North Dakota still had a law of its own on the books. After it was repealed in 1955, the tribal council voted to permit liquor on the reservation. The responsibility of law and order on the reservation was operated on their own codes of law and order, locally administered by tribal courts and police. North Dakota Indians were protected by a provision in the state constitution, but in 1955 the legislature voted to place on the primary ballot for the next year a proposed amendment that would permit the state to assume responsibility for law and order on Indian reservations. Defeated that year because it might increase the tax burden, the amendment reappeared in 1958 and was passed.

Because of serious financial problems of the Tribes in 1959, a committee recommended that the state assume civil jurisdiction over the reservation. No action was taken.

The Bureau began changing its policies during this time so as to place greater emphasis on decision making by the Tribes and on development of reservation resources. This did not become reality until the Indian Self-Determination Act was passed in the mid 1960s.

The growing economic crisis in the later 1950s, aggravated by drought, became a more serious problem than that of termination.

Efforts to meet the crisis took three forms: attempts to retain and use the remaining reservation resources, mainly land, attempts to obtain credit through loan programs, and attempts to attract industry to the reservation and the surrounding areas. Not much success was achieved in any of these directions up to 1962. The use of reservation land was complicated by the fact that the Indians were continuing to lose their lands. The Indian Reorganization Act had tried to stop the issuance of fee patents. Despite protests from the council, patents were issued and the land in many cases was promptly sold. By the end of 1959 the reservation had dwindled to 426,413 acres, of which only 21,308 was tribally owned. Sixty percent of the reservation land was being used by non-Indians and of 184 potential agricultural units, only 40 percent were being used by Indians. (Meyer p. 241).

A more important mineral resource was oil. Only a few individuals benefited from oil leases, and most of these benefits were negligible and temporary. This oil boom did not seem to have any effect on the general economic condition of the reservation.

Two pieces of legislation passed by the Eighty-seventh Congress had important long range effects on Fort Berthold: the Area Redevelopment Act of May 1, 1961, and the Manpower Development and Training Act of March 15, 1962. The first of these proposed to establish a program to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in certain economically distressed areas and specifically mentioned Indian reservations as eligible for assistance. Retraining schools were established and started in the summer of 1962 in arts and crafts, farm training, stenographic and clerical work. The Manpower Development and Training Act provided funds for a construction carpentry program to begin with at least twelve persons. When a housing program got under way, men trained in these classes did much of the work. Under the terms of the Public Works Acceleration Act, $50,000 was provided for timber stand improvement, forest access and fire protection roads, and forest visitor use facilities. (Meyer, p. 245).

Construction projects, such as the new high schools being built at White Shield, Mandaree and Parshall, provided only temporary employment for the people, who were looking for permanent jobs. Many efforts were started to attract industry to the reservation, but most failed.

Besides assisting in providing employment, mainly through public works projects, the federal government invested heavily in programs of greater long-range importance to the Fort Berthold people. Early in 1965 the Office of Economic Opportunity began making available funds for such purposes as a kindergarten, a remedial education program, a family counseling service, a livestock operator's training course, and credit union assistance. Of all the federally supported programs designed to aid the people was a massive housing project for the reservation and the neighboring towns of New Town and Parshall. Inaugurated in 1963, the plan proposed two types of housing: low-rent units and "mutual self-help" housing. (Meyer, p. 246).

Another permanent employer was the development of Four Bears Park into a major recreation center. In 1968 the Economic Development Administration approved a tribal application for grant-and-loan financing of a project, estimated to cost about $1,200,000, calling for a forty-unit motel, a cafe, a meeting room, a lounge, a trailer park, a marina building and a service station. This project was completed in June of 1972 and employed twenty-three members of the Tribes. (Meyer, p. 251).

A pottery-making enterprise started in 1966 employed only four tribal members. Northrop Dakota, a manufacturer of electronic assemblies for aircraft, including the Boeing 747, began their operations in October 1970, employing 30 people, of whom 20 were tribal members. The number increased to 45 by mid-1973.

Public Law 91-229 passed in 1970, enabled the Three Affiliated Tribes to receive a $300,000 Farmers Home Administration loan to buy up fractionated holdings and consolidate them into more efficient units. Because of these efforts, the amount of tribal land began to increase.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE

As a means to economic stability and the livelihood of tribes, Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act on October 17, 1988. This legislation authorized Class III casino gaming on Indian reservations. The Act also afforded Indian tribes the opportunity to enter into management agreements with outside investors to develop gaming facilities.

In the early 1990s, the Three Affiliated Tribes entered into a gaming compact with the State of North Dakota. The tribes undertook renovation of the existing Four Bears Motor Lodge, (a 1974, Office of Economic Opportunity Project), the conversion of the small gas station to a convenience store, and the construction of a recreational facility. The Four Bears Casino and Lodge was opened to the public on July 16, 1993. Over 90 percent of the 322 employees were tribal members. The Four Bears Casino and Lodge currently offers lodging, restaurant, live entertainment, several forms of gaming, and a video arcade. A bingo hall was added to accommodate over 300 players. In 2,000, a Center for hosting events was added onto the existing casino and in 2001, the lodging facilities were expanded.

Photo of the Four Bears Casino and Lodge, courtesy of Four Bears Casino and Lodge Management.

Photo of the Tribal Administration Complex, courtesy of the North Dakota Department of Public Instruction.

PRESENT DAY

The Fort Berthold Agency, formerly situated at Elbowoods until 1953 when it was flooded by the Garrison Dam, is now located in New Town. The reservation lies on both sides of the Missouri, including parts of Dunn, McKenzie, McLean and Mountrail counties. The seat of tribal government for the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nations lie four miles West of New Town. The Four Bears area includes the tribal administration building, Indian Health Services Clinic and Dialysis Unit, Casey Family Program, Ft. Berthold Day Care, KMHA Radio Station, MHA Times (Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara), the tribal newspaper and the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum. This complex is directly adjacent to the tribe's Four Bears Casino, Lodge, Events Center and Recreational Park.

Today, the Three Affiliated Tribes, as a governmental entity, administers many governmental, economic, health, welfare and educational programs, located in the Four Bears Complex area. The tribal administration operates in a modern business center. Revenues are generated primarily from various Government enterprises, programs and grants. From this location, The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nation, the Three Affiliated Tribes, carry out their sovereign responsibility of governance of the reservation and its people.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

- Pictographs
- Wintercount
- Oral Tradition
- Sacred Bundles

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Historically, how did the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Salmish record the events of their existence?

2. How are events recorded in contemporary times?

3. Compare and contrast plains tribes' methods of recording history and against that of other groups of people.

4. What is oral tradition and why is it crucial to cultural survival?

5. What role does oral tradition play in maintaining culture and cultural practices?

TIMELINE

TIMELINE
OF THE MANDAN, HIDATSA AND SAHNISH

(Prior to this date, archaeological records are obscure.)

900 A.D. Archeological study carbon dates existence of one group of Mandan at the Heart River region of what is North Dakota. Another claim they originated near the Gulf of Mexico. They migrate along the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers to the Heart River. Mandan occupy Missouri River Valley from mouth of Bad River in South Dakota to mouth of Knife River. Sahnish oral history traces ancestry to Central America and the Gulf of Mexico.

1450 Sahnish occupy Bad/Cheyenne River area. Southern most Mandan move north.

1541 Coronado encounters the Sahnish at the Big Blue River and Mill Creek Valley in Kansas.

1550 Awatixa Hidatsa village group settles at the mouth of the Knife River near the Mandan villages above the Heart River. Archeological findings support Hidatsa traditional villages at the mouth of the Knife River are occupied for a period of residence between 1550 to 1600.

1650 The Mandan villages are situated between Cannonball and Knife Rivers. The third band of Hidatsa, called Hidatsa Proper, leave their villages in the Devils Lake area and settle in the Missouri River Valley.

The River Crow, called Miro-Kac, separate from the Hidatsa Proper, move west with the introduction of firearms in the Great Lakes area.

1700 Spanish fur trader Le Seur finds Sahnish around the Fort Pierre area. Sahnish occupy 32 villages in the Missouri Trench.

1723 Sahnish living at the Arickara River (Grand) in South Dakota.

1734 Separation of Sahnish and Schirri bands near the Elk Horn River in Nebraska.

1738 Mandan visited by French explorer, Pierre Gaultier De Varennes De La Vérendrye.

1743 La Vérendryes' son arrives at mouth of Bad River where he meets Chief Little Cherry's Band of Sahnish.

1770 French establish a trading post at the mouth of the Cheyenne River in the Sahnish village.

1775 The Declaration of Independence is drafted by the colonists and the War for Independence begins.

1782 A smallpox epidemic devastates the Mandan at the Heart River village, the Hidatsa at the Knife river villages, and the Awaxawi at the Painted Woods region, and the Sahnish in the Grand River village sites.

1790 Trade and Intercourse Acts passed. First laws to regulate trade with Indian tribes.

1794 Jean Baptiste Trudeau, French fur trader, reports Sahnish still living North of the Arikara (Grand) River.

1797 David Thompson, a Canadian geographer and trader, visits the Mandan villages at the Heart River and the Hidatsa villages at the Knife River.

1803 United States President Thomas Jefferson commissions Merriweather Lewis and William Clark to explore the Louisiana Territory to open up commerce.

Lewis and Clark spend the winter at the villages of the Mandan and Hidatsa at Knife River. **1804-1805**

Sahnish village Chief, Aciita Neesanu (Ankedoucharo) travels to Washington where he dies on April 7, 1806 and is buried at Richmond. His unreported death a year later results in distrust between the Sahnish and the whites. **1805**

Shehek Shote (Sheheke) (White Coyote), Mandan Chief, of the Mih-Tutta-Hang Kush village, his wife, and son, interpreter Rene Jesseaume, travel to Washington to visit President Thomas Jefferson. Sheheke is nicknamed "Big White" by Lewis and Clark. **1806**

French trader, Alexander Henry, visits the Mandan and Hidatsa villages and spends ten days with them.

Shehek Shote, (White Coyote), Mandan Chief and family, escorted by a 14-man military escort and some traders attempt return to the Mandan villages but are met by hostile Arikara and Sioux. They return to St. Louis. They are accompanied by a 125 man escort and the American Fur Trade Company and they return to the Mandan villages. **1809**

Civilization Fund Act passed - First Indian education program is established. **1819**

Lt. Col. Leavenworth sent to punish the Sahnish. He and 700-800 Sioux attack a village - a turning point in Sahnish/White relations. Battle is called the War of 1823. General Henry Atkinson and Major Benjamin O'Fallon are appointed by President James Monroe to arrange treaties with Great Plains tribes, including the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara. **1823**

Indian Bureau is created under the War Department. **1824**

The United States Government ratifies the Atkinson and O'Fallon treaty with the Mandan, Hidatsa and the Arikara. The treaty is designed to secure friendship with the tribes, to control trade with the Indians and to protect white intruders on Indian lands. **1825**

George Catlin arrives at the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Knife river to make a record of the tribal traditions and customs. He sketches Sahnish people from boat because the Sahnish are too fierce and are feared. **1832**

Prince Maximilian of Wied Neuwied and Karl Bodmer visit the Mandan and Hidatsa villages. Bodmer paints the Mandan Chief, Four Bears and Two Raven of the Dog Society. **1833**

Twenty-four Sahnish arrive at the Mandan village. The rest of the band is still in the Black Hills and some are camped on the Knife River. A band of Sahnish is living with the Mandan and the Hidatsa. **1835-36**

The American Fur Company steamboat, the St. Peters, docks at Fort Clark. On board was a man afflicted with smallpox. He is taken ashore. Within weeks and the following months, hundreds of Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish, at their various villages, die of the disease. **1837**

When the smallpox kills most of their numbers, the remaining Mandan move to the Missouri bottomlands to their winter villages. In their absense, the Sahnish move into their village. The surviving Mandan are joined by the Hidatsa. Maxidivia, Waheenee, Hidatsa oral historian, is born at Knife River. **1838**

Father DeSmet visits the villages of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish on his way back to St. Louis from a visit with the Flatheads and Nez Perce. **1840**

1845	The first trading post in the area is built by James Kipp, and is called Fort James. The name is later changed to Fort Berthold, named after the last prominent fur trading family of St. Louis. Mandan and Hidatsa build Like-A-Fishhook village led by Hidatsa Chief Four Bears.
1849	Indian Bureau is transferred from the War Department to the Department of Interior.
1851	A delegation travels to Fort Laramie to make a treaty with the tribes on the Great Plains. The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara are accompanied by Father DeSmet, a friend and counselor. The meeting lasts for 18 days. This Fort Laramie Treaty defines the Three Tribes territory consisting of 12,618,301 acres.
1851-56	Cholera epidemic strikes upper Missouri tribes.
1861	The American Civil War begins. The United States government is preoccupied with the war and ignores its treaty agreements with tribes. March 2, Dakota Territory is created by President James Buchanan. This Act opens the way for U.S. Government to build forts in Indian territory.
1862	The Hidatsa Chief, Four Bears, is killed near Like-a-Fishhook village by a Sioux raiding party. A few bands of the Sahnish join the Mandan and Hidatsa at Like-A-Fishhook village, the rest remain across the river because the sacred bundles were to remain on the west side at the Star village. Fort Atkinson is absorbed by Fort Berthold, which is then affiliated with the American Fur Company. The Sioux burn abandoned Fort Berthold and the greater villages. The new Fort Berthold, however, is defended.
1864	Washington Matthews, Asst. surgeon of the United States Army is stationed at Ft. Stevenson near Fishhook Village and writes Mandan and Hidatsa history and customs.
1865	The American Civil War ends.
1866	July 27, the Arikara, Mandan and Hidatsa sign the Agreement at Fort Berthold, Dakota Territory.
1867	Bloody Knife, the son of a Sahnish mother and a Sioux father, is employed at Fort Berthold as a mail carrier, and as a scout for General Sully and General Custer.
1868	Mahlon Wilkinson becomes the first government Indian agent to be in Fort Berthold. Colonel DeTrobriand enlists ten Sahnish men, including Bloody Knife, as scouts for the United States Army. Various bands of Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Crow, Assinaboine, Grose Ventre, Mandan and Arickara sign the second Ft. Laramie Treaty. Present states of Montana, Wyoming, North and South Dakota are designated as Indian Territory within the treaty.
1870	Southern most portion of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara territory is taken by Presidential Executive Order. Fort Berthold Reservation is established, small tract of land on east side of Missouri is added to territorial claim to ensure Like-A-Fishhook village is located on the reservation. Total acreage lost 7,833,043. After internal conflict, Chief Crow Flies High, Bobtail Bull and their followers leave Like-A-Fishhook village and move northwest to an area near Fort Buford. Agent H.L. Clifford opens a day school at Fort Berthold. A total of 22 girls and 16 boys attend. In the spring, when the services of the students are needed at home, attendance declines. Agent Tappen closes the school.
1871	Durfee and Peck, fur traders, sell old Fort Berthold to the government for $8,000 dollars, and it becomes the Agency headquarters.

There are now 40 Sahnish Scouts in the U.S. Army. Frederick Gerard, trader, is the interpreter. **1872**

Sperry becomes U.S. government agent at Fort Berthold and opens a government day school which operates continuously to 1876. The Northern Pacific Railroad is completed to Bismarck. It opens the way to bring in homesteaders. Yellowstone Expedition in which Ree Scouts accompany Generals Stanley & Custer. **1873**

The old government agency buildings burn down and along with them all the records of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Edward Smith, urges the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara to leave Fort Berthold and move to the Indian Territory in Oklahoma. A delegation makes the trip and returns choosing to remain where they had lived for centuries. Sahnish scouts are in the Black Hills with Custer when gold is discovered. Discovery brings a tide of gold miners into Sioux territory, violating the 1851 and 1868 Ft. Laramie Treaties. **1874**

The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara meet in council with their hereditary enemies, the Sioux at Fort Abraham Lincoln to sign a treaty of peace. **1875**

Thirty-four Sahnish enlist to serve as scouts for a 7th Cavalry military expedition to Greasy Grass, Montana. C.L. Hall of the Congregational Church arrives at Like-a-Fishhook village and opens mission school. Son of the Star (Arikara Chief), Crows Breast (Hidatsa Chief), and Red Cow (Mandan Chief), sign a document to give land for the congregational mission. Battle of the Little Big Horn takes place between the Sioux warriors and Custer's Seventh Cavalry. **1876**

Captain Richard H. Pratt takes 12 Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara children and a 26 year-old mother of the youngest child from the Fort Berthold Reservation to Hampton Institute in Virginia. **1878**

Son of the Star (Sahnish Chief) and Poor Wolf (Awaxawi Chief), go to Hampton Institute in Virginia. After this visit, the chiefs allow more Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara children to attend. Majority of the reservation, a total of 1,193,788 acres is ceded by Executive Order, without consultation or consent of the tribes. **1880**

Oscar H. Will, a horticulturist, establishes a seed company in Bismarck and obtains squash, corn, beans and sunflower seeds from the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara at Like-a-Fishhook village, who planted and perfected the seeds. **1882**

The Indian agent, breaks land 20 miles upstream from Like-a-Fishhook village and has the earth lodges and cabins burned to persuade the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara to relocate and take up farming. **1884**

Like-A-Fishhook village is abandoned. Eight communities, Beaver Creek, Charging Eagle, Elbowoods, Independence, Lucky Mound, Nishu, Red Butte and Shell Creek, are gradually settled along the Missouri River. The government issues an order prohibiting the practice of tribal ceremonies, such as the Okipa (Mandan ceremony) and Naxpike (Hidatsa ceremony). Act of Congress passed May 15, 1886, ratified in 1891, provides for the allotment of the tribal land base. The U.S. Government obtains agreement of the tribes to relinquish lands. Under this allotment act, nearly two-thirds of reservation is ceded leaving 965,620 acres. The tribes receive $80,000 annually for 10 years "for their civilization and education." Congress passes Dawes Allotment Act, providing for allotment of Indian lands in severalty. **1886**

1888 Rations (dry goods and food) are withheld by the agent from families who do not send their children to school. White ranchers trespass on tribal lands that lie West of the Missouri River and illegally graze six to ten thousand cattle on the reservation. The government meets with stockmen and they agree to pay in beef cattle or fifty cents an acre.

1889 North Dakota becomes a state.
Last Mandan Okipa ceremony held.
Wolf Chief, Hidatsa, and Son of the Star, Sahnish Chief, request the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. to grant Fort Berthold a school. A boarding school and a day school are authorized.

1890 Fort Berthold government agency building burns down. New agency is located at Elbowoods, 20 miles upstream.

1891 May 20 - The United States Congress ratifies the Agreement of 1886. Passage of the Allotment Act of 1891 allows tribal members to become citizens, "with the same rights and immunities as all American citizens. Tribal members pay taxes, vote and thousands of acres of land are lost to taxes. The Department of Interior disributes cattle of each Indian family to maintain a living.

1892 The government prohibits sale of liquor to Indians.

1894 Crow Flies High band is returned to the Shell Creek area of the Fort Berthold Reservation. Fort Berthold reservation is officially surveyed and 949 allotments are made to individual tribal members.

1895 Two day schools are opened. One is located at Independence and the other at Elbowoods.

1896 The government opens a day school at Shell Creek. Charles Hoffman, a young, educated Sahnish, is hired as a teacher.

1897 The deserted military reservation of Fort Stevenson, approximately seventeen miles from Fort Berthold, is sold by the War Department. Charles L. Hall establishes a school at Ft. Stevenson and operates the school for ten years.

1898 Harry Eaton, Hidatsa, Allan Horn, Hidatsa and Eli Perkins, Sahnish, enlist in the Army and serve in the Spanish American War.

1899 Fort Berthold citizens register to vote and cast more than 100 votes at a county commissioner election in Elbowoods and Armstrong.

1900 U. S Indian Scout Post #1 Scout Cemetery is established ten miles east of Nishu.

1907 Sacred Waterbuster Bundle of the Hidatsa is sold to the Heye Museum in New York.

1909 Winters v. United States - Supreme Court case that creates the Reserved Water Rights Doctrine which forms the basis of case law establishing the Doctrine of Reserved Rights to water.

1910 June 11 - The Homestead Act is passed and Congress opens 21 full and partial townships North and East of the Missouri River which opens up 320,000 acres of prime grasslands in the northeast quadrant of the reservation for homesteading. As a token of Indian self-government, a business committee of ten members, four Hidatsa, three Mandan and three Arikara is formed. They are appointed to serve as advisory body to the Indian Bureau superintendent. This council is referred to as "The Ten."

World War I - 30 Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish enlist and serve. Some are not citizens.	**1914-1918**
Arikara narratives of the Battle of the Little Big Horn are published by O.G. Libby of the North Dakota State Historical Society.	
All American Indians are unilaterally granted United States citizenship.	**1924**
Seven of the original twelve Sahnish Bundles are still in existence.	**1925**
Melvin Gilmore writes a series of articles on the Arikara in a publication called Indian Notes, published in New York.	**1926-1832**
Twenty thousand dollars appropriated by Congress for a hospital on the Ft. Berthold Reservation. The hospital is built in 1930 at Elbowoods. The Meriam Report is submitted to the Secretary of the Interior, called "The Problem of Indian Administration," report decries the appalling conditions of Indian people.	**1928**
Alfred Bowers begins his study of the Mandan and Hidatsa. Martha Beckwith, a folklorist, publishes three volumes of Myths and Legends of the Mandan and Hidatsa.	**1829**
The Court of Claims orders Federal Government to compensate the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara for 11 million acres for the 1870 and 1880 land cessions. Five million is awarded. The Bureau of Indian Affairs offsets three million for services rendered. Two million is distributed as per capita payments.	**1930-31**
The U.S. Department of Interior and the Army Corps of Engineers conduct the first feasibility study of Garrison Dam. The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara strongly object.	**1931**
John Collier is appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs.	**1933**
The Johnson O'Malley Act is passed. The administration of Indian programs is assigned to numerous federal agencies. Congress passes the Indian Reorganization Act to reverse the trend of splitting and the sale of Indian land holdings and provides for a system of tribal self-governance. The Four Bears Bridge is built over the Missouri River near Elbowoods connecting Red Butte, Charging Eagle and Halliday.	**1934**
An Indian Health Services Division in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior, is established. The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara accept the Indian Reorganization Act and adopt a constitution, by-laws, and business charter. A 10-member tribal council is elected.	**1936**
The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara adopt a corporate charter.	**1937**
Foolish Bear, Drags Wolf, and interpreter Arthur Mandan go to the Heye Museum, New York City, to bring back the Hidatsa Waterbuster bundle to the Ft. Berthold Reservation.	**1938**
The United States enters World War II. Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish women (10) and men (214) serve. Six men are killed in action.	**1941-45**
Colonel Lewis A. Pick and W. Glenn Sloan draw up separate proposals for a dam on the Missouri River. Tribal Council passes resolution strongly opposing any dam below the reservation.	**1943**
The National Congress of American Indians, an advocacy organization for national Indian issues, is formed in Denver, Colorado. The Flood Control Act of 1944 is passed by Congress. Known as the Pick-Sloan Project the act is named after the two engineers, Lewis A. Pick & W. Glenn Sloan.	**1944**

1946	Indian Claims Act passed establishing the Indian Claims Commission. The Act provided a forum for Indian tribes settle land claims against the U.S. government.
1947-1954	Garrison Dam under construction. Time is great upheaval for tribal members as they are relocated to the uplands, and movement from a subsistence to a cash economy.
1947	Public Law 296 appropriates $5,105,625 as partial payment of lands taken as a result of dam.
1949	Hoover Commission on Reorganization is authorized and recommends the termination of Federal control over Indians and their lands. Public Law 437 provides an additional $7.5 million allocation for "land readjustment" and to compensate for U. S. breach of treaties as a result of the construction of the Garrison Dam. Land area taken includes 154,911.61 acres within reservation boundaries. Funds are distributed on per capita basis in 1956. The Three Tribes members vote to accept the law.
1950-53	America is involved in the Korean Conflict. One hundred thirty four tribal members serve, three of whom are women. Two tribal members are killed in action and two become prisoners of war for three years.
1952	The Bureau of Indian Affairs establishes a national relocation program for all tribes and Indian families move to such cities as St. Louis, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, etc.
1953	House Concurrent Resolution 108 is passed and is the first of several acts calling for the termination of federal trust status over Indian land. The U.S. Indian Scout Cemetery is moved to the West of White Shield.
1951-1954	New communities of Lucky Mound, Twin Buttes, White Shield and Mandaree are established. Tribal government and Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters are moved to New Town.
1955	Act passed transferring Indian Health Service from Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Public Health Service.
1962	Tribes become eligible for loans from the U.S. Housing and Urban Development Program and the Farmers Home Administration.
1964	Economic Opportunity Act provides means for tribes to participate in and control their own programs for economic development. Tribal Museum is built by tribal, state and federal funds and private donations. The American Indian Policy Review Commission is established. It is the first national study conducted on all programs for Indians by Indian people.
1965-73	Vietnam War - 18 women and 258 Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish men serve. Four are killed in action.
1970	The Four Bears Complex is built. Facilities include the construction of a motor lodge and resort area. Northrop Corporation, an electronics plant, begins operations in New Town.
1971	Community Action Programs (CAP) start under the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).
	Congress passes the Indian Education Act of 1972. Funded as a part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the law creates an Office of Indian Education, as well as a National Advisory Council on Indian Education. The act, designed to improve the quality of education for Indian students, provides funds to public schools.

City of New Town vs. United States. 8th Circuit Court of Appeals. The court decides the Homestead Act of June 1, 1910 did not alter the boundaries of the reservation, but merely opened up some reservation lands for homesteading. The court finds that the cities of New Town and Parshall are legally within the boundaries of the reservation. **1972**CONTINUED

Fort Berthold Community College is established. **1973**

Fort Berthold Community College is chartered. **1974**

Congress passes the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, expanding tribal control over reservation programs and authorizing federal funds to build needed public school facilities on or near Indian reservations. **1975**

TERO (Tribal Employment Rights Office) opened at Fort Berthold. **1977**

Tribal administration building completed and occupied in August. KMHA Tribal Radio Station is incorporated. **1978**

Three Tribes establishes Air Pollution Monitoring Program, one of the first tribal programs of its kind on an Indian reservation. **1981**

Three Affiliated Tribes amends tribal constitution extending jurisdiction over all lands, including lands held in fee simple and over all persons, including non-Indians, within the exterior boundaries of the Fort Berthold Reservation. **1985**

Garrison Unit Joint Tribal Advisory Committee (JTAC) is created by the Department of the Interior to examine and make recommendations on the effects of the Garrison Dam on the Fort Berthold and Standing Rock Indian Reservations. **1986**

Final report submitted in 1986. Cabazon Case. Tribes win the right to hold gaming on Indian reservations.

Mandan Hidatsa and Arickara Times newspaper is established. **1987**

National Indian Gaming Commission, a federal regulatory commission within the U.S. Department of Interior, is established. **1988**

Mandaree Electronics, a for-profit corporation is changed to Mandaree Enterprises, and develops jobs through private and government contracts. Casey Family Program establishes and build program office on the Fort Berthold Reservation and constructs a day care center for the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara tribes. Construction begins on the Municipal Rural & Industrial Water Project and a Dialysis Center. **1990**

Persian Gulf War. Six tribal members serve. **1991**

The Three Affiliated Tribes signs a gaming compact with the State of North Dakota. The Fort Berthold Community College constructs a new facility designed to serve as the main administration building. **1992**

Based upon recommendations of the Garrison Unit Joint Tribal Advisory Committee (JTAC) $149.2 million is awarded to the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara tribes by the U.S. Congress.

Four Bears Casino is built within the renovated Four Bears Motor Lodge. **1993**

1995	The graves at the Old Scouts Cemetery near White Shield are reburied from North to South to East and West. The United States Army Corps of Engineers, disregarding Sahnish burial traditions during the construction of the Garrison Dam, faced the graves in the wrong direction.
1997	Fort Berthold Community College expands with new classrooms, science labs and additional parking space.
2000	Four Bears Casino & Lodge expands to include an Events Center.
2001	Four Bears Casino & Lodge constructs additional rooms onto the Lodge. A marina is planned for the Four Bears Recreation Complex. Thirty million is appropriated by Congress for the construction of a new bridge to replace the existing Four Bears Bridge.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Traditional land base
- Subsistence vs. Development
- Ownership vs. Severalty

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. The traditional seasonal cycle by which the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish (Arikara) supported themselves and structured their family life is dependent upon the land. What effect does placement on a reservation and limited land base have upon the people and upon their lifestyles?

2. Is the Fort Berthold Reservation land base of sufficient size and quality to support the tribes and the peoples needs?
   Why?
   Why not?

3. Very often, tribes were placed in geographic areas in which the soil was not arable. Review soil and growing season maps, assess what types of soil and growing seasons had on traditional lifestyles for native groups and on non-native groups.

4. Do a comparative analysis of the distribution of agricultural land to native groups and non-native groups. Based upon data, what are the consequences of land distribution?

5. How have native peoples adapted to their current environment?
   Assess and provide a report.

6. Compare and contrast the economy on the reservation to neighboring communities.

7. Does the tribe have a stable economic infrastructure? (Private business sector).

8. If so, for what period of time has the economic infrastructure flourished and what has been the impact on the community?
   On neighboring communities?

DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE FORT BERTHOLD RESERVATION

LAND BASE
LAND STATUS
TOPOGRAPHY & CLIMATE
POPULATION
TRANSPORTATION
LABOR FORCE
INFRASTRUCTURE (SERVICES)

DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE FORT BERTHOLD RESERVATION

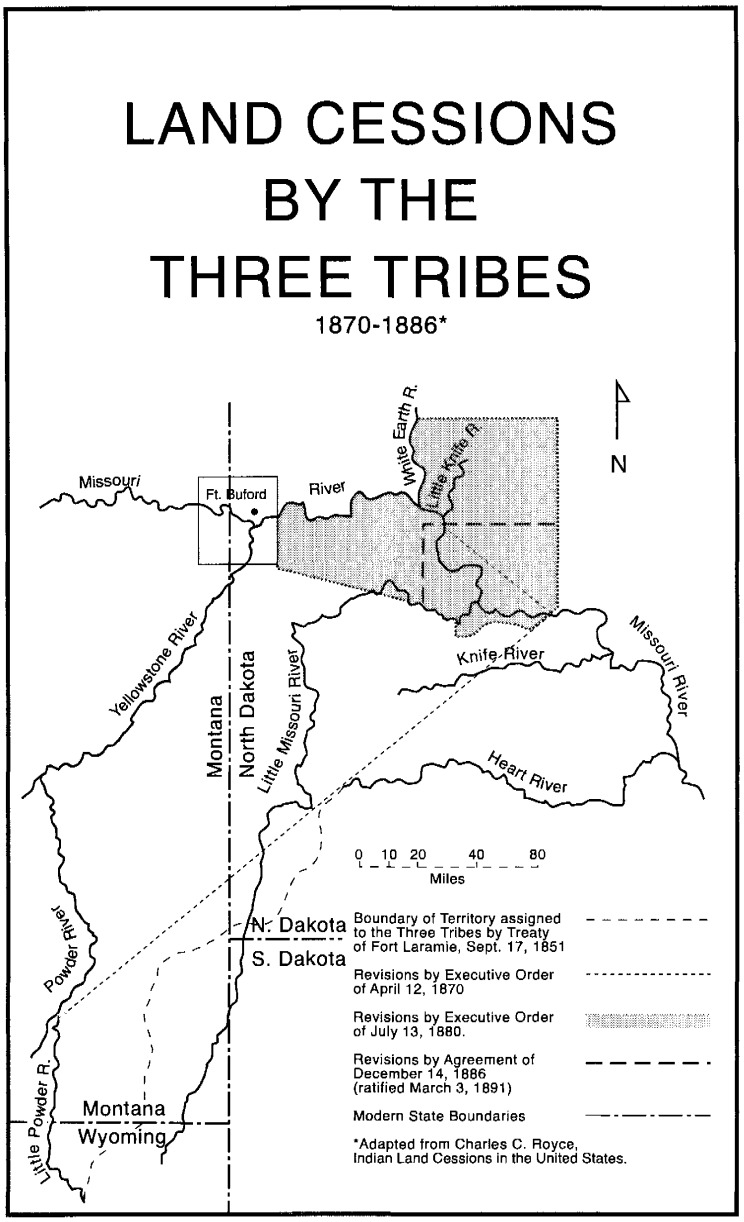


Figure 9 Map of the Land Cessions and present boundaries of the Fort Berthold Reservation. Adapted from Royce,

LAND BASE

The traditional territorial lands of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara encompassed an area of more than 12 million acres extending from east of the Missouri River to Montana and south as far as present day Nebraska and Wyoming. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 and subsequent executive orders and congressional acts between 1851 and 1910 reduced the original size of the reservation from roughly 12 million acres to .5 million acres of Indian-owned land.

LAND STATUS

The Fort Berthold Reservation is situated in western North Dakota. The reservation occupies sections of six counties: Mountrail, McLean, Dunn, McKenzie, Mercer, and Ward. The total area within the boundaries of the reservation is approximately one million acres, of which about one-half is trust land. Lake Sakakawea covers 155,000 acres of reservation land and about 600 miles of reservation shoreline. Currently, the reservation acreage is more than 980,000 acres of which 356,998 acres are individually allotted, 353,790 acres are in the returned homestead area, and 152,000 acres are in the reservoir taking area. (North Dakota Blue Book, 1996.)

TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

The Fort Berthold Reservation is situated on the western edge of the Missouri Coteau (Hills of the Missouri). Glaciers formed the topography of this area late in the Cretaceous Period. Erosion further shaped the area. The Missouri Coteau and the Coteau Slope separate the central lowlands of North Dakota on the east, from the Great Plains, on the west. The eastern portions of the Fort Berthold Reservation resemble the Great Plains and are characterized by small rolling hills and valleys. The south and western portions of the reservation are comprised of rolling uplands, large hills and valleys, buttes and badlands.

The Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara settled and farmed along the river bottom of the Missouri River for centuries. The river's bottomlands afforded them with ideal spots for home sites. In the summer, they built their lodges near the river and planted their crops on the floodplains accessible to water to sustain their large crops. In the winter, they lived under bluffs that provided protection from depredations, and from the elements. The centuries of existence in the bottomlands, with its rich and fertile soil, allowed the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish time to develop many hybrid forms of beans, corn, squash, and sunflowers. The area was also abundant in Chert, a pure, extremely hard, micro-crystalline quartz. Another variety of Chert, called Knife River Flint, was used extensively by the ancestors of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara as a raw material for tools. The term "Knife River," is an English translation of the Hidatsa name, *Metsi Ashi* which was given because flint for knives was quarried along the river. *(Hidatsa Curriculum Review Committee, 1999, June 29.)*

Annual precipitation ranges from 14 - 16 inches. The average number of growing days is 110 - 119 with approximately 130 - 139 days of 28 degrees and above temperatures (U.S. Department of Interior 1971, p. 117, Schneider p. 142).

POPULATION

The Fort Berthold Reservation is divided into six political subdivisions or segments: Independence, Mandaree, New Town/Little Shell, Twin Buttes, White Shield, Four Bears, and Parshall/Lucky Mound represent the major settlements of the reservation. (ND. Blue Book, 1995, P. 34, Ch. 1.)

The flooding of the bottomlands of the Missouri River destroyed the long-established Indian population centers of the Fort Berthold Reservation. Before the United States built the reservoir, 289 out of 357 households were living in the reservoir area. The construction of the Garrison Dam and the creation of Lake Sakakawea divided the reservation into five segments. After the original eight communities were moved up to the uplands, families were relocated throughout the reservation. Currently, some of the people live in the communities and surrounding areas of Mandaree, White Shield, Twin Buttes, and Four Bears. The current resident population is approximately 10,000.

TRANSPORTATION

The construction of the Garrison Dam and Lake Sakakawea drastically altered the original transportation system of the reservation. After construction of the dam, the Government flooded 80 percent of the road system. It was necessary to build 230 miles of new highways at a cost of $3.2 million. The project was completed in the fall of 1954. (Shane, p. 24).

Today the people of the Fort Berthold Reservation have access to three major highways, and the Interstate system. Highway 1804, the historic route of Lewis and Clark,

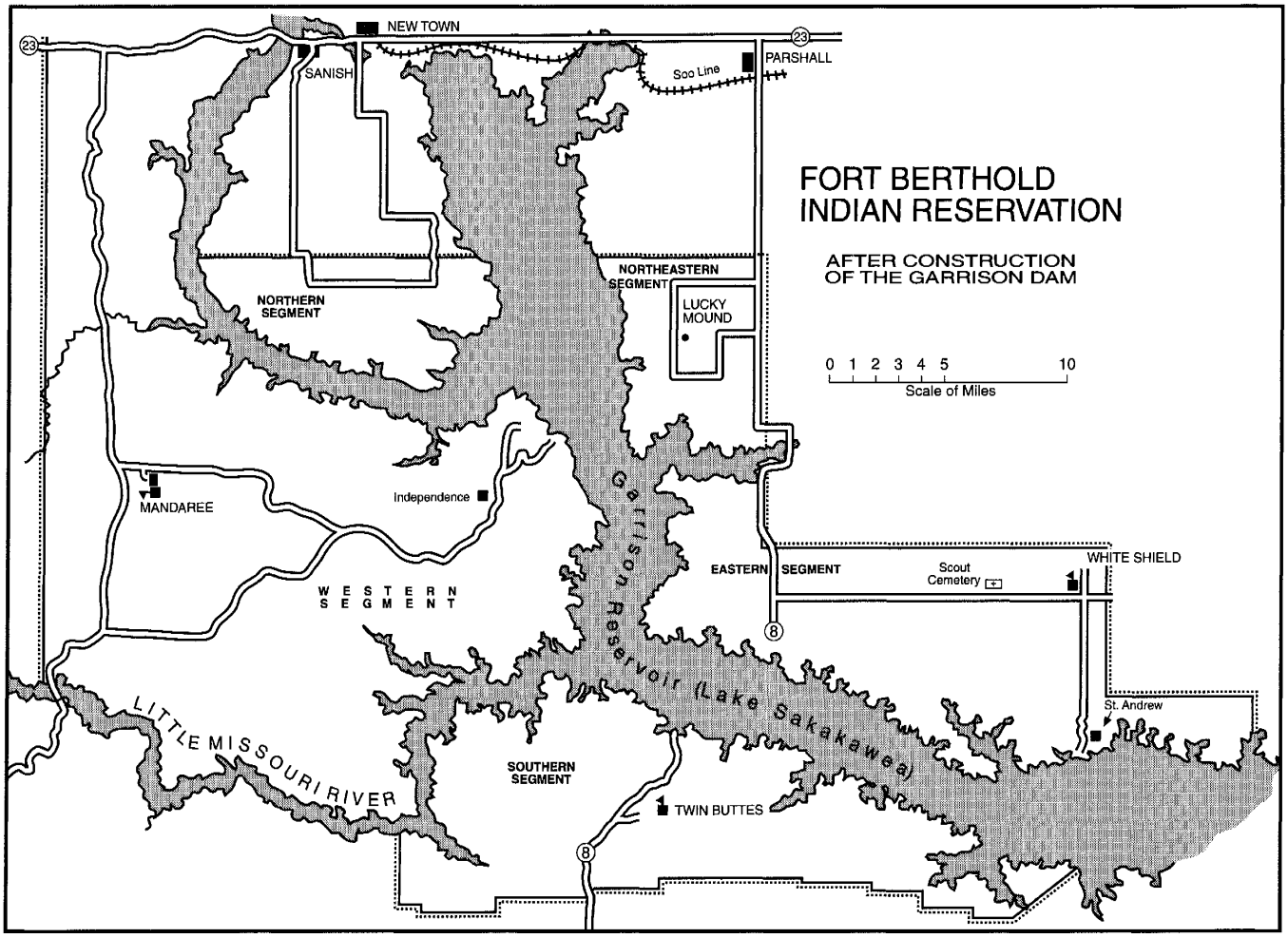


Figure 10 Map of the Fort Berthold Reservation and communities established after the Garrison Dam, adapted from Royce, Charles C. in Meyers, 1977, p. 193.

borders the east river bank of the Missouri River. Its counterpart, Highway 1806, follows Highway 22 on the western border of the Fort Berthold Reservation. This highway, along with highway 200, serve as the main transportation routes for the communities of Mandaree, Killdeer, and Twin Buttes. The main northern transportation connection point between the eastern and western portions of the reservation is the Four Bears Bridge located west of New Town, ND. The United States Army Corps of Engineers moved the Four Bears Bridge from Elbowoods after the construction of the Garrison Dam. To reach the southern portion of the reservation, residents sometimes have to drive a distance of about 100 miles to reach outlying communities. Original plans to construct a bridge on the southern part of the reservoir have been tabled in favor of seeking support for replacement of the antiquated and narrow Four Bears Bridge. The replacement of the Four Bears Bridge was approved in the year 2000.

LABOR FORCE

According to the 1990 census, Indian reservations in North Dakota were the only areas in the state where the population increased by county. Normally, the age distribution of a population is important when determining the labor supply in the area. Age distributions generally do not change significantly in the short-term unless large population changes have occurred in the area. With the growth of economic activity generated by the establishment of casinos and other economic ventures associated with industry and business, population statistics sho steady increases as Indain people return home.

INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES

The tribal headquarters of the Three Affiliated Tribes was built in 1979 and is located four miles west of New Town on state highway 23. The main communities on the reservation are experiencing growth in the commercial, industrial, and business sectors. The government sector, consisting of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, administration of the Three Affiliated Tribes, and its enterprises and Indian Health Services, is still the major employer on the reservation. Residents travel to Bismarck, Dickinson, Minot or Williston for wholesale shopping. Railroad, commercial, and charter air transportation services are available in Minot and Bismarck, N.D. New Town and Parshall have landing strips for smaller aircraft.

TRIBALLY ADMINISTERED PROGRAMS:

TRIBAL EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS OFFICE (TERO)

The Tribal Employment Rights Office was founded and based on the results of laws that allowed Indian preference in employment and contracting. These laws, in effect since the early 1960s, were poorly enforced. The Three Affiliated Tribes established a Tribal Employment Rights Office (TERO) in 1977 to ensure equal opportunity in the employment of tribal members. In addition, the tribe also passed a tribal employment ordinance. With increased economic activity caused by the oil boom of the 1980s the ordinance was revised to ensure Indian contractors were afforded opportunities in the oil industry.

ENVIRONMENTAL DIVISION

The Three Affiliated Tribes was one of the first tribes in the nation to start an Environmental Division of its tribal administration. In 1981, the tribe authorized an air-monitoring program. Since that time, the Environmental Division has grown to encompass a variety of programs.

CHILD CARE

The Casey Family Foundation, a nationwide nonprofit foster-care organization committed its resources to the welfare of Indian children. On the Fort Berthold Reservation, this foundation has provided financing to the Three Affiliated Tribes for the establishment of a day-care facility. This facility provides services primarily to the children of working parents and single parents who are furthering their education. The Tribal Business Council adopted North Dakota's child care rules and regulations, and all employees must qualify under a program that certifies training in CPR, first aid, health, safety and sanitation procedures, nutrition, socialization and early childhood development.

HOUSING

One of the greatest needs on the reservation is the need for housing. The Fort Berthold Housing Authority was established in 1968. Under its administration, 457 mutual self-help and low-rent housing units are maintained. The Fort Berthold Housing Authority is one of 180 such programs situated throughout Indian Country.

DRUG ELIMINATION PROGRAM

The Three Affiliated Tribes with the Fort Berthold Housing Authority currently operates a drug elimination and youth sports program, and a cultural program. Program funds provide facilities that offer alternative activities for youth throughout the year and serves as an outreach resource to all Fort Berthold communities.

BUFFALO PROJECT

The Fort Berthold buffalo herd of 350 roam freely on a 13,000 acre preserve near Mandaree, ND. Considerable work went into this project to assure it's independent operation. Each year the Tribe donates buffalo meat for ceremonial purposes, community functions, ceremonies, and celebrations.

BUSINESS SECTOR

FOUR BEARS CASINO AND LODGE

The Four Bears Casino and Lodge, was opened to the public on July 16, 1993. Located in the Four Bears community, 4 miles west of New Town, ND, the facility was constructed on the site of the original Four Bears Lodge, built in 1972. The facility offers a 96 room motel, a full service restaurant, a gift shop, and a high-stakes gaming facility, including bingo.

The Three Affiliated Tribes operates and maintains the gaming facility. The Casino and Lodge employ more than 322 individuals, up to 79 percent of whom are tribal members.

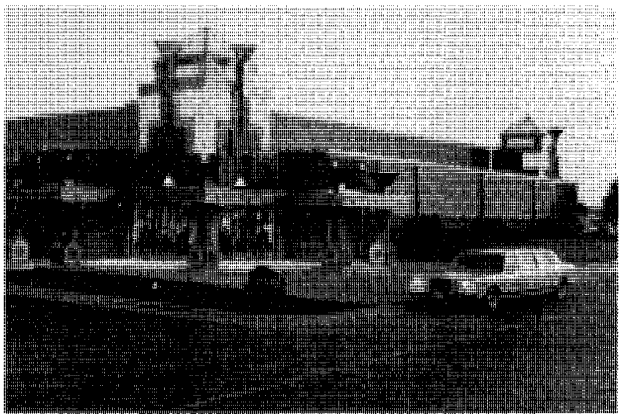


Photo of Four Bears Casino and Lodge, courtesy of Four Bears Casino and Lodge

FOUR BEARS CONVENIENCE STORE AND GAS STATION

A 24-hour convenience store and gas station was opened in 1993. This facility, placed next to the Casino and Lodge, provides a convenient stop for tourists and visitors to the area.

FOUR BEARS RECREATION PARK

The Four Bears Recreation Park is located on the shoreline of Lake Sakakawea and adjacent to the Four Bears Lodge and Casino. The Park features 85 sites, twenty-five of which are full-service featuring electrical hookups, water, sewer facilities, laundry and shower facilities and twenty-four primitive sites. future development is planned.

THE THREE AFFILIATED TRIBES MUSEUM

The Three Affiliated Tribes Museum was built in 1964 with funds from the Economic Development Administration, the Tribe, and funds from a trust fund established by an Arikara tribal member, Helen Gough, of White Shield. A Board of Directors govern the Museum and are responsible for maintaining the museum's collections and exhibits. The museum is open from April through November.

FORT BERTHOLD COMMUNITY COLLEGE

The Fort Berthold Community College was established in New Town in 1973, and chartered in 1974. A seven-member board of directors oversees the operation of the college. From 1973 to 1992, the college existed in makeshift facilities. A modern centralized facility

was built in New Town in 1992 offering administrative offices, classrooms, vocational and technical labs, a lecture room, and a student union. Classrooms and a library were added later. In 1997, new classrooms, a science lab and an expanded parking lot were added.

Fort Berthold Community College, by nature of it's charter, serves the community. Satellite sites have been established in the communities of Twin Buttes, Mandaree, and White Shield. Enrollment averages 270 students per semester, 80 percent of whom are Native American. Land Grant Institution *status was granted in 1984. The North Central Association of Schools and Colleges granted the college accreditation in February of 1988. In 1996, the college was accredited for an additional ten years. Fort Berthold Community College is a member of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) a consortium of 46 Indian-controlled community colleges located across the United States. (TAT OIEP Report, 1996).

DIALYSIS CENTER

The Three Affiliated Tribes Dialysis Center, located in the Four Bears Community, offers medical care for dialysis patients throughout the reservation. Patients are transported for treatment. This facility is the first of this kind to receive federal funding to develop medical care focused on unique health needs and care for diabetic patients. This is the first facility of its kind to receive state and federal funds and is developed as a stand licensed diabetic facility of its kind. Prior to this time, patients had to be transported several hours to major cities for treatment.

INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

NORTHROP CORPORATION

Northrop Manufacturing is located on the eastern edge of the city of New Town, ND. The facility manufactures and develops air frames, missiles, and electronic systems for the Stealth Bomber, and receives contracts from the Department of Defense, National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), and commercial aviation companies. The plant currently employs ninety-five people. Tribal members comprise approximately 24 percent of the company's employees.

MANDAREE ELECTRONICS CORPORATION (MEC)

Mandaree Electronics Corporation (MEC) is a tribally chartered corporation established in the Mandaree Community. MEC employs and provides training to tribal members to produce or assemble circuit boards and wire harnesses for the military. Northrop Corporation and Killdeer Manufacturing of North Dakota Corporation provide equipment, and technical assistance and training. Individuals trained at this location serves as the labor supply for Northrop Corporation and Killdeer Manufacturing companies and other electronics firms.

FOOTNOTE

* In 1862 congress passed the Morrill Act which established the Land Grant university system. President Abraham Lincoln signed into law what is generally referred to as the Land Grant Act. This legislation granted to each state 30,000 acres of public land for each Senator and Representative under apportionment based on the 1860 census. Proceeds from the sale of these lands were to be invested in a perpetual endowment fund which would provide support for colleges of agriculture and mechanical arts in each of the states.

In 1994, Congress, under the Improving America's School Act of 1994, Part C - 1994 Institutions created a new section entitled "Equity in Educational Land - Grant Status Act of 1994." This legislation granted "Land Grant status" to 29 tribally-controlled community colleges nationwide and authorized appropriations to these institutions.

Land Grant and Sea-Grant Information Land Grants and Sea-Grants Acts, History and Institutions, pp.1-5; Land Grants 1994 Native Indian Legislation, pp.1-4. (Retrieval date 12/6/00) University of Florida - Availability: Internet: http://gnv.ifas.ufl.edu/www/ls-grant/

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Traditional forms of governance
- Modern forms of governance

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How does governance differ in traditional and modern forms of tribal governments?

2. What characteristics of limited and unlimited government apply to tribal governments?
   To state governments?
   To the federal government?

3. There are several kinds of relationships between the central government of a nation and other units of government within that nation. What types of relationships exist among tribal, local, and state governments, and the federal government?

4. How are tribal governments the same as municipal and state governments?
   How do they differ?

5. There are alternative ways of organizing constitutional governments - for example, representative, electoral. How are tribal governments organized?

6. Can tribal governments be defined as confederal, federal, or unitary systems of governments?
   Why?
   Why not?

THREE AFFILIATED TRIBES GOVERNMENT

TRADITIONAL THREE TRIBES GOVERNMENT

MANDAN TRADITIONAL GOVERNANCE
HIDATSA TRADITIONAL GOVERNANCE
SAHNISH TRADITIONAL GOVERNANCE

CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

TRADITIONAL MANDAN, HIDATSA AND ARIKARA (SAHNISH) GOVERNMENT

MANDAN TRADITIONAL GOVERNANCE

Historically, each village had a "war chief" and a "village chief." Among the Mandan, leadership was closely associated with ownership of sacred bundles. Up until 1885 or so, the village and tribal leadership of the Mandan was vested in the principal bundle owners or spiritual leaders. This group consisted of headmen whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. Two leaders of equal status were selected from this group whose war or peacemaking record exceeded all others or who had acquired considerable popularity with the people. One whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in the council to be war chief. A second chief was selected who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. They were entitled to wear a headdress of buffalo horns and ermine during council meetings and on special occasions, and during peace making discussions with neighboring tribes.

The authority of the chiefs extended only over important tribal affairs, such as moving the camp, trading and peace ceremonies with other tribes. They were expected to cooperate for the general welfare of the village. (Bowers, p. 34) Even in such matters a chief usually consulted a group of prominent men, who in some cases acted as a formal council.

Mandan historians suggest that sons of chiefs were usually selected, since they were better trained and were exposed to sacred bundles. A study of Mandan lineage could not establish the accuracy of this opinion, since all family bloodlines with chiefs, except Four Bears, were broken by smallpox. This lineage has the following inheritance of chiefs: Good Boy was chief at On-a-Slant Village (near present day Mandan, ND) after the first smallpox epidemic and lived at Fort Clark for nine years as first chief, where he died. Four Bears, son of Good Boy, was chief for many years. An essential function of a chief was to mold public opinion so that a village could act in unison. A chief was considered eminent if there had been little conflict during his leadership. Good Boy, chief of Slant Village after the smallpox epidemic, was able to unite the remnants of several villages into a single village and to coordinate elements with a minimum of friction. He was a village leader who devoted himself to tradition and to rebuilding the tribe to its former prominence. He died of smallpox in 1837. Bad Gun, son of Four Bears, was selected after he had sold his rights in the Black Mouth Society.

The Mandan had a society known as the Black Mouths, who policed and enforced rule at the villages, hunting expeditions and winter lodges. Their duties were to keep order.

HIDATSA TRADITIONAL GOVERNANCE

The Hidatsa used the term "chief" to name anyone who by virtue of his authority at any particular moment was recognized as leader of a group of people. This term applied whether a segment of the village group, a village group, or the entire population of the three villages and could include other organized groups as might be residing with the people at that time. (Bowers, p. 26) A head chief and a council of twelve lesser chiefs, who according to one authority, were elected when the wild roses bloomed. Their election depended upon war honors.

For mutual defense against common enemies, around 1797 or 1798, the three Hidatsa villages of Hidatsa Proper, Awatixa and Awaxawi, established a tribal council composed of the most distinguished war leaders of each village. Council membership totaled ten, with the head chiefs of Hidatsa and Awatixa as additional members. (Bowers, p. 27) Their duties were confined primarily to general matters concerning warfare and the mutual assistance of the villages. They made peace with neighboring villages and discouraged efforts of the enemy to make alliances with one village and not the other. This council continued until the three village groups united to build Like-A-Fishhook village in 1845. (Bowers, p. 28)

The council of ten, before the smallpox epidemic of 1837, were outstanding individuals, respected primarily for their good judgment and military accomplishments. They were members of their respective village councils from which they received their authority. When a member died or lost prestige, they did not fill the position until the next year at the time of the summer buffalo hunt and the *Naxpike* ceremony. Regular meetings were not held. If one of the members had something to discuss with another, a feast was prepared and they discussed the matter at that time. On other occasions, as when a pipe bearer arrived to arrange a peace treaty or the peaceful admission of his band for trading, the council met to learn the attitude of the people. The council would refuse to discuss matters with young men of an enemy tribe, knowing such an arrangement did not carry the authority of the band leaders.

One such incident occurred as reported in Alexander Henry's journal of 1806: "About thirty Big Bellies [Hidatsas] arrived on horseback, at full speed; they brought an interpreter with them. This party consisted of some of the principal war chiefs, and other great men, who did not appear well pleased, but looked on the Pawnees [Arikara] with disdain. After some private consultation they desired the Arikara to return immediately to their own villages and to inform their great war chief, Red Tail, that if he sincerely wished for peace he must come in person, and then they would settle matters, as they were determined to have nothing to do with a private party of young men." (Henry, 1897, p. 335, in Bowers, 1992, p. 29).

One's position and prestige in the council was slowly attained involving a complex process of preparation and training. Leaders selected were those who displayed high respect for age as suggested by their attitude toward their older brothers and fathers, and how they expressed their attitude toward the council. One who had distinguished himself as a leader frequently did not attend meetings until they called him in to render an opinion or to help in solving some difficult problem. All subgroups and households had a voice in decisions. They discussed important matters for quite a time so that all households had an opportunity to express an opinion. (Bowers, pp. 40- 42).

During the period 1837-45, the two Hidatsa bands, *Awaxawi* and *Awatixa,* joined the *Nuitadi* Mandan because they were so few in numbers. This was done for protection from the Sioux. These three groups organized a council headed by the Hidatsa Chief, Four Bears, son of Two Tails of the original council, who was then the most distinguished war leader. Four Bears was entrusted with the physical defense of the people, and *Missouri River* was selected to organize the ceremonies of establishing the new village at the Like-a-Fishhook Bend.

HEAD CHIEFS

The top leaders in 1845 when they built Like-A-Fishhook Village were: *Missouri River, Four Bears* and *Big Hand. Missouri River,* from Awatixa, was village chief and keeper of the Waterbuster clan bundle. *Four Bears,* from Awatixa, was war chief and owner of rights in Daybreak and Sunset Wolf ceremonial Bundles. *Big Hand,* from Awaxawi, was first creator impersonator and announcer for the chiefs.

SPIRITUAL PROTECTORS OF THE PEOPLE

Big Cloud (Fat Fox), from Awaxawi, was Thunder bundle owner and protector of the East; *Bear-Looks-Out,* from Awaxawi, was owner of the Old-Woman-Who-Never-Dies bundle and protector of the South; *Bobtail Bull,* from Awatixa, was Thunder bundle owner and protector of the West; *Bad Horn,* from Hidatsa, was owner of the Bear bundle and protector of the North and *Big Hand,* from Awaxawi, was village announcer.

This group was entrusted with the spiritual protection of the village. *Four Bears*, the war chief, took no part in the ritual organization of the village other than outlining the limits of the area on which lodges were to be built.

The council continued to be the principal policy-making body. Any chief could call a council meeting merely by preparing a feast for its members. The council was selected from the population at large without regard to original village origin. The only qualification was in the age group above that of Black Mouths and had distinguished himself in warfare or had participated in recognized ceremonial and social activities. Until the Nuptadi Mandan joined the earlier population at Fishhook, one large Black Mouth society functioned to preserve order until the population went to winter camps. The society then broke into separate camp segments based on their original village ties.

Under the direction of the council, they fortified the village. They obtained and rung a large bell each day by a Black Mouth Society member to announce that the gates were open for the horses to go to pasture. The bell was rung again in the evening to announce gate closing, and people should come in from their work. Once the gate closed, they guarded all sections of the village to keep out intruders, and only those whom they could identify were admitted. Unauthorized war parties were forbidden to leave.

A chief had little or no authority apart from the council of which he was a member. His principal authority was derived from his ability as an orator to persuade the council of older men to give consent to his opinions. He was never demoted. Younger ones who had distinguished themselves replaced the older man in public esteem. A chief's greatness was based on how long his opinions were accepted above others. He was expected to conform strictly to all village and tribal custom.

A chief could prevent warfare between villages and within the villages only to the extent to which he could keep the tribe unified. The chief or the council could not prevent a portion of a village from separating and establishing a separate village.

SAHNISH TRADITIONAL GOVERNANCE

Governance over the Sahnish people was vested in chiefs who guided them spiritually. They were chosen as leaders because the people believed they were the wisest, most unselfish and honorable men of the tribe.

During the early 1700s, twelve bands existed among the Sahnish, of which there were four main bands. Each had a chief and three sub-chiefs. The four main bands were the *Huawirate* (they came from the East), *Tuhkatakux* (Village Against a-Hill), *Tuhkasthanu* (Buffalo Sod Village) and *Awahu* (Left Behind). The head chief of the *Awahu* presided over the four main bands. When any chief died, the men of the tribe assembled at an honoring feast, at which the first chief of each band had the right to make a speech and nominate a candidate for the vacant position. No votes were cast, and the chief was chosen by consensus.

When a chief was selected, they gave a special shirt or robe to him that was worn to show his status as chief. Some duties of the chiefs were to extend hospitality to strangers, preserve peace within the tribe, order hunts and decide tribal movements. Any needy person or stranger in the village would be welcome in the house of the chief. Hunters kept the chiefs' lodge supplied with food.

According to Sahnish oral historians, it was also the role of the chief to decide when to leave an area and where the new villages were to be settled. Scouts rode out and found an appropriate place for the villages and with the chief's approval, the move began. The

Hukawirat (Eastern band) was the first and they all traveled in a row. When they reached the new area, they settle in the same order as they traveled: first the bands of the southwest area followed by the northwest area, the northeast area and the last three bands were the *Awahu* of the southeast area (see charts of chiefs and bands in the leaders section). They maintained this process during the 1800's to assure the transfer of the powers of the chief. That role changed drastically during the Like-A-Fishhook era.

Today the governance of the Sahnish is combined with the Mandan and Hidatsa. The change in government was a result of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish accepting the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, and the development of a constitution and by-laws patterned after the U. S. Government.

Currently, the role of the traditional chief of the Sahnish is as keeper of the Sahnish Awahu Village Pipe, and, by choice, he exerts little leadership. The tribal business council carries out the leadership role, and the traditional chief works with the business council. However, the tribal business council has little governance over traditions and ceremonies of the Sahnish.

MODERN THREE AFFILIATED TRIBES GOVERNMENT

From the mid 1800s to the early 1900s, much of the leadership for many tribes was by government appointed agents and superintendents, and the Indian Bureau. Like many tribes, through a series of executive orders and allotment acts, their land base was severely diminished.

In 1910, the Three Affiliated Tribes formed a ten-member business council. This body was referred to as "The Ten", whose function it was to advise the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Early leadership was represented by members of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara (Sahnish) members who attended church and boarding schools, such as Carlisle and Hampton Institutes. In later years, some of these individuals returned and assumed leadership roles in the tribal government.

Between 1887 and 1934, Indian tribes throughout the United States lost 190 million acres. During this period, the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara (Sahnish) lost approximately 12 million acres, mostly through Congress adding provisions to legislation without notification to tribes. The major shift in government policy was brought on by the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, known as the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). The Federal government designed this legislation to stop the rapid loss of Indian lands. Tribes were presented with the opportunity to reorganize as legal entities under this legislation. As a result, many tribes drew up constitutions. Others did not. The Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara (Sahnish) formally joined together under this legislation in 1934 and became the Three Affiliated Tribes.

Photo of the National Congress of American Plains Indians, courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

INDIAN REORGANIZATION ACT

The Bureau of Indian Affairs' policy makers during the 1930s supported the revival of Indian culture and sovereignty and adopted a policy that "Indians best solved Indian problems". John Collier, then Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, was the leading force behind the Indian Reorganization Act. This milestone legislation, known also as the "Collier Plan, "the Indian New Deal" or "Home Rule," was a broad-based legislation that allowed Indian tribes across the United States to be self-governed. Collier envisioned a program that would: (1) strengthen tribal governments and restore the relationship between the federal government and tribes, (2) stop the sale of allotments and restore tribal lands to communal holdings, (3) provide procedures and funds for tribal economic development, (4) grant preferential hiring of Indians in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and (5) recognize and aid tribes in maintaining and developing their cultures, especially their language, religion and craft.

On November 17, 1934, more than 93 percent of the eligible voters of the Three Affiliated Tribes cast ballots and approved the Collier Plan by a margin of 477 to 139. With assistance from Indian Bureau personnel, the Three Tribes drew up a constitution and bylaws. These constitutions, and those of other tribes during this time, resembled uniform American political institutions, and bore no resemblance to traditional tribal governance structures.

The constitution for the Three Affiliated Tribes was adopted on May 15, 1936 by a vote of 366 to 220, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior on June 29, 1936. Their corporate charter was ratified on April 24, 1937 which was later amended on November 28, 1961.

The new constitution provided for a tribal council to replace the old business committee that the Tribes had established in 1910. The old business committee, which consisted of equal representation from each tribe, did not function as a government, did not hold regular meetings and was primarily advisory. The new council was composed of two members from Independence, Shell Creek and Nishu (formerly called Armstrong) and one

member each from the communities of Santee (Lucky Mound), Ree (Beaver Creek), Elbowoods, Little Missouri/Red Butte. The new council was essentially the same, except Independence, which had two representatives and Little Missouri and Red Butte were combined into one district.

Between 1934 and 1968, governance gradually shifted from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Three Affiliated Tribes. It was a period during which the tribes established a measure of autonomy. By 1961, the tribe had changed the constitution to elect the chairman at large. (September 30, 1960. Minot Daily News. Robert Fox Wins Tribal Election.) This change in tribal constitution represented a shift in government by consensus.

When the Flood Control Act of 1944, proposed to flood much of the prime land of the Three Affiliated Tribes, the Tribal Business Council traveled to Washington, D.C. to protest the action. Contemporary leadership of the Three Tribes emerged both within the state and in national Indian Affairs. Many of the leaders of the Three Affiliated Tribes were among the group who formed the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). However, NCAI was a new organization and was unable to stop the Garrison Dam.

In 1968, Congress passed the Indian Self Determination and Education Assistance Act, Public Law 93-638. This legislation allowed tribal entities to administer and manage programs and services previously administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian Health Services.

In 1982, through a tribal constitutional revision, the Three Affiliated Tribes reasserted the Tribal Business Council's authority to exercise jurisdiction over the reservation and its people.

At present, changes in the tribal counstitution (1982) reduced the tribal council to one representative from each district (6). The tribal chairperson is elected at large and six tribal council members are elected from vote of their respective political subdivisions or segments. Council members serve staggered terms. The council elects it's own officers. Elections are held the third Tuesday in September in even numbered years, and the primary election is held the second Tuesday in November in even numbered years.

ADMINISTRATION

The Three Affiliated Tribes, as a modern government, administers many programs. Revenues are generated primarily from various government programs and grants. The Three Affiliated Tribes, as the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nation, contracts for the administration of many of its programs. A majority of the funds used within the administrative budget are tribal and federal trust funds.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

- Subsistence
- Harmony with nature
- Family and clan structures

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is subsistence and why was it important to native cultures?

2. How did the environment and geography shape the lifestyles and traditions of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish peoples?

3. How are lifestyles affected by changing seasons?

4. What are some similarities and differences among the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish and non-native family structures?

5. What are clans, bands, and moieties and why are they significant to the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish?

6. What are some differences between historical and contemporary divisions of work for both native and non-native people, your family? In the past and in the present?

7. Why were native students taken from their homes and sent to boarding schools?

MANDAN CULTURE

MANDAN CREATION NARRATIVES

ORIGIN NARRATIVE TOLD BY FOOLISH WOMAN, MANDAN/HIDATSA

ORIGIN STORY RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF

CEREMONIAL LIFE

LIFEWAYS

DWELLINGS

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

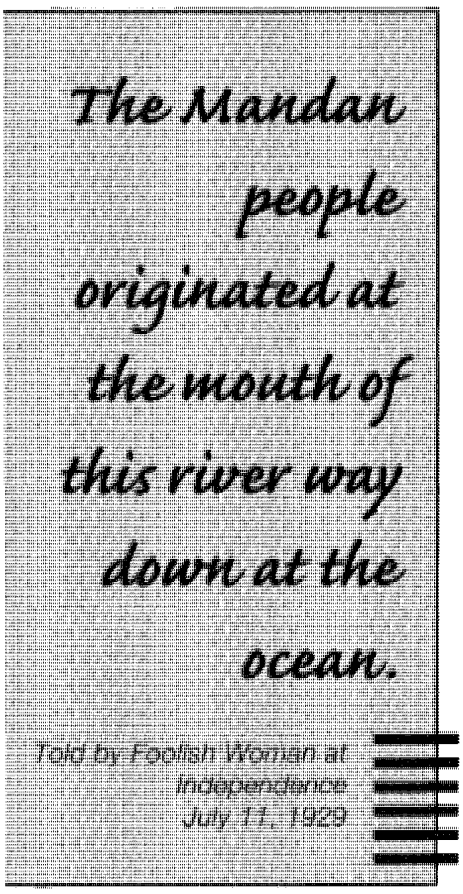
THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

MANDAN CREATION NARRATIVES

There are a number of accounts about the Mandan migration. Some accounts tell of the Mandan being created at the Heart River while others tell of a migration from the Gulf of Mexico along the Missouri, and from the Southeast. One narrative tells of when *Lone Man* (Mandan term for Creator) made the land around the Heart River, he also made the land to the south as far as the ocean. He made fish people, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others whose history was translated into accounts of the sacred bundles.

ORIGIN NARRATIVE TOLD BY FOOLISH WOMAN, MANDAN/HIDATSA,

There are four written and recorded versions of the Mandan origin narrative. First Creator and Lone Man - Version 2 - Told by Foolish Woman, Mandan/Hidatsa, at Independence on July 11, 1929, follows:



In the beginning the whole earth was covered with water. Lone Man was walking on top of the waves. He thought to himself, "Where did I come from?" So he retraced his footsteps on the top of the water and he came to a bit of land jutting out of the water. He saw a plant called "big medicine" that grows in the marsh two or three feet high with flat white blossoms that come out in the spring. One branch was broken and hung at the side. At the broken place he saw drops of blood and thought, this must be my mother. As he looked about he saw an insect called "Tobacco Blower" flying about the plant and he thought, this insect must be a father to me.

He walked further on the water and saw in the distance an object that he found to be a mud hen. The First Creator came to the same place. "How do you come to be wandering about here?" First Creator said, "I have been considering that you and I should create some land." Lone Man agreed. They asked the mud hen what food it had for its nourishment. The bird told them, "I dive under the water and there is land and I eat the dirt down there. "They said "Dive down and bring us a sample. Some time later the bird came up with a little mud. Four times it dived and still there was only enough to fill one hand. Lone Man rolled it into a ball and gave half to First Creator and kept the other half. He said.

"We will make a dividing point and leave a river and you may choose which side you will create." First Creator chose the south side. Lone Man took the north.

First Creator made some places level, ranges of hills, mountains, springs, timber and coulees with running water. He created buffalo - made them all black with here and there a white one. He created Rocky Mountain sheep, deer, antelope, rattlesnakes - all the animals that exist here.

Lone Man created mostly flat land with many lakes and ponds grown with bulrushes and few trees. He created cattle - some white, some spotted, some red, some black - with long horns and tail, and the animals like the badger and beaver that live in the water and the duck and geese that swim on the water, also the sheep of today.

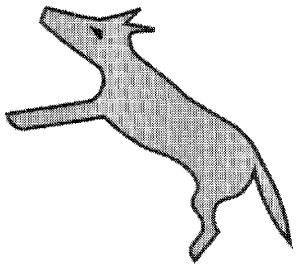
Then they met on the north side of the river and reviewed the creation they completed. Both believed his creation to be the better. They examined first what First Creator had made and Lone Man said the land was too rough. First Creator said, "No, I did this for the safety of the creatures. When they are in danger from a hard winter, they will have protection in the timber and shelter in the coulees. He showed him the tribes of people that he had made (the Indians).

But Lone Man was displeased with First Creator's work. He showed him how level the land was on the north side of the river, with lakes, scattered boulders and treeless, so that the eye could see far away. First Creator was dissatisfied. He said, "In the winter there is no protection, in time of war, there will be no place to hide." "No," argued Lone Man, "They can see the enemy far away and hide in the bulrushes beside the lakes. He pointed out the beauty of the cattle. First Creator found them too weak to pull through the winter, with too little fur, too long horns compared with the protection of the buffalo against the cold. So he disapproved of Lone Man's creation.

It was agreed to let the people live first on the creation of First Creator then the generations to come should live on the cattle created by Lone Man. Lone Man's cattle should drift back to the far east where he had created people, who should come westward later and inhabit the land with the first people.

Of the dirt from the ball some had been left over and this they placed in the center of the created land and formed a heart-shaped butte which they called "The-heart-of-the-land," to be seen to this day near the city of Mandan near the Heart River. Still some mud was left over. This they took across the river opposite to Bird's Beak Hill below Bismarck on the north side of the river, and this butte they called "Land."

They wandered upon the land and one said, "I think I am older." The other said, "No, I think I am the older of us two." They laid a bet. Lone Man had a stick strung with a sinew to which goose feathers were tied at intervals. This he stuck in the ground. (If he drew it forth before the other was dead he must acknowledge himself defeated). Lone Man wandered off, and the next year when he came back to the spot he found nothing but a skeleton. The bow was worn and weathered. He came back from year to year. The fourth year there was not a feather left on his bow, and where First Creator lay, the grass grew tall. Lone Man said, "Why leave my bow any longer? He will never get up now!" He took his bow, sang a song, and it was as new as ever. As he walked away, First Creator got up, shook himself, and was fresh as ever. Lone Man looked at him and he was Coyote.



They separated again and wandered apart. Lone Man went on his way and thought, I have nothing to carry. If I had a pipe and tobacco it would be fine! He saw a buffalo lying down. As he approached, the buffalo was about to run away, but he called out, "do not run, it is I!" He asked the buffalo what it could do for him in this matter. The buffalo passed water and tramped about in a coulee and told him to return at this time of year and he would hear a sound and find his tobacco growing. Sure enough the next year he heard a buzzing sound and there was a tobacco plant growing with a tobacco blower buzzing about it. Buffalo instructed him that the best part grew next to the bud and to dry it he should lay it on buffalo hair taken at the shoulder and put it to dry in the sun. For the bowl he should use oak, for the stem box elder. This was meant to indicate that the land on the south side of the river was male, that on the north side female. "I have nothing to light my pipe with," said Lone Man. - "Go over there to an old man on the side of the hill, he will give you a light for the pipe." Said Buffalo. This old man was the burning lignite. Lone Man was on his way. The Mandan people originated at the mouth of this river way down at the ocean. On the north side of the river

was a high bank. At its foot on the shore of the ocean was a cavern, - that is where the Mandan people came out. The chief's name was Ka-ho-he, which means the scraping sound made by the corn stalks swaying back and forth and rubbing each other with the sound like a bow drawn across a string. Ko-i-roh-kte was the sister of the chief. The name means the testing of the squash seeds. When they plant squash, to test the seed they wrap the seed in dead grass and keep it moist. The brother's name was Na-c-i. This is the name of a little animal the size of a prairie dog and quite a traveler, which has a yellow streak over the nose from cheek to cheek, but changes color in the fall. In this boy's system was the spirit that travels far.

Somehow Na-c-i got up on the surface of the land. He went back and told his elder that the land below was not to be compared with that he had seen. He asked the people to come up and inhabit the earth. They found a vine hanging down and that was where they came up. A good number had already emerged when a young girl, big with child, insisted on coming out and she was so heavy that she broke the vine and fell back into the cavern...

Lone Man happened to come to their village and saw that these people were advanced, for they were tilling gardens. Lone Man thought "those are real people, I will manage to be born among them." A man and a woman had a daughter who was a virgin. The father was a leading man in the village. Lone Man chose their daughter for his mother. So one day when they went to work in their gardens by the river bank, the girl went to the river to drink and there she saw a drowned buffalo drifting close to shore. Where the skin was broken she could see the fat of the kidneys sticking out. She drew the buffalo to shore, fastened it by the feet, and ate of the fat of the kidney. This was really Lone Man, and this is how she conceived by him. She came back and told her parents about the buffalo, but when they ran gladly to the shore, they could find no trace of it - only a loop tied to the bank. They thought no further about it, but as the months went by and they began to notice that she was with child. When the mother questioned the daughter, she said she had known no man and could not tell how she had got in this condition.

When the time came, the daughter delivered a baby boy. The father had not believed that the girl had met no man, but as the child was born, there was a light which shone through a hole in the sky. From year to year, the boy grew stronger and wiser. He was looked upon as unusual. He grew faster than most children. As he grew to manhood, he was looked upon as a leader. In times of hunger, he caused the herds of buffalo to come near the lodges so that they had meat to eat. When they planted corn, he would cause it to rain so that the land had moisture and the people had plenty of corn.

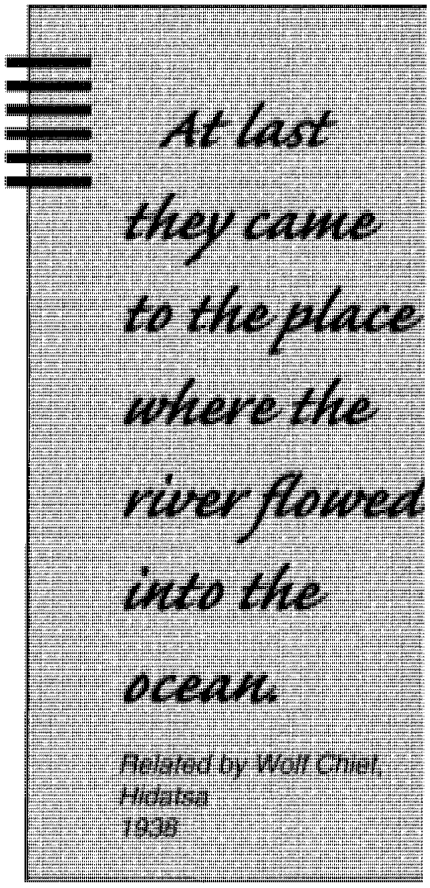
There were evil beings born into the tribe where he was and when they grew up, they wanted to rule the village and they schemed against him to bring about his destruction. He made a boat called "self-going" that went by itself. They would get in this boat and cross over to an island, whose chief was named Ma-ni-ke. Only twelve people could go in this boat, if more went the trip was unlucky. They would carry offerings, as between the mouth of the river and this island there were obstacles to contend with. In one place was a whirlpool, in another the waves were high. They offered sacrifices in order to escape the whirl-

when they planted corn, he would cause it to rain so that the land had moisture and the people had plenty of corn.

pool and calm the waves. At the island the chief would give them beaked shells of many colors in exchange for presents. These shells they used for earrings. Mata-pahu-tou - Shell-nose-with - is the name the Indians give these abalone shells.

One day twelve men were going on a journey, then Lone Man came along and jumped in the boat. They tried to make him leave, but he said he had heard so much about the feasting on the island that he wanted to go along. When they reached the whirlpool, Lone Man was asleep. They were afraid and woke him. He got up, reached out and picked up the objects that had been offered in sacrifice and said, "These are just what I want!" Then he took his bow, smoothed it, and commanded the a water to be still. Then he stilled the whirlpool and the high waves. The people said, "When we land on the island, they people usually get up a feast and make us eat everything they set before us and nearly kill us." So he took a reed by the river and with a stick ran through the points and inserted the reed through his system so that as he sat at the feast, it would reach down to the fourth strata of the earth. He ordered the men to eat only what they wished as the plate was passed at the feast, and let it come last to him and he would empty the whole down the reed. So it happened. There was a great feast. They were brought into a great lodge nearly filled with food and were not allowed to leave anything. They sat about in a half moon shape and ate. When all had eaten their fill they placed the pot before him and he emptied its contents down his mouth. In no time they had cleaned out the whole works.

As they left the island, the chief said, "In four years I will come and visit your village." He meant to destroy them with water. Lone Man told the people to weave a barricade about the village and hold it together with young cottonwood trees. He brought all the people inside the barricade and when the water came, it only went as far as the cotton-wood tree barricade. In the water there were what looked like people and those inside the barricade would throw offerings and the people in the water would pass the shells over. (Beckwith, 1937:7-13)



ORIGIN STORY RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF

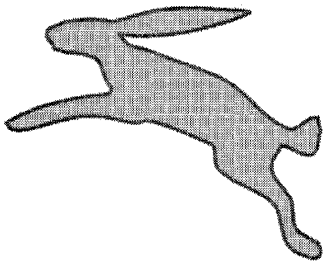
Wolf Chief, Hidatsa, secured this information from his Mandan father-in-law, Red Roan Cow, Nuptadi Mandan Chief. For other versions of the creaion stories see Martha Warren Beckwith, Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies "Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXX11 (1938), pp.10-11; Maximilian, Prince of Wied, Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832-1834, in Early Western Travels, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 312-17; and Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians, I, 279-80.

A long time ago the Missouri River flowed into the Mississippi River and thence into the ocean. On the right bank there was a high point on the ocean shore that the Mandan came from. They were said to have come from under the ground at that place and brought corn up. Their chief was named Good Furred Robe. He had one brother named Cornhusk Earrings and another younger brother called No Hair on Him or Head for Rattle after the gourds. They had a sister named Corn Stalk.

In the early time when they came out of the ground, Good Furred Robe was Corn Medicine, and he had the right to teach the other people how to raise corn. The people of Awigaxa asked him to teach them his

songs so as to keep the corn and be successful in growing their corn. Good Furred Robe also had a robe which, if sprinkled with water, would cause rain to come.

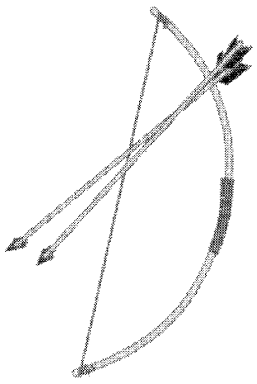
When they came out of the ground, there were many people but they had no clothing on. They said, "We have found Ma'tahara." That was what they called the river as it was like a stranger. It is also the word for "stranger." They went a short distance and planted corn, even though they were naked. Then they moved north, and no one knows the number of years they stopped at the different places. At last they came to the place where the river flowed into the ocean. When they came to the mouth of this river, they saw people on the other side who could understand their language and they thought they were Mandan too. The village on the other side had a chief whose name was Maniga. It was a very large village.



While they were stopping there, they found that the people on the other side owned bowls made of shells. At Good Furred Robe's village they would kill the rabbits for the hides. They also killed the meadowlarks for the yellow crescents. They took them to the people of the other village to trade for shell bowls. They would also take the rabbit hides painted red and trade for the shells.

Good Furred Robe also owned a boat that was holy. It could carry twelve men. Each time they wanted to trade in the other village, they would take the red rabbit hides and the yellow meadowlark breasts and float over. There was a rough place in the middle, and they would drop some of these objects into the water, and then the water would calm.

All during this time they had enough corn to live on, but nothing is told in the traditions about their clothing. They continued moving up the river until they came to the mouth of the Missouri River. They saw many trees on the Mississippi River and decided to go across and live on the Mississippi. They stayed in that country for three or four years, all the time planting corn along the river. They said, "We have discovered fine evergreen trees, and we have called them medicine trees since that time.



There were no bows and arrows in those days, and one of the men made a bow and arrow, practicing with them and picking out sharp bones with which to tip the arrows. He also found the sinews that would stretch the bow. We do not know if they were eating meat or not at that time. There were many elk, deer, and beaver on this river, and that is why they called it Good River. At that time they found a dead buffalo in a mud hole, and one of them said that they ought to take the hide off and cut it into a long string to catch deer with. When they took the hide off, they cut the strings and twisted them to dry. Then they made a loop on the end. They would go out and find deer trails to hang it in to catch the deer. They made many of these snares and set them out in many places. They would find some dead deer and even some elk hanging there.

After they learned how to do this, they had plenty of meat to eat with their corn. They stayed at that place for over ten years. It was at this time that they learned how to use the bow and arrows tipped with bone, to kill smaller game.

Again they moved from there farther up the Mississippi River until they found a place where there was much timber but the surrounding land was flat. They found a flat place where the timber was not so thick, and there they lived for six years. At that time they called themselves Nu'itadi, meaning "from us." Some of them were called Nup'tadi (no meaning); another group was called Awi'gaxa (no meaning). One of the latter two bands moved from the others under a chief named Four Bulls and came to a place where there was much timber. The village after the split must have been in the western part of Minnesota not far from Pipestone.

They traveled southward then until they came to heavy timber and had a big village there. (These villages were named in the Okipa ceremony, but the language used was unintelligible to the listener, as it was an old dialect. The translation was a part of the secret lore, which passed with bundle sales.) While there they learned more about bows and arrows and could shoot even beavers and other game. Then they had plenty of food. Again they traveled on through the deep timber and had another village, staying there for four years. The earth lodges at that time were of the eagle-trapping type with grass and dirt covering the sides.

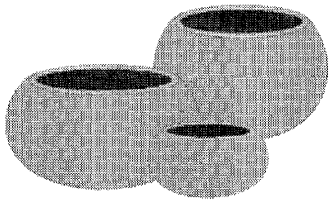
When they stopped there, a man went out looking for game and followed a creek. He saw some mud sticking out of a hill, and there was a spring at that place. The mud was sticky; he took some of it out and carried it away a short distance. He left some of it flat on the ground to dry. When he went back where he had left the mud, it was hard except that there was one crack. He thought that there should be some use for that mud. He thought, "I will get some sand and mix it with this mud and leave it again. It might be of some use." Then he went home again. When he returned, the mud was still cracked. He thought, "If I crack some stones and crush them fine to mix with the clay, It might be better." He found some hard stones and put them in the fire to burn four days. Then he crushed the stones and took the material to the place where the clay had been left. He mixed the clay with the crushed stone, shaped it into a pot, and left it in the sun to dry. Next day when he went back, he found that it was hard and could be used. He made many more; some he made into the shape of spoons. (Spoons have never been found in Mandan archaeological sites, whereas pots are abundant). From that time they had pots. After that they made large ones and baked them to cook in. The Mandans were the first to discover pottery; the Hidatsa and other people learned the art from them. The mud was a special kind, and it was hard to find. Later they found this clay around the flint they took out of the tops of hills west of the Missouri River.

They stayed there for more than ten years, for there were many animals suitable for food as well as good corn grounds. During this time some of the young men were looking for game, and they came out of the timber. They could see the flatland for a great distance, so they thought that they would move. At first they did not come completely out of the woods but stayed on the edge.

When they came out of the timber, they had another large village again. They stayed there a long time, for there was much game and they had their gardens in the timber.

The Mandan people originated at the mouth of this river way down at the ocean.

Told by Foolish Woman at Independence July 11, 1929

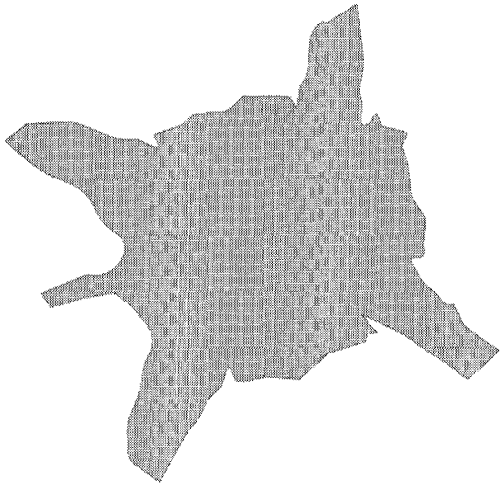


When they had the village there, it happened that they had a dry year. The people who called themselves Awigaxa made a feast, and they had some of the women paint their faces and wear geese on their heads. (The Goose Women's Society. It was founded by Good Furred Robe, and the Corn bundle-owner was singer for this society). First Creator and Lone Man came at that time. They asked these people where they came from, and they replied that they had come up from under the ground and that they had traveled around much since then. The two men said, "You seem to be getting along well here. We came from the west bank of the Missouri River. We discovered some prairie dogs in a village there, but we changed them into humans. We showed them how to put on the Buffalo Dance, but we see now that we would rather have you people here put on that ceremony, for you would be more careful about giving the dance."

Then the two men walked off and returned to the prairie-dog village they had changed into humans. First Creator and Lone Man had made the dance for the prairie dogs and, when they came back, they saw that these people were not fit to give the dance, for they had left the drum in an ash pile. They thought, "These people don't appreciate the dance, for they are not the right kind of people to begin with. It would be much better to take the Buffalo Dance from them." The two men took the Buffalo Dance away from the prairie dogs and gave it to the Mandan. They gave the prairie dogs a curing ceremony instead. The Arikara were the prairie-dog people. They have the Prairie Dog Curing Medicine yet.

First Creator and Lone Man came back to the Mandan village and said, "We are going to show you the Buffalo Dance."

They said, "What is it?"



They replied, "It is a good thing for you, and any time you have a shortage of food, you will pray for food. This way it will increase your people and bring you plenty of food." They showed these people how to give the ceremony, paint, and dress.

They thought, "How will we paint to make them good-looking? We might use some of the color of the snakes; they look nice. It is not a real snake but the worm on the chokecherry bushes. Between the shoulders they grow a hook. We will have that represent the mask and take that color for the buffaloes. The hook behind will be the buffalo horn and the branches will be the branches of the worm nest."

The people inquired how they would fix up that way and Lone Man said, "Go out and kill a buffalo; take all the flesh off the skin and bring the hide to me." The people went out and killed a buffalo and brought the hide to the two men. They called one of the young men to stand before them. They took the horn off with the horn core removed. The young man had long hair hanging down. They put the horn on his back with the brush over it, reaching over his head and hanging down nearly to the ground. They painted him on the chest, legs, and arms with red, black, and white. All this was representative of this bug in color. When he was painted, he was very beautiful.

At this time they had a hide for a drum. They wanted to practice the songs that belonged to this drum, but the drum was not very solid. It would sink into the ground and soon wear out. Lone Man was doing the drumming, and he said to First Creator, "You show them how the dancing is done, and I will do the drumming." Lone Man sang the song, and First Creator danced, stretching his arms out. He danced and showed the painted man how to dance.

Lone Man said to the people, "You must not touch this drum, for it is very holy. We are going out to look for another drum, and will be back after a while."

They went out, and after a while they came back with a badger. Even before they had the Buffalo Dance, Lone Man had a flat stick. Before he touched the badger, he held the stick up, the badger sank into the ground.

They said, "The badger has no strength and it is not suitable." They went to the beaver, but, before he ever hit the beaver, the animal sank into the ground. Each time he held his stick up, the earth shook. They went out again and came to a turtle. They asked him but the turtle replied, "I have no strength or power. I would rather that you went to the big turtle that is in the ocean. He would be a better drum, for his life will be so long that he will last forever. He will be better for the drum."

When they came to the shore, they found a large turtle; it was brown. They talked to the turtle saying, "We are looking for a drum to use in the dance, and now we need you for the drum."

The Turtle said, "That is all right. I do not think I can go myself, but you can look me over and then make one yourself out of a buffalo hide. When you fix it that way, I will be there just the same, for you will be taking the shape of my body. If you do that, I will last forever."

When they returned, they killed a buffalo, took the hide off of the bull, and made a turtle. They made the legs out of oak and covered it with a hide from which the hair had been removed. Then they painted the outside with red paint. They finished the turtle, and in two days the hide was all dried up. First Creator said, "We must pick out a young man to dance in the costume; you show him how to dance." Lone Man made a motion as of striking the turtle. At the same time there was a noise as if the earth were cracking and dust came up, but the turtle was not driven into the earth like the other animals had been. Then Lone Man said," That is the kind of drum we want; it will last forever. After this if any of you people dream of this dance or have a dream in which it is a part, then you must put up this dance. We are not going off right away but will be around near by."

He said, "When a young man is dancing, he may want to smoke the pipe. If you feel like smoking it, fill it up. I made it out of a green buffalo tail, bent it on one end to hold the tobacco, and filled it with sand until it was dry. The men with the buffalo heads must not touch the pipe. If he wants to smoke, you hold the pipe while he smokes."

About this time, Good Furred Robe, who was always traveling, found a red spot and wondered what it was. Going there, he saw that it was a stone. He though that it might be a good thing to make a pipe from. Up to this time the people had used black stones for smoking. He brought the red stone back. He thought how in the Buffalo Dance they used the buffalo tail and how it would be a good thing to fix up the red stone pipe and let them use that. He made a pipe with no elbow; the hole was in the end.

They had another Buffalo Dance, and one young man danced. At that time Lone Man came back. God Furred Robe took the pipe to him and said, "I saw you using the buffalo tail, and I think this is better." Lone Man said, "It looks pretty, but I am afraid of it, for it is the color of human blood."

The Goose Women had put up a feast because the fields were drying up. Good Furred Robe took the pipe to them and said, "I have a good pipe here; it is a nice color. You should use it instead of the one you have that is not pretty." They said, "We are afraid of it because it is the color of human blood." The people were wondering where he had found the red stone, and he took some of them to the place and showed them where he had found it. They saw some of the pretty stones and made a few pipes for their personal use. (Bowers tried to claim the pipe stone quarries by this story, but some people did not believe it. Mrs. White Duck has Good Furred Robe's skull, but some of the younger men do not claim it because they are not familiar with this old story.)

Later three men were traveling around a great deal, and each time they would get farther and farther. One time they came to the Missouri River and saw timber on each side. They reported this to the people, who thought that it must be a branch of the river they passed farther to the south. They decided to move from their village toward the river. They came to the Missouri River at what they called White Clay Creek. (This is White River, which enters the Missouri River below Chamberlain, South Dakota.) It is below the Cheyenne River today. The camp was just opposite that river on the east side.

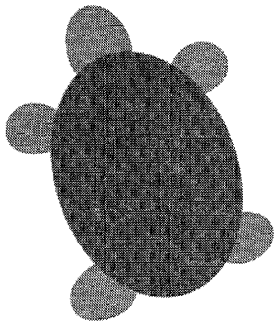
They built a camp there, and after three years the Awigaxa disappeared. They thought that the Awigaxa must have gone up the Cheyenne or White Clay River to the west. Two years afterward, about twelve families of the Awigaxa came back.

When they came back, they said, "They sent us back because the people out there do not think you know the Corn Medicine rites. They asked us to teach them to you."...

Lone Man came back. He related his dream to Lone Man, who said, "That is all right. You should try to put up the ceremony."

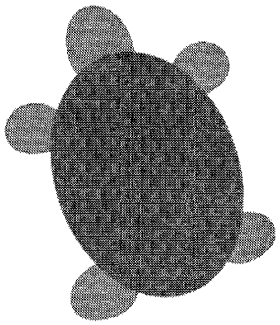
In the dream he had seen the four turtles. They had eagle feathers on their heads, but Lone Man said, "It would be hard for you to save that many feathers. You will have time to save some. Take your time saving all those feathers. If you think there are enough for four turtles, call me, and I will hear even though I am far away."

He saved all the feathers, knowing that it would take him a long time. In three or four years he had the necessary feathers, and then he called Lone Man. They made three more turtles just like the other one they had fixed before on the pattern of the ocean turtle.



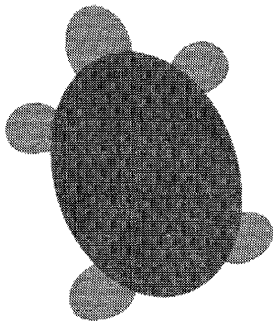
When the two finished the turtles, they arranged them in a row, first the small one, then the two medium-sized ones, and then the large one which had been made first. Lone Man said, "You should give them what you can." It was the speckled eagle feathers that he was giving them. When he came to the last one, thinking it would like the calumet eagle's feathers best, he decorated it with those feathers. The one at the head said to the man, "You did not give me the right kind. That feather I do not like. For this reason, I am going back to the water."

They tried to hold him but could not. He walked away and went in to the water. They called to Lone Man to help them. He came back and walked toward the turtle in the water. He took his lance up, sang his song, motioning with it at the water which ran apart. He could see the turtle in the water. He said, "They gave you the best of all. What is the matter?"

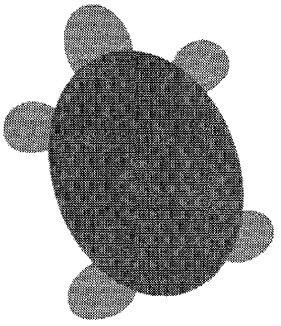


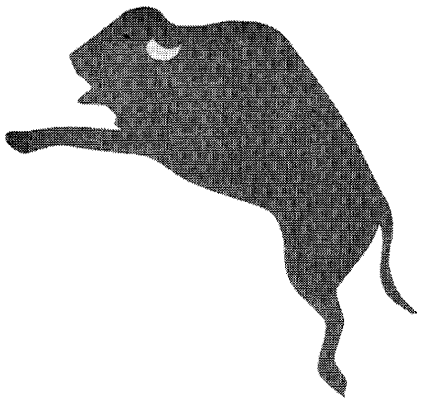
The turtle said, "That is all right." Then the water covered over the turtle again. I was never at the place (Note: Crows Heart has been to the spot and says that it is upstream from the mouth of the Cannonball River at an old village near Butte without Hair on the east bank. This is probably the Shermer Site. There is another Butte without Hair directly opposite on the west side of the Missouri River.) where it went into the water, but it was about opposite where Fort Yates now stands. The place or village is called "Where Turtle Went Back."

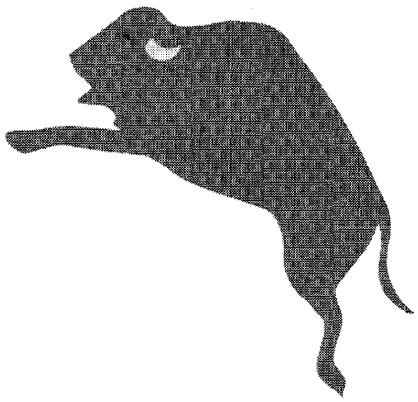
When Lone Man saw that the turtle was in the water, he turned around and walked back. Then they started the ceremony, and Lone Man said, "It is all right, for there are three left." They selected a big lodge and by that time the buffalo masks were taken inside. Lone Man was there and the Ho'Kaha, a tall blue-gray bird with a long bill and a short tail (probably the heron), was in its place.



There were forty families that went out to White High Butte, now called Sheep Butte. These people separated from the others over in the woods before the Mandan reached the Missouri River. There is a river, which runs north at Minot, North Dakota. There is a high butte up there called White High Butte. It is to the north of the Turtle Mountains. Their chief was Four Bulls, as you recall earlier in the story. Four Bulls and all his people had moved up there, building villages along the way until they reached this spot. Sometime in the spring they were living there. The Indians would make a trap of brush and woven hair and put bait inside. The birds going inside were taken. They birds were fat and good to eat. In the spring a young man, not knowing any better, pulled all the feathers off one of the birds and stuck one of the feathers through the bird's bill and nostrils. There were four medicine men there named Spring Buffalo, Winter Buffalo, Middle of the Summer Buffalo, and Autumn Buffalo.





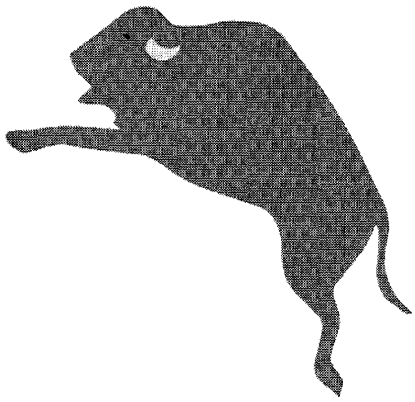


At the time of the young men in the village went out and caught young buffalo calves and brought them into the village. It was customary to blow up the entrails to dry. The young men blew up some, dried them, putting them over the calves' heads and telling them to go. When the Lone Man created these birds, he had them represent the water by the little spots under their wings. The four medicine men were angry at the way the calves were treated. The birds were angry too. They caused rain to fall for a long time. The water kept rising, getting nearer and nearer to the villages. The people called for Lone Man, saying that the water was coming and covering them. He fixed up the sticks in a circle with a water willow around them. When he finished, he took all the people of the village into the corral around the village. The four medicine men changed into buffaloes. They had a younger brother who was the magpie.

When the water began to cover the village, they started to swim to the Missouri. Magpie had a string around his neck, which held the corn. One of the buffaloes was exhausted and said, "In the future there will be plenty of buffalo here and people can come here and hunt them." Then there were three. After a while one more of them was exhausted, and, before sinking, he said, "In the future there will be plenty of buffaloes if the people come here," and he sank.

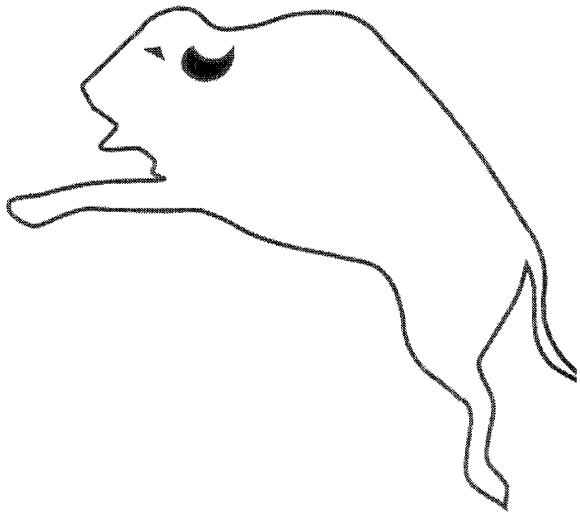
A third one became exhausted, and he said, "In the future if people come here they will find plenty of buffaloes," and then he sank. There was one buffalo left, and he was swimming along. He saw a high butte in front of him. It was Birds Bill Butte (also known as Eagle Nose Butte) and he swam toward it. He was completely exhausted when he reached the butte.

Back where Lone Man had the people in the corral, they were saved by the power of the corral. He said, "This cedar and corral is my protector. From this time on, you will always have it." The Mandan under Good Furred Robe traveled northward along the Missouri River until they reached the Heart River, where they joined the others whom Lone Man and First Creator had created at that place. At this time the flood was coming. These people built a large corral south of the Heart River on Eagle Nose Butte where they also were safe from the flood.



The Awigaxa did not have the turtles and cedar to protect them, for they had the Corn to worship. While living on the White Clay Creek and Cheyenne River, the Awigaxa became separated. The group not having the Corn ceremonies was lost while making sinews near the Black Hills. Before the flood, the others came back to the Missouri River, for the river bottoms were not so large where they had been and not much corn could be grown. They built large villages at the mouth of the Cheyenne, Moreau, and other streams until they reached the mouth of the Grand River. At this time they had corn rites, but there is no mention of the Okipa or the sacred cedar.

When word reached the people who were living at the Grand River that a great flood was coming, they must not have had a sacred cedar since those who remained in their villages were drowned while those who escaped to the Rocky Mountains were saved. After the waters had retreated, those in the mountains planted corn out there, but the seasons were too short and the yields were small. The people wanted to return to the Grand River, but other people were living there. Scouts sent out reported that the other Mandan who had lived on the west bank of the Missouri near Painted Woods had left their village, the ruins of which were still standing, to seek shelter in a large corral built by Lone Man near the Heart River. The people decided to move from the mountains and built a village near Painted Woods at a spot where there was much wood.



While living in this village called Awigaxa, Lone Man and First Creator came along and found them. They came along when the water was high during the spring floods and told the people that higher floods might come and that they should have something to protect them. Some of the people thought it would be easier to escape to the mountains, since it took so much goods to perform the Okipa and the rites at the sacred cedar. Others thought that it was more costly to travel so far. Still others thought that the cedar would be useful for other purposes. Lone Man sent a young man a dream in which he saw the buffaloes dancing at the sacred cedar, and the old men interpreted the dream to mean that they should give the Okipa. Some thought that goods should be paid in large quantities equal to the inconvenience of moving to the mountains, and from this time the Awigaxa were the most liberal of the villages in supplying goods for the ceremonies. Lone Man and First Creator came and taught young men who were brave and intelligent how to impersonate the different characters. There were more people in the ceremony than when the other Mandan were taught the ceremony while living far to the southeast.

Even the Awaxawi and Awatixa who were living on the Missouri at that time came to make offerings and to fast. The Hidatsa must not have come south yet from the place where they had gone to escape the flood, for nothing is said of them in the old story. After the Okipa ceremony was given, the people were very lucky because there were so many more gods to protect them. Because the people were so lucky, when the wood was exhausted at one place, they built another village near by. No bad luck came to them until smallpox was brought in by the white men. (Bowers, 1991, pp. 156-163 reprint.)

The Mandan under Good Furred Robe traveled northward along the Missouri River until they reached the Heart River...

Wolf Chief
Hidatsa
1938

CEREMONIAL LIFE

Mandan ceremonial life was involved with medicine bundles. Each bundle was owned by a small group of individuals within a clan, and was inherited or transferred within the clan. When a bundle was transferred, a feast was given in its honor, and feasts were also given to the bundles at other times to increase their power. The bundle ceremonies were prayers to the particular Supreme Being involved in the bundle, for those favors over which they had control. Individual Mandan men also owned bundles based on visions, and these could be transferred, but never became established as to tribal importance. (Schulenberg, 1956:51)

In 1832, Catlin was privileged to witness the four-day Mandan ceremony called *Okipa*, which included fasting and self-piercing. The *Okipa* was a reenactment of events from the tribe's past. It took place in the *Okipa* lodge and in the open space in front of the lodge. The *Okipa* was given in fulfillment of a vow based on a dream. Clan membership and bundle rights determined the role of the main participants. The purpose of the ceremony was to secure plenty of buffalo and well being for the village.

Their sacred bundles fall into two categories. They are the hereditary tribal bundles, and personal bundles. Great value is placed on those bundles and ceremonies that were instituted in very early times. These included the *Okipa*, founded by Lone Man and *Hoita*, and Corn ceremonies, founded by Good Furred Robe. (Bowers)

The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of change. Certain bundles and ceremonial rights, traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifically from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to the *WaxikEna* clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the parents bundles collectively and designated one, generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo.

LIFEWAYS

The Mandans moved very little since prehistoric contact. Their basic culture changed very little except for changes when the horse and European trade goods were acquired. They were semi-sedentary having rich material wealth setting them apart from the nomadic buffalo hunters of the plains.

Extensive archeological studies correlate traditions of both the Mandan and Hidatsa migrations and residence on the Missouri. Their economy was based on agriculture and hunting. They hunted buffalo and small game on foot. The Mandans planted mainly corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers on their bottomland farms. They were a people who consistently planned ahead and who stored their agricultural products to sustain them during the lean years.

They commonly transmitted sacred property through the matrilineal line. The Mandans preserved their ceremonial structure with minor variations after the smallpox epidemic. The clan system and age-grade organization was modified to meet the new conditions of a reduced population.

Although each permanent Mandan village was a separate economic, social, and ceremonial unit, the villages were not entirely independent. The turtle drums, which were considered the most sacred objects of the tribe, were held by the *Nuptadi* band of East-side Mandan. The sacred cedar in the center of each village was a symbol of village unity, the Mandan considered the turtle drums a symbol of tribal unity. The other villages were able to borrow them for ceremonial purposes.

The Mandan played an important role in the growth of Plains culture. Because of their central position in the Central Plains, the high development in trade for agricultural products with their neighbors, and the admitted borrowing by the Hidatsa of many significant elements of their culture. They were a sustaining force of Missouri River economy and culture.

DWELLINGS

The Mandan earth lodge villages were comprised of a mass of circular houses from forty to ninety feet in diameter, closely crowded together. The houses were of earth with a smooth coating of pounded clay on the top, where most of the inhabitants were usually stationed. Before each house was a scaffold, fronting the covered entrance. These scaffolds were six feet high, twenty feet long and ten broad and were used for hanging up corn and meat to dry. They had a good floor, which was covered with drying beans. The stage for drying corn and meat was as follows: posts were set up on the scaffolds themselves, across these rafters were laid, and upon these cross rafters or poles the corn, meat and sliced squashes were hung. Before almost every house were one or more poles about twenty feet high, to which images of the gods or sacrifices to them were attached.

The sedentary character of the Mandans and the fact that they practiced agriculture led to the development among them of several culture features not found among the purely hunting tribes. In common with most sedentary tribes they made use of caches or storage pits. Henry gives a description of them saying that, in the fall after harvest, the corn was dried, shelled and out in deep pits.These were about eight feet deep, with a mouth just wide enough for a person to get in, but the inside was hollowed out larger and the sides and bottom were lined with straw. The cache contained twenty to thirty bushels of beans and corn where it kept for several years. (Will, Spinden, p. 110).

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

The parents arranged marriages among the Mandan, though this does not mean that the young people's wishes were disregarded. Divorce was not difficult. Elopement even of married people did not cause much of a stir unless both parties had children. A man who lost his wife by elopement would usually receive gifts from the relatives of the man who had taken his wife. He was expected to give his unfaithful wife fine new clothes and a horse, to show that he was above jealousy over a woman.

Marriage ceremonies were complex and depended on the social status of the families involved. The Mandan, with their long history of stable life, had what amounted to class distinction. Families who owned important medicine bundles and rights in ceremonies were of importance to the tribe as a whole. A wedding of the highest order involved a ceremony in which the groom gave away many valuable presents to people owning rights in this father's bundle. The bride's parents gave the young man an albino buffalo skin that at the end of the ceremony was disposed of according to which bundle the father owned.

There were distinct words for the different kinds of marriage. Another class of marriage was the groom's father presented the bride's parents some horses. If the bride's parents approved of the marriage, they gave her the horses and she gave them to her brothers. Her brother then gave her an equal or greater number of horses, which she presented to her father-in-law. Then the girl's mother and her brothers' wives prepared a feast that they took to the groom's lodge and left there. His relatives feasted with the young couple, and the women among them brought presents that were picked up by the bride's female relatives when they came back for the empty pots and bowls after the feast.

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

Mandan clans were organized groups and elected a leader who acted in an advisory capacity, usually an older person who had been successful in warfare or in hunting. The clan was a property-holding group. It was the duty of the clan to assist its own members, to care for orphaned children and its old people having no blood children. Older people were invited to be fed and clothed by younger members of their own clan. The clan was the medium for the transfer of property when a family died without leaving descendants.

The social structure of the Mandan was based on clan membership. The Mandan and Hidatsa are the only tribes in North Dakota who have a two-part hereditary division. The Mandan and Hidatsa members were related by blood, clan and marriage.

The Mandans described their groups or moieties (a moiety is a combination of clans) as "east side", comprised of: Prairie Chicken; Speckled Eagle; Bear; Red Hill; Crow; Badger; Bunch of Wood Clans; and "west side", consisting of six clans: Waxi'kEna, Tami'siK, and Tami'xixiKs, and three extinct clans. The terms "East side" and "West side" referred to the positions the members took in the ceremonial lodge during the *Okipa* ceremony. The East-side clans erected their side of the lodge and place yellow corn in each post hole. The West-side clans erected the West side of the ceremonial lodge and placed small mats of buffalo hair in the central post holes of their side. The *Okipa* or ceremonial lodge occupied a position on the north side of the village open circle, with the entrance facing the sacred cedar. All clans participated in the construction of the ceremonial lodge.

Before the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the moieties could not marry anyone belonging to the same moiety as himself. Moiety also decided the division of buffalo killed in the old-time way; each had a leader for this activity. There was considerable rivalry between moieties in seeking war honors.

There were formerly thirteen clans. Of the thirteen clans, nine have become extinct. The WaxikEna and Tamisik constitute one moiety and the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle make up the other moiety. The major bundles of the *Okipa* ceremony were held in the WaxiEna Clan, which also owned the sacred cedar Lone Man shrine and controlled the Okipa lodge and sacred turtles. (Bowers pg. 45-57).

Kinship terms applied to members of the biological family who also were a part of clan and moiety groups. The entire tribe was classified as relatives and treated as such.

Each village was divided into a series of matrilineal (inheriting or determining descent through the female line), exogamous (marriage outside the tribe), nontotemic clans grouped into moieties (one or two units into which a tribe is divided). Each clan was composed of one or more lineages that were closely associated with the lodge groups. In Mandan theory the lodge group was based on matrilineal descent and matrilocal (residence with the wife's family) and consisted of several families held together by women.

Lodges belonged to the women occupying the lodge. The lodge holdings, also belonging to the female included the corn scaffold, storage pits, cooking utensils, bedding, dogs, and harnesses, mares and colts, gardens, and gardening equipment. Geldings and stallions belonged to the men.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

- Subsistence
- Harmony with nature
- Family and clan structures

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is subsistence and why was it important to native cultures?

2. How did the environment and geography shape the lifestyles and traditions of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish peoples?

3. How are lifestyles affected by changing seasons?

4. What are some similarities and differences among the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish and non-native family structures?

5. What are clans, bands, and moieties and why are they significant to the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish?

6. What are some differences between historical and contemporary divisions of work for both native and non-native people, your family? In the past and in the present?

7. Why were native students taken from their homes and sent to boarding schools?

HIDATSA CULTURE

HIDATSA CREATION NARRATIVE

HIDATSA CULTURE

LIFEWAYS

DWELLINGS

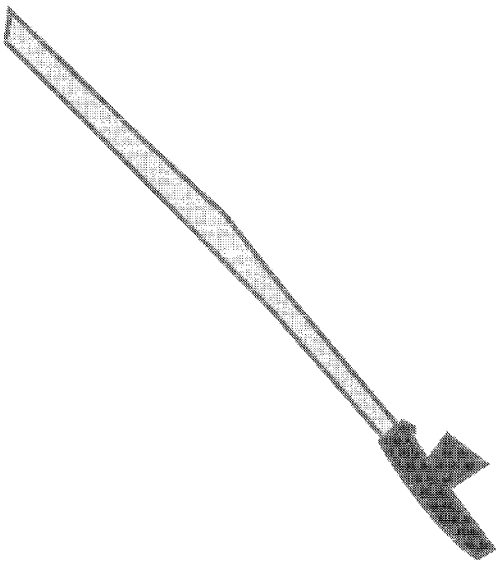
DRESS

THREE TRIBES CULTURE

PRESENT DAY CULTURE

HIDATSA CREATION NARRATIVE

There are three Hidatsa bands each having their own origin narrative. The following is the origin narrative of the Awaxawi Band.



The land was then mainly under water. First Creator was alone and wandering about by himself. He thought that he was the only one when he met another person named Lone Man. They discussed their origins. Lone Man concluded that he came from the western wheat grass, for in tracing his tracks he saw blood on the grass, and that his father was the Stone Buffalo, an earth-colored wingless grasshopper, for he saw its tracks near where he was born. First Creator did not know who his father and mother were but he thought that he had come from the water. The two men undertook to learn who was the older; Lone Man stuck his staff in the ground while First Creator lay down as a coyote. Years later Lone Man returned to the place where coyote was lying and, seeing the bones scattered about, took up the staff, whereupon First Creator came back to life and was declared the older.

First Creator and Lone Man decided to make the land inhabitable and, seeing a goose, mallard, teal, and red-eyed mudhen, they asked the birds to lend assistance by diving below for mud. . . . Goose, Mallard, and teal failed; only the mudhen succeeded in bringing earth from below. Lone Man divided the earth and gave half to First Creator.

First Creator made the lands on the west-side of the Missouri from the Rockies to the ocean while Lone Man made the land on the other or east side, each using half of the mud brought up by the mudhen. First Creator made many living things later occupying the land and from the mud left over he made Heart Butte. Lone Man made his side flat and with the mud left over he made Hill, a small butte north of the present town of Bismarck, North Dakota. He made the spotted cattle with long horns and the wolves.

First Creator caused the people who were living below to come above, bringing with them their garden produce. The people continued to come up, following a vine, until one woman heavy in pregnancy broke the vine.

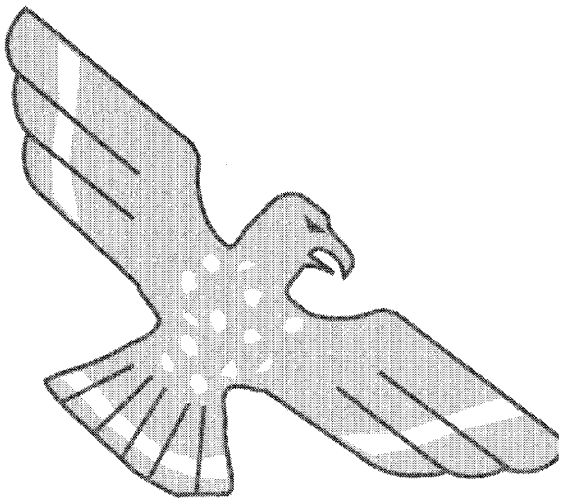
When first encountered, Lone Man carried a wooden pipe but he did not know what it was used for. First Creator then ordered Male Buffalo to produce tobacco for Lone Man's pipe. (This act explains the use of pipes in the various ceremonies, which later were introduced, and the concept of tobacco as being sacred.)

First Creator decreed that people in seeking a living would scatter into small groups all over the land and would fight. (This degree established the various bands and linguistic groups.)

Because the spotted cattle could not stand the cold winters and the wolves sometime went mad, First Creator did not think they should be kept. So the spotted cattle and the maggots around a dead wolf, representing the white people was thrown eastward across the waters until a later time when they would return as the white men and their cattle. Finding the land to the east too level for shelter from storms, they roughened it with their heels to form land as it is seen today. The people dispersed over the land into tribes and the two men visited them in their

villages and camps. At this time the people, whom we know as River Crow, Hidatsa, and Awaxawi, moved northward toward Devils Lake and lived together as a single group. There were many lakes where they lived at that time.

Hungry Wolf of good reputation lived in the village with a younger brother named High Bird. Young men would line up along the path by the young women getting water to ask for a drink. When water was offered one, it indicated that she was fond of him. High Bird's friend, an orphan, lived with him. Hungry Wolf's wife offered High Bird water; he refused it because she was his brother's wife and she became angry. She told her husband that High Bird had attacked her. Although witnesses denied the charge, Hungry Wolf did not believe them. He announced that he was organizing a war party and High Bird and the orphan decided to go along. To cross a large lake, forty bullboats were made to carry the eighty men. They traveled four days by water. High Bird as scout brought in an enemy's scalp for his brother, but Hungry Wolf ordered his party to leave quietly by water while his brother slept, leaving him no means of reaching the mainland.



Hungry Wolf called back to his brother that the Water Buffalo, his "father," had ordered him to do this. His gods, who ate those who assisted Hungry Wolf, protected High Bird. (The narrative here introduces the sun as a supernatural guardian and also as a cannibal. The concept of the sun as a cannibal appears throughout Hidatsa sacred mythology.)

Hungry Wolf called back that if High Bird crossed the water, the Sharp Noses would kill him so High Bird matched the supernatural powers of the Sharp Noses with that of the Thunderbird, his supernatural father. (This conflict provided the setting for at least one of the Thunderbird ceremonies performed by the Hidatsa in recent years.)

Before the war party was out of sight, Hungry Wolf threatened that Owns-Many-Dogs dogs would eat High Bird (the narrative at this point describes the penalties to the social group when brothers quarreled. People were quick to put brothers aright if they showed a tendency to quarrel or fight. This applied also to clan brothers. As a result of the destruction of a large part of the population, people learned that brothers must always aid and support each other, revenge the others death by the enemy, and provide for those the brother loved and respected while he lived.)

Thunderbird came down from the sky, learned from High Bird the cause of the quarrel, and gave High Bird advice on escaping from the island. High Bird learned from Thunderbird that the water buffalo was in reality a large snake living in the lake. (Conflict between the sky gods represented by the big birds and the water gods represented by the snakes runs throughout Hidatsa mythology).

High Bird fed the large snake four cornballs to reach shore where the snake was killed by Thunderbird. High Bird cut up the snake and Thunderbird called the other large birds to a feast. (This feast is reenacted by those performing rites to White Fingernails bundle). These big birds then gave High Bird advice on overcoming the magical powers of Owns-

Many-Dogs and the Sharp Noses. Thunderbird decreed that the village where the two young brothers lived would be destroyed unless Hungry Wolf gave High Bird enough tobacco for one pipe filling. Then High Bird started for home.

Northeast of Devils Lake he overcame the Sharp Noses and when he was nearer to Devils Lake he encountered Owns-Many-Dogs and sent her northward beyond the great fire which was to destroy the village. Far to the east, where the rivers flow southward, High Bird heard a man weeping and discovered that it was his friend, the orphan. They reached home and found that a Mourners Camp has been set up, for his relatives had concluded that he was dead. Each day the people from the other camp came there to mimic them by singing victory songs. The Hidatsa and Awaxawi often set up the Mourners Camp. It was not customary for either the Mandan or Awatixa to establish a separate camp of hide tipis as did the other village groups.)

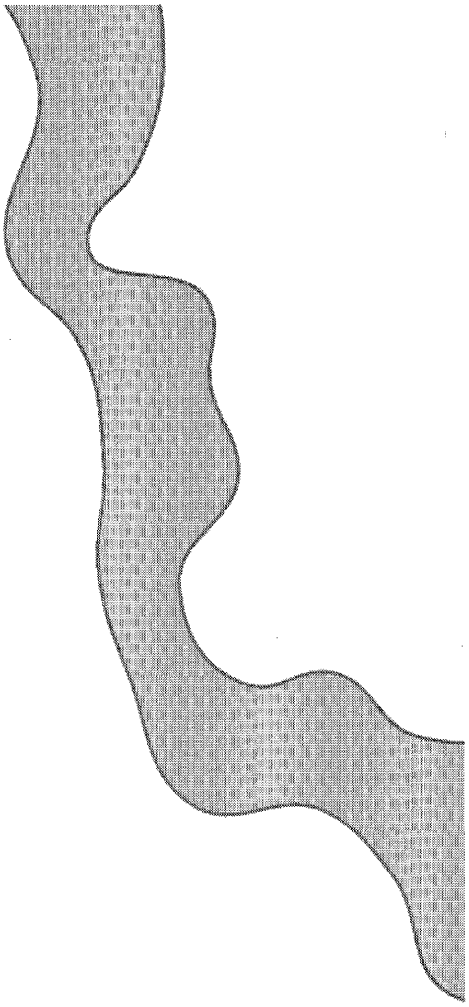
High Bird sent his mother to Hungry Wolf four times for tobacco and each time he refused so the people of the Mourners Camp dug deep holes in which to protect themselves from the celestial flames. Each day the mourners would go to Hungry Wolf's camp to sing under the direction of seven singers. They sang the Tobacco songs. (Here is the first reference to an institution highly developed with the Crows, who were traditionally a part of the original Hidatsa, and Awaxawi cultures.)

One day a fire came down from the sky. High Bird's people were in deep cellars and were saved. All of the others were destroyed except Hungry Wolf's wife who was the cause of the quarrel. She was given the name Calf Woman after the fire. She described the destruction by the fire and it was then decreed that from this time there would always be women who would make trouble between married couples. Because the seven Tobacco singers were with the mourners, the Tobacco rites were saved. Even today one sees the results of this fire, for there are no trees to the east except along the Red River and its tributaries where the fire could not burn.

After this fire the survivors separated, the Awaxawi lived to the south of Devils Lake where they planted corn while the Hidatsa and the Crow with their Tobacco rites stayed farther north near the large lakes. There Magpie discovered an approaching flood, the penalty for sticking a feather through Fat Bird's nostrils and ordering a buffalo calf to carry its mother's entrails. Those Awaxawi who believed Magpie escaped to Square Buttes on the Missouri River where they were joined by Magpie, his mother named Yellow Woman who represented corn, and Spring Buffalo. The buffaloes of the other three seasons drowned on the way to establishing three important hunting areas between the Missouri and Devils Lake. (Bears Arm explained that the linguistic differences between the Hidatsa-River Crow and the Awaxawi developed as a result of the separation after the celestial fire. He interpreted this flight from Devils Lake as evidence that the Awaxawi brought gardening to the Missouri and did not adopt the practice from the Mandan. He believed the flight northward to avoid destruction from the flood involved only the Hidatsa and River Crow. We see that the traditional migrations are intimately associated with magical beliefs. (It would appear from the accounts of David Thompson that these migration myths have at least some historic validity.)

... the Awaxawi lived to the south of Devils Lake where they planted corn while the Hidatsa and the Crow with their Tobacco rites stayed farther north near the large lakes.

The Origin Narrative of the Awaxawi Band



These people who came to the Missouri in advance of the flood were the Awaxawi who had separated sometime before from the Hidatsa and River Crow while still living northeast of Devils Lake; the flood destroyed those who were on lowlands. After the waters had subsided, the Awatixa were found living on the Missouri also. (This is the first reference in this important sacred myth to the Awatixa whose large village at the mouth of Knife River shows evidence of longer occupation than the traditional villages of the Hidatsa and Awaxawi of the same area.)

When the waters subsided, there were lakes and sloughs to the northeast where First Creator and Lone Man had roughened the earth with their heels. Fish became abundant in all of the lakes.
(Bowers, pp. 298-301,1963, appendix C.) (List primary informant).

Some of the creation stories say that Devils Lake in northern Dakota is the birth lake of the tribe. The Hidatsa call it *Mirí-zubáa*, (pronounced *Midihopa*) which means sacred water.

In addition to this story, the Hidatsa have an extensive account of what happened to them during their long wanderings on the prairie, from the time they left the lake until they reached the Mandan village. This account is included in a separate story - the almost endless legend of Idawaabísha (pronounced *Idi-wabi-sha)*, when told properly, takes three or four long winter evenings.

In this story they were often on the verge of death by starvation, but were rescued by a miraculous supply of buffalo meat. Stones were scattered on the prairie by a divine order, and from them sprang to life the buffalo, which they slaughtered. It was during these years of wandering that the spirit of the sun took a woman of this tribe up into the sky. She had a son, who came to earth under the name of *idi-wabi-sha*, meaning grandchild, and became the great prophet of his mother's people. (Bowers)

HIDATSA CULTURE

The Hidatsa revered everything in nature. The sun, moon, stars, all animals, trees, plants, rivers, lakes - everything not made by human hands, which has an independent being, or which could be individualized, possessed a spirit, or. . . *shade*. (Matthews,1877,p.48).

To clarify the Hidatsa concept, for example, the shade of the cottonwood, the greatest tree of the Upper Missouri Valley, is supposed to possess an intelligence that may, if properly approached, help in certain undertakings. The shades of shrubs and grasses are of little importance. It was considered wrong to cut down one of these great trees. When large logs were needed, only the fallen ones were used. Some elders say many of the misfortunes of the people are the result of their disregard for the rights of the cottonwood. The sun is held in great respect and many valuable sacrifices are made to it. (Matthews, 1877, p.48).

The Hidatsa women planted beans, sunflowers, squash, pumpkin, tobacco, and corn. The Hidatsa had nine distinct varieties of corn, five varieties of beans, and several varieties of squash.

CHILD REARING PRACTICES

Discipline of children was a family responsibility. The mother's brother was the boy's chief teacher and disciplinarian. He was likely to chide a boy for failing to learn to do the things that were expected of a boy his age. Old men of the lodge taught boys by stories and lectures instilling in them the tribe's idea of manhood. Girls were instructed in feminine labors and skills by their mothers and grandmothers. Young women were disciplined by their sisters and by their mothers' older sisters.

When a husband dies leaving children, his brother would be likely to marry the widow to provide for the children. Death, divorce, and other factors created many kinds of marital situations. There were society standards that governed marital behavior. If one acted otherwise he or she was subject to ridicule, and this was enough to maintain the societies' standards.

Polygamy occurred among all the tribes in this area. The main reason for this was the fact that men were constantly engaging in warfare and were more likely to meet early death than were women. In order that all women be provided with the products of the hunt, have opportunity to bear children, and have their share of work to do, the natural solution was plural marriages. When the fur trade was established, it was to the man's advantage to have several wives to dress skins that could be traded for white man's goods.

CLANS/MOIETIES

History indicates that there were two different clan systems of the Hidatsa: The thirteen-clan system of the *Awatixa* and the seven-clan system of the *Awaxawi* and *Hidatsa Proper*. The clan was an important feature of Hidatsa social, economic, and ceremonial life. At birth, the child is a member of his/her mother's clan or, if the mother was without a clan because she belonged to a different tribe, the child assumed the clan of the other children in the household. In spite of the traditional late arrival of the *Hidatsa Proper* and the *Awaxawi* on the Missouri River, the clan names they used were based on incidents or events occurring along the Missouri River.

The general idea of clan origins are two: the origin of the clan from a single female of a household group coming down from the sky with *Charred Body*; and a local group accustomed to living together. The clan names refer to incidents involving people, animals, or objects. The *MaxU'xati* (Alkalai Lodge) Clan receives its name from *maxoxi*, which refers to the dry dust that formed from the decaying of the earth lodge rafters and dropped down continuously, and *ati* meaning "lodge." The *ME'tsiroku* (Flint Knife) Clan means "knife people" and refers to an instance of wife-purchase with a stone knife. The *Apukaw'I'u* (Low Cap) Clan receives its name from *apuka* meaning cap or article of clothing worn above the eye to shade them from the sun and *wiku* meaning "low." The Low Cap Clan was derived from the supernatural experiences of *Packs Antelope* with the Thunderbirds and the Grandfather snake of the Missouri who killed by means of lightening which flashed from his eyes. When he returned from his exploits with the supernatural, he shaded his eyes to protect the people. These three clans are grouped together and are known today as the Three-Clan Moiety.

The *Itisúku* (Wide Ridge) Clan received its name from the custom of being out to the front of the war party along the edges of the hills overlooking the Missouri. Once a group of young men called on Old-Woman-Who-Never-Dies at her lodge near the Red Buttes and she promised them success in warfare. When they returned to their homes, they called themselves *Itis'ku.*

The Prairie Chicken Clan was believed to have once been a separate village group. The name was derived from the fact that members of this group were noisy like the prairie chickens. The Prairie Chicken Clan began from the custom of a war party to camp at night in the bushes, the berries of which were eaten by the prairie chickens. (Bowers pg. 66-67)

The *AwaxEnawita* (Dripping Dirt) Clan derives its name from the childhood custom of building tiny villages with wet clay. Later the people saw hills upstream and nearly opposite the present city of Williston, North Dakota, that reminded them of the work of small children. The people camped there three times; hence the name *AwaxEnawita* taken from *awaxE* meaning "hill sliding down" and *nawi* meaning "three."

The *Mirip'ti* (Waterbuster) Clan derives its name from a quarrel that occurred in the village. The *mirip'ti* separated and built near the village of *Xura,* who, at that time, had a separate village. Water was brought from the river and stored in bladders for use in case of a prolonged attack. One man became angered because of the cowardice of his people and cut up the water bag hanging in his lodge; after this the group was known as *Mirip' ti* from *Miri* meaning "water" and *pati* meaning "to break open." The *Xura* Clan, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837 merged with the Waterbuster Clan and became extinct. The Xura Clan functioned as a named lineage in the Waterbuster or *Miripati* Clan, is believed to have been a separate village at one time. The name is derived from the noise of the cicada. The village, except for one woman and her baby daughter, disappeared mysteriously during the night. The survivors moved to the village of the Waterbuster of *Awatixa* and formed a friendship with that group. (Bowers, 1950)

In addition to the eight clans, there were a few members of the Speckled Eagle Clan in the tribe. According to tradition, this clan was of Mandan origin although many members can no longer trace their lineage back to any particular Mandan village group. They lived at the *Awaxawi* village shortly after 1780 at the time of the smallpox epidemic of Nuptadi village. Like the Mandan Speckled Eagle Clan, they have been assimilating with the Prairie Chicken Clan in recent years and marriage with the Prairie Chicken Clan was generally disapproved.

The clan was responsible for the care of its own members. Old people and orphans were cared for and often taken into the households of clan members. When the wife died, the man generally left the household to live in one where the females were of his clan.

The clan was responsible for the behavior of its members. It was the duty of older persons of the clan to instruct and supervise the children as they grew up. It was the duty of the clan not only to discipline its own members but also to protect them from the attacks of others. An important role was in directing and supervising the fasting of its younger members, and encouraging their participation in all ceremonies.

The clan revenged the murder of a member by killing the offender and demanding goods of his clansmen to make up for the loss. Women of the clan who were ill and could not do the work were assisted in caring for their households and gardens. One might even be brought into the lodge of clanswomen and nursed back to health. Goods and horses were contributed when a clansman performed a ceremony.

BURIAL CUSTOMS

At death, both the person's own and the father's clan had important duties. It is the duty of the members of the father's clan to take of or handle all of the funeral arrangments. The members of the father's clan who officiated were selected in advance, sometimes years beforehand. It was the duty of the clan to provide goods, horses, and food for the funeral rites as payment for the official mourners who comprised the adults of the father's clan. The clan members would begin bringing in the property and displaying it on lines within the lodge where those caring for the sick person and friends coming in for a last visit would see them. It was believed that a lavish display of goods expressed the generosity and solidarity of the clan. The sick person was happy in the belief that in the spirit world he could boast of the goods that had been given away when he died. The clan had no other role when death of a member occurred. Individuals of the father's clan were in charge of the last rites.

Other duties of the father's clan included naming ceremonies. Informal feasts were given to the people of the father's clan from time to time. All through life, the people of the father's clan offered prayers and sold sacred objects and rites to the clan children, "sons" and "daughters," and in death they sent the spirit of their clan children away with appropriate rites.

The clan played an important part in uniting households and integrating the village population. It brought together many households for common purposes. It also united households with those of other villages. Visitors from surrounding villages were housed with clansmen, assisted and participated in the ceremonial activities. A common clans system played an important role in holding the tribal population together and avoiding inter-village warfare.

KINSHIP SYSTEM

Kinship plays an important part in the lives of the Hidatsa people. Relatives address each other by the term of relationship instead of by proper names, and each person's behavior and attitude towards his relatives depended upon the kind of kinship. The requirements for special usage extended beyond blood relationship into larger groups such as clans and moieties. The many loyalties, obligations, and associations of the individual were determined at birth.

Tribal custom laid down certain rules for attitude and behavior toward people of each degree of relationship. Hidatsa kinship influenced behavior of individuals toward each other. For example, a boy could be disciplined by his elder brother and by his mother's brother. A man could have no conversation with either of his in-laws, or certain of their relatives, but brother-in-law were intimate friends, often exchanging gifts. A man and his sister had great respect and affection for each other, but after puberty they rarely spoke to each other. People whose fathers were of the same clan were expected to chide each other about any weaknesses or breach of a custom.

Among the Mandan and Hidatsa the ideal lodge would be: an elderly man and his wives, their unmarried sons and daughters, and the married daughters with their husbands and children. When a lodge became crowded, one of the daughters would build a lodge of her own and move there with husband and children. The lodge was the property of the women who lived in it. They also owned the household furniture, the tipis and the corn scaffolds, cache pits, dogs, and gardening equipment.

SOCIETIES OF THE HIDATSA AND THE MANDAN

The purpose of societies was mainly to provide opportunity for visiting, feasting, and dancing with a group of people of the same sex. The distinctive features of each society were characterized by a series of songs and a dance, peculiar forms of rattles and other instruments, certain articles of dress and adornment, and a specified face and body painting, and hair dress. Society traits were borrowed freely from tribe to tribe and functions were purchased. Though not primarily concerned with the supernatural, a few societies contained sacred elements; most evident is the buffalo-calling dance of the White Buffalo Cow Society of the Mandan and Hidatsa.

Mandan and Hidatsa societies were graded according to age of members. The members of any one society tended to be about the same age. When they became older, they sold their membership in that society and bought membership in the next higher society. Most societies had a leader, and a set number of singers, waiters, and pipe-bearers. In several cases, the acceptance of an emblem, such as a special kind of lance, obligated the owner to behave in a certain way in battle. Two officers in the Hidatsa Black Mouth Society carried "raven lances" into battle. If one was pursued by the enemy, he was to plant the lance in the ground and fight beside it until killed, or until a fellow tribesman pulled up the lance.

There was a society especially for pre-adolescent boys to hunt as soon as they were able. Boys began fasting at the age of nine.

Since kinship ties were strong in these cultures, any adult had responsibilities far beyond the ties of his household. Both men and women had duties to perform for their relatives in matters of marriage, burial, society entry, bundle feasts, and religious rites. Ceremony took up a good deal of the time of the adult Mandan and Hidatsa.

CRAFTS

The Mandan and Hidatsa were making pottery as far back as their villages can be traced by archeology, and continued to do so up to the time of the 1837 epidemic. The art was declining because of the introduction of more durable metal pots and pails by traders.

They used paint to decorate robes, tipi covers, rawhide packing cases, scabbards, shields, drums, and shirts. The usual tint was earth colored and some vegetable colors. Commercial paints became available through traders by the 1800s. The designs were of two styles - the men usually had life forms and women used geometric designs. Men often painted their war exploits and figures of horses. Their paintings were dominated by fighting men. They often painted symbols of their bundle rights on their robes.

Baskets were made of the inner bark of willow and of box elder on a frame of willow sticks. Three colors were available - a reddish brown, blacks, or white, the basic colors of the willows and the box elder. These baskets were used for carrying corn and other plant products, and often used as a measure of commerce.

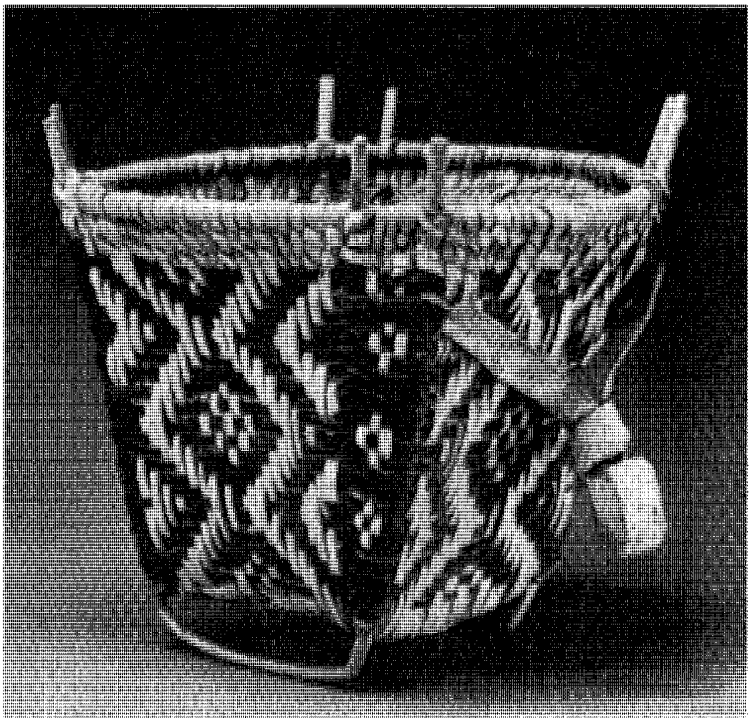


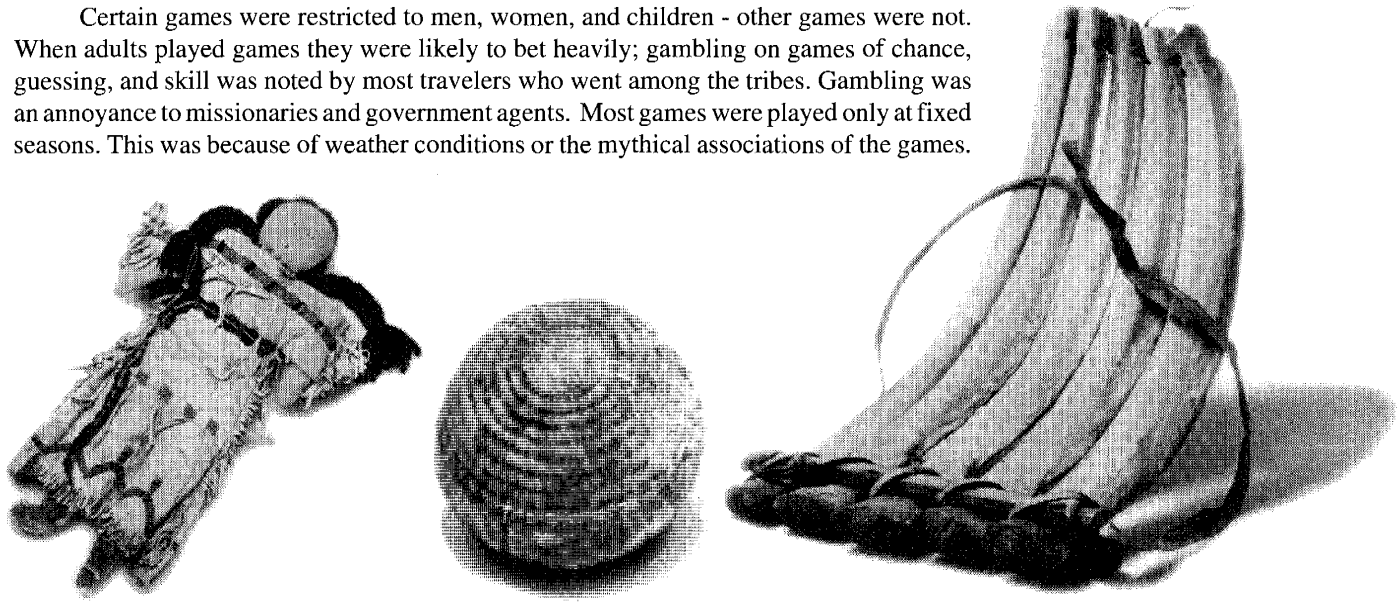
Figure 11 Photograph of Hidatsa Burden Basket, made by Maxi'd'iwiac, Buffalo-Bird Woman. Courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

Articles of clothing were made of tanned deer and elk skin and were often decorated with colored quills and later beads. The porcupine quills were usually dyed with vegetable dyes at first then aniline dyes brought by traders.

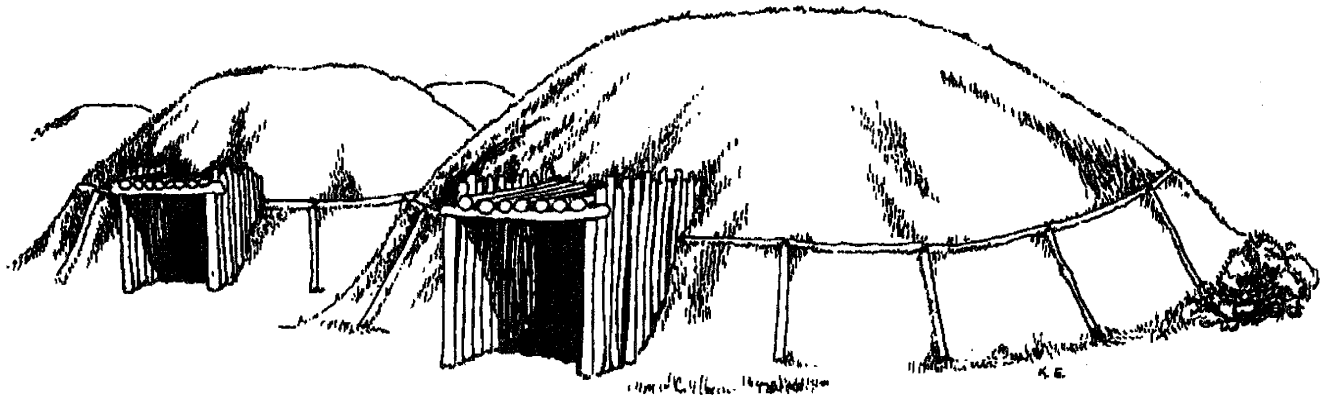
Men painted and made their own weapons, society regalia, musical instruments, and ceremonial equipment. In primitive times they made projectile points, knives, and drills from stone. A few individuals had learned to melt glass, using the blue beads brought by the traders, and pour it into clay forms to make plain, but highly prized, pendants.

GAMES

Certain games were restricted to men, women, and children - other games were not. When adults played games they were likely to bet heavily; gambling on games of chance, guessing, and skill was noted by most travelers who went among the tribes. Gambling was an annoyance to missionaries and government agents. Most games were played only at fixed seasons. This was because of weather conditions or the mythical associations of the games.



Doll, Ball and Bone sled from Gilman & Schneider, 1987, p. 29-13.



DWELLINGS

The circular huts described by Alexander Henry measured ninety feet from the front door to the opposite side. The whole space was first dug out to a depth of about 2 feet below the surface. In the center was a fireplace, about five feet square, dug out about two feet below the surface. The lower part of the hut was constructed by erecting strong posts about six feet out of the ground and set at equal distances from each other. Upon these were laid logs as large as the posts to form the circle. On the outside were placed pieces of split wood, seven feet long, in a slanting position, one end resting on the ground and the other leaning against the cross logs. Upon these beams rested rafters the thickness of a man's leg, twelve to fifteen feet long, slanting enough to shed water, and laid so close that they touched each other. Four large posts in the center of the lodge supported four, square beams on which the upper end of the rafters were laid.

At the top there was an opening about four feet square which served for chimney and window. There was no other opening to admit light, and when it rained even this opening was closed. The whole roof was well thatched with willows, laid onto a thickness of six inches or more, fastened together in a very compact manner and well secured to the rafters. Over the whole hut was spread about a foot of earth. Around the wall to the height of three feet or more, earth was laid to the thickness of about three feet, for security in case of attack and for warmth in winter. The door was five feet broad and six high, made of raw buffalo hides, stretched on a frame and suspended from one of the beams that formed the circle. Every night the door was barricaded with a long piece of timber supported by two stout posts on the inside of the hut, one on each side of the door. A covered porch, seven feet wide and ten feet long, extended from the door.

(Loundsberry, 1917, p. 82).

Figure 12 Drawing of a Mandan woman, by George Catlin, Volume I. London, 1841, p. 188, Plate 74.

DRESS

Men of the Mandan and Hidatsa tribes wore hard-soled moccasins with soft tanned uppers that were quilled or beaded. They also wore leggings of skin or trade cloth that came high on the hip on the outside and there fastened to the belt. A strip of quill or beadwork was fastened along the seam, at the outer edges of the leggings. Shirts of soft skin, usually antelope, deer, or mountain sheep, were worn mostly for dress occasions. The shirts in primitive times were of poncho type, made of two skins with the rear parts of two hides forming front and back, and the front parts of the hides forming the sleeves. The buffalo robe was part of the attire of every man and every woman.

Women's moccasins were not much different from men's. Women's leggings were shorter, reaching from ankle to just below the knee. Dresses were also of a poncho style, alike in front and back. Generally, the front end of the animal skin was used to form the bottom of the dress and the hind legs to extend out to form the sleeves. Finer dresses included fringes of skin with bits of hoof attached and sewn

on the sleeves and at the bottom hem. This gave a pleasant rattling sound when the women moved about. Some dresses were decorated with elk teeth, later cowrie shells, and carved bits of bones were used.

Ceremonial and war clothing worn by men was unlimited. Each society had different gear according to the office held by the individual. War clothing worn by the men was often determined by his dreams. Certain dances and ceremonies not associated with the societies required elaborate costumes and sometimes masks. A number of designs and colors were used in painting the face and body. Colored clays were used in primitive times and were never replaced by the trade product. Paintings were symbolic. A good example of this was the *Okipa* ceremonial impersonators. These types of clothing described were rapidly being replaced by European style clothing as early as 1850. *(Schulenberg, 1956, pp.64-65).*

No single institution had more devastating effects on the culture of the Three Tribes and other tribes in the state than did the fur trade. They began to build log cabins instead of their native earth lodges as it took the same amount of logs to build. The native technology was lost when homemade goods were replaced by Euro-American substitutes. Trade goods were transported by the ton on fur trade company steamboats. Those natives, skilled in making strictly Indian implements, died in the numerous disease epidemics that often killed the tribes on the northern plains. When sheet metal, files and chisels, metal pots, glass beads, and cloth were brought into the area, the tribes used these materials instead of the goods they had made themselves. Metal pots took the place of clay pots. Sheet metal was cut and sharpened to make spear and arrow points instead of chipped stones. Glass beads of many colors replaced fine stitchery and the flattened and dyed porcupine quills used as clothing decorations. Cloth was used to make clothes and blankets, replacing tanned hides.

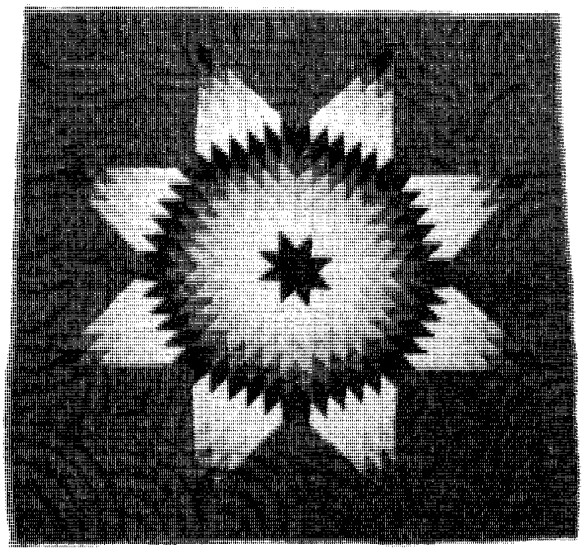


Photo of Quilt made by Marie Young Bear. Gilman & Schneider, 1987, p. 256.

PRESENT DAY CULTURE

The Mandan and Hidatsa tribes actively practice their tribal clanship ties. At present, many persons are adopted into a clan, but it should be noted that adoption is only on an individual basis - the entire family doesn't immediately belong to that clan - only the individual who is adopted. The children of the woman who are adopted become members of the mother's clan, not a member of the father's clan. The members of the father's clan are considered clan aunts and clan fathers. Members of the mother's clan are clan brothers and clan sisters.

The *Miripati* (Waterbuster) Clan has a keeper of the sacred bundle who prays for all tribes. Once a year the clan gets together for praying, feasting and dancing in celebration of the bundle return and to maintain the safe daily storage of the bundle. The Three Clan (Flint Knife, Low Cap, and Alkalai Lodge) maintains a sacred bundle with a keeper.

Active societies include the Antelope Society, Fox Society, and Enemy Women's Society. Although the traditions have adapted to modern times, members still maintain their identities as being a member of these societies. Other societies sponsor annual celebrations throughout the reservation.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

- Subsistence
- Harmony with nature
- Family and clan structures

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is subsistence and why was it important to native cultures?

2. How did the environment and geography shape the lifestyles and traditions of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish peoples?

3. How are lifestyles affected by changing seasons?

4. What are some similarities and differences among the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish and non-native family structures?

5. What are clans, bands, and moieties and why are they significant to the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish?

6. What are some differences between historical and contemporary divisions of work for both native and non-native people, your family? In the past and in the present?

7. Why were native students taken from their homes and sent to boarding schools?

SAHNISH CULTURE

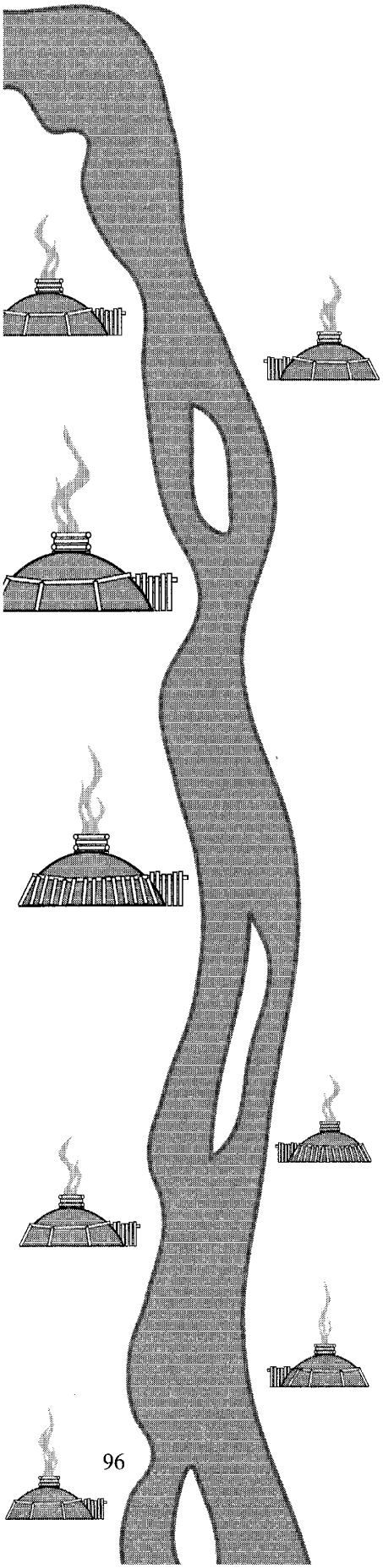
ARIKARA GENESIS

LIFEWAYS

KINSHIP

CEREMONIES AND SOCIETIES

SAHNISH CULTURE



Sahnish Genesis and its teachings are part of the sacred bundles. The sacred bundles are ancient, mysterious wrappings that hold sacred and holy items of the people. Some of these items were used as reminders for tracing their history. Part of the ceremony of the bundles includes the following statement about the history of the Sahnish: *"The tribes and nations of the Caddoan stock migrated originally from the south from the borders of Mexico, northward into the Great Plains. In the migration of these nations northward the Arikara were in the lead, so in their final settlement they were found farthest north of any of the stock. The Caddoan tribes brought with them from the south the practice of agriculture, which they taught, to other cruder tribes whom they encountered."* (Gilmore)

ARIKARA GENESIS

As told by Four Rings, Priest of the Hukawirat Sacred Bundle. Interpreted by Albert Simpson and as told to Melvin Gilmore.

The Sahnish nation is one of the nations of the Caddoan stock. This stock includes the Caddo of Louisiana, the Waco of Texas, the Wichita of Oklahoma, the Pawnee of Nebraska and the Arikara of North Dakota. Arikara is not the name by which these people call themselves, but the name by which they were called by the Mandan. They call themselves *Sahnish*, meaning "people". Other Indian people they call *saNIsahnis*, while they call white people *sahNIstaaka*, the word for "white" in their language.

The tribes and nations of the Caddoan stock migrated originally from the south from the borders of Mexico (Central America), northward into the Great Plains. In the migration of these nations northward the Sahnish were in the lead, so in their final settlement they were found the farthest north of any of the stock. The Caddoan tribes brought with them from the south the practice of agriculture, which they taught to less civilized tribes whom they encountered. The cultivated crops which they brought with them from the south, and which they gradually acclimated farther and farther north, were corn, beans, squash, pumpkins and sunflowers. All these good food crops made for them a more certain and secure living than could be obtained by the less civilized tribes, who depended wholly upon the harvest of wild plants. Agriculture, the cultivation of corn, had been practiced by the Sahnish for so many centuries that it was thoroughly ingrained in the national and individual life of the people. From time immemorial agriculture had been their life, so that their unwritten literature (oral narration), their religious and social forms were imbued with allusions to their agricultural practices and products.

The northward migration of the Sahnish brought them into the drainage area of the Missouri River many centuries ago and they have been associated with that river ever since, so that it has had influence in the form of some of their rituals. Their name for this stream signifies "The Mysterious (Holy) River". The former population of the Sahnish nation was very greatly more numerous than in modern times since contact with the white race. In former times there were twelve villages of this nation. Each village had its own "Sacred Bundle," an object which was likened to the ancient Hebrew Ark of the Covenant. The Sahnish tell of a glorious and prosperous time of their people when they dwelt at the "Place of the Holy Lodges." This location was near the Grand River, a tributary of the Missouri River, in what is now South Dakota. At the time the people of the twelve villages were so numerous as to require four "Holy Lodges" or tribal temples to accommodate them in the celebrations of their religious festivals.

"It will be noted that the numbers four and sixteen, and the square of four, are conspicuous in their symbolism in the ritual and philosophy of the Sahnish as they are in many other tribes of that region. As we proceed with the account of a certain ceremony, mention must be made of a personal name, *Paa'xu* (Grandson) which was conferred upon me in the Pawnee nation. The Pawnee are, as said before are related to the Sahnish so since I made the acquaintance of the latter people they have always liked to call me by my Pawnee name."

The human mind is always searching for some explanation to account for all phenomena which it encounters. Consciousness of the immensity of numbers and the wonderful profusion of forms of living things in the world has always challenged the thinker to produce a reasonable explanation. Such explanation has taken various forms according to the strength and facility of the mind of the thinker. The seers and prophets of the Sahnish nation in ancient time pondered the problem of the origin and progressive development of the living world. The volume of their thoughtful conclusions upon these matters has been formulated and orally transmitted from generation to generation in the recital of the rituals of their Sacred Bundles. Each of the twelve villages or tribes of this nation possessed a Sacred Bundle which was its palladium, constituting a mystic bond which drew the people of the village together and firmly bonded them into a coherent unit.

When religious festivals were celebrated, a Sacred Bundle was brought into the Holy Lodge and opened to view upon the altar. Parts of the ritual proper to the occasion were recited by the priests, and the appropriate songs and chants were sung.

Photograph of Four Rings, by Fred Olson, photographer. Courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

The various objects contained in the Sacred Bundle were emblematic of the several items of the sacred teachings. One of these revered tokens was a sheaf of thirty-four small sticks made from peeled shoots of sandbar willow. These sticks are of uniform size, about the diameter of a grain of corn and one span in length. This bundle of sticks was for the purpose of laying out a circular diagram employed in reciting the account of the good beginning of all things in the world, and the progress from chaos to cosmos, from confusion to order, from crudity to perfection.

When this teaching is recited, the thirty-four sticks are laid out on the ground in a circle surrounding the fireplace, with each one having its particular station, connotating a certain item in the doctrine. Part of them designate the fundamental powers or elements of the world and part of them signify the stages of advancement of forms of life from the primitive to the more advanced. The circular space about the fireplace, typifying the first four sticks; then the remaining sticks are laid in groups determined by these first four which mark the quarters. The sticks are laid out according to their significance in relation to their prototypes of the cosmogonic order, as enunciated in the sacred teachings. Ritualistic ceremony accompanied the laying of the sticks and the reciting of the teaching.

I obtained one of these symbolic sheave of sticks, and received orally the volume of their teaching from Four-Rings, an old Sahnish since deceased, who was a priest of the *Hukawirat* Sacred Bundle, and thoroughly conversant with lore of his people. This ceremony took place on August 29, 1924, in Four-Rings' house about fifteen miles southeast of Elbowoods, on the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota. The information from Four-Rings was afterwards verified and supplemented by information from Crow Ghost, an old man who was exceptionally well versed in the ceremonies and sacred teachings but who also is since deceased.

At the ceremony of transferring the sticks to me and transmitting to me their teaching, there were present only Four-Rings and our interpreter and myself. The interpreter was a young man named Albert Simpson. We three were in a room of Four-Rings' house. During the time while we were engaged inside, the wife of Four-Rings went out and occupied herself with some work in her garden.

In the room in which we sat an ear of corn, dressed like a woman to represent Mother Corn, was elevated on the wall just as a crucifix is elevated on the wall of a Christian household, and was similarly venerated. Attached to this corn shrine was a braid of dried sweet-grass (*haaNUtwaraakha'*) to be used as incense in ceremonies in which the corn shrine was employed. I have related and described the uses of such a symbolic ear of corn in "An Arikara Household Shrine to Mother Corn," Indian Notes, Vol.2 (1925) pp.31-34, publication of the Museum of the American Indian.

When we were seated in the room, Four-Rings brought out the bundle of sticks, carrying them in his left hand, he took position at a point way to the southeast of the fireplace. Starting from that point, he walked hurriedly once around the circle of the fireplace in sun wise direction to the place of beginning, the southeast quarter, where he laid down the second stick. Likewise, he walked hurriedly three times round the circle and stopped at the northwest quarter, and laid down the third stick; then four times hurriedly round and laid down the fourth stick at the northeast quarter. Then he walked round once again and laid down at the west of the circle two sticks crossed at right angles to each other. Then he walked round to the east of the circle and laid down two sticks parallel to each other and extending east and west. Then he walked round and laid down two sticks by the one which had been first laid at the south east; one of these was laid a little apart from the other. Next he laid four more in a group by the southwest; then four more beside the one at the northwest; finally, the remaining sixteen beside the one at the northeast.

All the sticks in place Four-Rings returned and sat down. The interpreter, acting pipe-tender for the occasion, filled the pipe and handed it to the old man. Four-Rings took the pipe, lighted it and walked round the circle making smoke offerings, first to the southwest, the northwest and the northeast; then to the two crossed sticks at the west; then to the two sticks laid parallel to each other at the east. After this he walked round the circle once more and made smoke offerings successively to the several groups of sticks, which had been laid down in association with each of the four sticks first laid down, at the four quarters, namely, first to the two by the first stick at the southeast, then to the four by the stick at the southwest, then to the four by the stick at the northwest, and finally to the sixteen by the stick to the northeast. After all those smoke offerings had been made we three participants in the ceremony drew smoke in turn from the pipe, after which the old man smoked out the pipe, cleaned the pipe and put it away in due form.

Then he rose and reverently took down from the wall the ear of corn and the wisp of sweet-grass. These he laid at the west side of the circle, near the two crossed sticks. Then he returned to his place, sat down, and began his formal recital of the sacred teachings:

> *"There is one supreme being of power and wisdom, the Chief Above {Nishanu Natchitak}." He rules the world. But he gave mother Corn authority over all things on earth. Nishanu Natchitak is above all, but he made Mother Corn intermediary with human beings on earth. Reverence and gratitude are due from mankind to Nishanu Natchitak for all the good things which we have, and to Mother Corn, through whose mediation we enjoy all these benefits.*
>
> *We lay down these thirty-four sticks in the way which you see in order to represent to our minds the teachings which we have received in regard to the constitution of the world, and the agencies which work the wise and good purposes of the Chief Above.*
>
> *All the different kids and tribes of living beings, including the human race, the various kinds of fishes, reptiles, birds, mammals, all things which live and move in the water and on land; all the tribes of flowers and grasses, of trees and shrubs, and every kind of plant--all living things in the world--were first contained and took substance within the womb of Mother Earth. With the first stirring of life in this state of quiescence there came to all living things an apprehension of the imperfection of their state, and they felt more and more an impulse to emerge from their passive condition, from darkness and restraint, to come out into the light, and to attain to liberty of movement over the surface of the earth.*

At that time of beginning there were none of the living creatures as we see them now. There was no vegetation; no fishes were in the waters; no birds nor any insects in the air, nor were there any animals; there was no living creature of any kind in the light of the sun on the lap of Mother Earth. All were still covered beneath her bosom. All things were still in embryo. But the living creatures were exerting themselves and making all endeavors, for they strongly aspired to come up into the light and to attain to freedom. So they constantly continued to group and to pray to do their best to explore and find some way to accomplish the purpose. All the creatures were striving and doing their best, each in its own way; but they met many difficulties and obstacles which were hard to overcome. Different kinds of creatures tried to make their way through to come to the surface of the earth into the light and air. One of the first of the animal people which tried was the badger. Then the Shrew, which the Arikara people call suchit, bored through the ground to the surface and come out into the light. But he was blinded by the brightness of the sun coming suddenly upon his sight. He drew back from the dazzling light, and so to the present time the shrew still lives most of the time just below the surface of the ground, and when he does come out on the surface he does so only at night. When the first opening thus had been made by the shrew people, then all the other people, that is to say, living creatures of all kinds began to come forth from the opening of the earth. But it seemed that after a time the earth began to close upon them, and all those which had not already succeeded in making their way to the surface were now held back. So it is that the snakes (nut), the badgers (suunukatox), the gophers and several other kinds of animals still have their dwelling in the ground.

Then a voice was heard which bade the people to travel toward the west, and promised that if they did so they would find a suitable place to dwell. "Go forward with confidence; said the Voice, "and turn not back. If you turn back you will suffer."

"So the living things which had come forth on the surface of the earth began to move, and they traveled forward in accordance with the admonition of the Voice. In their journeying they met many difficulties, many things which were dismaying to their spirits, many things which at first filled them with terror; but they were continually exhorted and encouraged by the mysterious Voice, and so they kept on and made progress, overcoming one obstacle after another, never being completely balked and never turning back.

"As they traveled they came to a great water. To overcome this difficulty their powers must be exerted. There seemed to be no way to cross. Then came a mysterious bird (loon) (konit) which made its way through the water. But before all had overcome the difficulty, the waters closed on part of them; and so we still have the people of the waters, such as the fishes (ciwahts) of all kinds, and all of her creatures which live in the water.

"They came to an impassable cliff. The mysterious bird (loon) (konit) which had helped them before now again helped them; it flew up against the bank and broke out a way for passage.

"And Nishanu Natchitak blessed the people of the human race and showed them still greater favor.

"After a time they came to a great, dense forest which seemed impenetrable. Here again, as before, they prayed and called upon the elements of the world, and tried their best to put open a way to pass through this great forest. The screech owl (WAhuroosis) found a way and the other people followed. But some, as in previous cases, did not wind through. These remained in the woods and still live there. These people are the deer (Nahnunahts), the moose (weesUxarut), the bears (kuuNUx), the porcupines (suunu'), and the forest-dwelling kinds, large and small.

"At the early time the people were unorganized, they had no chief to guide them. They had only the guidance of the mysterious Voice that counseled and encouraged them. But also they had to learn many things by experience, for there was no other way. They had no knowledge of what was good to eat and what was not good, and what was harmful, and they knew not how to clothe or shelter themselves. It was the time when the trees were putting forth leaves. Being hungry they tried eating leaves, stems and roots of various plants. They tried to cover themselves with grasses and leaves and branches.

"And Nishanu Natchitak blessed the people of the human race and showed them still greater favor. To those who sought earnestly with prayer and fasting to know his will he revealed and gave power, He gave them a Sacred Bundle and the pipe to be used in prayer, and taught them religion and instructed them how to worship. And as our ancestors were instructed to do so long ago, so do we even to this day. And the Chief Above gave to the people gifts of roots of all kinds of plants from Mother Earth, that these should be medicines for the healing of wounds and the cure of sickness.

"And the Chief Above blessed all the living creatures on the earth, the trees and vines and flowers and grasses, all the growing, living things upon the lap of Mother Earth which look up to the sun; all the animals on the earth and in the waters, and the fowls of the air. He blessed all the plants and animals and plants should not be abused, but should be treated with respect. It was taught that the pipe should be used to offer smoke to all things that the Chief Above had blessed. And so it has been done by our people through all the ages from that time until the present day.

"It is said that when the smoke offerings first were made to all the powers and elements of the world there were two dogs sleeping at the time which were forgotten, and so no smoke offering was made to them. They awoke and found that they had been forgotten and they were aggrieved and angry because of it.

Therefore they said to the people; You neglected to make smoke offerings to us when all other beings were remembered. In punishment for your neglect of us we shall bite you. And we shall never leave you, we will always abide with you, and we shall follow you forever. The names of the two dogs were Sickness and Death. Wherefore it was said: "Sickness and Death shall be among the people always."

"And it is even so with all things in the world. Our powers increase and then diminish. We arise and go forth in fresh strength, and then we lie down in weariness. We rejoice in health, and then languish in sickness. The sun arises and shines in splendor, and then it declines and is overcome by darkness. The brightness of day is followed by the darkness of night. The

moon waxes to fullness and then wanes away. The flowers bloom in springtime, and are cut down by the frosts of autumn. The wind blows and again there is calm. Water is lifted in vapor and floats in the clouds of the sky above the earth, and again it falls upon the ground in rain. Springs rise in the hills, and their water flows down into the rivers and away to the sea. So changes come to all things. All die and all are born anew.

"As the people traveled onward, guided and encouraged by the mysterious Voice, they at least found themselves in a good land. There were streams and woods and open grasslands. There were good fruits in abundance and many kinds of animals and birds were numerous.

"And now in this good land there appeared to them a beautiful woman a stranger. She came into their midst and greeted them with smiles. And even while she was still far off the people smelled from her a fragrance like that of the holy sweet-grass, and then like the odor of the holy cedar tree, then like the fragrance which from a fresh green meadow where young grass, in springing, then of the wild plum tree in bloom, of the blossoms of the chokecherry, of the June-berry, of the blossoms of the wild grape, then the fragrance of the prairie wild rose, and of the blossoms of the evening primrose as they scent the air early on a soft dewy morning in the sand hills, and of many other fragrant wild plants of the prairie and woodland, and the delightful fragrance which comes from a corn-field when the zephyrs slightly rustle its leaves. The odors of all these and many other lovely plants came to the people as their beautiful visitor approached, even before she came near. The people invited her to enter a lodge, and made her sit down and rest in the place reserved for honored guests.

"After she had rested she spoke to the people who were assembled there. She said, 'why do you seem so fearful of me, and so strange toward me? You have seen me before.' Then a wise man said: "I believe you are the one whose voice we have heard, the Voice which has directed us on our way. She replied, 'Yes, it was my voice that you heard. And now I have come to you to give you good teachings from my father, who is also your father, the Chief Above. He loves you and cares for you. And that is why I am sent to you.'

"And the Lovely visitor, whom now they knew to be Mother Corn, taught them with words of wisdom in matters of religion and of the high and deep things of life, of human beings in their duties to the Chief Above and to all the holy mysterious beings all who are aids and assistants to the Chief Above. She also taught the people right ways of living with respect to one another and to all the living things in the world, the plants and the animals.

"She also gave the people instruction in many useful arts. She taught them how to build house to keep them comfortable and protect them from the inclemencies of the weather. They were taught that the house should be the home for the family as the world is the home of the human race. The structure of the dwelling house, and also of the Holy Lodge, should be symbolic of the structure of the world. As the world extends about us like a great circle, so should the house be circular in the ground plan. The circle of the world is a unit, but it consists of four quarters. In the structure of the world the sky appears like a dome above. So in the structure of the house there shall be four main posts and about these a circle of twelve shorter

"And it is even so with all things in the world. Our powers increase and then diminish. We arise and go forth in fresh strength, and then we lie down in weariness. We rejoice in health, and then languish in sickness."

posts, all supporting the domed roof. The four quarters of the world are the aids of the Chief Above to perform all his will in the world. So the four main posts of the house are dedicated, one to each of the four quarters.

"So when we lay down these thirty-four sticks to explain the structure of the world, we lay the first stick at the southeast quarter. This represents to us the light of the Sun. It also represents all vegetation. The power of the Sun is wholesome and revivifying. It will drive away disease and the powers of evil. When sickness comes among the people the smoke of the pipe is offered at the southeast post of the house as a prayer to invoke the potency of these healing powers for deliverance, safety and health.

"In the southwest quarter is another of the powers acting under the Chief Above, the one which gives us the water of life, the Thunder. We lay down the stick at the southwest to represent the Thunder, the giver of the water of life. The stick at this quarter also represents our animal friends, chief of which is the Buffalo (tanaha'). When we contemplate the stick at this quarter we are reminded of the showers of rain, which revive and refresh all vegetation and all animal life. We think of the sweet springs, the pleasant streams, and of the cool lakes which give habitation to the fishes and the waterfowl and shorebirds. We think of the dragonfly (piisuusaaha), of the butterflies (saawiitakaa'), and of other still more for the needful gentle showers of rain when the fields are parched and dry, and also as a prayer that destructive storms of blanking, torrential rain may be averted.

"In the northwest quarter is the Wind, the breath of life, and all the powers of the air. It is the breath of life that gives motion to all things in the world. When the water, which the Thunder gives, flows away down the streams to the great sea, it is lifted in vapor on the air and is carried back by the Wind and distributed again upon the land in rain. It is the Wind that carries the needed moisture to all vegetation. When we lay down the stick at the northwest quarter we think of all these things. We also think of the birds and of the class of insects which includes the grasshoppers (kaapis), crickets (taciRUt) and fireflies (piiRUx kahik). We think also of the echo (sahkaWIhaanu'), the word carrier. That is something that is marvelous. And we think of the ants (pitaru') for their admirable and wonderful ways of life, working together, as they do, so perfectly. The pipe is offered toward the northwest as a prayer that gentle and refreshing breezes may be breathed over the land, and also those dry withering winds shall not destroy the crops.

"The northeast quarter is dedicated to Night, which brings rest, and which restores and refreshes all things. This quarter is dedicated also to Mother Corn, the mediator, who brings us peace and many other good gifts from the Chief Above. When we contemplate the stick that is laid at the northeast we think of the many good things which Mother Corn has done for us, and of her guidance and encouragement through vast difficulties and dangers in the past, and of the hope she gave us for the future. We think of the successive stages of progress through which our own race and all other living things have passed from the beginning till now; from formlessness to perfection of form; from ignorance to knowledge. Of all these things we are reminded when we contemplate the stick which is laid down at the northeast.

"It is from the northeast quarter that steady, refreshing rains come in the summer and from this quarter also come good snowfalls in winter. It is from the good favor of Mother Corn that bountiful gifts of rain and snow

come from the northeast to supply the needful moisture for the abundant growth of our crops and of all vegetation. Smoke offerings are made toward the north east which wish to entreat Mother Corn for her favor or to give thanks for her bounties already received.

"At the west side of the house there shall be an altar. It is here that a Sacred Bundle shall be opened during the celebration of mysteries. During the celebration when thanksgiving is made for the year's crop, a stalk of corn is placed here before the altar. This is to represent the genius of Mother Corn, who is the mediator of the Chief Above to bring to us all the good gifts which we have in the produce of our fields and gardens, and the harvests of the wild plants and the products from the animals of the hunt.

"Mother Corn has taught us that smoke offerings should always be made toward all four quarters on all occasions, and that at feasts, before we partake, offerings of the food should be made in order that our food may be blessed to us and that we may be blessed in the eating. We should remember and be thankful to all these powers and elements of the world about us and to the Chief Above, who ordains all things in wisdom for our good, and to Mother Earth, in the shelter of whose bosom we rest, and from whose breast we are fed.

"You will observe that there are two sticks crossed at the west side of the circle, at the place of the altar. They are so placed there to commemorate an event in the life of our nation in ancient time, a sign of Mother Corn's care for us. It is told that once on a time while our people dwelt at the Place of the Four Holy Lodges, a priest dressed a stalk of corn in the manner in which is like a woman would dress and took it down to the shore of the Mysterious (Holy) River (which white people call the Missouri River) and placed it in the current, asking it to travel back down the course of the river along which our people migrated into this land. He asked that is should make a journey to the land of our ancestors and then return to our people. So the stalk of corn floated away down the stream and disappeared from the sight of the priest.

"The next year a woman who was a stranger appeared in the village. She went directly to the Holy lodge and entered. All the people were astonished, and were wondering who the stranger might be and what might be her mission. The priests assembled at the Holy lodge and took their places and waited respectfully until the stranger should restb and be refreshed with food which was brought for her, and should be composed and ready to announce the place from which she had come, and the purpose of her coming. Finally the priest who had sent away the stalk of corn the previous year, revering it as the symbol of Mother Corn, and asking it to make the journey and fetch tidings from the land of our ancestors, recognized in the raiment of the stranger some article of attire with which he had clothed the stalk of corn, which he had sent away the year before. So now he knew that the stranger was really Mother Corn who had returned in the form of a woman. And he greatly desired to hear what should be the message that she had brought, for he was sure it was something wonderful.

'When the stranger had finished the repast (meal) which had been provided for her she signified that she would speak, so all the assembled priests and people gave earnest attention to what she would say. She told them she had come a long journey from the land of the ancients, and

"You will observe that there are two sticks crossed at the west side of the circle, at the place of the altar. They are so placed there to commemorate an event in the life of our nation in ancient time, a sign of Mother Corn's care for us."

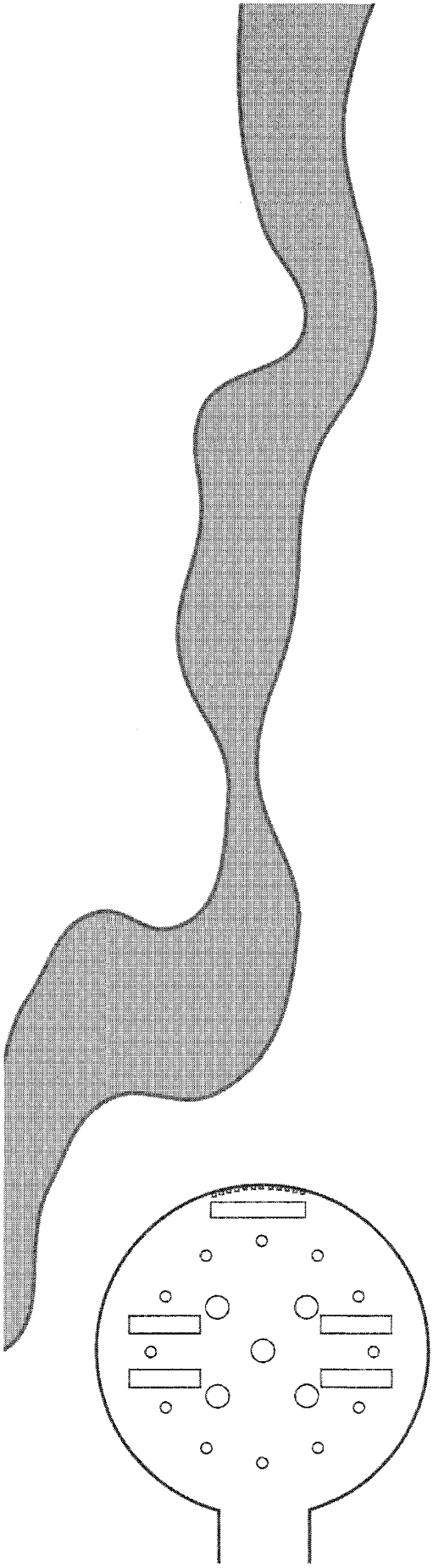


Figure 13 Drawing of a Sahnish Council and Medicine Lodge, courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

that the purpose of her visit was to correct their errors and to guide them in the right way of living. She bade them ever to be industrious, to provide for those who should be dependent upon them, and not to indulge themselves in ease; to be not envious nor covetous, to live peaceably with their neighbors, to avoid contention and quarreling, to be generous and forbearing, to practice hospitality to strangers, to be kind to the poor, to be considerate toward the youth, to give good counsel to the erring and restore them to the right way. She also enjoined them to be truthful and just in their dealings, and faithful to trust. She exhorted them ever to be brave to endure suffering and courageous to defend their people against an enemy.

"She then proclaimed her purpose to conduct an expedition against the enemies of our people. She called for volunteers, at the same time warning them that the expedition might entail great danger. All considered that this unusual circumstance must portend some extraordinary and wonderful event ordered by some great mysterious power. A host of young men came forward at her call, wishing to distinguish themselves and to be recognized by whatever mysterious power prompted the proposed action. Out of the number who presented themselves, the strange visitor chose twelve young men.

"It was the time of green corn harvest when the strange visitor arrived at the village. Now when the twelve young men were chosen for the expedition they began at once to make their preparations. When they set out upon their adventure it was the beginning of the ripe corn harvest. After they had marched for some days away from the village they met an overwhelming force of the enemy. They fought with great spirit and courage, but the enemy was too powerful for them, and but one man escaped alive; all the others, together with strange leader, were slain. The one man who escaped made his way back to the village after great difficulties, and brought the sad news of the disaster.

"Another war party was now quickly recruited. The sole survivor of the former expedition went along as guide to his second party, and they marched as soon as possible to the scene of the recent disaster. When they arrived at the place they found the bodies of the eleven men who had perished, but the body of the strange leader was nowhere to be found, nor any trace of it. But at the spot where she had been killed, they found a stalk of corn standing with two leaves. Then they knew that the woman who had been their leader was really Mother Corn. It was in the form of the mysterious visitor that she had come to counsel them and give them instruction and encouragement, and that now she had finally gone away from them to the Chief Above, from whom she had come at the first. They knew that she had left the stalk of corn standing at the place where she had disappeared from human sight to be a token to them and a promise that she would live ever more by the power of the Chief Above, and that she would be forever the mediator of this wise purpose and good favor toward mankind, and that she would always be their unerring but unseen guide.

"It is for this reason that we have these two crossed sticks at the alter place. And that is why we place a stalk of corn before the altar in the ceremony of thanksgiving for the harvest. We do that so the we may have with bountiful mother. And that is why, when our harvest thanksgiving is concluded, a group of good old women who have lived blamelessly in the precept and example of the virtues of industry, hospitality, quietness

and kindness taught by Mother Corn, are chosen to dress the stalk of corn before the altar, the stalk which has participated with us in our rejoicing and thanksgiving, and to carry it down reverently at evening time to the Mysterious (Holy) River (which the white people call the Missouri River) and to place it in the current so that it shall float down the stream, passing all the places where villages of our people existed in ancient time, carrying to them the message that our nation still lives and is faithful to her promise in guiding and sustaining our people through all the years.

'You will observe that there are two sticks at the east side of the circle, the place of entrance of the lodge, and that these two sticks are laid parallel to each other and lengthwise east and west. The stick on the north side in this pair represents the standing Rock, the most enduring and ancient element of the earth. This was the promise, that the Rock, from its strength and endurance, should give help to the people. We call the Rock "grandfather" (atipa') as a title of honor and respect because it is old and strong and standfast.

"The stick on the southside in this pair represents the Cedar Tree. The cedar is a wonderful tree; it is always green even in the winter; when other vegetation appears as if dead the cedar yet is living and green. And in drought or wet weather the cedar is ever the same; and it has power to maintain itself not only in good ground, but in poor and dry ground where other trees cannot grow. The promise was that the cedar tree will stand to protect the people and help them to long life. As a title of respect we call the cedar tree "grandmother" (atika').

"Now we come to the sixteen sticks, which are laid beside the stick of the northeast quarter, the one which represents Night, the time of rest, and Mother Corn, our guide. These sixteen sticks teach us concerning the stages of progress through which we and all living things in the world have come since the beginning.

"The first stick in this group of sixteen tells us that in the beginning we and all living things, all plant and animal life, were covered within the womb of Mother Earth. Although life, then existed in essence, yet there was no consciousness or movement.

"The second stick tells us that the spirit of Mother Corn, as mediator of the Chief Above, quickened all things with life and movement.

"The teaching of the third stick is that with the quickening of all life things moved toward the surface of the earth, but there was yet no power to stand up.

"The fourth stick tells us of the promise which was given that human beings were to stand erect. The bodily form was not yet perfect, but this power was to be given in the future.

"The fifth stick tells of the promise that the human form should be perfected. That was the purpose of the Chief Above, and that gift was promised. There was yet no intellectual power.

The sixth stick also tells of the complete perfection of the physical form of human beings, and of the promise of human intelligence and intellect.

"The twelfth stick tells of Mother Corn leading the people out until they were just at the border of freedom, and enlightenment appeared."

"The seventh stick tells of the perfection of human physical form, and of the gift of mind and intellectual power. But the human beings did not yet have freedom to move about at will upon the surface of the earth. This freedom was promised. The surface of the earth was still without order, but there was the promise that in time to come order and beauty should prevail in the world.

"The eighth stick tells of the accomplishment. The surface of the earth was now beautiful in order and green with vegetation. It was now ready to receive human life. It had been promised from the beginning that human beings should arise, coming up from a lowly condition, to walk about in freedom over the land.

"The ninth stick tells of the invitation to the people to come forward and take their place upon the earth.

"The tenth stick tells of Mother Corn leading the people, all living creatures, those most advanced and those more lowly, adults and children, in constantly moving upward and forward.

"The eleventh stick tells of Mother Corn bringing the people upward. It tells that they had now come very near to the freedom of the earth's surface. It tells of the promise that their deliverance was to come and light was to appear.

"The twelfth stick tells of Mother Corn leading the people out until they were just at the border of freedom, and enlightenment appeared.

"The thirteenth stick tells of Mother Corn leading out the people part way, and of the promise of final complete emergence.

"The fourteenth stick tells of the complete emergence of the people into freedom upon the surface of the earth, of the injunction that they should move forward, and of the promise that they should find a place suitable for human habitation.

"The fifteenth stick tells of the complete freedom of the people upon the earth, and that Mother Corn was leading the people on toward the place where they should dwell.

"The sixteenth stick tells how Mother Corn had led the people to a place where they might abide; and there they settled and sought how they might dwell in the land and sustain themselves. All was now complete. There were mountains and plains and hills and valleys. Among the hills were sweet springs of water; there were pleasant streams and lakes. Grasses and herbs and shrubs and trees and flowers and fruits made all the land pleasant and beautiful. In the waters were all kinds of fishes and other forms of life; on the land were four-footed creatures, large and small, also creeping things of all kinds. And in the air were all kinds of birds flying about; those which live among the woods and those upon the prairie, and other kinds which live by the water of the lakes and ponds. There were those which build their nests and rear their young among the grasses, other kinds which build and rear their young in the branches of trees, and still others like the eagle, which fly very high above the earth and build their nests among the rocks and most precipitous cliffs. And there were insects of a multitude of kinds, those which creep and those which hop upon the

ground, those which fly at no great height above the ground, and those like the grasshoppers which rise to a great height and fly over long distances in such immense numbers that they are like clouds in the sky. There were bright insects like the butterflies and dragonflies, flittering about in the sunshine, and there were the moths (WAhuruuts) which come out among the flowers only at twilight. And there were the fireflies which flit about over the meadows showing their lights through the darkness like tiny twinkling torches.

"The promise was that all things should be ready for man's use and enjoyment along with that of all the multitude of other living things. There was provision for man's needs of food and clothing and shelter. Human beings were bidden to exert themselves and use what was provided for their needs. All living things were to be friends and helpers to each other, and human beings should give due respect to all other things and 'Not abuse them.

"But the people were yet without experience. They did not know what they could eat nor how they could shelter themselves from storms. And they did not know how to make fire to warm themselves when they were cold.

"They knew not how to protect their bodies from the burning rays of the sun, or from the buffeting of the tempests of wind or from the pelting of cold rain and hail. They tried to clothe themselves with grass and with reeds, with leaves and with branches of trees.

"As they knew not what was good to eat, in their hunger they tried leaves and sterns of many kinds of plants, and also bark from many kinds of trees. With pointed sticks they dug up many kinds of roots and tubers and bulbs. They tried all these for food. They tried many kinds of fruits which they plucked from the trees and bushes. Some things they found good and pleasant to the taste and satisfying to their hunger. But many things they found bitter, pungent, acrid, nauseous, or otherwise unpleasant, and some were found very disagreeable. Also many things which they tried in their ignorance were found harmful. Thus personswere made ill and some died. They were ignorant and weak, naked, cold, hungry, blistered by the sun in hot weather and pinched and shivering from cold in time of frost. They were miserably needy. It was very pitiful.

(At this point in his narration Four-Rings broke down, his voice failed, tears streamed down his cheeks, and he wept aloud. After a little time he recovered himself wiped away his tears, and apologized for his weakness saying, "I am sorry, but I cannot help but weep when I think how pitiful was the condition of the people in that time." Then he proceeded with his account.)

"They knew not how to shelter themselves from the pitiless storms. A Voice was heard which told them that the Rock (kanits) would be their help. So they looked to the rocks for aid, and took shelter in the caves. The mysterious Voice that was heard promised that the Rock would give the people strength.

"The people were ill and in need and buffeted by the strong winds. The Voice again was heard speaking to them, telling them to lay hold on the Cedar and that it would help them. They heeded the counsel of the Voice and resorted to the Cedar. The Cedar comforted them and promised to help them and protect them. So they had rest and quiet from the storm in

All living things were to be friends and helpers to each other, and human beings should give due respect to all other things and 'Not abuse them.'

the shelter of the cedar trees, for the Cedar was very strong and able to withstand all the angry gusts of stormy wind. And a cedar's leaves and twigs were used for incense and for medicines also. As a mark of gratitude and respect the Cedar is called "grandmother (atika).

"Now we shall hear the meanings of the other groups of sticks. First we consider the group at the southeast. There you see two sticks besides the one that was laid to represent the Sun. It has also another significance. Not only does this stick betoken the potent and wholesome power of the light of the Sun, but it also signifies vegetation. It represents all vegetation in general. The People were ignorant, poor and needy, naked, barefoot and hungry. They rested in the caves of the rocks and on the grass in the open, wherever they happened to be when they become weary.

"And then a voice was heard which encouraged the people and gave them hope for better things."

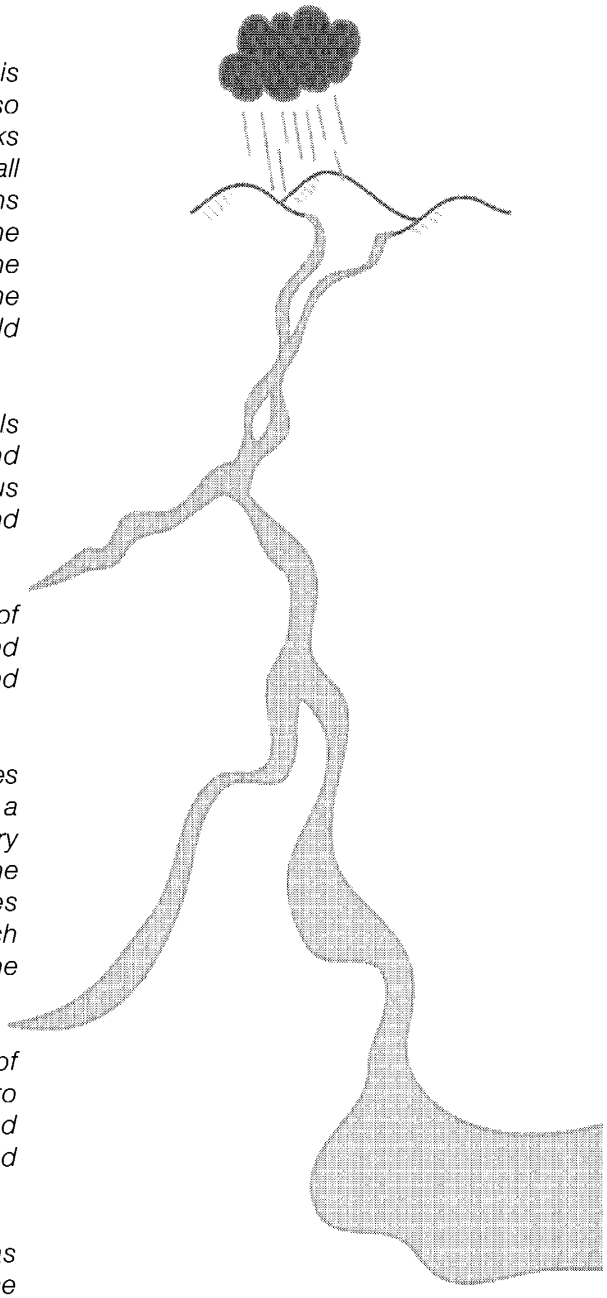
"And then a voice was heard which encouraged the people and gave them hope for better things. It was the voice of Vegetation speaking to them, making the people welcome into the world of living things, offering friendship and companionship and promising that mankind should grow and increase as they saw all vegetation growing and prospering on earth. And Vegetation thus offered the people aid and comfort. So the people were gladdened and encouraged, for all the wonderful variety of vegetation was very beautiful to the eye and in its many shades of restful green, and in they joyous and delightful coloring of the multitude of bright flowers.

"Of the two other sticks laid down here the one is to represent all the trees and wild fruits and other friendly, useful wild plants which promised to give help to the people. So the people found many fruits very pleasant to the taste and wholesome and nourishing to their bodies. Some trees gave sap from which they could make sugar; many kinds of trees gave wood useful for various purposes. And there were plants that gave roots good for food, and others gave seeds, and still others gave other parts good for food.

"The other stick in this group is laid a little apart from the one next to it. This stick separate from the one before it is to represent the promise that was spoken by the Voice which was heard. A promise foretelling that a time would come when the people would not be dependent upon wild plants only, but that certain useful plants would be protected and propagated by mankind and their quality would be improved by cultivation. By this means the people would have a better quality and more certain quantity of plant producers than they had before. That was the promise given by the beans, squashes, pumpkins and sunflowers. So the people found vegetation helpful and friendly in many ways. And so smoke offerings are made toward the southeast in grateful recognition of the blessings of the sunlight and for the friendship and good gifts of vegetation.

"In the southwest is another of the aids of the Chief Above, the one which brings to us the wonderful gift of the water of life. That is the Thunder (waaruxti'). So the southwest stick is to represent the Thunder. But it also represents our animal friends, the chief of which is the buffalo (tanaha'). It was promised that the flesh of the buffalo should be our main supply of meat; and that its bones, its sinew, its horns, its skin and other parts should be useful to us for many varied purposes. That is why a beef must be slaughtered and given for a public feast, and the choice parts offered as a sacrifice to the Chief Above when a Sacred Bundle is opened

to have a thanksgiving ceremony in honor of Mother Corn. This requirement is strictly prescribed. This honor is paid to the Buffalo (tanaha') because it has contributed more to our benefit than any other of our animal friends.



"By this stick at the south west quarter a group of four other sticks is laid. The first of these four is a represent the water of life, That element so necessary to all life in the world. This stick represents the rivers and creeks and all streams of water which flow through the land, the lakes and all bodies of water which supply the needs of the living creatures, the rains which descend from the clouds wafted by the winds of the sky over the land, and the refreshing dews which revive the dropping vegetation in the cool of the evening and the night, when the restful dusk has come after the blazing rays of the sun are withdrawn. It was promised that water would be given to supply the needs of all living creatures.

"The next stick represents the springs of water which issue in the hills and flow down through the joyous whispering brooks, finally reaching and adding their waters to the rivers forever flowing on down to the mysterious sea. But these sweet water springs first supply the grasses and violets and other shy and gentle little people which dwell by them.

"The next stick represents the worms and other humble forms of animal life dwelling in and under the ground. We are taught to consider and to remember that the most lowly creatures have their proper place and work, and the world would not be perfect without them;

The next and last stick in this group represents those flying creatures which first issue from the egg in a larval form, then pass through a quiescent stage in the pupal form, and then finally come forth in a very different form, winged and flying freely in the sunshine of daytime or the twilight of evening time. This class of flying creatures includes butterflies(sawiitakaa'), dragon-flies (piisuusaaha) and wasps (was) which fly in the daytime, and various kinds of moths which flit about among the flowers in the twilight.

Now we come to the group of sticks laid at the northwest quarter of the circle. The stick which was first laid at this quarter we said was to represent the Wind, that aid of the Chief Above which gives action and movement to all things. Without the air, the breath of life, mankind and animals and all vegetation would die very quickly.

Of the four other sticks laid down alongside the one which first was laid to represent the Wind the first of the group represents all those forms of insect life which emerge from the egg in the form of adults, without first passing through the larval stage. This class of insects includes grasshoppers (kaapis), crickets (taciRUt) and fireflies (piiRUx kahik). All these have their proper place in the world.

"The next stick of this group represents all kinds of birds (nikUs). Some kinds of birds are helpful to vegetation by keeping a check on those insects which might destroy it if they become too numerous. Other kinds of birds, such as owls (WAhuru') and hawks (nikutawikusu'), are natural checks against some other kinds of birds which might be destructive if they increased out of bounds, such as blackbirds (kaaxIt); and the owls and hawks also check the inordinate increase of rodents; such as rabbits (waRUx), ground squirrels (ciskarani), and mice (saakAx), which might do

"Mother Corn taught us that all animals, even such small and seemingly insignificant creatures as the ants, are endowed with the sacred and wonderful quality of life, ..."

damage if they became to numerous. Then there are other kinds of birds which are helpful to us by giving us their flesh and eggs for food and their feathers for use and beauty.

"The next stick represents Echo (sahkaWIhaanu'), which is said to have life, though it does not exist in bodily form which we can see. And because the echo is mysterious and wonderful we pay it reverence and give it the respectful title of grandmother. A grandmother is wise, the teacher of the family. Her words carry to the younger generation the wisdom of experience. And Echo is the word-carrier in the world. It is by words that the fruits of one person's experience can benefit many other person even the whole people. In this way improvement in methods and manners may come to be and thus conditions of life become better. So in the cultivation of plants, improvement has come by the results of observation and experience being passed from one person to another, and thus the quality of cultivated crops has been conserved and increased.

"Next and last stick in this group represents the ants (pitaru'), those small but very wonderful creatures whose works we see everywhere in the land. There are various kinds of ants; some dig out chambers and passages below the surface of the earth. There they live in underground villages, carrying out the soil and laying it in circular embankments about the entrances to their underground dwellings. Other species build mounds of gravel, and still others of sticks, which they lay up in dome-like form similar to the form of the earth-covered houses of our people. And in these ant villages the ant people are always busy. They are careful of their young, they lay up stores of food, and all about their mounds they keep the ground clean and neat, cleared of all rubbish and all weeds. They work together each for all. And thus by cooperation their condition is improved. The ants are an example for human beings (sahNIstaape). Mother Corn has taught that human beings should cooperate and help one another as the ants do. When a house is to be built the neighbors should come together and help. The slaughtering of buffalo and other kinds of work also require the cooperation of many persons for success.

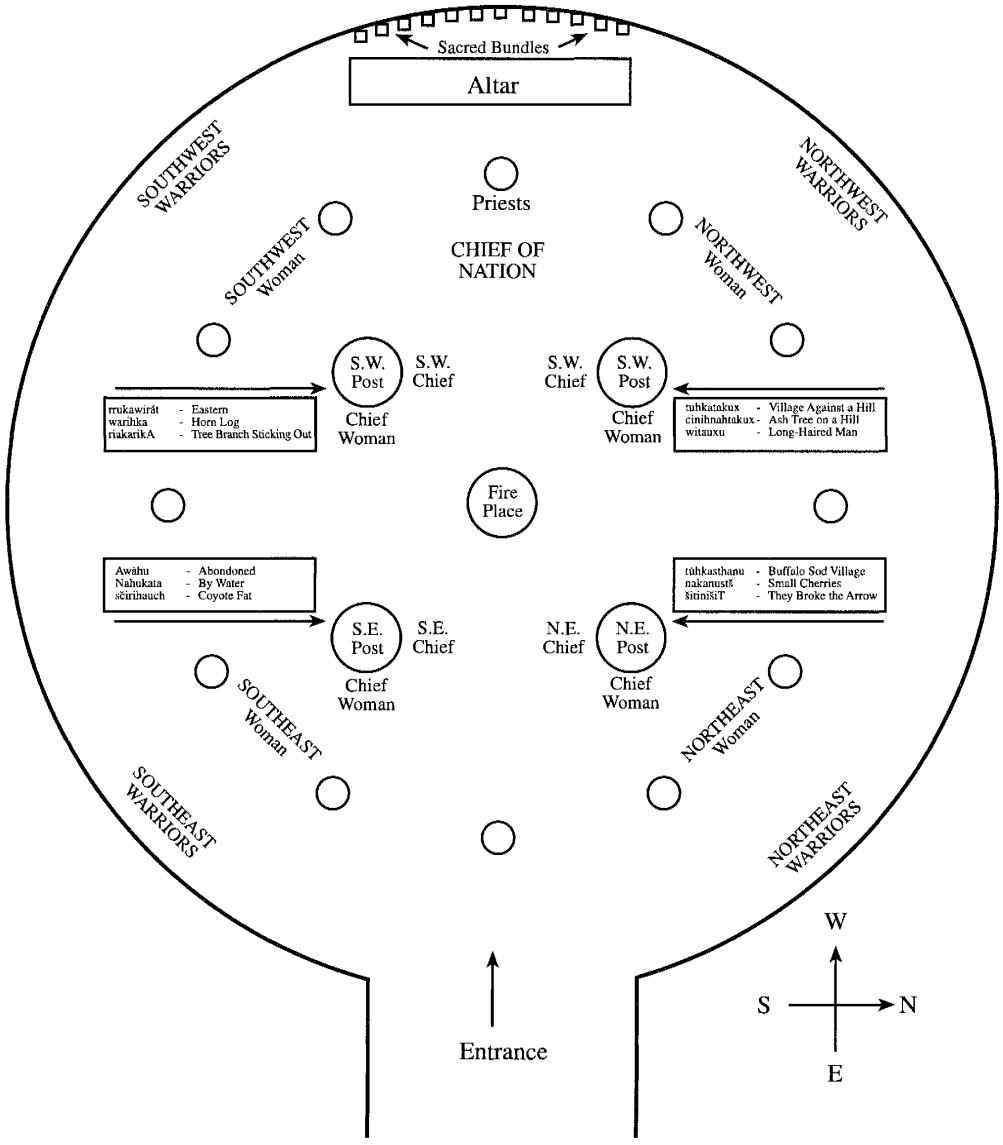
"Mother Corn taught us that all animals, even such small and seemingly insignificant creatures as the ants, are endowed with the sacred and wonderful quality of life, even as we ourselves are, and that all the different kinds of animals are to be our friends and companions. Though they may be small and humble, and we may think them of no account, we should remember that they have the dignity which belongs to mystery of life, and all have their own special gifts of power. If we sit down by an ant hill we may observe them all working, performing their own tasks, brings material for their dwelling, feeding and caring for their young, all doing their part in the world. We should treat them with respect. We should think of them as our relatives, part of our family.

"Now we have finished the round of the circle and have considered the meaning of all the groups of sticks, and each stick in each group severally, in their symbolism of elements and powers in the world, and of the progress made from the crudity of the first to the completeness of the last stick as it has been promised by the mysterious Voice.

Mother Corn has taught us that these four quarters are her guards and helpers on earth; and she has taught us that we should always remember when we have a feast, to make offerings to all these four in

acknowledgment of the good gifts we have received and so to show our gratitude and pray for continuance of her favor. She taught us that, when we have ceremonies in her honor, we should lay two crossed sticks at the west side of the circle by the altar. These crossed sticks are to represent her, for the cornstalk in its growth appears as a stem with a foot and a growing point, and with a leaf at each side; so we see it in the form of a cross, as we show by the two sticks."

When the old man had finished his lecture he brought a piece of dried meat on a plate and placed it as a reverent offering before the ear of corn which had been reposing near the two crossed sticks at the west side of the circle. This ear of corn was a symbol of Mother Corn and so was to be treated with becoming reverence. Then he gathered up again the thirty-four sticks and tied them together in a bundle once more.



Sahnish Council / Medicine Lodge
Showing Seating Arrangement
This same arrangement was used for the layout of the villages.

Figure 13 Drawing of a Sahnish Council and Medicine Lodge, courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

Then he said a prayer to some considerable length, commending me to Mother Corn, since I had been given her teachings and was about to assume the custody of the bundle of sticks and the authority and responsibility 6f the teachings. In his prayer he mentioned me not by my legal name, but by my Pawnee name Paa'xu.

In his prayer he made allusion to the ancient Sahnish prophecy that in future time a strange people would come into the land, a people of different color, and of strange habits and customs, who would interfere with the ancient customs of the Sahnish (Arikara). He prayed that through the work of *Paa'xu* the holy teachings of Mother Corn might be put on record and perpetuated for all time so that the *sahNIstaaka'* ("White-people") might come to a knowledge of these holy teachings, and also that they might be preserved for future generations of the children of the Sahnish when the old people all should be gone and the ancient teachings and customs would otherwise be lost and forgotten. His prayer commended *Paa'xu* to Mother Corn and to the Chief Above. Even though he be *sahNIstaaka'* ("White-man"), yet he had proved to be united in mind and heart with the Sahnish.

Then he had me kneel down by him and receive from him in ceremonial manner the sheaf of sticks. This ceremonial act of transmitting the bundle of sticks signified the granting of authority to promulgate the teachings of the doctrinal symbolized by the sticks. This ceremonial of formal transfer was made thus. The old priest, grasping the bundle in my right hand with a clasp linked to his. Three times we gripped and relaxed, and the fourth time we gripped I retained my grasp and he relinquished his, leaving the bundle of sticks in my hand. At the time of the fourth gripping and his final relinquishment my left hand was extended along his right arm, I drawing my left hand downward to the bundle of sticks just as he relinquished his grasp leaving the sticks in my right hand thus signifying my assumption of custody, authority and responsibility.

Photograph of Boy Drying Corn, courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

The ceremony was then concluded by a prayer of the old priest commending Paa'xu to the care of the Neesaanu Natchitak through Mother Corn, Praying that Paa'xu might have a safe return home, that he might meet his relatives and friends again in health, and that he might prosper in all his undertakings. (What is outlined in this text for the Sahnish was taken from journals of people who had contact with them during the late 1700s through the 1800s.)

LIFEWAYS

The Sahnish lived in earth lodges that varied in size and purpose. A standard lodge for a family was built using fifteen-foot, hewn logs or beams that form a circular lodge. The center was open to allow light and to vent cooking smoke. The outside was covered with willows and grassed earth. Inside the lodges, beds were placed in the outer circle of the lodge, divided by buffalo robes for privacy. The Sahnish used cone-shape tepees made of hides for temporary shelters during hunting and food gathering.

These earth lodges formed villages that contained medicine and council lodges where the government and spirituality of the people were conducted and practiced. The villages were built on high ground for protection, usually near a river. Sometimes moats were built with palisades around the villages for protection.

The Sahnish were an agricultural tribe and grew crops adapted from their early ancestral homes in the south. The gardens were tended by the women and children. The tobacco crops were tended by the men of the tribe.

The Sahnish gardens were vulnerable to insects, drought, and raids of other tribes. This meant the success or failure of their crops could mean celebration or death from starvation. The most important crop to the Sahnish was and is corn. From time immemorial, the Sahnish had a special and sacred relationship with "Mother Corn." It is told by the people that Mother Corn came to the people in a beautiful and mysterious way and taught them the ceremonies that were necessary for their well being and survival. It was from Her they learned the knowledge and practice of horticulture.

Corn is native only to regions in Mexico, Central and South America which made the migrating Sahnish the most likely tribe to have brought the corn to the regions where it was not previously found. (Weatherford, 1988). Many tribes talked of "Ree" corn and they described the Sahnish people as "corn eaters." The corn generally grown by the Sahnish was flint corn, a species of corn that is very hardy and grows quickly. It grows in all colors: red, black, blue, yellow, purple, white and sometimes a single ear has a combination of all these colors. The Sahnish had many varieties of corn. They brought beans, melons, turnips, onions, watermelon, gourds, sunflowers, squash, pumpkins, and tobacco.

The Sahnish also harvested the wild plants such as turnips, onions, tubular (potatoes), celery, pig weed (spinach), milkweed, sunflowers, and many others. They gathered, preserved, and ate june berries, chokecherries, buffalo (bull berries), plums, goose berries, sand cherries, grapes, wild strawberries and raspberries.

Historians Hyde and Bradbury reported the Sahnish gardens were "as clean and well kept as any farm in Minnesota" and said further "they had not seen, even in the United States, any crop of Indian corn in finer order or better managed, than the corn about these three Sahnish villages." It must be remembered that these gardens or crops were planted with little more than digging-sticks and animals shoulder blade hoes.

(Hyde, 1959, Bradbury, 1904).

Photograph of Woman Gardening, courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

The Sahnish stored their crops in "caches," which were holes 4' by 6', sometimes bottle shaped, with a layer of grass or straw at the bottom and the corn, either in braids or loose, and other vegetables layered on top. They were ceremonially stored and when they were opened for use, ceremonies were again practiced. Brack- enridge reported in his 1803 journal that the Sahnish practiced the art of evaporating brine to make salt.

Crops were grown not only for Sahnish consumption, but also for trade with other tribes and white men. They traded for tools, implements, horses, guns, blankets, and they then turned around and traded those items to other tribes for pelts, game, and other needed items. They supplied many of the roving tribes with food staples for hundreds of years.

CLOTHING

The men generally permitted their hair to grow long and divided it into several braids, matted at intervals, with a white tenacious clay; sometimes rolled up in a ball, and fixed on the top of the head. The Sahnish always had a quantity of feathers. Those of the black eagle are most esteemed. They have a kind of crown of feathers, such as we see represented in the usual paintings of Indians. The swan is the most esteemed for this purpose. Some ornament their neck with necklaces made of claws of the white bear. To their heels they sometimes fastened foxes' tails, and on their leggings suspended deer hoofs, so as to make a rattling noise as they moved along.

Watercolor of Pachüwa-Chtä, Arikara Man, by Karl Bodmer 1884, #289, in Karl Bodmer's America. 1984, P. 283.

The women, who worked in the gardens, were dressed appropriate for the role in their Sahnish society. The dress of the women consisted of a long robe made of the dressed skins of elk, the antelope, or the agalia, and ornamented with blue beads, and strips of ermine, or in its place, of some white skin. The robe is girded round the waist with a broad belt, highly ornamented with porcupine quills, and beads. (Brackenridge, p. 34).

KINSHIP SYSTEMS

To preserve the integrity of the tribe, they adhered judiciously to kinship relationships. What non-Indian families refer to as cousins, the Sahnish called their brothers and sisters. Marriage was not acceptable with cousins because they were brothers and sisters among the Sahnish. Aunts and uncles were mothers and fathers. It was not uncommon for children to lose their parents, and if the parents died, aunts and uncles automatically became their parents.

Lewis and Clark said of the Sahnish they were "poor, kind . . . and that kindness extended to all people, but especially orphans and old people." Some of the ceremonies and societies were specifically directed to care for the needs of the people. For example, the Buffalo society men were instructed, as part of their ceremony, "to share his last mouthful with his guest." The Straight Head Society's primary goal was to "feed and clothe those who were old, poor, or orphaned."

The Sahnish knew the importance of sanitary conditions and that disease came from unclean living conditions. There were strong indications the Native people lived to a very old age. Warfare and the extreme conditions were their only enemies.

HUNTING

Hunting wild game was a vital part of their diet, which made successful hunting critical for their survival. The tribe practiced elaborate ceremonies for hunting buffalo, because the buffalo played a crucial part in the social lives of the Sahnish people. Their weapons consisted of guns, war clubs, spears, bows and lances. The bows are generally made of elk's horn, two ribs of a buffalo, or of willow or ash.

According to Sahnish elder historians, the ritual of the hunt and who received the meat was as follows: The game went to the person who got to the animal first, not who killed it. He would then take the animal home, butcher it, and divide it among the other hunters. If the kill was divided, the oldest hunter received the first and best piece, which meant the youngest received whatever was left. The person who killed the game received the hide and back. Hunters prayed and made offerings, then ceremoniously ate a small piece of the raw kidney and liver. It is said that the hunter who did so would gain some of the animals strength or courage for his act.

Photograph of Mrs. Sitting Bear scraping a hide, courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

HORSES

One of the staples of trade for the Sahnish was the horse. The Sahnish were thought to have brought the horse from the South where the Spaniards had left them. In 1811, The Astorian party (explorers) reported the Sahnish were outfitted with horses. Horses have been a part of their lives and culture throughout history. The ceremonies and medicines of the horse were known to the Sahnish. During the middle 1900s, many of the families still maintained large herds of horses. Owning horses was discouraged during this time by the government because horses could not be sold or eaten. (Brackenridge, 1904).

ALCOHOL

During early contact and up until the early 1900, the Sahnish refused to use alcohol or liquor. It was viewed with disgust when traders offered it to them. According to elder historians, arguments erupted with the traders because the Sahnish would not trade their goods for liquor. Their refusal to trade for alcohol caused the traders to call the Sahnish ornery, cantankerous, or mean.

CEREMONIES AND SOCIETIES

The Sahnish relate that the Supreme Deity *(Nesaanu ti naacitakUx)*, speaking to the Sahnish said "three things . . . will keep you right: Corn, the Office of the Chief, and the secrets that were revealed in the lodge. These three things you must preserve always."

From time immemorial, the history of the Sahnish has been described through their sacred bundles. The bundles are ancient containers for sacred objects that are necessary to recall and explain the most important events in this nation's history. There were twelve bundles, one for each of the bands represented among the Sahnish people.

Brackenridge relates in the early 1800s that each Sahnish village had one lodge in the center of the village, larger than the others, with a cedar tree and a large stone before it. This was the holy house or medicine lodge. During this time, the spiritual power of the Sahnish ceremonies was well known among other tribes. The white people who witnessed ceremonies, called it "slight of hand" or magic. Explorers and traders who witnessed sacred ceremonies were unable to explain them any other way. The white men testified they saw a Sahnish man's head severed then returned to his body and life restored during a ceremony. They talked of Sahnish men who were transformed into bears, buffalo, or wolves. In his journal, Brackenridge tells of the cantankerous and poisonous rattlesnake that was tamed by the medicine man of the tribe. He wrote that skill with the "rattler" was common to this tribe. Even as recently at the early 1900s, men watched as Sahnish priests placed a dead branch of the wild chokecherry or plum bush in the middle of the medicine lodge and it bore fruit during a sacred ceremony. These examples were recorded in journals of white explorers and traders, and verified by the tribe.

Historically, the Sahnish practiced a highly developed, complex, religious, and ceremonial culture of which the priesthood was one of the most important and natural segments. The members of this priesthood were entrusted with the tribal history and law. The priests were an alliance known as the "Medicine Lodge," consisting of nine powerful and distinct societies. In addition to the medicine lodge, there were several sweat lodges or baths used for cleansing before ceremonies.

The Medicine Lodge consisted of four principal priests, and nine priests who knew all the ceremonies and could perform them. The other priests knew the ceremonies of their societies only. By the 1900s there were only two priests who knew the ceremonies. They were Crow Ghost and Pat Star.

The most important ceremony is the "Mother Corn" held in the spring, summer, and fall. Another ceremony is called the setting up of the Holy Cedar Tree followed by a performance known as the "Medicine Lodge." The Cedar Tree is called Grandmother of all things. She is renewed each summer season and is a symbol of life, bringing vegetation to life, annually renewing, and dying. There were also ceremonies for baptism and naming for people who had not yet received a name.

The Sacred Rock is considered the grandfather of all things, "an emblem of the unchanging." It is always painted red in ceremonies and covered with red cloth. Red is the color of life or the heart.

Brackenridge, Gilmore, and others agreed that the Sahnish were experts in the use of herbs. The most important use was for the treatment of diseases. The knowledge of herbs has been passed down generation to generation. Today, only select groups of spiritual people have the knowledge of the healing herbs.

Tobacco, a trade commodity cultivated by the Sahnish, was used on all occasions from infancy to death. It was used with seriousness and dignity by the people. When an infant was named, an important part of the ceremony was making smoke offerings. When a man entered into any undertaking, the Powers were invoked by making tobacco offerings. When a plant of medicinal use was dug from the ground, it was first reverently addressed, begged to have mercy on the person, and asked to give of its virtue for healing. The Sahnish grew a special kind of tobacco which was an herb. This tobacco was not used as cigarettes are today. It was only used for ceremonial purposes with the pipe and with prayers.

Late in the 1800s and early into the 1900s, the Sahnish people were known among other tribes and the white people for their ability to successfully treat and heal wounds. They were sought out as healers by other tribes. White people were amazed at their talents for healing. As an example, the Buffalo Society members were experts at setting bones. If a wound became difficult to heal, they resorted to actually cauterizing it, after which the wound healed easily, the elders reported.

Societies held certain powers and abilities such as healing. The societies of the Sahnish people were explained according to Bear's Teeth who was interviewed by historian, Robert Lowie. Bear's Teeth identified Sahnish men's societies as follows:

THE YOUNG DOGS SOCIETY gives instructions to young man on how they should live and how to become a warrior. It was associated with or helped by the Goose Women's Society.

THE STRAIGHT-HEAD SOCIETY invited the remaining members of the Young Dog society to join them. They celebrated the warrior's bravery and aided the poor of the tribe.

BUFFALO-CALLING CEREMONY was for calling the buffalo. They imitated the buffalo and their purpose was to insure a good hunt or to indicate that the buffalo was near. A similar society was the buffalo society who celebrated the bravest man.

THE YOUNG BUFFALO SOCIETY was replaced by a more popular and active society. Then it was called the Big Grass Society. Today that society is called the Dead Grass Society. This society takes a lead role in the dances or celebrations at the White Shield community.

THE BLACK MOUTHS SOCIETY was distinguishable because of the way the members were painted. The top part of their faces were painted red and the lower portion was painted black. They were the guards and policemen of the village.

TARO SOCIETY received its name because members cut a small section of hair on both sides in the shape of a half moon.

THE FOX SOCIETY had elaborate dress and a ceremony. Young women are selected into the society.

THE HOT DANCE SOCIETY'S most distinguishing characteristic is that the members put their arms into kettles of boiling water, take meat out, and carry it on their shoulders and the hot water never burns them. This phenomena was recorded in other ceremonies and societies.

THE CUT THROAT SOCIETY was a society for young men with no social affiliation.

FOOLISH PEOPLE SOCIETY always did the opposite of what was asked of them. These were the known societies of the men and warriors.

WOMEN'S SOCIETIES: Little is known of the women's societies because there were rarely informants. Generally, interviews and recordings were done with the men.

RIVER SNAKE SOCIETY imitates the snake. It was a secret women society.

GOOSE SOCIETY membership is inherited through the mother.

It is difficult to understand societies among the Sahnish because they were generally practiced in secret or for the Sahnish people only. When the Sahnish were decimated by diseases and warfare, many of the ceremonies and songs for the societies were lost.

Today, many Sahnish people practice these ceremonies. Among the Sahnish, seven sacred bundles exist and are tended by "keepers." There are ceremonies for "Mother Corn" held regularly by women keepers in the communities of White Shield and Parshall. The ceremony for the Arikara bundle is held annually and it is a time when all bundle keepers are invited to participate.

BURIAL RITES

The rites of death are one of the most sacred ceremonies of the Sahnish people. It is a ceremony that has changed little from the early days and continues to be used by the people.

In the early 1800s, it is said by elders and confirmed by journals that the dead were dressed and painted by the parents and other close relatives. Relatives placed the body on a buffalo robe and carried it to the grave, where the person was wrapped in a robe laid on his/her back, with the head facing the east and resting on a pillow. A special song, carried down from generation to generation, was sung at the gravesite, for the spiritual journey of the deceased. The body was said to be returned to the earth because we come from the earth and are returned to Earth.

The death ceremony has changed little with the introduction of white ways. It remains one of the oldest ceremonies practiced by the people today. The ceremony begins with the death and extends to four days or until the body is buried. A death feast is given by the grieving family. Only elders and the family are invited. The death ceremony ends late at night and the family prepares food for the deceased to send with him or her on their spiritual journey.

THE CULTURE TODAY

When driving through the Sahnish homeland, one will find fields and remnants of the prairie that once consumed the entire area. Sixty per cent of the land is white owned or leased, and has been turned into fields leaving little space for the wild prairie rose or tiger lily.

The once powerful Sahnish, who numbered well over 50,000 people in the early 800 AD, now number approximately 627. All the old enemies of the Sahnish have been quieted but they face new enemies - the environment and new diseases. Today, diabetes, heart diseases, cancer, tuberculosis, and alcoholism plague the Sahnish. Diabetes is one of the most debilitating disease for the people because historically their diets consisted of naturally healthy, life-prolonging food which was changed to high fat and sugars foods.

A strong community organizes the Sahnish/Arikara Celebration (pow wow) in the summer and several small traditional dances during the remainder of the year. The Dead Grass Society The Dead Grass Society hosts the annual celebration.

The communal lifestyle among the people is still evident. The school and a few small organizations provide the only job opportunities, yet many of the Sahnish people cling to their homeland. In the homes of some of the Sahnish the ceremonies are still practiced even though some of the protocols of the ceremonies have been lost. Of the 13 Sacred Bundles only 7 remain, and the people are tenacious about "keeping" the bundles.

LEADERS

TRADITIONAL CHIEFS
CONTEMPORARY LEADERS

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

Form of Leadership
Ascendancy
Role of Religion in Politics
Hereditary Leadership
Styles of Leadership

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How were leaders chosen in historic times?

2. How are leaders selected in contemporary times?

3. Compare and contrast historic and contemporary styles of leadership.

4. What benefits were derived from traditional forms of leadership?

5. Many native cultures believe that it is critical for their survival to maintain traditional forms of leadership.
   What elements are important?
   How do they benefit the people?

TRADITIONAL LEADERS OF THE MANDAN, HIDATSA AND SAHNISH

History has generally cast leaders as focused on one individual. Within tribal societies, individuals attained leadership and were distinguished by their ability to shape vision and secure consensus from the people. Traditional structural forms of leadership amongst the Mandan and Hidatsa were of hereditary clanship origin. Political decisions were made with spiritual guidance and served to fulfill both political and spiritual means. (1).

The leaders of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish (Arikara) listed below represent essentially two time periods. The leadership of each group are listed as they existed in the early 1700s, and after the 1782 and 1837 smallpox epidemics and forward. In no way is this listing complete nor is it representative all those who achieved the status as leader. It is to offer a list from which students can begin to research. Historically, bands were too numerous and records too obscure to provide sufficient and accurate information.

MANDAN CHIEFTAINSHIP

By 1700, the Mandan had developed an organizational structure composed of the Nuptadi and Nuitadi linguistic groups, and the Awigaxa Mandan. The Mandan practiced clan inheritance of bundles, particularly ancient tribal bundles. They traditionally had age-grade military societies, and were organized independently by the Okipa members. By 1837, the Mandans were organized under the direction of members of the Okipa society, led by Big Turtle and Flying Eagle. By 1845, there were not enough Mandan households to complete the open circle. (2).

HIDATSA CHIEFTAINSHIP

The Hidatsa had no formal tribal council until after the epidemic of the 1780s. This was attributed to the fact that the villages were widely scattered along the Missouri and contact was limited. The Hidatsa were known to have three primary groups, the Hidatsa Proper, the Awatixa, and the Awaxawi. Around 1798, the three villages of Hidatsa at Knife River established a tribal council composed of the most distinguished war leaders of each village. There were 12 leaders. Their duties involved warfare, assistance to the villages, and making peace with neighboring villages. (3) By 1832, the Hidatsa had lost a measure of the sense of tribal leadership of the three independent villages, and after 1845, some rights were shared between the Mandan and Hidatsa.

The Awatixa had a complex village system of chieftainships based on hereditary bundles and offices, and fostered leadership among its tribal chiefs supporting clan inheritance of rights and privileges. Each band was led by a strong chief with considerable prestige in his group. They were organized around a peace chief and war leader. Special leaders were selected when the occasion arose, to direct the summer hunt, manage the winter camp, or travel beyond the summer village (4). Villages were divided into four wards with bundle owner serving as "protectors of the people."

A chief was considered great if he could command the respect of the village over a long period of time. The head war chief was principally a summer chief connected with summer village life during which time warfare was actively conducted. The winter chief, appointed annually and rarely succeeding himself, continued to lead as long as he retained the goodwill and respect of the entire community. When conflict over his leadership occurred or others became dissatisfied, the chief brought together those who opposed him in an effort to dissipate conflict. He showed evidences of generosity and good will, or suggested that others take over his work. He was still an important member of the council. When a principal war chief grew old he respectfully gave up his position to a younger man who had passed Black Mouth society age. (5).

The highest ranking leadership in the Awatixa was vested in holders of the Knife clan bundle and the Waterbuster clan bundle, respectively held by Stirrup and Blackens-his-Moccasins (Black Moccasin) before 1837.

Within the Hidatsa Proper and Awaxawi clans authority was vested in a council of head men who had attained eminence by the performance of rights or successes in war. The top leadership of the council was represented by the owner of the earthnaming bundle (who organized the village hunting territorial rights), and the principal war leader. Ceremonial leaders held precedence over war leaders.

Between 1837-45, the Awaxawi and Awatixa joined the Nuitadi Mandan because they were so few in numbers and all required protection from the Sioux. These three groups organized a council headed by the Hidatsa Four Bears. Four Bears was responsible for the physical defense of the people, and Missouri River organized the ceremonies for establishing the new village at the Like-a-Fishhook Bend.

The top leaders in 1845 when they built the village were the Hidatsa head chiefs, Missouri River, Four Bears, the war chief, who took no part in the organization of the village, and Big Hand. The other leaders, called "Protectors of the People", the group entrusted with the supernatural protection of the village, were Big Cloud, Bear-Looks-Out, Bobtail Bull, Bad Horn, and Big Hand (6).

SAHNISH CHIEFTAINSHIP

In the mid 1600s, ethnographers believed the Sahnish and their over 40 associated bands numbered well over 30,000 people. During the 1700s, there were 12 bands of Sahnish with four leaders or head bands. Each had a chief and three subchiefs. The four head bands were the hukawirat (eastern band), tuhkatakux (Village Against a Hill), tuhkasthanu (Buffalo Sod Village), and Awahu (Left Behind). The head chief of the Awahu was chief over the four bands.

When any Sahnish chief died, all of the men of the tribe assembled at an honoring feast. The first chief of each band had the right to make a speech to nominate a candidate for the vacant position. No votes were cast, the chief was chosen by consensus. A special shirt was given to the chief when they were selected and was worn to indicate that chief's status. The duties of the chiefs were to extend hospitality to strangers, preserve peace within the tribe, and order hunts and tribal movements. Strangers and needy members within the village were always welcomed in the house of the chief. The chiefs' house was well supplied with food and goods by the hunters. It was also the role of the chief to decide when to leave an area and where the new villages were to settle. (7)

MANDAN

BLACK CAT (Pose-cop-sa-he)

Black Cat was the first chief the second village called Roop-tar-hee. Although he was already a chief selected by the people, Lewis and Clark "made" Black Cat the Grand Chief of the Mandan villages. They believed he was the single most powerful Mandan chief, and he became important to their success. They relied on him during their winter near the Mandan and Hidatsa villages in 1804-1805. Roop-tar-hee was the only Mandan village situated on the north side of the Missouri River. Black Cat assisted Lewis and Clark in finding a good location to build their winter quarters for their expedition. (8)

RAVEN MAN CHIEF

Car-gar-no-mok-she or Raven Man was designated second chief of the second village under Black Cat in 1804. (9) As second chief, the Raven, was directed by Black Cat to negotiate on his behalf an alliance of peace proposed to the Mandan and Hidatsa. Urged by Lewis & Clark, these talks were the first steps toward village alliances between the Arikara (Sahnish) and the Mandan around 1804. (10)

SHAHAKA/SHEHEKE (Shehek shote)

White Coyote or Shahaka/Sheheke was the prominent civil chief of the first (lower) or principal Mandan village from 1804 - 1812.

In 1806, Lewis and Clark, upon their return to Washington, took Sheheke and his family with them. In 1807, Pierre Choteau, in command of a trading post, attempted to seek the return of Sheheke to the Mandan Villages. Unable to disembark near the Sahnish villages, the steamboat returned to St. Louis, where Sheheke waited for an escort. In the spring of 1809, the Missouri Fur Company, which was under contract with the military, sent 150 men from St. Louis under the command of Pierre Choteau. They arrived at the Mandan villages on September 24, 1809. During his stay in Washington, Sheheke had been entertained by President Jefferson at Monticello and had been honored. After returning and sharing these experiences with his people, Sheheke was not believed by his people and fell into disrepute. He was killed in 1812 while observing a Sioux attack on the Mandan villages. (11)

Drawing of Sheheke, Mandan Chief. Drawing by Saint-Memin, Artist. 1807. Ellen G. Miles collection courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, 1994, Figure 7:17.

LITTLE RAVEN or Little Crow

Ka-goh-ha-mi or Little Raven was the second chief of the first or lower village at Mitutanka under Sheheke in 1804. After many unsuccessful attempts to take a delegation of Mandans, Hidatsa and Arikara to Washington, Little Raven consented to go. However, after a disagreement with Sheheke, Little Raven declined. (12) He later became head chief and founded the Mandan small village at the Knife River villages before 1837.

WHITE BUFFALO ROBE

Ta-tuck-co-pin-re-ha was the first chief of the third village. This village was called Mah-har-ra. This village was located near the present site of Stanton. NEIGHBORING HORSE - (Min-nis-sur-ra-ree) and OLD WOMAN AT A DISTANCE -(Le-cong-gar-ti-bar) were sub-chiefs of the third village. (13)

CROW CHIEF

Crow Chief served as the head chief (Ke-ka-nu-mak-shi) of the Mandan High Village, one of the five villages on the Knife River before 1837. (Two of those villages were Mandan and three were Hidatsa). Crow Chief was the son of a Mandan chief and a Sahnish woman. They lived on the Grand River, South Dakota Between 1833 and 1836, Crow Chief lived with his mothers' tribe on the Platte River. In 1836, he returned to his father's tribe and was at once chosen chief of their principal village on the Knife River. (14)

THE FOUR BEARS 1800-1837

Drawing of the Four Bears, Mandan Chief, by Karl Boomer, 1884, # 317, in Karl Bodmer's America. 1984, P.308.

Four Bears, Mah-ta-to-pe or Mahto Topé was born about 1800. He grew up along the Missouri River at the mouth of the Knife River, located near present day Stanton, ND. The Knife River Villages were among the largest farming and trading centers of the northern plains.

Four Bears established his leadership through the Dog Soldier and Half Shorn societies. He rose to prominence and became second or sub-chief of the Small Village at Knife River before 1837. He had a successful war record and fasted many times, a feat that would have never elevated him to more than a war leader. However, the many feasts that he gave to which the older hereditary bundle-owners were invited gave him prestige. Four Bears had a sacred robe with a rainbow painted on it. It was believed to possess the power to invoke rain and bring luck.

Four Bears gained recognition by participating in the Okipa Ceremony. In the early 1830s the Mandans were visited by the artists George Catlin and Karl Bodmer, who later became close friends and admirers of Four Bears. These artists rendered paintings of Four Bears making him well known on the upper Great Plains prior to 1837. Four Bears acted as a go-between for white traders and as diplomat to other tribes. Maximillian relied on his knowledge of the religion and language of the Sahnish, who had not yet allied themselves with the Mandans.

Four Bear's became an artist in his own right and a number of his robes have been preserved. He was a casualty of the 1837 smallpox epidemic that decimated about 87 percent of the Mandan Tribe. Four Bear's died on July 30, 1837. (15)

Photograph of Bear on the Water, courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, Volume #1, 1906, p. 444.

BEAR ON THE WATER Miniakihamato 1822 - 1905

Bear on the Water was born in 1822 at the chief village of the Mandans near Fort Clark. His father was Coyote Medicine, Shi-hak-hoch-pine. At the age of eleven Bear on the Water had established his reputation as the swiftest runner of the tribe. At the age of fifteen, he lived in a small village with remnants of the Mandans who survived the smallpox epidemic of 1837. (16)

In 1844, he moved to Fort Berthold because of trouble with the Arikara. At the age of 23 he assumed the position of advisor to the tribe. This position was known as "land chief" a position that required advising the tribe on all land issues. He became well known among his people and others as the most celebrated runner in the whole Missouri valley. He often hunted and caught antelope and buffalo on foot. Bear-on-the-Water was eventually challenged by a Sioux warrior who could outrun horses in a race.

Bear on the Water acted as a spokesperson for his tribe at Bismarck at the great council of the upper Missouri Indians. In 1904, Bear on the Water was the oldest living Mandan. He died in 1905, within one month of the death of his wife, Yellow Nose. (17

Photograph of Red Roan Buffalo Cow, Mandan Chief, courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, Collection # 410-66. Kleinsmith-Welch, photographer, 1926.

RED BUFFALO COW

(Red Roan Cow)
(She Oh Mant Ho)

Red Buffalo Cow was head chief of the Nuptadi Mandans after the 1837 smallpox epidemic. The Nuptadi Mandans were located in an earth lodge village along the Missouri River near the Knife River. His sub-chief was Rushing War Eagle/ Charging Eagle or "Bad Gun."

Red Buffalo Cow was considered one of the holy men of the Mandans. He received healing powers during his vision quest, and participated in the Okipa ceremony. In 1851, Red Buffalo Cow represented the Mandans and was one of the signers of the Fort Laramie Treaty. Around the mid 1870s, Red Buffalo Cow advised young Mandan warriors not to scout for General Custer when he was preparing to fight the Sioux. When the United States Government was considering moving the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), Red Buffalo Cow sent scouts to explore the territory. They returned with information that the earth was red and dry. With the assistance of an organization known as the Indian Rights Association, he led a delegation and negotiated with the United States Government so that the Mandan were not removed to Oklahoma. During the smallpox epidemic, Red Buffalo Cow took his family north into Canada and lived there with the Cree, escaping the smallpox and allowing his family to survive. (18)

Red Buffalo Cow was described as an "elderly" chief in 1888, a time when Like-a-Fishook village was being abandoned and tribal members were being encouraged to move to their allotments along the Missouri River. He was the last hereditary chief of the Mandans. (19)

BAD GUN 1829 -

Rushing After the Eagle/War Eagle/Charging Eagle was born at Fort Clark village in 1829. His father was Four Bears, and his mother was Brown Woman. His grandfather was Suk-shi, Good-Boy, who founded the Mandan village at Fort Clark.

After the 1837 smallpox epidemic, Rushing War Eagle survived the epidemic, which killed his parents. He and his sister, Earth Woman, moved to live with a relative, Bug Woman, at the Hidatsa village, north of Knife River. Given the name of Bad Gun, he became a warrior at the age of 10 by taking part in driving away the Sioux when they attacked the Hidatsa. At the age of 15, his family relocated to Fort Berthold in 1839. He participated in his first sun dance at the age of 23.

He was given the name Charging-Eagle, at the age of 30 after his exploits against intruders. Prior to this time, he was known as Bad Gun. In 1865, at Fort Buford, he and Poor Wolf were chosen chief counselors. At the time he was 36 and became a respected chief of the Mandans, known for his rare wisdom and insight. In 1865, he married Woman-in-the-Water, a Hidatsa.

Photograph of Bad Gun or Rushing After the Eagle, courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

At the age of 46, Charging Eagle, along with a delegation, was sent to Washington, one year before the Custer battle in 1875. He was accompanied by Dancing-Flag and Running-Face, Mandans, and the interpreter Charles Packeneau, along with three Arickaras and their interpreter, Peter Beauchamp I. He opposed Custer's expedition to the Little Big Horn and delayed Custer's departure for one year. He held the office of Lieutenant of U.S. Police Service, at Fort Berthold, from 1881 to 1883, Judge of the Court of Indian Offenses, 1885 to 1886, and recognized as the second chief of the Mandans in 1874. In 1897, he left Fort Berthold at the age of 56 and moved to his allotment on the Little Missouri. (20)

HENRY SITTING CROW

Peditska Amakish "Sitting Crow"

Sitting Crow was born in 1861 at Like-A-Fishook village. He was the grandson of the Mandan chief, Red Cow. By birth, Sitting Crow was in line for leadership in his tribe.

At the age of 15, Sitting Crow participated in the Okipa Ceremony, the Mandan Sun Dance. In 1879, at about the age of 19, he earned his first eagle feather for striking an enemy with a stick. Sitting Crow was 22 when he went on his first hunting party in Montana. After that time, he participated in many hunts, narrowly escaping death many times, a sign he attributed to his protecting buffalo spirit.

In the 1930's, nearing 70 years of age, he became a Christian. However, he held onto the old ways. He was an elder statesman and leader of the Nuitadi Mandan until his death. (21)

Photograph of Henry Sitting Crow, Mandan Chief, courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, in Case, 1977, P. 132.

HIDATSA

BLACK MOCCASIN OR BLACKENS HIS MOCCASINS Omp-se-ha-ra 1732 - 1832

Black Moccasin was the chief of the second or middle village (Awatiha/Awatixa) on the Knife River, called Me-te-har-tan, when Lewis & Clark visited them in 1804. During this time Black Moccasin was first chief and Little Fox (Oh-harh) was second chief. His village was opened to Charboneau, the interpreter of Lewis and Clark, and his wife Sakakawea. (22).

Drawing of Road Maker, Addih-Haddisch, Head Hidatsa by Karl Bodmer in 1834, #326. From Karl Bodmer's America.1984, P. 315.

ROAD MAKER 1764 - 1842

Road Maker (Adi-ahu') (Addih-Haddisch) (ari hiris) was born about 1764, and was the son of Buffalo-hide Tent. He was Awaxawi and the head chief of Scattered Village #3, (23) called the Mountain or East village. When he was a young man he was a member of several societies, and after the 1782 smallpox epidemic became owner of one of the three Missouri River bundles. After seeking visions, Road Maker participated in many war expeditions for which he experienced great success. Following these pursuits, Road Maker became a great doctor and leader of war parties. (24)

Road Maker was one of the members of the council during the first half of the 19th century and recognized as one of the outstanding Awaxawi leaders. Road Maker was painted by Karl Bodmer in 1805 when he was chief of the village near the Knife River. He was respected for his good judgement and military accomplishments. He died at the Awaxawi village in 1842. (25)

BIG THIEF

Mar-toh-tah or Big Thief is identified as the principal chief of the fourth village called Me-te-har-tan as Lewis & Clark found them in 1804. During this time, Big Thief was at war and was killed soon afterward. (26)

MISSOURI RIVER

After the 1837 smallpox epidemic, the Awatixa and Awaxawi were so few in number that they were compelled to unite with the Mandan and Sahnish for protection. Both Hidatsa Awatixa and Awaxawi bands formed a council with the Nuitadi Mandan. Missouri River became head chief of the Awatixa when the three groups joined. He was selected by the council to conduct the ceremonies of establishing the new village at Like-A-Fishhook bend. When the village was established, Missouri River then organized the layout of the village.

When Missouri River grew old his Waterbuster clan or Skull bundle was relinquished to Small Ankles who never attained the prominence of Missouri River. Missouri River had two sons, Women-in-Water and Dog Bear. Missouri River's bundle line was perpetuated by his son, Women-in-Water of the Awaxenawita clan. (27)

LE BORGNE

Mau-pah-pir-re-cos-sa-too was the principal chief of the fifth Hidatsa Village when Lewis & Clark visited them in 1804. This village was located one and one-half miles above the mouth on the north side of the Knife River. Le Borgne was absent at the time of the arrival of Lewis & Clark. In his absense, the other chiefs, Little Wolf, Sha-kake-ho-pin-nee, Medicine, and Ar-rat-toe-no-mook-ge, Man Wolf Chief, be recognized. A subchief, Cherry-on-the-Bush (Cal-tar-co-tah) representing LeBorgne, led the council in greeting Lewis & Clark.

FLAT BEAR Circa - 1837

Flat Bear was the chief of the main and largest Hidatsa village (#1) at the Knife River by 1837. Lewis and Clark were responsible for designating him chief of the Tribe in 1804. The Mandans called him (A-ra-tsu-ka-da-na-pit-zish). Flat Bear was a very brave warrior and a favorite of his tribe. He was made chief because of his bravery and was also the youngest leader the village ever had. (28)

The artist Catlin painted Flat Bear in 1832 when he was at least 100 years old. He had a distinct recollection of Lewis and Clark, to whom he referred to as "Red Hair" (Clark) and Merriweather Lewis as "Long Knife" because of his broad sword.

PEHRISKA RUHPA Two Ravens/Two Crows

Pehriska Ruhpa was a principal leader of the Dog Society of his village. Although he belonged to the dog soldier band of the Minnetarees (Hidatsa), his costume closely resembled the dress of the Mandan dog [soldiers]. Periska Ruhpa was painted by Bodmer in 1834. (29)

Periska-Ruhpa was a warrior and a head chief. He was a principal leader of the Dog Society of his village, and is mentioned in Maximilian's diaries as part of the Hidatsa Dog Society. His regalia and trailer in another drawing by Bodmer closely resembled those of the Mandan Dog dancers, which may have caused ethnographers to speculate about the closeness between Mandan and Hidatsa ceremony.

Péhriska-Rúhpa posed for Karl Bodmer twice. He received much of his clothing from the Crow, known for their finery, and was proud of his dress. (Goetzmann, William H. (1984). Karl Bodmer's America. Joslyn Art Museum & University of Nebraska Press, p. 318.

Drawing of Péhriska Rúhpa, Hidatsa Warrior, Two Ravens, by Karl Bodmer, 1984, #329. From Karl Bodmer's America, 1984, #318.

FOUR BEARS 1861

Four Bears was the son of Two Tails, a war chief at Knife River. Four Bears became an outstanding war chief after the smallpox epidemic of 1837. Four Bears was designated war chief and was instrumental in selecting Like-a-Fishook village, upstream from the Knife River villages, as the new site for the three tribes. He also convinced the Nuptadi Mandan and Arikara to settle at Like-A-Fishook village. (30)

Four Bears was distinguished for his part in the Fort Laramie Treaty Council and as a signer of the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty. In 1861, Four Bears was killed by the Sioux while swimming near Like-A-Fishook village.

CROWS PAUNCH 1818 - 1896

Crows Paunch was a member of the Prairie chicken clan. His father's name was Twisted Wood, a member of the Knife clan of Awatixa village. Crows Paunch was selected as war chief during the time when Poor Wolf was serving as village chief. He served as chief after 1861until his death in 1896.

Photograph of Poor Wolf, principal chief of his village. Photo Courtesy of Case, 1977, p. 190.

POOR WOLF 1810 - 1906

Poor Wolf - Lean Wolf was born on the Knife River in the middle of the three Hidatsa villages. He was raised in the Awaxawi Village at the mouth of the Missouri River. His father's name was Buffalo Hide Tent, and his uncle was chief "Road Maker" Adihidish. He was the second chief of the Hidatsa village.

At the age of seventeen, Poor Wolf contracted smallpox. His father died when he was 22 years old. At the age of 24, Poor Wolf, along with 100 warriors and other adults, moved to the old Fort Berthold village. They left the Knife River because of the scarcity of lumber and to seek protection from the Sioux and Blackfeet. (31)

As a young man, Poor Wolf was active in many ceremonies. He was concerned about the welfare of his people, and demonstrated good judgement as a leader of the Black Mouth Police Society.

Poor Wolf was selected principal chief of his village, and along with Crows Paunch, served as subchiefs when conflict arose among the Hidatsa. (32) Several written accounts attribute this conflict as a major cause of why Crow Flies High and Bobtail Bull, along with several followers left and settled at Ft. Buford. (33)

In 1893, Poor Wolf (Lean Wolf) was baptized and became an influential member of the Congregational church at Fort Berthold. He was 86 years old when he died in 1906. (34)

Photograph of Crow Flies High, Chief of the Xosh-gah Band of Hidatsa at Ft. Buford, courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, portrait by OS Goff, 1875.

CROW FLIES HIGH 1832 - 1900

Born at Like-A-Fish-Hook village, Crow-Flies High was orphaned by the smallpox epidemic of 1837. Poor in his youth, he followed a different course than most young men. When his age-grade group fasted during organized rites, he often avoided fasting because he had no close relatives to put up goods for him. He occasionally sought visions alone on the prairies. He went on the warpath many times and won many honors.

When a conflict arose in the village over leadership, the influence of the government, Crow-Flies High and Bobtail Bull, led his band of people to the Fort Buford in 1869 where he served as the first chief and war chief. (35) During this period, his band lived in and around the Fort Buford area until 1894. The band was forced back to the reservation in 1894, a time after which Crow Flies High relinquished his title to Long Bear. (36) Crow Flies High died of pneumonia in 1900. (37)

BOB TAIL BULL 1834 - 1901

Bobtail Bull was one of the leaders of Like-A-Fish Hook village when it was established in 1845. He served as a sub-chief under Crow Flies High. Along with Poor Wolf, Bobtail Bull was co-owner of the Earthnaming bundles from two different villages at Knife River. In the past there had been only one of these bundles in each village.

Bobtail Bull and Crow Flies High were leaders of the Black Mouth Society. Bobtail Bull was popular with his own age-grade group and was a recognized leader. He was highly regarded by those of the Hidatsa village. There are published accounts that outline several causes for the separation of the Crow Flies High Band. (38) One account tells of Bobtail Bull, attempting to avert conflict, promised his supporters to serve as their peace chief, and to take them upstream. (39) Bobtail Bull, along with Crow-Flies-High led a group of Hidatsa, and some Mandans, away from Like-A-Fishook village. They were concerned over government leadership or the issuance of government rations. They settled near Ft. Buford where they remained for 25 years. They were commonly called the "Crow Flies High Band" or "Xosh-gah Band" in later years. (40) The Crow-Flies High band settled at Shell Creek on the Fort Berthold Reservation when they returned in the late 1800's. (41)

LONG BEAR 1834 - 1912

Wah-pi-tsi-ha-tski or Long Bear's father was Cherry Necklace, who was half Crow and half Hidatsa. His mother's name was Bug Woman. He married a Sioux woman who died and he took a second wife whose name was Medicine Lodge about 1873, divorced through Indian custom, he married a third wife, whose name was Grey Woman. Long Bear was a member of the Night Grass Society. Crow Flies High relinquished his leadership to Long Bear in 1894. Long Bear was chief until his death in 1912. (42)

Photograph of Long Bear, Hidatsa Chief, courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

Photograph of Bulls Eye, Leader after Long Bear, courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

BULLS EYE 1864 - 1928

Although there is not much information published, it is known that Bulls Eye assumed leadership after Long Bear and continued to lead until his death.

Photograph of Black Hawk, second chief with Crow Flies High at Ft. Buford, courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

BLACK HAWK 1848 - 1910

Black Hawk was born at Like-a-Fishhook village, the son of *Chicken Can't Swim* and *Brown husk.* He was married to *Mink* and *Different Cherries* and had 19 children. He and his families were a part of the Xosh-gah Band of Hidatsa who left Like-a-Fishhook village for Fort Buford. When he and his family returned to the Ft. Berthold Reservation in 1894, they settled in the Shell Creek District. The United States Government forced him to divorce one of his wives. He divorced Mink and married Different Cherries.

Black Hawk was Second Chief with Crow Flies High as Chief of the Hidatsa at Fort Buford. His son, Joseph Young Bird, succeeded him in this position. (43)

Photograph of Four Dances, Four Dancers, son of Crow Flies High, courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, and the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

FOUR DANCES 1870 - 1944

Four Dances (Four Dancers) was a member of the Speckled Eagle Clan. He was the son of Bobtail Bull, a ceremonial leader. He was the grandson of Guts. As a small boy, he moved with his father with the Crow Flies High Band to Fort Buford. Four Dances had considerable knowledge of Four Bear's sacred Bundle rites. He was an informant for Alfred Bowers on the Earthnaming bundle owned by his grandfather. In 1894 when the Crow Flies High Band returned, Four Dances, at the age of 24, along with other members of the band, settled in the Shell Creek area of the reservation.

Four Dances was in training to receive the Earthnaming bundle rites from his father Bobtail Bull, but his father died. The Earthnaming bundle ownership and rites gave a leader principal status in terms of village and ceremonial organization. These rites gave him title and the rites to propagate the buffalo herds. (44)

Old Dog, or Long Time Dog, Hidatsa Chief, courtesy of the State Historical Society of ND, Coll. # 86-570. Fred Olson, Photographer, 1911.

OLD DOG or **LONG TIME DOG** - Hidatsa/Crow 1850 - 1928

Old Dog or Long Time Dog, as he was commonly known, was born at Like-a-FishHook village on the Fort Berthold Reservation in 1850. His father was known as Black Feather, and his mother's name was Sweet Grass. He had three brothers and one sister. He married Goes Along Dancing, Mary Smith. He later married Many Dances and had six children. He served as an Army scout at Ft. Buford in the early 1870s.

Old Dog was a member of the Knife Clan and earned the title of Chief. His name is listed on the dedication plaque on the Four Bears Bridge overlooking the Missouri River at New Town. Old Dog and Many Dances lived on Old Dogs' allotment of land from the time of their marriage until their deaths in 1928 and 1923. He died on April 23, 1928. (45)

DRAGS WOLF 1862 - 1943

Drags Wolf, son of Crow Flies High, was a young boy at the time the Band settled around Ft. Buford. In 1894, the Band returned and settled at the Shell Creek area. Some time later, Drags Wolf became Chief of the Shell Creek District - Xosh-gah Band.

His wife was Prairie Dog Woman. In 1934, the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish went to Rapid City, South Dakota to discuss the development of the Wheeler-Howard Bill that later became the Indian Reorganization Act. Drags Wolf was a part of the delegation. With the rewriting of the Act, Drags Wolf supported its passage. Drags Wolf persuaded the Bureau of Indian Affairs to establish a day school where children would not have to leave home for an education.

When the Three Affiliated Tribes adopted a tribal constitution, and established a Tribal Business Council in 1936, Drags Wolf was elected as a representative to the tribal council from the Shell Creek District. He was reelected in 1938 and served until 1941. He died on August 24, 1943 at the age of 81. (46)

Drags Wolf, Son of Crow-Flies-High. Photograph courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota and Three Affiliated Tribes Museum.

Photograph of Sahnish Chiefs, courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

TRADITIONAL SAHNISH (ARIKARA) CHIEFS

In the mid 1600's, ethnographers believed the Sahnish and their over 40 associated bands numbered well over 30,000 people. During the 1700s, there were 12 bands of Sahnish with four leaders or head bands. Each had a chief and three subchiefs. The four head bands were the hukawirat (eastern band), tuhkatakux (Village Against a Hill), tuhkasthanu (Buffalo sod Village), and Awahu (Left Behind). The head chief of the Awahu was chief over the four bands.

When any chief died, all of the men of the tribe assembled at an honoring feast. The first chief of each band had the right to make a speech to nominate a candidate for the vacant position. No votes were cast, the chief was chosen by consensus. A special shirt was given to the chief when they were selected and was worn to indicate that chief's status. The duties of the chiefs were to extend hospitality to strangers, preserve peace within the tribe, and order hunts and tribal movements. Strangers and needy members within the village were always welcomed in the house of the chief. The chiefs' house was well supplied with food and goods by the hunters. It was also the role of the chief to decide when to leave an area and where the new villages were to settle. (47)

	NAME OF CHIEF	SAHNISH NAME	CIRCA
First Documented Chief			
1	Little Cherries (50)	nakaasnsirisásIt	1742-3
Chiefs documented from Lewis and Clark Journal			
2	Crazy Bear	Kunnxsannax	1795
3	Straw	PákUs	1804
4	Crow At Rest	Kaakaatiišá	1804
5	Feather of Eagle	pi'aahiítu'	1804
6	Chief Robe	NeéšaánsAhuutš	1804
7	White Eagle	neétAhkas taaká	1804
8	Chief Crow	kaakaaneešaánu'	1804
9	Gourd Rattle	naiíkútš	1804
10	Chief Dog	xaaneešaánu'	1804
11	Many Wolves	siriitiraaNIhuu'	1804
12	Male Crow	KaakaawiítA	1804
13	Gray Eyes	ir'Ataraáwiiš'	1806/1823
Chiefs who signed the treaty of 1825			
14	*Bloody Hand (Star)	štaanápaa'At (sakaa'A)	1825
15	Male/Brave Crow	KaakaawiítA	1825
16	Face Looks Afraid	skaarín*	1825
17	Fool Chief	Neešsanaax	1825
18	Chief Afraid	neešaánu naríno	1825
Chiefs who signed the 1851 Ft. Laramie Treaty			
19	Mad Bear	kunnx te nosiíA'	1825
20	Bear Chief	kuuNx tee šaanu	1851
21	Young Eagle Chosen	pi' aátš tawiíA	1851
Chiefs at the time of the unratified 1866 Agreement			
22	*White Shield (I)	NahtAsuútaaka' (I)	1866
23	*Rushing Bear (Son of Star)	kuuNux tunawiinx	1878
24	Two Bears	kuúNUx pítkUx	1878
25	Wolf Necklace	Siriiiskaá,	1878
26	Crow Chief	kaakaaneešaan,	1878
27	Whistling Bear	KuuNUxišWAhnaáhUx	1878
28	Yellow Knife	Neéšitahkáta	1878
29	Bear of the Woods	KuuNUxtika'išAt	1878
30	Dog Chief	Xaanéešaanú'	1878
Subchiefs to Sitting Bear			
31	*Sitting Bear/Sugar (1839-1915)	KuúNUx teewiita/ka'it	1881
32	Bears Teeth	KuuNUxaánu'	1881
33	Strikes Two	TitaráwiiA	1881
34	Standing Soldier	XunáNiš teéRIt	1881
35	Soldier (1831-1921)	XunáNIš	1881
36	Floyd Bear	niišu'	1915-1926
37	*Harry Gillette White Shield (II)	Nah T Asuutaáka' (II)	1926-1947
38	*Robert Bear Sr.	NeetaanTakaTa	1947-1961
39	*Robert Bear Jr.	KuunuxTuunawiinx	1961

* denotes Head Chief. (Head chiefs came from the leading village of the "wáhu" meaning "Left Behind". listing of chiefs printed with the permission of the Sahnish Culture Society. 1993.

STAR (BLOODY HAND)

Father of Son-of-the-Star. Little written history is known of this renowned leader. A drawing was done of him by Catlin. He was called "Bloody Hand" in the picture.

WHITE SHIELD I- (PHOTO)

White Shield was an elder statesman who was a wise and respected chief. He was ousted by Indian agent Mahlon Wilkinson for refusing to sign a document that he knew would cheat his people. Wilkinson declared that White Shield was no longer chief and ineligible for his $200 annuity. Wilkinson replaced White Shield with Son-of-the-Star, however, the people still recognized him as their chief. In June 8, 1869, 500 Dakotas attacked Fort Berthold. The Three Tribes were badly outnumbered. During a lull in the battle, White Shield, rode out between the hostile lines and said "I am old. My teeth are bad. I can't eat corn. I am ready to die. Will my enemy meet me - will my enemy come?" His challenge was unanswered and the old chief returned to his men. The fighting began again, and after a savage battle, the Sioux broke and scattered. (51)

White Shield was a mentor for Son-of-the-Star. He signed the1866 Agreement at Fort Berthold..

Son-of-the-Star, son of Chief Star. Photograph courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

SON-OF-THE-STAR (RUSHING BEAR) - PHOTO

Son-of-the-Star was a strong and respected leader of his people. His father was chief Star (Bloody Hand). He was chief of the Sahnish police, and was one of the delegates to a meeting with the Indian commissioner in Washington in 1874.

Son-of-the-Star was the leader of the society that protected the tribe. This society could be interpreted as the police or village guards. In 1874, the Commissioner called for Son-of-the-Star to come to Washington, D. C. Son-of-the-Star, Bull Head, Peter Beauchamp I (Sahnish interpreter), Bad Gun, Bald Eagle, and Shows-fear-in-the-Face, a Mandan, were the men who met with the officials in Washington. At this meeting, the party agreed to scout for the military in trade for protection from the vast numbers of Sioux. (52)

Son-of-the-Star was the chief of the Sahnish people during the great changes that took place in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Son-of-the-Star promoted education for his people. White Shield was his mentor and assisted him during his early years as chief.

SITTING BEAR - KÚ-NÚH-TI-WIT PHOTO

Sitting Bear was born in 1839, on the west side of the Missouri River opposite what is now Washburn, North Dakota. His father was Son-of-the-Star and his mother's name was Red Eagle Woman. He was eighteen years of age before making his first trial at war, and even then he took no part in the actual conflict with the Assiniboine with whom his party encountered.

The following year, he engaged in the fight with the Sioux while on a hunting party near the Fort Berthold village. He achieved distinction by being first to strike one of the horses of the enemy. In all, he participated in twelve battles, six of which he led. Sitting Bear lead the Sahnish in a combined party of Hidatsa and Mandan, into Sioux country. His first expedition as chief was made down the Missouri River in bullboats. After traveling for nine nights, concealing themselves by day, his party made an escape after an engagement with the men of a hostile village. Sitting Bear married at nineteen, and, like his father and grandfather, became the tribal chief. (53)

Sitting Bear, son of Son-of-the-Star.. Photograph courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, from the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

CHIEF IRON BEAR - BEAR CHIEF Nd - 1867

Iron Bear, (a.k.a. Bear Chief -kuunNx tee shan) was a Sahnish Head Chief. He was born when the Sahnish were living along the Grand River, in the late 1700s. His place of birth was the village on the west bank. The Sahnish were living in two villages on both sides of the river at the time.

At an early age he learned the tactics of warfare from his father and uncles. When he grew to manhood, he was chosen to become a war chief, because he was a fearless leader and a strategist in warfare against the Dakota, the traditional enemy of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish.

Iron Bear was sent to Fort Laramie in 1851, along with Young Chosen Eagle, a Sahnish warrior, as the Arikara delegates. Accompanying them was Francois L'Etalie, interpreter. The purpose of their delegation was to represent the Sahnish Nation.

Chief Iron Bear was given the authority (Article 6 of the treaty) to choose a tribesman on his return, to be chief with him to govern the Sahnish. White Shield (1798 - 1878) was chosen and he in turn appointed Son-of-the-Star (1813-1881) as head of the Sahnish police. Each chief, according to Sahnish custom, maintained a police force to keep peace and order. Iron Bear was one of the signers of the July 27, 1866 Agreement at Fort Berthold, along with Head Chief White Shield and the Second Chief Son-of-the-Star. Their interpreter was Pierre Garreau.

Chief Iron Bear died in the spring of 1867, leaving no direct descendants. He had a brother, name unknown, who had children. (54)

CHIEF WHITE SHIELD I 1798 - 1878

White Shield, NahtAsuu'taaka was born with the Sahnish were living at the Grand River Villages. When he grew to manhood, he married Ka-wit (Last Child). They had three children, two daughters, Smoke or Tobacco Woman and Yellow Calf Woman, and a son whose name was Comet.

He was a young child when Lewis and Clark journeyed up the Missouri River in 1804. He was a young man when the United States Army and Dakotas tried to annihilate the Sahnish in 1823. In 1924, William Clark wrote to the President of the United Sates asking for permission to annihilate the Arikara if they didn't sign the treaty of 1825.

In 1825, through emissaries, another treaty signing was arranged for the Sahnish. White Shield was an observer of the treaty signing. His sister, Woman Who Goes In Every Lodge, her husband Two Nights, a Sahnish warrior, signed the treaty along with the Head Chief Bloody Hand (Star) (staanapaa'At - sakaa'A) and Chief Bad Bear (kunnex te nosiiA') and other prominent Sahnish chiefs and warriors. (55)

White Shield I was called upon in 1851 to share head chieftainship with Iron Bear. White Shield was known as a fierce warrior and a strong-hearted leader. (56)

Floyd Bear, son of Sitting Bear. Photograph courtesy of the Sahnish Cultural Society, White Shield, ND and the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum.

FLOYD BEAR - NISHU (ARROW) 1874 - 1926

Floyd Bear was the son of Awahu Chief Sitting Bear and Black Calf Woman. He had one brother, six sisters, four half-sisters and three-half-brothers. His father Sitting Bear had been married four times.

Floyd Bear, during his term as chief, along with his cousin Burt Wright, wrote letters to Congressman L.B. Hanna and succeeded in securing army pensions for the last remaining nine Ree Scouts.

At the time of Chief Floyd Bear's death, the sub-chiefs considered his son Robert too young to serve as Head Chief. A meeting was held in August of 1926, at which time Harry Gillette was chosen to serve until such time as Robert Bear Sr. could take his rightful place as chief. (57)

HARRY GILLETTE - WHITE SHIELD II (NAT TASUUTAAKA) 1867-1947

Harry Gillette was born at Fort Berthold in 1867. His mother, Omaha Woman, was the daughter of Chief Son-of-the-Star and Red Eagle. He had four brothers and one sister. He was married to Anna Gillette and they had one son and three daughters. They also raised their grandson Evan Gillette. His great grandson, Austin Gillette, is currently serving on the tribal council. (58)

Harry Gillette and his cousin Floyd Bear were the last two Sahnish chiefs to deal with the U.S. Government before 1936, after which the Three Affiliated Tribes began electing council people. The role of the chiefs had been taken over by the government requiring an elected tribal council. The hereditary chiefs of the Sahnish are still recognized, but do not perform the duties of a traditional chief among the Sahnish people. Harry Gillette died at the age of 80 on March 6, 1947. (59)

White Shield II, Harry Gillette, grandson of Son-of-the-Star. Photo courtesy of the Sahnish Cultural Society, White Shield North Dakota, and the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

ROBERT BEAR, SR. - YELLOW TAIL (NEETAAN TAKA TA) 12-25-1901 - 2-6-1961

Robert Bear's parents were Floyd Bear, Sahnish and Rachel Wolf, Hidatsa. He had three brothers and two sisters. He was married to Dora Hopkins in 1925. They had seven sons and five daughters. He was a member of the "Dead Grass Society".

Robert became chief in 1947, following the death of his uncle, Harry Gillette. Robert's home was open to all visitors alike, no one was ever turned away. As is custom of the Sahnish Chiefs, no one ever left their home hungry or without money or a place to sleep. This tradition is still carried on by his children and grandchildren. (60)

ROBERT "BOBBY" BEAR, JR. - SWIFT HAWK 12-2-1936 -

Bobby was born on the Fort Berthold Reservation. His parents were Robert Bear Sr. and Dora Hopkins Bear. He has spent the majority of his life in the Six Mile Creek and White Shield communities.

Bobby Bear became Awahu Head Chief after his father was killed in a coal mining accident in 1961. Bobby is a direct descendant of Chief Son-of-the-Star.

Robert has a wide-range of knowledge of the Sahnish oral history, Grass dance songs, veteran songs, Old Scout songs and Ree hymns. He learned his tribal history from his father, and was tutored by his uncles Dan Howling Wolf, Dan Hopkins and Peter Beauchamp, Jr. and other Sahnish elders. He recently passed his ownership of a Dead Grass stick to a younger singer.

He was a bronco rider in his younger days, a career that ended when he suffered a broken hip and leg. (61)

Photograph of Robert Bear Jr., Swift Hawk, last hereditary chief of the Awahu Sahnish. Photograph courtesy of the Sahnish Cultural Society, White Shield, ND.

EAGLE FEATHER (ACITANEESHNU) - ANKEDOUCHARO

Acitaneeshnu was mistakenly called Ankedoucharo which was his title rather than his name. Eagle Feather was chief when Lewis and Clark took him to Washington, D.C. While there, the Sahnish Chief died. Officials gave no explanation as to how or why he died. Lewis and Clark, fearing the wrath of the Sahnish, did not tell of their chiefs' death until a year later. When the Sahnish found about his death, they became angry. The inexplicable death of their chief was the major reason for hostilities which resulted in the Battle of 1823 where the Sahnish took revenge on General Ashley and his men who were coming up the river from St. Louis. They killed several men, took goods and set the party's boats adrift in the river. The attack angered the military forces and they set out with soldiers, artillery, cannons and 800 or 900 Sioux for Leavenworth to "Teach the Arikara a lesson." (62) Leavenworth Journal).

CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL LEADERS THREE AFFILIATED TRIBES

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

Forms of Leadership
Ascendency
Role of Religion in Leadership
Hereditary Leadership
Styles of Leadership

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How were leaders chosen in historic times?

2. How are leaders selected in contemporary times?

3. Compare and contrast contemporary leadership.

4. What benefits were derived from traditional forms of leadership?

5. Many native cultures believe that it is critical for their survival to maintain traditional forms of leadership:
   What elements are important?
   And, how do they benefit the people?

CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL LEADERS - THREE AFFILIATED TRIBES

Following the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of the 1934, the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara adopted a constitution on May 15, 1936. Under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), the Tribes adopted a form of the American political governance structure. This form of government, however, was not new to the Three Affiliated Tribes. While the new constitution provided for a tribal council to replace the old business committee, the tribes had been operating under a representative form of government established in 1910. Prior to 1910, each village had individual leaders whether born into a leadership position or not. Voting was by consensus originating from each village. With the governance structure established in 1910, individuals were selected to represent each tribe and not village.

The old business committee had consisted of equal representation from each tribe, two members each from Shell Creek and Nishu (formerly called Armstrong) and one each from Santee (Lucky Mound), Ree (Beaver Creek), Independence, Elbowwoods, Little Missouri, and Red Butte. The new council was essentially the same. However, prominence was afforded leaders on the business council who carried out the operations of the Three Tribes.

The following list is a compilation of the leaders of the tribal business council beginning with the Three Tribes adoption of the Indian Reorganization Act constitution in 1934. Many leaders of the tribe exist, who are not recognized as public officials (e.g. society members, medicine people, sacred bundle carriers, skilled artisans, and tellers of sacred stories) and have not been listed. However, it is important to understand that these individuals remain highly valued leaders and protectors of the tribe. These individuals, in some cases, direct the actions of tribal business leaders.

FORT BERTHOLD TRIBAL CHAIRPERSONS IN ORDER OF SERVICE*

CHAIRMAN	BORN	DIED	SERVED
Arthur Mandan	1882	03/22/1955	Sept. 1936 - Aug. 1938
Martin Levings	10/14/1892	10/26/1974	Sept. 1938 - Aug. 1940
Albert Simpson	1882	05/11/1957	Sept. 1940 - Aug. 1942
Peter Beauchamp	06/15/1877	08/07/1960	Sept. 1942 - Aug. 1944
Martin Cross	05/08/1906	04/04/1964	Sept. 1944 - Aug. 1946
George Gillette	11/03/1902	10/04/1985	Sept. 1946 - Aug. 1948
Carl Whitman	03/06/1913	01/19/1995	Sept. 1948 - Aug. 1950
Martin Cross	05/08/1906	04/07/1964	Sept. 1950 - Aug. 1952
Martin Cross	05/08/1906	04/04/1964	Sept. 1952 - Aug. 1954
Martin Cross	05/08/1906	04/04/1964	Sept. 1954 - Aug. 1956
Carl Whitman	03/06/1913	01/19/1995	Nov. 1956 - Aug. 1958
James Hall	06/24/1894	10/17/1977	Sept. 1958 - Aug. 1960
Robert Fox	01/05/1915	02/10/1982	Sept. 1960 - Aug. 1962
Carl Whitman	03/06/1913	01/19/1995	Sept. 1962 - Aug. 1964
Robert Fox	01/05/1915	02/10/1982	Sept. 1964 - Aug. 1966
August Little Soldier	08/15/1914	Present	Sept. 1966 - Aug. 1968
Vincent Malnourie	03/21/1910	02/17/1979	Sept. 1968 - Aug. 1970
Ralph Wells Jr.	08/15/1908	02/02/1971	Sept. 1970 - Dec. 1971
Nathan Little Soldier	04/22/1918	04/19/1980	Sept. 1971 - Aug. 197
Rose Crow Flies High	02/22/1918	01/09/1994	Sept. 1972 - Oct. 1972
Vincent Malnourie	03/21/1910	02/17/1979	Oct. 1972 - Nov. 1974
Rose Crow Flies High	02/22/1918	01/09/1994	Oct. 1974 - Oct. 1978
Austin Gillette	09/20/1946	Present	Nov. 1978 - Oct. 1982
Alyce Spotted Bear	12/17/1945	Present	Oct. 1982 - Apr. 1986
Edward Lone Fight	05/28/1939	Present	April 1986 - Nov. 1990
Wilbur Wilkinson	10/12/1948	Present	Oct. 1990 - Nov. 1994
Russell Mason	03/23/1936	Present	Oct. 1994 - Nov. 1998
Tex Hall	09/19/1956	Present	Nov. 1998 -

ARTHUR MANDAN - MANDAN/HIDATSA

Sept. 1936 - Aug. 1938

Arthur Mandan. Photograph courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, New Town, ND.

Arthur Mandan, Woman Spirit, was born in 1882 to Calf Woman and Howard Mandan Sr., Scarred Face, who was one of the first Mandans to go to an Indian boarding school in Santee, Nebraska. As a young man, he attended school at Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania where he was a member of the school band, a skill he continued throughout his adult life. He returned to Fort Berthold Reservation in 1908. Hereditary chief of the Mandan, He was the first tribal chairman of the Three Affiliated Tribes to serve (September 1936 to August 1938), after the Three Tribes accepted the Indian Reorganization Act. He represented the district of Independence.

A civic-minded man, Arthur Mandan was a liaison and interpreter for early ethnographers such as Beckwith and Bowers. In addition, he was a musician in Washburn, North Dakota for a number of years and was in a band that played at many reservation functions. He also drafted the bylaws and constitution for the Three Tribes, establishing credit programs, and negotiating claim and dust bowl recovery programs. He spoke fluent Mandan, Hidatsa and English and served as interpreter for many years. He was prominent among Catholic parishioners on the Fort Berthold Reservation, interpreting sermons and speeches into Hidatsa and Mandan and translating Catholic hymns into the Hidatsa language. He was the first Indian teacher in Washburn, ND. He taught music. He was appointed as a tribal judge, and was well known as an announcer at many public functions. He announced at the last celebration at Elbowoods before the flooding of the bottomlands for the Garrison Dam.

In January of 1938, he accompanied and interpreted for Drags Wolf and Foolish Bear when they went to New York City to the Heye Museum to recover and return the sacred bundle of the Waterbuster Clan to the Hidatsa. On their return, they met with President Roosevelt in Washington, D.C. ("Indian Tribes," 1853).

He married Anna Young Bird in 1913, and they ranched at Independence. They also had a home at Lucky Mound where their children attended school. They moved to Mandaree in 1953. ("Anna Mandan" 1983). He died in March of 1955 at the age of 73. ("Mandan 73," 1955).

Martin Levings, photograph courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, New Town, ND.

MARTIN LEVINGS - HIDATSA

Sept 1938 - Aug. 1940

Martin Levings, Ah-pa-hi-si-pi-sas "Black Cloud" was born to Hard Horn and Looking for Medicine on Oct. 14, 1892. He was a member of the Knife Clan. He and his wife Ruth adopted two children and ranched in the western part of the reservation.

He joined the Army in 1918, was injured in Europe, and was discharged in 1919. He moved to Wibaux and Livingston, Montana. He married Vincentia Ring and for a number of years was a rancher and farmer in the Shell Creek area. ("Martin Levings", 1974).

After the death of his wife, he moved back to the reservation. Martin Levings represented the community of Independence on the Tribal Business Council and served as Chairman from 1938 to 1940. He moved to New Town in 1960 and for several years he was an active member and commander American Legion Post No. 300 of the Little Shell District, and a member of the Mandaree VFW. He died October 27, 1974, at the age of 82. ("Legion Post", 1962).

ALBERT H. SIMPSON - SAHNISH 1940 - 1942

Albert Simpson was born in 1888. Albert's father, White Breast, whose Indian name was Sayedda and his uncle Thomas H. Suckley or Kawhat, whose Indian name was Bow Legs, were two of the first nine Fort Berthold students to attend Hampton Institute. Albert's stepfathers' name was George Wilde. Simpson attended the government boarding school at Fort Stevenson for five years and Fort Berthold for two years. He was sent to Hampton in 1898 and left in 1901. He graduated from Carlisle School in 1907. He enrolled in the business department at Haskell Institute, Kansas from 1907 to 1909. In 1911 he was appointed postmaster at Elbowoods, North Dakota and in 1914 was blacksmith in the Elbowoods area. (Hultgren, 1994). Albert Simpson served on the tribal business committee from 1940 to 1942.

Peter Beauchamp Jr. - photograph courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, New Town, ND.

PETER BEAUCHAMP JR. - SAHNISH Sept. 1942 - 1944

Peter H. Beauchamp II was born on June 15, 1877, on the Fort Berthold Reservation. His Sahnish name was Big Rock. His father was Peter Beauchamp Sr., and his mother was Woman Goes Out. He married Adeline Z. Powell, a missionary with the Congregational Church., and was hired by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a school teacher at Shell Creek. He was an interpreter and recordkeeper for the tribes. He was instrumental in establishing the reservation educational system, sports programs and implementing the allotment program. He served as a teacher and farm boss. Fluent in the Sahnish language, Mandan, Hidatsa and English, Beauchamp often served as an official interpreter on behalf of the tribes, traveling to Washington, D.C. on numerous occasions. In those days, funds had to be raised from community resources. He was an interpreter for Melvin Gilmore on the Arikara Genesis. He maintained a detailed diary of his business and accounted for his expenditures and his time. (Case, 1977, p. 47). He helped develop several Fort Berthold land claims.

He was a leader of the tribal business council for many years serving as chairman from 1942 to 1944. Under his leadership, the tribe secured pensions for 148 young Sahnish men, who were scouts and dispatchers for the U.S. Government. He organized the Old Scouts Society, and provided for the designation of the Old Scouts Cemetery at Like-a-Fish-Hook Village.

In later years, he was a road foreman for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and court judge for the U.S. Indian Service. He was a rancher, farmer, and superintendent of the Sahnish Congregational Sunday school at White Shield. He died August 27, 1960. ("Beauchamp", 1960).

MARTIN CROSS - MANDAN AND HIDATSA

Sept. 1944 - Aug. 1946
Sept. 1950 - Aug. 1952
Sept. 1952 - Nov. 1956*

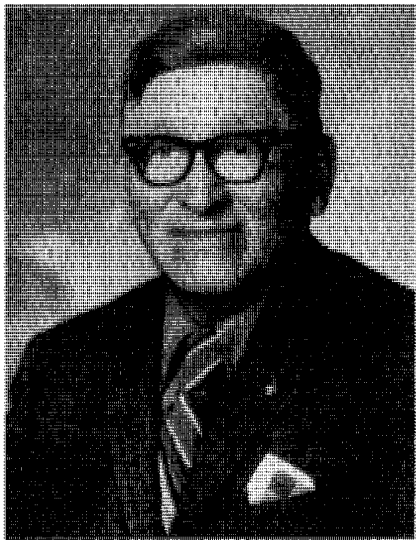
Martin Thomas Old Dog, Sr., was born on May 8, 1906. His father was Chief Old Dog and his mother was Many Dances. He and his wife raised six sons and four daughters. He attended school at Flandreau Indian School in South Dakota and Wahpeton Indian School in North Dakota. (Bureau of Indian Affairs, Enrollment Records). He was a fluent speaker of Hidatsa and Mandan.

In 1942 he changed the family name from Old Dog to Cross. He was commander of the Joseph Young Hawk Post at Elbowoods. He served his first term from 1944 - 1946 representing the district of Elbowoods. He served two additional terms, from 1950 - 1952. During his third term in office, 1952 - 1954, the constitution of the tribe had to be changed before the 1954 election. The Bureau of Indian Affairs conducted the election. Not enough people turned out for the election, so the elected tribal council stayed on for the four years during the transition.

Photograph of Martin Cross, courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum. Printed with the permission of Elite Studio,

He was founder of the North Dakota Council of Indian Tribes serving as its president in the early 1950's. ("Cross", 1954). He was among the original founders of the National Congress of American Indians and served as their vice president in 1953. He was re-elected to the Executive Council of NCAI in 1954. ("Indian Congress", 1954).

He was actively involved in efforts to halt the construction of the Garrison Dam. His administration saw the distribution of the final payment of remaining funds due the Three Affiliated Tribes from their settlement with the government for losses sustained by construction of the Garrison Dam. He was also closely involved with reorganizing the tribe after the construction of the Dam. He opposed the termination movement in the mid-1950s. He died on April 7, 1964. (Martin Cross", 1964).



Photograph of George Gillette, courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum. Printed with permission of Elite Studio, Minot, ND.

GEORGE GILLETTE - SAHNISH Sept. 1946 - Aug. 1948

George Gillette was born October 29, 1902, on the Fort Berthold Reservation. He attended Bismarck Indian School, Flandreau Indian School in South Dakota and Haskell Institute, in Lawrence, Kansas. He studied carpentry at Haskell Institute, graduating with the class of 1926. He married Evelyn Wilkinson in 1930 and lived at Beaver Creek where he farmed and ranched. They raised two sons and seven daughters.

Gillette was elected in 1946 representing the Beaver Creek district. He served as chairman during the critical period when the Three Affiliated Tribes negotiated with the U. S. Corps of Engineers over the Garrison Dam. ("Gillette recalls", 1973). During his career, he worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, was a lay minister for the United Church of Christ, was a member of the North Dakota National Guard and the Dead Grass Dance Society. He was tribal judge for eight years from 1974 to 1982. He died on Oct. 3, 1985 at the age of 82. ("George Gillette", 1985).

CARL WHITMAN JR. - MANDAN/ HIDATSA

Sept. 1948 - Aug. 1950
Nov. 1956 - Aug. 1958
Sept. 1962 - Aug. 1964

Photograph of Carl Whitman Jr., Mandan-Hidatsa, courtesy of the Carl Whitman Family.

Carl Whitman Jr. was born near Elbowoods on March 6, 1913 and was reared by his grandparents. At an early age he was sent to a government boarding school. After completing his elementary years, he attended the State School of Science at Wahpeton, North Dakota where he obtained a degree in Business Administration. He returned to Fort Berthold where he raised cattle and ranched. He participated in rodeos near Lucky Mound. He worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Elbowoods for years. He married Edith Lykken and had six children.

In 1948, at the age of 35, he was elected chairman of the Three Affiliated Tribes representing the Lucky Mound district. He served from 1948 to 1950. From 1950 to 1956, he served on the Tribal Business Council. In 1956, was re-elected as tribal chairperson. In 1962, he ran again and was elected for a third term.

While chairperson, he also served as president of the National Congress of American Indians, advisory board member of the Greater North Dakota Association, the North Dakota Economic Development Commission, the North Dakota Governor's Manpower Commission, the Advisory Committee of the North Dakota Stockman's Association and as a three-term president of the Greater Lake Sakakawea Association. ("Whitman to", 1963). He was involved in the formation of United Tribes Development Corporation, and served as its' secretary and executive director.

Upon leaving tribal government, he worked as a teacher at Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, and field coordinator for its Vista Program. In 1981, he retired from public life and pursued a path of spiritual renewal. In his role as a tribal spiritual leader he participated at sun dances and attempted to revive the Mandan Okipa Ceremony. He spoke Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish. (Salter, "Fort Berthold loses", 1995).

He was an inventor and talented musician. An eloquent spokesperson for his people, Whitman died January 19, 1995.

Photograph of James Hall, courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum. Printed with permission of Elite Studios, Minot, ND.

JAMES HALL - HIDATSA (Iron Bear - Nagh Bitsi Usahas)

Sept. 1958 - Aug. 1960

James Hall was born June 24, 1895, to Edward S. Hall and Celeste Malnourie in the trading post they owned and operated at White Earth. He married Sarah Adelia Fredricks, Jan. 6, 1916. They farmed and ranched along the Little Missouri River, where they raised a family of five sons, four daughters and two adopted grandchildren. In 1951, they moved to Mandaree, N.D. ("James Hall Sr.", 1977).

James Hall served 10 years as a councilman beginning in 1946 representing the West Segment on the Tribal Business Council. He became chairman in September of 1958 and served until August of 1960. He traveled often to Washington, D.C. to negotiate terms concerning the construction of Garrison Dam. ("Tribes", 1958). He also was an original member of the Tribal Housing Authority Board. A quiet man, he died in 1977.

Photograph of Reverend Robert Fox, courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum. Printed with permission of D'Joyce Studio, Bismarck, ND.

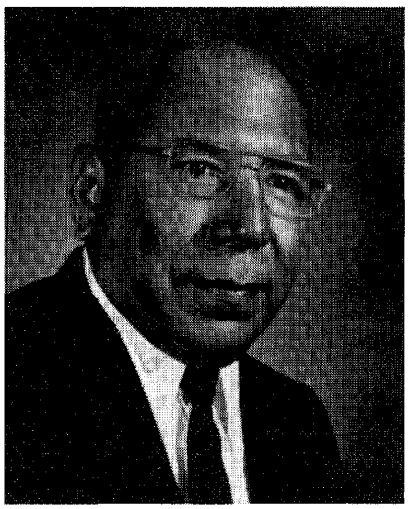
ROBERT FOX - (ROAMING WOLF) SAHNISH

September 1960 - August 1962
September 1964 - August 1966

Robert L. Fox was born on January 5, 1915 at Nishu, N.D., the son of Fred and Hannah Wash Fox, "Choke Cherry Woman." He attended school in Pierre, South Dakota; and Santee Normal School in Santee, Nebraska. He also attended Cook Christian Training School, Phoenix, Arizona, and the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque. He married Naomi Johnson, April 8, 1936, at Center, Nebraska. He raised a family of two boys and four girls.

For 32 years, he served as pastor of Congregational churches on the Fort Berthold Reservation. He was director of the Council of American Indian Ministries of the United Church of Christ for seven years. During this time, he became involved in tribal council activities, serving four terms on the tribal business council and two terms as tribal chair. He represented the East Segment. ("Robert Fox", 1960).

He served on the North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission, White Shield School Board for 21 years, and eight terms on the United Tribes Technical College Board of Directors (then United Tribes Employment Center Board) in Bismarck, North Dakota. He was also the first tribal chairperson to serve on the Governor's envoy to the Conference on Indian Affairs for the United States and Canada. He retired in 1976 and died in February of 1982. ("Reverend Robert Fox", 1982).



Photograph of August Little Soldier, courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum. Printed with permission of Faye Studio, Garrison, ND.

AUGUST LITTLE SOLDIER - SAHNISH/MANDAN

Sept. 1966 - Aug. 1968 August

Little Soldiers father was Clarence Little Soldier and his mother's name was Wilena Young Bear. ("Wllena Little Soldier", 1984). August Little Soldier was elected to the tribal business council in 1966. He represented the district of Beaver Creek. While in office Little Soldier was an advocate for creating a strong economic infrastructure for the tribes. His administration secured tribal homes and supported the need for reservation access roads, ("Indians", 1967). He worked toward the creation of Four Bears Park ("Fort Berthold", 1968) and initiated many human resources development projects. ("Indians", 1968). He was one of the founding members of United Tribes Educational Technical Center (now United Tribes Technical College). He was actively involved in negotiations with the four-company consortium constructing the Great Plains Coal Gasification Plant. He served on a committee studying the social and economic impact of the plant and was instrumental in securing a commitment to hire American Indians. ("Citizens", 1981). In 1966 he was appointed to the National Indian Education Advisory Board and served through 1971. He also served as chairman of the Council of American

Indian Ministries (1962-1970), and was a board member of the United Church of Christ, a position he held for ten years. He was the first American Indian elected to such a high post in any American church. ("Indian Head", 1971).

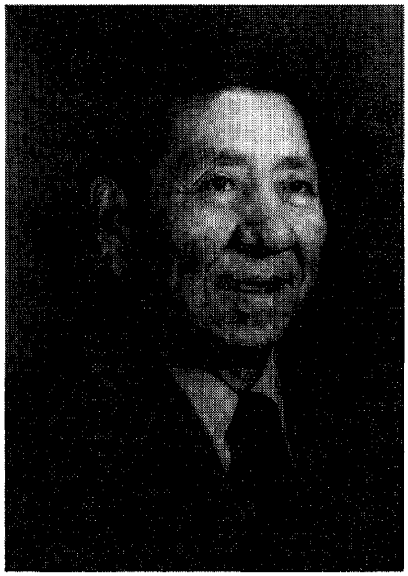
In 1978, August Little Soldier was elected as vice-chair of the council and served in that position from 1978 to 1981. Upon leaving office, he was instrumental in establishing the first All American Indian Rodeo Association.

Today, he is sought after and recognized as an authority on the Knife River villages. He is one of the last keepers of one of the Dead Grass Society whistles.

VINCENT MALNOURIE - (TEEHUUNNIINAX· - LEADER) SAHNISH

Sept. 1968 - Aug. 1970
Oct. 1972 - Aug. 1974

Vincent Malnourie was born on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation on March 21, 1910. His parents were Charles and Daisy Little Sioux-Duckett Malnourie. He graduated from high school at the Sherman Institute, Riverside California in 1932. He was married, and served in the United States Navy during World War II. He worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs for 30 years and retired in 1968. Vincent was active in Fort Berthold tribal affairs and upon his retirement was elected tribal chairman of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation and served two terms.

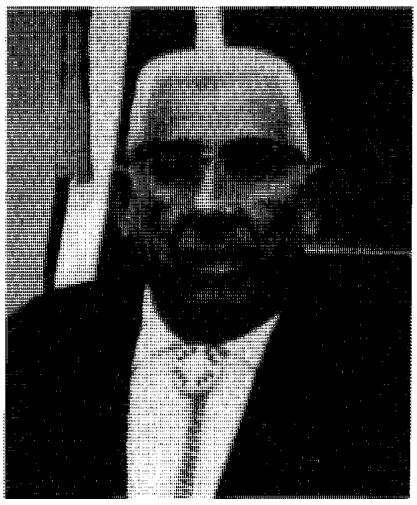


Photograph of Vincent Malnouri, courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum. Printed with permission of Faye Studio, Garrison, ND.

As chairman, he negotiated on behalf of the tribe on the proposed terms of settlement of several of the Three Affiliated Tribes claims pending before the Indian Claims Commission. His administration initiated the construction of the Mandaree community hall, utility building at Dragswolf Village, and construction of Phases I of the Four Bears Park. In 1973 he supported the legislation establishing a historic site out of the Knife River Indian villages near Stanton, ND. (Delegation to Give Support for Knife River Legislation).

He also worked for several years in a reservation alcohol program. He was a member of the Sahnish Traditional Dead Grass Society and held one of the singing sticks for the society. Another Sahnish Indian society that Vincent worked hard to revive was the Old Scout Society. This society actively honors the deceased Sahnish Indian scouts on Memorial Day in the community of White Shield, North Dakota, "Home of the Sahnish Tribe."

Vincent was an accomplished well known Sahnish Indian singer and grass dancer and was noted for his ability to lead in cultural events and activities. He worked hard to revive and retain the Sahnish culture for his people which he felt was fast disappearing with each new generation. He died in February of 1979.



Photograph of Ralph Wells, Jr., courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, New Town, ND.

RALPH WELLS, JR. - (NAHAA NAE - GOOD DISH) SAHNISH

Sept. 1970 - February. 1971.

Ralph Wells Jr. was born August 15, 1908 at Elbowoods, North Dakota, the son of Polly Plenty Fox and Ralph Wells Sr. He grew up at Lucky Mound and was educated at the Congregational Mission in Elbowoods. He attended school at Santee, Nebraska and Flandreau, South Dakota. He married Olive Sherwood in 1926, and they farmed and ranched at Lucky Mound prior to his becoming active in reservation politics. They raised five sons and two daughters.

Ralph Wells served five terms on the Tribal Business Council, serving as treasurer, secretary, and tribal chairperson. He was well-respected, strong supporter of education and was an active community leader.

He was also an outstanding singer and speaker. He composed Sahnish songs that are still sung at celebrations today. He died while in office at the age of 62. He was well respected for his work in preserving the heritage and culture of his people. (Case, 1977).

Photograph of Nathan Little Soldier, courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, New Town, ND.

NATHAN LITTLE SOLDIER — SAHNISH April 1971 - Aug. 1972

Nathan Little Soldier was born April 2, 1919, at Beaver Creek. His mother's name was Willena Young Bear and his fathers name was Clarence Little Soldier. He attended schools at Wahpeton, North Dakota; Pierre, South Dakota; Santee, Nebraska and Elbowoods, North Dakota. He was married to Rosella Hall on October 16, 1938. They raised three sons Dale, Shote and Arby. He served in the Army in Europe during World War II. Following his discharge, he farmed and ranched at Beaver Creek. ("Nathan Little Soldier", 1980).

He was elected to the tribal council in September of 1971 representing the Southern Segment. He filled the vacant seat of Ralph Wells Jr. He served as chairperson until August of 1972. He also served on the council for a number of years, representing the Twin Buttes community and served on numerous committees. He was particularly opposed to destruction of the land by strip mining interests. ("Selection is planned", 1971). He was prominent in North Dakota rodeos, participating as a calf-roper. He died in August of 1980 at the age of 61.

ROSE CROW FLIES HIGH - HIDATSA (EDA-AWA-GE'DAH (BACK TO EARTH) MIA-EDUGAAH (WOMAN ABOUT EVERYTHING)

Sept. 1972 - Oct. 1973
Oct. 1974 - Nov. 1978

Photograph of Rose Crow Flies High, photograph courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, New Town, ND.

Rose Parshall was born on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation to George and Ruby Parshall. She married George Crow Flies High, a son of Chief Drags Wolf in 1930. They raised a family of ten children, eight daughters and two sons.

In 1968, she was elected to the tribal business council for the West Segment. She became the first woman elected by popular vote to the Three Affiliated Tribes tribal government, and the first woman to serve as chairperson. She was elected chairperson of the tribe in September of 1972 and served two months. However, the election was overturned in an election dispute. ("Tribal Election", 1974). She was later elected and served as chair from 1974 to 1978. In addition to her council duties, she worked as a social worker.

She was a strong advocate of the needs of the people. She supported the housing program at Ft. Berthold, and was instrumental in the construction of the Minne Tohe Health Center on the reservation. She helped plan and participated in the Poor Peoples' March on Washington, D.C. in May of 1968. ("Indian Leaders", 1976). She served on many boards including the American Indian Travel Commission, the United Tribes Board of Directors, the Four State Health Board, and Plainswoman, a monthly newsletter headquartered in Grand Forks, ND. ("Publication", 1977). Rose Crow Flies High died in January of 1994. ("Rose", 1994).

Photograph of Austin Gillette, printed with permission from the Minot Daily News, Minot, ND.

AUSTIN GILLETTE - SAHNISH/HIDATSA 1978 - 1982

Austin Gillette was born in Minot, ND on September 20, 1946. His name is "Tsu Daga" (White Shield III). His parents are Evan and Evadne Baker Gillette. In 1952, he attended first grade in Elbowoods, ND, and graduated from Immaculate Conception High School in Stephan, South Dakota in 1964. He joined the United States Marine Corps in 1966.

He received a Bachelor of Arts Degree from Minot State College in 1972 and a Masters' Degree in counseling and guidance from the University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, in 1974. Gillette was the first college graduate to serve on the tribal council and the youngest person elected tribal chairperson, when he was elected in 1978 at the age of 32. He is currently the longest serving member (20 years) of the tribal council.

During his tenure as chair and councilman, he was involved in establishing Fort Berthold Community College, and wrote judgment plans for claims against the federal government that

provided for permanent funding to the tribe. These funds provide an appropriation of approximately $800,000 for education, economic development, land purchases and the tribe's burial fund. ("Charting", 1981). He was responsible for performing land appraisals on tribal allotted land on the reservation versus non-Indian lands on/off the reservation. These findings were used to substantiate JTAC legislation.

He established permanent funding of nurse practitioners for the White Shield and Mandaree districts in 1982. His administration coordinated and secured matching funding for the tribes' Cattle Re-lending Program, construction funds for Ft. Berthold Community College, community buildings in Twin Buttes, Parshall, and the North segment; purchase of the LCM Lumber Company, and matching funds to establish Mandaree Electronics. (A. Gillette, personal communication, August, 1998). Under his leadership, in 1982, he initiated minerals' restoration, a loss resulting from the construction of the Garrison Dam. His administration was also responsible for securing management of the tribes' natural resources.

He is active in the Young Hawk Bear American Legion Post 253. He has served as the post's Commander. He represents the Eastern Segment on the tribal council.

ALYCE SPOTTED BEAR - MANDAN 1982 - 1986

Photograph of Alyce Spotted Bear, printed with permission of Mahar Photography, Williston, ND, 1997.

Alyce Spotted Bear, in 1982, became the second woman to be elected to the business council of the Three Affiliated Tribes. She completed her elementary and high school education at Stephan Indian Mission School in South Dakota. She earned a Bachelors of Science in Education at Dickinson State College and a Masters of Education from Pennsylvania State University, College Park, PA. Returning home, she worked in education for the tribe and was the tribe's personnel administrator.

At the age of 37 she became chairwoman, and led tribal governmental reform through a constitutional revision that reasserted the tribal business council's authority to exercise jurisdiction over the reservation and its people. ("Tribal Votes", 1985).

During her administration, tribal scholarship monies were made available to students attending the Fort Berthold Community College. Her administration initiated the move for just-compensation for lands that the Three Affiliated Tribes lost to construction of the Garrison Dam, ultimately resulting in the tribes being congressionally awarded compensation of $149.2 million. ("Ex-Tribal", 1992). Spotted Bear's administration spearheaded the passage of the Mineral Restoration Act, by which Congress returned to the tribe minerals taken from them when tribal lands were flooded under the 1944 Flood Control Act.

Alice Spotted Bear bio continued

During her term, the Three Affiliated Tribes became one of the leading tribes in the nation in the area of environmental concerns. The tribe monitored its ground water, air quality, and began a reservation-wide, solid waste removal program. The tribe also developed a municipal, rural, and industrial water (MR&I) system plan for which they ultimately received funding. (The tribe received favorable rulings in two United States Supreme Court cases).

Her administration also saw the initiation of the Buffalo Project, which today comprises a herd of nearly 400 bison. Spotted Bear was a visiting scholar-in-residence at Dartmouth College and is completing a dissertation for a doctoral degree, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. (A. Spotted Bear, personal communication, June 1997).

Photograph of Edward Lone Fight, courtesy of Native American Public Broadcasting Corporation, Lincoln, NEB.

EDWARD LONE FIGHT - HIDATSA/MANDAN/ARIKARA "SAKAKA SAKE" GOOD BIRD 1986 - 1990

Edward Lone Fight was born on May 28, 1939 to Maybelle Good Bird and Theodore Lone Fight. Theodore Lone Fight is a descendant of the Four Bear (Mandan). His paternal grandmother is Mary Young Bird Lone Fight. He is the grandson of Edward Good Bird and is a great grandson of Buffalo Bird Woman.

Ed. graduated from Mandaree High School as Salutatorian in 1959. He attended Dickinson State College and graduated with a Bachelors of Science with a double major in science and physical education. He was admitted to the Dickinson State Athletic Hall of Fame in 1989. He received a Masters Degrees in Education from Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona and a Masters in Public Administration from Portland State University, Portland, Oregon.

His career with the Bureau of Indian Affairs extends over twenty years. During his years with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, he served in various capacities in Fort Yates, North Dakota; Phoenix, Arizona; Salem, Oregon; Anadarko, Oklahoma and Washington, D.C. He was appointed by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior to serve on a national Indian School Equalization Fund Task Force, the purpose of which was to devise an equitable funding formula for all BIA funded schools nation-wide.

In 1986, he was elected chairperson of the Three Affiliated Tribes. Accomplishments of his administration include repatriation, establishment of tribal services including the funding of a dialysis center, diabetes program, solid waste disposal system for the reservation, funding for the creation of Mandaree Electronics, and LCM (Lumber, Construction, and Manufacturing) Co. It was under his administration that final negotiations were concluded and the Just Compensation Bill was introduced based on the findings of the Joint Tribal Advisory Committee (JTAC) for lands taken under the Garrison Diversion Project. From 1994 - 1998 he served as tribal programs manager for the Three Affiliated Tribes. He retired as Superintendent at Mandaree School, Mandaree, ND in the spring of 2000. He is currently living in Billings, Montana.

WILBUR WILKINSON - SAHNISH/HIDATSA Oct. 1990 - 1994

Wilbur Wilkinson was born on October 12, 1948 to Ernest and Molly Wolf Wilkinson. He is a descendant of Spotted Tail and Wolf Lies Down. His fraternal grandfather was Mahlon Wilkinson, the first permanent Indian agent at Fort Berthold. He is a member of the Flint Knife Clan, three Clans, and four Clans.

He attended Haskell Junior College (now Haskell Indian Nations University); Northeastern University at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, and the University of Oklahoma, Norman. He was employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs at New Town, North Dakota as credit officer; contract specialist at Sisseton, and administrative officer and superintendent at the Crow Creek Reservation, South Dakota. He was also administrative manager of the Tohono Oo'dham Nation at Sells, superintendent at Tuba City and assistant area director of Window Rock Agency, Window Rock, all in Arizona.

He was elected to the Tribal Business Council in 1990 and served as chairman of the tribe through 1994.

Photograph of Wilbur Wilkinson, by Jeff Olson, Photographer, courtesy of the Bismarck Tribune, Bismarck, ND, 1993.

RUSSELL "BUDDY" MASON - HIDATSA/MANDAN/SAHNISH

1994 - 1998

Photograph of Russell Mason, printed with the permission of D'Joyce Studio, Bismarck, ND, 1997.

Buddy Mason was born in Elbowoods in 1936, the son of Cecelia Mason Brown and Victor Mason. He was given the name of "Buffalo Boy" by his grandfather, William Deane. He attended Elbowoods elementary and high school and graduated from New Town High School, New Town, ND.

Russell Mason joined the Armed Services in 1955, and was honorably discharged in 1959. He became involved in alcoholism treatment and prevention initiatives with Native Americans while attending the University of Iowa and Black Hills State College. He became the first Native American formally trained and certified in the field of alcohol and drug abuse.

In the 1970, under the aegis of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, he developed a national alcoholism awareness initiative, the intent of which was the development of drug and alcohol abuse and prevention programs for tribes and tribal entities. He served as the inter-agency liaison for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on alcohol and drug abuse issues.

In 1978, he was appointed by the Director of Indian Health Services to develop and direct the Indian Health Services National Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Programs. During his tenure, he worked with Congress on the development of major legislation relating to national and state Indian alcohol abuse initiatives. He received several awards from the Department of Health and Human Services for exceptional performance for his contributions to the alcohol and drug abuse prevention field.

He returned to the Ft. Berthold Reservation in 1992. Encourage to seek office, he was elected to the Tribal Business Council in 1994 representing the New Town District. He served as tribal chairman on a platform to reestablish credibility in tribal government and to recreate a government that was more effective, accountable, and acceptable by the enrolled members of the Three Affiliated Tribes, a philosophy, he believed, could be translated into improved services for the tribe. During his administration, he returned financial stability to tribal government and instituted fiscally sound accountability measures within tribal government.

His extra-leadership activities included serving as vice-president of the National Congress of American Indians, chairman of the Aberdeen Area Tribal Chairman's Health Board, and chairman of the United Tribes Board of Directors. Russell Mason (personal communication, September 1995 and November 1998).

A fitness advocate, he currently is a consultant for several organizations, including United Tribes Technical College.

Photograph of Tex G. Hall, courtesy of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Tribal Administration, New Town, N.D., 2001.

TEX G. HALL "RED TIP ARROW" (IHBUDAH HISHI)

November 4, 1998 - present
Enrolled member of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nation

Tex G. Hall was born September 18, 1956 to Leland and Audrey Rabbithead Hall. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Mary, Bismarck, North Dakota and a Masters in Education from the University of South Dakota, Vermillion and has completed 80 hours of work toward a Doctorate from the University of South Dakota, Vermillion.

He continues his family's tradition of cattle and buffalo ranching in the Mandaree district of the Fort Berthold reservation. Before entering politics, he served as principal and superintendent, 1985 - 1996, of the Mandaree School. In 1995 he was awarded the North Dakota Indian Educator of the Year, by the North Dakota Indian Education Association.

In 1996 Hall was elected to the Tribal Business Council as the Mandaree Segment Representative and served in that position from 1996 - 1998. In 1998, he was elected

chairman of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nation in a precedent setting election. His elevation from council representative to chairman was historic. This was the first time in the history of the tribe that a sitting council representative was elected to the chairmanship.

He was elected president of the National Congress of American Indians, the oldest and largest advocacy group for American Indians, in November 2001. He is the first person from North Dakota elected to this office.

He was unanimously elected to two terms (1998 - 2002) as chairman of the Great Plains Regions Tribal Chairman's Association (a 16 member tribal organization composed of the elected chairs and presidents of the tribes in the Great Plains region).

On May 12, 1999, as Chairman of the Great Plains Region Tribal Chairman's Association, he chaired a meeting on Indian Treaty issues between President Clinton and the Great Plains Tribes at the White House. At that meeting he presented President Clinton with a historic proclamation, signed by twelve tribal leaders, supporting the president's stand against ethnic cleansing in Kosovo that brought tears to the President's eyes and was widely reported in the presidents speeches for months afterward.

In March 2001, he co-chaired the Indigenous Summit of the Americas in Ottawa, Canada. He holds offices and serves on numerous boards: currently he serves as chairman of the Native American Bancorporation, a company that he was instrumental in establishing; chairman of the Twin Buttes Custom Homes. He served as co-chair of the National Tribal Leaders Land into Trust Tribal Task Force and co-chair of the National Tribal BIA Budget Task Force that created a Special Funding initiative for Indian tribes of $7.4 billion for the 2001 budget; he served as secretary/treasurer of the Board of Directors, United Tribes Technical College; member of the Aberdeen Area Tribal Chairman's Health Board. He served as a delegate and assisted in the development of the budget for the Indian Health Care Improvement Act. He currently serves on the board of the National Indian Child Welfare Association; he was the only leader from the Great Plains Region to be nominated and selected to serve on this board. Chairman Hall is a former educator and a strong advocate for, The Act To Leave No Child Behind legislation that "provides a solid action agenda to deliver children from poverty, violence, abuse, neglect, and poor education."

He initiated Keepseagle v. Veneman, the Native American farmers and rancher's discrimination lawsuit against the USDA/ FSA; he lobbied tirelessly and was successful in obtaining $43 million in funding to replace the obsolete 4-Bears Bridge. He was instrumental in returning 15 million acres of land that lies adjacent to the reservation boundaries to the tribes and continues to work toward bringing economic development projects to the homelands of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara people. He was an early advocate and major supporter of the tribal elders as they organized into the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Elders Organization. In April 1999 he was inducted into the North Dakota Sports College Hall of Fame.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

Sovereignty
Gaming
Economic Survival

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What are the responsibilities of Governments?

2. What are the additional responsibilities of tribal governments?

3. What are the positive and negtive impacts of tribal gaming?

4. Why is it important for the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish to maintain their culture and language?

5. Why is education an important part of economic survival?

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

GOVERNANCE
- TRIBAL COURTS
- JURISDICTION
- TRANSPORTATION
- WATER USE

SOCIAL ISSUES
- EMPLOYMENT
- HEALTH CARE
- EDUCATION

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
- OIL AND GAS EXPLORATION
- ENERGY DEVELOPMENT
- GAMING

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

SOVEREIGNTY: WHAT IS TRIBAL SOVEREIGNTY?

The United States Supreme Court in a case called *Worcester* (pronounced "wooster") *v. Georgia,* 315 U. S. (1832), handed down a landmark decision that established the sovereign status of Indian tribes. That decision continues to be followed to this day as the legal foundation for tribal sovereignty. In *Worcester* (and in later cased consistent with that case) the nature and parameters of tribal sovereignty have been described to include the following attributes:

1. Indian tribes were sovereign before the coming of European powers.

2. An Indian tribe before "discovery" by European powers, possessed all the powers that can be possessed by a state. After discovery tribes retained sovereignty which continues to this day. However, the original tribal powers, as explained below, have been diminished.

3. The sovereignty of Indian tribes is "inherent." That is, it is not granted by the United States or a state of the United States; rather, it is "inborn."

4. Indian tribes are not "foreign nations" referred to in the U. S. constitution but are "dependent domestic" nations, that is, that they are subordinate to the United States and dependent on the United States for protection.

5. Tribal sovereignty has a territorial component - much like a state or country's boundaries - called, in the law, a "reservation" or "Indian country."

6. A tribe's sovereignty resides in the membership of the tribe; some or all of the sovereign's power ordinarily is delegated to a tribal government by the adoption of a constitution describing how sovereign powers are to be exercised.

7. Indian tribes are under the protection of the United States and states possess no authority over Indian affairs unless that authority was given to the state by an act of Congress.

8. A tribe possesses "sovereign immunity," i.e.; it cannot be sued in a court of law without its consent or the consent of Congress.

9. Because a tribe's sovereignty was established before the United States was established, an Indian tribe's governmental actions are not subject to restrictions on governmental action imposed by the bill of rights of the United States constitution (the first ten amendments). Instead, a tribe's governmental actions are subject to the Indian Civil Rights Act, an act of Congress, which is patterned after, but not identical to, the bill of rights.

10. Because tribes are domestic dependent nations they have lost powers which are inconsistent with that dependent status. Sovereign powers tribes have lost because of that "dependent status" include: the power to make war; the power to make treaties with foreign nations; the powers to dispose of lands without the consent of the United States; criminal jurisdiction over non Indians.

There always has been a tension between tribes, the United States and the states with respect to the extent and effect of the powers of each of those sovereigns in Indian country. Most recent examples have been controversies over the scope of tribal sovereignty over areas of reservations taken for federal projects (e, g., the taking area for the Garrison reservoir) and over tribal authority over activities of non Indians where those activities take place on a reservation and have an effect on tribal sovereignty or the health and welfare of tribal

members. The Three Affiliated Tribes in recent years has been a party to litigation involving these kinds of issues - i.e., the extent and effect of tribal sovereignty - in the federal courts and in the United States Supreme Court. (Hobbs, .Straus, Dean, and Walker).

Most recently, tribal sovereignty has begun to face its greatest challenge. The United States Supreme Court, in numerous decisions, has begun to whittle away the rules of judicial interpretation followed by the courts that has long served as the mainstay of limiting intrusion in Indian sovereignty. The current practice by American jurisprudence, disregards the long established principle that treaties and laws have been read in favor of tribes. (Editorial, Indian Country today, 2001, p. A4).

Chairman Tex Hall, a strong and vocal advocate of tribal sovereignty has stated... "We need strong leadership to make sure our rights, our trust assets and our trust lands are always protected and to see that our sovereignty is protected and enhanced. Our Tribal membership demands this, and our Treaties demand this." ("Chairman Hall, MHA Times, November 23, 2001).

GOVERNANCE

While all of the tribal nations in North Dakota, in the mid-to-late 1930's to 1950's reorganized their traditional forms of governance in some fashion after the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, (IRA), it was only the Three Affiliated Tribes to formally adopt the Indian Reorganization Acts' governmental structure.

A critical issue as the Three Affiliated Tribes enters the millennium is whether the governing document by which the tribal government is organized and functions is adequate to meet the needs of this era. The Three Affiliated Tribes is governed by a constitution devised by 1934 standards. The Tribes' Constitution is centrally focused, with no checks and balances.

TRIBAL COURTS

Traditionally, law, order and justice in Indian societies were handled in a variety of ways and were often matched to the life styles and cultures of the tribes themselves. Many of these ways were lost, almost completely in some instances, during the process of decimation by diseases, physical displacement, subsequent generations of reservation life and exposure to white society. (Brackel, 1978, p. 10).

In the late 1800's, the Bureau of Indian Affairs created the Courts of Indian Offenses. These gave way to increased delegation of authority to the tribes themselves under the creation of the Indian Reorganization Act. The tribal court systems, arising out of this system, were essentially white American creations. Because of the guardianship nature of the federal government over tribal nations, tribes emanating from early federal court cases, created a quasi-sovereign status of tribes that allowed the Federal Government to restrict the judicial powers of tribes. Two major pieces of legislation continued federal jurisdiction over tribes. The Major Crimes Act of 1885 – specified that the 7 major crimes, later expanded to 13, would fall within the jurisdiction of federal courts if committed by Indian in Indian country. The 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act cemented the limits to be place upon, and the principles to be followed by tribes. The provisions of the Act provided that, (1) no tribe shall imprison a convicted offender in excess of six month or exact a fine of over $500, and (2) habeas corpus (a law that releases a party from unlawful restraint) is available to any Indian who wants to test (in federal courts) the legality of his detention by a tribe.

Since the creation of tribal courts, tribal governments have struggled with a variety of conceptual and developmental issues. The increase and impact of social problems on tribal societies compound the complexity of the problem. These relatively new tribal court systems have not had the luxury to rethink and reinvent themselves through the use of traditional forms of jurisprudence.

As the complexity and sheer numbers of problems that tribal courts are impacted, the Three Affiliated Tribes deals with the issue of whether its tribal courts have the capability to address the increasing rate and degree of offenses. Out-dated codes and ordinances that exist are not sufficient, in its current form, to correct the rate and degree of criminal offenses.

TRANSPORTATION

In 1986, representatives of the Three Affiliated Tribes and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe formed a "Joint Tribal Advisory Committee" known as JTAC. This committee developed a report on the impact of the Garrison Dam on their respective reservations. The impact of the construction of the Garrison Dam created some long-term and systemic transportation barriers for the Three Affiliated Tribes. The following excerpt from the May 23, 1986 JTAC Final Report summarizes the continuing transportation concerns of the Three Affiliated Tribes:

Prior to the construction of the Garrison Dam and the subsequent flooding of the reservations bottomland, most of the Fort Berthold Reservation population resided in the bottomland with relatively close access to the existing road system. Most of the Fort Berthold population was relocated to home sites on their existing upland allotments, often located long distances from the new highway system. These allotments were forced upon the allotted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs 30 years earlier. Little thought was given to future transportation needs.

A study initiated by the Tribal business council's transportation Committee and the Bureau of Indian Affairs indicated that 269 off-highway/home site access roads need some degree of rebuilding or new construction. The current state of the off-highway home site access roads arises from cross country trails to semi-finished roadways. The lengths of these access roads range from 1 to 3 miles. Impacts caused by this lack of adequate off-highway/ home site access roads include:

1. Cost for the maintenance, repair and replacement of school buses, are subtracted from funds for direct education service,
2. Buses cannot travel on the access roads in severe weather, resulting in increased absenteeism rates and/or additional expense for low-income families to transport children to school,
3. Cost for the maintenance, repairs and replacement of personal vehicles increase and are debilitating for low-income families,
4. Seeking employment opportunities or maintaining continual employment is difficult, and
5. Delivery of Tribal government and other agency related services (health, medical and emergency services) are affected, at times requiring 4-wheel drive vehicles.

The Federal Government did not finish the Garrison Dam relocation process. Today, the Three Affiliated Tribes deal with a transit system that is inadequate to meet the existing transportation needs of the reservation.

At the federal level, one of the most zealously guarded functions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been the tribal roads program. After several years of cutbacks, the staffing levels remain essentially the same.

The Indian Reservation Roads Program, or IRR, has been funded since 1991 under the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991. (ISTEA), P.L. 102-240. This legislation, reauthorized in 1999, has many competing interests for distribution of highway funds for rural and urban states. Few if any of the particular transportation bills are charitable to the IRR program or to other tribal needs, such as bridges, maintenance, traffic safety programs, scenic highway programs, or other programs.

Designation of assistance for tribal transportation is hindered by the lack of specificity for Indian tribes in various reauthorization bills. Tribal Nations struggle with addressing adequacy in transportation let alone having the ability to provide for future and aesthetic transportation needs remains a continual concern for the Three Affiliated Tribes.

In 2001, through cooperative efforts of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nations and the North Dakota Congressional Delegation funds have been secured from Congress to construct a new bridge across the Missouri River. This new structure is designed to meet many of the transportation needs of the northwest region of North Dakota. The Three Affiliated Tribes has entered into an agreement with the ND Department of Transportation for the replacement of the historical Four Bears Bridge and the design and construction of a new structure. The passing of the old Four Bears Bridge serves as a poignant reminder of a turbulent time in the history of the Three Tribes that is closely tied to the minds and hearts of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara people.

JURISDICTION

Tribes are faced with issues challenging their jurisdictional rights to enforce statutory and regulatory environmental requirements. In particular, the Three Affiliated Tribes is considered land-rich – in that it has a large land base with abundant natural resources, and the responsibility for the maintenance of the environment within the reservation. Part of the concern is generated by the placement of a federally created dam and a power-generating facility, as well as access to lands under control of the Corps of Engineers. The other part stems from the jurisdictional issues over the land taken in the 1910 Homestead Act, which has been determined to be lands reserved as a part of the original boundaries of the reservation created by the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty.

The control of environmental issues has been and continues to be a source of contention for the Three Affiliated Tribes. These areas include, but are not limited to, water use and disposal, water distribution systems, access to and use of shoreline and water, preferential rights to power for domestic and municipal purposes, farm and range management, oil and gas development, coal and other mineral development, pesticide control, road maintenance, and infrastructure, including bridge repair, and replacement.

Many of the jurisdictional issues regarding the environment have been either litigated or through negotiations and collaboration with the state and federal government. The continued conflict arises as to whether or not full faith and credit is afforded to tribes to retain jurisdiction over their own lands.

WATER USE

The Supreme Court, through various decisions, have determined through "aboriginal title" to land and water have certain reserved "Winters doctrine" water rights for both present and future uses to water. Those tribes, whose lands are situated on and bounded by various lakes, rivers, or major aquifers, have "reserved water rights". Several tribal nations in more arid states such as Montana, Wyoming and more in the Southwest have commenced litigation to "quantify" their water rights. Several North Dakota tribes, including the Three Affiliated Tribes, have been involved in litigation over and/or Missouri River, Devils' Lake or other major aquifers in the state.

The issue is whether tribes will, in order to retain their inherent water rights, be forced to pursue litigation or undertake negotiations on the water rights issue. Experience with the federal government has shown that very often tribes have not been active participants in all facets in the decisions that determine the use of their natural resources.

Historical experience, and the constant political urging by tribal nations, has impacted, in some measure, upon the federal government, to set national policy for recognition of tribal sovereignty. More recently, efforts through the cooperation between the state of North Dakota and tribal nations issues are being negotiated through agreement.

With water as a precious resource, tribes have urged cooperation with the State to maximize funding for badly needed water projects. Projected funding for the Three Tribes under the Dakota Water Resources Act (DWRA) represents one-third of the total amount authorized under this proposed legislation. Appropriations for the Act will start in Fiscal Year 2002.

SOCIAL ISSUES

EMPLOYMENT

In August of 1996, Congress passed into law the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (Public Law 104-193). This legislation ended the Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and replaced it with a five-year maximum benefit program known as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF).

For Indian Tribes, the new law allows each tribe to establish it's own TANF program, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Health and Human Services, but only funded the program with the 70% Federal share of the AFDC case load in the Tribe's selected service area for 1994. States are not obligated to provide the remaining 30% share that States required to contribute under the AFDC years.

The concern is whether application of Welfare Reform Legislation will ease social concerns of the Three Affiliated Tribes or simply add to the impoverished conditions existing on the reservation. The Act intends to place welfare recipients on jobs within a five-year period of the decree. The concern, however, is that no immediate focus has been given to the creation of jobs in which the welfare recipients may be placed in order to support his/her family. Secondly, limited resources hinder tribes wishing to design and operate their own TANF programs and provides little or no technical and fiscal support the operation their programs. Current legislation and policy also puts tribal nations in direct conflict with the states for resources and case load management.

The impact of the welfare reform law on Indian tribes is as yet unknown. It should be noted that in 2001 Indian persons comprised approximately 53% of the welfare case load in North Dakota. The need for collaboration is critical in the areas of job creation, job training, and coordination of social services. Of utmost concern is what happens after five years in a rural area where economic development is nearly non-existent?

HEALTH CARE

Prior to construction of the Garrison Dam, a U.S. Public Health Service Hospital was located at Elbowoods in the center of the reservation. In a 1-year period between June 1, 1947 and May 31, 1948, 460 patients were admitted to the hospital and 3,921 were treated as outpatients. The hospital, like the rest of Elbowoods, was flooded after the dam was completed.

In the following years, the Corps of Engineers promised to construct a new hospital, but the Bureau of Indian Affairs recommended hospital care in cities and towns adjacent to the Three Tribes reservation. The recommendation was based on an analysis of road facilities and vehicle ownership of Tribal members, believing that traveling would be easier on the tribal population.

In 1979 a study was conducted to investigate the feasibility of a hospital, extended and ambulatory care services for the reservation. It was determined at that time to be a credible and feasible venture.

Currently the Indian Health Service operates an ambulatory health center facility on the Fort Berthold Reservation. The main health center, Minne-Tohe, is located at Four Bears. Three field satellite clinics are operated at White Shield, Mandaree, and Twin Buttes.

Due to the geographical makeup of the reservation, Lake Sakakawa physically separates all four facilities from each other. The Minne-Tohe facility is staffed with two physicians, a nurse practitioner, support staff, and a community health nurse. Each of the satellite clinics has the services of a medical assistant.

Since that time, emergent health issues, (Indian Health Service data shows that Fort Berthold had the second highest infant mortality rate in the Aberdeen Area in 1981 and 1982) access to more immediate critical health-care, has again brought to the forefront the need for building a reservation-based hospital. (JTAC Report, p.20).

The question before tribal leaders is whether building a hospital on the reservation is feasible. Currently, outdated facilities are located in four areas. A centrally located hospital would serve both Indian and non-Indian, and provide for immediate response to critical care issues. In addition, a hospital would be a permanent source of employment for the reservation residents.

EDUCATION

Prior to the construction of the Garrison Dam, the student population of the Fort Berthold Reservation numbered 861 and was divided among seven day-schools and one high school with facilities located at Elbowoods. Some tribal children were educated off reservation in Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools or church-administered educational facilities.

The taking act altered the shape of Indian education on Fort Berthold. Children could no longer be educated in Bureau of Indian Affairs operated schools or in a reservation-wide high school. This forced dispersion of the school population saw the development of three new elementary and high school facilities were build at White Shield, Mandaree, and Twin Buttes. Cooperative agreements were signed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs with three public school districts to enable Indian students to be served by those facilities. In the 1998-1999 school year, these facilities served 464 Three-Affiliated Tribes children.

In the 1998-1999 school year, three tribes' children comprised 81% or 615 of the 758 children enrolled in the New Town Public School system.

The total Three Affiliated Tribes school children enrolled in the 1998-1999 school year were 1,379.

County enrolls Three Affiliated Tribes children enrolled in the following counties:

McKenzie County - 286
McLean County - 214
Mercer County - 62
Mountrail County - 829

Currently, the three facilities built at Mandaree, Twin Buttes and White Shield are old facilities. Across the state of North Dakota, counties containing Indian populations were the only counties to show gains in population. The issue of utmost concern to the Three Affiliated Tribes is whether or not, the existing facilities will be able to house student enrollment and meet the student needs, as more funding is required for newer, larger school facilities.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

OIL AND GAS

As tribes across the country accumulate capital because of Indian gaming, non-gaming economic development is receiving more attention. Resource-rich tribes, those that have substantial minerals resources and have chosen to explore and develop their mineral

resources, have had approximately 20 years of experience. For example, tribes in the Anadarko Basin, in Oklahoma, have had considerable more experience with oil and gas exploration, than do the Tribal Nations in North Dakota. Similarly, tribes in Montana, Wyoming, and New Mexico, have dealt with coal and other precious metal mining industries.

In North Dakota, while there have been several ventures in oil and gas exploration on Indian lands, more recently, tribes have pursued mineral-resource development as a form of economic development.

Most recently, the Three Affiliated Tribes examined various opportunities for a joint-venture with an oil and gas company. While faced with numerous jurisdictional issues, the Three Tribes is concerned with such questions of whether or not only one company should lease tribal land and Indian land for extended periods of time, and whether this could affect resources that are available. As tribes struggle with mineral exploration, the need for environmental protection prompts the need for the implementation of stringent regulations.

ENERGY DEVELOPMENT

The most recent emphasis on the need to develop new sources of energy resources have provided tribal nations the opportunity to consider the development of untapped natural energy resources.

The MHA Nation has within it a large amount of untapped energy resources, including coal and oil. Under consideration is the potential of exploration of oil and gas deposits on the reservation. The desire to create sustainable resources for the tribes membership is a priority for the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara.

GAMING

Economic development derived from gaming have provided North Dakota tribes with the opportunity to better support the tribal government infrastructure and to create a stable reservation economy.

For the Three Affiliated Tribes, the Four Bears Casino at New Town, Twin Buttes Homes at Twin Buttes, Mandaree Electronics at Mandaree, have boosted employment in the local reservation communities. In addition, federal agencies and schools offer employment on the reservation.

With an increasing stability of the local economy, tribes are exploring a number of other mechanisms to create capital for various projects. After decades of predatory lending practices, the tribe has begun to create its own capital generation and lending programs. As greater opportunities arise, the issue of concern for the Three Affiliated Tribes is whether these will offer sufficient job opportunities or new markets that can be tapped and provide for sustainability of the tribal communities.

Tribal Casino's have been looked to as the solution for the economic problems of tribal reservations. While Casino's have offered some limited success, they have not eliminated poverty and associated problems on the reservation. In his address on the State of Tribal Nations to the 1997-98 North Dakota Legislative Assembly, Tribal Chairperson, Russell Mason said:

"Despite the modest gains we have made with our casino revenues, we know that our resources cannot begin to meet the fundamental needs of our reservations for health care, law enforcement, drug and alcohol abuse prevention programs, rural water systems, housing, full employment, roads, and a host of other long pent up needs. These are needs that were built up over a long period of time, and a lot of effort from the Federal government, the State, our local communities and our tribal governments are going to be needed to meet these needs."

APPENDICES

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MORTALITY

DOCUMENT 2
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DOCUMENT 3 - TREATIES
TREATY OF 1825
1851 FORT LARAMIE TREATY
1866 AGREEMENT AT FORT BERTHOLD

REFERENCES: MAIN TEXT

TRADITIIONAL CHIEFS REFERENCES:
MANDAN AND HIDATSA CHIEFS
SAHNISH CHIEFS

CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL LEADERS

GLOSSARY

PHOTO CREDITS

DOCUMENT 1

MORTALITY AMONG THE INDIANS - THE SCOURGE OF 1837

The smallpox scourge of 1837, which was variously estimated by the writers of that period to have destroyed from 60,000 to 150,000 Indians – the true figures from later information being about seventeen thousand – originated from a case on the steamer St. Peter, the annual boat of the American Fur Company, on its way up the Missouri to Fort Union in June of that year. Every possible means was adopted to keep the Indians away from the boat, but knowing that it was loaded with supplies for them, they were certain that these efforts were part of a plan to defraud. At Fort Clark, then in charge of Francois A. Chardon, a Mandan chief stole a blanket from a watchman on the boat who was dying with the disease, and though offered a new blanket and pardon for his offense, the infected blanket could not be recovered and the contagion was spread by this means.

Jacob Halsey, an extremely dissipated man, who was in charge of Fort Union, and was returning from a temporary absence, was a passenger on the boat, and although he had been vaccinated, was sick with the disease on his arrival at Fort Union. One of his clerks, Edwin T. Denig, and an Indian also had the disease, whereupon it was determined to adopt heroic measures for defense, "and have it all over with in time for the fall trade." Accordingly, thirty squaws stopping at Fort Union were vaccinated with the real smallpox virus from the person of Halsey, and a few days later twenty-seven of them were stricken with smallpox.

Entire Indian villages had been exposed while crowding around the boat, and Indians from the boat, or who had visited it, went to the Blackfeet, Assiniboine, and other tribes, and when the epidemic was at its height, the Indians came in from the chase for the fall trade, crowding about the fort in spite of every effort to keep them away.

The contagion began to spread about the middle of June, and raged as long as there were Indians who were not immune to attack. The victims were seized with severe pains in the head and back, and death resulted generally in a few hours, the disease taking it's most malignant form. In the words of an eye-witness of the scenes: "In whatever direction we go, we see nothing but melancholy wrecks of human life. The tents are still standing on every hill, but no rising smoke announces the presence of human beings, and no sounds bu the croaking of the raven, and the howling of the wolf, interrupt the fearful silence."

Henry Boller, who was eight years engaged in trade on the Missouri River, in his book entitled "Among the Indians," states that in one family all had died save one babe, and as there was no one to care for that it was placed alive in the arms of its dead mother, and wrapped with her in her burial robes, laid on the scaffold, the Indian method of burying the dead.

Prince Maximilian is quoted as writing at the time of the scourge: "The destroying angel has visited the unfortunate sons of the wilderness with terrors never before known, and has converted the extensive hunting-grounds, as well as the peaceful settlements of these tribes, into desolate and boundless cemeteries * * * The warlike spirit which but lately animated the several tribes, and but a few months ago gave reason to apprehend the beaking out of araging war, is broken. The mighty warriors are now the prey of the greedy wolves, and the few survivors, in utter dispair, throw themselves upon the whites, who, however, can do little for them. The vast prepartions for the protection of the frontier are superfluous; another hand has undertaken the defense of the white inhabitants of the frontier, and the funeral torce that lights the redman to his dreary grave, has become the auspicous star of the advancing settler and the roving trader of the white race."

In the translator's preface to Maximilian's "Travels in the Interior of North America," may be found a letter from the prince, dated New Orleans, June 6, 1838, in which he bears corroborative testimony to the efforts of the company's officers to retard the progress of the plague. He says that the smallpox was communicated to the Indians by a person who was on

board the steamboat which ran up the previous summer to the mouth of the Yellowstone River, to carry both the Government presents and the goods for the barter trade of the fur dealers: and the translator, Hannibal E. Lloyd, adds that it was the American Fur Company's steamboat St. Peter which carried the annual outfit and supplied the Missouri River forts, and that Larpenteur, in charge of Fort Union, says the vessel arrived June 24, 1837: that the officers could not prevent intercourse between the Indians and the vessel, although they exerted themselves to the utmost.

The smallpox epidemic was the direct result of the demoralizing influence of the use of intoxicating liquors. There was neglect on the boat which was making its way into the heart of the Indian country, and criminal disregard of danger, and neglect on the part of the authorities at Fort Union. There was not a deliberate purpose to murder the Indian families vaccinated with the smallpox virus, and "have it over," but the result would have been the same had that been the case. Alfred Cummings, United States superintendent of Indian affairs, in reporting the result of investigations on his trip to the Upper Missouri tribes in 1855, said the smallpox scourge of 1837: "Every Indian camp from the Big Bend of the Missouri to the headwaters of the Columbia and Puget Sound was the scene of utter despair. To save families from the torture of the loathsome disease, fathers slew their children, and in many instances inflicted death upon themselves with the same bloody knife. Maddened by their fears, they rushed into the waters for relief, and many perished by their own hands, gibbeted on the trees which surrounded their lodges."

Loundsberry, (1917) History of North Dakota. Volume 1, pp. 179 – 180.

DOCUMENT 2

TESTIMONY OF JEFFERSON SMITH
HIDATSA, AGAINST THE INJUSTICE OF THE GARRISON DAM
(APRIL 30, 1949 -- WASHINGTON, D.C.)

Mr. Chairman, my name is Jefferson B. Smith, a member of the Gros Ventre (Hidatsa) Tribe, an official delegate of the Tribal Business Council of the Three Affiliated Tribes, compromising the Arickaree, the Gros Ventres and the Mandan and the individual members thereof. The United States of America, before its advent as a Nation, was a haven for the oppressed of other lands. Political, religious, and economic oppression in Europe caused the Pilgrim Fathers to seek homes, freedom and greater opportunity in the New World. These Pilgrims, upon their arrival in 1620, were welcomed by the native Americans. They were given land and all that was within. In a short period of time, greed for gain became evident. The white man, motivated by a great desire to acquire additional territory, compelled the Indians to move thither and yon. Thus began the racial discrimination, plundering, stripping, despoiling him of his property; a delimitation of Indian tribal boundaries.

The Three Affiliated Tribes of North Dakota have always maintained utmost good faith and friendship with the United States. Many years ago, upon meeting his first white man, who aroused his admiration to a high degree, one of our chiefs decreed to his people that the white man was their friend and that there should ever exist a mutual and friendly relationship. When Lewis and Clark were designated to explore the land which comprised the Louisiana Purchase of 1804, they found a very friendly people in the three tribes. They were afforded food and protection. The famed Indian woman known as Bird Woman guided the expedition westward. Many of our Indians joined the United States troops as scouts in the pioneer days and have rendered valuable services. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his report dated November 1, 1873, said of the Three Affiliated Tribes, pages 158 and 159:

> *The Indians of these agencies deserve more from the Government than any other tribes in Dakota on account of their fidelity to the Government and the faithful services rendered by them as scouts in compelling other Indians to keep the peace.*

Another report dated August 31, 1874, pages 159 to 160, contains the following:

> *The military have found them the most brave and reliable of all Indian scouts. But notwithstanding their established friendliness, I found them in an intensively dissatisfied state of mind. They complained that while they had steadily kept the "straight path," the Government had not done so; the whites had lied to them, cheated them, and actually allowed them to starve, instead of feeding them and caring for them as promised in all their treaty councils. Unfortunately, and to our shame, their declarations are too true.*

The proposal of the United States to negotiate treaties with the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan Indians was gladly accepted as a kindly gesture.

The three tribes inhabited the Dakotas and eastern Montana. They were once populous tribes. It is a common knowledge among our older people that on or about the year 1837 a boat drifted down the river bearing some white men, one of which was allowed to remain at an Indian village. He had smallpox. Ravages of the disease nearly exterminated the tribes.

The United States entered into a solemn treaty with Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan Indians on or about September 17, 1851. The treaty lands as claimed by the three tribes were as follows: Commencing at the mouth of the Heart River, up the Missouri,

Yellowstone, and Powder Rivers, to the headwaters of the Little Missouri River, to the foothills of the Black Hills, to the Heart River and place of beginning, containing about 13 million acres.

Across the span of our national history, it is inconceivable that treaties with Indians which have been sacredly solemnized and duly ratified have been violated by its author -- the United States Government. The construction of the Garrison Dam which will inundate a large portion of our treaty land is a more recent violation of treaty. The Three Affiliated Tribes now deem that their faith and friendship with the Federal Government has worked largely to their undoing. It is quite evident that the Indians have done most of the giving and the United States Government most of the taking.

The native Americans, who in the remote past reigned supreme in all they possessed by immemorial right of occupancy, are an underprivileged minority group against whom many illegal forms of oppression and discrimination are practiced. Belonging to a minority group whose skin is pigmented seems to be a disqualification which serves as a bar in preventing participation in the benefits of American justice.

At one time in the past, the United States Government recognized the importance of fair treatment for the Indians and on July 13, 1787, it adopted the Northwest Ordinance, section 3 of which reads as follows:

> *The uttermost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress, but laws founded in justice and humanity shall, from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.*

In 1944 Congress authorized five dams to be constructed on the main stem of the Missouri River, one of which was the Garrison Dam.

This reservoir, when completed, will destroy the homes, the lands and the economy of the Fort Berthold Indians. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 was violated when the matter was not referred to the Indians for consideration. Preliminary work on the dam was well begun when a Colonel Freeman furnished us information that the Garrison Dam would flood some of the best land the Indian possessed, but that they would be given other land of equal value. The land offered included for the most part, the area known as the Little Missouri River Badlands. Much of the land offered is devoid of any vegetation. We refused the disgraceful offer. We have rejected other offers because we feel that our rights were not protected.

In July of 1947, Councilmen Packineau, Mahto, and I were present at the hearings before the Subcommittee on War Department Civil Appropriation Act, Public Law 296, to prevent, if possible, the flooding of our lands. The pleas we made to save our land, homes, and our economy was given a deaf ear. Our offer of an alternate plan and location of a dam was not considered. An offer of $5,105,625 was made.

We requested a compensation of a larger amount. There was disagreement and no further offer was made. We returned home to learn to our dismay that it was reported on the floor of the Senate Chamber that the Indians agreed to the offer. We did not agree to the offer and, hence, we charge that the offer was false and illegal. We protest the wrong being done to us by the illegal action and methods. The Indian has become inferior to the white man, he is forced to serve him and is subject to his master's orders. Because the Indian is weak and docile, he is wronged and imposed upon.

It has been a requirement of law that a contract be entered into by the United States Government and the Three Affiliated Tribes in the apportionment of the funds which was supposed to have been agreed upon by the Indians. The contract has been completed in compliance with the law. It is awaiting the ratification by Congress.

A grave situation confronts the Three Affiliated Tribes. The United States Government has entered into solemn treaties with the Indians. The treaties were made, composed, and devised by a commission authorized by the United States Government (Indians being illiterate and belong to a lesser social and economic caste), for the sole benefit and strictly in accordance with the desire of the Government. It has defaulted and broken the treaties. Will the present contract or treaty meet the same fate? The abuse and misuse of its ward Indians has created an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust that no future time can repair.

The tribal business council of the Three Affiliated Tribes have signed the contract with tears in their eyes and heavy hearts. Being compelled to surrender about 155,000 acres of our best lands to the United States Government, thereby disrupting our homes and economy, the future looks dark and dismal to the Fort Berthold Indians. We are being punished for being Indians by a Christian nation.

The United States Government is the strongest, the wealthiest, and the freest nation in the world. It has furnished billions of dollars to Europe, Asia, and Latin America, much of which will never be reimbursed. The Government owes its wards a moral obligation. It is the guardian and bound by every moral and equitable consideration to discharge its trust with good faith.

TREATY WITH THE ARIKARA TRIBE, 1825

July 18, 1825, 7 Stat., 3rd, Proclamation, Feb. 6, 1820

To put an end to an unprovoked hostility on the part of the Rikara Tribe of Indians against the United States, and to restore harmony between the parties, the President of the United States, by Brigadier-general Henry Atkinson, of the United States' Army, and Major Benjamin O'Fallon, Indian Agent, Commissioners duly appointed and commissioned to treat with the Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi river, give peace to the said Rikara Tribe; the Chiefs and Warriors thereof having first made suitable concessions for the offence. And, for the purpose of removing all further or future cause of misunderstanding as respects trade and friendly intercourse between the parties, the above named Commissioners on the part of the United States, and the undersigned Chiefs and Warriors of the Rikara Tribe of Indians on the part of said Tribe, have made and entered into the following articles and conditions, which, when ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall be binding on both parties, to wit:

Article 1.

Peace and friendship.

Henceforth there shall be a firm and lasting peace between the United States and the Rikara tribe of Indians; and a friendly intercourse shall immediately take place between the parties.

Article 2.

Supremacy of United States acknowledged.

It is admitted by the Rikara tribe of Indians, that they reside within the territorial limits of the United States, acknowledge their supremacy, and claim their protection. The said tribe also admit the right of the United States to regulate all trade and intercourse with them.

Article 3.

United Sates will take the Ricaras under their protection.

The United States agree to receive the Rikara tribe of Indians into their friendship, and under their protection, and to extend to them, from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient and seem just and proper to the President of the United States.

Article 4.

Regulation of trade among the Indians.

All trade and intercourse with the Ricara tribe shall be transacted at such place or places as may be designated and pointed out by the President of the United States, through his agents; and none by American citizens, duly authorized by the United States, shall be admittted to trade or hold intercourse with said tribe of Indians.

Article 5.

Trade, et., to be transacted at such places as the President may designate.

That the Ricara tribe may be accommodated with such articles of merchandise, &c. as their necessities may demand, the United States agree to admit and license traders to hold intercourse with said tribe, under mild and equitable regulations: in consideration of which, the Ricara tribe bind themselves to extend protection to the persons and the property of the traders, and the persons legally employed under them, while they remain within the limits of their district of country. And the said Ricara tribe further agree, that if any foreigner or other person, not legally authorized by the United States, shall come into their district of country for the purposes of trade or other views, they will apprehend such person or persons, and deliver him or them to some United States' superintendent or agent of Indian Affairs, or to the commandant of the nearest military post, to be dealt with according to law. And they further agree to give safe conduct to all persons who may be legally authorized by the United States to pass through their country, and to protect in their persons and property all agents or other persons sent by the United States to reside temporarily among them.

Article 6.

Source to be pursued in order to prevent injuries by individuals.

That the friendship which is now etablished between the United States and the Ricara tribe, shall not be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, it is hereby agreed, that for injuries done by individuals, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place, but instead thereof, complaints shall be made, by the party injured, to the superintendent or agent of Indian affairs or other person appointed by the President; and it shall be the duty of the said Chiefs, upon complaint being made as aforesaid, to deliver up the person or persons against whom the complaint is made, to the end that he or they may

be punished, agreeably to the laws of the United States. And, in like manner, if any robbery, violence, or murder, shall be committed on any Indian or Indians belonging to said tribe, the person or persons so offending shall be tried, and, if found guilty, shall be punished in like manner as if the injury had been done to a white man. And it is agreed, that the Chiefs of the said Ricara tribe shall, to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to recover horses or other property, which may be stolen or taken from any citizen or citizens of the United States, by any individual or individuals of said tribe; and the property so recovered shall be forthwith delivered to the agents or other person authorized to receive it, that it may be restored to the proper owner. And the United States hereby guaranty to any Indian or Indians of said tribe, a full indemnification for any horses or other property which may be stolen from them by any of their citizens: Provided, that the property so stolen cannot be recovered, and that sufficient proof is produced that it was actually stolen by a citizen of the United States. And the said Ricara tribe engage, on the requisition or demand of the President of the United States, or of the agents, to deliver up any white man resident among them.

Chiefs to exert themselves to recover stolen property.

Proviso.

Article 7.

No guns, ect., to be furnished by them to any nation, etc., hostile to the United States.

And the Chiefs and Warriors, as aforesaid, promise and engage that their tribe will never, by sale, exchange, or as presents, supply any nation, tribe, or bands of Indians, not in amity with the United States, with guns, ammunition, or other implements of war. Done at the Ricara village, this eighteenth day of July, A.D. 1825, and of the independence of the United States the fiftieth. In testimony whereof, the said commissioners, Henry Atkinson and Benjamin O' Fallon, and the chiefs, head men, and warriors of the Ricara tribe of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals.

H. Atkinson, brigadier-general U.S. Army, [L. S.]
Benj. O'Fallon, United States agent Indian affairs, [L. S.]

Chiefs:

Stan-au-pat, the bloody hand, his x murk [L. S.]
Ca-car-we-ta, the little bear, his x mark [L. S.]
Scar-e-naus, the skunk, his x mark [L. S.]
Chan-son-nah, the fool chief, his x mark [L. S.]
Chan-no-te-ne-na, the chief that is afraid, his x mark, [L. S.]
Coon-ca-ne-nos-see, the bad bear, his x mark, [L. S.]

Warriors:

En-hah-pe-tar, the two nights, his x mark [L. S.]
Ca-ca-ne-show, the crow chief, his x mark [L. S.]
Pah-can-wah, the old head, his x mark [L. S.]
Wah-ta-an, the light in the night, his x mark [L. S.]
Hon-eh-cooh, the buffalo that urinates and smells it, his x mark [L. S.]
Ta-hah-son, the lip of the old buffalo, his x mark [L. S.]
Coo-wooh-war-e-scoon-hoon, the long haired bear, his x mark, [L. S.]
Ne-sha-non-nack, the chief by himself, his x mark [L. S.]
Ah-ree-squish, the buffalo that has horns, his x mark [L. S.]
Ou-cous-non-hair, the good buffalo, his x mark [L. S.]
Nack-sa-nou-wees, the dead heart, his x-mark [L. S.]
Pah-too-car-rah, the man that strikes, his x mark [L. S.]
Toon-high-ouh, the man that runs, his x mark [L. S.]
Car-car-wee-as, the heart of the crow, his x mark [L. S.]

In the presence of -

A. L. Langham, secretary to the commission,
H. Leavenworth, colonel U.S. Army
S. W. Kearny, brevet major First Infantry
D. Ketchum, major U.S. Army
Wm. Armstrong, captain Sixth Regiment Infantry
B. Riley, captain Sixth Infantry
John Gantt, captain Sixth Infantry
G. C. Spencer, captain First Infantry,
R. B. Mason, captain First Infantry
W. S. Harney, lieutenant First Infantry
John Gale, surgeon U. S. Army,
R. M. Coleman, U. S. Army,
S. Wragg, adjutant First Regiment Infantry
S. Mac Ree, lieutenant aid de camp,
R. Holmes, lieutenant Sixth Infantry
R. H. Stuart, lieutenant First Infantry
Jas. W. Kingsbury, lieutenant First Regiment Infantry,
Levi Nute, lieutenant U.S. Army
W. L. Harris, lieutenant First Infantry,
G. H. Kennerly, U. S. special Indian agent,
P. Wilson, U. S. Special Indian agent,
Antoine Garreau, his x mark, interpreter,
Joseph Garreau, his x mark, interpreter,
Pierre Garreau, his x mark.

TREATY WITH THE BELANTSE-ETOA OR MINITAREE TRIBE, 1825

July 18, 1825, 7 Stat., 261, Proclamation, Feb. 6, 1820

Whereas acts of hostility have been committed, by some restless men of the Belantse-etea or Minnetaree tribe of Indians, upon some of the citazens of the United States: therefore, to put a stop to any further outrages of the sort, and to establish a more friendly understanding between the United States and the said Belantse-etea or Minnetaree tribe, the President of the United States, by Henry Atkinson, Brigadier-general of the United States' army, and Major Benjamin O'Fallon, Indian Agent, commissioners duly appointed and commissioned to treat with the Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi river, forgive the offences which have been committed, the Chiefs and Warriors having first made satisfactory explanations touching the same. And, for the purpose of removing all future cause of misunderstanding, as respects trade and friendly intercourse, between the parties, the above-named Commissioners, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs and Warriors of the Belantse-etea or Minnetaree tribe of Indians, on the part of said tribe, have made and entered into the following Articles and Conditions; which, when ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall be binding on both parties - to wit:

Article 1.

Peace and friendship.

Henceforth there shall be a firm and lasting peace between the United States and the Belantse-etea or Minnetaree tribe of Indians; and a friendly intercourse shall immediately take place been the parties.

Article 2.

Supremacy of United States acknowledged.

It is admitted by the Belantse-etea or Minnetaree tribe of Indians, that they reside with the territorial limits of the United States, acknowledge their supremacy, and claim their protection. - The said tribe also admit the right of the United States to regulate all trade and intercourse with them.

Article 3.

United Sates to receive them into their friendship.

The United States agree to receive the Belantse-etea or Minnetaree tribe of Indians into their friendship, and under their protection, and to extend to them, from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient, and seem just and proper to the President of the United States.

Article 4.

Places of trade to be designated by the President.

All trade and intercourse with the Belantse-eta or Minnetaree tribe shall be transacted at such place or places as may be designated and pointed out, by the President of the United States, through his agents; and none but American citazens, duly authorized by the United States, shall be admitted to trade or hold intercourse with said tribe of Indians.

Article 5.

Regulation of trade.

That the Belantse-eta or Minnetaree tribe may be accommodated with such articles of merchandise, &c., as their necessities may demand, the United States agree to admit and license traders to hold intercourse with said tribe, under mild and equitable regulations: in consideration of which, the Belantse-eta or Minnetaree tribe bind themselves to extend protection to the persons and the property of the traders, and the persons legally employed under them, whilst they remain within the limits of their district of country. And the said Belantse-eta or Minnetaree tribe further agree, that if any foreigner or other person, not legally authorized by the United States, shall come into their district of country, for the purposes of trade or other views, they will apprehend such person or persons, and delivery him or them to some United States' superintendent or agent of Indian affairs, or to the commandant of the nearest military post, to be dealt with according to law. And they further agree to give safe conduct to all persons who may be legally authorized by the United States to reside temporarily among them.

Article 6.

Course to be pursued in order to prevent injuries by individuals ect.

That the friendship which is now established between the United States and the Belantse-eta or Minnetaree tribe shall not be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, it is hereby agreed, that for injuries done by individuals, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place, but instead thereof complains shall be made, by the party injured, to the superintendent or agent of Indian affairs or other person appointed by the President; and it shall be the duty of the said Chiefs, upon complaint being made as aforesaid, to deliver up the person or persons against whom the complain is made, to the end that he or they may be punished, agreeably to the laws of the United States. And, in like manner, if any robbery, violence, or murder, shall be committed on any Indian or Indians belonging to said tribe, the person or persons so offending shall be tried, and if found guilty, shall be punished in like manner as if the injury had been done to a white man. And it is agreed that the Chiefs of the said Belantse-eta or Minnetaree tribe shall, to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to recover horses or other property, which may be stolen or taken from any citizen or citizens of the United States, by any individual or individuals of said tribe; and the property so recovered shall be forthwith delivered to the agents or other person authorized to receive it, that it may be restored to the proper owner. And the United States hereby guarranty to any Indian or Indians of said tribe, a full indemnification for any horses or other property which may be stolen from them by any of their citizens: *Provided*, That the property so stolen cannot be recovered, and that sufficient proof is produced that it was actually stolen by a citizen of the United States. And the said Belantse-eta or Minnetaree tribe engage, on the requisition or demand of the President of the United States, or of the agents, to deliver up any white man resident among them.

Chiefs to exert themselves to recover stolen property.

Proviso.

Article 7.

No guns, etc., to be furnished by them to htose hostile to United States.

And the Chiefs and Warriors, as aforesaid, promise and engage that their tribe will never, by sale, exchange, or as presents, supply any nation, tribe, or band of Indians, not in amity with the United States, with guns, ammunition, or implements of war.

Done at the Lower Mandan Village, this thirtieth day of July, A. D. 1825, and of the independence of the United States the fiftieth.

In testimony whereof, the commissioners, Henry Atkinson and Benjamin O'Fallon, and the chiefs and warriors of the said Belantse-etea or Minnetaree tribe of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals.

H. Atkinson, brigadier-general U.S. Army, [L. S.]
Benj. O'Fallon, United States agent, Indian affairs [L. S.]
Chiefs:
Shan-sa-bat-say-e-see, the wolf chief, his x mark [L. S.]
E-re-ah-ree, the one that make the road, his x mark [L. S.]
Pas-ca-ma-e-ke-ree, the crow that looks, his x mark [L. S.]
E-tah-me-nah-ga-e-she, the guard of the red arrows, his x mark [L. S.]
Mah-shu-ca-lah-pah-see, the dog bear, his x mark [L. S.]
Oh-sha-lah-ska-a-tee, his x mark [L. S.]
Kah-re-pe-shu-pe-sha, the black buffalo, his x mark, [L. S.]
Ah-too-pah-she-pe-sha, the black mocasins, his x mark, [L. S.]
Mah-buk-sho-ok-oe-ah, the one that carries the snake,
Warriors:
At-ca-chis, the black lodges, his x mark, [L. S.]
Nah-rah-ah-a-pa, the color of the hair, his x mark, [L. S.]
Pa-ta-e-she-as, the wicked cow, his x mark, [L. S.]
Kee-re-pee-ah-too, the buffalo head, his x mark, [L. S.]
Lah-pa-ta-see-e-ta, the bear's tail, his x mark [L. S.]
Pa-ta-lah-kee, the white cow, his x mark, [L. S.]
Ah-sha-re-te-ah, the big thief, his x mark [L. S.]
Bo-sah-nah-a-me, the three wolves, his x mark [L. S.]
San-jah-oe-tee, the wolf that has no tail, his x mark [L. S.]
Sa-ga-e-ree-shus, the finger that stinks, his x mark, [L. S.]
Mc-a-cah-ho-ka, the woman that lies, his x mark [L. S.]
Ah-mah-a-ta, the missouri, his x mark, [L. S.]
E-sha-kee-te-ah, the big fingers, his x mark, [L. S.]
Mah-shu-kah-e-te-ah, the big dog, his x mark, [L. S.]
Be-ra-ka-ra-ah, the rotten wood, his x mark, [L. S.]
E-ta-ro-sha-pa, the big brother, his x mark. [L. S.]

In the presence of -
A. L. Langham, secretary to the commission,
H. Leavenworth, colonel, U. S. Army
G. H. Kennerly, United States sub-Indian agent,
John Gale, surgeon, U. S. Army,
D. Ketchum, major, U. S. Army,
John Gantt, captain, Sixth Infantry,
Wm. Day, lieutenant, First Infantry,
R. B. Mason, captain, First Infantry,
Jas. W. Kingbury, lieutenant, First Regiment Infantry,
R. Holmes, lieutenant, Sixth Infantry,
J. Rogers, lieutenant, Sixth Infantry,
W. S. Harney, lieutenant, First Infantry,
Levi Nute, lieutenant, Sixth Infantry,
B. Riley, captain, Sixth Infantry,
R. M. Coleman, assistant surgeon, U. S. Army,
George C. Hutter, lieutenant, Sixth Infantry,
Colin Campbell,
P. Wilson, United States sub-Indian agent,
Touissant Chaboneau, interpreter, his x mark,
S. W. Kearny, brevet major, First Infantry.
Wm. Armstrong, captain, Sixth Regiment Infantry.

TREATY WITH THE MANDAN TRIBE, 1825

July 18, 1825, 7 Stat., 204, Proclamation, Feb. 6, 1820

Whereas acts of hostility have been committed by some restless men of the Mandan Tribe of Indians, upon some of the citizens of the United States: Therefore, to put a stop to any further outrages of the sort; and to establish a more friendly understanding between the United States and the said Mandan Tribe, the President of the United States, by Henry Atkinson, Brigadier General of the United States, Army, and Major Benjamin O'Fallon, Indian Agent, Commissioners duly appointed and commissioned to treat with the Indian Tribes beyond the Mississippi river, forgive the offences which have been committed; the Chiefs and Warriors having first made satisfactory explanations touching the same. And, for the purpose of removing all future cause of misunderstanding as respects trade and friendly intercourse between the parties, the above named Commissioners on the part of the United States, and the undersigned Chiefs and Warriors of the Mandan Tribe of Indians on the part of said Tribe, have made and entered into the following articles and conditions, which, when ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall be binding on both parties - to wit:

Article 1.

Peace and friendship.

Henceforth there shall be a firm and lasting peace between the United States and the Mandan tribe of Indians; and a friendly intercourse shall immediately take place between the parties.

Article 2.

Supremacy of United States acknowledged.

It is admitted by the Mandan tribe of Indians, that they reside within the territorial limits of the United States, acknowledge their supremacy, and claim their protection. - The said tribe also admit the right of the United States to regulate all trade and intercourse with them.

Article 3.

United Sates agree to receive Indians into their friendship, ect.

The United States agree to receive the Mandan tribe of Indians into their friendship, and under their protection, and to extend to them, from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient, and seem just and proper to the President of the United States.

Article 4.

Places for trade to be designated by the President.

All trade and intercourse with the Mandan tribe shall be transacted at such place or places as may be designated and pointed out by the President of the United States, through his agents; and none but American citizens, duly authorized by the United States, shall be admitted to trade or hold intercourse with such tribe of Indians.

Article 5.

Regulation of trade.

That the Mandan tribe may be accommodated with such articles of merchandise, &c., as their necessities may demand, the United States agree to admit and license traders to hold intercourse with said tribe, under mild and equitable regulations: in consideration of which, the Mandan tribe bind themselves to extend protection to the persons and the property of the traders, and the persons legally employed under them, whilst they remain within the limits of their district of country. And the said Mandan tribe further agree, that if any foreigner or other person, not legally authorized by the united States, shall come into their district of country, for the purposes of trade or other views, they will apprehend such person or persons, and deliver him or them to some United States'' superintendent or agent of Indian Affairs, or to the commandant of the nearest military post, to be dealt with according to law. And they further agree to give safe conduct to all persons who may be legally authorized by the United States to pass through their country, and to protect in their persons and property all agents or other persons sent by the United States to reside temporarily among them.

Article 6.

Course to be pursued in order to prevent injuries by individuals, ect.

That the friendship which is now established between the United States and the Mandan tribe, shall be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, it is hereby agreed, that for injuries done by individuals, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place, but instead there, complaints shall be made, by the party injured, to the superintendent or agent of Indian affairs, or other person appointed by the President; and it shall be the duty of the said Chiefs, upon complaint being made as aforesaid, to deliver up the person or persons against whom the complain is made, to the end that he or they may be punished, agreeably to the laws of the United States. And, in like manner, if any robbery, violence, or murder, shall be committed on any Indian or Indians belonging to said tribe, the person or persons so offending shall be tried, and if found guilty, shall be punished in like manner as if the injury had been done to a white man. And it is agreed that the Chiefs of the said Mandan tribe shall, to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to recover horses or other property, which may be stolen or taken from any citizen or citizens of the United States, by any individual or individuals of said tribe; and the property so recovered shall be forthwith delivered to the agents or other person authorized to receive it, that it may be restored to the proper owner. And the United States hereby guarranty to any Indian or Indians of said tribe, a full indemnification for any horses or other property which may be stolen from them by any of their citizens: Provided, That the property so stolen cannot be recovered, and that sufficient proof is produced that it was actually stolen by a citizen of the United States. And the said Mandan tribe engage, on the requisition or demand of the President of the United States, or of the agents, to deliver up any white man resident among them.

Chiefs to exert themselves to recover stolen property.

Article 7.

No ammunition , ect., to be furnished by them to enemies of United States.

And the Chiefs and Warriors, as aforesaid, promise and engage that their tribe will never, by sale, exchange, or as presents, supply any nation, tribe, or band of Indians, not in amity with the United States, with guns, ammunition, or other implements of war.

Done at the Mandan Village, this thirtieth day of July, A. D. 1825, and of the independence of the United States the fiftieth.

In testimony whereof, the commissioners, Henry Atkinson and Benjamin O'Fallon, and the chiefs and warriors of the said Mandan tribe of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals.

H. Atkinson, brigadier-general U.S. Army, [L. S.]
Benj. O'Fallon, United States agent, Indian affairs [L. S.]
Chiefs:
Mat-sa-to-pas-lah-hah-pah, the chiefs of four men, his x mark, [L. S.]
San-jah-mat-sa-eta, the wolf chiefs, his x mark, [L. S.]
Ah-ra-na-shis, the one that has no arm, his x mark, [L. S.]
Bot-sa-a-pa, the color of the wolf, his x mark, [L. S.]
Con-ke-sheesse, the good child, his x mark, [L. S.]
Lah-pa-see-ta-re-tah, the bear that does not walk, his x mark, [L. S.]
Par-res-kah-cah-rush-ta, the little crow, his x mark, [L. S.]
Warriors - First village:
Obah-chash, the broken leg, his x mark, [L. S.]
La-pet-see-to-a-pus, the four bears, his x mark, [L. S.]
Sah-cou-ga-rah-lah-pet-see, the bird of the hears, his x mark, [L. S.]
She-ca-aga-mat-sa-et-see, the little young man this is a chief, his x mark, [L. S.]
Kee-re-pee-ah-pa-rush, the neck of the buffalo, his x mark, [L. S.]
Bo-si-e-ree-bees, the little wolf that sleeps, his x mark, [L. S.]
Second village:
San-jah-ca-ho-ka, the wolf that lies, his x mark, [L. S.]
Ede-shu-bee, the fat of the paunch, his x mark, [L. S.]
Pa-res-ca-a-huss, the band of crows, his x mark, [L. S.]
Ba-rah-rah-ca-tah, the broken pot, his x mark. [L. S.]
Me-ra-pa-sha-po, the five beavers, his x mark, [L. S.]
Bout-sa-ca-ho-ka, the crouching prairie wolf, his x mark [L. S.]

In the presence of -

A. L. Langham, secretary to the commission,
H. Leavenworth, colonel, U. S. Army
S. W. Kearney, brevet major First Infantry,
D. Ketchum, major, U. S. Army,
B. Riley, captain, Sixth Infantry,
P. Wilson, United States S. Indian agent,
S. Mac Ree, lieutenant, aid-de-camp,
R. B. Mason, captain, First Infantry,
G. C. Spencer, captain, First Infantry,
John Gantt, captain, Sixth Infantry,
Thomas Noel, lieutenant, Sixth Infantry,
R. Holmes, lieutenant, Sixth Infantry,
J. Rogers, lieutenant, Sixth Infantry,
Jas. W. Kingsbury, lieutenant, First Regiment Infantry,
Levi Nute, lieutenant, Sixth Infantry,
S. Wragg, adjutant First Regiment Infantry,
M. W. Batman, lieutenant, Sixth Infantry,
Thomas P. Gwynne, lieutenant, First Infantry,
George C. Hutter, lieutenant, Sixth Infantry,
William Day, lieutenant, First Infantry,
John Gale, surgeon, U. S. Army,
R. M. Coleman, assistant surgeon, U. S. Army,
W. S. Harney, lieutenant, First Infantry,
J. C. Culbertson,
G. H. Kennerly, United States S. Indian agent,
A. S. Miller, lieutenant, First Infantry,
Colin Camphell,
Touissant Chaboneau, his x mark, interpreter,

AGREEMENT AT FORT BERTHOLD, 1866

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at Fort Berthold in the Territory of Dakota, on the twenty-seventh day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, by and between Newton Edmunds, governor and *ex-officio* superintendent of Indian affairs of Dakota Territory; Major General S. R. Curtis, Orrin Guernsey and Henry W. Reed, commissioners appointed on the part of the United States to make treaties with the Indians of the Upper Missouri; and the chiefs and headmen of the Arickaree tribe of Indians, Witnesseth as follows:

Article 1st. Perpetual peace, friendship, and amity shall hereafter exist between the United States and the said Arickaree Indians.

Article 2d. The said Arickaree tribe of Indians promise and agree that they will maintain peaceful and friendly relations toward the whites; that they will in future, abstain from all hostilities against each other, and cultivate mutual good will and friendship, not only among themselves, but toward all other friendly tribes of Indians.

Article 3. The chiefs and headmen aforesaid acting as the representatives of the tribe aforesaid and being duly authorized and hereunto directed, in consideration of the payments and privileges hereinafter stated, do hereby grant and convey to the United States the right to lay out and construct roads, highways, and telegraphs through their country, and to use their efforts to prevent them from annoyance of interruption by their own or other tribes of Indians.

Article 4. No white person, unless in the employ of the United States, or duly licensed to trade with said Indians, or members of the families of such persons shall be permitted to reside or make settlement upon any part of the country belonging to said Indians, not included or described herein; nor shall said Indians sell, alienate, or in any manner dispose of any portion thereof, except to the United States.

Article 5. The said Aricara tribe of Indians hereby acknowledge their dependence on the United States and their obligation to obey the laws thereof; and they further agree and obligate themselves to submit to and obey such laws as may be made by Congress for their government and the punishment of offenders; and they agree to exert themselves to the utmost of their ability in enforcing all the laws under the superintendent of Indian affairs, or agent; and they pledge and bind themselves to preserve friendly relations with the citizens of the United States, and commit no injuries to, or depredations upon, their persons or property. They also agree to deliver to the proper officer or officers of the United States, all offenders against the treaties, laws, or regulations of the United States, and to assist in discovering, pursuing and capturing all such offenders who may be within the limits of the country claimed by them, whenever required so to do by such officer or officers. And the said Aricara tribe of Indians further agree that they will not make war upon any other tribe or band of Indians, except in self-defence, but will submit all matters of difference between themselves and other Indians to the Government of the United States for adjustment, and will abide thereby; and if any of the Indians, party to this treaty, commit depredations upon any other Indians within the jurisdiction of the United States, the same rule shall prevail with regard to compensation and punishment as in case of depredations against citizens of the United States.

Article 6. In consideration of the great evil of intemperance among some of the Indian tribes, and in order to prevent such consequences among ourselves, we, the said Aricara tribe of Indians agree to do all in our power to prevent the introduction or use of spirituous liquors among our people, and to this end we agree that should any of the members of our tribe encourage the use of spirituous liquors, either by using it themselves, or buying and selling

it, whosoever shall do so shall forfeit his claim to any annuities paid by the Government for the current year; or should they be aware of such use or sale or introduction of liquor into their country, either by whites or by persons of Indian blood and not aid by all proper means to effect its extermination and the prosecution of offenders, shall be liable to the forfeiture above mentioned.

Article 7. In consideration of the foregoing agreements, stipulations, cessions, and undertakings and of their faithful observance by the said Aricara tribe of Indians, the United States agree to expend for the said Indians, in addition to the goods and provisions distributed at the time of signing this treaty, the sum of ten thousand dollars annually for twenty years, after the ratification of this treaty by the President and Senate of the United States, to be expended in such goods, provisions, and other articles as the President may in his discretion, from time to time determine; provided, and it is hereby agreed that the President may, at his discretion, annually expend so much of the sum of three thousand dollars as he shall deem proper, in the purchase of stock, animals, agricultural implements, in establishing and instructing in agricultural and mechanical pursuits, such of said Indians as shall be disposed thereto; and in the employment of mechanics for them, in educating their children, in providing necessary and proper medicines, medical attendance, care for and support of the aged, sick, and infirm of their number, for the helpless orphans of said Indians, and in any other respect promoting their civilization, comfort, and improvement; provided further, that the President of the United States may, at his discretion determine in what proportion the said annuities shall be distributed among said Indians; and the United States further agree that out of the sum above stipulated to be paid to said Indians, there shall be set apart and paid to the head-chief, the sum of two hundred dollars annually, and to the soldier-chiefs, fifty dollars annually in money or supplies, so long as they and their bands remain faithful to their treaty obligations; and for and in consideration of the long continued and faithful services of Pierre Garreau to the Indians of the aforesaid tribe, and his efforts for their benefit, the United States agree to give him, out of the annuities to said tribe, the sum of two hundred dollars annually, being the same amount as is paid the head chiefs as aforesaid; and also to the eight leading men, presented by the said tribe as the headmen and advisers of the principal chiefs, and to their successors in office, the sum of fifty dollars per annum, so long as they remain faithful to their treaty obligations; and provided that the President may, at his discretion, vary the amount paid to the chiefs, if in his judgment there may be either by the fidelity or efficiency of any of said chiefs sufficient cause; yet not so as to change the aggregate amount.

Article 8. It is understood and agreed by the parties to this treaty, that if any of the bands of Indians, parties hereto, shall violate any of the agreements, stipulations, or obligations herein contained, the United States may withhold, for such length of time as the President may determine, any portion or all the annuities agreed to be paid to said Indians under the provisions of this treaty.

Article 9. The annuities of the aforesaid Indians shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals, but satisfaction for depredations committed by them shall be made in such manner as the President may direct.

Article 10. This treaty shall be obligatory upon the aforesaid tribe of Indians from the date hereof, and upon the United States so soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate.

Article 11. Any amendment or modification of this treaty by the Senate of the United States, not materially changing the nature or obligation of the same, shall be considered final and binding on said bands the same as if it has been subsequently presented and agreed to by the said chiefs and headmen, in open council.

In testimony whereof the aforesaid commissioners on the part of the United States, and the chiefs and headmen of the aforementioned tribe of Indians, have hereunto set their hands this twenty-seventh day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, after the contents thereof had been previously read, interpreted, and explained.

Newton Edmunds,
S. R. Curtis,
Orrin Guernsey,
Henry W. Reed

White Shield, his x mark.
Iron Bear, his x mark.
The Son of the Star, or Rushing Bear, his x mark.
The Black Trail, his x mark.
The Wolf Necklace, his x mark.
The one that comes out first, his x mark.
The Whistling Bear, his x mark.
The Yellow Knife, his x mark.
The Bear of the Woods, his x mark.
The Dog Chief, his x mark.
Headmen;
White Cow Chief, his x mark.
The Walking Wolf, his x mark.
The White Bear, his x mark.
The Bully Head, his x mark.
The Young Wolf, his x mark.
The Short Tail Bull, his x mark.
The Lone Horse, his x mark.
The War Eagle Cap, his x mark.
The Sitting Night, his x mark.
The Yellow Wolf, his x mark.
The Old Bear, his x mark.
The Brave, his x mark.
The Big Head, his x mark.
The Elk River, his x mark.
Mahlon Wilkinson, agent.
Reuben S. Pike.
Jos. La Burg, jr.
Charles Reader.
Chas. F. Picotte.
U. S. Interpreters:
Pierre Garreau, his x mark.
Charles Papin.
Charles Larpenteur.

Signed by the commissioners on the part of the United States, and by the chiefs and headmen, after the treaty had been fully read, interpreted, and explained in our presence.

Chas. A. Reed,
Secy. Of Commission.
M. K. Armstrong,
Assist. Secty.

ADDENDA.

The chiefs and headmen of the Gros Ventres and Mandan tribes, heretofore long associated with the Arickarees named in the foregoing treaty, and anxious to continue their residence in the same community and perpetuate their friendly relations with the Arickarees and the United States, do concur in, and become parties and participants in and to all the stipulations of the foregoing treaty.And it being made known to all the tribes thus associated that the United States may desire to connect a line of stages with the river, at the salient angle thereof about thirty miles below this point, and may desire to establish settlements and convenient supplies and mechanical structures to accommodate the growing commerce and travel, by land and river, the chiefs and headmen of the Arickarees, Gros Ventres, and Mandans, acting and uniting also with the commissioners of the United States aforesaid, do hereby convey to the United States all their right and title to the following lands, situated on the northeast side of the Missouri River, to wit: Beginning on the Missouri River at the mouth of Snake River, about thirty mils below Ft. Berthold: thence up Snake River and in a northeast direction twenty-five miles; thence southwardly parallel to the Missouri River to a point opposite and twenty-five miles east of old Ft. Clarke; thence west to a point on the Missouri River opposite to old Ft. Clarke; thence up the Missouri River to the place of beginning: Provided, That the premises here named shall not be a harbor for Sioux or other Indians when they are hostile to the tribes, parties to this treaty; but it shall be the duty of the United States to protect and defend these tribes in the lawful occupation of their homes, and in the enjoyment of their civil rights, as the white people are protected in theirs.

Article 2. It is also agreed by the three tribes aforesaid, now united in this treaty as aforesaid, that in consideration of the premises named in the aforesaid treaty, and the further consideration of the cession of lands at Snake River, in addition to the payments by the United States of annuities there named to the Arickarees, there shall be paid five thousand dollars to the Gros Ventres, and five thousand dollars to the Mandans, annually, in goods, at the discretion of the President. And for the Gros Ventres and Mandan tribes twenty per cent. of their annuity may be expended for agricultural, mechanical, and other purposes as specified in the latter clause of Article Seven of the aforesaid treaty. And also out of the aforesaid annuity to the Gros Ventres there shall be paid to the first, or principal chief, the sum of two hundred dollars each, annually, and to the six soldier chiefs the sum of fifty dollars each, annually. There shall also be paid to the head, or principal chief, of the Mandans, out of the annuities of said tribe, the sum of two hundred dollars, annually, and to each of the nine solder

chiefs the sum of fifty dollars, annually. In testimony whereof the aforesaid commissioners on the part of the United States, and the chiefs and headmen of the aforementioned tribe of Indians, have hereunto set their hands this twenty-seventh day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, after the contents thereof had been previously read, interpreted, and explained.

Newton Edmunds. [Seal.]
S. R. Curtis. [Seal.]
Orrin Guernsey. [Seal.]
Henry W. Reed. [Seal.]

Signatures of Arickarees:
White Shield, Head Chief, his x mark.
Rushing Bear, Second Chief, his x mark.
Wolf Necklace, Chief, his x mark.
Bear of the woods, Chief, his x mark.
Whistling Bear, Chief, his x mark.
Iron Bear, Solder C., his x mark.
Black trail, Second Chief, his x mark.
The Two Bears, Chief, his x mark.
The Yellow Knife, Chief, his x mark.
The Crow Chief, Chief, his x mark.
Gros Ventres Chiefs:
Crow Breast, Head Chief, his x mark.
Poor Wolf, Second Chief, his x mark.
Red Tail, his x mark.
The War Chief, his x mark.
Short Tail Bull, his x mark.
One whose mouth rubbed with cherries, his x mark.
The Yellow Shirt, his x mark.
Chief Soldiers:
The Flying Crow, his x mark.
The Many Antelope, his x mark.
One who eats no marrow, his x mark.
Mandan Chiefs:
The Red Cow, his x mark.
The Running Eagle, his x mark.
The Big Turtle, his x mark.
The Scabby Wolf, his x mark.
The Crazy Chief, his x mark.
The Crow Chief, his x mark.
Chief Soldiers:
One who strikes in the back, his x mark.

Signed by the commissioners on the part of the United States, and by the chiefs and headmen, after the treaty had been fully read, interpreted, and explained in our presence.

Witnesses to the above signatures:

Chas. A. Reed, Secty. Of Commission.

Mahlon Wilkinson, Agent.
M. K. Armstrong, Asst. Secy.
Reuben S. Pike.

U. S. Interpreters:
Charles Reader.
C. F. Picotte.
Charles Larpenteur.
Pierre Garreau, his x mark.
Charles Papin.

TREATY OF FORT LARAMIE WITH SIOUX, ETC., 1851.

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Fort Laramie, in the Indian Territory, between D. D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs, and Thomas Fitspatrick, Indian agent, commissioners specially appointed and authorized by the President of the United States, of the first part, and the chiefs, headmen, and braves of the following Indian nations, residing south of the Missouri River, east of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the lines of Texas and New Mexico, viz, the Sioux or Dahcotahs, Cheyennes, Arrapahoes, Crows, Assinaboines, Gros-Ventre Mandans, and Arrickaras, parties of the second part, on the seventeenth day of September. A. D. One thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.a

Article 1. The aforesaid nations, parties to this treaty, having assembled for the purpose of establishing and confirming peaceful relations amongst themselves, do hereby covenant and agree to abstain in future from all hostilities whatever against each other, to maintain good faith and friendship in all their mutual intercourse, and to make an effective and lasting peace.

Article 2. The aforesaid nations do hereby recognize the right of the United States Government to establish roads, military and other posts, within their respective territories.

Article 3. In consideration of the rights and privileges acknowledged in the preceding article, the United States bind themselves to protect the aforesaid Indian nations against the commission of all depredations by the people of the said United States, after the ratification of this treaty.

Article 4. The aforesaid Indian nations do hereby agree and bind themselves to make restitution or satisfaction for any wrongs committed, after the ratification of this treaty, by any band or individual of their people, on the people of the United States, whilst lawfully residing in or passing through their respective territories.

Article 5. The aforesaid Indian nations do hereby recognize and acknowledge the following tracts of country, included within the metes and boundaries hereinafter designated, as their respective territories, viz: The territory of the Sioux or Dahcotah Nation, commencing the mouth of the White Earth River, on the Missouri River; thence in a southwesterly direction to the forks of the Platte River; thence up the north fork of the Platte River to a point know as the **Red Bute**, or where the road leaves the river; thence along the range of mountains known as the Black Hills, to the head-waters of Heart River; thence down Heart River to its mouth; and thence down the Missouri River to the place of beginning.

a This treaty as signed was ratified by the Senate with an amendment changing the annuity in Article 7 from fifty to ten years, subject to acceptance by the tribes. Assent of all tribes except the Crows was procured (see Upper, Platte C., 570. 1853, Indian Office) and in subsequent agreements this treaty has been recognized as in force (see post p.776).

The territory of the Gros Ventre, Mandans, and Arrickaras Nations, commencing at the mouth of Heart River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Yellowstone River; thence up the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Powder River in a southeasterly direction, to the head-waters of the Little Missouri River; thence along the Black Hills to the head of Heart River, and thence down Heart River to the place of beginning.

The territory of the Assinaboin Nation, commencing at the mouth of Yellowstone River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Muscle-shell River; thence from the mouth

of the Muscle-shell River in a southeasterly direction until it strikes the head-waters of Big Dry Creek: thence down that creek to where it empties into the Yellowstone River, nearly opposite the mouth of Powder River, and thence down the Yellowstone River to the place of beginning.

The territory of the Blackfoot Nation, commencing at the mouth of Muscle-shell River; thence up the Missouri River to its source; thence along the main range of the Rocky Mountains, in a southerly direction, to the head-waters of the northern source of the Yellowstone River; thence down the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Twenty-five Yard Creek; thence across to the head-waters of the Muscle-shell River, and thence down the Muscle-shell River to the place of beginning.

The territory of the Crow nation, commencing at the mouth of Powder River on the Yellowstone; thence up Powder River to its source; thence along the main range of the Black Hills and Wind River Mountains to the head-waters of the Yellowstone River; thence down the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Twenty-five Yard Creek; thence to the head waters of the Muscle-shell River; thence down the Muscle-shell River to its mouth; thence to the head-waters of Big Dry Creek, and thence to its mouth.

The territory of the Cheyennes and Arrapahoes, commencing at the Red Bute, or the place where the road leaves the north fork of the Platte River; thence up the north fork of the Platte River to its source; thence along the main range of the Rocky Mountains to the head-waters of the Arkansas River; thence down the Arkansas River to the crossing of the Santa Fe road; thence in a northwesterly direction to the forks of the Platte River, and thence up the Platte River to the place of beginning.

It is , however, understood that, in making this recognition and acknowledgment, the aforesaid Indian nations do not hereby abandon or prejudice any rights or claims they may have to other lands; and further, that they do not surrender the privilege of hunting, fishing, or passing over any of the tracts of country heretofore described.

Article 6. The parties to the second part of this treaty having selected principals or head-chiefs for their respective nations, through whom all national business will hereafter be conducted, do hereby bind themselves to sustain said chiefs and their successors during good behavior.

Article 7. In consideration of the treaty stipulations, and for the damages which have or may occur by reason thereof to the Indian nations, parties hereto, and for their maintenance and the improvement of their moral and social customs, the United States bind themselves to deliver to the said Indian nations the sum of fifty thousand dollars per annum for the term of ten years, with the right to continue the same at the discretion of the President of the United States for a period not exceeding five years thereafter, in provisions, merchandise, domestic animals, and agricultural implements, in such proportions as may be deemed best adapted to their condition by the President of the United States, to be distributed in proportion to the population of the aforesaid Indian nations.

Article 8. It is understood and agreed that should any of the Indian nations, parties to this treaty, violate any of the provisions thereof, the United States may withhold the whole or a portion of the annuities mentioned in the preceding article from the nation so offending, until, in the opinion of the President of the united States, proper satisfaction shall have been made.

In testimony where the said D. D. Mitchell and Thomas Fitzpatrick commissioners as aforesaid, and the chiefs, headmen, and braves, parties hereto, have set their hands and affixed their marks, on the day and at the place first above written.

D. D. Mitchell
Thomas Fitzpatrick
Commissioners

Sioux:
Mah-toe-wha-you-whey, his x mark.
Mah-kah-toe-zah-zah, bis x mark.
Bel-o-ton-kah-tan-ga, his x mark.
Nah-ka-pah-gi-gi, his x mark.
Mak-toe-sah-bi-chis, his x mark.
Meh-wha-tah-ni-hans-kah, his x mark.

Cheyennes:
Wah-ha-nis-satta, his x mark.
Voist-ti-toe-vetz, his x mark.
Nahk-ko-me-ien, his x mark.
Koh-kah-y-wh-cum-est, his x mark.

Arrapahoes:
Bĕ-ah—tĕ-a-qui-sah, his x mark.
Neb-ni-bah-seh-it, his x mark.
Beh-kah-jay-beth-sah-es, his x mark.

Crows:
Arra-tu-ri-sash,
Doh-chepit-seh-chi-es, his x mark.

Assinaboines:
Mah-toe-wit-ko, his x mark.
Toe-tah-ki-eh-nan, his x mark.

Mandans and Gros Ventres:
Nochk-pit-shi-toe-pish, his x mark.
She-o-mant-ho, his x mark.

Arickarees:
Koun-hei-ti-shan, his x mark.
Bi-atch-tah-wetch, his x mark.

In the presence of—

A.B. Chambers, secretary.
S. Cooper, colonel, U.S. Army.
R.H. Chilton, captain, First Drags.
Thomas Duncah, captain, Mounted Riflemen.
Thos. G. Rhett, brevet captain R. M. R.
W. L. Elliott, first lieutenant R. M. R.
C. Campbell, interpreter for Sioux.
John s. Smith, Interpreter for Cheyennes.
Robert Meldrum, interpreter for the Crows.
H. Culbertson, interpreter for Assiniboines and Gros Ventres.
Francois L'Etalie, interpreter for Arrapahoes.
B. Gratz Brown.
Robert Campbell.
Edmond F. Chouteau

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P. 21 Figure 6. Map of Indian land cessions by the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara through a succession of treaties and agreements, from 1851 - 1891, adapted from Royce, Charles C., Indian Land Cessions in the United States, 1870-1886, in Meyers, 1977, p. 112.

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P. 19 Photo courtesy of Collections, the State Historical Society of North Dakota (Col. 384/1-Delegation of Arikaras, Gros Ventre & Mandans meet with President Grant, May, 1874.

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P. 31 George Gillette, Sahnish Chairman and the Business Council as the tribe sells 155,000 land for the Garrison Dam and Reservoir. Photo courtesy of the Associated Press, May 20, 1948, #1393- wx A List, wx Rm in NY NEG, RMB 5-20-48-STF-WCC.

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P. 58 Photo of the National Congress of American Plains Indians, courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota. List of attendees provided by the Three Affiliated Tribes curriculum review committee.

P. 91 Photo of Quilt made by Marie Young Bear. Gilman, Carolyn & Schneider, Mary Jane (1987). The way to Independence: Memories of a Hidatsa Indian Family, 1840 - 1920. Publications of the Minnesota Historical Society, Museum exhibit Series No. 3. NEED PAGE # HERE.

P. 97 Photograph of Four Rings, by Fred Olson, photographer. Courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

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P. 123 Photograph of Bear on the Water, courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, Volume #1, 1906, p. 444. First Annual Report of the State Historical Society of North Dakota to the Governor of North Dakota, for the year ending 6/30/1906.

P. 124 Photograph of Red Roan Buffalo Cow, Mandan Chief, courtesy of the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, Collection # 410-66. Kleinsmith-Welch, photographer, 1926.

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P. 126 Drawing of Road Maker, Addíh-Haddísch, Head Hidatsa Chief of the Scattered Village #3, by Karl Bodmer in 1834, #326. From Karl Bodmer's America.1984. Printed with permission of the Joslyn Art Museum, University of Nebraska Press, P. 315.

P. 127 Drawing of Péhriska Rúhpa, Hidatsa Warrior, Two Ravens, by Karl Bodmer, 1984. #329. From Karl Bodmer's America, 1984. Printed with permission of the Joslyn Art Museum, University of Nebraska Press, #318. and the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota. COL. #C-605.

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P. 135 White Shield II, Harry Gillette, grandson of Son-of-the-Star. Assumed leadership of the Sahnish in the early 1900's. Photo courtesy of the Sahnish Cultural Society, White Shield North Dakota, from the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

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P. 140 Peter Beauchamp Jr. - photograph courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, New Town, North Dakota.

P. 140 Photograph of Martin Cross, courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum. Printed with the permission of Elite Studio, Minot, North Dakota.

P. 141 Photograph of George Gillette, courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, New Town, North Dakota. Printed with permission of Elite Studio, Minot, North Dakota.

Photograph of Carl Whitman Jr., Mandan-Hidatsa, courtesy of the Carl Whitman Family.

P. 142 Photograph of James Hall, courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, New Town, North Dakota. Printed with permission of Elite Studios, Minot, North Dakota.

Photograph of Reverend Robert Fox, courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, New Town, North Dakota and printed with permission of D'Joyce Studio, Bismarck, North Dakota.

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P. 143 Photograph of Vincent Malnouri, courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, New Town, North Dakota and printed with permission of Faye Studio, Garrison, North Dakota.

Photograph of Ralph Wells, Jr., courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, New Town, North Dakota.

P. 144 Photograph of Nathan Little Soldier, courtesy of the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum, New Town, North Dakota.

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Photograph of Austin Gillette, printed with permission from the Minot Daily New, Minot, North Dakota.

P. 145 Photograph of Alyce Spotted Bear, printed with permission of Mahar Photography, Williston, ND, 1997.

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Photograph of Wilbur Wilkinson, by Jeff Olson, Photographer, courtesy of the Bismarck Tribune, Bismarck, ND, 1993.

P. 147 Photograph of Russell Mason, printed with the permission of D'Joyce Studio, Bismarck, North Dakota, 1997.

Photograph of Tex G. Hall, courtesy of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Tribal Administration, New Town, N.D., 2001.