

Indian Housing in South Dakota

South Dakota State Historic Preservation Office

INDIAN HOUSING IN SOUTH DAKOTA: 1946-1975

Prepared for:

**South Dakota State Historic Preservation Office
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April 15, 2000

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this manuscript would not have been possible without special contributions from many individuals.

First, I would like to thank Mary Troutman Gates of the South Dakota State Historical Society for her exuberant support for this project and for patiently overseeing this contract. I also owe my gratitude to Michelle Saxman, Stephen Rogers, Lynda Schwan, Steven Littlefield, and Jay Vogt of the South Dakota State Historical Society; and La Vera Rose, librarian at the South Dakota State Archives and former resident of the Rosebud Reservation for their editing of the draft manuscript.

Next, I owe deep appreciation to many individuals at the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Area Office at Aberdeen, South Dakota, various BIA agencies, and individual Indian Housing Authorities (IHA). I enjoyed the full cooperation of these knowledgeable BIA an/or IHA personnel who shared whatever pertinent housing condition documentation was in their possession, and/or took me into the field to exam relevant housing sites for this project. Without their timely and insightful comments and generous cooperation, this project would be truly incomplete. They include the following individuals:

BIA Aberdeen Area Office:

Richard G. Zephier, Acting Area Director Aberdeen Area Office (AAO), who sent a letter to all the agencies making them aware of my research and asking them for their full cooperation; Gilbert Kills Pretty Enemy, AAO Housing Program Specialist, who provided information on AAO housing records and leads to architectural firms that may have been involved in Indian housing projects in South Dakota.

Yankton Reservation:

Timothy Lake, Superintendent of the Yankton Agency; Lawrence Kiyukan, Realty Officer, who produced files and maps for the reservation; La Verne Golus who spent a full day touring the reservation with camera in hand in the communities of Wagner and Marty, Yankton Reservation; and Lisa Arrow, Housing Specialist, and Wilfred W. Prissel, Development Manager for the Yankton IHA, who provided important documentation on housing developments that qualify for this project.

Crow Creek Reservation:

Steve McLaughlin, Superintendent of the Crow

Creek Agency, Fort Thompson; Greg Hansen, Range Management Specialist, who went into the field to photograph Crow Creek housing conditions at Fort Thompson and Crow Creek; and Quinten McGhee, Soil Conservation Technician, with whom I conducted a short but vital taped oral history regarding the housing history of Crow Creek Reservation.

Standing Rock Reservation:

Bobby Thompson, Superintendent of the Standing Rock Agency, Fort Yates, North Dakota, the Realty and Agency Land Operations staff, and Michael Addington, Architect and Director of Development for the Standing Rock Housing Authority, who allowed me to photocopy site and floor plans for two major housing projects constructed in the Standing Rock Reservation communities of Kenel and Wakpala, South Dakota.

Lower Brule Reservation:

Ms. Barbara Ironwood the BIA Realty Officer, who shared her files with me, and especially Teresa Felicia, Realty Specialist who spent the better part of the day driving around the communities of Lower Brule and West Brule while I conducted my field photography. Her knowledge of the history of housing at Lower Brule proved invaluable.

Cheyenne River Reservation:

Russell McClure, Superintendent of the Cheyenne River Agency; Leo O'Conner, BIA Realty Officer, Dan White, BIA Property Officer; and John Lind, Director of the Cheyenne River Tribal Housing Improving Project (HIP).

Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reservations:

Because of the extensive published and unpublished documentation on housing at these reservations, and because of extenuating circumstances, contact was not made with tribal housing authorities on these reservations.

I also would like to credit the archivists at several libraries and repositories for their services and timely reproduction of requested materials. They include, library staffs at the South Dakota State Historical Society and State Library and Archives, Pierre, South Dakota. I must also thank the staff at other South Dakota institutions. They include librarians at the University of South Dakota at Aberdeen and Vermillion; and the Norbeck-Wegner Room—Dakota Historical Collections at the Pierre Municipal Library for their

valuable assistance in locating various materials for this project.

Finally, my gratitude must be extended to staff members of U.S. West Research, Inc. who made major contributions and lent support to this project in many capacities, and to the Salt Lake City architectural firm of Alexander & Gibbs for their renditions of the elevations and floor plans for the federally assisted housing on the Yankton Reservation.

Needless to say, the author accepts full responsibility for the final product, including any biases, errors, and omissions.

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ABSTRACT/MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

In April, 1998, the State Historic Preservation Office of the South Dakota State Historical Society solicited proposals for the production of a Historic Context and Reconnaissance level architectural/historical survey of federal subsidized housing projects on American Indian tribal lands in South Dakota from 1946 to 1975. This project covered seven reservations within South Dakota (Yankton, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Cheyenne River, Standing Rock, Rosebud, and Pine Ridge reservations). In June, 1998, U.S. West Research, Inc. (USWR) was awarded this contract (99C-043) for \$13,617.00.

After careful review of the documentation available, and a limited windshield survey of housing conditions on the seven South Dakota reservations involved, USWR has concluded that the housing built on these reservations in the 1950s, 1960s, and early

1970s is a threatened architectural and historical resource. Though built within the last fifty years, their numbers are being greatly reduced through demolition and are currently being replaced by new federally-assisted housing projects or are in a dilapidated state from years of usage and lack of repair.

USWR has recognized this trend from years of research work on reservations nationwide. USWR commends the South Dakota Historical Society for taking the lead in addressing this critical historic preservation subject and resource. USWR asserts that the federally subsidized housing built on these reservations in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s are potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) with Criteria G consideration because they are less than fifty years old.

METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

To meet the objectives of this project, U.S. West Research, Inc. (USWR) devised a research design specifically tailored to this project. The plan offered was a simple, straightforward one; but one which USWR felt would accomplish the task at hand effectively and efficiently. It incorporated a valid methodology that produced the expected results, and it met the demands of this project as outlined in the Request for Proposal (RFP). The following section describes the goals of the project, the methodological orientation of the project, the research strategy for the study, the windshield level survey methodology, as well as the writing phase and final document preparation.

Project Goals

The goals of this project were to produce a Historic Context and Windshield level architectural/historical survey of federal subsidized housing projects on American Indian tribal lands in South Dakota from 1946 to 1975. This project covered seven reservations within South Dakota (Yankton, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Cheyenne River, Standing Rock, Rosebud, and Pine Ridge reservations).

The following report provides a historic context statement that: (1) describes the national setting regarding federally subsidized housing projects on Indian reservations nationwide and provides an overview history pertaining to housing issues related to Native Americans from 1946 to 1975; (2) addresses the cultural background and history of the tribes under study; and (3) provides a history of housing on the seven South Dakota reservations covered by this project for the period 1946 to 1975.

Methodology

Our proposal outlined four parts to our research design for this project. They are as follows:

- Part 1: Pre-award Conference and Initial Consultation
- Part 2: Historical Research of Secondary and Primary Sources
- Part 3: Windshield Level Survey of Representative Housing Developments on Each Reservation
- Part 4: Preparation of Historic Context Identifying

Major Statewide and Reservation Wide Trends Among Indian Housing Projects

During the project, this methodology was modified to meet the demands and circumstances encountered in the project. These changes are described below.

Pre-award Conference and Initial Consultation

Upon notification of award, Dr. Anthony Godfrey of USWR had planned to meet with pertinent State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) staff at Pierre, South Dakota to discuss research and specific instructions prior to beginning the project. At this time, USWR wished to discuss our timetable and proposed research design in person, and clarify all project expectations, schedules, and final products to be submitted. Input from SHPO personnel at this time was thought to be critical to the efficient beginning of this project.

Though USWR planned this initial consultation action, in practice, it was not followed because adequate consultation with State Historical Preservation Office (SHPO) personnel took place over the telephone. In addition, USWR combined this project with a forestry history project for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations in order to save time and because of the limited budget for this project.

Historical Research of Secondary and Primary Sources

First, USWR gathered and reviewed all secondary bibliographic literature. USWR conducted a *national bibliographic search* using WORLDCAT which contains 35 million book, manuscript, and media titles from 14,000 libraries in the U.S. and abroad. USWR checked collections in WORLDCAT using pertinent Library of Congress search terms (Indian housing, etc). WORLDCAT also provided information on which libraries had particular resources, which was useful when seeking material in South Dakota and elsewhere.

Other resources used by USWR included but are not limited to, George Peter Murdock's *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America* (1976), Frederick and Alice Dockstadter's *The American Indian in Graduate Studies: A Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations* (1974), and valuable resources such as Francis Paul Prucha's

A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Indian-White Relations in the United States (1977) and his *Indian-White Relations in the United States: A Bibliography of Works Published, 1975-1980* (1982).

Besides consulting the above secondary sources for this project, USWR conducted a bibliographic search for government documents related to the subject of Indian housing. Government documents were easily accessible in the government documents collection located at the University of Utah and provided a good source of information for this project. These documents included annual reports of the Secretary of the Interior and other government agencies, as well as, congressional hearings, reports, and other documents related to Indian housing.

In addition to conducting the above bibliographic research for relevant secondary literature, USWR conducted a primary document search at a number of regional university and historical society archives. Primary resources at these locations provided additional critical information for discussing federally subsidized Indian housing in South Dakota.

USWR also visited critical archival repositories in South Dakota, such as the South Dakota State Historical Society, South Dakota State Library, Northern State University at Aberdeen, and the University of South Dakota at Vermillion—which incidently in the 1960s was involved in a consortium of universities that entered into an agreement to render training and technical assistance services (including housing) to Indian communities in South Dakota.

In addition to these repositories, USWR accessed the records of the BIA Area Office at Aberdeen. USWR also tried to visit the BIA reservation agency offices and the Indian Housing Authorities (IHAs) at each reservation as well as for record collection purposes.

Windshield Survey of Representative Housing Developments on Each Reservation

Once the archival research was completed, USWR believed it had sufficient background knowledge to make a windshield level survey of representative housing developments on each reservation. USWR notified the SHPO's office, the BIA Area Office, and the Superintendent of each Agency in advance of this field work. Thereafter, USWR maintained a log of all contacts with tribal officials.

It was assumed that representative housing projects would be located near the major population centers on each reservation, and therefore near the BIA Agency where archival research was conducted. After conducting archival research at each agency, USWR spent one day on each reservation making a windshield level survey of representative housing developments. This windshield survey included taking black and white exterior photographs of appropriate and representative properties and complexes, and color slides of significant views. The photographs are on file at the South Dakota State Historical Society.

Preparation of Historic Context Identifying Major Statewide and Reservation Wide Trends Among Indian Housing Projects

The final product of this project is the preparation of this historic context, which identifies reservation wide Indian housing projects. Each reservation housing project had its own unique history and regional variations could not be identified and documented. Nevertheless, this historic context report describes typical examples and major variations in housing types and site arrangement. These examples were further documented in photographs taken during the windshield survey.

KEY PERSONNEL

U.S. West Research, Inc.

U.S. West Research (USWR) is a public history and cultural resource management firm, which was begun in 1985 by Anthony Godfrey, Ph.D. Since its beginning more than fourteen years ago, it has attracted a number of important contracts with federal, state, and local government agencies, as well as with private groups, such as law firms and profit and non-profit corporations. USWR's research areas of specialization in public history and cultural resource management include:

- Architectural History and Historic Preservation and Planning
- Archives and Archival Management
- Landscape and Environmental History
- Historic Archaeology
- Historic Resource Studies
- Oral History
- Institutional Histories
- Native American History including Litigation Research in Issues Related to Native American Land, Water, and Treaty Rights, as well as Environmental Issues, Cultural Anthropology and Ethnohistory

USWR has conducted research on a variety of projects in twenty states (Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming).

Research for these projects has been conducted at major colleges and universities, local, county, and state libraries and archives, as well as federal government libraries, repositories, and archives, including various record groups at the National Archives (Washington, D.C., and College Park, Maryland), Library of Congress, Smithsonian Institution, and other governmental libraries in the Washington, D.C. area. In addition, USWR has conducted extensive research in practically *every* National Archive and Federal Record Center in the country.

USWR has conducted a number of reconnaissance survey projects similar to this, in a number of states, including South Dakota (Lead); Wisconsin (Merrill and Beloit); Minnesota (St. Peter and Winona) and Nebraska (Offutt Air Force Base, rural Scotts Bluff County, and rural Hall County). In addition, USWR conducted an inventory of historic sites in seven townships in rural Brown County (1992-93) and prepared six National Register of Historic Places nominations under the multiple property document Historic Resources of Brown County, South Dakota in 1994.

Research Team

The research team for this project consisted solely of Anthony Godfrey, Ph.D. and supporting clerical/research staff.

- **Anthony Godfrey, Ph.D. Principal Investigator
Architectural Historian
Historian**

Anthony Godfrey is the president of U.S. West Research, Inc. and has over fourteen years of experience in supervising and/or conducting architectural history and historic preservation and planning projects as well as Native American history projects. Relevant training for this project included not just this experience in public history, but also his formal and practical training in twentieth-century Native-American history (see Appendix C: Resume of U.S. West Research, Inc. and Academic Resume and Dissertation Abstract of Dr. Anthony Godfrey). Dr. Godfrey's experience meets the qualifications for Architectural Historian, and Historian as established by 36 CFR Part 61 for this project.

Besides administering and monitoring the project to see that the goals and schedules were achieved in a timely and efficient manner, Dr. Godfrey's responsibilities included researching, synthesizing, and writing of this historic context report in its entirety, as well as conducting the windshield level survey.

FEDERALLY ASSISTED INDIAN HOUSING

Temporal Boundaries: Twentieth Century, 1946-1975

Spatial Boundaries: Yankton, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reservations, South Dakota.

Related Study Units: Sioux Era (1750 to Present)

Historical Background/National Setting

1.0 Introduction

At the end World War II, American political leaders established a national goal that each American family have a decent, safe, and sanitary home. To accomplish this goal, Congress authorized various subsidized Federal housing programs to meet that goal, and signed into law the Housing Act of 1949 (Public Law 81-171) which enunciated this national goal and gave impetus to the postwar housing boom and urban renewal programs of the 1950s and 1960s.

Similar sentiments were expressed regarding Native Americans. At the time, surveys showed that more than half of the South Dakota's Indians lived in substandard housing. Living in isolated rural areas, Indian housing was extremely overcrowded. Poor sanitation conditions caused many tribal people to suffer high rates of such diseases as tuberculosis and gastroenteritis, and Indian infants were dying at a rate twice the national average.

At the end of World War II, there were many reasons for the deplorable housing on Indian reservations. In general, one cause of substandard housing on Indian reservations was the low income levels tribal members. After World War II, most Indian families in South Dakota simply could not afford to build new homes, or even repair old ones. In addition, most Indian families in South Dakota lived in isolated areas, making it difficult and expensive to bring in construction material and to install electricity, water, and sewage lines to their homes. Finally, most Indian families in South Dakota lived on trust land, which could not be alienated. Because of this situation, they could not assume mortgages for home construction or home improvement from commercial banks and savings and loans institutions because they could offer no usable collateral to these institutions.

Because of relatively low incomes, isolated locations, and the unique land ownership status, Indians

living on reservations were forced to rely on Federal programs to meet their housing needs. During the years 1946 to 1975, Indians seeking an adequate standard of housing waited for Congress and the Executive Branches of government to catch up to their needs and demands. Legislation and executive decisions on Federal Indian housing programs did not develop until the early and mid-1960s, when during the Kennedy-Johnson administrations, America began its "war" on poverty. Though slow to reach impoverished Indians, thereafter, the housing situation on Native American reservations nationwide improved dramatically. However, the housing programs established by the Kennedy-Johnson administrations did not take full effect until after 1975.

The following sections provide a comprehensive but brief overview of the evolution of federal Indian housing legislation. It begins with a thumbnail sketch of federally assisted housing prior to 1946, and then moves into the history of Indian housing with a discussion of the various federal agencies which either directly affected existing Indian housing, or federal agencies which authorized federal aid to Indian communities in need of housing programs. In the early 1960s, these agencies included the Public Housing Administration (PHA), the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and the Indian Health Service (IHS). By the mid-1960s, other federal agencies became involved, such as Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Farmers Home Administration (FmHA), Veterans Administration (VA), and the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

1.1 Federal Assisted Indian Housing History, Pre-1946

Generally speaking, American Indian housing policy dates almost from the first treaty between the United States and Native Americans. Many early and later Indian treaties contained clauses that stated that the United States would build houses for prominent tribal

members of a given tribe. For instance, in 1889, the government built Spotted Tail chief of the Rosebud Sioux a house at the Rosebud Agency at the cost of \$8,000.00.

Notwithstanding, a national federal Indian housing policy did not begin until 1921, when Congress passed the Synder Act authorizing the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) to provide a broad range of assistance programs in tribal areas.¹ In May of 1926, OIA held a conference among District Superintendents in Washington, D.C. to discuss ways the BIA could improve housing conditions on Indian reservations. Their intent was to prepare plans and specifications for "plain, substantial buildings varying in size from a two room house to a house with six rooms." Toward that end, they produced a booklet of standard house and floor plans for five frame buildings, including bath, toilet, water and sewer systems. They also prepared standard designs for adjacent outbuildings, such as a poultry house, outhouse, and twelve barn floor plans.²

Ultimately, the OIA plans and specifications were prepared for contractors who worked on reservations, but Native Americans who desired to construct their own home could obtain copies of the designs as well. These plans and specifications were first used to improve home conditions on the Kiowa Reservation in Oklahoma, and thereafter they were approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and published by the Government Printing Office for a nationwide audience.³

In 1930, the OIA published a revised and expanded version which contained additional plans and specifications designed to meet the unique climatic and construction limitations for any reservation in the country.

This second version had specifications for: (1) framed house construction, (2) framed and brick-veneered construction, (3) tile and brick-veneer construction, (4) log house construction, and (5) adobe house construction. In addition, this second publication provided specifications for miscellaneous items, such as fireplaces, basements, concrete walks, colonnades, ironing boards, kitchen and medicine cabinets, french doors, and front door side lights. Unlike the previous publication, the second version described in greater detail construction specifications for cisterns, plumbing, sewer, and water supply systems; and for various outbuildings, such as a storm cave, outhouse, poultry house, garage (small and large), granary, and corn crib. Finally, the second publication also provided pertinent construction specifications for framed and boxed barns.⁴

Despite the distribution of these publications in the 1920s and 1930s, OIA did not specifically appropriate funding for any Indian housing project, nor did any other federal agency—that honor fell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs (CIA) John Collier (1932-1945), although it was not easy for his administration. During President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, Congress passed the first United States Housing Act (Public Law 74-412) establishing Public Housing Authorities (PHA) nationwide. Its passage in 1937 offered false hope in meeting Indian housing needs. Unfortunately, government officials narrowly interpreted the public housing law and determined that it did not apply to Native Americans because it did not expressly mention Indians as eligible participants.

Nevertheless, Indian Commissioner Collier creatively addressed Indian housing needs by using fed-



Figure 1: Rosebud Agency—Agents Home. Smithsonian Institute, (negative 43,791-B), Native American Collection, Box 3615A, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.

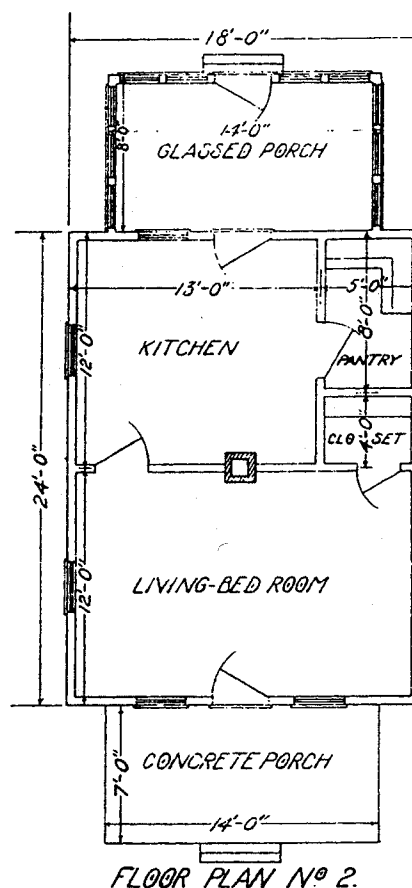
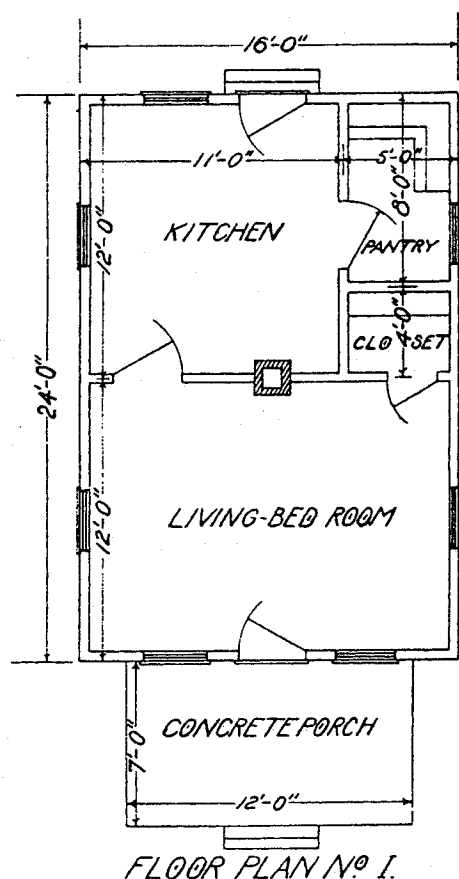


Figure 2: OIA Floor Plans for House Design Nos. 1 and 2, 1930. Adapted from Office of Indian Affairs, *Revised Specification for Indian Homes and Improvements* (Lawrence, Kansas: Haskell Printing Department, 1930).

eral funding to finance reservation housing projects. Commissioner Collier encouraged the Public Works Administration (PWA) to improve the physical conditions at several reservations by building day schools, hospitals, roads, irrigation projects, sewer systems, and houses on reservations. For instance, architectural firms were hired to design buildings in the Pueblo and Mission styles of the Southwest.⁵

Furthermore, Collier cajoled the Resettlement Administration to spend \$1.3 million for self-help projects on reservations which included low-cost housing.⁶ In 1936, the Indian Relief and Rehabilitation Division (IRRD) was established within the OIA to use the Resettlement Administration monies. With this money the Resettlement funding enabled the OIA, which by this time was called the Indian Service, to construct and repair houses, barns, outbuildings and root cellars. Commissioner Collier noted that one of the major problems for Indian welfare was the lack of housing. During the Great Depression and accompanying drought of the 1930s, the South Dakota housing situation worsened. According to one source, "many

Sioux abandoned their homes and moved into tents near agencies in hopes of obtaining work relief."⁷

Like most New Deal programs, the IRRD worked closely with other federal agencies, setting a precedent for the 1960s housing efforts. For instance, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)—Indian Division provided equipment, technical advice and in some cases did much of the labor on IRRD projects. One of the more "novel experiments" was the construction of approximately twenty rehabilitation communities on South Dakota reservations between 1936 and 1942. The Resettlement Administration, which placed "special emphasis on creating subsistence homestead communities" funded clusters of one and two room frame houses with communal garden tracts on several South Dakota reservations.⁸

In addition to this New Deal rehabilitation housing, Collier and his staff also investigated the possibility of constructing unconventional forms of housing on reservations, such as rammed-earth structures. In

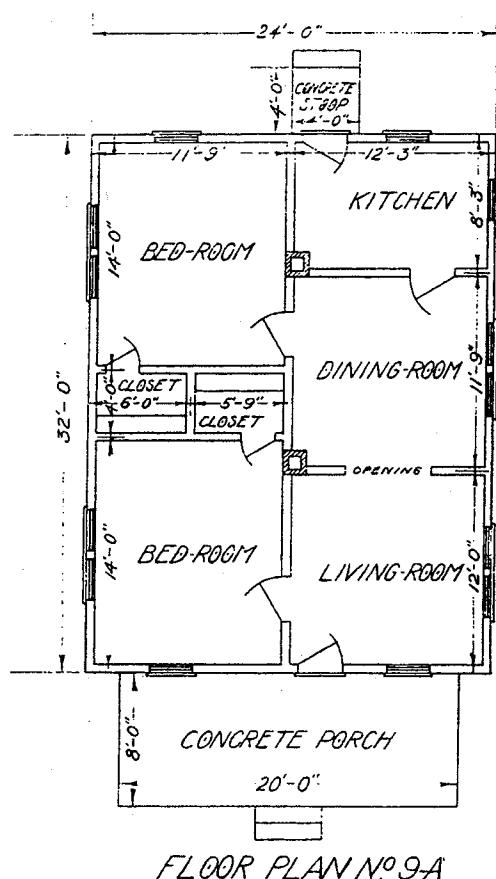


Figure 3: OIA Floor Plans for House Design No. 9-A, 1930. Adapted from Office of Indian Affairs, *Revised Specification for Indian Homes and Improvements* (Lawrence, Kansas: Haskell Printing Department, 1930).

1939, early experiments with this type of housing on North Dakota reservations proved unsatisfactory, however, OIA continued the experimental program on South Dakota reservations. Between 1939-1941, OIA constructed several rammed-earth houses on Standing Rock and Pine Ridge reservations, because of the lack of available wood resources to construct new log houses.⁹ It is not presently known if any of these structures are still extant, or the exact locations where they were built.

Nevertheless, the Indian New Deal home improvement programs proved ineffective. In the short run they were beneficial, but they had little long range effect. With the onset of World War II in 1941, the Indian New Deal largely ended. Even though it enabled many Indian families to construct new homes, the Indian New Deal left a legacy whereby an estimated seventy-three percent of Indian families still were in need of new or improved housing. Indian New Deal housing programs provided some relief, but they

failed to effect permanent changes in Indian housing conditions with specific funded legislative programs.¹⁰

1.2 Federal Assisted Indian Housing History, 1946 to 1975

Efforts to improve Indian housing did not get additional attention until after World War II. As stated earlier in the introduction, Congress passed the Housing Act of 1949 (Public Law 81-171) which pronounced a national goal that every American have a decent, safe, and sanitary home. Following this action, various state governors, including South Dakota's, began to concern themselves with Indian problems including substandard housing conditions. A year later, the Governor's Interstate Indian Council (GIIC) was formed and they listed the deplorable housing conditions among Indians as one of the main agenda items that needed improvement. Action on substandard Indian housing conditions seemed eminent, however, no concrete state actions occurred during the decade of the 1950s.

To meet its national housing goal, in the 1950s, Congress used a variety of federal housing loan programs, e.g. Federal Housing Assistance (FHA), Veterans Administration (VA), and Farmers Home Administration (FmHA). However, similar programs were not developed or made available for Native Americans as expected. Instead, federal government actions centered around the Pick-Sloan Missouri River Basin Development Plan in the 1950s, which physically destroyed many Sioux communities along the Missouri River.

Pick-Sloan Plan, 1944-Early 1960s

In 1944, Congress enacted the Flood Control Act (58 Stat. 887) which authorized the construction of a series of six massive earth-filled dams along the Missouri River by the Army Corps of Engineers (COE). The construction of these dams were part of the Pick-Sloan Plan—which included the construction of 150 multi-purpose reservoirs on the Missouri River and its tributaries. The Pick-Sloan Plan was a massive multistate flood control project for the Missouri River Basin. Designed jointly by the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation (BOR), its purpose was to develop and control the water resources the Missouri River Basin. Development included hydroelectric power, improved navigation, recreational opportunities, and improved water supply for communities along the Missouri River.¹¹

Three of the Pick-Sloan Plan dams constructed in the 1950s and early 1960s were the Fort Randall, Big Bend, and Oahe. The construction of these dams

flooded over 200,000 acres of Sioux bottomland on five Sioux reservations in South Dakota, and directly disrupted housing on each reservation. In addition, these dams were approved largely without substantive consultation with the resident Indians, and the Indians living on these reservations were forced out of their homes when the COE condemned their property in order to construct the dams. In Section 2.0 of this report (Historical Background: State Setting) the housing relocations on the Yankton, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Northern Cheyenne, and Standing Rock reservations are discussed in greater detail.

Public Housing Administration, 1961-1964

While the majority of the South Dakota Sioux were being dislocated by the Pick-Sloan Plan, attempts to provide decent public housing projects for Native Americans on a national level began in the early 1960s. Though most citizens and government officials acknowledged that Indian housing conditions were regrettable, no one took any action on the matter until the Kennedy administration. At this time, a special Task Force on Indian Affairs was appointed by Secretary of the Interior, Morris Udall. In 1961, this Task Force recognized the need for an Indian housing program and "suggested that existing federal housing programs could be utilized to solve the dire Indian housing need, provided that certain problems could be solved,"¹² such as the high rate of unemployment on the reservations which made the establishment of credit worthiness difficult. The Task Force felt that federal loan programs which were helping other American citizens could be effective on reservations, and recommended that the BIA establish a Housing Branch within the Bureau.¹³

These Task Force on Indian Affairs' suggestions cut the "Gordian knot" in providing federal assistance to tribes for housing purposes. Thereafter, the Public Housing Administration (PHA), later the Housing Assistance Administration (HAA) recognized Indian tribes as eligible to participate in its programs. Once it was administratively determined that Indian tribes had the legal authority to establish Indian Housing Authorities (IHAs)—which could develop and operate public housing projects—the first real housing programs began on Indian reservations.¹⁴

The PHA took the lead. Aware of the Indian's poverty and needs, in 1961, the PHA received its first application for public housing projects from an IHA. Thereafter, based on a legal opinion issued by the PHA Legal Division, the PHA and BIA launched its first Mutual-Self Help project in 1962. Under this program, Indians with incomes below the minimum

requirements set by the PHA could contribute their own labor and land as a down payment for their homes. Mutual-help programs were a cooperative effort between local IHAs, the PHA, and the BIA. The tribes appointed their own tribal authorities; the PHA gave money directly to the officials of the tribe for construction supplies for the homes; while the BIA employed reservation housing officers and construction superintendents. The housing officer assisted the local Indian housing authority in selecting eligible families, in making application for assistance to the PHA, and in choosing sites for the dwellings.¹⁵

In 1963, a formal agreement was entered into between the BIA and the PHA for yet another Indian housing program—a Low-Rent Housing Program. The PHA established the first low-rent program for Native Americans which was patterned after the same type of low-rent public housing program for non-Indians. Under the Indian Low-Rent Program, housing was constructed by a building contractor selected by the IHA, and was thereafter operated as rental housing by that housing authority. Theoretically, the rents paid the housing authority's operating expenses.¹⁶

Within a few years, more than 80 tribes passed tribal ordinances to establish housing authorities and began the construction of new dwellings on their reservations using either the Low-Rent or the Mutual Self-help Programs, or both programs simultaneously. These housing authorities sought to help Indian families obtain safe and decent housing. Each tribal housing authority, or IHA, planned, constructed and managed the houses they built. There were often different types of housing arrangements open to tribal members, and families who qualified were able to rent two-to-five bedroom houses, depending on their needs under the Low-Rent Program. Tenants paid an adjustable monthly rent based on their current income. Oftentimes, tribal housing authorities also built one and two bedroom apartments for the elderly and physically challenged tribal members. Finally, IHA's also allowed families to buy their own homes under the Mutual Self-Help Program. Homeowners were required to contribute either money, labor, and/or materials to the home's construction. Thereafter, owners were charged monthly payments based on their income and were responsible for repairing and maintaining their homes. Title usually transferred to the individual at the end of a given time period (e.g. 25 years).

Housing and Urban Development, 1965-1975

In 1965, the Department of Housing and Urban Development or HUD was established (formerly the

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare). After its establishment, HUD replaced PHA as the primary provider of housing on most reservations. The backbone of HUD's program were still the Low-Rent, Mutual Self-Help Homeownership Programs, but later HUD added a new program called the Turnkey Homeownership program.

In 1965, HUD took over PHAs Mutual-help program, and renamed it the HUD Mutual Self-Help Homeownership Program. Still in cooperation with the BIA and the IHS, HUD continued the effort to provide an ownership alternative to rental housing on Indian reservations. Under this plan, a group of participating Indian families could contribute their labor in the physical construction of houses, or they or the tribe, could contribute the building site and, where feasible, local building materials. Once the homes were built, the participants operated on a lease-purchase type of option and received equity credit toward the purchase of their homes in lieu of cash for their contributions. Participants were also responsible for the maintenance and utility costs for the unit, and paid a fee for the operation and administration of unit to the tribal housing authority.¹⁷

Three years later, in 1968, HUD instituted what they called the Turnkey Homeownership Program. Under the Turnkey Homeownership Program, a developer could also construct a house for an IHA.¹⁸ The Turnkey Program was designed to "help low-income Indian families become home owners by entering into and fulfilling obligations under a home-buyer's ownership opportunity agreement with a tribal housing authority."¹⁹ The participant in the Turnkey Program agreed to do the necessary routine maintenance on the unit themselves. For this contribution, they received credit from the housing authority in an earned home payment account, which when sufficient to cover the remaining debt, enabled them to assume title to the residence and become a home owner.²⁰

Between 1962 and 1974, the PHA, and later HUD, worked with the BIA and IHS to construct close to 17,500 new homes on reservations nationwide. Between the years 1962 and 1972, the Mutual Self-Help Program accounted for fifty percent of the PHA/HUD Indian housing units, and together they had constructed 6,100 units. Taken together, the Low-Rent and Turnkey Programs accounted for 12,094 units by 1972.²¹

Initially, the BIA, IHS, and PHA/HUD had an informal cooperative agreement under which the BIA acquired and surveyed the land and built the access roads; the IHS provided water and sanitation facilities;

and PHA/HUD supplied the housing. While most tribes were supportive of federal housing assistance through PHA/HUD, the program suffered from poor interagency cooperation. Housing sometimes sat empty for lack of water and sewer lines, or sometimes roads into housing projects were not built. These serious problems of coordination were addressed in 1969 when the three major agencies involved in Indian housing met and entered into a formal commitment. This tri-agency agreement attempted to overcome the lack of coordination that resulted in families occupying new housing units that lacked plumbing, access roads or had other deficiencies. Prior to 1975 (the ending date for this study), they had not overcome their problems.²²

Other criticism of PHA/HUD programs included the fact that the agency's building requirements were often times insensitive to traditional (and often more efficient) housing designs on reservations. For example, Plains tribes were not allowed to build "traditional" log cabins, which had sheltered them for most of the twentieth century, because PHA/HUD would not finance these types of housing. Another problem was that PHA/HUD regulations eroded tribal sovereignty and made them dependent on federal government grants—a process that had begun with the passage of the General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887 and earlier legislation. Furthermore, PHA/HUD required that local tribal housing authorities be independent and answerable to PHA/HUD instead of their tribal councils. From the federal government's perspective, this arrangement had two advantages: (1) tribal governments were immune to lawsuits, while housing authorities could be sued for mismanagement of funds; and (2) by establishing independent authority, the federal government hoped to eliminate tribal officials providing housing allocations based on political patronage and/or kinship.

Table 1.0 below summarizes the PHA and HUD Indian housing effort during the fiscal years 1962-1974.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Housing Improvement Program, 1960s-1975

In the 1960s, PHA and HUD were not the only agencies that attacked Indian housing issues. In the early 1960s, the BIA began to review the Indian housing problem seriously. During this review, the BIA increasingly became aware of the extent and nature of the Indian housing problem, especially when a survey of 69 reservations by tribal housing authorities revealed that an estimated thirty percent of housing was "unfit for human habitation," and that sixty-five

Table 1.0
Indian Housing Units Provided Through All PHA
and/or HUD Public Housing Programs, 1962-1974²³

Fiscal Year	Authorized	Construction Starts	Completed for Occupancy
1962	74	51	0
1963	500	56	0
1964	2,239	294	83
1965	94	624	201
1966	598	533	603
1967	753	1,222	513
1968	898	1,206	992
1969	1,794	1,049	1,523
1970	4,358	3,763	1,206
1971	7,304	4,974	2,160
1972	3,706	3,111	2,889
1973	1,498	2,675	3,788
1974	660	2,638	3,499
Total	24,476	22,196	17,457

percent were "grossly substandard." In fact, only five percent of Indian housing even met the minimum FHA low cost housing standards.²⁴

In 1965, the BIA, in "an effort to respond to the housing needs of those Indian families with exceptionally low incomes or no income at all," developed and implemented its own Housing Improvement Program (HIP) which provided grants for repairs, major rehabilitation, down payments, and some new housing construction."²⁵ Grants from HIP enabled Indian people to do their own purchasing and/or contracting, or the BIA contracted with the tribe to have the HIP work done. Under the new home purchase provisions of the HIP program, total home construction was funded for use by families and elderly persons who were receiving welfare assistance. According to BIA data, by 1974, HIP had assisted in the repair of approximately 23,800 units and built 3,500 additional units during fiscal years 1968 to 1974 nationwide (see Table 1.1 below).²⁶

Farmers Home Administration and Veterans Administration, 1950s-1974

In addition to PHA/HUD housing programs, other federal agencies were indirectly involved in improving housing on Indian reservations. Two such agencies were the Farmers' Home Administration (FmHA) and the Veterans Administration (VA).

The FmHA operated a number of non-Indian rural housing programs which were authorized by the

Table 1.1
Performance of HIP, 1968-1975²⁷

Fiscal Year	Repairs	New Construction	Appropriations
1968	1,814	311	3,080,000
1969	3,095	262	3,671,000
1970	3,573	656	5,711,000
1971	3,873	574	6,652,000
1972	4,501	495	9,164,000
1973	4,437	636	10,475,000
1974	3,750	679	10,432,000
1975	4,400	500	10,402,000
Total	29,443	4,113	\$52,587,000

Housing Act of 1949. Nonetheless, by 1967, there were only 1,444 Indian homes insured with FmHA loans nationwide. These homes had a total value of 5.3 million dollars.

With the passage of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970 (Public Law 91-609), the major problems that had prevented the FmHA from assisting Indians with home loans were eliminated. This act authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to make loans to individuals with leasehold interests on non-farm rural lands, "thus making thousands of Indian people living on reservations eligible for FmHA single family housing programs."²⁸ However, as Table 1.2 indicates, prior to 1974, the FmHA loan program on Indian reservations had limited impact on the housing situation—despite the relative concentration of Indian people in rural areas. The table below summarizes the number, dollar amount, and percentage of the total rural housing loans made to American Indians prior to 1974. Table 1.2 indicates that FmHA was not a major influence on reservation housing in South Dakota prior to 1975.

Table 1.2
FmHA Rural Housing Loans to Indians, 1970-1974²⁹

Fiscal Year	No. of Rural Housing Loans	Total Amount of Loans	No. of Loans to Indians as % of Total Rural Housing Loans
1970	274	2,406,640	0.8
1971	459	5,703,200	1.0
1972	417	5,825,000	0.4
1973	485	6,898,000	0.4
1974	1,298	Not Available	0.6

Table 1.3
ICAP Housing Projects on South Dakota
Reservations, 1968³²

Reservation	Mutual Help Project Houses	Low Rent Units	House Renovations	Transitional
Cheyenne River	20	40	250	—
Crow Creek	20	—	—	—
Lower Brule	20	—	—	—
Pine Ridge	—	—	—	—
Rosebud	—	—	—	400
Standing Rock	—	—	—	—
Yankton	—	—	—	—

On the other hand, the Veterans Administration had done little to increase the number of VA loans to Indians prior to 1975, and even thereafter. It was not until the mid-70s that the VA even "began to collect statistics on the number of loans applied for by and granted to Indians."³⁰

Office of Economic Opportunity, 1964-1975

Beginning in 1964, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) the main component of President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society "war on poverty" also became involved in Indian housing programs. In that year, and for several years thereafter, OEO initiated a number of Indian Community Action Programs (ICAP), which included housing projects. OEO housing was not constructed to conform to minimum HUD standards because OEO felt that it could carefully design a "viable" house as a feasible alternative to existing housing programs. By doing so, OEO hoped to build more houses per dollar expended under a typical housing program, thereby lowering the income levels necessary to participate in the program. Some OEO officials suggested that HUDs concern over standards was "primarily to insure that investors were adequately protected, that is, not so much to protect Indian families against inferior living conditions as to insure sound investments for the mortgage investors."³¹

OEO funded ICAP housing projects on South Dakota reservations began in the late 1960s and continued into the 1970s. For instance, by 1971, the Crow Creek and Lower Brule Sioux ICAPs provided stimulus for the construction of 250 new homes. The most famous ICAP housing project was the Transitional Housing Program funded by OEO on the Rosebud Reservation. This program offered two-bedroom prefabricated homes to the underprivileged. These pre-

fabricated houses were constructed in a plant on the Pine Ridge Reservation and then put up by tribal work crews at sites chosen by future owners. This particular project will be discussed in depth later in the section on the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reservations.

1.3 Summary of Primary Indian Housing Programs

In summary, many federal agencies were responsible for housing projects on all seven of South Dakota's reservations addressed by this project. By 1968, a number of Indian housing projects, including ICAP housing, had already been completed on South Dakota Reservations (see Table 1.3).

By 1975, many other housing projects constructed by HUD, BIA, IHS, FmHA, and OEO had been completed on the South Dakota reservations—though the exact totals cannot be determined from the available documentation. Nevertheless, by 1975, little improvement had been made in fulfilling the housing needs of South Dakota's Sioux. Indian housing had been refined and expanded, but many of the same problems, such as construction and design persisted. Mutual-help projects continued to be slow to complete, low incomes continued to exacerbate the home maintenance problems, and the inability of the majority of Indian families to obtain credit ratings, preventing large-scale use of the loan guarantee programs provided by federal agencies, continued.³³

Endnotes

1. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Indian Housing Programs Operated by HUD*, Senate Hearing 105-78 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1977), 278.
2. Office of Indian Affairs, *Plans and Specifications for Indian Homes and Improvements* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1926).
3. *Ibid.*
4. Office of Indian Affairs, *Revised Specifications for Indian Homes and Improvements* (Lawrence, Kansas: Haskell Printing Department, 1930).
5. Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954* (Phoenix, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 125-127. These RA houses may or may not have been patterned after the OIA sample floor plans devised in 1926 and revised in 1930. To answer that question, additional research must be conducted.
6. *Ibid.*, 125-127.
7. Roger Bromert, "The Sioux and the New Deal, 1933-1944" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toledo, 1980), 131-133.
8. *Ibid.*, 134-136; and Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954* (Phoenix, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 125-127.
9. "Rammed-Earth House Project for Indians to be Investigated," 1939; and Indians to get Earthen Homes," 26

August 1941, unknown newspapers, File: S.D.—Sioux Indians—Government Relations, Dakota Historical Collections, Norbeck-Wegner Room, Pierre Municipal Library, Pierre, South Dakota.

10. Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954* (Phoenix, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 125-127.

11. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Providing for Certain Benefits of the Missouri River Basin Pick-Sloan Project for the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe, and for Other Purposes*, Senate Report 104-362 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1996), 4-5. For an extensive discussion of how the Pick-Sloan Plan affected Native Americans living along the Missouri see Michael L. Lawson, *Dammed Indians: The Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux, 1944-1980* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982).

12. Arnold C. Sternberg and Catherine M. Bishop. "Indian Housing: 1961-1971: A Decade of Continuing Crisis," in U.S. Congress, Senate, *Indian Housing in the United States: A Staff Report on the Indian Housing Effort in the United States with Selected Appendixes*, Senate Committee Print 45-306 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 144-145.

13. *Ibid.*

14. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Indian Housing in the United States: A Staff Report on the Indian Housing Effort in the United States with Selected Appendixes*, Senate Committee Print 45-306 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 3-4, and 23.

15. *Ibid.*, 23.

16. *Ibid.*, 3-4.

17. *Ibid.*, 5.

18. *Ibid.*, 8-9.

19. *Ibid.*, 6.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Though there was a decline in authorized units for the years 1973 and 1974, these figures do not account for HUDs commitment to authorize 12,558 units in light of the passage of the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act, which will be discussed later. U.S. Congress, Senate,

Indian Housing in the United States: A Staff Report on the Indian Housing Effort in the United States with Selected Appendixes, Senate Committee Print 45-306 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 7.

22. *Ibid.*, 12.

23. *Ibid.*, 6.

24. Arnold C. Sternberg and Catherine M. Bishop. "Indian Housing: 1961-1971: A Decade of Continuing Crisis," in U.S. Congress, Senate, *Indian Housing in the United States: A Staff Report on the Indian Housing Effort in the United States with Selected Appendixes*, Senate Committee Print 45-306 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 144-145.

25. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Indian Housing in the United States: A Staff Report on the Indian Housing Effort in the United States with Selected Appendixes*, Senate Committee Print 45-306 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 7-8.

26. *Ibid.*, 8.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*, 8-9, and 23.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Arnold C. Sternberg and Catherine M. Bishop. "Indian Housing: 1961-1971: A Decade of Continuing Crisis," in U.S. Congress, Senate, *Indian Housing in the United States: A Staff Report on the Indian Housing Effort in the United States with Selected Appendixes*, Senate Committee Print 45-306 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 154.

31. *Ibid.*, 154-155.

32. ICAP Consortium: ASU, USD, and UU, "1968 Progress Report of Indian Community Action Projects," (No publisher, circa 1968), 40-41.

33. Arnold C. Sternberg and Catherine M. Bishop. "Indian Housing: 1961-1971: A Decade of Continuing Crisis," in U.S. Congress, Senate, *Indian Housing in the United States: A Staff Report on the Indian Housing Effort in the United States with Selected Appendixes*, Senate Committee Print 45-306 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 155.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND/STATE SETTING

2.0 Introduction

The following section of this report describes housing conditions on each of the seven reservations examined for this study during the time period 1946 to 1975. For each reservation, the report provides a brief historical sketch of housing conditions prior to World War II and describes in greater detail housing conditions after World War II, the impact of the Pick-Sloan Plan on reservation housing in the 1950s and 1960s, and then the various federally assisted housing projects on each reservation.

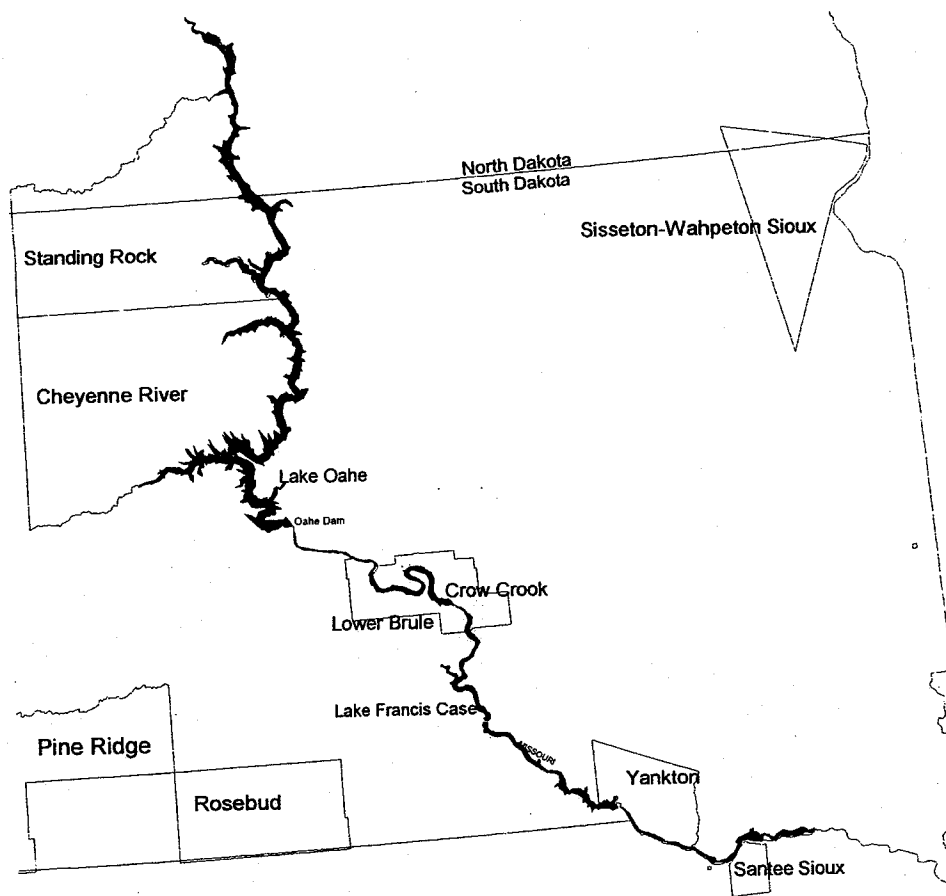
2.1 Yankton Reservation Housing

Introduction

The Sioux people living on the Yankton Reservation are descendants from people who lived in an area centered about the confluence of the James and Missouri

Rivers. Tribal tradition indicated that the Yankton always lived in this area, but other sources indicate that the Yanktonnais migrated out of present-day Minnesota in the late 1700s. The Yankton Sioux are very similar to other Sioux people in their language, customs, and culture, with one exception, this small tribe as a group was by nature peaceful and did not join the mainstream Sioux who fought other tribes and the United States.

In 1804, Lewis and Clark visited the Yankton on their trip up the Missouri River. At the end of the fur trading period and during the military occupation of the Sioux Country, the Yanktons were persuaded to make room for non-Indian settlers between the Big Sioux and Missouri Rivers. In 1858, the United States negotiated a reservation area for them by treaty. It encompassed the heart of Yankton Sioux traditional homeland. The 1858 Treaty withdrew a reservation tract of 400,000 acres along the east bank of the Missouri. "The ceded lands lay within a triangle formed



Map 1.0: South Dakota Indian Reservations Affected by Pick-Sloan Plan. Adapted from Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, Omaha District, Omaha, Nebraska.

by the Big Sioux and Missouri rivers and a line roughly drawn from Fort Pierre to Lake Kampeska."¹ Thereafter, in 1889, under the 1887 Allotment Act, tribal members were allocated 40, 80, and 160 acre tracts of land and the surplus lands of the reservation was opened for settlement by non-Indians.

The Yankton allotments on the eastern bank of the Missouri River fell within the Coteau du Missouri region, comprised of a series of undulating hills that lay between the fertile Prairie Plains of the eastern Dakotas and the semiarid Great Plains to the west. This was not the best farmland, but neither was it the worst.²

Thereafter, the Yankton Sioux made a living as farmers on lands that were probably more suited for stock-raising purposes. Under these circumstances, most Yanktons leased their lands to non-Indian cattle ranchers. Despite the appearance of success from the allotment/lease program, its eventual effect on the Yankton would be catastrophic, leading to large-scale loss of land and much of their livelihood. This adverse effect began when the trust period patents on the Yankton allotments began to expire. With the expiration of the trust period, many Yanktons began selling their allotments to non-Indians.

Between 1890 and the post World War II period, the history of the Yankton Reservation is sketchy at best. Like many tribes across the nation, the Yankton supported the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, but they did not organize under it. Instead, they maintained the constitution and bylaws they had established separately in 1932. The Yankton most likely enjoyed several Indian New Deal Programs, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).

In addition, they also benefitted from rural rehabili-

tation funding through the Indian Relief and Rehabilitation Division (IRRD) of the Indian Service. In 1938, Indian New Deal planning for rural rehabilitation included the Rising Hail Colony, "named in honor of Chief Rising Hail and commonly referred to as Chalk Rock Colony." This colony was one of three subsistence homestead communities built on South Dakota reservations. The colony contained "nine identical cottages built in a semicircle, a two-story cannery, school house, chapel and a large barn." These cottages and other buildings were constructed from "chalk rock mined from the nearby bluffs along the Missouri River." The Rising Hail Colony established a cooperative association which succeeded in putting 600 acres of rich bottomland under cultivation, as well as another 900 acres in pasture. Nonetheless, by 1949, due to a number of socio-economic reasons, the cooperative was dissolved and the assets divided and sold to a private party.³ In January 1975, the Rising Hail Colony, Greenwood, Charles Mix County was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).⁴

Post World War II Housing Conditions

The nature of housing conditions on Yankton Reservation following World War II can not be fully determined because of a lack of documentation. Unlike many of the other South Dakota Indian reservations, housing data for the Yankton Reservation was not included in a special Bureau of Indian Affairs report based on information gathered in the U.S. Census of 1950 in connection with all major Indian reservations nationwide.

Pick-Sloan Housing

Like many of the South Dakota reservations, the Yankton Reservation was directly impacted by the con-

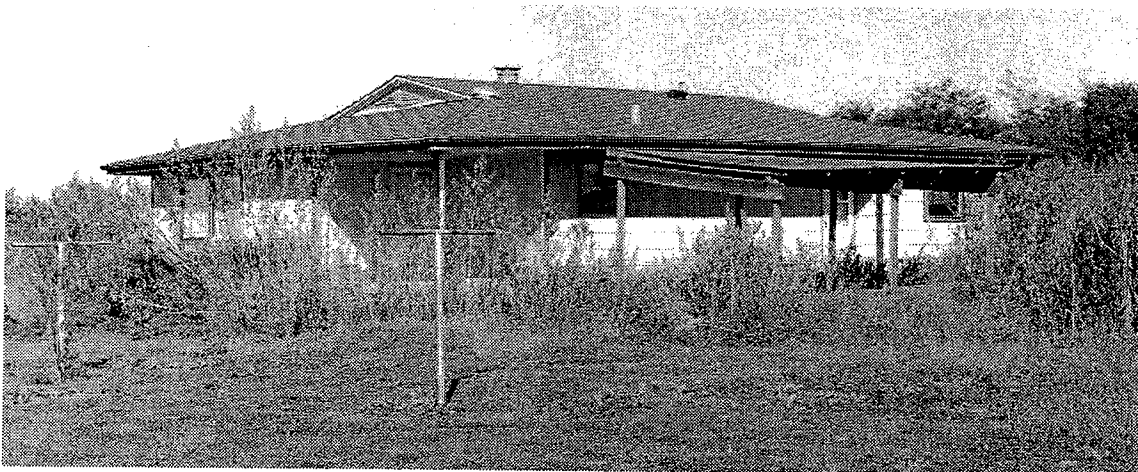


Photo 1: Unremodeled HUD Low Rent Housing, Yankton Reservation.⁹

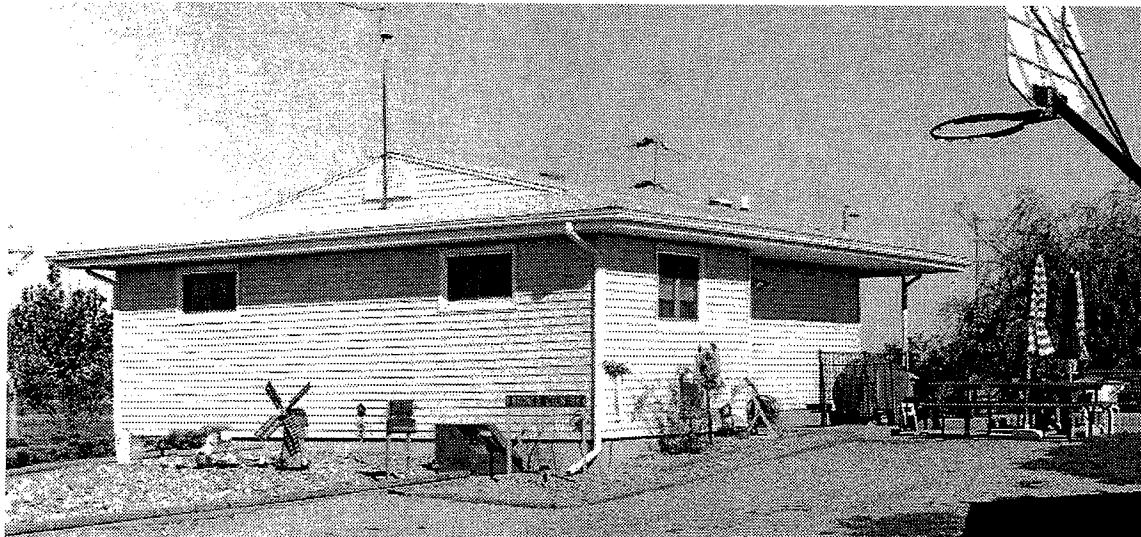


Photo 2: HIP Remodeled HUD Low Rent Housing, Yankton Reservation.

struction of the Fort Randall Dam as part of the Pick-Sloan Missouri River Basin Development Plan. Construction on the Fort Randall Dam began in 1946—a year prior to when government officials formally introduced the project to the Yankton Sioux. Located only a short distance from the Yankton Reservation, the project was presented to the Yankton Sioux as a *fait accompli* by the Army Corps of Engineers (ACE). To acquire the land the COE needed to complete the dam, the federal agency immediately condemned Yankton Sioux land in federal district court. Without prior consultation with the tribe, the COE condemned thirty-one tracks of Yankton land in 1947-1948 and immediately took possession of the land, charging rent to the owners. Essentially this was an illegal confiscation of

land, which violated the Yankton Treaty of 1858. Nothing in the Flood Control Act of 1944 gave the COE the power to condemn Indian land.⁵

For a time this land condemnation by the COE went unchallenged by the tribe, but eventually federal court settlements provided for minimum relocation costs to the Yankton (\$132,324) in order to cover the Army's action, and the "Yankton Sioux families were forced to move with only the funds they had received through the court." Eventually, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) requested that Congress cover additional relocation costs because the "army settlement was insufficient to allow Indian families to purchase substitute lands and to reestablish their farms elsewhere." In

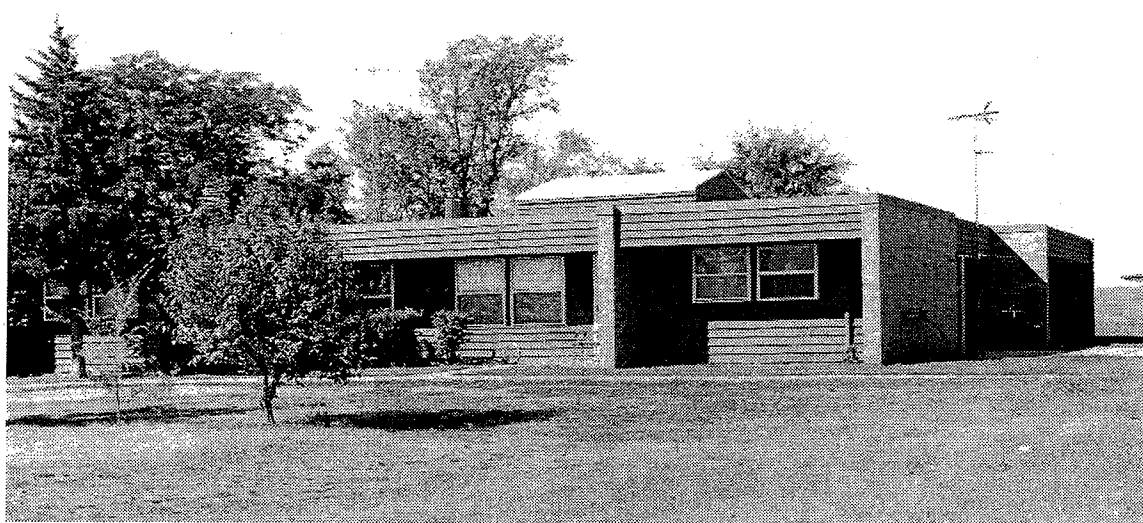


Photo 3: Elderly Housing at Marty, Yankton Reservation.

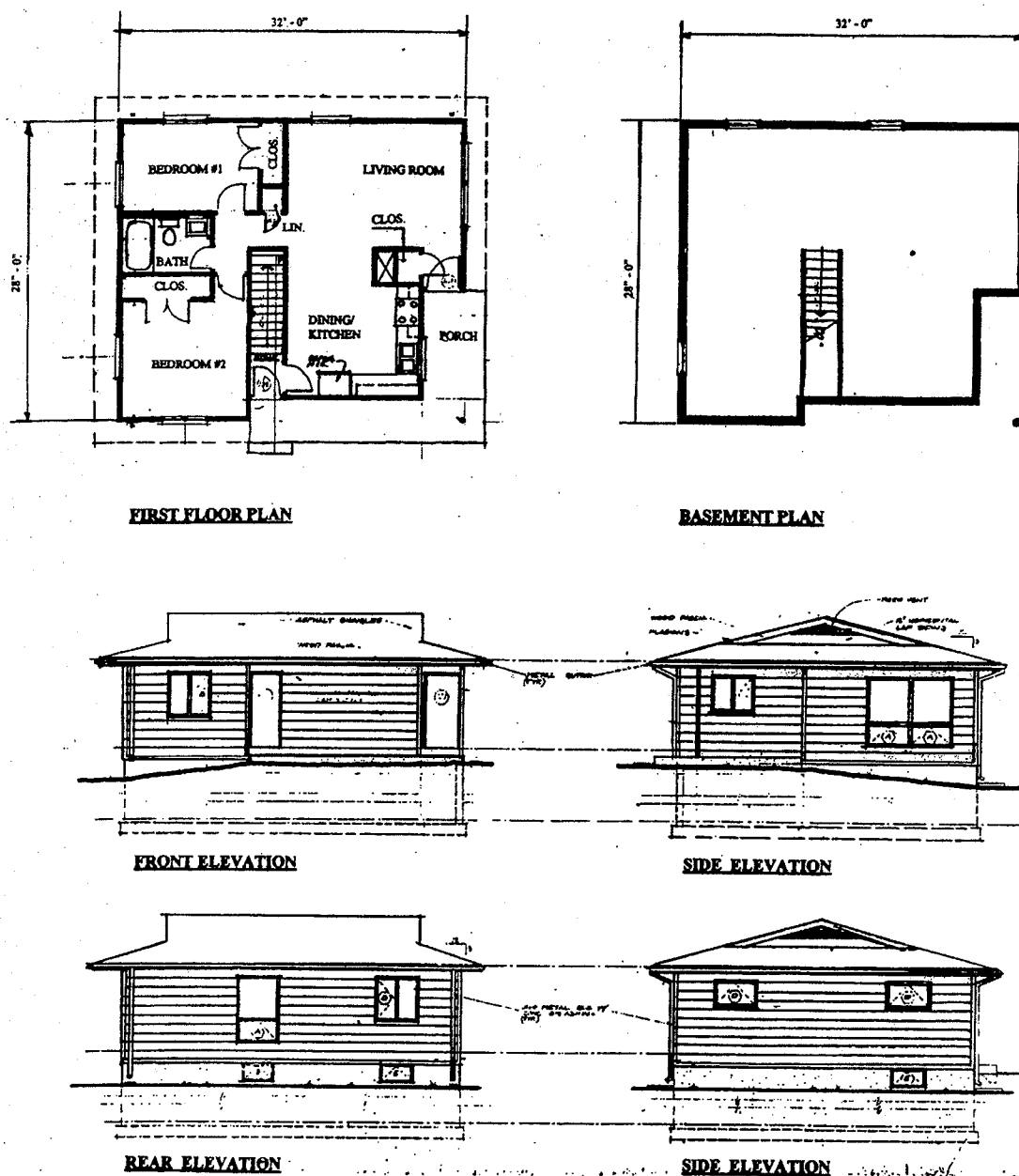


Figure 4: Two Bedroom Low Cost Housing, Yankton Reservation.

1954, Congress passed legislation providing an additional \$106,500 to help defray the costs of relocation for the Yankton Sioux. In the end, the Yankton Sioux underwent the "least disruption but also received the worst settlement," due to the construction of the Fort Randall Dam.⁶

The total number of housing improvements that needed to be relocated on the Yankton Reservation were few. They included only "fifteen houses, five shacks, four garages, and a windmill," and 509 burial plots. The limited documentation available indicates that the nineteen families forced to relocate "chose to move their property to Lake Andes, Greenwood, and

other nearby communities," at their own expense. Eventually they were reimbursed for their costs, but the Yankton Sioux tribe as a whole did not receive new facilities or general improvements as a result of the Fort Randall damages, unlike several other Sioux tribes. However, the Yankton Tribe did receive surplus school lands from the BIA to be used as homesites for families forced to move.⁷

In the final analysis, the Pick-Sloan Plan and the construction of the Fort Randall Dam affected the Yankton reservation the least among Sioux reservations—simply because most of the Yankton reservation was below the dam. Though the Yankton Sioux lost

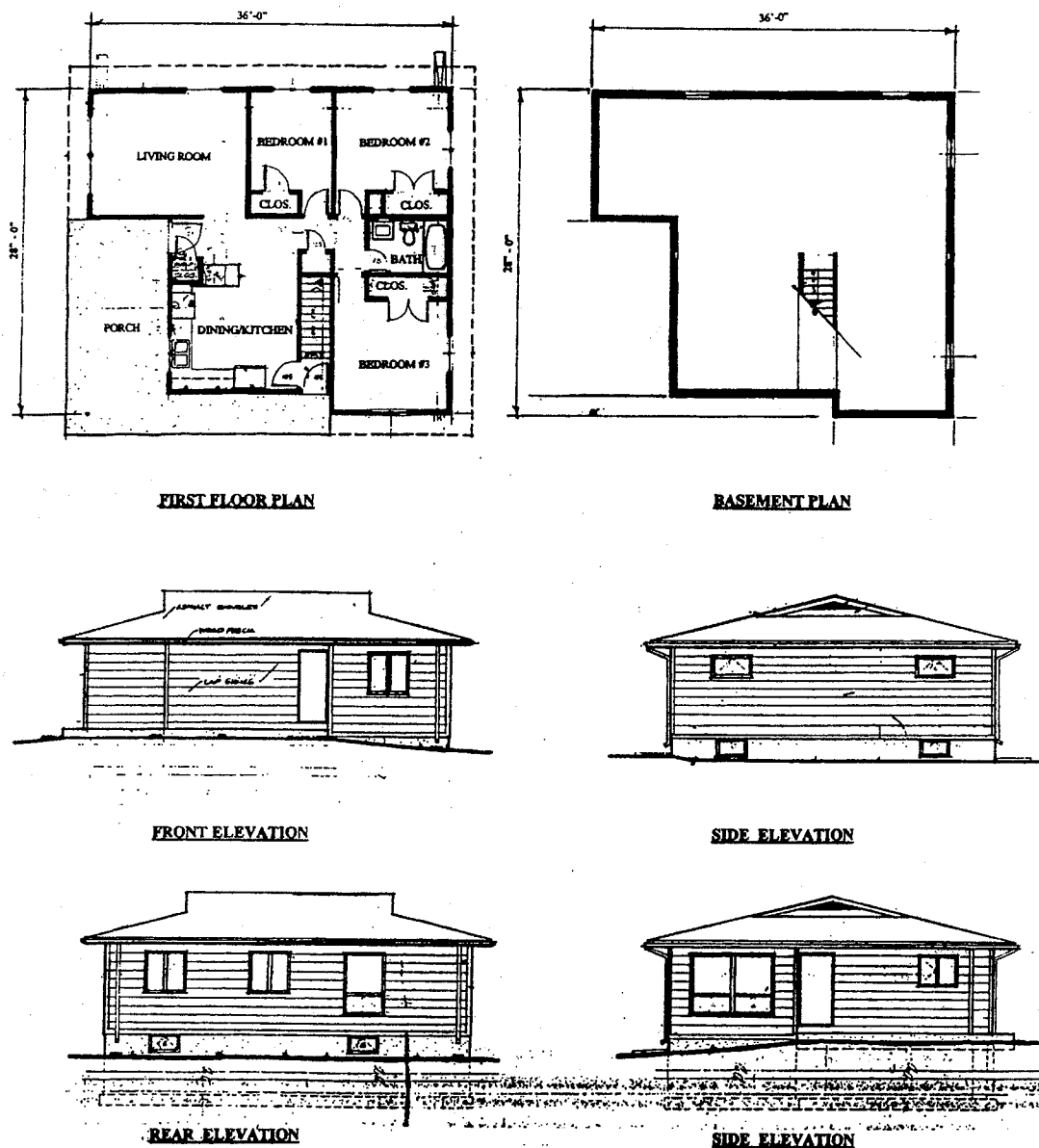


Figure 5: Three Bedroom Low Cost Housing, Yankton Reservation.

substantial acreage (3,349 acres), only twenty percent of the tribe's river frontage was disturbed. Nineteen families, representing eight percent of the population, were dislocated from their homes along the bottom-lands of the Missouri River by the Fort Randall project.⁸

Yankton Housing, 1960s-1975

While the families dislocated by the construction of the Fort Randall Dam found new housing, housing conditions on the Yankton reservation were deplorable and did not appreciably improve until early 1970s with the introduction of HUD housing projects. By 1971, the Yankton Tribal Authority had been formed to handle its first HUD housing grant—

Project SD 12-1. This HUD project was completed in the December 1971 and provided 120 housing units located in Wagner, Greenwood, Marty and Lake Andes. The Low Rent housing was owned by the tribe and was open to all low income people, not just Indians. Laid out in neat residential developments on tribal lands, the project, along with other home repair programs brought jobs, dignity and self-determination to the Yankton Sioux Tribe. The jobs provided brought tribal unemployment from about 40 percent down to about the national average at the time.¹⁰

Following on the heels of this first HUD project were Projects SD 12-2 and SD 12-3. Together, these two projects provided twenty-four Low Rent homes scattered across the reservation. Of these units, six were 2

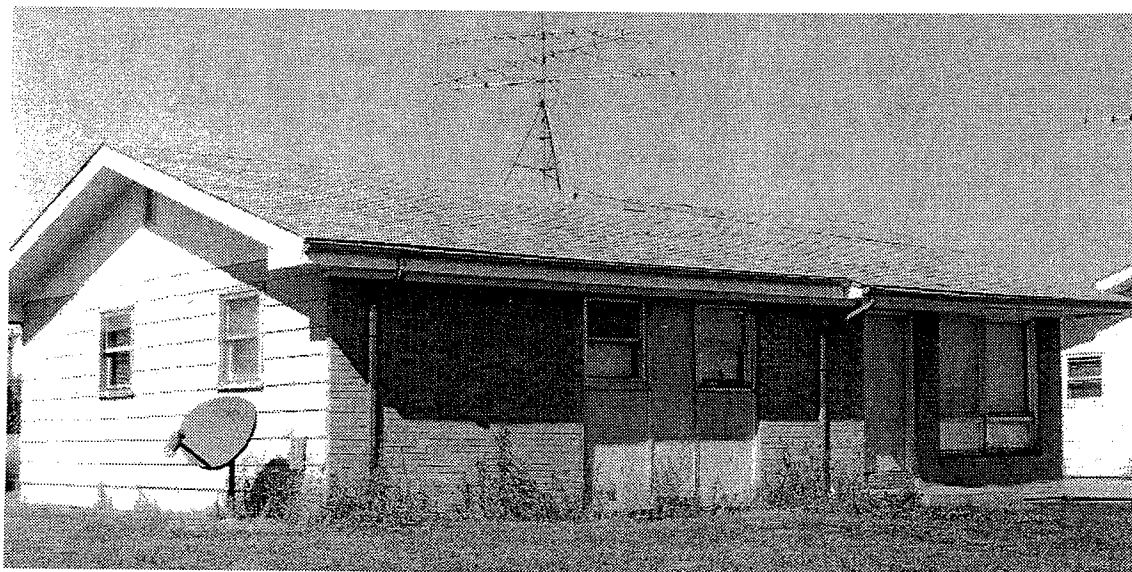


Photo 4: Elderly Housing at Marty, Yankton Reservation.

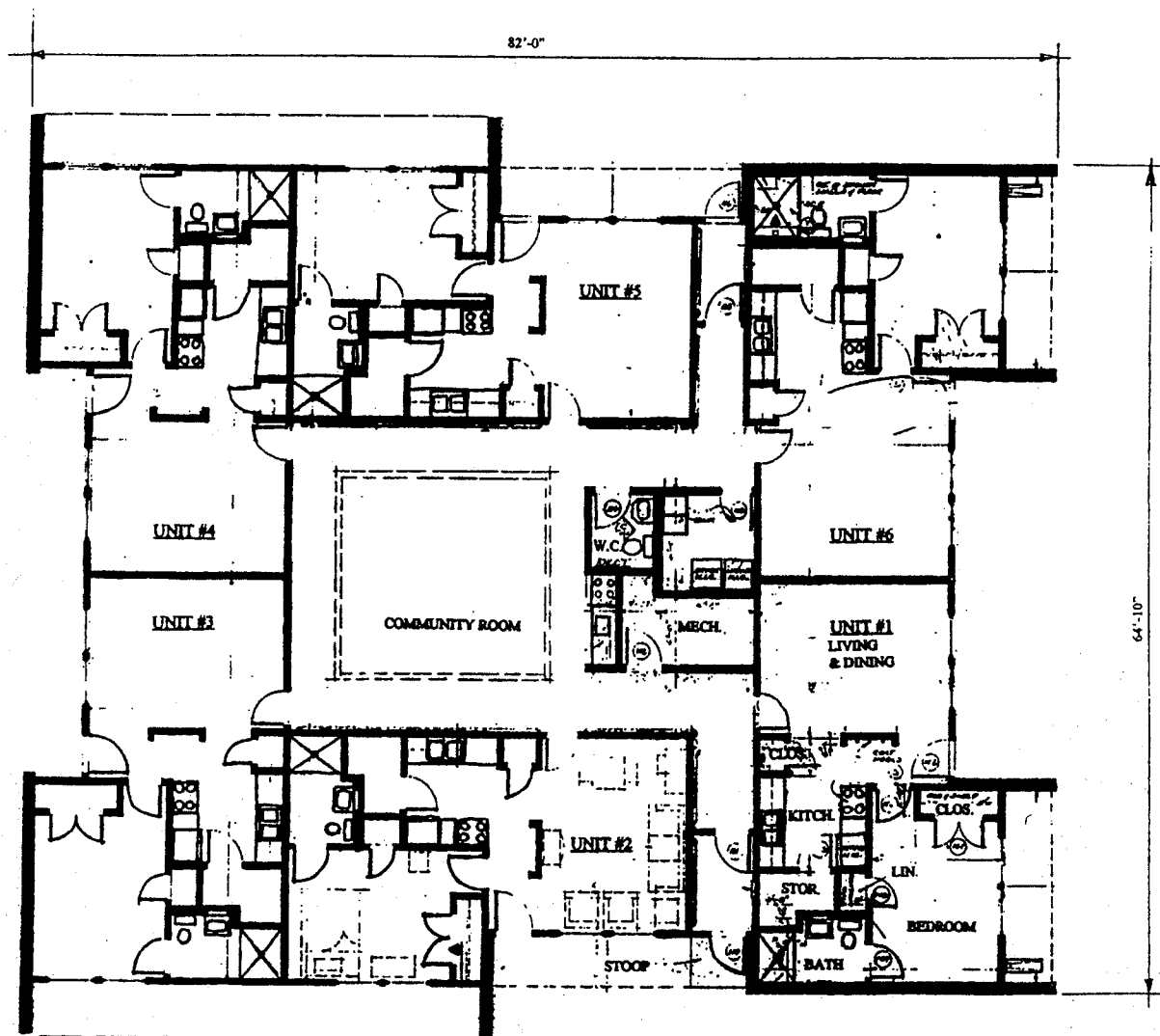
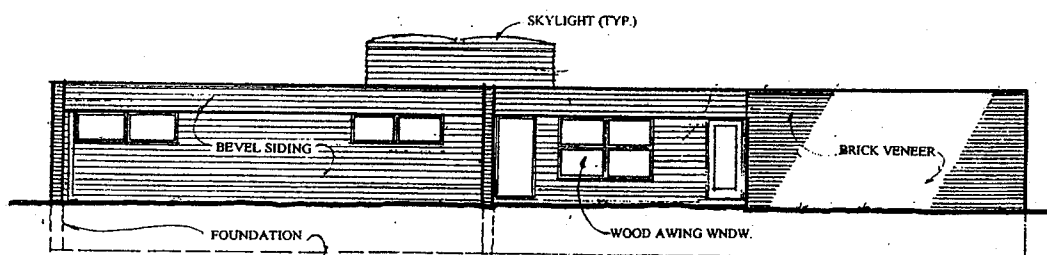
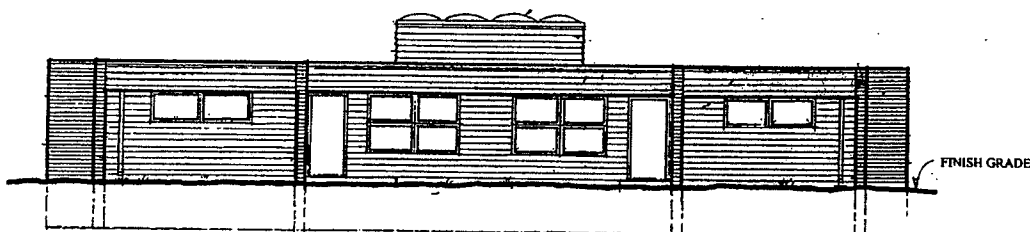


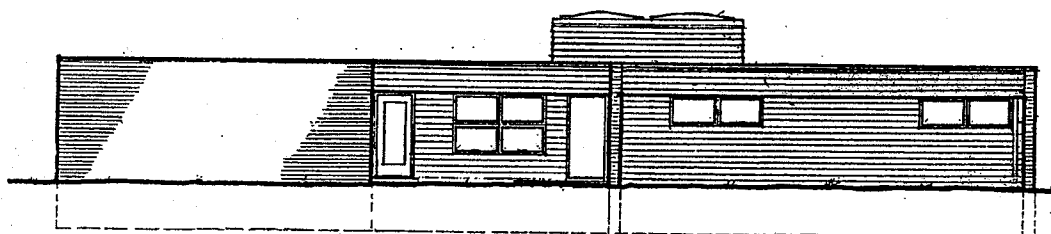
Figure 6: Floor Plan, Elderly Housing at Marty, Yankton Reservation.



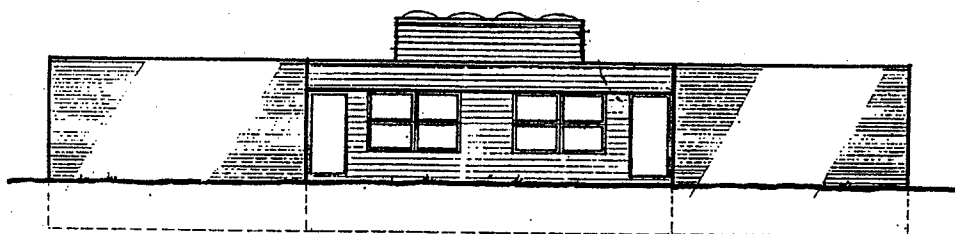
BUILDING ELEVATION



BUILDING ELEVATION



BUILDING ELEVATION



BUILDING ELEVATION

Figure 7: Building Elevations, Elderly Housing at Marty, Yankton Reservation.

bedroom homes, nine were 3 bedroom homes, and the remaining nine were 4 bedroom units. In addition to these houses, under this HUD project, the Yankton Housing Authority built three elderly centers—one in Marty, Lake Andes, and Wagner, South Dakota. These projects (SD 12-2 and SD 12-3) were completed in July 1976 and were designed by the architectural firm of Dana, Carson, Roubal and Associates, Pierre, South Dakota.¹¹

Since the construction of SD 12-1 in 1971, and SD 12-

2, and SD12-3 in 1976, the Yankton Housing authority has found it necessary to repair many of these Low Rent housing units. Using HIP and/or HUD funding, the Yankton Housing Authority has renovated and repaired much of its early 1970s HUD housing, or is prepared to do so as soon as possible. From the photographic comparison of several houses at Marty (photographs 1 and 2), and at Wagner, South Dakota (photographs 4 and 5), one can see that exterior renovations include replacing older hardboard sheathing and wood sash windows with new vinyl siding and windows.

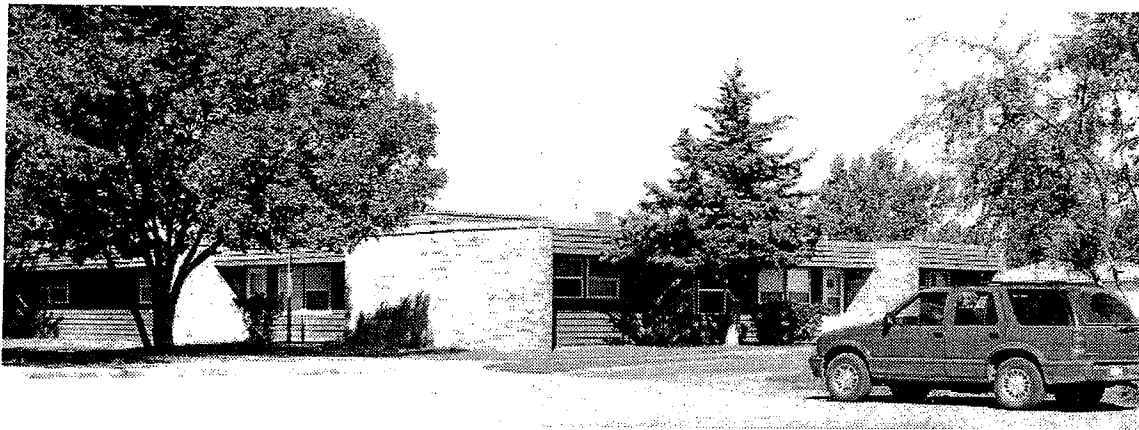


Photo 5: Unremodeled Low Cost Housing at Wagner, Yankton Reservation.

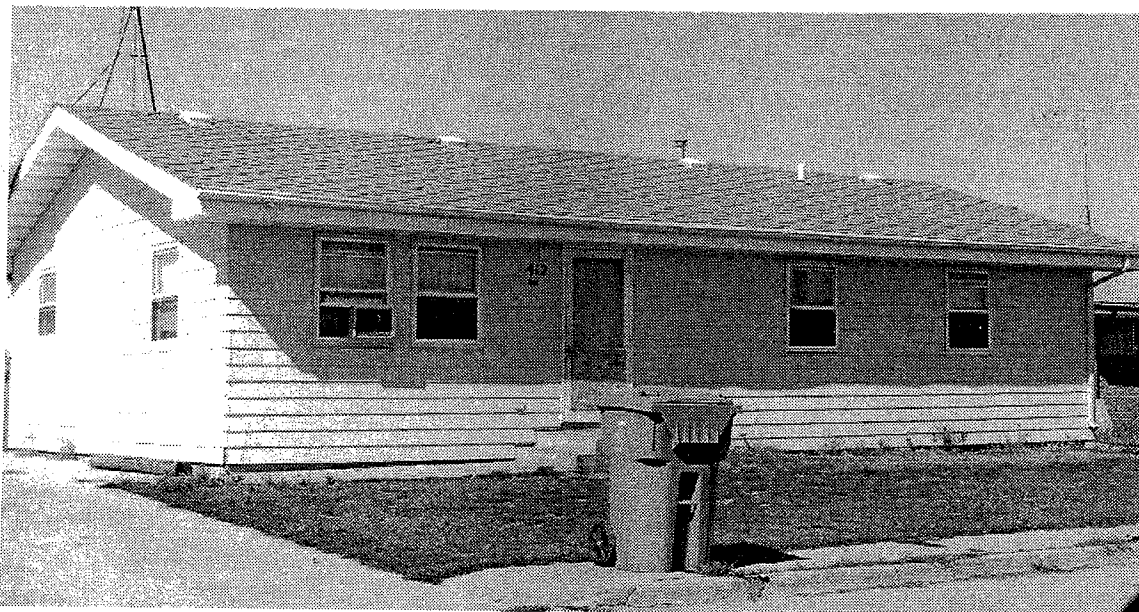


Photo 6: HIP Remodeled Low Cost Housing at Wagner, Yankton Reservation.

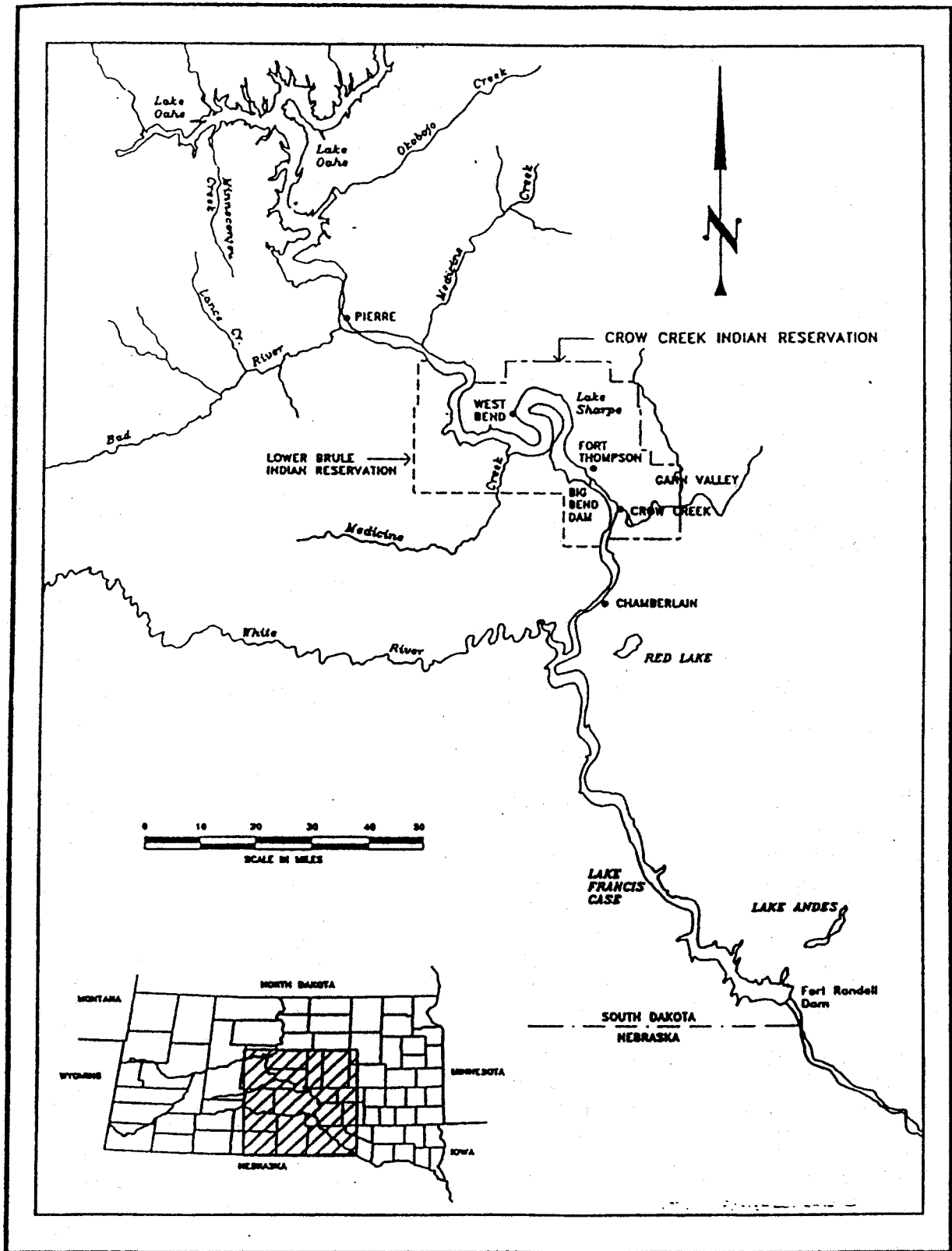
2.2 Crow Creek Reservation Housing

Introduction

The Crow Creek people come from the "Middle" branch of the Sioux who around the end of eighteenth century moved west from north-central Minnesota into the Missouri River Valley. In doing so, the Crow Creek people had altercations with the previously entrenched river tribes of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara, who collectively vacated the area and moved northward to the Fort Berthold area in North Dakota. The Middle Sioux filled this land vacuum, and settled along the north shore of the Missouri River. They settled here because of its accessibility to the Missouri River which provided water, shelter from the harsh

weather of the Great Plains, timber resources, and agricultural land for the tribe.¹²

The history of the Middle Sioux was generally one of pacifism with non-Indians living on the borders of their territory. They became known as the Missouri River "Great Bend" Indians (Yanktonai and Brule) and were a signatory of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, which established the Great Sioux Reservation. In 1863, Fort Thompson was established to administer the needs of the Santee Sioux and Winnebago Indians who were left homeless because of the Minnesota Uprising and who were removed to Crow Creek. Eventually, these tribes were resettled on separate reservations in Nebraska, but Fort Thompson remained. Thereafter, the Crow Creek Sioux settled



Map 2.0: General Map of Crow Creek and Lower Brule Reservations, South Dakota. Adapted from U.S. Congress, Senate, *Crow Creek Sioux Tribe Infrastructure Development Trust Fund Act of 1995*.

near Fort Thompson. In 1868, they signed the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, which formally established the Crow Creek Reservation on the Missouri River.¹³

The first Crow Creek Reservation was comprised of 285,930 acres, but between the years 1890-1930, much of this land was allotted to the 1,600 band members under the General Allotment Act of 1887. Thereafter, through land sales, issuance of fee patents and various takings by the federal government, Indian trust holdings were reduced considerably. By 1996, the Crow Creek Reservation was comprised of 258,361 acres in central South Dakota located in Buffalo, Hyde, and Hughes Counties. Today, the Crow Creek Reservation is divided into three districts: the Big Bend, Fort Thompson, Crow Creek Districts.¹⁴

The following narrative discusses the condition of housing on the Crow Creek Reservation at the end of World War II, the effects on the Crow Creek Reservation housing situation by the construction of the Fort Randall and Big Bend Dams in the 1950s and early 1960s as part of the Pick-Sloan Plan for the Missouri River Basin Dam Project, and lastly, the erection of HUD housing in the communities of Fort Thompson and Crow Creek in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Post World War II Housing Conditions

Prior to the construction of the Fort Randall and Big Bend Dams, the housing situation on the Crow Creek Reservation was crowded, inadequate, and substandard. At that time, the majority of the Crow Creek Tribe lived in small well-organized Indian communities huddled along the banks of rivers and streams. A close investigation would reveal that these communities were comprised of small log structures, tents, and a few homes built during the Great Depression by the Works Progress Administration (WPA). The latter structures were frame homes of one or two rooms erected as a form of rehabilitation built in the 1930s, however, by the end of World War II, even these properly built frame houses were in poor repair. Few Crow Creek members lived outside these small communities, but one could find scattered on allotted lands within the Crow Creek reservation a few small farm and/or ranch homes and a few more log cabins.

The inadequacy of the housing conditions on the Crow Creek Reservation was statistically demonstrated by the BIA using 1950 U.S. Census data. Using this data, the Vital Statistics Section of the BIA reported that the Crow Creek Reservation had 237 housing structures, consisting of one room houses (66), two room houses (54), three room houses (40), four room houses (32) and the remainder split among several larger homes (25) or unreported (20). Accord-

ing to Census figures, the median number of persons per room on the Crow Creek Reservation was 1.85 persons. Since the medium number of rooms for occupied dwelling units was only 2.3 rooms, it meant that the median number of persons per occupied dwelling was 4.6 persons—far above the national median occupied dwelling rate of 1.48 persons.¹⁵ Generally speaking, the 1950 Census quantified the substandard nature of the housing on the Crow Creek Reservation, statistics which at the same time reflected the housing needs of the people living thereon.¹⁶

In 1956, the South Dakota Indian Commission pointed out the overcrowded housing conditions on the Crow Creek Reservation, and placed reservation housing into basic groups that also reflected the poverty on the reservation. The Commission estimated that sixty-seven percent were frame construction, while fourteen percent of the reservation's houses were log construction, sixteen percent were considered mere shacks, and three percent were living in tents.¹⁷ As marginal as these housing conditions were at Crow Creek, by mid-1960, thirty-five percent of the Crow Creek Tribe would be forced out of these homes as the Army Corps of Engineers condemned their property during the construction of a series of dams along the Missouri River Basin.

Pick-Sloan Plan: Construction of Fort Randall Dam, 1946-1969

One important dam within the Pick-Sloan Project Plans was the Fort Randall Dam. The Fort Randall Dam was located downstream from the Crow Creek Reservation, approximately 100 miles southeast of the reservation. Construction of the Fort Randall Dam began in 1946, but the Crow Creek tribe did not learn of the full effect of the Pick-Sloan Plan until 1949, when the Missouri River Basin Investigations Project (MRBI) published its findings on the construction project. At that time, the Tribe learned that when completed, the Fort Randall Dam would create a reservoir (Lake Francis Case) that would stretch over 107 miles upstream. Furthermore, they learned that by 1955 the reservoir upstream from the Fort Randall Dam was projected to flood Fort Thompson, the Crow Creek Reservation's largest community. In addition to this catastrophic prediction, the Fort Randall Dam was projected to inundate thousands acres of bottomlands along the Missouri River on the western border of the Crow Creek Reservation.¹⁸

From 1949 to 1958, the Crow Creek tribe fought the COEs land condemnation procedure. Against their wishes, and facing the prospect of having their homes inundated during the 1955 runoff, in 1954, eighty-four Crow Creek families, constituting 34 percent of the

tribal membership, relocated from their riverside homes. The cost of relocation of these families was shouldered by the COE, but the Army's monies did not fully cover crucial items such as the development of satisfactory water supplies, construction of sufficient housing, or the reestablishment of lost sources of income. The evacuation caused the relocated Crow Creek families to accept "land ill-suited for houses, ranches, or farms."¹⁹

The Crow Creek Sioux did not go easily nor without protest. Significant court battles and negotiations between the tribe and the COE continued long after their land was inundated. Finally, settlement legislation was passed by Congress and agreed to by the Crow Creek Tribe. In 1958, Congress passed Public Law 85-916 (72 Stat. 1766) authorizing payment for the tribal land taken for the project. Under this legislation, the Crow Creek Sioux received approximately \$1.4 million dollars for their property, which included all damages caused by the Fort Randall project. Out of the settlement funds, the Tribe was required to pay all relocation expenses of the families forced from their Missouri River homes.²⁰

Fort Randall Relocation Program

The relocation of families during the Fort Randall Dam project was a difficult period for the Crow Creek Sioux." From the moment when the first tribal member signed a settlement contract until the day when the final nail was driven into the last replacement house, the process of reconstruction was marked by confusion, delay, ruinous errors, and ill-fated incidents."²¹ The Fort Randall relocation program was clearly ill-planned and had to be tailored to fit the limited funds provided by the COE.

One congressional report on the situation stated:

Although the Fort Randall project had been announced a full decade earlier, neither the Army nor the Bureau of Indian Affairs were prepared to implement an efficient relocation program when the time came for the Indians to move. Though it was clearly their responsibility to do so, neither agency had bothered to survey the reservation for new homesites or to investigate the actual cost of building materials. They failed to keep tribal members fully informed about the relocation plans effecting them. Kept in uncertainty until the last possible moment, the tribe was compelled to proceed in haste when the time came to evacuate its lands.

Tribal families were crowded into temporary quarters until houses could be relocated and restored. In the chaos that followed, many were assigned to the

wrong tracts of land and eventually had to move a second time. Shacks that should have qualified only for destruction had to be moved and repaired simply because there was not enough money for new housing.²²

While in most cases reconstruction efforts were substandard, the federal government was generous in one regard. In 1958, Congress donated thirty-seven surplus buildings from the old Fort Thompson Agency site for the use of tribal members in their relocation program.²³

Construction of Big Bend Dam, 1960

Meanwhile, and only months after the passage of the Fort Randall Dam settlement legislation, the COE was scheduled to begin work on the Big Bend Dam—another major segment of the Pick-Sloan Plan. The Big Bend Dam was developed primarily for hydroelectric power production. The reservoir behind the dam eventually stretched twenty miles long and was named Lake Sharpe after former South Dakota Governor M.Q. Sharpe, a leading advocate of the Pick-Sloan Plan.²⁴

With the threat of condemnation of their lands through eminent domain, the Crow Creek Tribe was once again forced to negotiate with the COE and Congress for funding to cover the cost of relocating from inundated lands. This time they needed to do it immediately if they hoped to avoid losing more land without adequate compensation. As a result, in 1962, in negotiation with the Crow Creek tribe, Congress enacted Public Law 87-735 (76 Stat. 704) authorizing payment for 6,179 acres of remaining bottomland along the north shore of the Missouri River that the COE needed for the main-stem projects of the Pick-Sloan Plan.²⁵

Under the 1962 Big Bend Settlement legislation, the Crow Creek Tribe received funding for rehabilitation purposes and for moving expenses. The construction of Big Bend Dam resulted in the relocation of an additional twenty-seven families, or eleven percent of the population. Some of these families had just relocated due to the Fort Randall resettlement program—thus undergoing the trauma of yet another move.²⁶

However, in the legislation, Congress provided, with the approval of the Crow Creek Tribal Council, that a townsite adequate for fifty houses, including streets, utilities, water, sewage, and electricity be selected and constructed. The new town site was to take into account reasonable future growth, as well as a new community center, tribal offices, tribal council chamber, BIA and Public Health Services offices and housing, and a combination gymnasium and auditorium.²⁷



Photo 7: Pick-Sloan Housing at Ft. Thompson, Crow Creek Reservation.

*Big Bend Relocation Program,
Housing Conditions in the 1960s*

The Big Bend Relocation Program fared little better than the previous Fort Randall relocation program. Although "Congress carefully prescribed the quantity and quality of replacement structures for the new Fort Thompson townsite," the new community infrastructure proved so inadequate that many families decided to resettle instead in the Crow Creek district of the reservation, approximately 20 miles southwest of Fort Thompson.²⁸ Notwithstanding, the federal government was generous in one regard to the Big Bend settlement program. In 1961, the BIA donated 1,276 acres of surplus federal school lands to the Tribe to be used

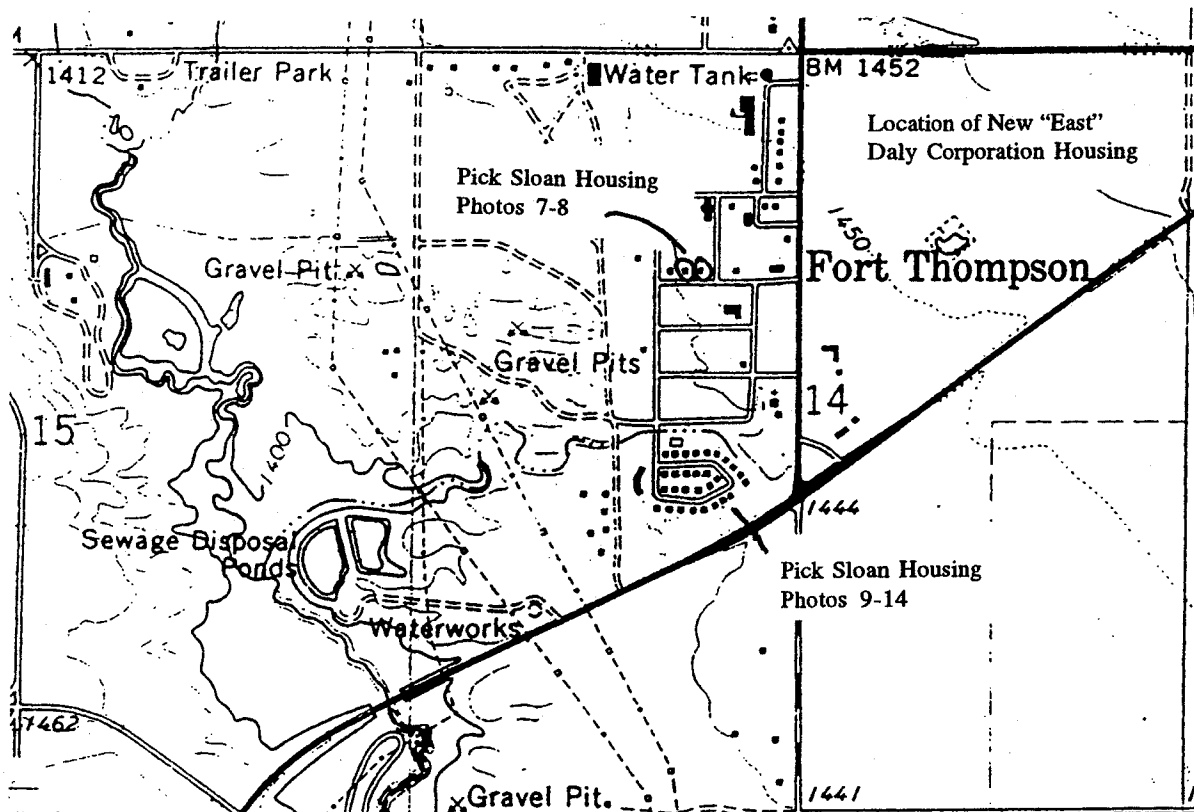
as homesites for families forced to move by the Big Bend project.²⁹

Pick-Sloan Housing

As a result of the Fort Randall and Big Bend Dam settlements, a new townsite for Fort Thompson was constructed, which included a large public housing tract of some twenty-nine houses and an elderly center constructed on the southwest corner of the new Fort Thompson (see Map 3.0 below). Several Tribal elders who experienced the relocation, recalled that the "cookie-cutter" replacement homes were not insulated to endure the rigors of the harsh Dakota winters. In addition, water lines for the new homes were placed on the roofs, which led to pipes freezing and bursting.³⁰



Photo 8: Remodeled Pick-Sloan Housing at Ft. Thompson, Crow Creek Reservation.



Map 3.0: 1966 Map of Ft. Thompson Area, Crow Creek Reservation, South Dakota. Adapted from USGS 7.5 Minute Map, Quadrangle Big Bend Dam, South Dakota.

Fort Thompson Community— Private Housing from Pick-Sloan Relocations

Though the Fort Randall and Big Bend Dam relocation programs affected a substantial portion of the Crow Creek people, the exact location of the removal

efforts could not be determined by the limited documentation available on the subject. Nonetheless, it appears that two of these houses may stand immediately north of the present-day Crow Creek Agency building. Because of their limited size (approximately 15 × 20 feet) and basic pre-fabricated design, and

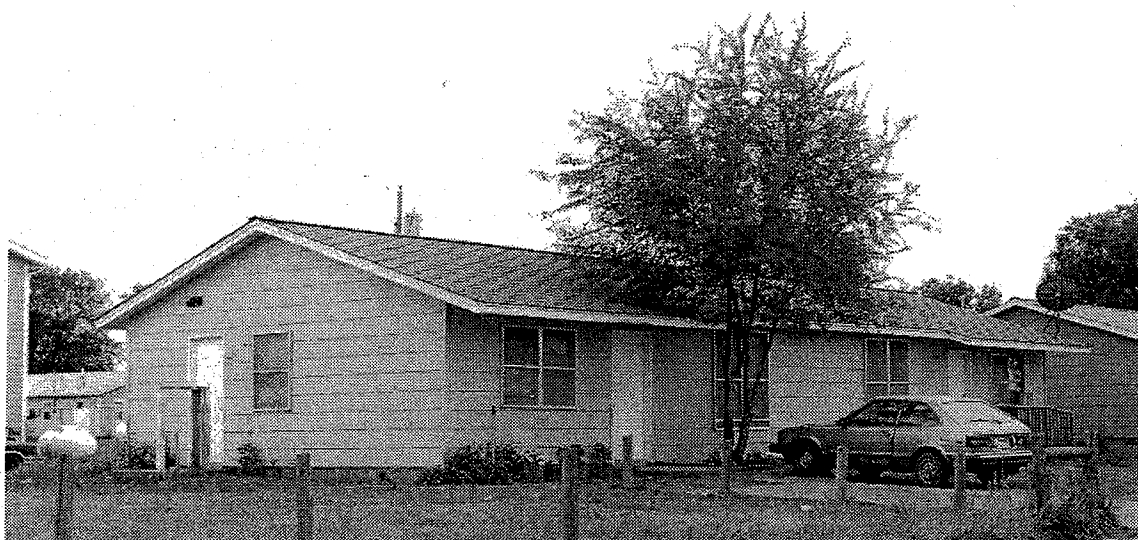


Photo 9: Pick-Sloan Housing at Ft. Thompson, Crow Creek Reservation.

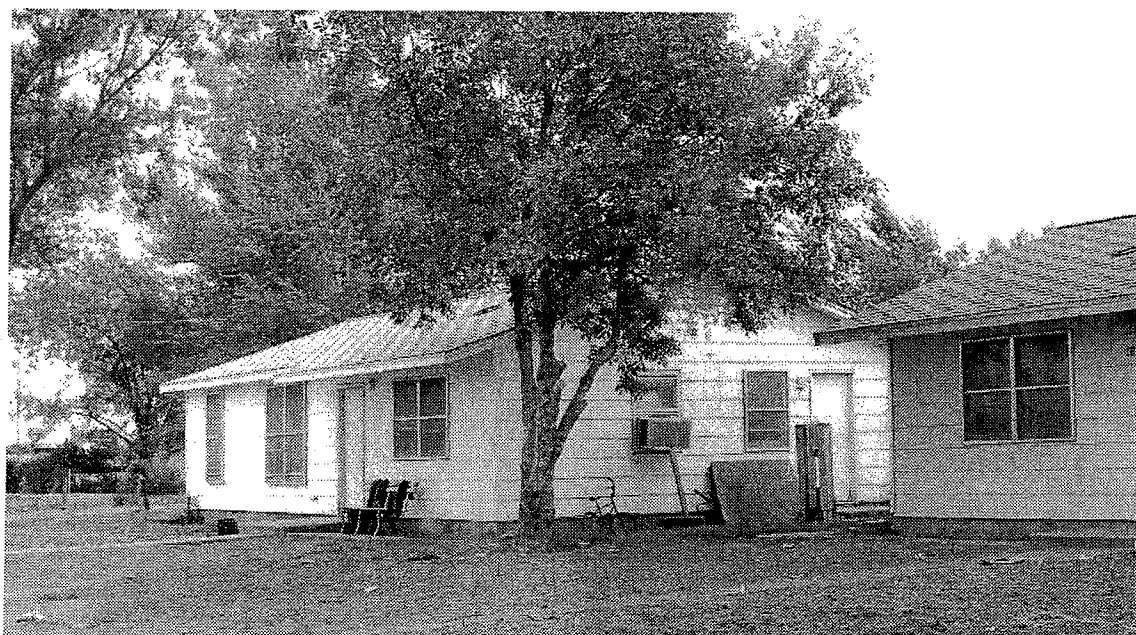


Photo 10: Remodeled Pick-Sloan Housing at Ft. Thompson, Crow Creek Reservation.

because of other information such as oral history information and USGS topographic maps of the area from this time period, these houses appear to have been built between 1958 and 1966—indicating their association with the relocations caused by the Pick-Sloan Plan.³¹

The first house (see photograph 7) is an example of a pre-fabricated designed gable-end house with plywood siding (T-111), asphalt roof shingles, a flush wood entry door. The building was probably heated by a wood-burning stove which used a central masonry chimney. This house has 1 × 4 corner boards and 1 × 4 rake and eave trim, and quite possibly a truss

roof system. More than likely, there was an outhouse in the backyard somewhere. After its construction, this building was owned by several members of the tribe, then turned over to the Crow Creek tribe, and most recently given to a Crow Creek band member in lieu of payment of salary.³²

Next door to this house, is a similar pre-fabricated house that has been recently remodeled (see photograph 8). This second house was given to the Crow Creek Housing Authority by an unknown party. Thereafter, the Crow Creek Housing Authority extensively renovated the unit (new door, windows, vinyl



Photo 11: Pick-Sloan Housing at Ft. Thompson, Crow Creek Reservation.



Photo 12: Remodeled Pick-Sloan Housing at Ft. Thompson, Crow Creek Reservation.

siding, etc.). The Housing Authority also built an addition off the west end wall, which added living space to the unit.³³

Fort Thompson Community— Public Housing from Pick-Sloan Relocations

As promised in the Fort Randall and Big Bend settlements, a new Ft. Thompson townsite was created for the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe. As part of this community, thirty or so low rent houses, as well a elderly center, were constructed on the southwest corner of the new Fort Thompson townsite (see Map 3.0). This horseshoe housing tract consisted of a variety of two and three bedroom and duplex ramblers, or one-story dwellings, that were built sometime between 1962 and

1966, using resettlement funding. In addition to these buildings, at the west end of housing tract was series of interconnected elderly apartments that made a half-moon shape footprint on the tract. Eventually, these elderly apartments were turned into a general apartment complex by the Crow Creek Tribe.³⁴

At the time the Pick-Sloan housing tract was photographed by Dr. Godfrey, it appeared that many of the houses had been either totally remodeled, or they were in the process of being remodeled. Examples of unremodeled and remodeled houses at Fort Thompson can be seen in photographs 9-12. The former elder apartment complex in Fort Thompson, which now is used for individual housing units is depicted in photographs 13 and 14.



Photo 13: Former Elderly Pick-Sloan Housing at Ft. Thompson, Crow Creek Reservation.

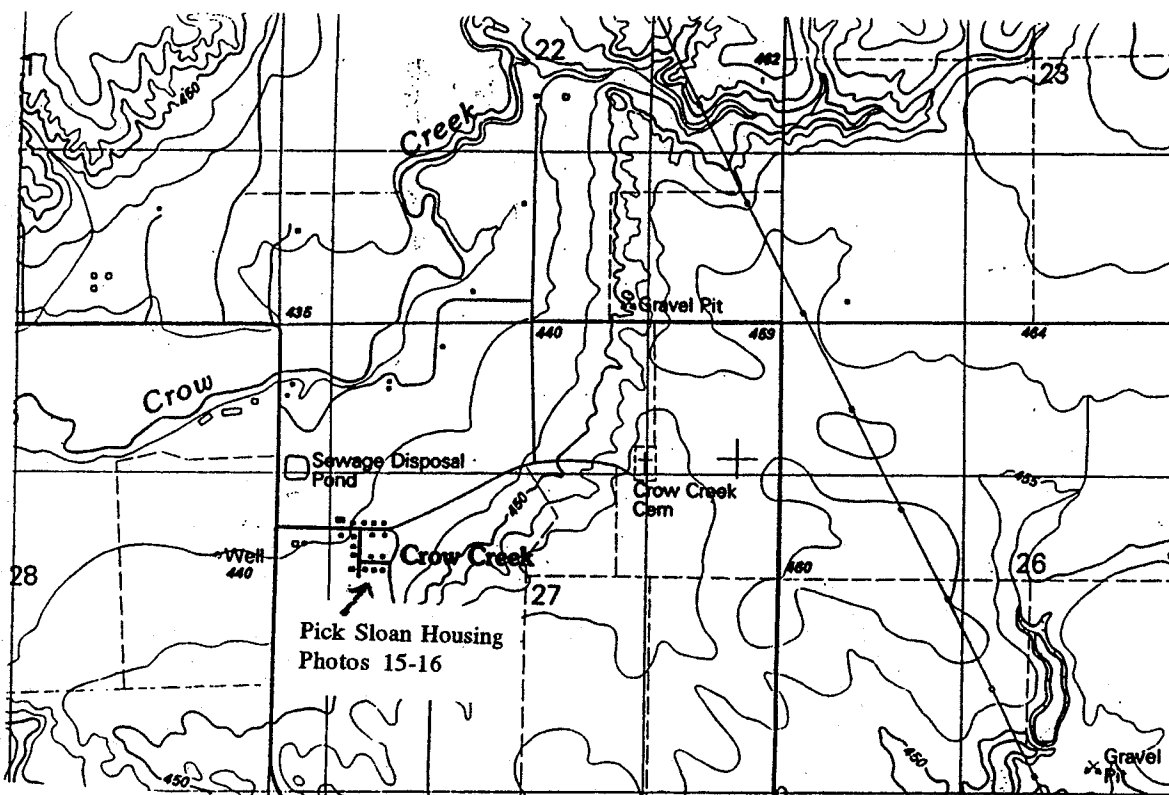


Photo 14: Former Elderly Pick-Sloan Housing at Ft. Thompson, Crow Creek Reservation.

Crow Creek Community

In addition to the Pick-Sloan housing constructed in Fort Thompson, in the 1960s, additional housing was constructed in the community of Crow Creek, South Dakota located twenty miles southeast of Fort Thompson (see Map 4.0).

At the time Dr. Godfrey visited the Crow Creek community, it was quite clear that the majority of the housing at Crow Creek was newly built and/or remodeled. Nevertheless, on the southern most end of the community housing tracts, there is a series of a half dozen or more which appear to be early Pick-Sloan housing. The majority of these houses been



Map 4.0: 1983 Map of Crow Creek Area, Crow Creek Reservation, South Dakota. Adapted from USGS 7.5 Minute Map, Quadrangle Shelby, South Dakota.



Photo 15: Pick-Sloan Housing at Crow Creek, Crow Creek Reservation.

recently remodeled, and/or they are in the process of being remodeled. For instance, compare the unadorned gable-end minimal traditional style housing with masonite lap siding clearly in need of repair and ready to renovated probably under the HIP program (see photograph 15), with the house across the street (see photograph 16). The latter house has been totally updated with new vinyl siding and windows, new storm door, and attached garage. Like much of the housing constructed on the Crow Creek Reservation in the 1960s and early 1970s, the older housing is being updated and renovated to meet the housing needs of the tribe.

Leo A. Daly HUD Housing Plan

While the Pick-Sloan housing projects were complete and/or underway, plans were made to meet additional housing needs of the Crow Creek Sioux. In 1966, the South Dakota Industrial Development Expansion Agency, under HUD Urban Planning Grant P-II-G, awarded a comprehensive planning project for the Crow Creek Reservation to the Leo A. Daly Corporation—a large architectural and engineering firm based in Omaha, Nebraska, but with offices in St. Louis, Seattle, San Francisco, New Orleans, Washington, D.C. and Hong Kong. In 1967, the Leo A. Daly Corporation pro-



Photo 16: Remodeled Pick-Sloan Housing at Crow Creek, Crow Creek Reservation.

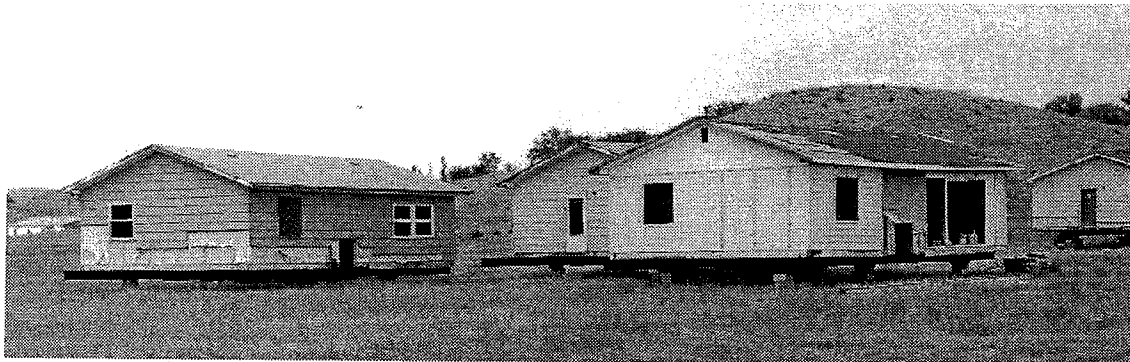


Photo 17: "Daley Redwood" Low-Rent Housing Removed from Crow Creek Reservation.

duced and presented to the Crow Creek Tribal Council a report entitled: *A Comprehensive Plan Report: Crow Creek Reservation, South Dakota*. As the title indicates, this document was not just a housing document, but also, a comprehensive plan for the entire reservation.

The 1967 report examined the new Fort Thompson community, as well as the Big Bend and Crow Creek communities, and described current housing conditions and future plans for housing development on the Crow Creek Reservation. After reviewing the available data, the Daly planning document surmised that the emerging Fort Thompson urban area should be the focal point of any new housing. Fort Thompson contained little over half of the reservation's total Indian and non-Indian population, and development costs associated with housing (e.g. sewer lines, utilities, roads) were lower there. Though the construction of public housing units at Fort Thompson through the Pick-Sloan settlement had increased the ratio of sound, habitable, and

usable housing in Fort Thompson, the Leo A. Daly Corporation noted that of the 124 occupied homes within the urban area (excluding the new Pick-Sloan housing), forty houses were deteriorated and another twenty-one houses were considered dilapidated.³⁵

Based on the above information, the Daly Corporation recommended the construction of new housing in Fort Thompson in order to materially raise the living conditions of the Crow Creek Indians. They suggested that new residential housing be built on an undeveloped section of land immediately east of the 1966 Fort Thompson townsite and across from State Highway 47 (see Map 3.0).³⁶

Fort Thompson Community—East Housing

Between 1971-1973, Daley Redwood Homes of Sioux Falls, Iowa came to the Crow Creek reservation to build Low-Rent housing under a HUD tribal hous-

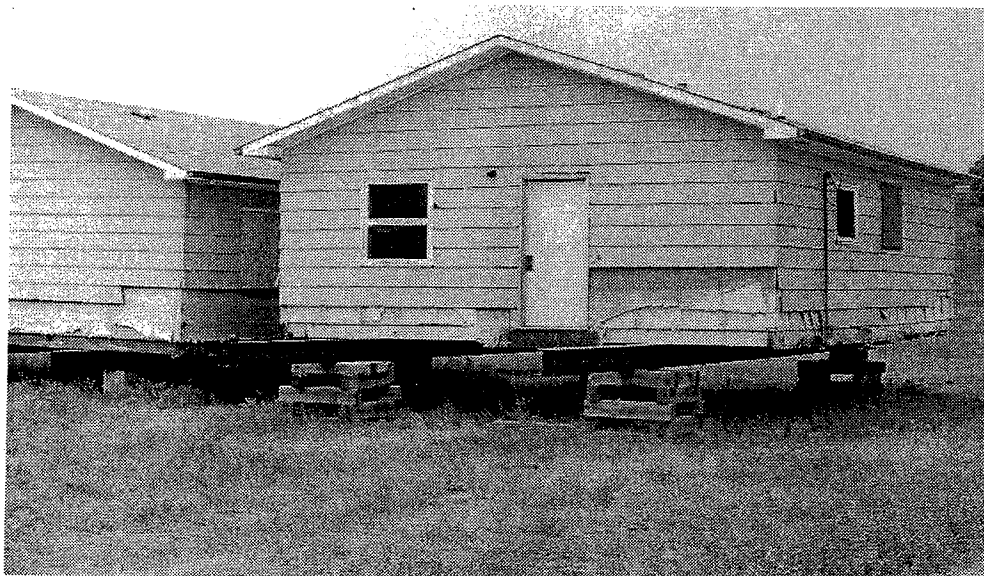


Photo 18: "Daley Redwood" Low-Rent Housing Removed from Crow Creek Reservation.



Photo 19: Unremodeled "Daley Redwood" Mutual Self Help Housing Crow Creek Reservation.

ing grant.³⁷ As will be remembered, Low-Rent housing was a HUD program whereby tenants paid an adjustable monthly rent based on their current income. The Crow Creek Reservation "East Housing" was the first Low-Rent project on the Crow Creek Reservation. Constructed in 1972, east of State Highway 47 and south of State Highway 34, the housing soon became known as "Daley Redwood" housing. This type of housing received its nickname from the Daley Redwood Homes Corporation, which designed the housing, and from the original redwood materials that were used on the exterior siding of the buildings.

The "Daley Redwood" houses were two, three, and four bedroom gable-end rectangular structures with eaves and a slight rake return at each end. All basically had the same floor plan with a split foyer entryway (see photographs 19 and 20). Initially they were constructed with four × four corner posts with slots in them for half-moon redwood sheathing material shaped to give a log cabin look to the building. Once

assembled, each wall unit was lifted into place and secured to the floor. Once standing, each wall was then trimmed out with furring strips on the inside to accept insulation, and sheetrock, or paneling.³⁸

Within two years after their construction, there were severe problems with the "Daley Redwood" house. Because there was no flashing where the wall met the floor, rain and other elements easily found their way into the house. Rain coming down the sides of the houses simply seeped into the house at this unprotected point causing severe damage to interior walls, as well as the floors and carpet. Realizing this major design flaw, the Crow Creek Housing Authority repaired the leaking houses by siding over the "log facade" of each house with new 14 inch hardboard lap siding (see photographs 17 and 18). Over time, other difficulties with the "Daley Redwood" houses occurred, including the settling of basements that caused foundations cracks, but none were as severe as the water leaking design problem.³⁹

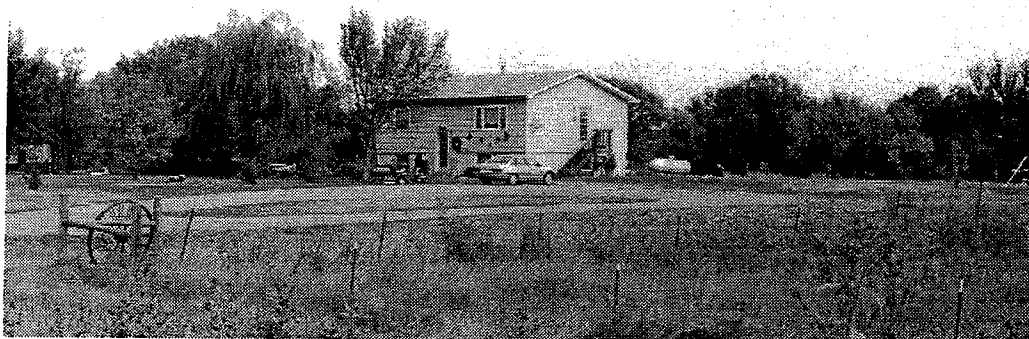


Photo 20: Remodeled "Daley Redwood" Mutual Self Help Housing Crow Creek Reservation.

By the late 1990s, the "renovated" East Housing Low-Rent "Daley Redwoods" had outlived their usefulness, and the Crow Creek Tribe began to replace them. In 1997, the Crow Creek Tribe received a \$2.0 million dollar HUD grant to completely replace any Low-Rent "Daley Redwoods" that could not be repaired. Those Low-Rent houses that could not be renovated were put up for bid. In 1998, they were sold to an independent contractor (\$2,500 per house) who was then required to remove the housing units from the reservation and fill the basements of each home site. Once this was done, the Crow Creek Tribe built new housing on top of the former "Daley Redwood" housing sites.

Currently, many of the removed Low-Rent buildings are still standing in a lot a few miles east of Pierre, South Dakota on State Highway 34 awaiting resale (see photographs 17 and 18). Others have been renovated and repaired via a Crow Creek Housing Authority HIP program (see photograph 20).

Fort Thompson Community—Mutual Self-Help

Along with constructing Low-Rent housing, Daley Redwood Homes also constructed individual Mutual Self-Help "Daley Redwood" housing, which were scattered across the Crow Creek Reservation (for instance see photographs 19 and 20 above). As will be remembered, Mutual Self-help projects were projects whereby the tribal housing authority, under the guidance of HUD, built houses on reservations, and then tribal members would rent-to-own them. Rents were based on their income levels and other factors. Payments were spread out long-term and applied against the cost of purchasing the home. By the late 1990s, many of these "Daley Redwoods" were also in need of repair, renovation, or removal. In 1998, the Crow Creek Tribe applied for a \$5.0 million dollar HUD grant to address this problem.

2.3 Lower Brule Reservation Housing

Introduction

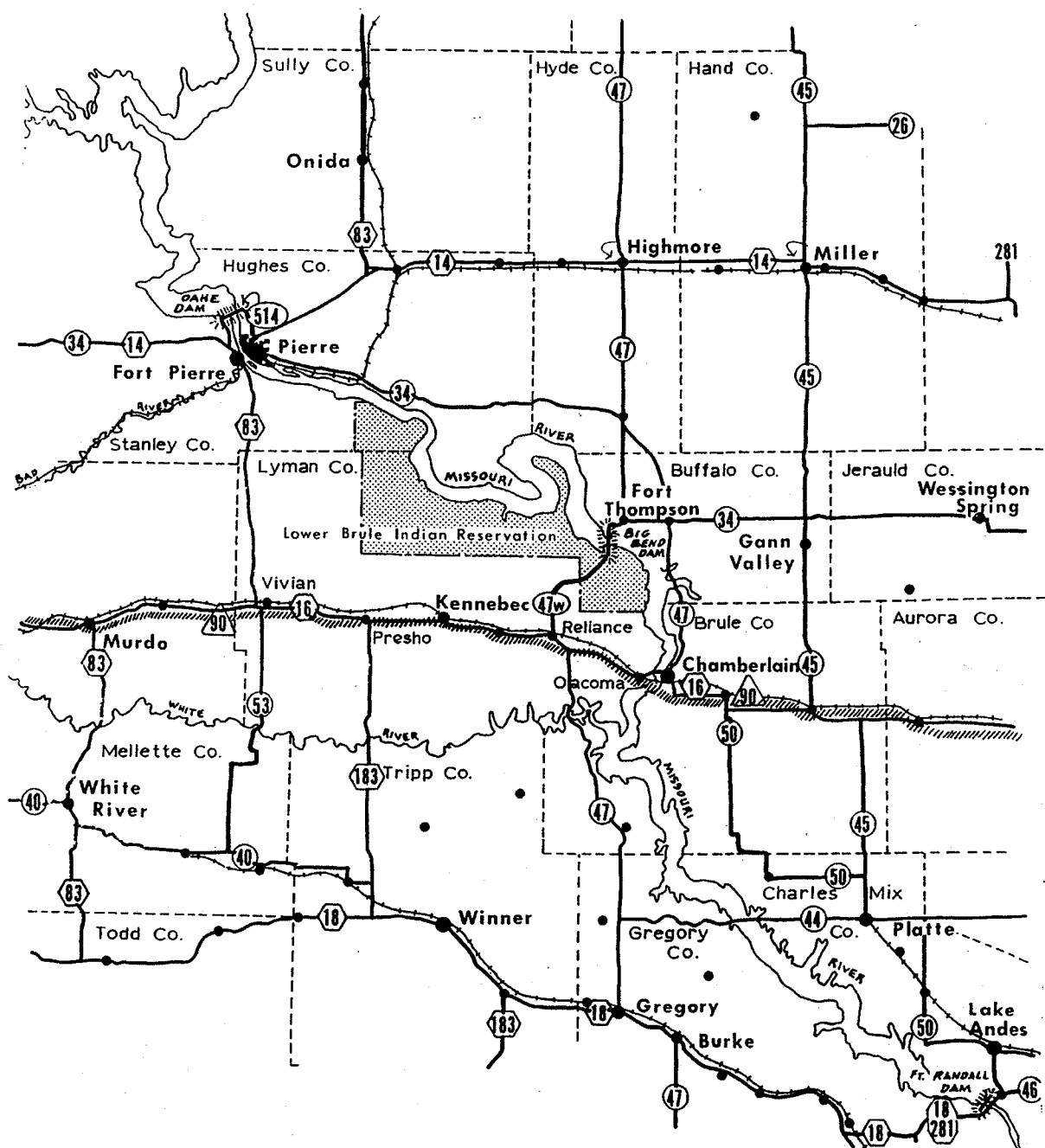
The Lower Brule are descended from the bands of Tetons that moved into the Dakotas from an area west of the Great Lakes. The Teton division of the Sioux were originally of the Eastern Woodland culture and had an economy based on hunting, gathering, and fishing supplemented with some horticulture. Forced westward by pressure from Ojibwa tribes from the east, the Teton eventually moved onto the Great Plains, where they acquired and adopted the cultural patterns of nomadic equestrians whose economic base was the horse, buffalo, and trade.

Recorded history of the middle Missouri River area, where the Lower Brule now live, dates from the middle 1700s when early European explorers traversed the area. But with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the United States acquired control of the area and began to interact with the Sioux people living thereon. Thereafter, in 1804-1805, the Lewis and Clark expedition passed through the Louisiana Territory by way of the Missouri River on their way to the Pacific Ocean.

With news of the newly purchased territory, American settlement progressed westward from the Mississippi River into Dakota Territory. Subsequently, treaties were negotiated with the Sioux Nation. These treaties were made in order to protect travelers and settlers passing through the territory; to purchase lands in the territory; and ultimately to settle various Indian nations on established reservations to make way for non-Indian settlement. Zebulon Pike transacted the first treaty between the United States and the Sioux Nation in 1807. Subsequently, other treaties were made with the Sioux Nation during the first and middle parts of the nineteenth century, which culminated with the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. The Fort Laramie Treaty designated a large Sioux reservation "bounded on the north and south by the Cannonball River and the Nebraska line, and on the east and west by the Missouri and the 103rd meridian, exclusive of the country between the forks of the Cheyenne River."⁴⁰

The terms of the Fort Laramie Treaty were eventually broken, which led to conflict and additional treaties which were also broken. In 1865, the United States recognized the difference between the Lower (Lowland) Brules as a society of Lakotas living near the mouth of the White River, and the Upper (Highland) Brules, who lived downstream on the Missouri River around Whetstone (later Rosebud) Agency. At this time, Iron Nation, Medicine Bull, seven other "chiefs," and seven "chief soldiers" were recognized as leaders of the tribe.⁴¹ Eventually, the Sioux were gathered on reservations so they could be Americanized into the dominant society. Out of the area designated by the Laramie Treaty, the Lower Brule Reservation was created. An 1889 Treaty between the United States and the Lower Brule provided for a permanent reservation in central South Dakota near the mouth of the White River in present-day eastern Lyman and southeastern Stanley Counties (see Maps 2.0 and 3.0). The original Lower Brule Sioux Reservation included 446,500 acres, but in 1898, approximately 120,000 acres was ceded to the United States.⁴²

In 1889, an Indian Agency headquarters for the Lower Brule Reservation was established at Oacoma, South Dakota, on the west side of the Missouri



Map 5.0: Lower Brule Indian Reservation and Region, 1967. Adapted from Nason Wehrman, Knight & Chapman, Inc. *Lower Brule Indian Reservation: Comprehensive Report and Plan.*

River—a few miles west/northwest of Chamberlain. Four years later, in 1893, the Lower Brule Agency was moved to a site on the Missouri River one and one-half miles east of the present location. Following the establishment of the Lower Brule Agency, efforts were made by the Government and nearby missionaries to convert the Lower Brule into farmers and stockmen. Land allotment in severalty on the reservation began in 1895 and ended in 1929, with the major allotting effort occurring in 1901 and 1902. During allotment

period or era, 1,081 allotments were made with 160 acres allotted to all men, women and children of the tribe. Areas of unallotted surplus lands were then ceded for non-Indian settlement. In 1898, 120,000 acres was ceded for non-Indian settlement and 964 acres were reserved for an Indian Agency and for church purposes. Large areas of surplus unallotted lands were also ceded in 1904 and 1907 for non-Indian homesteading purposes. All in all, the Lower Brule made land cessions of 228,519 acres. In addition to

allotting their land or ceding it, the Lower Brule also began to lease their lands to non-Indian cattle ranchers. Despite the appearance of success from the allotment/lease program, its eventual effect on the Lower Brule would be catastrophic. By 1929, an additional 118,785 acres were sold to non-Indians.⁴³

Lower Brule Reservation Housing, 1882-1920s

During the early reservation years, housing on the Lower Brule Reservation was typical of that on other Sioux Reservations. In 1893, the vast majority of Lower Brule Sioux lived in log cabins of their own erection, which were situated upon the bottom lands along the Missouri and its tributaries. Most Lower Brule families lived in these scattered areas because of shelter from the weather, and their proximity to timber and water. For this reason, they asked for and accepted allotments in the Fort Hale Bottom, Medicine Creek, and Little Band areas on the reservation. At the time, their dwellings were as good as those occupied by the pioneer settlers, but as years passed, they moved into frame houses as well. Between 1889 and the early 1930s, the Lower Brule occupied a combination of housing (log cabins and frame houses) similar to those on other Lakota reservations. By 1920, there were 101 log cabins and 58 frame houses (of three rooms or less) on allotted and unallotted Lower Brule land.⁴⁴

Indian New Deal Housing

Like other tribes nationwide, the Lower Brule were greatly affected by the increasing agricultural depression of the 1920s, followed by the national economic crisis known as the Great Depression that came in 1929. By 1933, not only had the cattle industry collapsed in South Dakota, but by this date most of the best acreage on the Lower Brule Reservation was in the hands of non-Indians.⁴⁵

With the election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, recovery slowly came across America. An Indian New Deal, fostered by then Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, led many to believe that relief would come shortly for the Native American as well. On October 5, 1935, following this path of relief and recovery, the Lower Brule became the first Lakota tribe to accept and implement tribal government under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.⁴⁶ Thereafter, dramatic changes occurred on the Lower Brule Reservation as the tribe took part in a full array of New Deal relief and self-help programs. These programs made them more self-sufficient through the efficient use of their land for livestock production, creating a model for other tribes across the region. In this regard, the Indian Service and its Indian New Deal policies made

the Lower Brules a "test" case or "demonstration area" to see how the rehabilitation of a depressed group could be accomplished through the machinery and procedures established under the New Deal programs. . . . A considerable amount of time and money was diverted to the reservation by means of restoring white-owned lands to the Indians, intensive studies of various phases of reservation life, and constructing irrigation projects for feed and garden purposes."⁴⁷

By 1937, the Lower Brule Reservation had been reduced to 26,967 acres owned by the tribe and the government. Membership of the Lower Brule Tribe was 609, of which only 376, or 62 percent actually resided on the reservation.⁴⁸ Despite the numbers, housing was in short supply and dilapidated (see Figures 8 and 9). The desperate housing conditions on the reservation had been worsened by the Great Depression and accompanying drought. In response to this reservation housing crisis, the Indian Relief and Rehabilitation Division (IRRD) built "seventeen, two-story clapboard houses to replace the scattered log cabins in the hope of bringing plumbing and central heating to the reservation." These houses were well-built, were fully wired for electricity, and had plumbing fixtures installed. Originally, these houses were intended for the use of aged and infirmed Indians, but those restrictions were soon lifted.⁴⁹

This new housing was both beneficial and detrimental to life on the Lower Brule Reservation. Prior to 1920, the original Lower Brule Reservation communities were scattered throughout the reservation. The Lower Brule lived in isolated groups in close proximity to one another, which were called *tiospaye* (band) villages, but, during the period 1921-1934, the traditional community distribution of population into *tiospaye* had clearly broken down. Agricultural depression coupled with New Deal programs [already discussed] lured many families away from their scattered cultural communities of origin to one area the "Agency District" in search of livelihood. The traditional social order of families, or *tiospaye* groupings, further broke down as a result of the construction of the seventeen Indian Relief and Rehabilitation Division houses. This housing development further concentrated residents into the Agency District, contributing further to the decline of the traditional social order among the Lower Brule.⁵⁰

By 1937, more than 50 percent of all reservation families were living in the Agency District along the Missouri River. Located on a flat plain on the banks of the Missouri River was the community known as Lower Brule, which surrounded the old agency headquarters located there. By the 1930s, the Agency District had become the central point of reservation activ-

ity because all Indian agency activities took place here. The Lower Brule Indian agency offered a number of jobs and provided regular employment for some tribal members. Besides the Indian Agency headquarters, a government day-school, Catholic and Presbyterian churches, two trading posts, community center, jail, machine shop, and power plant were located in Lower Brule as well. Prior to 1934, fourteen families resided in the area. These families most likely occupied the Indian Relief and Rehabilitation Division houses built between 1936 and 1938, but with the construction of the new homes, an additional twenty to forty families were attracted to the area and potential government jobs. Without adequate housing available, migrants to the area lived in a nearby tent community.⁵¹

Surrounding the Lower Brule Agency were six *tiospaye* or Lower Brule village groupings that formed an arc. In 1937, these Lower Brule villages or *tiospaye* groupings included the Fort George area upstream from Lower Brule "where residents had been remotely situated with activities oriented toward those of Pierre." In the Fort George District, there were also several mixed-blood families living along La Roche Bottom, and several full-blood families "living five miles northwest of them with firm bonds to kinship ties" living.⁵²

In 1937, other Lower Brule *tiospaye* or communities included:⁵³

- Cedar Creek area, which in 1937 was all but abandoned because of a drift of population to the Agency District;
- Medicine Creek area, which had a sustaining full-blood population;
- Iron Nation area, where nine families resided "poverty-ridden and intermixed with some Negro blood";
- Fort Hale area, which from appearances was nearly abandoned like the Cedar Creek area; and
- Little Bend area, which was bustling with activity from recent land purchases.

Statistically, the population of the seven *tiospaye* groupings were as follows:⁵⁴

Area	No. of Families	No. of Individuals
Lower Brule Agency	55	227
Fort George	15	85
Iron Nation	9	41
Medicine Creek	7	28
Fort Hale	5	33
Little Bend	4	25
Cedar Creek	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	96	443

In summary, "overall, population orientation after the mid-1930s drew population from remote extremities to the north-south geographic center of the reservation. People abandoned the uplands and chose to scatter and orient their activities near the shoreline of the Missouri River."⁵⁵

Post World War II Housing Conditions

During World War II, there was a large-scale migration from the Lower Brule Reservation to war plants and military service. Tribal members moved to non-Indian towns and cities, while a few went to other reservations. This significant out-migration changed the socio-economic conditions on the Lower Brule Reservation somewhat,⁵⁶ but did not relieve the housing conditions on the reservation.

In 1951, the nature of housing conditions on Lower Brule Reservation was fully documented in a housing survey conducted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Generally speaking, the 1951 housing survey quantified the substandard nature of the housing on the Lower Brule Reservation for the first time. According to the survey results, 23 percent of the families on the Lower Brule Reservation lived with relatives or friends, 29.5 percent of the homes had only one room, and the average number of persons per dwelling was four persons. The 1951 housing survey also indicated that the crowded conditions existed mostly in the community around the Lower Brule Agency. The homes of ranch operators, or those located out on the allotments, were in much better repair and were not as crowded as those in the Agency District.⁵⁷

By 1951, it was also evident that the "rehabilitation" housing from the New Deal planning process was unsuccessful; in fact, it posed a perennial problem for the Lower Brule Tribal Council, whose obligation it was to determine who had the right to occupy each house. Often, there were charges of favoritism and politics in the selection of occupants. Furthermore, the proximity of the houses to each other led some Lower Brule residents, as well as government officials, to "assert that much of the drunkenness and fighting was a result of the location of the houses." Clearly, the houses did not "achieve the economic and spiritual rehabilitation which Collier had envisioned."⁵⁸

Fort Randall Dam Taking, 1954-1955

In 1954, housing conditions on the Lower Brule Reservation changed once again as a result of the construction of the Fort Randall Dam on the Missouri River as part of the Pick-Sloan Plan for the Missouri River Basin Dam Project. The Fort Randall Dam was located downstream from the Lower Brule Reserva-

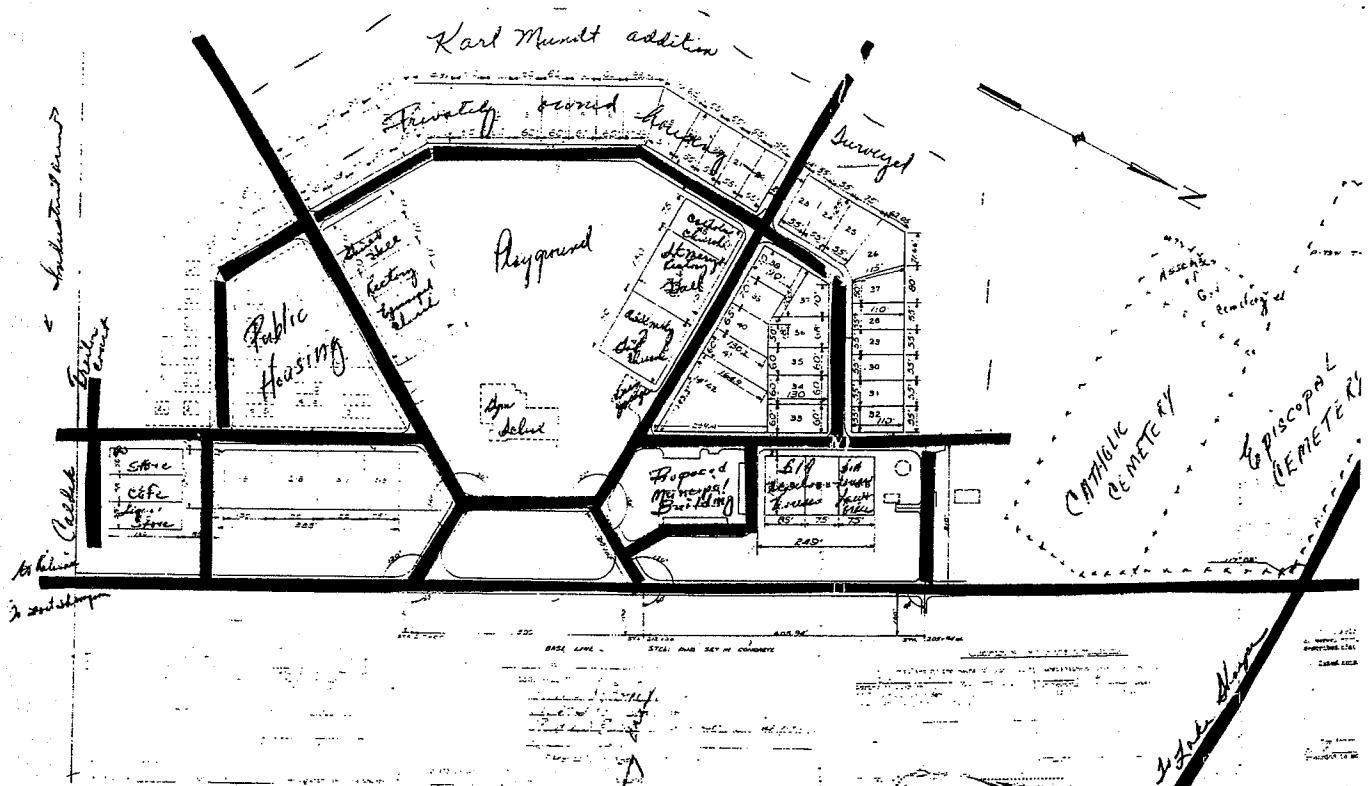
tion. Construction of the dam began in 1946, but the Lower Brule tribe did not learn of the full effect of the Pick-Sloan Plan until 1949, when the Missouri River Basin Investigations Project (MRBI) published its findings on the construction project. At that time, the Tribe learned that when completed, the Fort Randall Dam would inundate thousands acres of bottomlands along the Missouri River on the eastern border of the Lower Brule Reservation. Although negotiations with the Lower Brule Tribe had not been completed by 1954, the Corps of Engineers nevertheless closed the Fort Randall Dam in that year and backwaters began flooding parts of the Lower Brule Reservation.⁵⁹ By January of 1955, the Corps of Engineers filed declarations taking close to 8,000 acres of trust land from the Lower Brule Reservation for the Fort Randall Dam reservoir. Of this amount, nearly 5,000 acres were tribally-owned and the remaining 3,000 acres were owned by individual tribal members and non-Indians.⁶⁰

As a result of the construction of the Fort Randall Dam, from twenty-one to thirty-five Lower Brule families, or sixteen percent of the resident population, were required to move from the reservoir taking area. Owners of the houses were given the chance to salvage their homes and move them elsewhere. With funding assistance from the settlement for the land, fourteen homes owned by Indians were removed from

the taking area. Next to moving homes, house repairs, additions, and purchases of new homes were given priority. Some Lower Brule bought homes at this time. Some of these houses were old, while others were new. Contracts were made with builders to construct and deliver modest and low-cost new houses. They ranged from a three-room house costing \$2,500 to a small cabin (14' x 16') costing \$750 and set on concrete blocks. Despite these efforts, the Lower Brule Sioux had a difficult time relocating families from the Fort Randall taking area.⁶¹

Big Bend Dam Taking

In 1959-1960, the Corps of Engineers began work on the Big Bend Dam—another major segment of the Pick-Sloan Plan. Developed primarily for hydroelectric power production, the Big Bend Dam created a reservoir that eventually stretched downstream to form Lake Sharpe. The Lower Brule Tribe suffered the most damage from the Big Bend Dam project, which inundated over 14,000 acres of productive Missouri River bottom lands across the north side of the Lower Brule Reservation. The inundation resulting from the project caused the upheaval and relocation of the community of Lower Brule itself, as well as several Indian families outside of the Agency District. All in all, "sixty-two families, comprising 53 percent of the tribal



Map 6.0: Proposed Townsite for Lower Brule Reservation, South Dakota, Circa 1963.

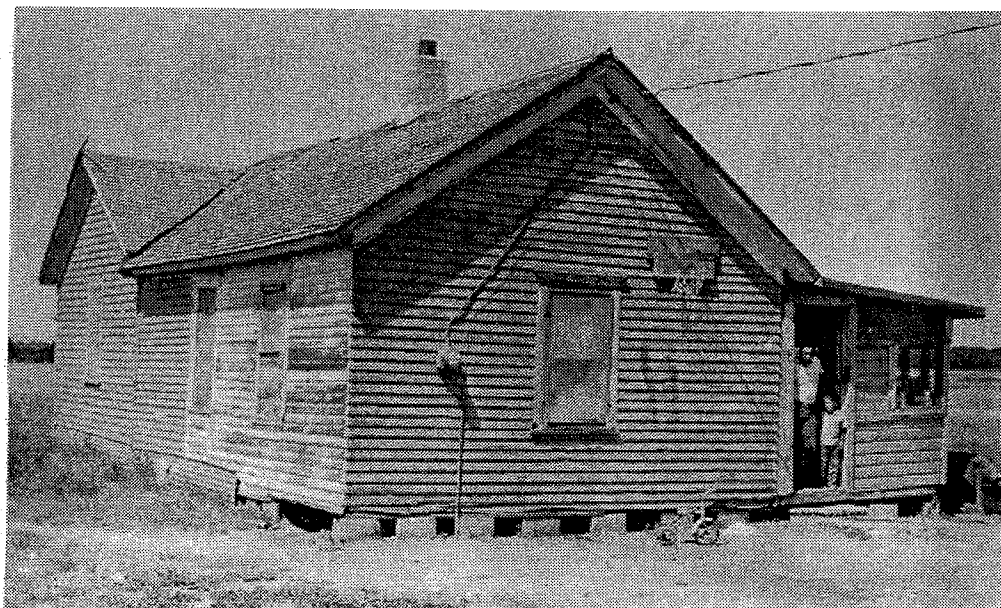


Figure 8: Home in Old Lower Brule Replaced by New Homes in New Townsite. Adapted from Leola Peterson, "Scrapbook of 1963-1964 South Dakota Community Betterment Program for Lower Brule Town and Reservation," 30 June 1964, Collection H83-49, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.

population were displaced." In addition to this fact, 15 percent of the Lower Brule Reservation was flooded, nearly half of the remaining farms and ranches were lost, as well as most of the good timber and pastureland on the reservation.⁶²

Naturally, this kind of upheaval caused drastic changes in the socio-economic base of the Lower Brule

Reservation. Settlement negotiations for the Big Bend taking were difficult, and at one point, tribal officials startled everyone by requesting that their federal trust status be terminated. At this time, the Lower Brule demanded almost \$5.0 million dollars, but eventually they settled for almost \$3.2 million. This amount included \$825,000 dollars for direct damages, \$400,715 for indirect damages, and \$1,968,750 for relocation

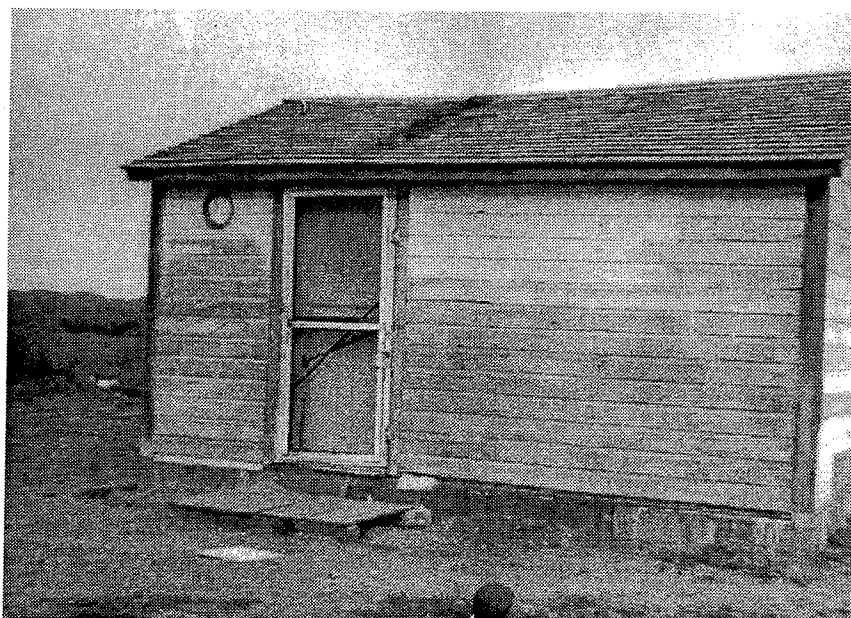


Figure 9: Home in Old Lower Brule Replaced by New Homes in New Townsite. Adapted from Leola Peterson, "Scrapbook of 1963-1964 South Dakota Community Betterment Program for Lower Brule Town and Reservation," 30 June 1964, Collection H83-49, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.

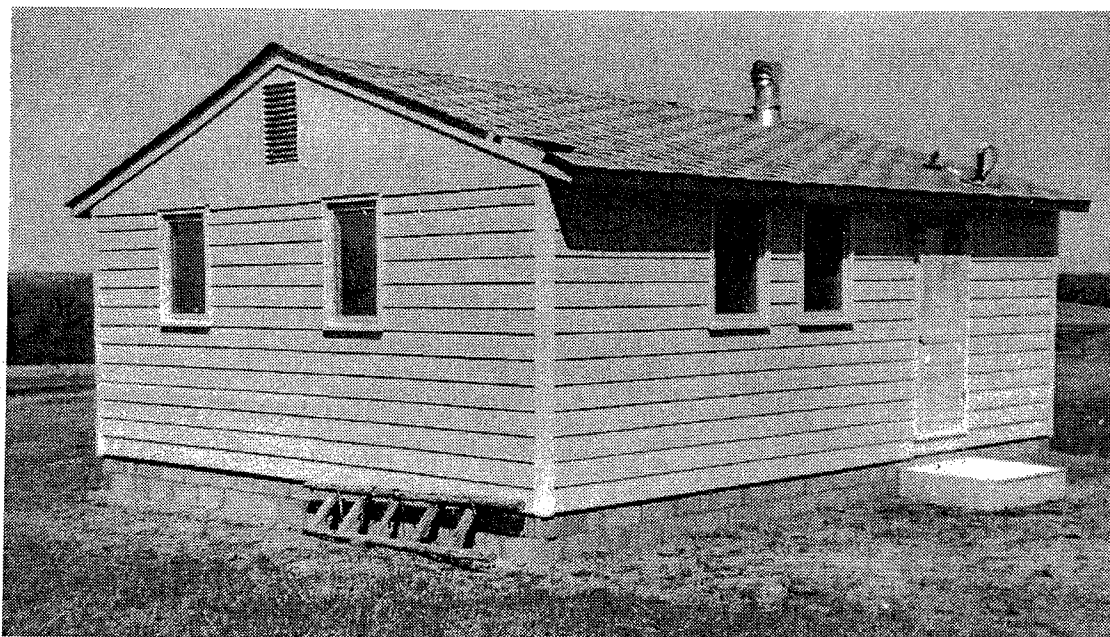


Figure 10: New 2-bedroom Home Built with Big Bend Taking Monies, 1964. Adapted from Leola Peterson, "Scrapbook of 1963-1964 South Dakota Community Betterment Program for Lower Brule Town and Reservation," 30 June 1964, Collection H83-49, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.

and rehabilitation expenses. In addition to this amount, the Lower Brule requested and received "a new town to be constructed on the reservation that would have paved streets, full utilities, an elementary and high school, a municipal building, and at least 61 new housing units."⁶³

Lower Brule Community— Public Housing from Pick-Sloan Relocations

As promised in the Big Bend settlement, a new Lower Brule townsite was created for the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe. While most tribal people welcomed the

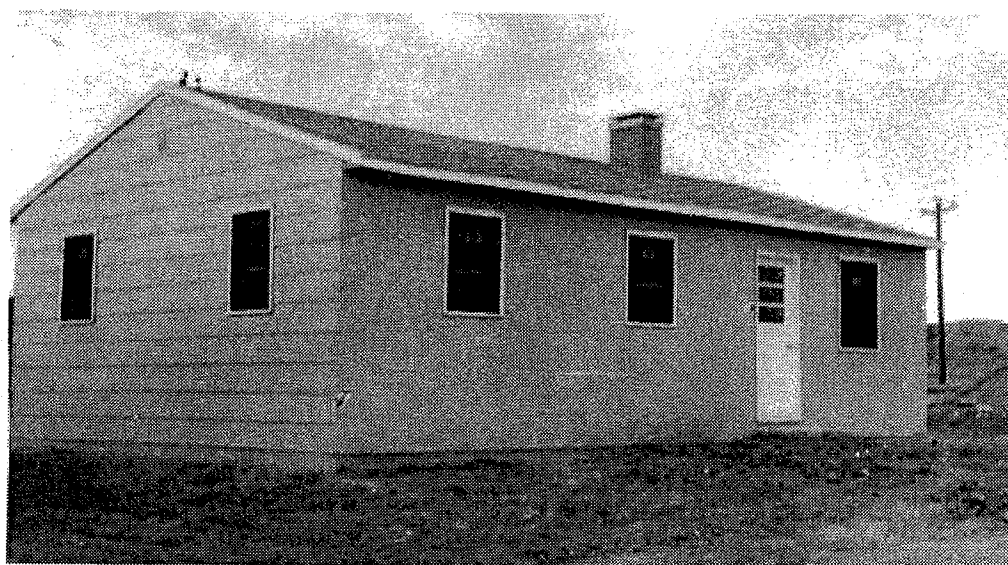
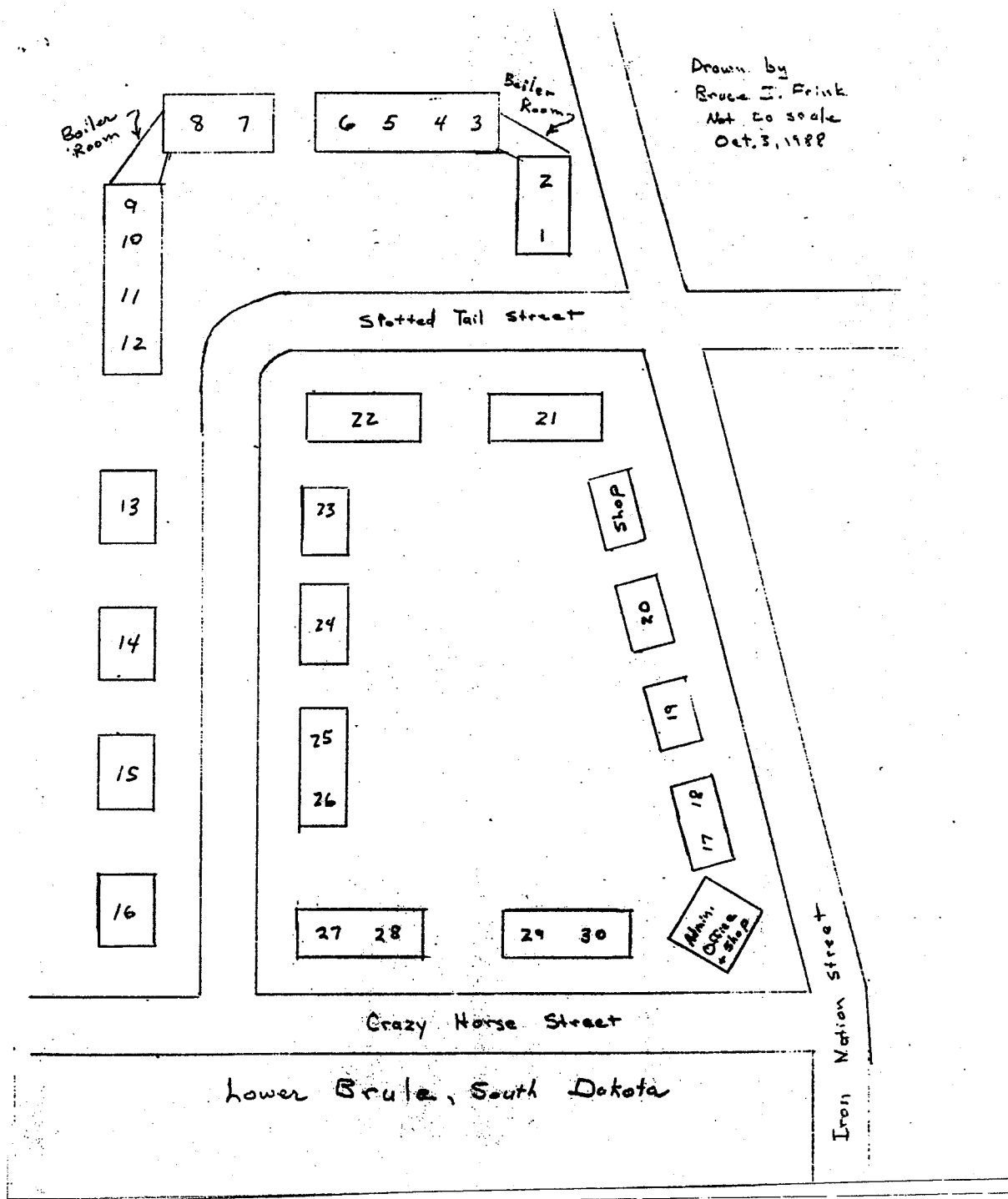


Figure 11: New Privately Owned Home in New Lower Brule Townsite, 1964. Adapted from Leola Peterson, "Scrapbook of 1963-1964 South Dakota Community Betterment Program for Lower Brule Town and Reservation," 30 June 1964, Collection H83-49, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.



Map 7.0: Public Housing Project for Lower Brule Reservation, South Dakota. 1988.

newly designed town, a number of full-bloods refused to reside there and had their homes moved to the bluffs overlooking Lower Brule. It is not known whether any of these homes are extant today.⁶⁴

Fortunately, the entire process of moving and designing the new Lower Brule Community was recorded in a scrapbook compiled for the event. The

moving of the entire town was a rather unusual undertaking and took much planning and work. Before the old town was inundated, the Lower Brule Tribal Council, Corps of Engineers, and the BIA involved each resident in the relocation process. This process resulted in the successful moving of the town of Lower Brule in 1959-1960 to its present location. The new community of Lower Brule was created at

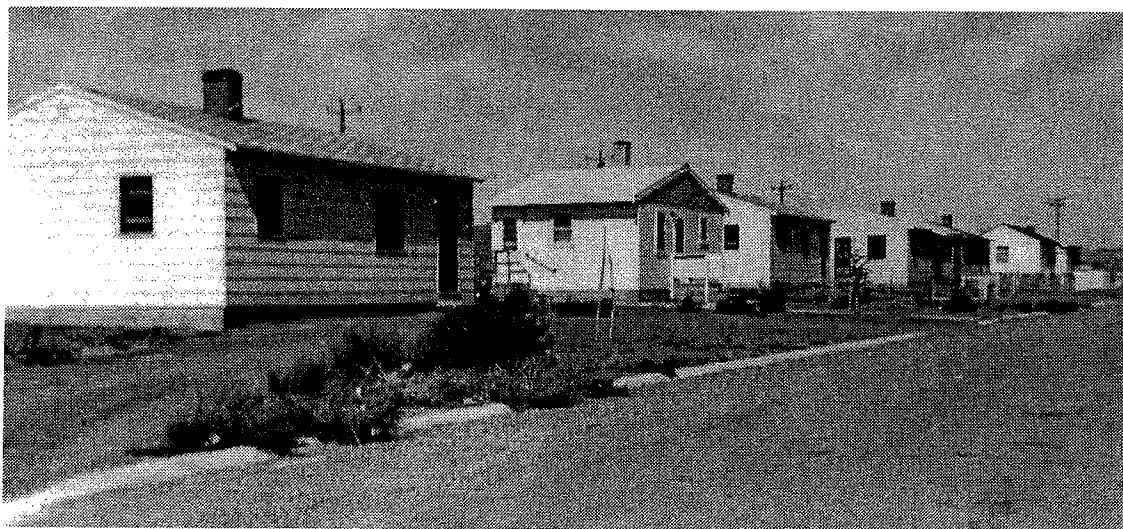


Figure 12: Street Scene of New Privately Owned Homes in New Townsite, 1964. Adapted from Leola Peterson, "Scrapbook of 1963-1964 South Dakota Community Betterment Program for Lower Brule Town and Reservation," 30 June 1964, Collection H83-49, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.

the nearest convenient upland location from the Missouri River—about one and one-half miles west of the old Agency site. The site was selected by the Army Corps of Engineers but the town layout was made by the Corps with the approval of the Lower Brule Tribal Council.⁶⁵

The project of moving the entire town was accomplished in an orderly manner. The townsite layout surrounded a pentagonal shaped recreational area with a playground and a school in the center (see Maps 6.0 and 8.0). Within this pentagon and border-

ing it were the various buildings for church denominations, which included Episcopal, Catholic, and Assembly of God churches. Immediately to the south of the recreational/religious pentagon area was public housing, some private housing, the tribal court, a store, cafe, liquor store, and then an industrial area. Immediately west of recreational/religious pentagon area was a street of privately owned housing. Immediately to the north of the recreational/religious pentagon area were additional private housing, a proposed municipal building, and BIA housing for its employees. Still farther north were cemeteries for the

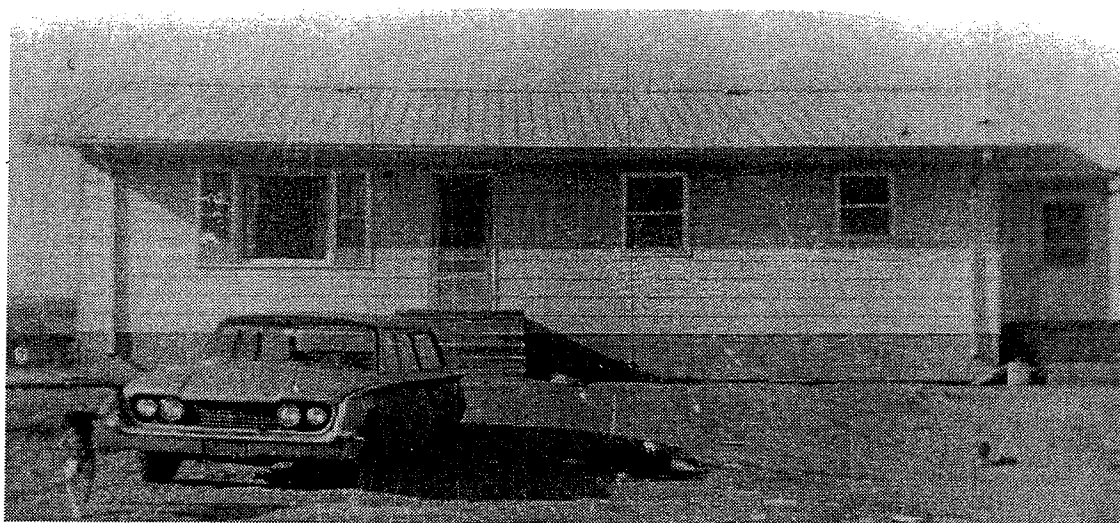


Figure 13: New Farm House with Five Bedrooms and Two Baths, 1964. Adapted from Leola Peterson, "Scrapbook of 1963-1964 South Dakota Community Betterment Program for Lower Brule Town and Reservation," 30 June 1964, Collection H83-49, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.



Photo 21: 1960s Privately Owned Home, Photographed 1998.

Catholic, Assembly of God, and Episcopal churches and then a Pow Wow area.

Because the new town had codes and ordinances to prevent inadequate housing from developing, only two of the houses from the old Lower Brule were moved into the new town, but before they were relocated there, both were repaired and remodeled to meet these codes. In addition to these two houses, by 1964, twenty-three privately owned houses were built with monies received from the Big Bend taking (see Figures 10, 11, and 12, and Photographs 21, 22) Finally, by this same date, five homes were built by the Army

Corps of Engineers for BIA employees. In total, 153 persons were provided with improved housing in 1963-1964.⁶⁶

In addition to these "urban" homes, four new farm houses were constructed as replacements for homes in the Big Bend taking area (see Figure 13). In addition to the new farm houses, six farm families remodeled their old homes, five of them having been moved from the Big Bend taking. Finally, besides the farm houses, there were also seven rural non-farm homes constructed and several other remodeled to some extent. Funds for moving and remodeling of farm and non-

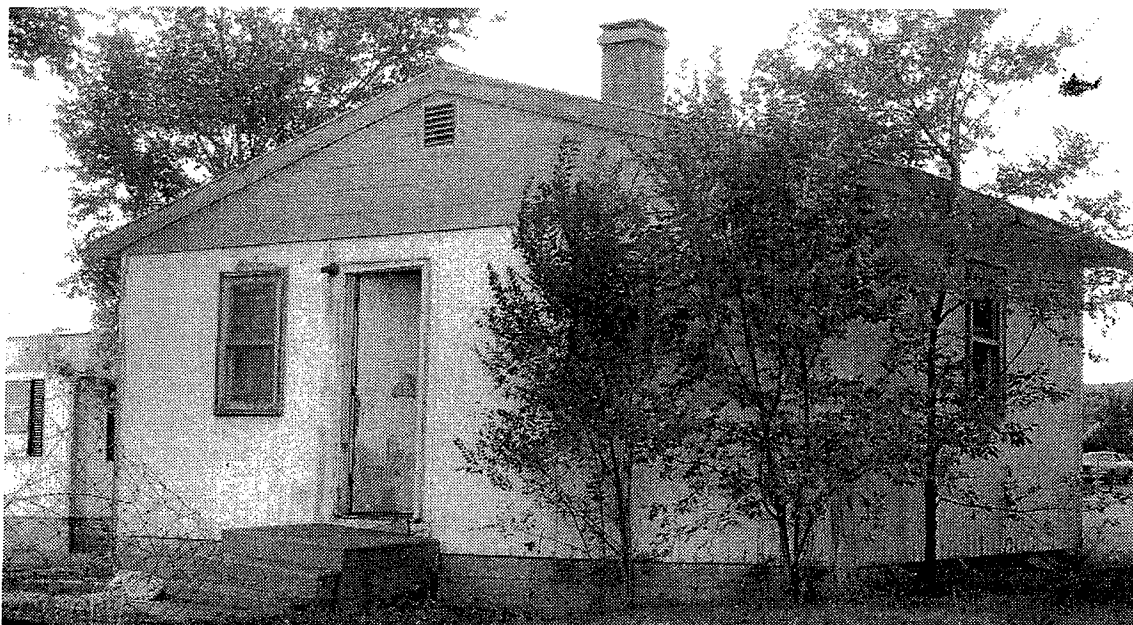
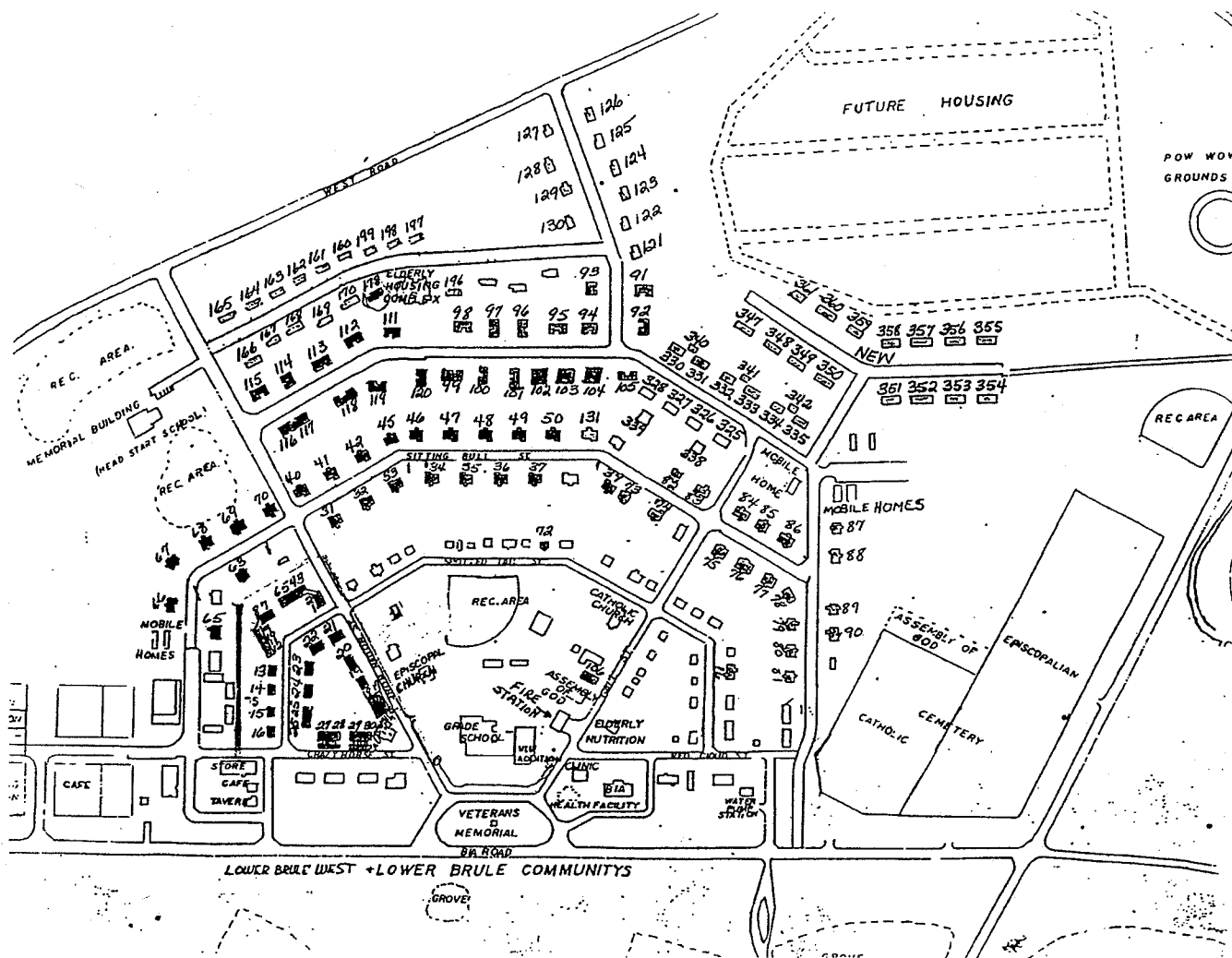


Photo 22: 1960s Privately Owned Home, Photographed 1998.



Map 8.0: General Housing Project for Lower Brule Reservation, South Dakota, 1988.

Nos. 1-30	Public Housing, 1960s
Nos. 31-50	Mutual Self-Help Housing, 1970s
Nos. 73-90	Low-Rent Housing, 1970s

farm houses were obtained from the FHA, PCA, and the Big Bend settlement.⁶⁷

After this initial surge of construction, additional projects were accomplished in the early 1960s. By 1964, a trailer court was completed with water, sewage and electricity hook ups for thirty trailers. The trailer court was quickly occupied to capacity. A tribal supermarket was constructed, along with a Pow Wow for dancing throughout the summer season (see Map 8.0). Other construction activities included moving tribally owned dwellings from the old townsite to a small rural community that sprang up west of the Lower Brule on top of the hill. The tribe also remodeled a community building for meetings, dances, etc., and the tribe had a forty acre tract of tribal land four miles north of Lower Brule and overlooking the Big Bend

Reservoir surveyed for forty cottage lots.⁶⁸

As part of this move, and provided in Public Law 87-734, the Secretary of the Army was directed to "replace, relocate or reconstruct any existing essential governmental and agency facilities on the reservation, including schools, Public Health Service (PHS) and BIA offices, facilities, service buildings, and employees' quarters, roads, bridges, and incidental matters or facilities in connection therewith."⁶⁹

HUD Housing, 1962-1966

To manage all this new housing and future housing, on August 21, 1962, the Lower Brule Housing Authority was created by the tribal council. Its purpose was to bring safe, sanitary housing to Lower Brule for low

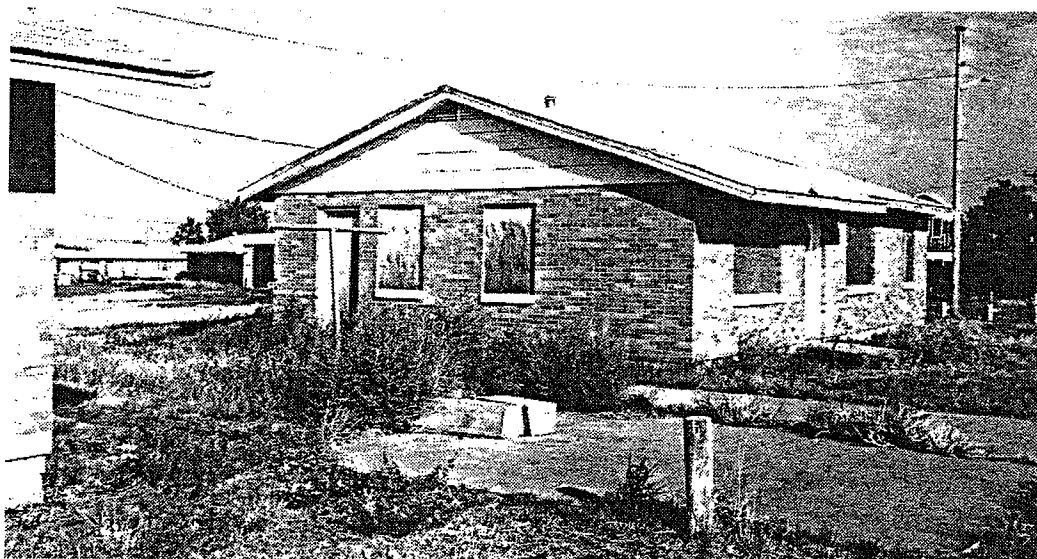


Figure 14: 1960s Brick Public Housing before Demolition, Lower Brule Agency, Lower Brule, South Dakota. Photograph 1988. Adapted from Bruce J. Frink, Aberdeen, South Dakota.

income families through the construction of a public housing project. This public housing project was first advertised in March, 1964, but there were no acceptable bids. Thereafter, the project was re-advertised after some changes were made in the plans to reduce the cost.⁷⁰

Sometime before 1966, 30 units of public housing were constructed and rented to families according to family size and income levels. The funding for this project came through HUD, but was administered on the local level by the Lower Brule Housing Authority. The properties included 10 one family, 6 duplexes and 2 four-plexes with brick exteriors. The single family

homes were one story brick ramblers (see photographs 29 and 30), and the multiple family units were one level units as well. There was also a brick community center for the entire block of housing units which were located on Crazy Horse, Spotted Tail, and Iron Nation Streets (see Map 8.0).⁷¹ In the late 1980s, this public housing development and community center project was demolished to make room for other tribal developments.

In addition to the above public housing units, a number of one story dwellings were constructed on Spotted Tail and Sitting Bull Streets in the early 1960s, most likely through HUD funding. These dwellings

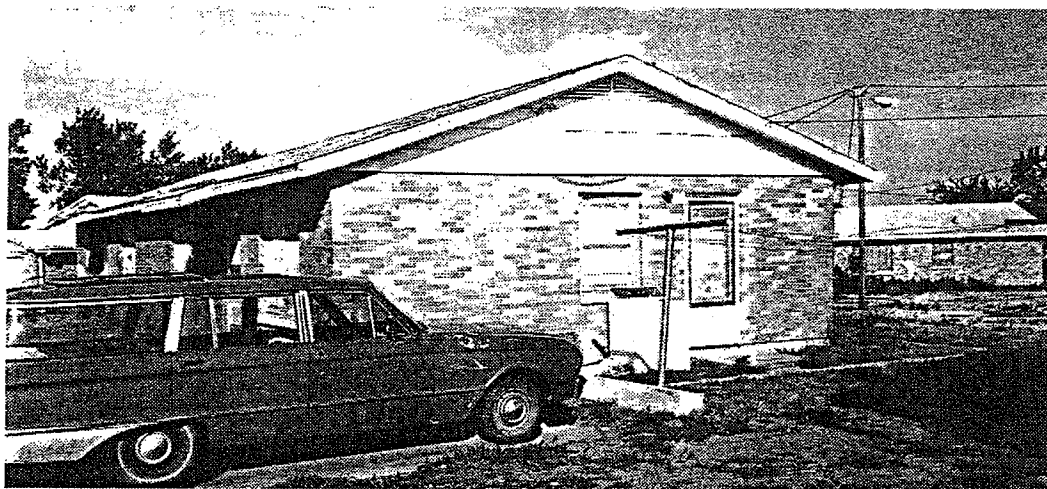


Figure 15: 1960s Brick Public Housing Prior to Demolition. Lower Brule Agency, Lower Brule, South Dakota. Photograph 1988. Adapted from Bruce J. Frink, Aberdeen, South Dakota.

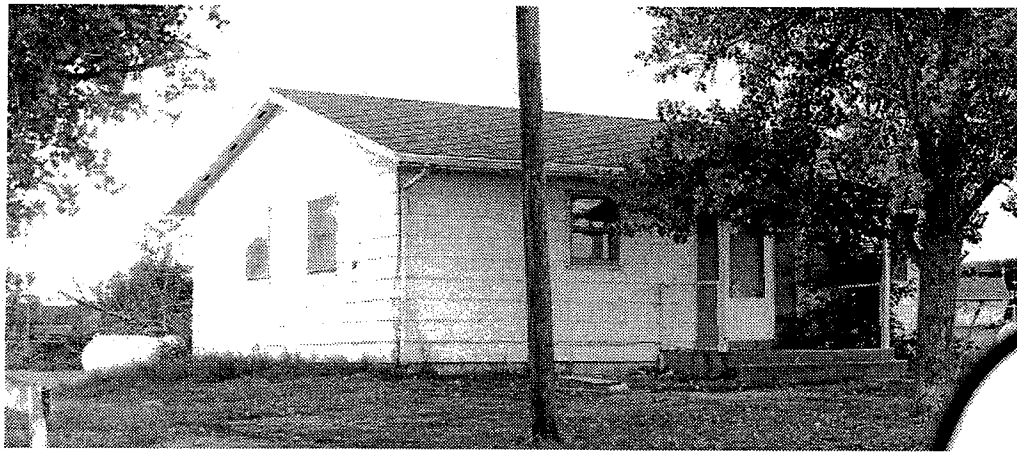


Photo 23: Mutual Self-Help Housing Constructed in the Early 1970s.

were placed on concrete foundations with a crawl space beneath. The exterior walls of these houses were made of 2×4 s and sided with masonite. The windows were double-hung and the roof surface was asphalt. Each house was 880 to 960 square feet in size, had 2-3 bedrooms, and had gutters, downspouts, storm doors, and screens. These housing units were designed to have an effective life of only 20 years.⁷² By the late 1980s, some of the early 1960s housing was being replaced. It is not known how many of the 1960s era houses are left today.

BIA Housing Report, Fiscal Year 1973

In the 1970s, housing conditions on the Lower Brule Reservation continued to change. Housing improvements came from a number of sources, such as BIA Housing Improvement Programs (HIP), Low Rent and

Mutual-Help Programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), local credit loans, and mitigation funds obtained from the Big Bend Dam taking of lands.⁷³

A BIA Housing Report for Fiscal Year 1973 indicated that a total of 135 housing units existed on the Lower Brule Reservation. Sixteen of these houses were substandard and needed either replacement or repair. The 1973 BIA Housing Report also indicated a need for 69 additional new housing units. To meet this need, it was anticipated that 33 new homes would be built in Fiscal Year 1974. This housing construction was expected to include 20 Mutual-Help (see Photographs 23 and 24), 10 Low Rent, and 3 HIP houses. In addition, 16 homes were expected to be repaired under the BIA Housing Improvement Program, otherwise known as HIP.⁷⁵

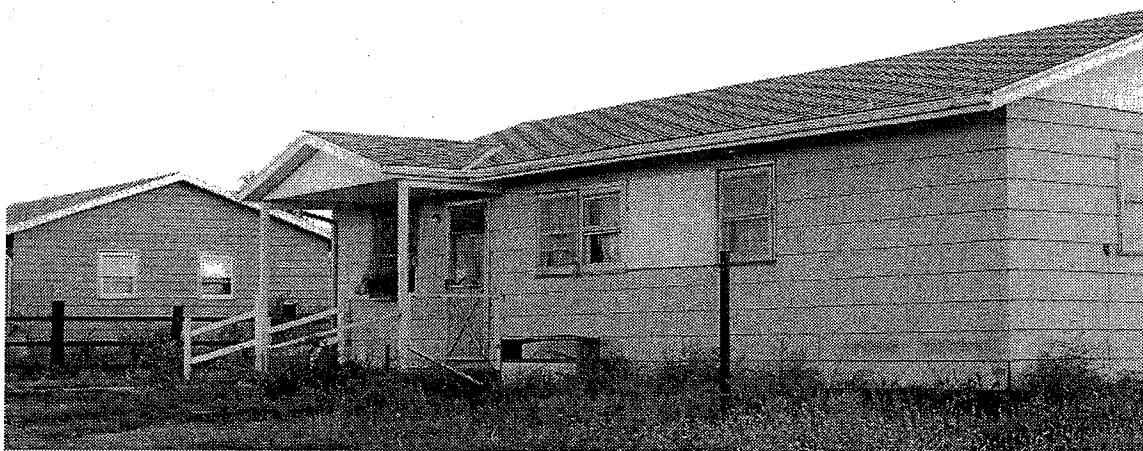


Photo 24: Mutual Self-Help Housing Constructed in the Early 1970s.

Lower Brule Housing Survey, 1975

Although housing conditions for the Lower Brule Tribe had improved through federally assisted housing programs, a 1975 survey indicated that there were only 169 homes on the reservation, and there were 38 persons who did not have a home at that time. Of these homes, fifty-four, or thirty-six percent, were substandard according to HUD housing standards. In 1975, the existing homes in Lower Brule included the following:⁷⁵

Existing Homes in Lower Brule, 1975

Mutual Self-help	35
Low Rent	60
Turn Key III	20
HIP	2
Judgement from Big Bend Settlement	23
Private	1
Other	2
BIA	16
Trailers	10

In Fiscal Year 1976, Lower Brule received an additional 25 housing units from HUD. These units were primarily Low Rent units (see Map 7.0), with eight units for the elderly. There also was a great need for an elderly center, and one-building structure was designed to accommodate elderly people in an apartment type environment. The elderly center was like an assisted living facility, but had individual apartments with all facilities for privacy.⁷⁶

At the time the housing tracts on the Lower Brule Reservation were photographed by Dr. Godfrey in September, 1998, it was quite clear that the 1960s and 1970s housing at Lower Brule had outlived their effective life of 20 years, and were in need of updating and renovation. Nonetheless, in 1998, new tribal housing projects were directed to the community of West Lower Brule a few miles due west of Lower Brule.

2.4 Cheyenne River Reservation Housing

Introduction

Like other Dakota Sioux, the Cheyenne River were driven west across the Mississippi River by the Ojibwa in the early eighteenth century. Once across the Mississippi, they adopted the horse and the Plains culture, and freely roamed along the Missouri Valley. Thereafter, Cheyenne River Sioux lived as Plains Indians with a buffalo-centered economy. The buffalo provided food, clothing, a variety of tools and equipment, and shelter during the harsh cold winters, and the blistering hot summers.

Cheyenne River History 1868 to 1945

In the early nineteenth century, trappers, settlers and gold miners encountered the various Sioux tribes and bands, which led to constant conflict with non-Indians who penetrated into Sioux country. In an attempt to resolve these conflicts, the Cheyenne River Sioux, along with other Sioux bands, negotiated a treaty with the United States at Fort Laramie in 1868. Under the Fort Laramie Treaty, the Sioux agreed to a territory encompassing the western slopes of the Black Hills, the Niobrara River on the south, the Missouri River on the East, and the Cannonball River to the north. Nonetheless, conflicts between the Sioux and the Americans continued with Federal troops constantly threatening their freedom of movement and the survival of the buffalo herds on the Great Plains—the main economic resource for the Sioux. By 1885, the all important buffalo herds disappeared. Thereafter, the Sioux's power deteriorated rapidly. In 1889, Congressional legislation established seven reservations for the Sioux, including 2,700,000 acres for the "Cheyenne River" Sioux in north-central South Dakota.

Despite warnings that "drawbacks to successful agriculture were so great as not to be overcome with any reasonable amount of labor," the federal government at first tried to make the Cheyenne River Sioux into the self-sufficient farmer dwelling happily on 160 acres of allotted land. This effort failed miserably and government agents eventually realized that "Sioux country was better suited for cattle raising than for farming." Subsequently, the Cheyenne River Sioux took up the life of a cowboy rather than that of a farmer.⁷⁵

Beginning in 1906, large portions of the Cheyenne River Reservation were allotted into 160 acre tracts. Each individual was given five years to select their land. If a selection had not been made by then, the Indian Agent was required to make the selection. All unallocated and unsold land on the reservation was opened for homesteading to non-Indians by presidential proclamation (36 Stat. 2500). As things worked out, Congress further reduced the reservation by later withdrawals in 1906 1909, and 1910, but returned to tribal ownership areas that had not been claimed by homesteaders. The last withdrawal stabilized the trust area on the Cheyenne River Reservation at around 1.6 million acres.⁷⁸

During the Indian New Deal era, the Cheyenne River Sioux accepted the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), and adopted a constitution and by-laws under the act on December 27, 1935. However, the Cheyenne River Sioux never adopted a charter under the IRA. As far as it is known, no New Deal rehabilitation housing projects took place on the Cheyenne River Reservation.

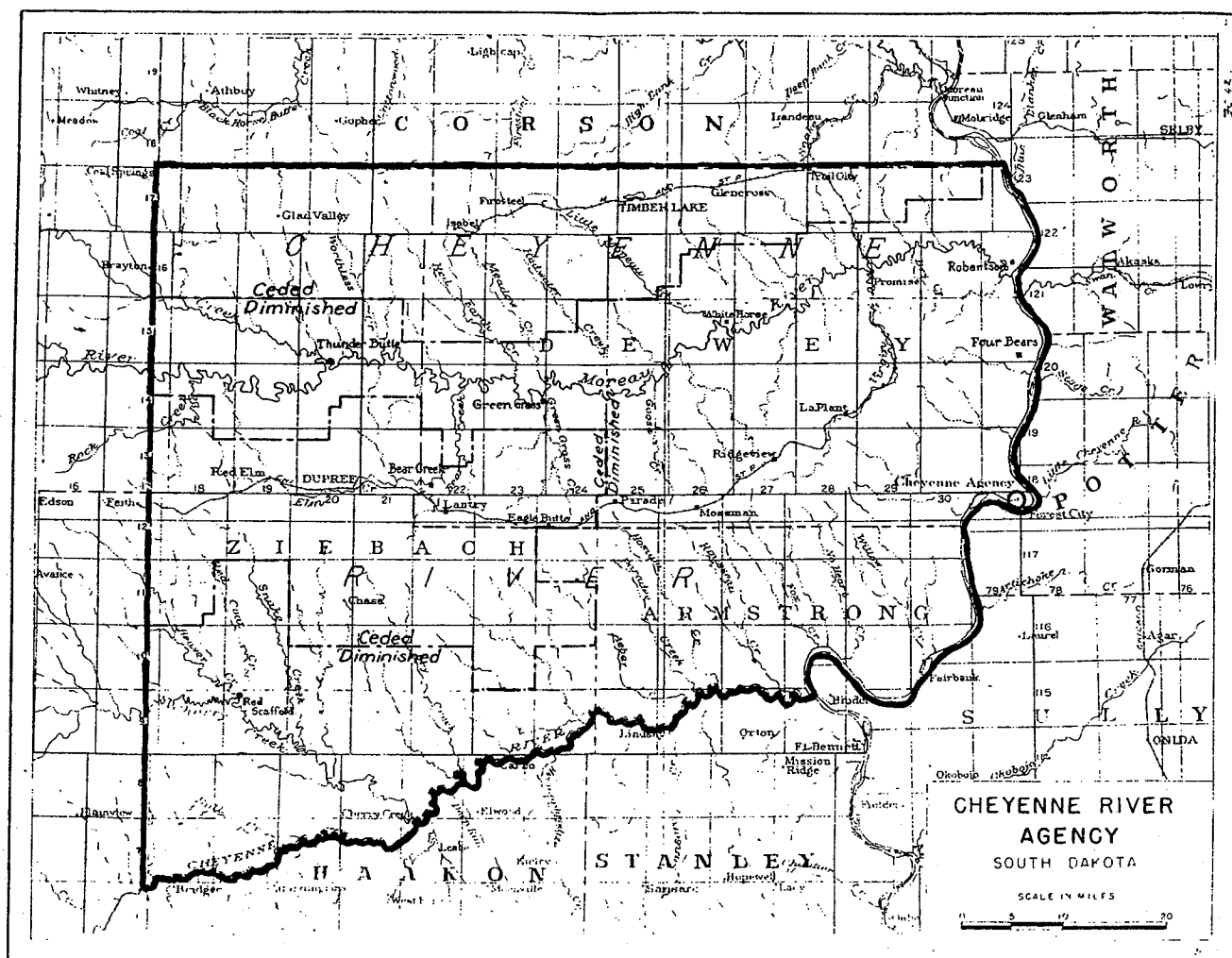
Post World War II Housing Conditions

In the post World War II era, the housing situation on the Cheyenne River Reservation was crowded, inadequate, and substandard. Generally speaking, the inadequacy of the housing conditions on the Cheyenne River Reservation was statistically measured and quantified by the U.S. Census Bureau in 1950.

In 1950, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that the Cheyenne River Reservation had 503 housing structures, consisting of one room houses (158), two room houses (153), three rooms houses (58), four room houses (43) and the remainder split among several larger homes (25), or unreported houses (66). According to 1950 Census figures, the median number of persons per room on the Cheyenne River Reservation was 1.90 persons, which was the second lowest occupancy rate among the South Dakota Sioux. Since the median number of rooms for occupied dwelling units was only 1.9 rooms, it meant that the median number of

persons per occupied dwelling was 4.3 persons—far above the national median occupied dwelling rate of 1.48 persons.⁷⁹

In 1956, the South Dakota Indian Commission pointed out the overcrowded housing conditions on the Cheyenne River Reservation. At a time when most Americans lived in framed housing, on the Cheyenne River Reservation most tribal members still lived in tents, shacks, and log houses which reflected the poverty on the reservation. The Indian Commission estimated that sixty-two percent of the reservation's houses were log construction, and that ten percent were considered mere shacks or simply tents. Only twenty-eight percent of the population lived in frame housing, much of which was dilapidated.⁸⁰ As marginal as these housing conditions were at Cheyenne River, by mid-1960, thirty percent of the Crow Creek Tribe would be forced from these homes when the Army Corps of Engineers condemned their property to construct the Oahe dam along the Missouri River Basin.⁸¹



Map 9.0: Cheyenne River Reservation, Circa 1942.

Pick-Sloan Plan: Construction of Oahe Dam

In 1948, six miles above Pierre, South Dakota, the Corps of Engineers began work on the Oahe Dam. At a cost of \$346 million, the Oahe Dam formed Lake Oahe that stretched 250 miles northward to Bismark, North Dakota. Next to the Fort Peck dam, the Oahe Dam became the second largest earth dam in the world and Lake Oahe became the largest reservoir on the Missouri River. The Oahe Dam inundated 104,420 acres of Cheyenne River Reservation land, which affected seventy-five percent of the ranchers on the reservation, and eventually submerged the Cheyenne River Agency townsite, the largest community on the reservation, and two other smaller communities.⁸²

As part of the Pick-Sloan Missouri River Basin project, the BIA reported on the socio-economic conditions on the Cheyenne River Reservation, South Dakota for those families who would be directly affected by the construction of the Oahe Dam and Reservoir. The BIA investigation report was perhaps the first such survey conducted on the Cheyenne River Reservation and clearly denoted the troubling housing conditions located thereon.

Located in Dewey and Ziebach Counties, South Dakota, in 1949, Cheyenne River Reservation homes were grouped in small communities along the Missouri River and its tributaries. Because of historical and socio-cultural factors, there were marked differences in the various Cheyenne River Reservation communities (see Map 8.0). In the late 1940s, most traditional or full-blood Cheyenne River tribal members lived in the communities of Bridger and Cherry Creek along the Cheyenne River, and Red Scaffold, also in the western portion of the reservation. Few had adapted to non-Indian culture, and Table 2.1 below indicated that the housing in these communities was disproportionately 1-2 bedroom log cabins as opposed to frame structured housing. In contrast, those tribal members who lived along the Missouri River, near the Agency headquarters and to the north along the Moreau River in the communities of Promise, Robertson and Four Bears, the scale of living closely resembled that on the nearby non-Indian rural population of the area. Frame constructed housing in these communities predominated and were much larger than those elsewhere on the reservation. Between these extremes, both geographically and culturally, and along the Moreau River to the west were the communities of White Horse, Green Grass, Thunder Butte (which included Iron Lightening and Dupree), and Bear Creek.⁸³

The inadequate housing conditions on the Cheyenne River Reservation provided visible evi-

dence of the relatively low level of economy in the various reservation communities. Earthen roofs and rough board floors were common, and packed earth floors were not unusual. Almost seventy-four percent of the total Cheyenne River Reservation lived in one or two-room log houses or frame shacks (see Figure 16).⁸⁴ Table 2.1 below provides basic data on Cheyenne River Housing in 1949-1950.

The construction of the Oahe Dam caused great hardship among the Cheyenne River Sioux. The effects of the Oahe Dam and Reservoir on the economy and social organization of the Cheyenne River Sioux included the loss of 100,000+ acres of land, eighty-five percent of their timber, and most of the reservation's shelter for livestock along the Missouri River. A valuable amount of fish and wildlife were also lost.⁸⁵

In addition to these factors, the construction of the Oahe Dam meant the forced removal of the reservation population along the Missouri River and relocating and reestablishing 181 families living in several communities. Aside from the twelve scattered families living along the Cheyenne River, and nine families who lived directly on the Missouri River Bottoms south of the Cheyenne River Agency, three entire Cheyenne River neighborhoods were destroyed. They included: the community of Robertson, near the mouth of the Moreau River, and the relocation of forty-six families; the community of Four Bears, a few miles north of the Cheyenne River Agency, and the relocation of forty families; and the Cheyenne River Agency community, and relocation of an additional seventy-four families. Each of these communities also lost churches, schools, and community buildings.⁸⁶

In 1954, a settlement was reached between the Cheyenne River Sioux and the United States on damages that resulted from the Oahe Dam taking. The Cheyenne River Sioux sustained the worst damages due to the Pick-Sloan Missouri River project, and relocation was by far very difficult. After considering the possible locations for most of the dislocated tribal members, the Cheyenne River Tribal Council decided to relocate most of the families in Eagle Butte, South Dakota—a small dusty predominately non-Indian town about sixty miles inland from the Missouri River. Eagle Butte was selected because of its "central location and its convenient railroad and highway access and because the tribe already owned a large portion of land in the area." In addition to these reasons, the Cheyenne River Sioux decided on Eagle Butte because town officials pledged financing for the construction of new utilities, and the BIA also promised to relocate its facilities to Eagle Butte.⁸⁷

Table 2.1
Cheyenne River Housing in 1949-1950⁸⁸

Community	Frame	Log	Stucco	1 Room	2 Room	3 Room	4 Room	5 Rooms
Eastern Group								
Agency	53	46	1	28	41	18	6	4
Four Bears	92	8	0	14	21	21	36	7
Promise	42	54	3	14	29	25	18	11
Robertson	48	52	0	29	39	16	10	3
Urban Group								
Eagle Butte	82	18	0	13	39	17	17	14
La Plant	77	23	0	32	27	15	15	3
North-Central Group								
Bear Creek	30	70	0	61	26	4	4	4
Green Grass	27	73	0	46	31	12	8	3
Thunder Butte	18	82	0	56	29	9	6	0
White Horse	67	33	0	35	35	14	9	5
Southwest Group								
Bridger	27	73	0	46	46	2	2	0
Cherry Creek	26	72	2	67	22	10	0	0
Red Scaffold	6	94	0	82	18	0	0	0

By the spring of 1960, using Oahe Dam resettlement monies, eighty-one new homes were built in Eagle Butte, which housed 650 tribal members.⁸⁹ In addition to these houses, the Cheyenne River Sioux built a new high school, hospital, community buildings in Eagle Butte, South Dakota.⁹⁰

Post Oahe Dam Housing Projects, 1967 to 1975

Following the Oahe Dam settlement and replacement housing projects, in the 1960s and early 1970s,

the Cheyenne River Sioux participated in federally assisted housing project programs to repair older homes. For instance, in 1966, the Cheyenne River Sioux used Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) funding to start a work-training program in carpentry. The main purpose of this War on Poverty program was to repair older homes and shacks on the reservation and make them more liveable. The various work projects were scattered in the western portion of the reservation in the communities of Red Scaffold, Cherry Creek, and Bridger.⁹¹

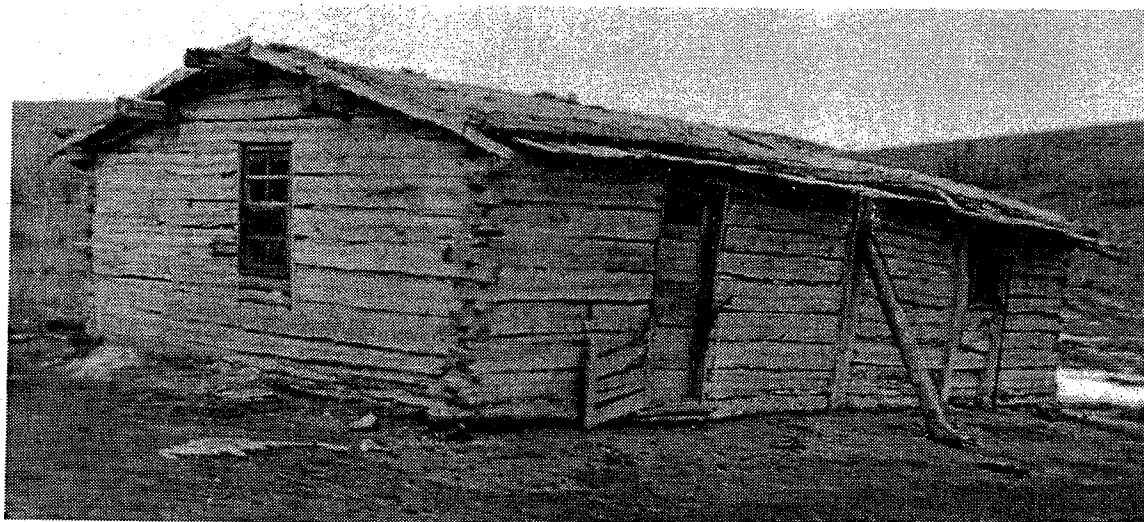
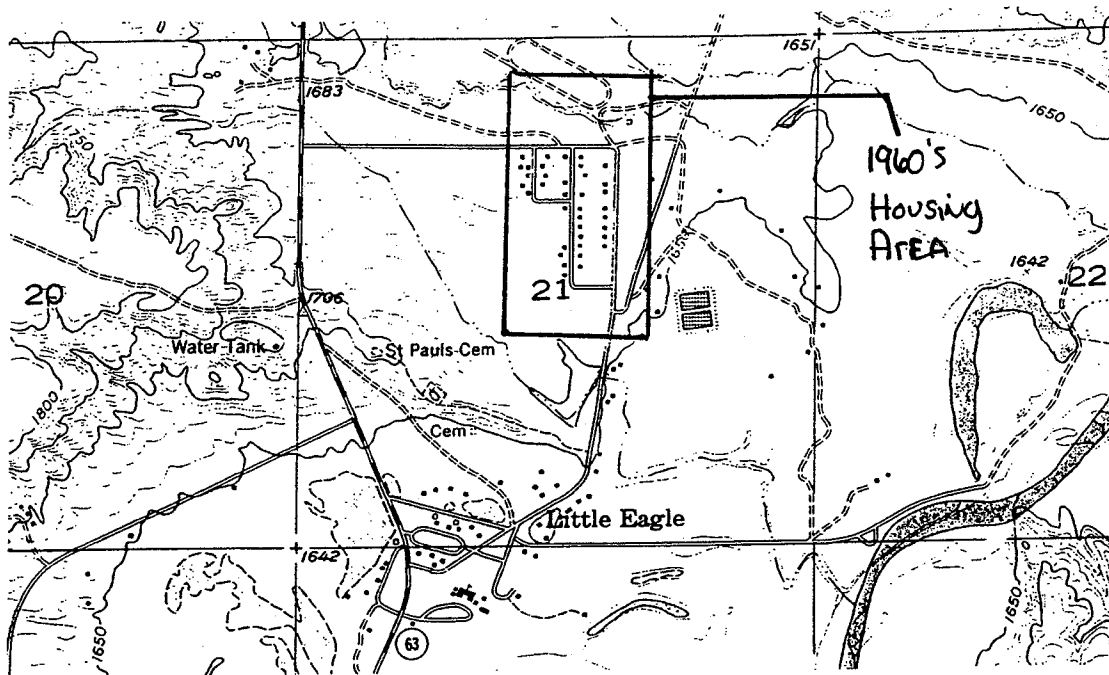


Figure 16: Typical Indian Log Home. Adapted from the Ira Barclay Collection, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.



Map 10.0: Little Eagle Area Depicting Location of 1960s Housing. Adapted from USGS 7.5 Minute Map, Quadrangle Little Eagle, South Dakota.

In addition to repairing homes, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Cheyenne River Sioux also constructed new housing throughout the reservation. For instance, in 1967, the Cheyenne River Sioux began a program for constructing Mutual Self-help and Low-Rent houses on the reservation.⁹² Or, for instance, in October 1971, HUD approved the construction of 240 new housing units on the reservation at a cost of \$5.0 million with the Public Health Service (PHS) furnishing the sewer and water facilities for the project.⁹³

Though the Mutual Self-help and Low-Rent housing was badly needed on the Cheyenne River Reservation, there were problems in design associated with the new reservation housing. For example, all fifty-four newly constructed Low-Rent housing units built on the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation allowed snow to blow in through the exterior air vents and to accumulate in the attics. In 1965 alone, this blowing snow caused damages of about \$7,000 to this type of reservation housing. Although HUD was notified of the problem in 1965, 1966, and 1968, it authorized the same design for housing on other South Dakota reservations.⁹⁴

There also were additional construction defects in fifty-four Low Rent housing and forty Mutual Self-Help houses on the Cheyenne River Sioux reservation. HUD housing inspectors noted that in seven of seventeen houses inspected, there was settling of the foundations

due to inadequate compaction of the backfill, which caused cracks in the walls and separation of the mopboards and door frames from the floor. Finally, for some of these projects, paved streets were not provided, and some roads became impassable during the winters.⁹⁵

Social problems also resulted from the new housing. Though these new and/or renovated housing projects were classified as standard by BIA and HUD officials prior to occupation, living conditions in some soon became substandard due to overcrowding. As a case in point, in 1971 the Comptroller General of the United States office visited the Cheyenne River Sioux housing projects which met HUD's minimum criteria for living space. Upon inspection, they found that many of them were substandard because of an excessive number of persons living in the homes. Part of the problem, Cheyenne River Sioux Housing officials explained at the time, was that as additional new housing was constructed, families living off the reservations returned to live with relatives in the new housing thereby causing the overcrowding.⁹⁶ This would be a perennial problems in the decades to come, until adequate housing was provided for all.

2.5 Standing Rock Reservation Housing

Introduction

The Standing Rock Sioux were also descended from

the bands of Tetons—a division of the Sioux who were originally a Woodland tribe with an economy based on hunting, gathering, and fishing. In the early eighteenth century, they moved into the Dakotas from an area west of the Great Lakes. As they moved westward, they acquired horses and adopted the cultural pattern of equestrian nomads whose economic base centered on the bison, the horse, and trade. Thereupon, the Standing Rock Sioux lived as Plains Indians with a buffalo-centered economy. Like other Sioux groups, the buffalo provided food, clothing, a variety of tools and equipment, and shelter against the harsh Dakota climate.

Standing Rock Sioux History 1868 to 1945

In the early nineteenth century, encounters with non-Indian settlers and the like led to constant conflict with these non-Indians who penetrated into Sioux country. In an attempt to resolve these conflicts, the Standing Rock Sioux, along with other Sioux bands, negotiated a treaty with the United States at Fort Laramie in 1868. Under the Fort Laramie Treaty, the Sioux agreed to a territory encompassing the western slopes of the Black Hills, the Niobrara River on the south, the Missouri River on the East, and the Cannonball River to the north. The treaty terms were broken, however, and conflict was renewed. Conflicts between the Sioux and the Americans continued with Federal troops constantly threatening their freedom of movement and the survival of the buffalo herds on the Great Plains—the main economic resource for the Sioux. Further treaty agreements were similarly disregarded by the incoming non-Indians. Ultimately, by 1885 the all important buffalo herds disappeared. Thereafter, the Sioux's power deteriorated rapidly because of their dependence on the buffalo herds for sustenance and shelter. In 1889, Congressional legislation established seven reservations for the Sioux, including the "Standing Rock" Reservation in north-central South Dakota. The Standing Rock Reservation was set aside for the Hunkpapa and Blackfeet Teton Sioux subtribes, and the Upper and Lower Yanktonai subtribes of the Middle Sioux. The Standing Rock Reservation is located on the west bank of the Missouri River and is split by the boundary line between North and South Dakota (see Map 11.0). Corson County constitutes the South Dakota portion of the reservation.⁹⁷

Like other Sioux tribes, the Standing Rock Reservation was allotted in the early twentieth century and to a degree the Standing Rock Sioux prospered as cattlemen. "Grama and buffalo grasses and insufficient rainfall made the area unsuitable for large scale agriculture." Unfortunately, they sold off most of their

herds during World War I because of the high price for beef. Like other Sioux tribes in the 1920s, the Standing Rock Sioux were adversely affected by the agricultural depression of that decade, followed by the national economic crisis known as the Great Depression that came in 1929. By 1933, not only had the cattle industry collapsed in South Dakota, but by this date a considerable amount of the best acreage on the Standing Rock Reservation was in the hands of non-Indians.⁹⁸

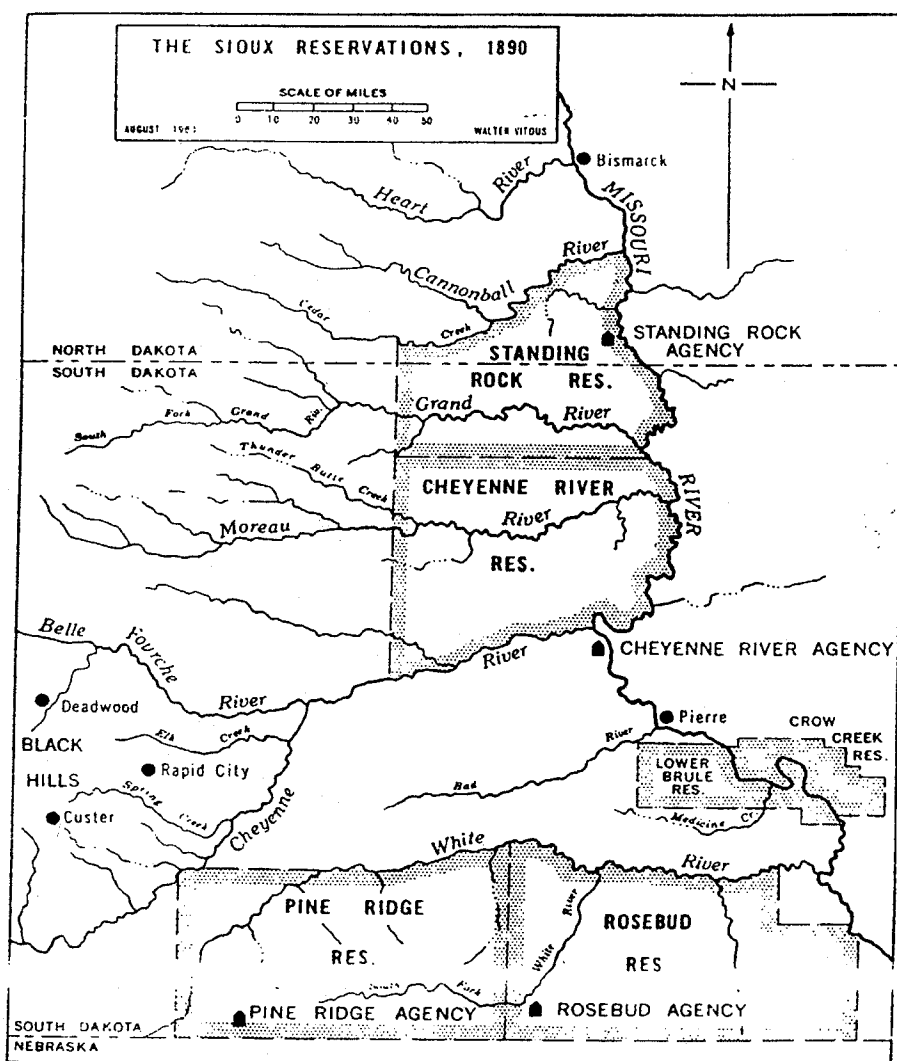
Like the Cheyenne River, Pine Ridge, Rosebud, and Yankton Reservations, they accepted the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Under the Indian New Deal, the cattle economy in Sioux country revived due to the Civilian Conservation Corps—Indian Division (CCC-ID) projects that controlled erosion and overgrazing by developing water and irrigation projects on the reservation. Because of these efforts, and a cattle purchase program, the Standing Rock Sioux, who owned only 1,000 or so cattle in 1937, increased their herds to 5,500 by the end of World War II.⁹⁹

Post World War II Housing Conditions

In the post World War II era, the housing situation on the Standing Rock Reservation, like conditions on other Sioux reservations was crowded, inadequate, and substandard. Generally speaking, the inadequacy of the housing conditions on the reservation was statistically measured and quantified by the U.S. Census Bureau in 1950. Unfortunately, it did not divide its statistical data to reflect specific conditions in the South Dakota portion of the reservation.

The 1950 United States Census clearly reflected the inadequacy of housing conditions on the Standing Rock Reservation. The U.S. Census Bureau, in connection with the general census, asked for certain additional information on all major Indian reservations within the continental United States. To the BIA, the Census Bureau made known certain basic facts in regard to housing conditions derived from census tabulations. In regard to Standing Rock Reservation, the Census Bureau stated that the reservation had 681 housing structures, consisting of 1 room houses (208), 2 room houses (166), 3 room houses (100), 4 room houses (62), and the remainder split among several larger houses (55) or unreported (90). The median size house on the Standing Rock Reservation was 2.0 rooms—a dispassionate statistic that belies the fact within these two rooms, the median number of persons or occupants per occupied dwelling unit was 4.5 persons—an extremely overcrowded living situation.¹⁰⁰

It is ironic that these overcrowded housing conditions could exist on a sprawling 840,000 acre reserva-



Map 11.0: The Sioux Reservations, 1964 Adapted from Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Real Property Management, Dept. of Interior, Base Map 8-26-1964.

tion that straddled the North Dakota and South Dakota border. It becomes understandable when one takes into account that the Standing Rock Sioux were still inhabiting late nineteenth century and early twentieth century structures where modern conveniences, such as plumbing and electricity were almost nonexistent. In the mid-1950s, sixty-one percent of the people still lived in log constructed houses and twenty-four percent were living in shacks and tents. The remaining fifteen percent were frame houses of only one or two rooms which were built during the Depression years as a form of rehabilitation and now were in poor repair. The small inadequate housing on the Standing Rock Reservation revealed the low economic level on the reservation where the average family income was a mere \$767.00. With an insufficient income level, individual Indians were unable to rent, buy, or build better homes.¹⁰¹

Pick-Sloan Housing

Like the Cheyenne River Reservation, the construction of the Oahe Dam and reservoir damaged and reduced the Standing Rock Reservation. Located on the west bank of the Missouri River, the Standing Rock Sioux lived a marginal economic existence when the Pick-Sloan project began to take affect.¹⁰²

Construction on the Oahe Dam began in August 1948 on a site northwest of Pierre, South Dakota, and "the Oahe Dam destroyed more Indian land than any other public works project in America." For the Standing Rock Sioux it meant the inundation of portions of Fort Yates, North Dakota where the majority of tribal members made their homes. The Standing Rock Reservation eventually lost 55,994 acres and dislocated twenty-five percent of its residents.¹⁰³

Through extensive talks with the Army Corps of Engineers and the BIA, the Standing Rock Sioux received the following settlement from Congress. After eight years of negotiations and court battles over ACE's right to condemn Indian land, a final settlement was signed into law by President Eisenhower on September 2, 1958. The Standing Rock Sioux received \$12.3 million for indirect damages and rehabilitation and settlement terms which included tax exemptions and the possibility of returning surplus Pick-Sloan lands to the tribe. By law the Standing Rock settlement required the tribe to use at least one-half of its indirect damage payment for rehabilitation. This was the best overall settlement of any tribe affected by the Pick-Sloan Missouri River Basin Project, but only happened a month after the gates of the Oahe Dam were closed.¹⁰⁴

In January 1960, the COE distributed the flood damage funds to the Standing Rock Sioux and at the same time served the tribe immediate eviction notices for tribal members living within the flood zone. In the midst of a fierce Dakota winter, the Standing Rock Sioux were heartlessly forced to leave their lands and move into temporary shelter, such as trailers, because funds had not been made available to construct new homes or relocate old dwellings.¹⁰⁵ Evicted from their familiar surroundings of the Missouri River bottomlands, the affected Standing Rock Sioux lived in cheerless temporary trailers until their old homes, or until new homes could be constructed on new home sites on the treeless prairie above the river.¹⁰⁶

A sizeable portion of the damage compensation received by the Standing Rock Sioux was used for the purpose of rehabilitation. The Standing Rock Sioux formed a planning committee to design a rehabilitation program for the reservation but did not include a housing project. Nonetheless, the Standing Rock Sioux did include the expenditure of \$4 million for family improvement programs. Every person on the tribal rolls received \$650.00 regardless of residence. In the end, "most of the family funds were used to make housing improvements."¹⁰⁷

HUD Housing Projects, Standing Rock Reservation, Late 1960s and Early 1970s

By the late 1960s, the Standing Rock Sioux began to take advantage of a myriad of federal programs aimed at upgrading reservation housing conditions. When compared to earlier rehabilitation efforts, these programs permitted the Standing Rock Sioux to make strides in improving their living conditions. The following describes HUD projects that took place on the South Dakota portion of the reservation.

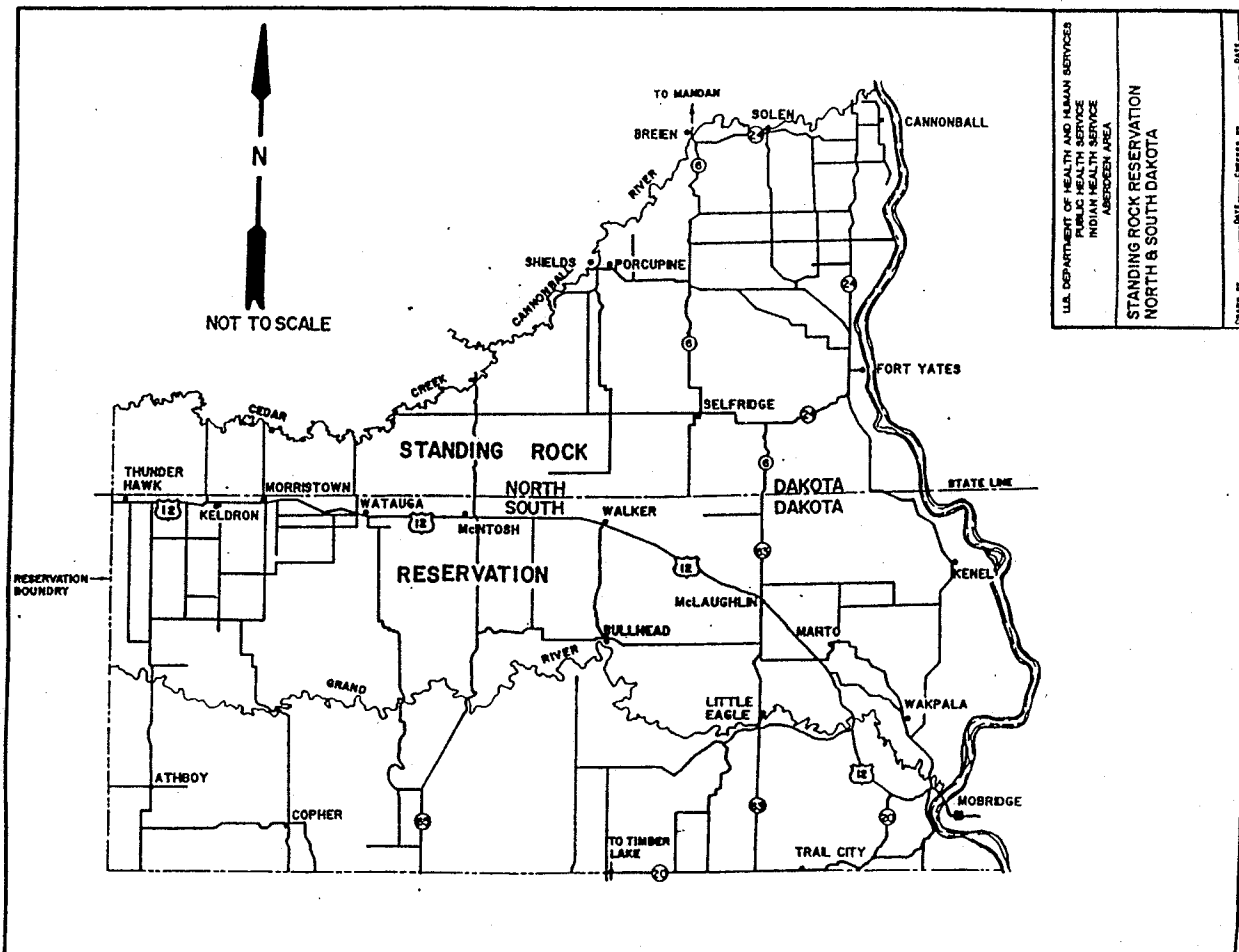
In 1970, the first HUD housing on the South Dakota portion of the Standing Rock Reservation was constructed by the tribally-owned Standing Rock Housing Co. Known as Project SD 6-2, it produced a number of 2, 3, and 4 bedroom homes in a number of communities. Table 2.2 below summarizes the numbers and types of housing in each community.

Project SD 6-2 were one story minimal dwellings that varied in size and design. In some communities, such as Wakpala, they were laid out in a typical residential suburban tract house fashion. At Wakpala, all eleven HUD approved houses were situated on lots parallel to a gravel surface road off the main highway leading into the community from Mobridge, South Dakota (see Map 12.0).¹⁰⁹ In other communities, such as Kenel, the HUD approved houses were scattered among existing housing. Four of the houses (one 2 bedroom, two 3 bedroom, and one 4 bedroom) were clustered together, while the other four houses were scattered throughout the community next to older smaller houses. The placement of this HUD housing next to the latter housing may indicate that they were meant to replace the smaller structures.¹¹⁰ Photographs 25 and 26 show two of these homes. Photographs 27 and 28 show two older homes in the community of Kenel (see Map 12.0).

Available architectural floor plans for Project SD 6-2 provide distinct information regarding construction materials, door and window schedules, and

Table 2.2
Project SD 6-2, Standing Rock Reservation¹⁰⁸

Building Type	Kenel	Wakpala	Little Eagle	Bullhead	McLaughlin	Size ft. × ft.
2 Bedroom Basement	3	3	2	2	2	32 × 24
3 Bedroom Basement	1	1	1	2	3	42 × 24
3 Bedroom Split Level	2	4	4	6	7	42 × 24
4 Bedroom Basement	1	1	1	1	1	52 × 24
4 Bedroom Split Level	1	2	1	2	2	28 × 48 × 24
Totals	8	11	9	13	15	—



Map 12.0: General Map of Standing Rock Reservation, North and South Dakota, 1998.

landscaping details. SD 6-2 project houses were plain gable-ended, asphalt roofed, hardboard sided largely rectangular buildings with one foot eave overhangs on the gable ends. Each home was trimmed with 1" × 4" trim along the eaves and around each double hung window. The front elevation included a Chicago window (48 × 46 central window with 1/1 double hung windows on either side). Residents were given a choice of three different door types: (1) a flush solid-core door with rectangular vision panel, (2) a flush hollow-core door, (3) a flush solid-core door with a 20" × 24" glazed rectangular window; and each door also had a steel combination storm-screen door. Each side of the building had at least two windows per facade, and each home had gutters, downspouts, splashblocks, and a concrete front and rear door stoop.¹¹¹

The one story two bedroom version included a large living room with coat closet, a kitchen/dining area with a double sink, refrigerator, range and wooden shelving, a full bath, and a hallway leading to the bedrooms, which each had a clothes closet. A stair-

way from the kitchen led to a full basement with furnace, water heater, washer/dryer, and double wash-tub sink in one corner¹¹²

The three and four bedroom versions of Project SD 6-2 used the same construction materials, but obviously had variations in size, floor plan, and conveniences, such as additional bedrooms, and larger living, kitchen, and basement areas.

Project SD-6-2 was but the first in a series of HUD housing projects to be built on the South Dakota portion of the Standing Rock Reservation. In November, 1971, the Standing Rock Sioux received a \$3.5 million HUD grant for a "tribal planning advisory board, low-rent housing programs, loans for renovation of existing housing on the reservation and for an open space program." With this grant, a newly established prefabricated housing factory located at McLaughlin, South Dakota, and a new federal attitude toward Indians called "self-determination," the Standing Rock Sioux were set to continue the building trend started by Project SD 6-2.¹¹³

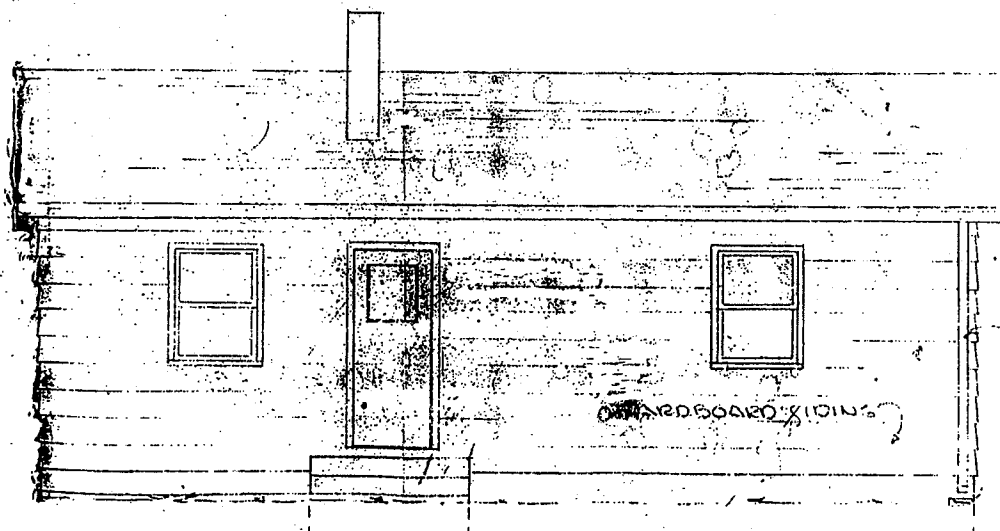


Figure 17: Front Elevation, SD-2 House, Kenel, South Dakota, Standing Rock Reservation.

Project SD 6-3 followed on the heels of Project SD 6-2. No documentation could be located on this project, other than a site map which indicated that at least sixteen of these houses were built in Wakpala, South Dakota. The U.S. West Research, Inc. windshield level survey of the communities of Wakpala, conducted in September 1998, recorded several SD 6-3 houses (see Photographs 29 and 30).¹¹⁴

The next HUD housing projects to affect South Dakota Standing Rock communities were SD 6-5 and SD 6-6, which were designed by Koch, Hazard and Associates, an architectural firm from Sioux Falls, South Dakota, along with Sioux Falls consultants Kenneth Bastian and Associates, Chester Quick P.E., and

Tri-State Engineers of Bismark, North Dakota. In 1973, the Standing Rock Housing Authority and HUD approved their design for new low cost housing on the reservation. Under Projects SD 6-5 and SD 6-6, one hundred housing units were built in a number of Standing Rock Sioux communities. The majority of the units were 3 bedroom homes (44), followed by 4 bedroom homes (37), and 2 bedroom homes (19). In South Dakota, they included the communities of Wakpala, Kenel, McLaughlin, and Bullhead.¹¹⁵

Though these housing units were designed in 1973, they were not built until 1977. The exact numbers and types of housing for each of the South Dakota communities could not be determined from the existing

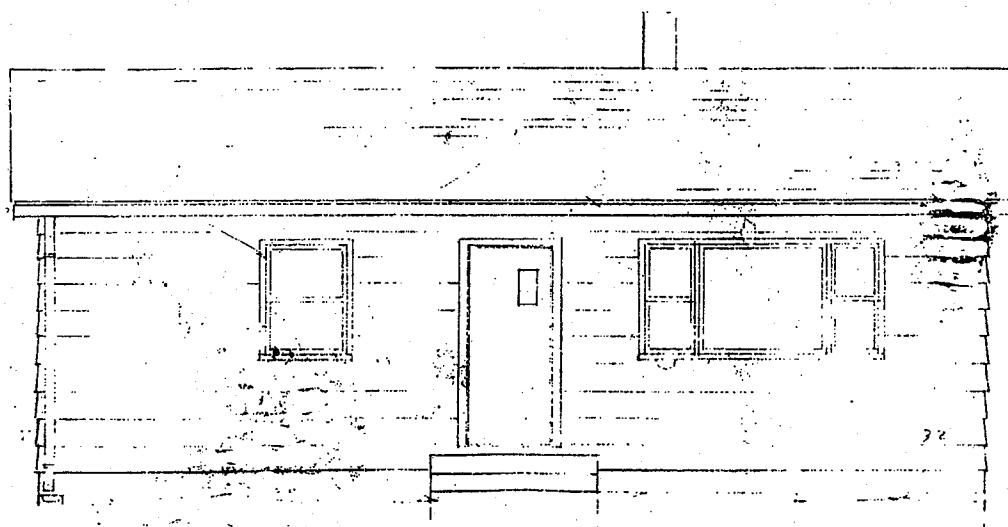


Figure 18: Rear Elevation, SD-2 House, Kenel, South Dakota, Standing Rock Reservation.

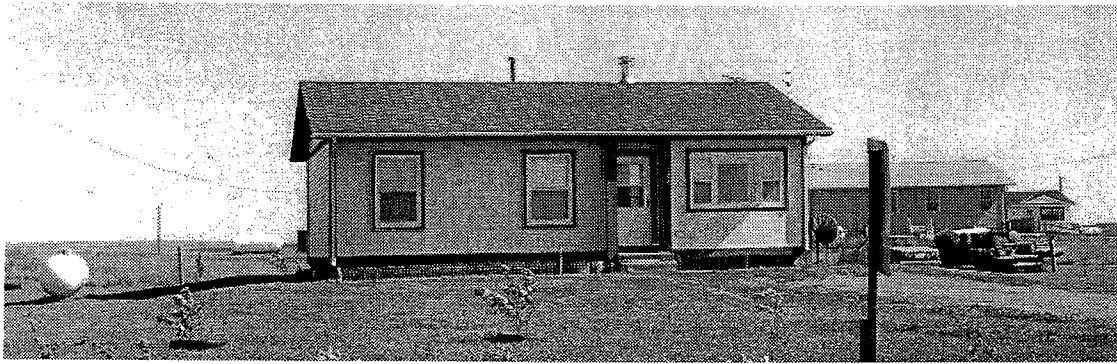


Photo 25: Remodeled SD 6-2 House in Kenel, S. Dakota, 1998.

documentation. At least ten of the units were built in Wakpala and Kenel. In Wakpala, the new housing matched the existing residential suburban block pattern established by SD 6-2 and SD 6-3. In Kenel, they were scattered about the community. U.S. West Research, Inc. windshield level survey of the communities of Wakpala and Kenel recorded several SD 6-5

and SD 6-6 houses (see photographs 31 and 32).

Following on the heels of these two projects was SD 6-8, the last of the HUD low cost housing projects for the Standing Rock Sioux. Designed by Harrison G. Fagg and Associates of Billings, Montana in 1971, Project SD 6-8 billed itself as a new concept for providing

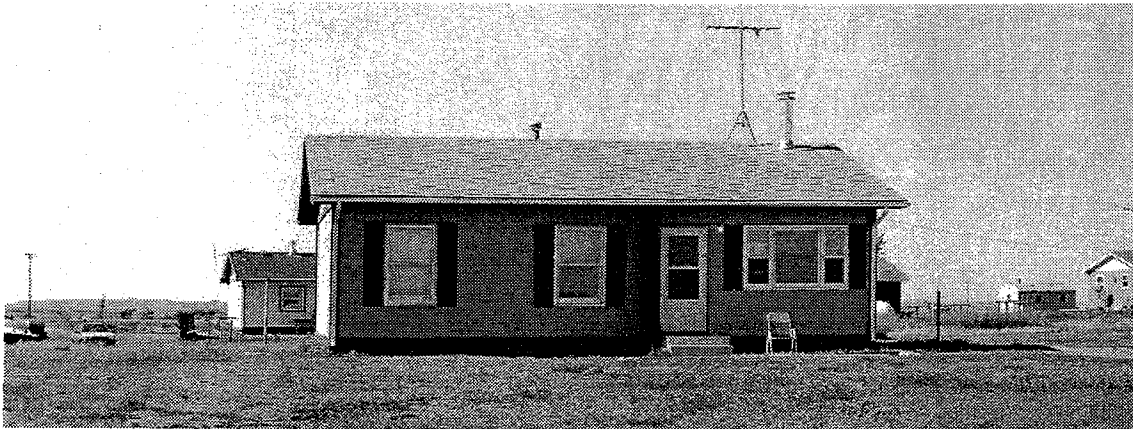


Photo 26: Remodeled SD 6-2 House in Kenel, S. Dakota, 1998.



Photo 27: Circa 1930s Older Home in Kenel, S. Dakota, Photograph 1998.

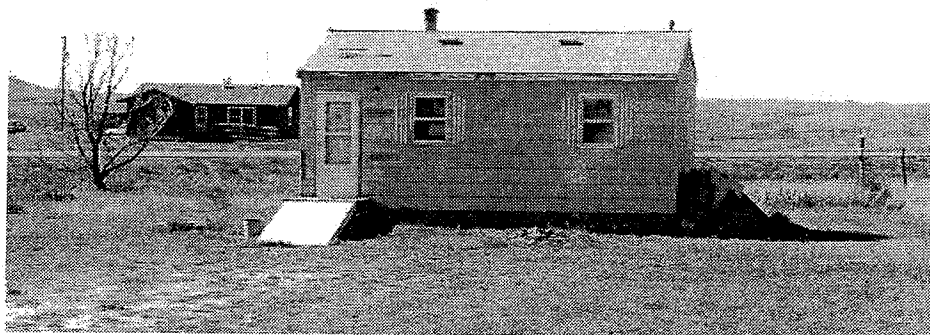


Photo 28: Circa 1950s Older Home in Kenel, S. Dakota, Photograph 1998.

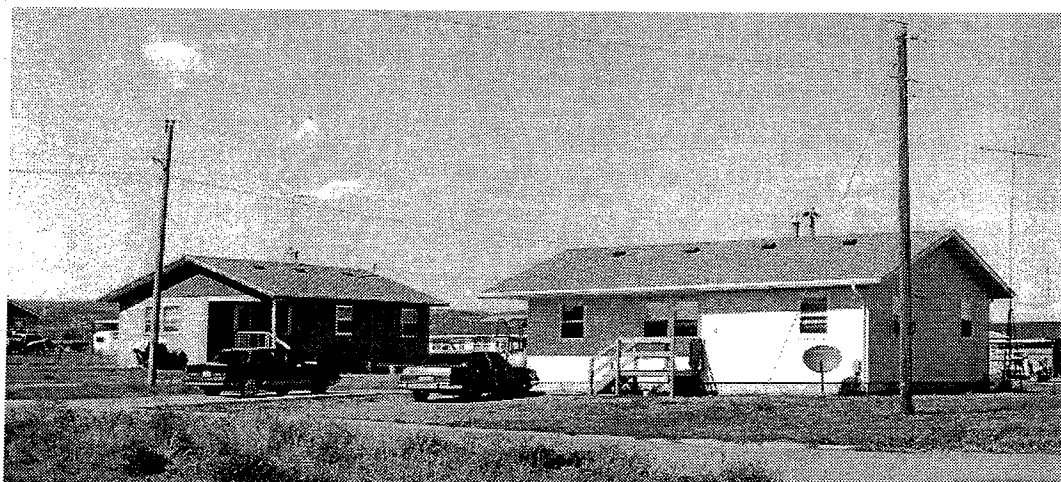


Photo 29: SD-3 Houses, Wakpala, S. Dakota, Standing Rock Reservation, 1998.



Photo 30: SD-3 Houses, Wakpala, S. Dakota, Standing Rock Reservation, 1998.

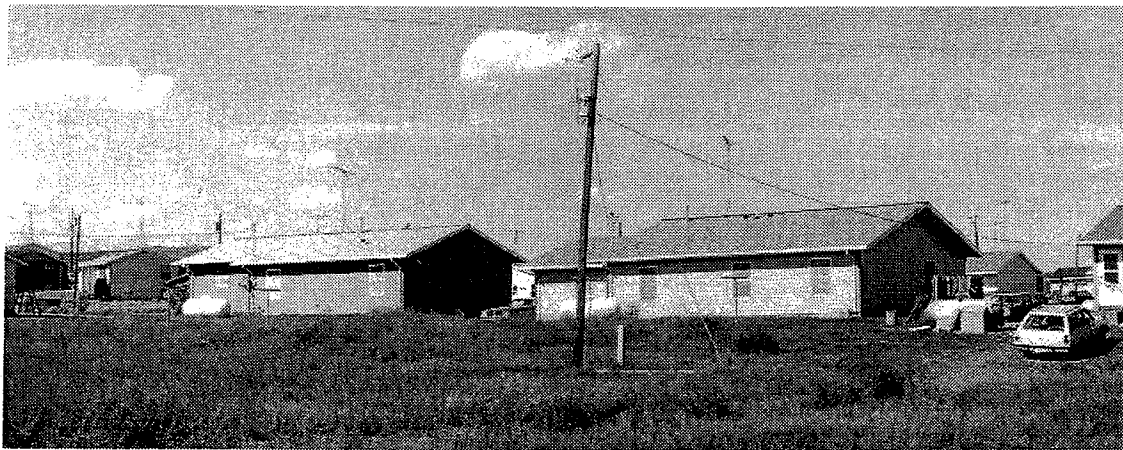


Photo 31: Rear Elevations of SD-5 Houses, Wakpala, S. Dakota, Standing Rock Reservation, 1998.

low income families with adequate housing using a prefabrication building system. Project SD 6-8 included housing units in Little Eagle, Wakpala, Kenel, Bullhead, and McLaughlin, South Dakota, and was built in 1973.¹¹⁶

Of these communities, U.S. West Research, Inc. conducted a windshield survey of the communities of Wakpala and Kenel. As part of Project SD 6-8, the Standing Rock Housing Authority built fifteen of the units in Wakpala, which included 2 bedroom (4), 3 bedroom (8), and 4 bedroom (3) houses. As with previous Standing Rock housing projects built in Wakpala, the new housing built in Wakpala were laid out to match the existing residential suburban block pattern established by SD 6-2 and SD 6-3. In Kenel, the Housing Authority built five units, which were dispersed within the community boundaries. They included 2 bedroom (2), 3 bedroom (2) and 4 bedroom (1) housing.¹¹⁷

2.6 Rosebud Reservation Housing

Introduction

Like other Dakota Sioux, the Rosebud Sioux were also descended from the western or Teton division of the Sioux that moved into the Dakotas from the area west of the Great Lakes in the 1700s. Once across the Mississippi River, these Sioux became dwellers of the prairie, adopted the horse and the Plains culture, and like other Sioux freely roamed along a territory that stretched from Saskatchewan south to Texas, and from the Missouri River west to the Rocky Mountains. The Sioux that were eventually placed on the Rosebud Reservation were called the "Sicangu" or Burnt Thighs. The French called them Brules.¹¹⁸ As recent comers to the Plains, the Rosebud Sioux lived with a buffalo-centered economy. The buffalo provided food, clothing, a variety of tools and equipment, and shelter

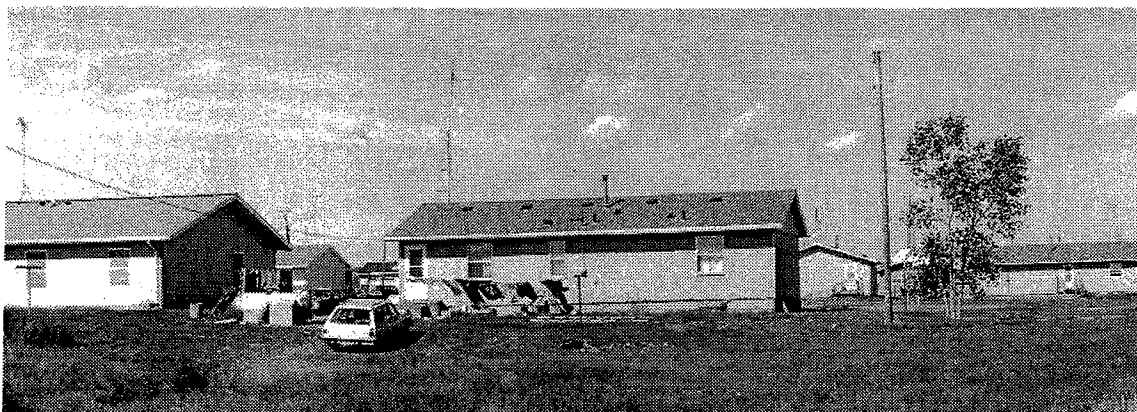


Photo 32: Rear Elevations of SD-5 Houses, Wakpala, S. Dakota, Standing Rock Reservation, 1998.

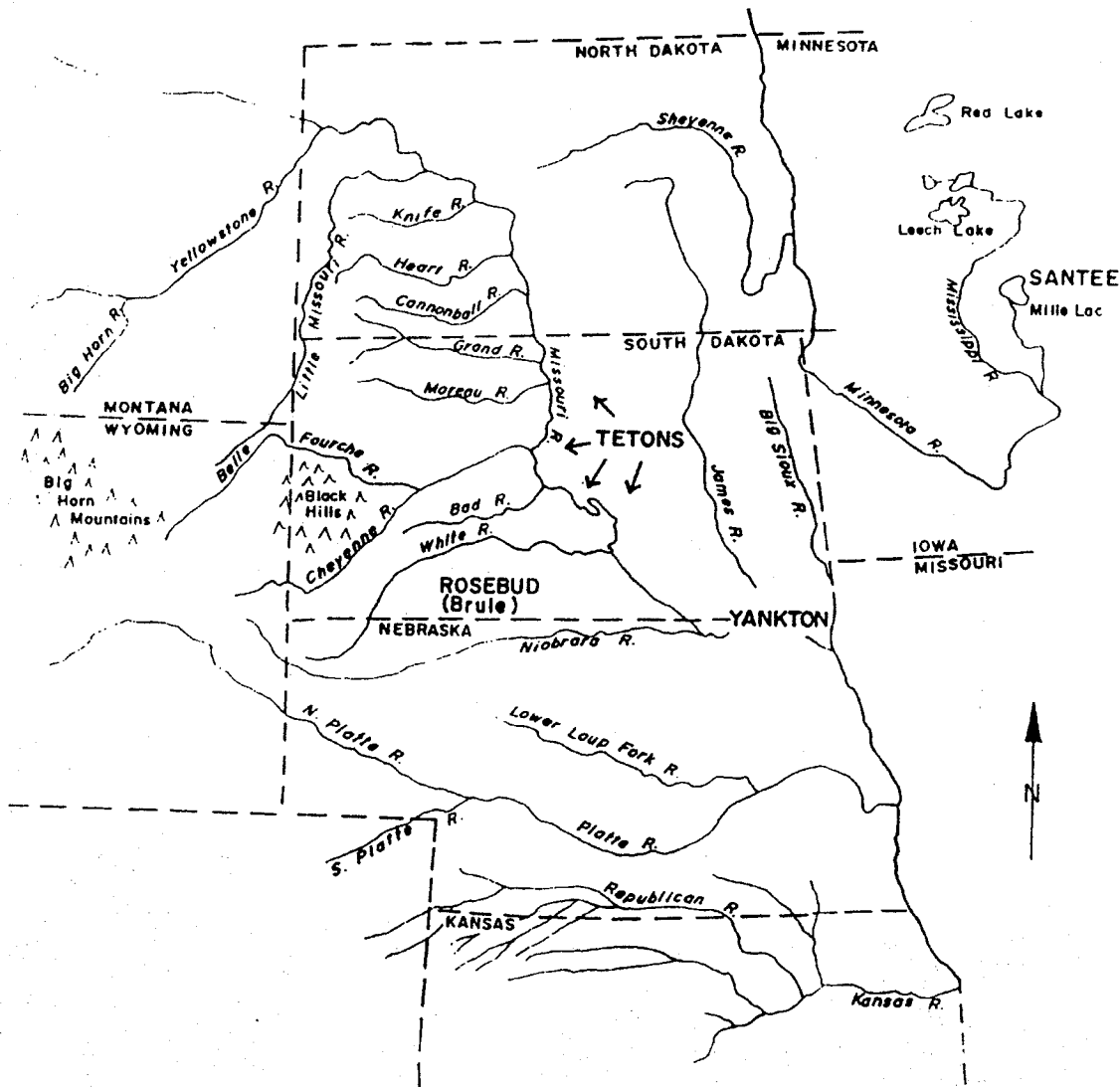
during the harsh the cold winters, and blistering hot summers on the Dakota Plains.

Rosebud History 1750 to 1945

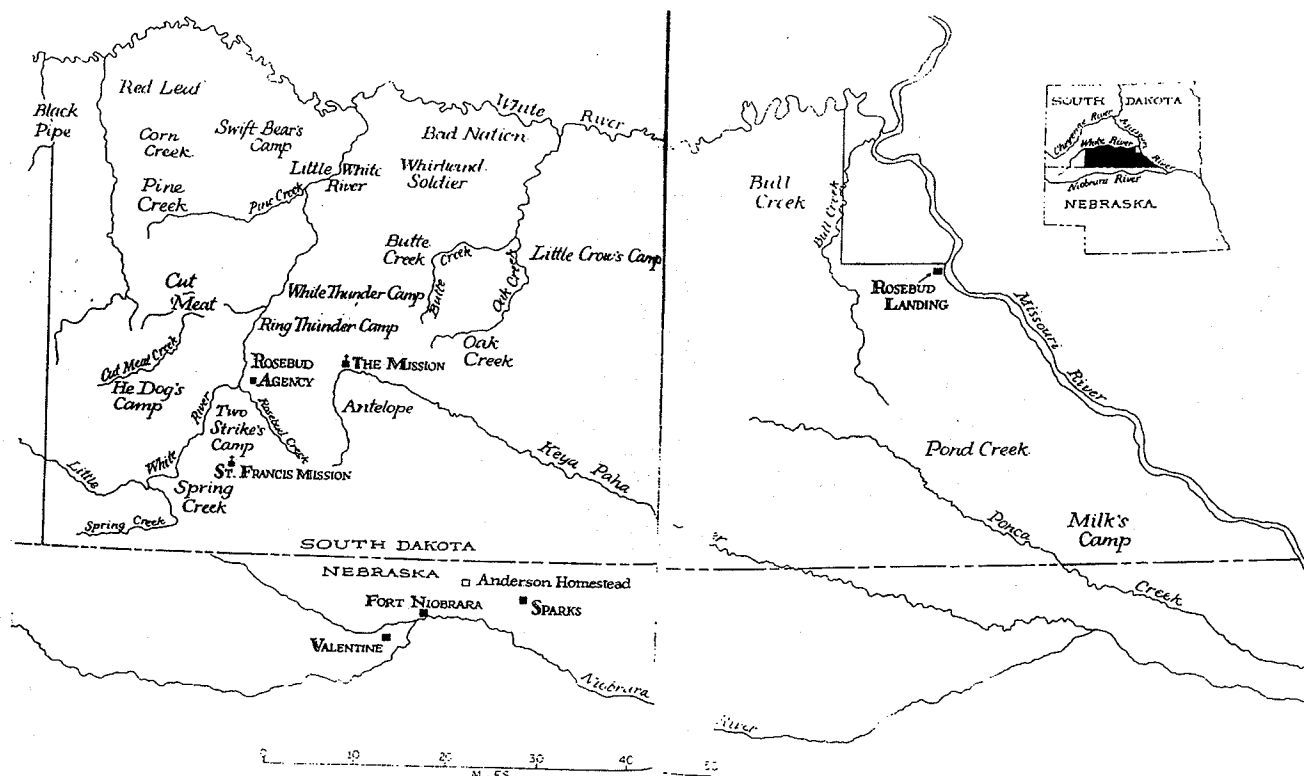
By 1750, the Teton Sioux had crossed the Missouri River and by 1865 reached as far west as the Black Hills. By 1800, "they had a relatively fixed residence along the White and Bad Rivers in present-day South Dakota, where they were seen by Lewis and Clark in 1804." That territory was by far one of the finest tracts of land west of the Missouri River, supplying the Sioux with plenty of buffalo and other game, native pasture for their horses, fine streams for a permanent supply of water, and pine ridges for lodgepoles, fuel-wood, and other uses.¹¹⁹

In the early nineteenth century, these ideal conditions changed rapidly. One district after another became hunted out; the Sioux began slaughtering buffalo in huge numbers to supply an ever increasing European demand for buffalo robes; and they became dependent on European goods and vices, such as liquor. By 1830, the several divisions within the tribe occurred. At this time, the bands known as the "Upper Brule" or "people away from the Missouri River" followed the buffalo herds south to the Platte River. Those that remained along the White River and retained their trade relations on the Missouri River became the "Lower Brule" of the Lower Brule Reservation in South Dakota.¹²⁰

In the early nineteenth century, the Upper Brule and other Sioux bands encountered the steady migration of



Map 13.0: Map of the Plains Area and Tribal Locations Adapted from Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, Omaha District, Omaha, Nebraska.



Map 14.0: Rosebud Reservation about 1895, adapted from Henry W. Hamilton, *The Sioux of the Rosebud* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), n.p.

Euro-Americans into their territory. This non-Indian migration led to constant conflict in Sioux country. In an attempt to resolve these conflicts, the United States negotiated a treaty with the Rosebud Sioux, along with other Sioux bands, at Fort Laramie in 1868. Under the Fort Laramie Treaty, the Great Sioux Reservation was established. Under this treaty, the Sioux agreed to a territory encompassing the western slopes of the Black Hills, the Niobrara River on the south, the Missouri River on the East, and the Cannonball River to the north (see Map 13.0 below). Nonetheless, conflicts between the Sioux and Euro-Americans continued with Federal troops constantly threatening their freedom of movement and the survival of the buffalo herds on the Great Plains—the economic resource mainstay for the Sioux. Thereafter, the Sioux's power deteriorated rapidly. Defeated in battle, the Sioux under Chief Spotted Tail surrendered in 1877, and an Indian Agency was established for them in 1878. Ultimately, by 1885, the all important buffalo herds disappeared. The last great buffalo hunt held in Rosebud country occurred in 1883. The Sioux's power deteriorated rapidly thereafter. Six years later, in 1889, Congressional legislation established seven reservations for the Sioux, including the "Rosebud" Sioux Reservation in south-central South Dakota. The reservation set aside for the Upper Brules included an area of 3,228,161 acres.¹²¹

Once the reservation boundaries were firmly defined, the Rosebud Reservation was divided into individual allotments of 160 acres in order to help assimilate the Rosebud Sioux into becoming independent farmers and ranchers under the Allotment Act of 1887. Farming was precarious on the Rosebud Reservation because the land was sandy and dry. Instead, cattle raising proved more viable and appealed more to the former way of life of the Lakota. The Rosebud Sioux soon became stock-raisers. With the conclusion of the allotment of the reservation, the surplus lands were sold off for non-Indian settlement.

With the allotment of their lands, the Rosebud Sioux began to settle in more permanent locations or camps circles—the so-called *tiyospaye*. The *tiyospaye* was a family unit and word that denoted "a group of families, bound together by blood and marriage ties, that lived side by side in the camp circle. . . . All families of a *tiyospaye* operated as a single unit in practically all activities. . . . The individuals constituting these larger groups bore definite relationships to each other and owed one another definite duties." Not surprising, most allotments were selected in *tiyospaye* clusters that had settled along wooded streams.^{cxix} Eventually the Rosebud Sioux learned that the "old tipi way of life" was untenable if they were to stay in

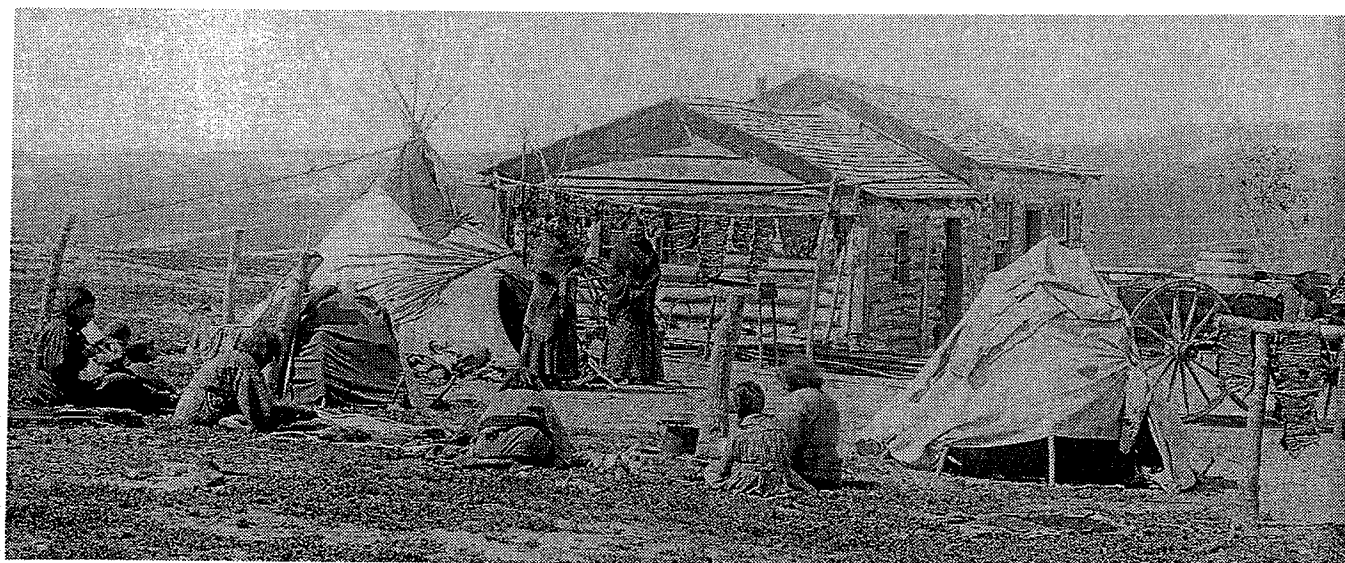


Figure 19: Two Room Log House with Sweat Lodges and a Tipi, 1893; Compliments of the Nebraska State Historical Society, "Brule Lakota Women Drying Beef," #RG 2969: 2-77.

one location. In response, the Rosebud began constructing log cabins on their allotments for use in winter by 1893. Two years later, it was reported that all of the Rosebud Sioux had log cabins for winter homes. However, though they lived in log houses, they usually still maintained a sweat lodge and a traditional tipi nearby (see Figure 19).¹²³

Ella C. Deloria, a Rosebud Sioux, reflected upon life in these houses in this way:

The houses were small, one room affairs, low and dark—and dank, because of the dirt floors. Compared with the well constructed tipis with their manageable windflaps for ample ventilating, the cabins were hot and stuffy. Germs lurked everywhere, causing general sickness, and the death rate increased. . . .

[But] after a time, however, they were making better, larger houses—neater, too, with the logs planed so as to fit closer and requiring less of the mud chinking that was always coming loose in the first cabins. The doors and windows fitted better, there were floors, and the roofs were of boards. The people began to make ingenious adaptations of some elements in their old life to the new. For instance, at one period they transferred the art decorations of the tipi to the log-house.¹²⁴

During the early part of the twentieth century, to a degree, the Rosebud Sioux prospered as cattlemen. With this prosperity, it soon became fashionable to build frame houses to replace the older log cabins.¹²⁵ This led to a small building boom on the Rosebud

Reservation during the years 1908 to 1913, where tribal members traded in their log houses for new frame houses. These wood frame houses were often built by non-Indians who came onto the reservation from neighboring communities, such as Valentine, Nebraska, to build them (see Figure 20).¹²⁶

In 1914 came the outbreak of World War I in Europe and food and cattle prices began to be profitable. Like other Sioux, the Rosebud Sioux sold off most of their herds during World War I because of the high price for beef. Sales rose from 4,000 head of cattle in 1912 to 87,000 in the year 1918.^{cxvii} Following World War I, like other Sioux tribes in the 1920s, the Rosebud Sioux were adversely affected by the agricultural depression of that decade, followed by the national economic crisis known as the Great Depression that came in 1929. By 1933, not only had the cattle industry collapsed in South Dakota, but by this date a considerable amount of the best acreage on the Rosebud Reservation was now in the hands of non-Indians.¹²⁸

By 1934 and the beginning of the Indian New Deal, the original area of the Rosebud Reservation had been reduced through lands ceded to the United States and sales to non-Indians by 2,195,905 acres, leaving them with close to 1.0 million acres.¹²⁹ During the Indian New Deal era, the Rosebud Sioux accepted the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), and adopted a constitution and by-laws under the act on December 27, 1935. The Rosebud Sioux also adopted a charter under the IRA.¹³⁰

The Rosebud enjoyed several Indian New Deal programs, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps—

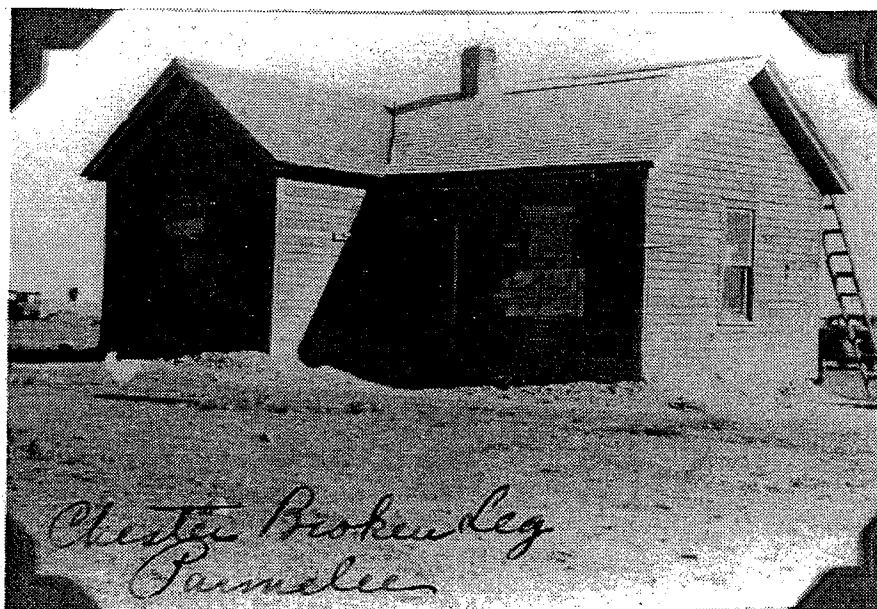


Figure 20: Typical Frame House, "Chester Broken Leg, Parmelee." From Ira Barclay Collection, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.

Indian Division (CCC-ID). Under the Indian New Deal, as stated earlier, the cattle economy in Sioux country revived due to CCC-ID projects that controlled erosion and overgrazing by developing water and irrigation projects on the reservation. Because of these efforts, and a cattle purchase program, the Rosebud Sioux, who owned only 2,261 cattle in 1934, increased their herds to over 8,000 head by 1943.¹³¹

In addition to these programs, the Rosebud Sioux also benefitted from rural rehabilitation funding through the Indian Relief and Rehabilitation Division (IRRD) of the Indian Service. During the 1930s, the desperate housing conditions on South Dakota reservations worsened due to the depression and drought. At this time, many Sioux abandoned their homes and moved into tents near the agencies in order to obtain relief work. To address the problem, in 1938, Indian New Deal rural rehabilitation planning included the Grass Mountain Colony in the southwest portion of the Rosebud Reservation. This colony was one of three large subsistence homestead communities built on South Dakota reservations.

Grass Mountain Colony, 1935-1945

In 1935, the BIA purchased a small tract of land along the Little White River, and the Rosebud tribe decided to use a portion of their rehabilitation funding to establish a colony there for landless Rosebud Sioux. Thereafter the Rosebud Sioux built "twelve houses and prepared land for a subsistence garden." In 1937, the tribe "assigned nine families a cottage under the

stipulation that they would 'make full use of the opportunity and privilege.'" Besides the nine two-room houses, there was a poultry building and a canning kitchen. In less than three years, the so-called Grass Mountain Colony became a fairly self-containing cooperative. A similar resettlement project was planned at Two Kettle, and there were also several less ambitious rehabilitation colonies on the Rosebud Reservation, but they consisted only of a few housing units, along with small irrigation projects. The fate of these Rosebud Reservation rehabilitation housing projects is not known today.¹³²

Post World War II Housing Conditions

In the post World War II era, the housing situation on the Rosebud Reservation became more crowded, inadequate, and substandard. Generally speaking, the inadequacy of Rosebud Reservation housing conditions were statistically measured and quantified by the U.S. Census Bureau. In 1950, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that the Rosebud Reservation had 681 housing structures, consisting of one room houses (208), two room houses (166), three rooms houses (100), four room houses (62) and the remainder split among several larger homes (32), or unreported houses (90). According to 1950 Census figures, the median number of persons per room on the Rosebud Reservation was 1.94 persons. Since the median number of rooms for occupied dwelling units was only 2.0 rooms, it meant that the median number of persons per occupied dwelling was 4.7 persons—far above the national median occupied dwelling rate of 1.48 persons.¹³³

Six years later, the South Dakota Indian Commission reported on the continuing overcrowded housing conditions on the Rosebud Reservation. In 1956, the Indian Commission placed Rosebud Reservation housing into four basic groups that clearly reflected the poverty on the reservation. The Indian Commission estimated that sixty percent of the reservation's houses were log construction, that thirty percent were frame construction, and that ten percent were considered mere make-shift shacks or simply tents.¹³⁴

Changing Rosebud Reservation Housing Conditions, Early 1960s

Until 1961, Native Americans nationwide were excluded from participating in federally-assisted housing projects. At that time, marginal housing conditions continued to exist and grow on the Rosebud Reservation with most tribal members still living in rickety log houses, tarpaper shacks, and ragged tents. Some even lived in abandoned automobile bodies and hillside caves.¹³⁵ This desperate housing crisis was brought to light during America's War on Poverty in the 1960s. Shortly thereafter, the Rosebud Reservation

began to benefit from a number of federally assisted housing programs.¹³⁶

Low-Rent and Mutual Self-Help Housing, 1966-1967

The first federally-assisted housing projects to reach the Rosebud Reservation were several HUD Low-Rent and Mutual Self-Help housing units. In 1962, the Rosebud Tribal Council took the first step toward improving housing conditions on the Rosebud Reservation, when it established the Rosebud Housing Authority (RHA). Soon thereafter, the tribal council approached the Public Housing Administration (PHA) for low-cost reservation housing programs and by 1966, Rosebud Sioux made significant progress toward improving housing conditions on the reservation. By that year, ninety-two Low-Rent housing units had been completed and occupied on the Rosebud Reservation under a HUD contract, and another seventy-five additional units were thereafter requested. These Low-Rent housing units were part of approximately 2,000 units constructed, under construction, and/or authorized for construction nationwide.¹³⁷ The

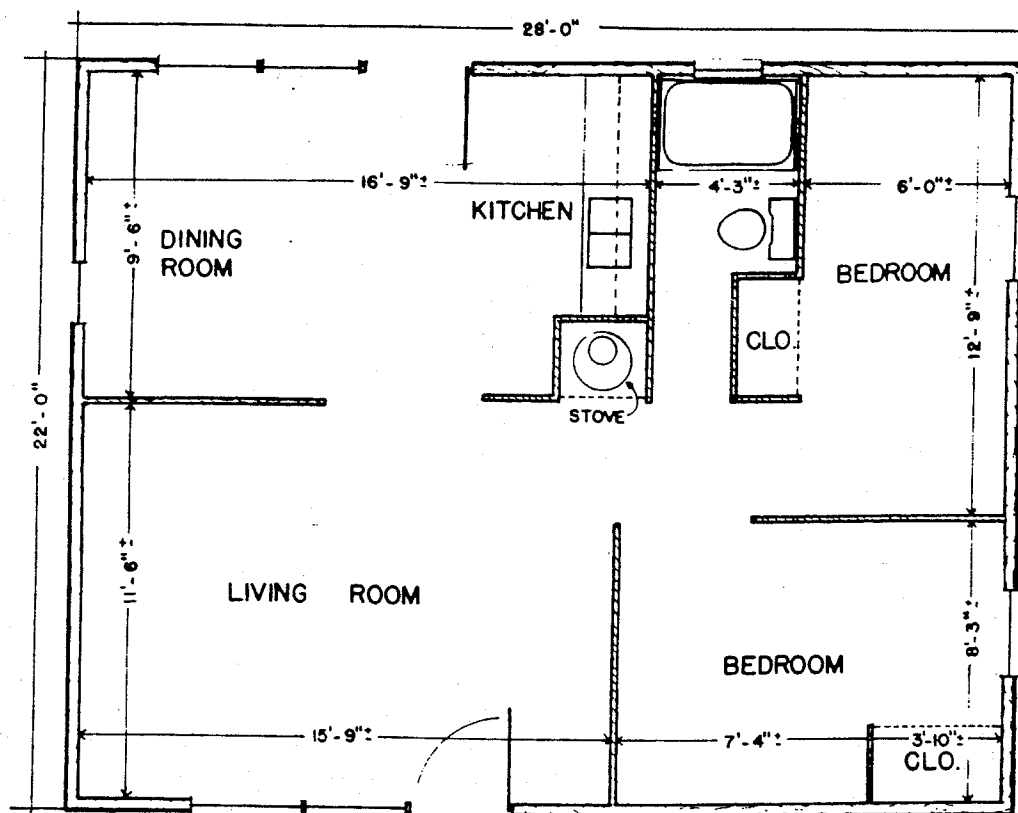


Figure 21: Rosebud Reservation Transitional House Floor Plan. Adapted from U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Report on the Transitional Housing Experiment: Rosebud Indian Reservation," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), 15.

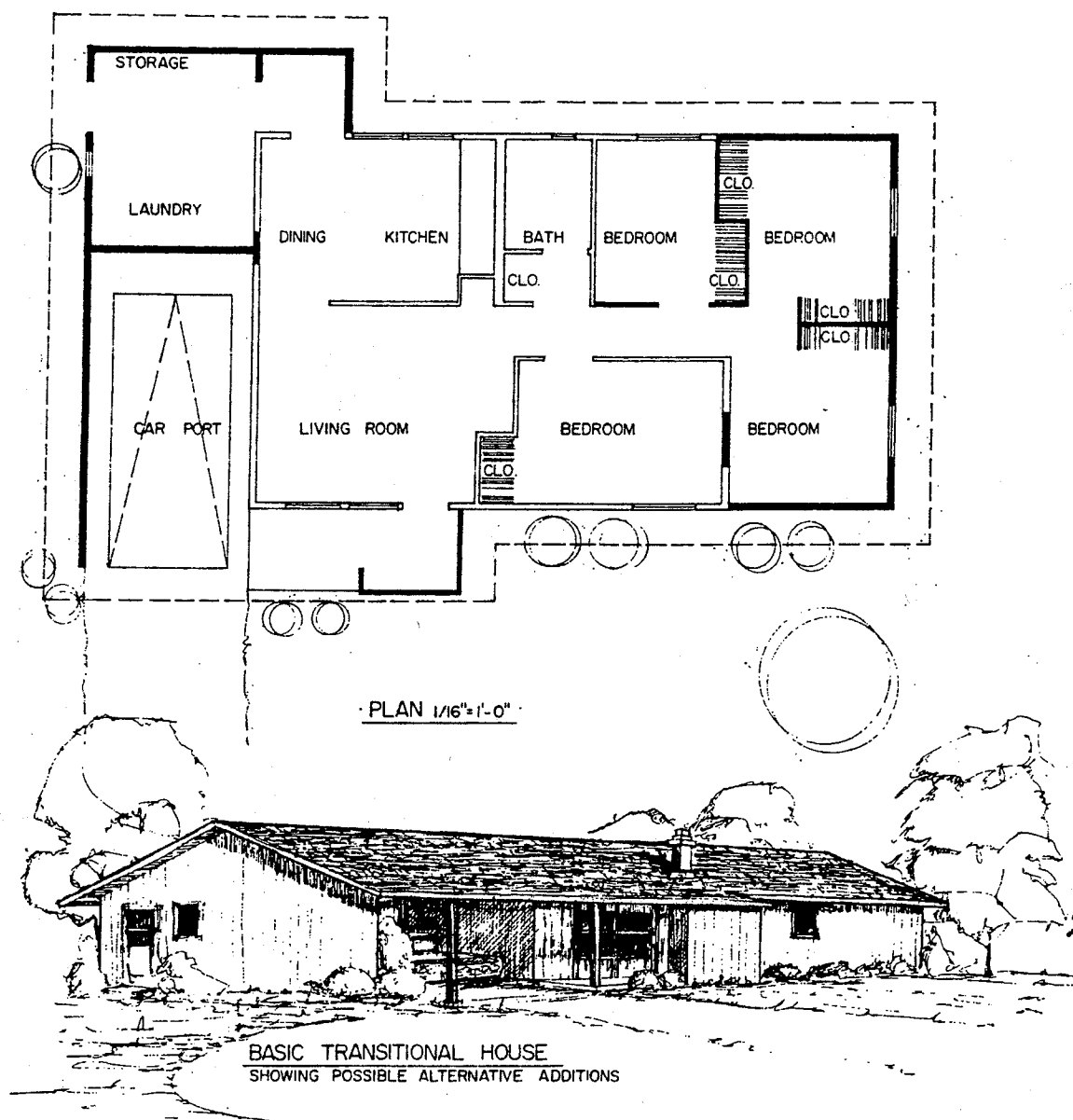


Figure 22: Basic Traditional Home Showing Possible Alternative Additions. Adapted from U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Report on the Transitional Housing Experiment: Rosebud Indian Reservation," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), 19.

Low-Rent housing on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation consisted of one to five-bedroom units that were built in most reservation communities and owned by the tribal housing authority. Rents for these units were determined by the Rosebud Housing Authority on a sliding scale and was fixed according to the tribal member's income. The rental fee covered the cost of utilities, maintenance, and renter's insurance.¹³⁸

The Rosebud Tribal Council also proposed and received fifty units of Mutual Self-Help housing from PHA. These Mutual Self-Help houses were also part of approximately 2,000 Mutual Self-Help housing

authorized or completed by early 1966 nationwide.¹³⁹ The original conception for these Mutual Self-Help projects was designed to provide home ownership based on the projected owner's assistance or "sweat equity." The housing material was brought to the construction site and ten or so people built each house. However, this type of construction process was soon abandoned and a builder was thereafter hired to do the construction work. Nonetheless, the Mutual Self-Help house continued to be designed as individual ownership properties.¹⁴⁰

The design of the Low-Rent and Mutual Self-Help

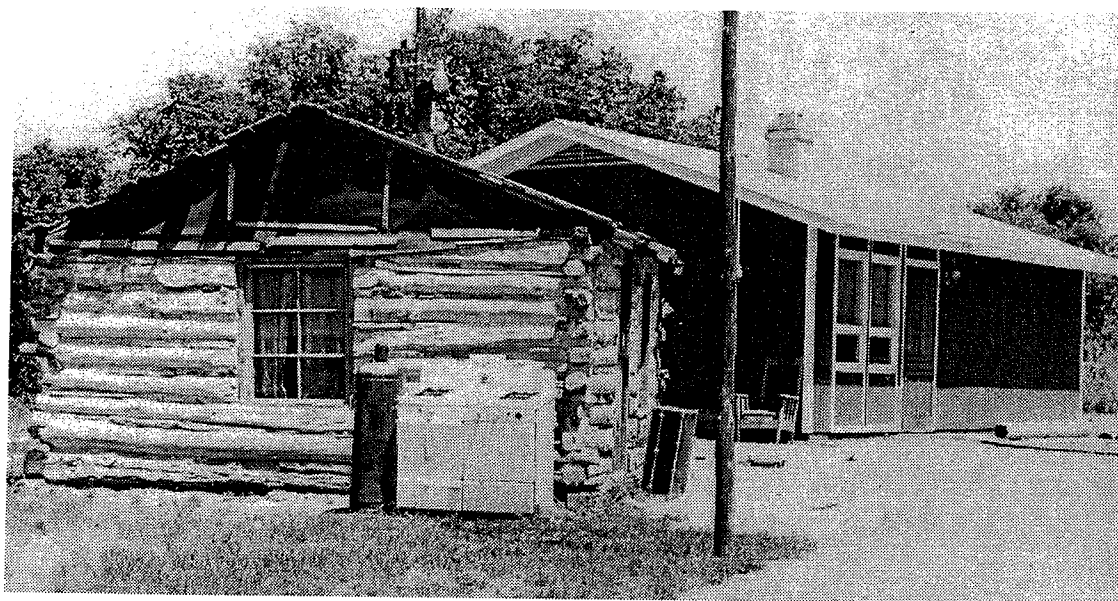


Figure 23: Rosebud Family Standing Next to New Transitional Home with Log Home in Forefront. Adapted from U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Report on the Transitional Housing Experiment: Rosebud Indian Reservation," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), 17.

housing units had their construction defects. For instance, the exterior air vents of the Mutual Self-Help houses on the Rosebud Reservation allowed snow to accumulate in the attics.¹⁴¹ Nevertheless, the Low-Rent and Mutual Self-Help housing units built on the Rosebud Reservation, met only one-third of the 650 housing units that the Rosebud Tribal Council felt it needed

to meet the current housing crisis. Therefore, the Rosebud Tribal took a significant step forward in improving the inadequate housing situation on the reservation with acceptance of a controversial and experimental transitional housing project—one of the most widely written about Native American housing programs in the country.¹⁴²



Figure 24: Randomly Clustered Transitional Homes, Little White River, Circa 1986. Adapted from Ira Barclay Collection: South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.

Rosebud Reservation Transitional Housing, 1967-1968

The Transitional Housing Program, or THP, was an attempt to discover whether "low-cost, prefabricated housing, given or made available to the poor at nominal cost," offered a "solution to the housing problem faced by the poor in any area."¹⁴³ In 1967-1968, HUD, in cooperation with three other federal agencies and the Rosebud Tribal Council, participated in a two year experimental project "to explore the possibility of attaining ownership for Indian families having incomes below \$3,000 a year." Known as the "Rosebud THP," HUD, the BIA, Public Health Service (PHS), Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) paid for the development and production of prefabricated houses to go on the Rosebud Reservation. At the time the THP was conceived, almost ninety percent of Rosebud tribal members did not have decent houses. By this time, the pre-THP houses were "so worthless" that the residents seldom bothered to spend money to improve them, or to make an effort to repair them. Most roofs leaked, and the dirt floors became soaked and muddy every time it rained. Windows were small and few, broken windows were patched with cardboard—which failed to keep the wind, rain, winter cold and snows out.¹⁴⁴

There was little question that the Rosebud people needed improved housing. Planning for the THP began in 1965. First, the Batte Memorial Institute (BMI) of Columbus, Ohio surveyed the need for housing for the very poor on four reservations (Rosebud Reservation, South Dakota, Fort Totten, North Dakota, Papago Reservation, southern Arizona, Navajo Reservation, northern Arizona and northern New Mexico). Thereafter, BMI designed the principal elements of the housing program and became the technical consultant

for the Rosebud demonstration project.¹⁴⁵ By 1968, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and other federal agencies had sponsored and completed 375 housing units on the Rosebud Reservation, which housed as many families.¹⁴⁶

House Design

The house design expressed the needs of the low-income families at Rosebud. Families were taken from "each of Rosebud's 21 organized communities in proportion to the number of poor families in each community." The houses were built on the "families own land or on land provided by the Rosebud Sioux Tribe as a permanent assignment." For the location of these communities and the number of THP housing units built in each community see Map 15.0.¹⁴⁷

The 620 square foot house design included two bedrooms, bathroom, living-dining room, and kitchen (see Figure 21). Optional features included: (1) wood or oil heating stove, (2) electricity, (3) living-dining room partition, (4) gravity or electric water supply system, and (5) exterior and interior colors (see Figure 22). In developing this design, utility and low-cost maintenance was taken into account. Additionally, tribal members were employed to construct the prefabricated homes. The construction system maximized low-cost, rapid and efficient construction techniques and utilized plant prefabrication, onsite assembly, and family involvement. Ninety percent of the total personnel were Indian, with "jobs ranging from plant foreman and community development director to ordinary laborer."¹⁴⁸

The THP home had a pitched gable-end roof and wood frame construction, and was sided with 3/8-inch Texture 1-11 plywood (see Photograph 33). Inte-

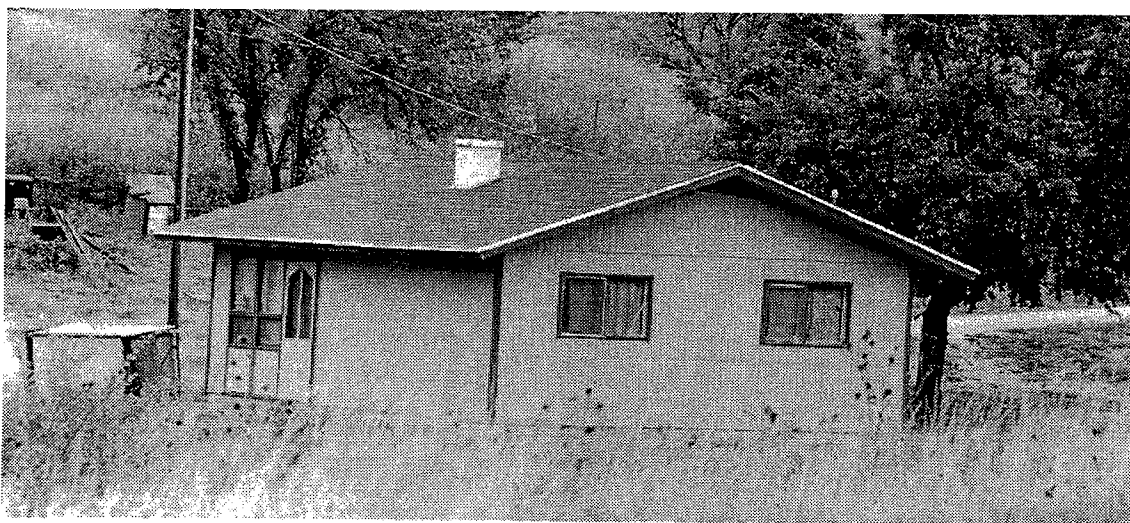
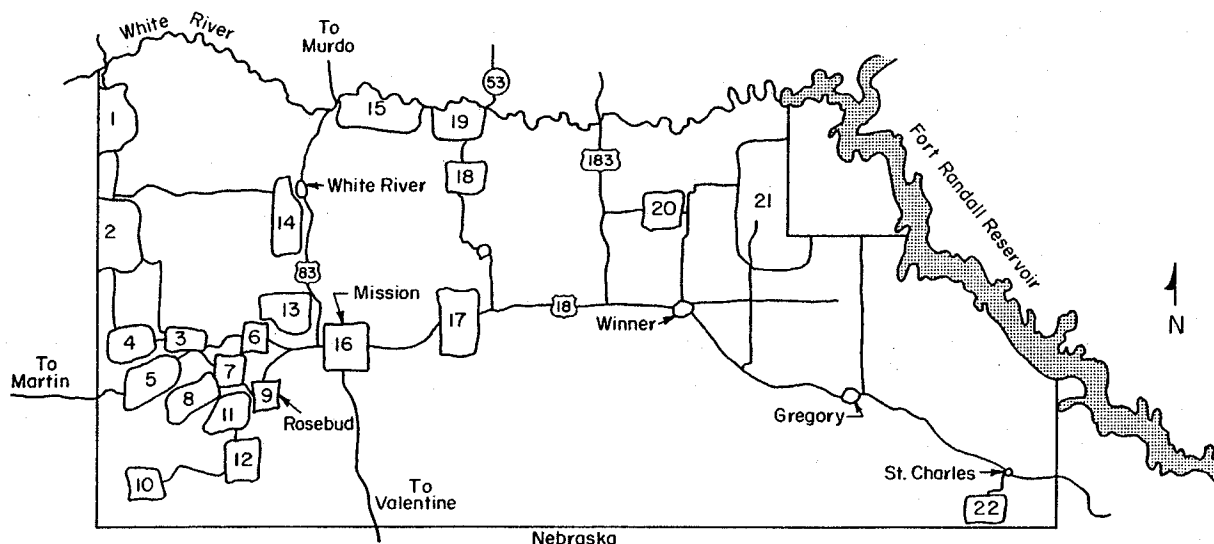


Photo 33: Rural THP House West of Mission, South Dakota, 1998.



1. Corn Creek	(48)	12. St. Francis	(8)	() = Distance
2. Black Pipe (Norris)	(40)	13. Ring Thunder	(10)	from Rosebud
3. Parmelee	(11)	14. Horse Creek	(28)	
4. He Dog	(16)	15. Swift Bear	(45)	
5. Upper Cut Meat	(15)	16. Antelope	(13)	
6. Soldier Creek	(15)	17. OKreek	(29)	
7. Iron Wood	(8)	18. Butte Creek	(50)	
8. Grass Mountain	(12)	19. Bad Nation	(60)	
9. Rosebud		20. Ideal	(70)	
10. Spring Creek	(18)	21. Bull Creek	(97)	
11. Two Strike	(3)	22. Milks Camp	(109)	

ROSEBUD RESERVATION COMMUNITIES

Map 15.0: Rosebud Reservation Communities with Numbers of Transitional Housing Units. Adapted from U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Report on the Transitional Housing Experiment: Rosebud Indian Reservation," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), ii.

rior features included sheetrock siding, tile-covered plywood floors, and plumbing rough-ins for appliances. In terms of total size and living area, the THP was not substantially inferior to "existing standards for low-cost housing established by the Federal Housing Authority (FHA)." With minor exceptions, the transitional house appeared to exceed the Federal minimum standards for two-bedroom, low-cost units.¹⁴⁹

THP Housing Assessment

Prior to the construction of the transitional houses, "home" to the vast majority of the population on the Rosebud Reservation had been a "tent, a dilapidated trailer, a shanty or log cabin. . . . Maintaining even the rudiments of cleanliness under such circumstances was inconceivable." The THP house provided basic low-cost housing for this population, and at an affordable cost. When occupants were interviewed shortly after they had lived there for a time, they indicated that the size of the THP house was adequate in terms of living space, but inadequate regarding storage

space. The occupants were also pleased with quality of the house construction and the heating and plumbing systems.¹⁵⁰ In addition, the THP house had several direct impacts on the Rosebud Reservation economy and labor force. Because the homes were prefabricated in a tribal plant, it provided on-the-job training for tribal members. In addition, the housing program gave employment opportunities for tribesmen in the plant and in field-construction crews.¹⁵¹

Within a few years, the THP had its critics. Though the 375 THP houses were essentially a gift to the Rosebud Sioux because the federal government paid for them, by 1969 the THP program was deemed a "complete failure." Within a few years, ceilings were caving in, roofs leaked, walls were crooked, and floor joists showed through the tiles. Over three hundred of the homes did not have back or front steps; and forty of the houses were incomplete, having no toilets, plumbing, bath tubs, cupboards, cabinets, and or sinks.¹⁵²

In defense of the THP, it should be noted that THP

was designed to "provide homes of limited life until alternative housing could be arranged."¹⁵³ They were considered a "transition from disaster to some kind of minimum standards."¹⁵⁴ They did remove 375 families from "automobile shells, tents, lean-to's, and shanties in which they had previously lived."¹⁵⁵ In 1971, the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council commented on their quality in this manner:

These homes were not expected to last for any length of time It is evident that they may be deteriorating more rapidly than anticipated. Replacements are going to necessary in the somewhat near future. . . . [Nevertheless,] this housing performed a needed function despite their short life—they have filled the transitional gap. The impact of their presence in providing for a more favorable environment for further development cannot be denied.¹⁵⁶

On the other hand, while the "homes themselves were not intended to be permanent dwellings (hence their designation "transitional") deterioration set in well before anticipated." In addition, there was no formulated plan to replace them systematically. Many tribes people soon looked to them as the "only ones they were likely to own."¹⁵⁷ A year later, a tribal policy decision was made to give the dubious quality housing to tribal members outright. No additional homes of this type were ever built again on the Rosebud Reservation.¹⁵⁸ Today, an indeterminate number these houses remain on the Rosebud Reservation.

Turn-Key Housing or the "Sioux 400," 1969

On the heels of the THP project, in 1968-1969, the Rosebud Sioux tribe contracted with Park Daley of Daley Redwood Homes, Sioux City, Iowa to build an additional 400 homes on the Rosebud Reservation. Under their contract, the developer was hired to plan the entire project, which included building and assembling two bedroom homes and loading them onto trucks and setting them down on precast foundations (see Photograph 34). The Sioux 400 project benefitted from a tri-agency agreement (HUD, PHS, and BIA) that attempted to overcome the lack of coordination in construction of Indian housing.¹⁵⁴ Under this arrangement, the Sioux 400 project was financed with federal funds from HUD and with bonds issued by the Rosebud tribe amounting to \$3.0 million. In addition, the PHS promised to furnish the sanitary facilities for the project, and the BIA was responsible for furnishing the roads. In the end, all the tenant had to do was "turn the key" and take occupancy. The houses were locally known as the "Sioux 400" because that number were built. On a national level they were known as "turnkey" housing.¹⁵⁵

This was the first homeownership for many of the Rosebud tribal members. So, in 1970, HUD financed a homeownership training program for the Sioux 400 project. It was hoped that this program would improve home maintenance over the years, and was the first such program on Indian reservations financed by HUD. In was an attempt to alleviate

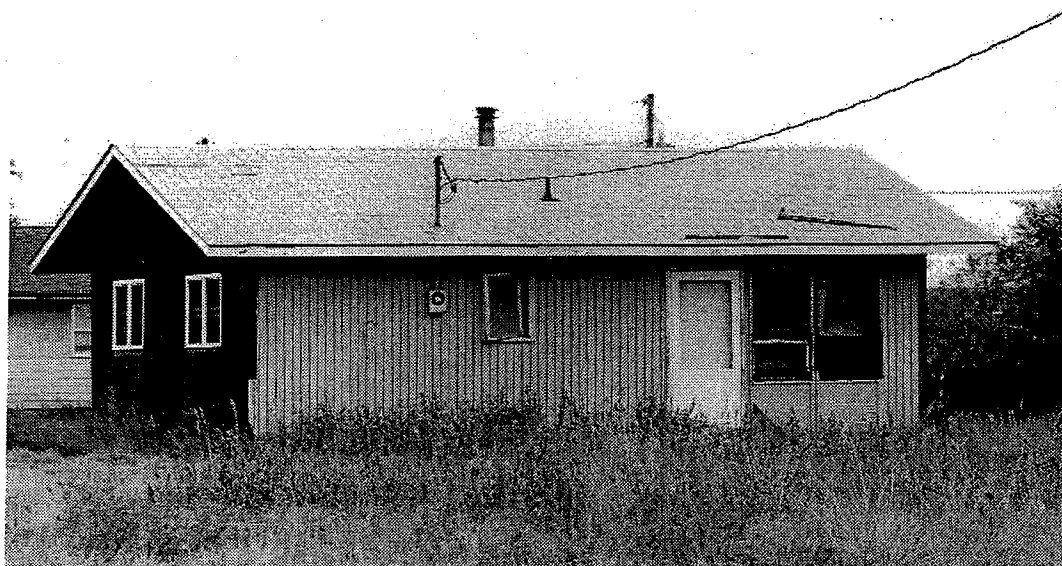


Photo 34: THP House, Parmalee, South Dakota, 1998.

some housing difficulties resulting from moving into new housing.¹⁵⁶

Like the THP, the Sioux 400 home project also had structural problems and its critics. One historian wrote:

Problems with the Sioux 400 homes were great: poor timing among the three contracting agencies resulted in the houses being built and furnished with appliances before the sanitary facilities and drainage had been completed. As a result, the homes were water-damaged and badly vandalized before residents ever moved in. Construction problems were evident also: the heating and ventilation systems were inadequate, doors and windows did not function properly, and although tenants were permitted to move in, homes had to be insulated, resided, recaulked, and reventilated.¹⁶²

A 1970 HUD housing report indicated that 49 turnkey houses still did not have water and sanitation facilities. They also suffered from a number of other problems, such as (1) exterior vents that allowed snow to enter and accumulate in the attic; (2) sewer lines for 14 of the units were installed backwards; (3) landscape and backfill were not completed; and (4) foundations had inadequate backfill. In addition, the lack of coordination between federal agencies caused delays in providing adequate roads and streets for the 400-unit turnkey project. Understandably, the Rosebud Sioux tribe was very dissatisfied with the inferior design and construction of the Sioux 400. They sued the government and in a settlement were awarded all the Sioux 400 houses at a cost of one dollar. Thereafter, they gave the houses to the tenants free of charge with no mortgage obligations.¹⁶³ Other criticism was directed toward the Rosebud Sioux tribe. According to one tribal critic, "contractors made extraordinary profits building the houses, construction jobs were used as political payoffs, the tribal leaders and their cohorts soon occupied the best of the houses, and the leftovers, usually defectively constructed buildings, were offered to the people for whom the housing had been intended."¹⁶⁵

BIA Housing Improvement Program (HIP)

In addition to constructing new homes, the Rosebud Sioux tribe took advantage of federally assisted programs to provide grants to Indian families living in substandard or inadequate housing to repair existing homes through the BIA Housing Improvement Program (HIP). These housing improvements were made at no cost to the homeowner, which explains the great demand for the program. However, prior to 1975, funding for this program was limited and could not meet the demand for home repairs. In addition to funding repairs, HIP constructed a few new houses,

but only for the elderly. Funding for this program was also limited and could not meet the requests for new construction.¹⁶⁵

2.7 Pine Ridge Reservation Housing

Introduction

The Pine Ridge or Oglala Sioux were also descended from the western or Teton division of the Sioux that moved into the Dakotas from the area west of the Great Lakes in the 1700s. Once across the Mississippi River, these Sioux also became dwellers of the prairie, adopted the horse and the Plains culture, and freely roamed along a territory that stretched from Saskatchewan south to Texas, and from the Missouri River west to the Rocky Mountains. The Sioux that were eventually placed on the Pine Ridge Reservation call themselves the Oglala—a term that refers to their tribal identity and language. As recent comers to the Plains, the Oglala Sioux lived with a buffalo-centered economy. The buffalo provided food, clothing, a variety of tools, equipment, and shelter during the harsh the cold winters, and blistering hot summers on the Dakota Plains.

Pine Ridge History 1750 to 1945

According to oral tradition, the Oglala ("they scatter their own"), the largest of the separate Teton-Dakota Sioux bands moved from upper present-day Minnesota in two general groups. The Oglala, as well as the Brule Sioux, were part of one group of Sioux who moved south to the Blue Earth River in Minnesota and then westward. By 1760, they reached the Missouri River, and then with the acquisition of the horse they reached the Black Hills by 1780. The horse made it possible to hunt and travel over vast stretches of the Plains, and they enjoyed a prosperous lifestyle. The Great Plains was by far one of the finest tracts of land west of the Missouri River, supplying the Sioux with plenty of buffalo and other game, native pasture for their horses, fine streams for a permanent supply of water, and pine ridges for lodgepoles, fuelwood, and other uses.¹⁶⁶

In the early nineteenth century, these ideal conditions changed rapidly. One district after another became hunted out; the Sioux began slaughtering buffalo in huge numbers to supply an ever increasing European demand for buffalo robes; and they became dependent on European goods and vices, such as liquor. By 1830, several divisions within the tribe occurred. At this time, the bands known as the "Oglala" separated from the "Brule" who followed the buffalo herds south to the Platte River.¹⁶⁷

In staying, the Oglala faced hundreds of settlers who emigrated into their territory along the Oregon Trail, killing large numbers of buffalo for food. Alarmed by the growing numbers of settlers and the threat to their food supply, the Oglala Sioux began raiding the wagon trains, which led to constant conflict in Sioux country. In an attempt to resolve these conflicts, the Oglala Sioux, along with other Sioux bands, negotiated a treaty with the United States at Fort Laramie in 1868. Under the Fort Laramie Treaty, the Great Sioux Reservation was established. Under this treaty, the Sioux agreed to a territory encompassing the western slopes of the Black Hills, the Niobrara River on the south, the Missouri River on the East, and the Cannonball River to the north (see Map 13.0).

Nonetheless, conflicts between the Sioux and the Americans continued with Federal troops constantly threatening their freedom of movement and the survival of the buffalo herds—the economic resource mainstay for the Sioux. Thereafter, the Sioux's power deteriorated rapidly. Defeated in battle, the Sioux surrendered in 1877, and an Indian Agency was established for them in 1878. Ultimately, by 1885, the all important buffalo herds disappeared. Six years later, in 1889, Congressional legislation established seven reservations for the Sioux, including the "Pine Ridge" Sioux Reservation in the extreme southwest part of South Dakota for the Oglala Sioux. The original Pine Ridge Reservation included 2,786,539 acres as the home of the Oglala branch of the Sioux tribe.¹⁶⁸

Once the reservation boundaries were firmly defined, the Pine Ridge Reservation was divided into individual allotments of 160 acres in order to help assimilate the Oglala Sioux into becoming independent farmers and ranchers under the Allotment Act of 1887. Allotment of land began about 1904 and continued until 1916. A total of 8,275 allotments were made, which encompassed 2,372,286 acres of land.¹⁶⁹

Cattle raising proved more viable than dry farming, and appealed more to the former way of life of the Oglala. They soon became stock-raisers, and beginning in the 1870s, raising cattle became the basic economy of the reservation.¹⁷⁰ Eventually the Oglala Sioux learned that the "old tipi way of life" was untenable if they were to stay in one location. In response, the Oglala began constructing log cabins on their allotments for use in winter. The Dull Knives, a prominent Pine Ridge Reservation family, indicated that after 1879, one saw fewer tipis and more log homes on the reservation.¹⁷¹

During the early part of the twentieth century, the Oglala Sioux prospered as cattlemen. According to one author, "the livestock practice of this era was that of the

open range, of allowing the herds to move over the reservation ranges with little supervision. . . . During these years the Pine Ridge Dakota became steeped in the life of the cowboy, his existence in the open, his dress, his skill with horses—all of which would be extremely attractive to people who had been great horsemen and lived the life of the Plains Indian."¹⁷²

In 1914 came the outbreak of World War I in Europe. With the beginning of World War I cattle prices soared. Like other Sioux, the Oglala Sioux were encouraged to sell their herds, and by 1916 the Oglala had sold off practically all of their herds. The loss of their cattle herds was the "greatest disaster that had befallen the Pine Ridge Indians since the vanishing of the buffalo." In the wake of selling off their cattle, the Oglala Sioux began to lease their lands to non-Indian cattle owners.¹⁷³

Following World War I, like other Sioux tribes, the Pine Ridge Sioux "began to accept rations and developed a dependency upon the government which they have never fully overcome" once their cash from the cattle sales had been dissipated. The Oglala Sioux were also adversely affected by the postwar agricultural depression of that decade, followed by the national economic crisis known as the Great Depression that came in 1929. By 1933, not only had the cattle industry collapsed in South Dakota, but a considerable amount of the best acreage on the Pine Ridge Reservation was now in the hands of non-Indians.¹⁷⁴

In the 1880s, when the Oglala settled on the Pine Ridge Reservation, they spread out over the reservation and settled by bands along various creeks according to the custom of families living in small bands or *tiyospaye*. The main biological family of the *tiyospaye* was that of the chief, and all other families were related to it. The first reservation camp sites were marked by the old chief's house usually built by the government. But before long, the extended family group which traditionally erected their lodges together around the chief now stretched in a line of separated homes or log cabins. By 1933, the old *tiyospaye* no longer existed as organized units, but they were the basis of most of the rural communities. In addition, there was also a difference in housing between full-blood communities and mixed-blood communities. In mixed-blood rural communities, such as Kyle, the homes are made of logs, but they "usually have more rooms than the average full-blood's cabin."¹⁷⁵

Indian New Deal and the Pine Ridge Reservation

By 1934 and the beginning of the Indian New Deal, the original area of the Pine Ridge Reservation had

been reduced by 2,195,905 acres through lands ceded to the United States and sales to non-Indians, leaving them with approximately 1.0 million acres.¹⁷⁶ During the Indian New Deal era, the Pine Ridge Sioux accepted the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), and adopted a constitution and by-laws under the act on December 27, 1935. The Pine Ridge Sioux also adopted a charter under the IRA.¹⁷⁷

The Pine Ridge Sioux enjoyed several Indian New Deal programs, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps—Indian Division (CCC-ID). Under the Indian New Deal, the cattle economy in Sioux country revived due to CCC-ID projects that controlled erosion and overgrazing by developing water and irrigation projects on the reservation. Because of these efforts, and a cattle purchase program, the Oglala Sioux, who owned only 6,000 cattle in 1934, increased their herds to over 17,896 head by 1943.¹⁷⁸

In addition to these programs, the Pine Ridge Sioux also benefitted from rural rehabilitation funding through the Indian Relief and Rehabilitation Division (IRRD) of the Indian Service. During the 1930s, the desperate housing conditions on South Dakota reservations worsened due to the depression and drought. At this time, many Sioux abandoned their homes and moved into tents near the agencies in order to obtain relief work. To address the problem, in 1938, Indian New Deal rural rehabilitation planning included the Red Shirt Table Colony in the southwest portion of the Pine Ridge Reservation. This colony "exemplified the most complete attempt by BIA officials to rehabilitate a band of Sioux within a South Dakota Reservation."¹⁷⁹

Red Shirt Table Colony, 1935-1945

The showcase project for the IRRD in South Dakota was the Red Shirt Table Colony;¹⁸⁰ and "it represented more of the immediate success of the Indian New Deal than did most of the other activities in Sioux country." The Red Shirt community had been targeted for economic rehabilitation since the 1920s. Following World War I, the Red Shirt Community was left without lease money for their lands or cattle. At that time, the Indian Service tried to make the families living there self-sufficient by providing "federal loans to purchase a few dairy cows, garden seed, and additional beef cattle."¹⁸¹

By 1930, this effort failed and the Indians were once again reduced to living on rations, surplus commodities, and relief work. At this juncture, an intensive study of the community was made, which included conducting a census, and a study of land use patterns, and reservation resources. After the accumulation of this data, eighteen families organized as the Red Shirt

Table Development Association. With a loan from the Indian Service, the Development Association purchased cattle, several tracts of land along the Cheyenne River on which the Oglalas built "nine houses, three root cellars, a canning kitchen, dairy barn, school house, poultry shed, and an irrigation system." The CCC-ID constructed the rehabilitation colony. Eventually, seventeen houses were built and some existing homes were repaired, and a community garden of 130 acres of irrigated land was cultivated.¹⁸²

In addition to the Red Shirt Table Development Association project, other integrated projects were launched on the Pine Ridge Reservation, including projects at Slim Butte and Bear Creek. Nonetheless, eventually, the Red Shirt Table Colony and the other projects failed. The new buildings and renovated houses in these communities "did not restore the sense of family life along the sense of family life" as expected. By the 1940s, the rehabilitation funds had been exhausted and the Sioux lost interest in communal living. The fate of this Pine Ridge Reservation rehabilitation housing project at Red Shirt Table and the other communities is not known today.¹⁸³

Post World War II Housing Conditions

In the post World War II era, the housing situation on the Pine Ridge Reservation became more crowded, inadequate, and substandard. Generally speaking, the inadequacy of Pine Ridge Reservation housing conditions were statistically measured and quantified by the U.S. Census Bureau. In 1950, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that the Pine Ridge Reservation had 1,022 housing structures, consisting of one room houses (354), two room houses (296), three rooms houses (118), four room houses (76) and the remainder split among several larger homes (53), or unreported houses (125). According to 1950 Census figures, the median number of persons per room on the Pine Ridge Reservation was 2.31 persons—the highest of all the South Dakota Sioux reservations. Since the median number of rooms for occupied dwelling units was only 1.8 rooms, it meant that the median number of persons per occupied dwelling was 4.7 persons—far above the national median occupied dwelling rate of 1.48 persons.¹⁸⁴

During the 1950s, many traditional full-bloods continued to live in "crude log houses and dugouts scattered across the rural districts. A few made due with tipis and tents." Like the homes of a half century ago, most homes on the Pine Ridge Reservation had

no electricity, plumbing or running water. In the yard were hand pumps and an outhouse, and inside,

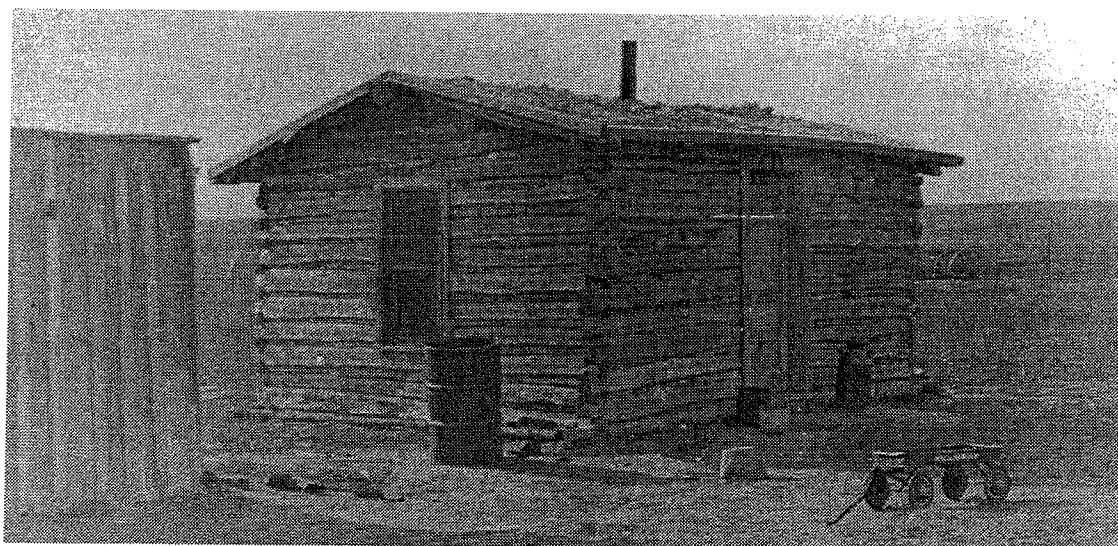


Figure 25: Typical Log House, Pine Ridge Reservation, 1950s, adapted from Ira Barclay Collection, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.

kerosene lanterns and a woodstove provided light and heat. Hunger and poverty overwhelmed many of the Pine Ridge households, and few were the families who did not have relatives in a Rapid City hospital, sick with tuberculosis.¹⁸⁵

These conditions were thinly disguised and evident in 1956, when the South Dakota Indian Commission reported on the continuing overcrowded housing conditions on the Pine Ridge Reservation. In 1956, the Indian Commission placed Pine Ridge Reservation housing into four basic groups that clearly reflected the poverty on the reservation. The Indian Commis-

sion estimated that sixty percent of the reservation's houses were log construction, twenty percent were frame construction, and twenty percent were considered mere make-shift shacks or simply tents (see Figure 25 and photograph 35).¹⁸⁶

In 1958, the Rural Sociology Department of the South Dakota State College at Brookings fleshed out the skeletal statistics provided by the South Dakota Indian Commission Report. The goal of the their community study report on the Pine Ridge Reservation was to describe and evaluate the results of cultural change on the economic and social conditions of the



Photo 35: Log House, Outside of Kyle, Pine Ridge Reservation, 1998.

Pine Ridge Indians. Regarding housing conditions, the report stated the following in regard to small rural communities along the wooded streams on the Pine Ridge Reservation:

The small caulked log cabins and frame shacks are irregularly spaced along the creek. In some places two or more cabins are clustered on the same homestead, while in others a solitary residence may be situated several miles from the nearest neighbor.

The great majority of homes have one or two rooms and are very crudely furnished. Many of the cabins are poorly constructed and may be difficult to heat during the winter months. The roofs are usually made of rough planks covered with tarpaper or sod. The main room is used for all household functions, especially eating, sleeping, and visiting. . . .

The homestead is likely to have a shade, one or more mail-order wall tents, a corral, a root cellar, and an outhouse located in the vicinity of the cabin. . . .

These homesteads are connected by trails consisting of two ruts and a high center. . . . The houses are likely to be located at least 100 yards from this road, and in some cases several miles. . . .

A number of government buildings and homes are usually situated in the villages centered around a well-constructed government day school. One or more churches may be found among the shacks which are randomly located in the general vicinity of the trading post.¹⁸⁷

Clearly, the housing in the Pine Ridge communities in the 1950s was "generally so inadequate that it offered only minimum shelter against the severe South Dakota winters." When surveyed as to how they wished Pine Ridge tribal funds to be spent, it was not surprising that improving housing conditions ranked second to increasing employment opportunities on the reservations.¹⁸⁸

Housing Politics and Housing Conditions, Early 1960s

In 1961, the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council by resolution established the Tribal Planning Commission. This was done because the Pine Ridge Reservation needed "an official plan of action for effectively dealing with the social and economic problems within the reservation." The nine member Oglala Tribal Planning Commission had the power to "to prepare, adopt, and periodically revise a Comprehensive Community Plan for the reservation," and it had "a number of additional powers, including the right to enter into agreements

with any governmental agency, Federal, state, or local, including the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council." At this time Johnson Holy Rock was the President of the Oglala Sioux Tribe.¹⁸⁹

The following year, the Pine Ridge Tribal Council took the first step toward improving housing conditions on the reservation by establishing the Oglala Sioux Housing Authority to undertake public housing projects financed by the federal government. At this time, there were approximately 1,900 housing units on the Pine Ridge Reservation with sixty percent of them considered substandard, but the establishment of the Oglala Tribal Planning Commission indicated a bright future for reservation housing development.¹⁹⁰

Nonetheless, Johnson Holy Rock was not returned to office. In 1964, Enos Poor Bear became the President of the Oglala Sioux Tribe. During the Poor Bear administration, the tribal council did away with the Tribal Planning Commission. This action was the "result of political maneuvering and personality conflicts between those appointed to the commission by Johnson Holy Rock and the newly elected Enos Poor Bear." This action not only affected the direction of comprehensive reservation planning, but also slowed down any housing development on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The Public Housing Administration (PHA), responsible for low-cost reservation housing programs at this time, "required the existence of a planning commission to oversee reservation housing programs and guarantee that low-cost housing projects were certified. Therefore, funds to continue housing development were not available until the low-cost housing programs were re-certified. Meanwhile, housing conditions only worsened, and the BIA was "left with the responsibility of carrying on planning to the extent necessary to meet the requirements of the Public Housing Administration for the re-certification of low-cost housing projects."¹⁹¹

By 1967, there were few modern homes on the reservation, and many traditional Oglala "continued to live on their own land, scattered across great distances, in log houses without electricity, telephones, running water or plumbing." By this date, Guy Jr. Dull Knife, a member of a prominent family on the Pine Ridge Reservation, that he:

had never been in a home with a toilet. The only plumbing he had seen on Pine Ridge was in the schools. At the Yellow Bear Camp, he knew of several families still living in tipis. Tract housing would arrive in a few years and it would all begin to change, but in those years, many full-bloods still had their land, their traditions and ceremonies, and they still had the Sun Dance.¹⁹²

Low-Rent, Mutual Self-Help, and BIA Housing Improvement Program (HIP) Housing, 1967

In 1966, Johnson Holy Rock was returned to office of Tribal President and new attempts were made at reservation planning, although these efforts were always at the mercy of the unstable political system on the Pine Ridge Reservation. By 1967, the Oglala Sioux Housing Authority had constructed and were managing 127 Low-Rent housing units, and a 46 unit home for the elderly, and "the Oglala Sioux Tribe was the first to obtain Housing Assistance Administration financing for such construction on an Indian Reservation."¹⁹³

Plans were also underway for 50 additional Low-Rent housing units, 50 Medium-Rent units, and 50 Mutual Self-Help units. In addition to constructing new homes, the Oglala Sioux tribe took advantage of federally assisted programs to provide grants to Indian families living in substandard or inadequate housing to repair existing homes through the BIA Housing Improvement Program (HIP). Plans were underway to "assist those families whose homes were in need of repair or additions but who could not afford to make such necessary repairs without assistance."¹⁹⁴

By July 1970, the following number of standard housing units (with water, sewer, electricity, etc.) were completed on the Pine Ridge Reservation.¹⁹⁵

Source of Funds	Number of Standard Units
Home Improvement Program (BIA, OEO & Tribe)	51
(Repaired to Standard 48, New- Replacement 3)	
Federal Housing Administration (FHA)	50
Housing and Urban Development (HUD)	200
(Low-Rent 177, Home for Elderly— 46 beds 23)	

In addition, many existing dwellings received repairs under the Housing Improvement Program or HIP, until new housing could be provided. Nonetheless, by the end of fiscal year 1970, only nineteen percent of the Pine Ridge Sioux were in standard housing. The Federal government hoped that with current construction underway, thirty-seven percent of the tribe would be in standard housing by the end of fiscal year 1971. Tribal plans called for all Pine Ridge Sioux to be in standard housing by 1977.¹⁹⁶

Army Ordnance Depot Federal Prefabricated Housing, Igloo, South Dakota, 1967

In addition to Low-Rent, Medium Rent, and

Mutual Self-Help housing constructed in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Pine Ridge Sioux also received housing from another federal source—the United States Army. During World War II, the United States Army established an Ordnance Depot near the northeastern portion of the Pine Ridge Reservation to support the war effort. The Army Ordnance Depot provided employment opportunities for tribal members. The Depot at Igloo, South Dakota remained there after the war, but eventually was turned into an aerial gunnery range. The Ordnance Depot/Aerial Gunnery Range stayed open until 1967 when it closed permanently. With the closing of the Igloo Army facility, an unknown number of the prefabricated frame houses used by government employees at Igloo were brought onto the Pine Ridge Reservation to help alleviate the housing crisis there. Thereafter, they were sold at minimal cost to families in need of housing. This "Igloo" housing helped ease some of the overcrowding condition on the reservation (see Figure 26 and photograph 36).¹⁹⁷ It is not known whether any of these particular structures are still extant.

Problems with Housing on the Pine Ridge Reservation

The Low-Rent, Medium-Rent, Mutual Self-Help housing units, and the "Igloo" housing supplied by the federal government, merely touched the tip of the immediate needs of the Pine Ridge Sioux. In the meantime, these types of housing also had severe problems associated with them. In 1969, one reporter wrote:

In housing, employment and life style, the 10,000 to 12,000 Sioux on the Pine Ridge Reservation are still untouched by the benevolence of Washington. A few families are living in abandoned auto bodies. Some families live in tents, some in abandoned chicken coops. Many families (possibly as many as 50 per cent, conservative observers say) will spend this winter and the rest of their lives in minuscule huts with dirt floors. At least 75 per cent of the dwellings on this reservation have no plumbing. . . .

Nobody knows for sure how many need housing on the Pine Ridge Reservation. . . . [But] the government has made virtually no effort to fill this need. Before 1960 it did nothing at all: since then it has built about 200 houses to rent and to sell. There is some talk that fifty or so houses will be started next May.¹⁹⁸

The reporter went on to describe in depth the problems that one family of ten members on the Pine Ridge Reservation had with the new housing :

In their new home, despite its small size (too small to permit all to eat at one sitting even if they use the

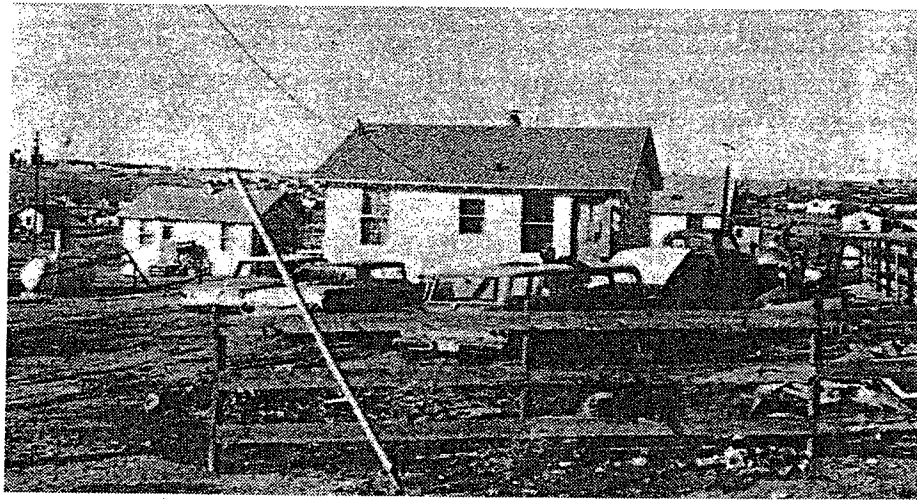


Figure 26: Igloo Housing, Unknown Pine Ridge Reservation Village, circa 1969. Adapted from Eileen Maynard and Gayla Twiss, "That These People May Live: Conditions Among the Oglala Sioux of the Pine Ridge Reservation" (Pine Ridge, South Dakota: U.S. Public Health Service, 1969), 57.

kitchen and living room for it), there is a bathroom. The only trouble is: there is no plumbing. The U.S. Public Health Service has the responsibility for installing the plumbing in reservation homes, and for two years it has claimed that it lacked money to install the pipes.¹⁹⁹

In 1971, the Comptroller General of the United States in the pathbreaking report entitled *Slow Progress in Eliminating Substandard Indian Housing* pointed out many of the problems associated with federally-assisted housing on Indian reservations throughout the country. For the Pine Reservation, the Comptroller General's report found inadequately designed and con-

structed projects on the reservation. In two Low-Rent projects on the reservation, they found basement walls that bowed and were cracked in many of the units.²⁰⁰

These problems were caused by the following "design and construction defects: (1) the house design did not provide for gutters or downspouts, (2) either the house design did not provide for reinforcement of the block foundations with concrete columns or steel rods or this work was not accomplished during construction, (3) the foundations were not backfilled properly, (4) the exterior basement walls were not water-proofed adequately, and (5) the quantities of Portland Cement used in the mortar were not sufficient."²⁰¹



Photo 36: Possible "Igloo" House with Shed Addition, Manderson, South Dakota, 1998.

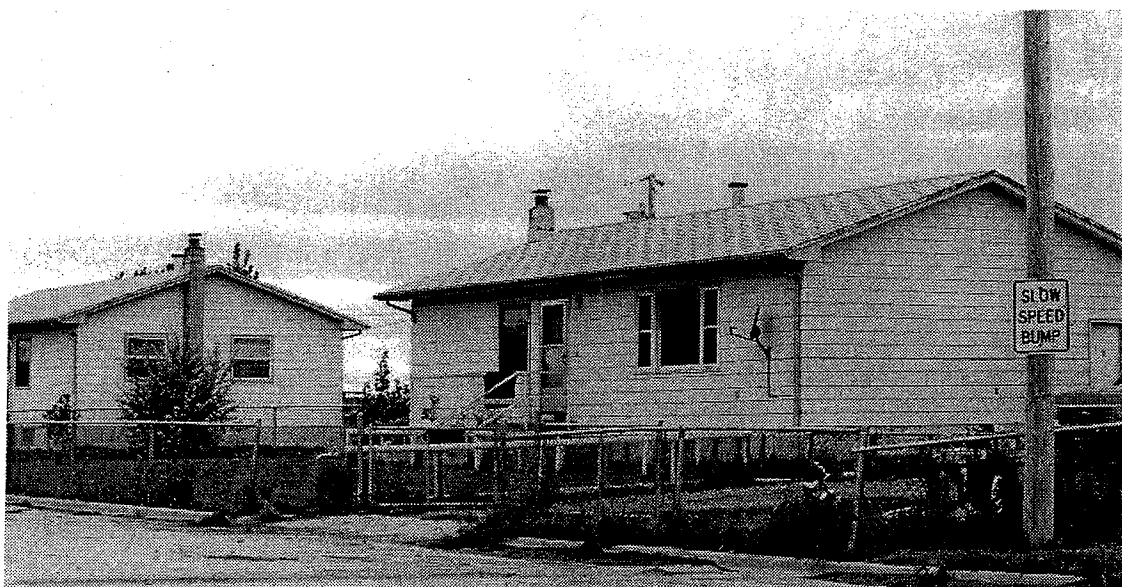


Photo 37: Typical HUD Housing Tract Housing, Kyle, South Dakota, 1998.

In addition, BIA officials at Pine Ridge claimed that "shortcuts and improper construction methods were used on these projects and adequate supervision was not provided by the HUD construction representative." These problems began in 1966 and were not corrected until sometime after 1971. In addition, the Comptroller General's report stated in regard to the Low-Rent housing that the siding on these buildings was loose, corner trims were missing, walls or ceilings were stained due to water leaks, bathroom basins were not secured in place, and that floors were spongy because the floor braces had not been nailed in place on the basement ceilings. Finally, the Comptroller General's report asserted that paved streets were not provided and that many roads were impassable during the winter.²⁰²

Other construction and design problems arose in the 46 bed housing unit for the elderly. The Comptroller General's report declared that the ceiling in the boiler room collapsed under the weight of a fuel tank suspended from the ceiling, and undersized sewer lines caused the sewer to back up into the kitchen drain. This report also stated that cornices on the building were loose and that the roof leaked.²⁰³

Wounded Knee, 1973

Frustrations over abject conditions of reservation poverty and unemployment built up, which ultimately led to the seventy-one day armed occupation of the community of Wounded Knee in early 1973 by American Indian Movement (AIM) activists which



Photo 38: Typical HUD Housing Tract Housing, Kyle, South Dakota, 1998.

resulted in millions of dollars in property damage and in death and injuries.

This incident at Wounded Knee²⁰⁹ drew the nation's attention to the plight of Sioux living on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Shortly thereafter, Congress considered legislation to establish and carry out a demonstration program of public works on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Under this program, a number of social and economic programs were funded including several projects related to reservation housing conditions. These projects included (1) a housing survey project to provide an accurate account of households and their families; (2) the establishment and execution of a program to provide home financing at low interest rates to Pine Ridge Reservation residents; (3) enlargement of the Oglala Sioux HIP program to enable Sioux members to carry out home improvements sufficient to provide decent, safe, and sanitary housing; and (4) a housing planning project to provide for a review evaluation of current and future housing programs, and planning for new housing programs to meet projected future needs of the members of the Oglala Sioux Tribe.²¹⁰

After the incident at Wounded Knee, the Federal government eventually built additional housing on the Pine Ridge Reservation. This housing was designed and built after 1975. Unfortunately, housing records from the Oglala Sioux Housing Authority were destroyed in a fire sometime after 1975, and no architectural floor plans for these types of federally-assisted housing could be found.

In the windshield survey of housing on the Pine Ridge Reservation conducted in September 1998, USWR identified one typical housing tract of this era in Kyle, South Dakota. These HUD housing tracts consisted of low angled gable-end plain rambler ranch style houses with a Chicago window on the front elevation. The houses were roofed with asphalt shingles and each side of the building had at least two windows per facade. Each home also had gutters, downspouts, splashblocks, concrete front and rear door stoops, and concrete block exterior chimneys. These houses were very similar to those constructed on other South Dakota reservations at the time.

Final Assessment

Obviously, reservation poverty did not go away with the improved housing conditions on the Pine Ridge Reservation that occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s. They did provide some relief and provided for some of the immediate needs of the Oglala Sioux Tribe. Admittedly, these federally-assisted housing projects came much later to the Pine Ridge Reser-

vation than similar projects on other South Dakota Indian reservation. But this delay was partially caused by the turbulent politics on the Pine Ridge Reservation and then the political/social disruption caused by the incident at Wounded Knee in 1973.

Notwithstanding, years later, one person harshly assessed these early new housing projects on the Pine Ridge reservation this way:

Beginning in the late 1960s and early '70s, cluster housing had come to Pine Ridge, pulling people off their land and packing them into homes concentrated in small areas. The cluster housing created Indian ghettos throughout the reservation, and almost overnight, it increased the already substantial problems associated with alcohol. Poor sewage, plumbing and roads followed the move from rural life to tract housing, and government statistics eventually determined that the Oglala Sioux were the poorest people in America.²⁰⁴

The type of tract cluster housing built in the early 70s mentioned in the above quotation is most likely represented in photographs 37 and 38 above.

Endnotes

1. Herbert S. Schell, *History of South Dakota* Third Edition, Revised (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 70-71.
2. Michael L. Lawson, *Dammed Indians: The Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux, 1944-1980* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 32.
3. From this point onward, any quotations in a paragraph are attributed to the next footnoted source. Roger Bromert, "The Sioux and the New Deal, 1933-1944" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toledo, 1980), 138-141. The other two colonies were the Grass Mountain Colony on the Rosebud Reservation, and the Red Shirt Table Colony on the Pine Ridge Reservation. They are discussed below.
4. "Rising Hail Colony," National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form. January, 1975.
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6. *Ibid.*, 62-68 and 103-104.
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12. Leo A. Daly Company, *A Comprehensive Plan for the Crow Creek Reservation, South Dakota* (Omaha, Nebraska: Leo A. Daly Company, 1967), 2.

13. Leo A. Daly Company, *A Comprehensive Plan for the Crow Creek Reservation, South Dakota* (Omaha, Nebraska: Leo A. Daly Company, 1967), 2; and Michael L. Lawson, "An Analysis of the Impact of the Pick-Sloan Plan on the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe, etc." in U.S. Congress, Senate, *Crow Creek Sioux Tribe Infrastructure Development Trust Fund Act of 1995*, Senate Hearing 104—500 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1996), 107.
14. Oral Interview with Quinten McGhee, September 23, 1998, South Dakota Indian Housing Project Files, U.S. West Research, Inc., Salt Lake City, Utah.
15. Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Housing Conditions Among Reservation Indians in the United States," 9 May 1955, Manuscript, Department of the Interior Library, Washington, D.C.
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20. By 1969, when the Fort Randall Dam was finally completed, it had flooded 9,154 acres of reservation land. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, 2.
22. *Ibid.*
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24. Michael L. Lawson, *Dammed Indians: The Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux, 1944-1980* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 52-53.
25. Michael L. Lawson, "An Analysis of the Impact of the Pick-Sloan Plan on the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe, etc." in U.S. Congress, Senate, *Crow Creek Sioux Tribe Infrastructure Development Trust Fund Act of 1995*, Senate Hearing 104—500 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1996), 107.
26. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Providing for Certain Benefits of the Missouri River Basin Pick-Sloan Project for the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe, and for Other Purposes*, Senate Report 104—362 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1996), 2.
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28. *Ibid.*, 138.
29. *Ibid.*, 140.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Oral Interview with Quinten McGhee, September 23, 1998, South Dakota Indian Housing Project Files, U.S. West Research, Inc., Salt Lake City, Utah; and U.S.G.S. Map: Quadrangle Big Bend Dam, 1966.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. The Daly planning document also determined that deterioration of housing was fairly wide-spread throughout the reservation and was not simply centered around the Fort Thompson townsite. Leo A. Daly Company, *A Comprehensive Plan for the Crow Creek Reservation, South Dakota* (Omaha, Nebraska: Leo A. Daly Company, 1967), 8.
36. *Ibid.*, 26.
37. Daley Redwood Homes of Sioux City, Iowa was owned by Park Daley and should not be confused with the Leo A. Daly Corporation who conducted the comprehensive plan for the Crow Creek Reservation. Oral Interview with Quinten McGhee, September 23, 1998, South Dakota Indian Housing Project Files, U.S. West Research, Inc., Salt Lake City, Utah.
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40. J. Leonard Jennewein and Jane Bowman, eds., *Dakota Panorama: A History of Dakota Territory* (Freeman, South Dakota, Dakota Territory Centennial Commission, 1961): 20.
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42. Bureau of Indian Affairs, "The Lower Brule Indian Reservation: Its History, Population and Economy," (Billings, Montana: BIA Planning Support Group, 1974): 1-3, Collection H83-49, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.
43. Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Use and Effects of Funds Received by Indians in Connection with Three Large Missouri River Construction Projects," (Billings, Montana: Missouri River Basin Investigations Project, 1961); 4, Collection H83-49, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.
44. Herbert T. Hoover, *Wildlife on the Cheyenne River and Lower Brule Sioux Reservations: A History of Use and Jurisdiction* (Vermillion, South Dakota: University of South Dakota Press, 1992): 84; S.M. Brosius, "Civilization Among the Sioux Indians," (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Office of Indian Rights Association, 1893): 26-29; and Henry S. Pancoast, "Impressions of the Sioux Tribes in 1882 with Some First Principles in the Indian Question," (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Franklin Printing House, 1883): 18.
45. Roger Bromert, "The Sioux and the New Deal, 1933-1944" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toledo, 1980), 90-91.
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47. Roger Bromert, "The Sioux and the New Deal, 1933-1944" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toledo, 1980), 89.
48. Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Use and Effects of Funds Received by Indians in Connection with Three Large Missouri River Construction Projects," (Billings, Montana: Missouri River Basin Investigations Project, 1961); 3-4, Collection H83-49, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.
49. Though well-built, by 1960, only ten of these dwellings still existed. Six were destroyed by fire and one was moved away. In only two of the rehabilitated houses are the water and plumbing fixtures in operating condition, while the rest of the houses were in very poor repair. Roger Bromert, "The Sioux and the New Deal, 1933-1944" (Ph.D.

- dissertation, University of Toledo, 1980), 89 and 133; and Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Use and Effects of Funds Received by Indians in Connection with Three Large Missouri River Construction Projects," (Billings, Montana: Missouri River Basin Investigations Project, 1961), 3-4, Collection H83-49, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota.
50. Herbert T. Hoover, *Wildlife on the Cheyenne River and Lower Brule Sioux Reservations: A History of Use and Jurisdiction* (Vermillion, South Dakota: University of South Dakota Press, 1992): 94-95.
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52. Herbert T. Hoover, *Wildlife on the Cheyenne River and Lower Brule Sioux Reservations: A History of Use and Jurisdiction* (Vermillion, South Dakota: University of South Dakota Press, 1992): 107-108.
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54. Ernest L. Schusky, *The Forgotten Sioux: An Ethnohistory of the Lower Brule Reservation* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1975), 195.
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61. *Ibid.*, 10-12, Collection H83-49, South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, South Dakota; and Michael L. Lawson, *Dammed Indians: The Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux, 1944-1980* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 49-50, and 145-146.
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80. South Dakota Indian Commission, *Indians of South Dakota: Bulletin 67A of the South Dakota Department of Public Instruction* (Pierre, South Dakota: South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, 1956), 45.
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83. Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Report of Socio-Economic Survey of Cheyenne River Reservation, South Dakota, 1949-1950," Missouri River Basin Investigations Report No. 117 Revised (Billings: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1951).
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87. Michael L. Lawson, *Dammed Indians: The Pick-Sloan*

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96. *Ibid.*, 53.
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104. *Ibid.*, 80-82, 87-88, 101-103, and 116-125.
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IDENTIFICATION

3.0 Resource Types

Housing Types

Single residential houses (2, 3, 4 and 5 bedroom units) located in suburban tracts or clusters in rural locations. Elderly centers and apartments in major reservation communities. Rural farm and non-farm houses. These reservation housing resources were constructed through a variety of federal programs that are described below.

3.1 Federal Sources for Indian Housing

Pick-Sloan Housing, 1944-Early 1960s

In 1944, Congress enacted the Flood Control Act (58 Stat. 887) which authorized the construction of a series of six massive earth-filled dams along the Missouri River by the Army Corps of Engineers (COE). The construction of these dams were part of the Pick-Sloan Plan—which included the construction of the Fort Randall, Big Bend, and Oahe dams on the Missouri River. The construction of these dams and reservoirs under the Pick-Sloan Plan deeply affected housing on the Yankton, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Cheyenne River and Standing Rock Reservations. The Fort Randall Dam caused several housing relocations on the Yankton and Lower Brule Reservations, and on the Crow Creek Reservation precipitated the creation of the Fort Thompson townsite. Construction of the Big Bend Dam adversely affected housing on the Crow Creek Reservation and led to the creation of the Lower Brule townsite. The Oahe Dam and the formation of Lake Oahe directly distressed the housing situation on Cheyenne River and Standing Rock Reservations. The Oahe Dam project forced the relocation of the inhabitants of three Cheyenne River communities (Robertson, Four Bears, and Cheyenne River Agency) to the community of Eagle Butte and elsewhere. Lake Oahe also inundated portions of Fort Yates on the Standing Rock Reservation, leading to housing relocations there as well.

Public Housing Administration (PHA) Housing, 1961-1964

Attempts to provide decent housing projects for Native Americans on a national level began in the early 1960s. The Public Housing Administration took the lead in 1961 when it accepted applications for

public housing projects from newly created Indian Housing Authorities (IHAs). Thereafter, the PHA and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) launched its first Mutual-Self project in 1962, a program whereby Indians with incomes below the minimum requirements set by the PHA could contribute their own labor and land as a down payment for their homes. In 1963, a formal agreement was also entered into between the BIA and the PHA for yet another Indian housing program—a Low-Rent Housing Program. Under the Indian Low-Rent Program, housing was constructed by a building contractor selected by the IHA, and was thereafter operated as rental housing by that housing authority. There does not appear to have been many PHA Low Rent housing constructed on the seven reservations examined in the study with the exception of the Rosebud Reservation.

Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Housing, 1965-1975

In 1965, the Department of Housing and Urban Development or HUD was established and replaced PHA as the primary provider of housing on most reservations. The backbone of HUD's program were still the Low-Rent, Mutual Self-Help Homeownership Programs, but later HUD added a new program called the Turnkey Homeownership program. Three years later, in 1968, HUD instituted what they called the Turnkey Homeownership Program, whereby a developer could also construct a house for an IHA. Participants in the Turnkey Program agreed to do the necessary routine maintenance on the unit themselves, and for this contribution, they received credit from the housing authority in an earned home payment account, which when sufficient to cover the remaining debt, enabled them to assume title to the residence and become a home owner.

HUD Low-Rent and Mutual Self-Help housing occurred on all the reservations under this study during the period 1965-1975. On the other hand, prior to 1975, HUD Turnkey housing was constructed mainly on the Lower Brule and Rosebud Reservations. On the Rosebud Reservation, they were known as the "Sioux 400" because that number were built.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Housing Improvement Program (HIP), 1965-1975

In 1965, the BIA developed and implemented the

Housing Improvement Program (HIP) which provided grants for repairs, major rehabilitation, down payments, and some new housing construction. Grants from HIP enabled Indian people to do their own purchasing and/or contracting, or the BIA contracted with the tribe to have the HIP work done. Under the new home purchase provisions of the HIP program, total home construction was funded for use by families and elderly persons who were receiving welfare assistance. Prior to 1975, funding for this program was limited. HIP constructed a few new houses, but only for the elderly. This particular study discovered that during the period 1965-1975, HIP projects occurred on all the reservations under this study.

Farmers Home Administration (FmHA), 1950s-1974

The Farmers' Home Administration (FmHA) operated a number of non-Indian rural housing programs which were authorized by the Housing Act of 1949. Nonetheless, FmHA was not a major influence on reservation housing in South Dakota prior to 1975.

Veterans Administration, 1950s-1974

The Veterans Administration (VA) had done little to increase the number of VA loans to Indians prior to 1975, and even thereafter. The VA was not a major influence on reservation housing in South Dakota prior to 1975.

Office of Economic Opportunity, 1964-1975

Beginning in 1964, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) became involved in Indian housing programs. In that year, and for several years thereafter, OEO initiated a number of Indian Community Action Programs (ICAP), which included housing projects. OEO funded ICAP housing projects on South Dakota reservations began in the late 1960s and continued into the 1970s. For instance, by 1971, the Crow Creek and Lower Brule Sioux ICAPs provided stimulus for the construction of 250 new homes on their reservations. However, the most famous ICAP housing project was the Transitional Housing Program (THP) funded by OEO on the Rosebud Reservation. During 1967-1968, this program offered two-bedroom pre-fabricated homes to the underprivileged on the Rosebud Reservation.

Other Indian Housing Programs

In addition to the above federal housing programs, several reservations acquired housing from a number of different sources. For instance, in 1958, Congress

donated surplus federal buildings from the old Fort Thompson Agency site to the Crow Creek tribe for the use of tribal members in their relocation program caused by the construction of the Fort Randall Dam. Or, for instance, in the late 1960s, the United States Army donated to the Pine Ridge Sioux a number of pre-fabricated houses from a closed Army Ordnance Depot at Igloo, South Dakota.

3.2 Locational Patterns of Resource Types

The largest single factor determining the location of specific federally subsidized housing projects on American Indian tribal lands in South Dakota is each reservation's particular history. This historic context should be reviewed for that information. Other factors that undoubtedly influenced locational patterns of these resource types include the availability of land, water, and services, such as utilities.

3.3 Previous Surveys

No statewide survey, nor any individual surveys, have been conducted to identify the extant federally subsidized housing projects on American Indian tribal lands in South Dakota.

3.4 Survey and Research Needs

Based on this historic context, the windshield survey conducted by U.S. West Research, Inc. (USWR), and the threatened nature of these housing resources, there is a clear need to conduct additional research on the subject and reconnaissance level surveys of reservation housing on individual South Dakota reservations. This historic context has pointed out that the vast majority of the housing constructed on South Dakota reservations in the period 1946 to 1975 was assisted by federal programs and today is a threatened historic resource (see Section 4.0: Evaluation). This situation continues even today.

Responsibility and obligation for conducting additional historical research and surveys most likely falls to any federal agency whose undertaking may affect any historic property eligible for the National Register on a reservation. According to the revised Section 106 process:

If the any agency's undertaking could affect historic properties, the agency determines the scope of appropriate identification efforts and then proceeds to identify historic properties in the area of potential effects. The agency reviews background information, consults with the SHPO [State Historic Preservation Office]/THPO [Tribal Historic

Preservation Officer] and others, seeks information from knowledgeable parties, and conducts additional studies as necessary.¹

The THPO should have a central role in advising and assisting Federal agencies with conducting future reconnaissance surveys and determinations of eligibility for any federally assisted properties built prior to 1975. The THPO is authorized to assume SHPO Section 106 responsibilities on tribal lands. The Indian housing authority (IHA) on each reservation should also have a role in advising and assisting the THPO in any future work. Notwithstanding, the South Dakota SHPO should still have a central role in advising and assisting Federal agencies with this preservation work.

USWR strongly recommends that additional

research and reconnaissance level housing surveys be undertaken on each reservation. These documentation efforts should be undertaken as soon as possible before more of these historic housing resources are altered or destroyed. Research and surveys should focus on identifying, locating, and determining the extent and nature of all federally subsidized housing projects on American Indian tribal lands in South Dakota prior to 1975. They should address the frequency of specific building types and provide a comparative statewide analysis with common themes (e.g. Pick-Sloan housing) and clearly identify distinctive differences.

Endnote

1. Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, "The Revised Section 106 Process: Flow Chart," May 1999.

EVALUATION

4.0 National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Currently, there are no National Register listings for federally subsidized housing on any reservation in South Dakota for the period 1946 to 1975.

4.1 National Register Evaluations

The subject of federally subsidized housing projects on American Indian tribal lands in South Dakota raises challenging National Register evaluation questions. What is the significance of what resources exist today? What should be considered potentially eligible for the National Register? How does the 50-year rule affect potential eligibility? Many of the surviving resources have been significantly altered—what is the appropriate integrity threshold for potential National Register eligibility? Should any of these resources be preserved?

Because only a windshield survey and this historic context has been conducted to date, there are no certain answers to these questions. However, U.S. West Research, Inc. (USWR) believes the following commentary is appropriate.

What is the significance of what resources exist today?

Clearly this historic context dictates the answer to this question. Federally subsidized housing constructed on South Dakota Indian reservations during the period 1946 to 1975 reflect a critical time in the housing history of South Dakota Native Americans, and elsewhere.

At the end of World War II, surveys showed that more than half of the South Dakota's Indians lived in substandard housing that was extremely overcrowded. These deplorable conditions were remedied, but they did not disappear overnight. Starting in the 1950s and ending in the early 1960s, many South Dakota Indians acquired standard housing for the first time. This new housing came *indirectly* and as a byproduct from the painful and deleterious affects of the Pick-Sloan flood control project for the Missouri River Basin. Because of the Pick-Sloan Plan, many Indian communities along the Missouri River were

completely uprooted and relocated to new communities with new housing. In fact, on some reservations, a great percentage of the extant housing dates from this time period. During this time period, many Indian families made the transition from tents, shacks, and log cabins to living in standard wood framed houses with indoor plumbing, electricity, and other amenities.

On the heels of the Pick-Sloan Plan came housing that was *directly* subsidized by federal agencies, such as the Public Housing Administration (PHA), Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). As part and parcel of the Indian self-determination movement, South Dakota tribes passed tribal ordinances establishing Indian Housing Authorities (IHA) which sought to help Indian families obtain safe and decent housing by taking advantage of various federal housing programs, such as Mutual Self-Help and Low-Rent programs. Though many of these federal housing projects were ill-conceived and poorly constructed, they nevertheless significantly improved the deplorable and overcrowded housing conditions that existed for many Indian families after World War II.

What should be considered potentially eligible for the National Register?

Generally speaking, two types of housing should be considered as potentially eligible for the National Register. First, resources associated with federally subsidized housing project on American Indian tribal lands in South Dakota must be evaluated in relation to each reservation's history. For example, Pick-Sloan housing are important to the housing history of least five reservations (Yankton, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Cheyenne River, and Standing Rock). In addition, particular reservation criteria should also be taken under consideration. For instance, Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) funded Indian Community Action Programs (ICAP) housing, such as the Transitional Housing Program (THP) on the Rosebud Reservation, certainly deserves consideration for the National Register.

Second, early examples of particular federal subsidized housing programs, such as PHA/HUD Mutual Self-Help, Low-Rent, and Turnkey housing should be considered as potentially eligible for the National Register.

How does the 50-year rule affect potential eligibility?

The National Park Service's (NPS) guidelines for evaluating and nominating properties that have achieved significance within the last fifty years (NPS Bulletin 22) states that the fifty year criteria was not designed to prohibit the consideration of properties whose contribution to the development of American history can be clearly demonstrated. "The fifty year period is an arbitrary span of time," according to NPS, "designed as a filter to ensure that enough time has passed to evaluate the property in a historic context."¹

In fact, NPS encourages the recognition of those significant resources that by appearance or association with important events provide us with a sense of the past—if they are "exceptional." NPS does not define the category of "exceptional" but leaves that judgment to others. However, NPS does suggest one type of recently significant properties that fit that category—fragile and short-lived resources. According to NPS Bulletin 22, "some resources acquire historical qualities before the passage of 50 years because they either were not built to last that long, or by their nature, are subject to circumstances that destroy their integrity before 50 years have elapsed."²

Federally subsidized Indian housing on American Indian tribal lands in South Dakota gain exceptional significance (Criteria Consideration G) as a result of their relationship to a significant period in the history of reservation housing, and are eligible for the National Register with Criteria Consideration G because they can be directly identified with the broad pattern of reservation life in the post World War II period. The accompanying historic context clearly illustrates that much of the housing in question was built not to last very long, and that living circumstances on many reservations have compromised their integrity before 50 years have elapsed. Federally subsidized housing also takes on more significance, because early primary structures are no longer extant, or are extensively altered from programs such as the BIA Home Improvement Program (HIP).

Many of the surviving resources have been significantly altered—what is the appropriate integrity threshold for potential National Register eligibility?

After careful review of the documentation available, and a limited windshield survey of housing conditions on the seven South Dakota reservations involved,

USWR has concluded that housing built on these reservations in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s is a threatened architectural and historical resource. Though built within the last fifty years, they are largely disappearing because they are currently being replaced by new federally-subsidized housing projects and/or are in a dilapidated state from years of usage and disrepair, and therefore are being demolished.

NPS Bulletin 22 states that "one may evaluate whether a type or category of resources—as a whole—has faced loss at such a rate that relatively young survivors can be viewed as exceptional and historic."³ Each Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO) should take this statement in account when evaluating structures on their reservation. There also maybe other extenuating factors that should be considered, when looking at the integrity of each potentially eligible house for the National Register.

Should any of these resources be preserved?

The question of whether to preserve any of these resources should be determined after further evaluation of the subject matter through additional research and the recommended reconnaissance survey by responsible federal agencies, THPOs, and the South Dakota State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO).

4.2 Context Considerations

According to NPS Bulletin 22, "the first step in evaluating properties of recent significance is to establish and describe the historic context applicable to the resource."⁴ This historic context meets that first step, but it should only be thought of as just a beginning point. Additional research should be conducted to document the subject of federally subsidized housing. Additional information should be gathered by conducting a thorough document search in a number of resources and repositories. They include: (1) archival records generated by federal agencies relating to Native American housing projects in South Dakota, such as PHA, HUD, BIA, OEO, and the Army Corps of Engineers (COE). These documents may be located at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., or at the regional National Archive Record Center at Kansas City; (2) additional historic research in documents generated by IHAs for each reservation; and (3) records from prominent architectural firms and construction companies that worked on South Dakota reservations.

In addition to these resources, the THPO, perhaps with the support and assistance of the SHPO, should undertake a series of oral history projects on each

reservation. Oral histories with individuals and/or families that occupied early federally subsidized housing, and with former tribal IHA officials would give insight into the experience and problems of this type of housing. These oral histories would also be invaluable in understanding the overall impact of federally subsidized housing and standardized housing on the history of each reservation.

Endnotes

1. National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines of Evaluating and Nominating Properties That Have Achieved Significance within the Last Fifty Years* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 3-5.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*

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