Every Morning of the World

by

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EVERY MORNING OF THE WORLD

Ethnographic Resources Study
Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area:
including information on adjacent lands managed by
Custer National Forest and the Bureau of Land Management

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1994

Research administered by the Rocky Mountain Region, USDI, National Park Service contract # 1443-CX-1200-92-027; supplemented by the USDA, National Forest Service, Custer National Forest, and the USDI, Bureau of Land Management, Montana State Office.

Online Edition Note: Out of respect for 43CFR7, Sec. 7.18 Confidentiality of archaeological resource information; the figures containing locations of archeological sites have been eliminated from this online edition.
Abstract

An ethnographic resource is any natural or cultural resource, landscape, or natural feature which is linked by a subject community to the traditional practices, values, beliefs, history, and/or ethnic identity of that community. In this project, we studied the ethnographic resources of two subject communities - the Crow Indian Tribe and EuroAmerican ranchers - on lands in southcentral Montana and northcentral Wyoming which are managed by the National Park Service, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area, the Bureau of Land Management, and Custer National Forest. Forty-one ethnographic resources were identified as important to the Crow Tribe, while none were discovered for the ranching community. The categories of Crow Tribal ethnographic resources are mountains, journey sites, meat procurement sites, plant procurement sites, occupation sites, deadfall timber sites, siege and battle sites, rock art sites, sites associated with malevolent and benevolent beings, little people sites, vision quest sites, and cradle to grave sites. The identified resources are described with commentary on the possible ways they might be managed.

Acknowledgements

Foremost we would like to thank the Crow Indian people for their assistance with this project, because we were offered kindness and cooperation at every request. John Pretty on Top, Joseph Medicine Crow, and Lloyd Old Coyote were especially helpful to us as consultants, and in helping us find other consultants. We are indebted to Janine Pease Windy Boy, President of Little Bighorn College, for her support, and to Tim Bernardis, the archivist at the college, who has assembled an unparalleled library of published and unpublished materials on the Crow Indians. Timothy McCleary offered us valuable assistance with Crow word spellings and the correct orthography.

We also acknowledge the assistance of the National Park Service. David Ruppert is an able administrator who is engaged in a pioneering effort to introduce the concept of ethnographic resources to the National Park Service. Superintendent Bill Binneweis, Paul Gordon, and Theo Hugs at Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area, Halcion La Point at Custer National Forest, and Gary Smith at the Bureau of Land Management were all important to the success of this project.

We thank the EuroAmericans interviewed in the project - Lloyd Tillett, Bert Schwend, Ed Hammond, and Beverly St. John. They have important knowledge of the local history.

Stuart Conner is a strong supporter and a good friend. The wealth of information he has assembled on the Crow Indians is truly amazing; without it, this research would not be nearly as complete as it is. Nancy Krekeler did an excellent job of assembling references to ethnographic resources in the popular literature on the Crow Indians. Joan Brownell was an able associate, completing the EuroAmerican ranchers interviews, while Irina Hines did background research and writing regarding the ranching industry in Wyoming and Montana. Helene Smith volunteered her time for a portion of the fieldwork. Sylvia Walters and Dianna Clise edited and worked on the manuscript.

We could not have completed this work without the support and advice of the individuals named above. In the end, however, we recognize that we are responsible for errors and omissions. We hope they are few.
# Table of Contents

Abstract................................................................. ii  
Acknowledgements.................................................... iii  
List of Figures......................................................... vi  
Foreword............................................................... viii  

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION........................................... 1  
  Supporting Legislation........................................... 7  
  The Study Area................................................... 9  
  Theoretical Background......................................... 14  

CHAPTER 2: THE CROW TRIBE......................................... 31  
  The Archaeological Background.............................. 31  
  The Historical Background.................................. 37  
  The Ethnographic Record...................................... 43  

CHAPTER 3: ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES OF THE CROW INDIANS 49  
  The Integrated Crow Landscape -- Ecological and  
  Cultural............................................................. 50  
  Emotional Associations -- Between Sacrament and  
  Sentiment.......................................................... 53  
  Historical Associations....................................... 54  
  Categories of Crow Ethnographic Resources................. 56  
    A) Mountains in Crow Culture-History.................. 56  
    B) Journey Sites............................................. 58  
    C) Meat Procurement Sites................................ 63  
    D) Plant Procurement Sites................................ 66  
    E) Occupation Sites........................................ 69  
    F) Deadfall Timber Houses................................. 72  
    G) Siege and Battle Sites.................................... 79  
    H) Rock Art Sites............................................ 81  
    I) Malevolent and Benevolent Beings.................... 90  
    J) Little People Sites....................................... 93  
    K) Vision Quest Sites...................................... 96  
      Anonymous Vision Sites.................................. 98  
      Named Vision Sites..................................... 102  
      Ceremonial Vision Sites................................. 102  
    L) Cradle to Grave Sites................................... 105
## List of Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Map showing the location of the Study Area.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Bighorn Canyon with the Pryor Mountains in the background.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>View across the tops of the Pryor Mountains</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>John Pretty on Top (BICA Consultant # 17)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Lloyd Old Coyote (BICA Consultant # 1) assists with interview of his grandmother, Mae Childs (BICA Consultant # 7)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>Mae Childs, 102-year-old consultant for the project.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>Alma Snells, (BICA Consultant # 9) has excellent knowledge regarding plants and their uses</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Mae Childs (Old Coyote) and friend on horseback.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>A rock cairn along the Bad Pass Trail.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Photograph of Buffalo Jump Diorama.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Real Bird tipi group at Crow Fair.</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Lloyd Old Coyote examines a tipi ring.</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Crib Timber structure at Timber Town.</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>Looking into Crib Structure # 1 at Timber Town.</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>Crib Timber Structure # 4 at Timber Town.</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>Crib Timber Structure # 2 at Timber Town.</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>BLM Timber Hut.</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>Looking out through the timber wall at Skybird Castle.</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>Floor plan of Skybird Castle showing standing and collapsed timber in the wall</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.13 Map of site 24BH266......................... 80
3.14 Joseph Medicine Crow (BICA Consultant # 3) at site 24BH266.......................... 80
3.15 Larry Loendorf examines two rock structures at 24BH266............................... 82
3.16 Edgar Pretty on Top is near a structure on one side of the battle site.............. 82
3.17 Ghost-like figures at the Tyrrell site........ 84
3.18 Pecked human figure and thunderbird figure at Petroglyph Canyon..................... 84
3.19 Frozen Leg Cave.................................. 89
3.20 One panel of pictographs in Frozen Leg Cave........................................... 89
3.21 Grant Bulltail (BICA Consultant # 2)..... 99
3.22 Joseph Medicine Crow and Larry Loendorf examine a fasting bed at Hole in the Rock... 100
3.23 Joseph Medicine Crow and Edgar Pretty on Top near a sweat lodge frame at Hole in the Rock. 100
3.24 Map of Wind Spirit Vision Quest site......... 101
3.25 Fasting bed at the Wind Spirit Vison Quest site.......................................... 101
3.26 Vision quest area near Pretty Eagle site.... 103
3.27 Pretty Eagle fasting bed......................... 103
3.28 Henry Bull Chief at Fort Smith burial ridge.............................................. 106
4.1 Map of Ethnographic Resources............... 110
4.2 Methods by which Ethnographic Resources were Identified............................... 112
6.1 A Group of Land Managers from the National Park Service, Bureau of Land Management, Custer National Forest, and the Crow Indian Tribe examine a site on a field trip in 1972................................. 153

viii
FOREWORD

The Crow Indians formally call themselves Apsaalooke, which translates as "Offspring of the Large Beaked Bird". This term was erroneously translated as "Crow" by early Europeans. In order to maintain consistency with extent material on the tribe, however, we shall use the term Crow.

Wherever possible, Crow words are spelled using the Crow alphabet as developed by the Bilingual Materials Development Center, and as utilized by Mary Helen Medicine Horse in A Dictionary of Everyday Crow (1987). We were fortunate to have the assistance of Timothy McCleary with Crow spelling and orthography.

Because there are so many varied ethnographic resources in the study area, this project has been difficult to bring to conclusion. We hope the following description of these significant resources will stimulate the readers in the same way they have inspired us. More important, though, is the potential for establishing an ongoing dialogue regarding ethnographic resources between the Crow Indian Tribe and federal land managing agencies. We hope this research serves that end.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the National Park Service and other federal agencies have started to identify the ethnographic resources on the lands under their management. These projects have been undertaken in response to federal laws that allow "ethnographic communities" an opportunity to gain access to federal lands for traditional uses. As defined by the National Park Service, an ethnographic resource is "any natural or cultural resource, landscape, or natural feature which is linked by a subject community to the traditional practices, values, beliefs, history and/or ethnic identity of that community." In the present project, the subject communities were members of the Crow Indian Tribe and the local EuroAmerican ranchers.

Miki Crespi, National Park Service, Washington Office has been the impetus for the ethnographic resources program in the National Park Service. The study for the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area (BICA) was defined by David Ruppert of the National Park Service. Ruppert prepared the initial draft of the request for proposals, advertised for potential bidders, and then put together a team of National Park Service personnel supplemented by John Pretty on Top, the Crow Tribal Culture Committee Chairman, to review the proposals. The contract was awarded to Loendorf and Associates in August, 1992. In the initial project meeting at BICA in Fort Smith, Montana, the Crow Tribe expressed an interest in expanding the project to include nearby federal lands. After review of the proposal, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and the National Forest Service (USFS) contributed funds to the study to include lands managed by Custer National Forest and the Billings District of the BLM in the Pryor Mountains and surrounding lowlands in Montana (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1. Map of the project area.
There are many problems associated with determining the cultural affiliation of archaeological sites, and archaeologists have been reluctant to assign sites to a particular tribe or linguistic group. Writing about Montana, Malouf (1967:1) notes that "one of the most difficult problems in regional archaeology is to associate specific sites with historic Indian tribes". The reasons it is so hard to identify the tribal affiliation of archaeological sites on the northern Plains include: (1) the degree to which tribes entered each others' territory for raiding and other war related activities; (2) the practice of friendly tribes to combine for protection, ceremonies, games, and trading activities; (3) the absence of well-defined boundaries between tribes; and (4) the movements of individuals between tribes, such as the women captured in war (Malouf 1967:1). These complications are compounded by the absence of permanent village sites in Montana and the general lack of ceramics -- an artifact class usually thought to be more sensitive to cultural identification.

The problems in defining cultural associations between sites and tribes are difficult even when there are villages and ceramics. In the American Southwest, for example, ceramics are the most common artifacts used to define cultural association. This is done despite the fact that ceramics may not be very reliable indicators of cultural affiliation. Citing studies by Dozier (1970) and Brugge (1963), Cordell (1979:147) reminds us that "virtually all ethnographic studies indicate there is no relationship between language spoken and ceramics manufactured".

The problems in identifying Crow pottery in northwestern plains archaeological sites were outlined in a study by Ann Johnson (1979); nonetheless, archaeologists continue to present ideas about cultural affiliation of the sites they investigate. They do so because, by the nature of their discipline, they are encouraged to speculate and theorize about the past.

In the archaeological research completed in the BICA+ region, archaeologists were helped with cultural identification of sites by three primary factors: (1) the interviews of Crow Indians by Stuart Conner, completed in the 1960s, were available and used in finding former Crow Indian sites; (2) during the time much of the archaeological work was underway, Henry Old Coyote was working for BICA as the liaison for the Crow tribe. Henry, who also served on the Crow Culture Committee, had a special interest in archaeology and he shared much of his knowledge with the archaeologists; and (3) Joe Medicine Crow, a tribal historian for the Crow tribe, shared his knowledge with archaeologists and sought information about sites from elders when he did not have first
hand information. Nonetheless the archaeological work completed in the BICA+ region was directed toward finding sites and any information regarding the cultural affiliation of a site was incidental to the goals of the research.

Sites were usually recorded without supporting ethnographic information. If archaeologists found a pile of rocks stacked up by humans, for example, they could recognize it as a product of a past cultural event and identify it as a site. However, they could not realize the rock pile was left by Crow warriors to mark the location of a fallen comrade. This latter information, the ethnographic association between a site and the subject community, was the goal of the present project.

For the current research effort, we employed several methods to acquire this information. In order to have a baseline checklist for initial interviews with local consultants, knowledgeable members of both the Crow tribe and the EuroAmerican community, we researched the extensive archaeological and historical literature about the region to prepare an inventory of known or suspected ethnographic resources within or associated with the target area. This list was circulated to land managers, members of the Crow tribe, and personnel from Loendorf and Associates requesting additions or deletions. Then, the published literature was searched for additional references. This phase of the project, completed by Larry Loendorf and Nancy Krekeler between January and July, 1993, uncovered the following additional sources: Yellowtail 1991; Linderman [1930]1962; Lowie 1956; Marquis [1928]1974; Mooney 1898; Nabokov 1967; Shimkin 1947a; Voget 1984.

We originally believed the Wind River Shoshone, and possibly the Kiowa, would have ethnographic relevance; however, it became apparent during our review of the literature that the ethnographic presence in the study area belonged almost exclusively to the Crow Indians together with the recent association of EuroAmerican ranchers. For the Wind River Shoshone, this conclusion was based on a discussion with a cultural consultant for the Wind River Shoshone and a conversation with Demitri Shimkin regarding his knowledge of the ethnogeography of the Wind River Shoshone (Shimkin 1947a). The decision not to include the Kiowa was based on the literature review.

Concurrent with this phase of the project, Stuart Conner completed an index for a series of interviews with various Crow Indians which he completed in the 1960s. There are few primary sources for this time frame, and significant portions of Conner's interviews were directed towards obtaining information concerning archaeological or historical sites.
They provided precisely the sort of ethnographic context we were hoping to obtain in this project. Although most of the interviews had been transcribed, they were difficult to use because they lacked an index, the transcription had not been checked for errors, and subsequent copying of the transcriptions was irregular. The combined interviews with a completed index, titled Crow Conversations with Conner, were available for use in a series of interviews with Crow consultants that started June 15, 1993, continued through July and were completed on August 15, 1993. Peter Nabokov conducted the 1993 phase of the Crow interviews, while Joan Brownell completed the EuroAmerican rancher interviews.

From the outset, Crow Tribal Culture Director John Pretty on Top was supportive of the project. He recommended we include Dan Old Elk to give us a good beginning. The assistance of Little Bighorn College President Janine Pease Windy Boy and librarian/archivist Tim Bernardis was extremely important. Superintendent Bill Binnewies, Paul Gordon, and Theo Hugs at Bighorn National Recreation Area, Halcion La Pointe of Custer National Forest, and Gary Smith of the Bureau of Land Management were also helpful during all phases of the research. Lloyd (Mickey) Old Coyote and Joe Medicine Crow were essential to the research team. They provided direct information about ethnographic resources and helped identify other Crow consultants.

In the interview portion of the research, we were able to visit with 17 Crow Indians and 4 EuroAmerican ranchers. The selection of the Crow consultants was based upon whether they were on the tribal list as specific advisees related to particular subjects, and the time-depth of their knowledge and experience in the study area. (Nearly all were widely-respected elders known throughout their respective communities.) Attention was paid to reservation-community diversity; that is, to obtaining interviews from Crow communities throughout the reservation, from Pryor, Hardin, Crow Agency, St. Xavier, Lodge Grass and Wyola. We were also concerned about adequate gender representation, hence nearly a third of our interviewees were elderly, knowledgeable Crow women, despite the fact that many of the "activity areas" under our inspection were traditionally tied to practices within the male domain of cultural life: vision-questing, buffalo-hunting and activities stemming from the military side of Crow life. More than most recent ethnographic profiles of the Crow, however, this project’s interviews delved into spatial associations of the female domain, particularly the natural food quests. The EuroAmerican ranchers were selected to represent the active ranching community, and former ranching or farming communities in the study area.
Interviews varied in length. Discussions with some Crow consultants were completed in a series of interviews over several days, while others were about a half-hour in length. The tape-recorded interviews with the Crow consultants total more than 30 hours. Rancher interviews ranged from one half-hour to one hour in length and they total about 3 hours.

The Crow Indian consultants offered considerable new information about ethnographic resources in the study area. Locations which were identified by more than one consultant are undoubtedly the most significant to the Crow. However, new information was collected in nearly all the interviews. It is worth mentioning that the interview process did not reach a point of redundancy; right up to our last interviews our consultants kept yielding fresh placenames, new activity areas, and hitherto unrecorded historical anecdotes which were directly related to the BICA project's target area. This leads us strongly to suspect that more ethnographic work is urgently needed if the full scope of Crow ethnographic resources is to be explored during the life span of such extremely knowledgeable but elderly tribal consultants.

The inadequate collection of specific site-location information was a shortcoming of the project. It was possible to learn the locations of many sites by showing the consultants a map or by asking the person for more complete locational information, but some sites are not precisely located because they were not visited during the project. For instance, a consultant may have identified a site on the Dryhead Rim of the East Pryor Mountain, but this area is large. Without being led by each and every consultant to specific springs, trails, food-gathering areas or vision-quest sites mentioned in their interviews, locations were necessarily general.

Other sites are insufficiently located because they were described by reference to geographical places known to the consultant, such as "near that white butte", or "at the place where those good springs are found." More precise information was not always possible to obtain within the time constraints of this one-season project. In many of these instances, the information is still ascertainable, but this will require follow-up research, careful identification with detailed topographic maps, and field trips to visit the sites. On the other hand, some Crow consultants were reluctant to pinpoint the locations of a site because it had a personal significance for them, or was the location of a vision quest structure. In these cases, we were only told the general location, such as "on the east rim of the Bighorn Canyon".

While some sites were generally located, several dozen were visited in the field, giving us precise locational
information. Many were already known as cultural resources through their discovery in earlier projects, but their ethnographic significance was not part of the site records and was seldom taken into consideration by land managing agencies when making their planning decisions regarding the adjacent environment.

The EuroAmerican ranching consultants offered some worthwhile commentary, but because their cultural heritage differs so greatly from the Crow Indians, responses to questions regarding ethnographic resources are difficult to evaluate. One obvious point is the impact of the Crow Indian toponyms on the ranching community. The Crow Indians lived in the vicinity of Bighorn Canyon for 500 years and many place names are derived from Crow culture. Dryhead Creek and the Dryhead region, for example, are named for a pile of skulls that were left after the Crow successfully trapped a herd of buffalo near the junction of Hoodoo Creek and Dryhead Creek. This name was adopted by one of the larger ranches in the region, a ranch that has recently operated as a dude ranch.

These associations between Crow Indian place names and the ranching community are obvious, but others are more obscure. Hoodoo Creek, for example, is named because of the bad luck associated with a pictograph site. Joe Medicine Crow told us about one incident which occurred when Yellowtail Dam was under construction, when he and employees of the Bureau of Reclamation visited the site. According to Joe, after the visit, they broke the drive shaft on their vehicle and had to walk to the cow camp at Pitchfork Creek for help. Local ranchers also tell of strange happenings when they visit Hoodoo Creek, such as their horses being mysteriously untied or shying away from the area. Such tales induce others to remember incidents of bad luck they experienced near this creek, producing an emotional commonality in the "spirit of place" between the two cultural groups.

Knowing in advance that ethnographic communities have an association with a resource makes it considerably easier to plan any actions that might adversely affect the resource. In the appropriate sections of this report, we present preliminary solutions to potential conflict situations on the federal lands in the study area.

Supporting Legislation

The primary goal of this research is to produce a document which offers managers a better understanding of the ethnographic resources on lands under their control or on adjacent lands affected by their decisions. In situations where the use of a particular resource is not delineated, land
managers need to develop an understanding of the resources and their obligations related to them. There are several laws regarding the responsibilities of federal land managing agencies and their role in ethnographic resource identification and protection.

The authority of Indians to practice their traditional practices and beliefs is defined in the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA), PL 95-341. The law underscores the rights of Indian "access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites." Whenever management activities might threaten to limit current religious practices, restrict access to important ethnographic resources, alter sacred sites, or affect Indian burials, AIRFA stipulates the need for consultation with Indian tribes.

Religious and cultural sites which are at least 50 years old fall under the custody of the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) of 1979, PL 96-95, Section 4c. This states that before a permit is issued which might do "harm to, or destruction of, any religious or cultural site, ... the federal land manager shall notify any Indian tribe which may consider the site as having religious or cultural importance." This act was recently reinforced in the case of Indiana resident Arthur Gerber, who pled guilty to misdemeanor violations of ARPA. Gerber appealed on the grounds that ARPA did not apply to his offense; however, the 7th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals held that ARPA is not limited to objects removed from Federal and Indian lands, but is a catch-all provision designed to back up state and local laws protecting archaeological resources.

The National Historic Preservation Act protects sites that are significant to local, state, or national prehistory, and includes clauses that protect history, culture, architecture and technology. The Historic Preservation Act requires federal land managers to identify and evaluate traditional cultural properties that could be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places before undertaking any action that might harm such sites. Standards and guidelines on archaeology and historic preservation were published by the Department of the Interior, National Park Service (Federal Register 1983:Vol. 48, No. 190). Section 106 of the Act states that before federal land managers expend "any Federal funds on [an] undertaking or prior to the issuance of any license, as the case may be, take into account the effect of the undertaking on any district, site, building, structure, or object that is included in the National Register". Federal land managers need to inform the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation of any proposed actions that may affect eligible
properties. The most commonly employed action is the protection of all National Register eligible sites.

American Indian cultural properties are also eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Several different approaches are used to define the eligibility of sites under its criteria -- using criterion (a), a site can be eligible for an important event; under criterion (b), a site can be significant because it was used by an important person, and under criterion (c), a site may be representative of a type. A location or site has cultural value if its significance to American Indian beliefs or customs "has been ethnohistorically documented and if the site can be clearly defined" (Parker and King 1990:15-27). Therefore, locations or natural features significant in the mythology, cosmology, and history of a Native American group are potentially eligible to the National Register. This includes sites "where Native American religious practitioners have historically gone, and are known or thought to go today, to perform ceremonial activities in accordance with traditional cultural rules of practice" (Parker and King 1990:1). Traditional cultural significance is meant to imply any location "where a community has traditionally carried out economic, artistic, or other cultural practices important in maintaining its historic identity" (Parker and King 1990:1).

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA), PL 101-106, controls the correct handling of unmarked Indian graves and human skeletal remains and establishes a means for tribes to ask for the return of skeletal materials, grave goods, sacred objects and articles of cultural patrimony from federally funded curation facilities.

The foregoing overview makes it abundantly clear that federal land managing agencies need to develop assessment and evaluation programs for the properties under their responsibility.

The Study Area

The BICA+ study area is centered on the Pryor Mountains in southcentral Montana and northcentral Wyoming (Figures 1.2 and 1.3). Regions of the study area managed by Custer National Forest are confined to the Pryor Mountains in Montana, while Bureau of Land Management lands include parcels around the flanks of the Pryor Mountains, and in the area between the Pryor Mountains and Beartooth Mountains to the west. Bighorn Canyon Recreation Area lands are mostly confined to the reservoir in the northern part of the park, while the Wyoming portion is somewhat expanded away from the river course.
Figure 1.2. Looking into the Big Horn Canyon with Pryor Mountains in the background.

Figure 1.3. Looking across the top of the Pryor Mountains. Note the open meadows.
The study area is very near the center of traditional Crow Indian territory. In the interviews, it was not always possible to exclude Crow Indian Reservation lands in Montana between the reservoir and the Pryor Mountains. These reservation lands abut Custer National Forest or Bureau of Land Management lands on the west and National Park Service lands on the east.

The Pryor Mountains are a dissected group of four main blocks (Big Pryor, East Pryor, West Pryor, and Shively Dome) with a maximum elevation approaching 9000 feet (2769 meters). They were created by uplift and faulting. The Pryor Mountains exemplify what some geologists refer to as "trap door" faulting. As the uplift takes place, one side collapses and creates a precipitous scarp with the more gentle contours of the uplift found on the opposing side. The eastern portion of the Pryor Mountains is the precipitous portion where the difference in elevation between the mountain rim and the lowlands can exceed 2000 feet. They are currently drained by the Shoshone, Bighorn, Clark Fork, and Yellowstone Rivers and their tributaries. The gentle sloping faces, along the north, south, and west sides, are eroded primarily through drainage into a series of narrow box canyons that cut parallel to each other. Some of these contain permanent streams such as Crooked Creek, while others are dry. The cavernous nature of the limestone formations underlying much of the region allows percolating, subsurface water to appear and disappear in places.

The ancient landscape, before the uplift of regional mountain ranges, included a somewhat different drainage system. The Shoshone River formerly flowed through Pryor Gap. The primary formation of Bighorn Canyon took place while the uplift which created the Bighorn Mountains was underway. The river was entrenched, and having no other course to take, retained its level, down-cutting path as the surrounding lands were raised.

Along all sides of the Pryor Mountains except the eastern scarp, there is a mantle of soil which supports vegetation in most places. The tops of the Pryors have open parks with excellent forage for deer, elk and bison. The Pryor Mountains have been divided into five life zones, recognized mainly on the basis of vegetation. In descending order, the zones are the sub-alpine mountain tops, the conifer slopes, the juniper breaks, the grasslands, and the drylands. It should be noted that these zones are recognized in the Pryor Mountains only, and cannot be assumed to apply in surrounding areas. In some instances, the Pryor Mountain zones can be compared to the overall life zones in Wyoming which were identified by Cary in 1917. For the most part, though, zones identified by Cary are larger in areal extent and more
inclusive than the Pryor Mountain zones. Descriptive outlines of the zones follow:

The sub-alpine area is limited to the tops of East Pryor Mountain and Big Pryor Mountain where large open meadows, some 1 kilometer to 2 kilometers across, dominate the landscape. Elevation is from ca. 8,000' to 8,786'. Small stands of timber are interspersed in the meadows with rocky outcrops of limestone that form small buttes.

Engleman spruce and Alpine fir growing together in small, dense stands are separated by small fescue-sedge meadows. Dominant understory in small stands of timber includes sedge, heartleaf arnica, yarrow, gooseberry, Idaho fescue, needleleaf sedge, other sedges, and sagebrush. The major forbs are yarrow, prairie smoke, phlox, field chickweed, western bistort, pole agoserries, Washington lupine, with mountain death camas & phlox.

Red fox, coyote, and bobcat enter the zone to hunt the rodent population. Black bear and mule deer, wild horse and white-tailed deer (which are scarce) also enter for vegetation. Bison and probably grizzly bears used it in the past. Smaller mammals include the Northern pocket gopher, yellow-bellied marmot, Western jumping mouse, red squirrel, raccoon, bushy-tailed wood rat, porcupine, striped skunk, and mountain cottontail.

Birds are especially abundant and varied in the summer. Among the more common birds are white crowned sparrows, juncas, warblers, and kinglets, all of which breed in the zone in summer. Blue grouse are found at the edge of the zone in early morning and early evening. Marsh hawks, Clark's nutcrackers, common nighthawks, black-billed magpies, horned larks, red-tailed hawks and golden eagles also use the zone for food foraging, or as a hunting ground.

The conifer slopes are found around the mountains, but they have their greatest areal extent on the less abrupt sides. They are dominated by a parallel series of steep-sided canyons, 4 or 5 of which contain permanent streams. Canyon lengths vary from 1 - 10 miles; depths vary from 50' - 2,000', with an average depth of 100'.

The dominant tree species are Douglas fir, in dense, pure stands. Lodgepole pine, common juniper, sagebrush, forbs and grasses are also found. Aspen and birch are found at lower elevations along streams and springs.
In general, the animals found in the sub-alpine meadows are also found in the conifer slopes, except that the mountain sides have an increased number of deer and Bighorn sheep.

The juniper breaks are found around most of the Pryors, with their greatest areal extent in the lower reaches of the sloping sides rather than on the abrupt flanks. They are in the broken topography at the mouths of the canyons. This zone is underlain by strata of sandstone and limestone, both of which are highly erosional. The zone is between 5,000' - 6,000' contour. This zone, forming a protective belt around the mountains, was extensively used by prehistoric hunters and gatherers.

Three species of juniper are represented: Utah Juniper, Rocky Mountain Juniper, and Creeping Juniper. Good stands of mountain mahogany are often found with Utah Juniper, while lesser numbers of Limber pine are found interspersed throughout the zone.

The animals include the same species identified with increasing numbers of small mammals. The juniper breaks are the winter habitat for many non-hibernating animals: bat, jackrabbit, cottontail, chipmunk, rat, gray wolf, coyote, fox, horse, bison, bighorn sheep, deer, and large cervids.

The grasslands consist of rolling upland prairies that encompass the Pryors on all sides except the south. Elevation is variable but tends to center at 5,000'. An important feature in this zone are prairie streams.

Grasses are dominant in the zone with the most important being bluebunch wheatgrass, blue grama, and needle-and-thread. Forbs are next, with the most noticeable species being Indian paintbrush, penstemons and various representatives of the composite family. The dominant shrub is big sagebrush in some areas and mountain mahogany in others. Flora found along the stream banks are chokecherry, buffalo berry, service berry, wild plum and several species of currants.

The grasslands were formerly dominated by bison and probably elk. They have extensive mule deer use today, especially along the stream courses. Most of the small mammals of the juniper breaks zone also find their way into the grasslands.

The drylands are the smallest in areal extent; they are confined to the lowland basin area along the southern and southwestern end of the Pryors. Elevation varies 4,000' - 5,000', with very rocky surface soil. A few canyons on the fringes of the zone contain pockets of standing water.
Vegetation is "Sparse xerophytic", with saltbrush predominant on heavier soils and sagebrush in gravelly, sandy areas. Also found are green rabbitbrush, curlleaf, Mountain Mahogany, shadscale saltbrush, Fendler three-awn, and those desert saltgrass, cactus, mosses & lichens which can remain dormant in dry periods.

The drylands contain several species of lizards and snakes. In moist years, however, some limited grazing may take place. Both animals and plants are dramatically different with the addition of water. Any canyon that contains good pools of standing water is a haven for wood rats and cottontails, and these rodents attract bobcats, ravens, owls and other predators.

Diverse settings like the BICA+ study area are recognized, worldwide, as good regions for groups who practice hunting and gathering economies. The abundant archaeological remains in this region confirm its importance as a hunting and gathering location for the past 11,000 years.

Theoretical Background

Matters of Definition

Because the identification of "ethnographic resources" on public lands is a relatively new concept, there is need for use of precise, defining language. An updated discussion of the work which has been done over the last decade by cultural anthropologists, cultural geographers, historians of religion and Indian writers on American Indian cultural landscapes in general is also in order. Finally, certain general concepts related to the Crow Indian cultural landscape in particular need to be outlined. This section addresses those needs.

In the broadest sense, "cultural resources" usually denotes locations where human beings played a role in the creation of the site, including archaeological and historical sites. (Although paleontological sites are protected by some of the same laws as cultural resources, the vast majority of these sites are the remains of extinct species which predate human evolution by millions of years.)

A fundamental contrast in the past between ethnographic and cultural resources lies in the way in which the resources have been discovered and studied. Cultural resources are found by archaeologists and historians through archaeological survey and historical research. Ethnographic resources, on the other hand, are identified and contextualized by members of the ethnic communities who have a traditional association with the lands in the study. The fact that ethnographic
resources may have been previously recorded as cultural resources is not relevant to an ethnographic assessment study. Instead, the important fact is the association between the ethnic community and the resource.

Therefore, the recent introduction of the concept of "ethnographic resources" has constituted a laudable and fundamental change in government policy, a "paradigm shift" in environmental interpretation and prioritization in the public sector, which has evolved over the past decade. Applying the concept and eliciting data within its purview presents public land professionals with new challenges, and requires them to revise the way they approach what has heretofore fallen under the category of "cultural features".

By the older term of "cultural features", certain connotations and associations were taken for granted when surveys and assessments were made of a cultural landscape. First, the "features" highlighted in the old paradigm were generally human-manufactured or culturally-connected remains whose traces could be detected on the ground. Second, they were generally remains which had been produced in the past, often the distant past. Third, their discovery and study was largely the province of archaeology, working in tandem with geologists, botanists, zoologists, and paleontologists. Fourth, a characteristic of the "cultural feature" surface survey and collection was that its project report was a document which described those remains from only one culture's scientific perspective. Fifth, this dominant "culture of observation" also claimed the right to archive and control any materials or documentation collected in the process.

As a consequence, any roles played by living, often descendant, representatives of the cultures under investigation were generally instrumental, and of secondary importance. Put plainly, in the Native American context, native spokespeople and their interests were largely absent from the equation. Except when playing an old-fashioned, almost stereotypical, role of "Indian guide" to visible resources on the ground, or when providing contextual information about those resources, their knowledge of their own society's persistent attitudes, folklore, and ritual practices concerning the sites, and their emotional feelings of attachment to them -- aside from considerations of title history and legal ownership -- were often considered of secondary significance or ignored altogether. In the completed project report, their contributions were often anecdotal or ornamental. We have all seen, and inserted, the requisite "mood" quotes from Indians to provide a veneer of native flavoring and approval to our documents. What was clearly always primary and expected was a non-native scientific accounting for the sites located in a study area.
As defined by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a later category, that of "cultural resources", made refinements on the concept. Cultural resources are, "broadly defined as the remains of human activity, both historic and prehistoric. Included within the term are: buildings and other structures, ruins, artifacts and other objects made by people, works of art, human remains, and sites and natural features that have been of importance in human events" (Suagee 1982:16). What was still missing in this definition, however, as Suagee himself pointed out, were "... the 'intangible elements of our cultural heritage' such as language, myth, arts, skills, songs and dance [which are related to] the preservation of living cultures" (Suagee 1982:16).

With the present category of "ethnographic resources", however, an entirely new set of research priorities and theoretical descriptors have been ushered into the tasks of site documentation on public lands, in order to include those "intangible" aspects of "living cultures". While in the past it was the rare, anthropologically-inclined archaeologist who took the native oral tradition regarding surface remains of Indian origin seriously (see the pioneering work of Alfred C. Bowers in the Middle Missouri plains in this regard), the official attitude towards Indian oral traditions has largely followed the positivistic attitude of anthropologist Robert Lowie, who wrote in 1915, "the primitive tribes I know have no historical sense; and from this point of view the question whether they retain the memory of actual events, while interesting in itself, is of no moment...The point is, not whether they recollect happenings, but whether they recollect the happenings that are historically significant" (Lowie 1915:598). Such attitudes make it easier to understand why it has taken scholars and government officials so long to inquire what native people might consider "historically significant".

Today, however, thanks to advanced formulations regarding the importance of oral history and what has been variously termed American Indian "folk history", "historical consciousness", or "historicity", in addition to the changing climate in the wake of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, government-contracted investigators have been asked to respect and document the oral histories which Lowie discredited. They have been delegated to prioritize in their methodologies, interpretations and finished reports the more anthropologically-related insights of collaborative and interpretative anthropology and modern folklore studies. Thus, the search for the relevant "ethnographic resources" of a given study area now mandates an entirely new dimension of Native American participation, identification and interpretation in both the investigative and evaluative phases of site documentation (Figure 1.4).
Figure 1.4. John Pretty on Top (BICA Consultant #17). Crow Indian Sun Dance leader and chairperson of the Crow Culture Committee.
The present preliminary survey of ethnographic resources in the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area and surrounding Custer National Forest and Bureau of Land Management lands (BICA+) was not chartered to survey for, or document, "new" sites or "cultural features" on the ground. On the contrary, what it sought to elicit were contemporary Crow memories, experiences, concepts and attitudes regarding the BICA+ study area and adjoining territories. This ethnographic emphasis did, incidentally, correlate with already-documented sites and some lesser-known locations; we stress again, though, site identification was not our priority. "Ethnographic resources", which have been neglected in past Bighorn Canyon assessments, and whose possession in the minds and memories of a decreasing number of elderly Crow men and women is thinning out or transforming with each generation (Figures 1.5 and 1.6), was the primary responsibility.

In the past these "ethnographic resources" have not been included in planning documents and related literature associated with BICA. Crow traditional resource usage was virtually nonexistent in the 1962 Proposal for the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Region, Omaha, Nebraska, Revised August 1962). In a Master Plan portfolio nine years later there was slight improvement, with one photo of a "vision quest" structure, a decorative photo of a Tobacco Society adoption tent, and one comment on Crow cooperation in a proposed recreation system (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Region, Bighorn Canyon Master Plan, June, 1971). But when the consequences of the proposed "Transpark Road" were evaluated in the Final Impact Statement in 1974, the archaeological and historical components were afforded less than a page, and Crow cultural interests were nowhere to be found (U.S. Department of the Interior, Denver Service Area, Rocky Mountain Region, Final Environmental Impact Statement: Proposed Transpark Road, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area, V.1, April 23, 1974).

While our BICA+ project has involved conducting a literature search and eliciting oral testimony from Crow consultants, it was not contracted to provide word-for-word transcripts and their interpretations. Seventeen knowledgeable Crow individuals were interviewed, producing about thirty hours of taped material. Therefore, this project will conclude with recommendations on: (a) how to complete the unfinished task of "ethnographic resource" collection in the BICA+ area (some dozen other Crow resource personnel whom we were unable to interview are identified; in addition, many of those with whom we talked offered far more data than we had time and resources to compile); and (b) how to fully transcribe, evaluate and interpret the accumulated BICA+ "ethnographic resource" data base, including linguistic
Figure 1.5. Lloyd Old Coyote (Bica Consultant #1) assists with the interview of his grandmother, Mae Childs (Bica consultant #7).

Figure 1.6. Mae Childs, 102-year-old consultant for the project.
assistance for the proper orthographic transcription of the wealth of Crow ethnogeographic nomenclature and related vocabulary items generated by our interviews.

**Conducting Research into Ethnographic Resources**

"Collaborative" ethnography refers to the combined, equal and interactive research into a study area by relevant native specialists together with non-native specialists. Optimally such collaboration is also "dialogical", as characterized by American Indian scholar Dr. Ines M. Talambantez:

I propose a method [for understanding American Indian religious and cultural realities] to deal with these obstacles [cultural contrasts between researchers and what they research], especially as they related to the contemporary study of Native American religions. It is based on a dialogue that leads to a profound level of respect and appreciation of these traditions . . . (Talambantez 1985:34; and see Tedlock and Tedlock 1983 for extending such collaboration still further into "intersubjective" fieldwork).

In this approach researchers and local experts combine their knowledge to identify ethnographic resources, and even to categorize what resources are suitable for such identification. Their efforts follow two channels. The first is the familiar survey of physical remains that can be seen on the ground (Figure 1-7). The second explores, through reinterpretations of the body of previously collected ethnographic and folkloric materials, together with extant oral tradition within the target group(s), what cannot be seen on the ground. By this we mean that ever-evolving body of beliefs, stories, formal genres of folklore such as myths, legends, and folktales, along with the memorats, anecdotes and what anthropologist Paul Radin once called "ethnological chit-chat", which have in the past linked former Native American occupants or resource-users to the study area, and which continue to do so.

Three bodies of data inform this preliminary survey of ethnographic resources in the BICA+ study area. The first two are the Conner interviews, from 1969 to the present, and the Nabokov and Loendorf (Bighorn Canyon Ethnographic Resources Survey 1993) compilations of ethnographic interviews. The third is our review of relevant Crow literature. Regarding ethnogeographic data in particular, this effort represents the fullest coverage in the entire Crow corpus to date.
Figure 1.7. Alma Snells, (BICA Consultant # 9) has excellent knowledge regarding plants and their uses.
Redefining the Cultural Landscape

Over the last thirty years scholars of non-Western belief systems have been trying to advance beyond antiquated terms such as "animism", or "animatism" when speaking of the conceptual relations between native peoples and their cultural landscapes. The Algonquian anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell made a well-known conceptual leap when he offered the term "other-than-human-person" to characterize how Canadian Ojibway interacted with entities in their non-built environment, with which they transacted for their material and psychological benefit. (For his first important discussion of "other-than-human" entities, see Hallowell 1960; Tedlock 1992). For anthropological-ecologist Ernest S. Burch, working with Inupiats of Alaska, this responsive dimension of a culture's surrounding natural world is best termed their "non-empirical environment" (Burch 1971), home to "a set of entities which the Eskimos regard as being 'alive'; in the sense of being discrete viable units capable of goal-directed action" (Burch 1971:151). Mountains, human-like creatures or "little people", anthropomorphic water beings, ghost-like creatures, magical animals, even shadows are listed as inhabitants of this non-empirical domain. Most recently, an archaeologist-consultant regarding Native American issues and land policy, David L. Carmichael, has characterized Indian religions as "cosmotheistic": "they believe that all natural parts of the world have a humanlike force. In such a belief system, plants, animals, rocks, etc. are conscious and wilful; they must be treated with proper respect. The source areas for plants, animals and earth materials may be considered powerful or sacred . . ." (Carmichael et al. 1994:6).

Another cover term for the cultural environment dealt with in the BICA+ survey is "symbolic landscape", or "the symbolic environment created by a human act of conferring meaning to nature and the environment, of giving the environment definition and form from a particular angle of vision and through a special filter of values and beliefs" (Greider and Garkovich 1993:1). Greider and Garkovich call attention to the fact that selective transformation of the physical landscape through cultural choices automatically "symbolizes" that environment. According to James Raffan, looking at the Chipewyan Indian relationship to their western Canadian environment, four modes for this sort of symbolization stood out. First was the toponymic component, by which knowledge about the landscape was embodies within place names and the process of geographical nomenclature. Second was the narrative component, which meant the stories about a) how things were "in the beginning", b) stories of current travelling on the land, and even c) gossip about land claims and counter claims. Third was the experiential
component, which focused on the person-to-place relationships with the land, that primarily grew out of the practical knowledge Indians developed based on their dependence upon it for food, heat and shelter. Finally, fourth was the numinous component, the spiritual bonds between people and place that transcends the rational, place-naming, stories and experience, which provide an over-arching sense of the land that often defies verbal explanation but which native people express in gifts and prayers (Raffan 1993:39-45).

This appreciation for the integrated totality of an acculturated ecosystem is also reflected in what Carmichael prefers to call sacred landscape (Carmichael et al. 1994). Although referring to his specific southwestern fieldwork, his explanation is nonetheless generalizable:

Although especially important places may be identified as sacred sites, it is often the case...that such sites are parts of a network of powerful places that encompass entire landscapes. Clay sources, spruce forests, raptor eyries, pinon groves and stands of agave can be culturally sensitive. Maintaining the productivity of such resources, and native access to them, may require the preservation of relatively large areas of natural habitat, a goal compatible with much current thinking in ecology (Carmichael 1994:6).

What Crow people say and do in their symbolic and sacred ecosystem of the BICA+ study area is rooted in a cluster of consensual premises and values. Legitimizing the Crow non-empirical landscape opens up an understanding of the BICA+ study area as a wellspring of cultural meanings, memories and motivations. Some are (1) explicitly sacramental, while others are (2) associated with past and present subsistence practices. Some locales (3) acquire significance through their historical associations or commemorations, while a final group (4) represents individual expressions of sentiment and cultural nostalgia. Sites can partake of one or more of these culturally-signifying dimensions. A family can feel special ties of sentiment to a historical site where a traceable relative conducted himself with memorable honor; a clan can feel similarly about a sacramental site where a clan ancestor vision-quested; individuals can maintain profound emotional ties to places where their grandparents took them berry-picking. As with symbolic meanings and associations in general, those rooted in the Crow landscape have multiple facets and possess the generative power to produce new, secondary meanings as occasion demands (see below: "Dynamic Nature of Native Traditions").
Understanding Narratives of Place

While these concepts and phrases can help us to conceptualize a given study area more in accord with native world-views, the discipline of folklore offers useful genre-categories of oral narrative that enable us to explore how the natural environment can "come alive" as ethnographic resources. When we listen to and document narratives from native consultants regarding place, Crow speakers draw from the two indigenous categories noted by Lowie: the baléechiweetaale narratives, meaning "something tell true", which are supposed to be based upon direct Crow experience; or the baaéechichiwaau narratives, meaning the "mythic" stories such as, according to Lowie, the Old Man Coyote cycle (Lowie 1918:13). A notable point about this latter material is the diminished emphasis, indeed the relative absence, of site-specificity in these Old Man Coyote (the Crow Trickster - Isaahkawaiutee) narratives.

Lowie's dichotomy may reflect an insufficient appreciation for the complexity of Crow folk genres which would only be identifiable by a trained socio-linguist working within a multiplicity of Crow performative contexts (Lowie worked with isolated informants outside, for the most part, living contexts. On the rare occasions when he played the "participant observer", interestingly enough, he was able to identify narrative conventions, on the order of the "repeated reproduction" he noted in the Tobacco Adoption water-fetcher's speech (1942), which, to ethnolinguists can be useful signallings of narrative genre).

Therefore, it may be more helpful to understand the BICA+ survey narratives through the classic tri-partite division as discussed by folklorist William Bascom (1965). Based on cross-cultural surveys, he suggests that "myth" can be used to refer to oral narratives regarded as factual and sacred, which take place in an earlier world. "Legend" refers to narratives which are also regarded as factual, but taking place in a world much like "today", with human characters. "Folktale" refers to narratives which are regarded as fiction, taking place in a timeless era with both human and non-human characters. A fourth category which is particularly appropriate for Crow oral narratives is "memorat", a term anthropologist William S. Simmons uses to describe "a concrete account of a personal encounter with the supernatural", in the Northeastern/New England Indian context (Simmons 1986:6).

We have also noted what might be termed "covert genres" within more recent Crow oral narratives, which further socio-linguistic research may discover to be Crow emic genres as well. Regarding supernatural matters, there seems to be a spectrum (possibly arrayed across a scale whose divergent
poles might be termed cultural "Involvement" at one end and cultural "Estrangement" at the other). These genres include: (1) Testimony, by which we mean the formalized recounting of a complex spiritual transaction in one of a number of institutionalized Crow formats, usually the vision quest (see BICA+ 1993 Interview # 17 as a good example), often used to establish ritual or status bona-fides; (2) the afore-mentioned Memorat, in which a supernatural "encounter" or "interchange" is recollected which does not seal a ritualized compact; and (3) the Sighting, in which the narrative's protagonist, often once or twice removed from the actual tale-teller, passively and sometimes from hiding or afar, fleetingly observes a supernatural being (such as Little People) or uncommon event (such as a skunk falling off a cliff) after which the narrative enters the folklore of an intimate network (family, clan, religious fraternity, etc.) folklore.

In addition to the more common vision-quest memorat, Crow place-narratives also include some legends, the occasional reference to entities out of myths and folktales such as sacred animal-persons or Little People, and a considerable amount of "folk history" material which is also ignored in the categories established by Bascom (1965).

Multivocality in Tribal Perspectives

It is not uncommon for contemporary Indian communities to be penalized or criticized if they cannot unite behind a single, consensual view of their traditions, and if they cannot all agree upon the sites of cultural or historical significance to all of them. Even if these differing points-of-view are traditional and based on long-standing divisions of clan, moiety, or religious group, Indian peoples who maintain multiple, sometimes contested, viewpoints are nonetheless denigrated as "factional". On the other hand, the eminent historian of northern Plains Indian nations, Loretta Fowler, would prefer to substitute the phrase "shared symbols, contested meanings" (Fowler 1987), and one might further paraphrase, in the light of the present survey, "shared places, contested narratives". For the Montana Crows, especially, such a modern precondition for external approval of single-version mono-narratives flies in the face of their older, well-documented tradition of multiple social and kin divisions each with their highly regionalized geographical knowledge and different oral history-telling, medicine bundle-transferring and status-inheriting descent traditions. It is quite common to have an elderly Crow narrator first establish, often quite formally, his or her bona-fides (inherited or transferred "rights") by citing the particular sequence of oral historians upon which he or she is drawing the
information, and the particular district or Crow sub-group from which this historical narrative derives. This formalistic preamble often sanctions the "truth" content of subsequent testimony, and frames its social and geographical domain of origin and authority. It clarifies whether this is a River or Mountain Crow version, a Pryor or Black Lodge account, or what clan-network or other micro-territorial or socio-political subgroup it reflects (see McCleary 1993:35-40 for an excellent discussion of Crow socio-political structure and the multiplicity of social and territorial subdivisions which are often reflected in narrative emphases).

In commentary on U.S. Forest Service protocols regarding American Indian sites and religious beliefs, anthropologist Arnold R. Pilling also offers a cautionary reminder that, "Traditional religious beliefs and practices of Native Americans are localized. This means that a religious traditionalist of one part of a National Forest might not be adequately informed on patterns in another part of the same Forest. Very localized traditionalists must be sought out" (Pilling 1979:4).

In addition, as anthropologist Raymond Fogelson stresses, one sometimes discovers that information about sacred sites, "as with other sacred matters is not equally accessible to all members of the community" (Fogelson 1981:134). Not only are there multiple, sometimes exclusionary, narratives for past environmental practices, but the environmental future is often contested as well. As Fogelson goes on to observe, "Some members of a tribe may deny the sanctity of land and be quite willing to sell it, lease it, or otherwise allow it to be exploited in ways that others regard as desecration" (Fogelson 1981:134).

While Crows have deferred to outsiders' demands that they subscribe to single, mono-versions of stories, and strive under external pressure to present a coherent narrative front, the truth of Crow traditional society is that it consisted and still consists of contested versions of famous narratives, whether they be myths, legends, anecdotal and community history or narratives of battle exploits. To Fowler, moreover, "contested meanings help foster a sense of cultural distinctiveness. Conflict over meaning is not merely a clash of interests but a struggle over the kind of Indians that [Fort Belknap Gros Ventres and Assiniboines] people are and will be" (Fowler 1987:19). It might even be argued that a diversity of viewpoints about and versions of classic Crow tales -- stemming as this does from distinctive, sometimes competing, allegiances to various tribal divisions, clans, district or family units, political coalitions and religious
groups — is a tribute to the egalitarian, improvisational, and adaptive virtues of oral narrative, in contrast to the inflexible mono-narrative of the printed text.

Thus, even in our brief BICA+ survey we heard several versions of various narratives, and multiple narratives associated with single sites. Sometimes consultants disagreed with the "right" of another to know about or relate a different version. This multivocality should be considered a sign of vitality -- a strength, rather than a weakness.

Dynamic Nature of Native Traditions

Along with being expected to speak with a single voice, Native American peoples like the Crows are also expected not to change what they say, to stay fixed in one version and outlook for all time. While other cultures are praised for the dynamism with which they negotiate their innovative way in the modern world while selectively safeguarding and even reinventing their traditions, Indian peoples are often described as "losing their culture" when they retool old religious ways. Even the AIRFA explanatory report, published a year after the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act, has been roundly criticized for locking Indians into timeless and unchanging perspectives and world-views. White (1980:40-41) argues that its major dichotomy of "commemorative" (non-Indian) and "continuing" (Indian) types of religions ignores the preponderance of examples of Indian spiritual adaptation. Hybridizing, retooling, and otherwise syncretizing their inherited traditions with new concepts and ritual forms has always allowed Indians to maintain collective balance and preserve basic values under drastically changing conditions more effectively. To penalize them for doing so probably says more about the desperate need of the dominant society to preserve its own romantic notions of Indian-ness than it does about Indian cultural transformation. Fowler discusses this issue in relation to examining "how the Gros Ventres can regard much of contemporary social and symbolic activities as 'traditional', as having historical depth, even though these contemporary social forms and cultural orientations may differ from those of the past" (Fowler 1987:19).

The 1993 BICA+ survey also hinted at such updatings and adjustments, suggesting that Indian religion, and Crow traditions in particular, are not static and never have been. For example, on fieldtrips into the BICA+ study area the consultants mentioned lesser-known ties between key locations in the study area and post-19th century religious practices, such as the high promontory near Black Canyon, once known as "The Foretop" -- not to be confused with the summit on The Buffalo Heart Mountain near Cody, Wyoming, with the same name. But it was renamed "Peyote Point" after a meeting of the
Native American Church was reputedly held there in the 1930s. We also heard anecdotal comments concerning a Pentecostal vision, in which a Crow convert saw the Holy Trinity at a location known as Three Springs.

In a recent speech, W. Richard West, Jr., Director of the new National Museum of the American Indian, quoted a Mohave elder regarding this "adaptive [not to be confused with assimilative] essence of our indigenous nature":

When we think of historical preservation, I suppose you think of something that is old, something that has happened in the past and that you want to put away on a shelf and bring it out and look at [it] every now and then.... I was so puzzled by the whole thing that I looked up "historical" and it said "a significant past event".... In our way of thinking, everything is a significant event, and the past is as real to us as being here right now. We are all connected to the things that happened at the beginning of our existence. And those things live on as they are handed down to us. (quoted in West 1992:4-5).

General Characteristics of the Crow Symbolic Landscape

World-View and Natural World View

Generally, the term "world-view" carries two connotations. In the first place, there is the more static notion of cosmology -- how a people like the Crow Indians of Montana organize their world in space and time. Under this aspect of world-view one would map the localities of supernatural beings, identify the importance of mountains as generators of Crow culture and renewal, and diagram the Crow sense of the dynamic workings of the natural world. When our BICA+ survey turned up sites in the Crow landscape, which we speak of later as "sacramental", they will invariably be associated with a special concept of "power". Similar to the Lakota wakan, the Omaha gube, and the Winnebago gopine, in Crow the term is baaxpee. Lowie, borrowing from Washington Matthews on the Hidatsa, translates this as "to be mysterious; sacred, to have curative powers, to possess charm, incomprehensible, spiritual" (Lowie 1922b:316), and adds his own comment that the term "suggests that it is primarily an expression of power transcending the ordinary" (Lowie 1922b:317). Possession of this desirable quality is the defining feature of all Crow sacramental sites recorded in our BICA+ survey.

The second connotation of "world-view" concerns the active and proper role of human beings in that dynamic world,
the culturally-appropriate interrelationships between human societies and their environments. This emphasizes ethos -- the subject of behavioral morality and especially "values" -- what Heidenreich defines as "premises about the nature of the world and the desired ends, means, and the quality of life. They are shared by groups of people in sociocultural contexts as well as held by individuals. Values predispose persons to feel, think, and act in certain ways" (Heidenreich 1976:41). For our purposes, it is the way that their traditional "value orientations" predispose Crows to feel and think about and interact with their natural environment, which lies behind the "ethnographic resources" of this BICA+ survey, and which constitutes what one might term their "working cosmology".

Furthermore, for Crow people these values inform an interconnected world-view, which Frey emphasizes by pointing out that the Crow term for "clan" is ashammaliaxxia, or "as driftwood lodges" (Frey 1987:3). "As driftwood lodges together along the banks of the rivers, so the members of a clan cling together." Frey then goes on to demonstrate how this metaphor reflects the Apsáalooke (Crow) world view:

The Apsáalooke view a world in which all entities and all phenomena are interconnected, animal with plant with land with human with spirit [emphasis ours]. The human being is intrinsically linked to and part of the assemblage of human and spiritual personages that surrounds him or her. The world and the individual are necessarily not separate and autonomous. The focus of the individual's identity and activities is not on the self as a self-reliant entity but rather on the network of human and spiritual beings of which he or she is a part. The world...is animated with meaningful patterns and a life-force (Frey 1987:4-5).

The importance of landscape to the world-view in Plains Indian societies is well described by David Reed Miller for the Assiniboine and Stoney people, who "narrate their cultural histories by referring to the lands that have been imbued with meaning by the experiences of previous generations. And however much their ways of life have changed from those of their forefathers, land remains central to explanations of what it means to be Assiniboine or Stoney" (Miller 1981:100).

Miller explains this with reference to Edward Shils' concept of "primordial ties", which concerns values "that are suspended amidst the distractions of concrete tasks, which makes the values ambiguous and thus gives freedom for individual innovation, creation and adaption" (Shils 1957:130-131). This also characterizes the balance in Crow ethnic
persistence between shared moral values and world-view on the one hand, and on the other individual variation and innovation within the inherited religious norms of vision-questing and also within the inherited social flexibility of this loosely-structured Plains Indian society.
CHAPTER TWO

THE CROW TRIBE

The Archaeological Background

In recent years, scholars have recognized that the Mountain Crow and the River Crow separated from the Hidatsa at different times (cf Davis 1979). Alfred Bowers, using Hidatsa narrative traditions, learned that the Crow left the Missouri River region in two distinct groups, one group to become known as the Mountain Crow, dividing from a tribe known as the Awatixa Hidatsa, and the second to become the River Crow leaving the Hidatsa proper (Bowers 1965).

William Mulloy, an archaeologist who established the prehistoric cultural sequence used on the northwestern plains, believed the Hagen Site, a single earthlodge house near Glendive, Montana, represented the Crow movement to the west. The current archaeological understanding of the site, based primarily on cross-comparison of ceramics from the Hagen site with other earthlodge sites along the Missouri River, is that the Hagen Site represents a period of expansion of earthlodge dwellers out of the Missouri River valley, but not necessarily a Crow village (Johnson 1979).

Archaeological research conducted by the Smithsonian Institution River Basin Surveys in Bighorn Canyon before Yellowtail Dam was completed included the excavation of three sites believed to represent former use by Crow Indians. Three sites -- Bull Elk (24BH212), Black Canyon (24BH215), and Dry Head (24CB203) -- contained cultural components assigned to the Crow (Brown 1969). House-remains in these sites include a set of post holes in an arc that are thought to be the remains of an arbor (sun or wind screen), and circles of stones that originally held down the hide cover of a cone-shaped tipi or lodge. Artifacts include ceramics, with a simple stamp pattern and a globular jar shape; small triangular, side-notched or un-notched projectile points and other chipped-stone cutting, scraping, drilling, and chopping tools; infrequent grinding tools, usually hand-held mano stones; and bone tools such as medapodial fleshers, scapula knives, bone awls, and bone tubes.

Lionel Brown offers the label "Absaroka Phase" for this inventory of cultural remains, and suggests it displays "a strong dependence upon large game animals for subsistence; there is little or no evidence of horticulture" (Brown 1969:91). A few metal artifacts in the Bighorn Canyon sites indicate the Absaroka Phase post-dates EuroAmerican contact. A terminal date of A.D. 1850 is offered for the phase which
Brown (1969:92) believes may not have started until A.D. 1800. More recent archaeological evidence (cited below), however, suggests the phase may begin as early as A.D. 1500.

Other archaeological sites or components which Brown thinks may be part of the Absaroka Phase include the uppermost levels of Pictograph Cave. Pictograph Cave, near Billings, Montana, has a deep and complex series of stratigraphic layers representing at least 8000 years of prehistory (Mulloy 1958). The uppermost level is labeled Pictograph Cave IV; the cultural remains in this level, together with the remnants of a house in the gulch below the cave, are tentatively identified as evidence of Crow use of the region (Mulloy 1958). The house, found within eight inches of the surface, consists of "fifteen post holes arranged to form an ellipse... Its maximum diameter was nineteen feet and minimum fourteen feet" (Mulloy 1958:79-81). The floor of the house was hard-packed earth; it contained two additional post holes about three feet apart, in a presumed east/west orientation, that are suspected to have supported the roof. A shallow hearth was found in the house and another hearth, with three associated post holes, was found immediately north of the house. More than a thousand ceramic sherds were recovered from the upper eight inches of fill in the excavation units near the house. Mulloy assigns nearly 90% of this pottery to the Mandan-Hidatsa tradition, presumably related to the Crow.

Mulloy (1965) also examined several sites with houses made by stacking dead-fall trees in horizontal tiers. One of these was on Thirty Mile Mesa near Roundup, Montana and another was examined near Pompey's Pillar on the Yellowstone River. Because the lodges do not have compact earth floors, it is often difficult to determine whether artifacts found in them are from an earlier use of the area or actually associated with the lodge. These temporary houses, known as crib timber houses, are identified in the literature as the remains of war parties or hunting expeditions. A few of these temporary houses are made by stacking poles in a conical shape, but along the lower Yellowstone River, the more normal pattern is the cribbed style. These types of houses are common in the Pryor Mountains where they are obviously recent. Voget (1977) learned about both the conical and the crib styles of these houses from Crow consultants, and many of those in the region are undoubtedly the remains of Crow camps. Other tribes made similar shelters, however, and some probably represent the temporary lodging of the Blackfoot, Flathead, or Shoshone.

Wilfred Husted, completing research for the Smithsonian Institution River Basin Surveys, excavated additional sites in Bighorn Canyon. Two tipi ring sites in the Wyoming portion of BICA, an un-named site (48BH7) and the Crooked Creek site
(48BH210), are believed to be the remains of Crow Indian camps (Husted 1969:96). Although Husted does not use the Absaroka Phase designation for the sites, he clearly associates the ceramics and chipped stone tool inventory found at the sites with the Crow. Because the tipi rings have diameters greater than 15 feet, Husted indicates they are likely the remains of lodges used after horses were available to transport such large tipi covers. Citing this as the evidence, he suggests the age of the sites is ca. A.D. 1800.

The uppermost levels of the Pretty Creek site (24CB4) contained ceramics and other chipped stone artifacts assigned to the Crow (Loendorf et al. 1981). One of the more significant excavation areas of the Pretty Creek site was directed toward a group of jumbled tipi rings. Although pottery was not recovered, one of the rings had small, triangular side-notched and un-notched projectile points that are similar to those used by Brown to define the Absaroka Phase. An iron awl, found in this excavation, indicates the ring was used in post-contact times, perhaps between A.D. 1750 and A.D. 1850 (Loendorf et al. 1981:113-127).

While it is relatively easy, on the basis of EuroAmerican artifacts, to assign historic age sites to the Absaroka Phase, it is considerably more difficult to place older sites in the phase. Some archaeologists believe they can recognize ceramics which display attributes much like the ceramics used by the earthlodge dwellers along the Missouri River in North Dakota, and they use these comparisons to suggest an arrival date for the Crow into the west. Others disagree with these comparisons, however, and suggest the ceramics have affinities to the Missouri River, but not necessarily to the region from which the Crow migrated.

George Frison recognizes Crow ceramics in tipi ring sites associated with bison kill sites along the eastern slopes of the Bighorn Mountains (Frison 1978:238). Radiocarbon dates on these sites average ca. A.D. 1500 (Frison 1979:5). The prevalent explanation for these sites is that they represent the initial Mountain Crow penetration into the west. The River Crow are believed to have followed their relatives to the west approximately 125 years later, about the time the northern Plains tribes were acquiring horses.

In recent years archaeologists have also studied Hidatsa sites in North Dakota. These studies allow us to look at the Crow migration from the point of their departure. Stanley Ahler, Thomas Thiessen, and Michael Trimble have studied earthlodge village sites along the Missouri River in central North Dakota. Using the amount of pottery discarded in the village trash from one generation to the next, they developed a population model that shows a marked period of expansion in
which the population along the river increased dramatically between A.D. 1300 and 1450. At its maximum, the population in the vicinity of the mouth of the Knife River reached 8,000 to 10,000 people. This period is recognized by archaeologists as the "Scattered Village phase" because:

There is an indication that these scattered farming communities may have once spread rapidly and far up the Missouri River and its upstream tributaries, the Little Missouri and the Yellowstone Rivers, and perhaps even into the Souris River valley in southern Canada (Ahler et al. 1991:40).

The expansion of people growing domesticated crops into these regions indicates a milder climate than that of today. In addition, at some localities the houses are not insulated with an earth covering nor are they dug into the ground for protection from the cold (Ahler et al. 1991:40). Villages of the Scattered Village peoples were not fortified, suggesting they lived in relatively peaceful times. Curiously, after A.D. 1450, the number of people living along the Missouri River started to decline. The scattered villages were abandoned, populations both consolidated and decreased, and the remaining villages were often fortified (Ahler et al. 1991:52-53).

Studies of climate indicate the North American continent was experiencing a colder climate, known as the Little Ice Age, at about the time the villagers were retreating. Using historical records on climate, Douglas Bamforth (1990) concludes that the Little Ice Age did not necessarily represent a time of increased precipitation. Rather, he believes the climate was colder, with highly variable precipitation and greater annual differences than the climate of today.

By identifying the small mammal bones recovered in excavations and comparing them to the present-day distributions of the same species, it is possible to make inferences about the past climate. The small micromammals living in the village sites during the Little Ice Age are presently found in the vicinity of Pikes Peak, Colorado and/or to the north and west, into Canada (Semken and Falk 1987:218). This is clear evidence of a colder climate at A.D. 1500 in North Dakota.

Short-term survival for societies where adverse climatic conditions were affecting their farm crops would be accomplished through a greater emphasis on hunting and gathering. If the climatic conditions did not improve, the peoples would have to move away, completely giving up the pursuit of farming. This is precisely what the archaeological
record along the Missouri River indicates for the latter half of the fifteenth century. Ahler, Thiessen and Trimble (1991:52) have found that population decreased by half, the small outlying villages were abandoned, and the openly-spaced arrangement of houses, common in prior centuries, was abandoned in favor of village plans where the houses were much closer together. Retrenchment of this nature is a clear indicator that something was wrong in North Dakota in the half century before Columbus arrived in America. It seems probable the weather was the reason for this decrease. Colder winters or insufficient frost-free days for growing domesticated crops may have caused the downfall. Archaeological studies indicate the population was reduced by half between A.D. 1450 and 1500.

Some of the Crow Indian stories about the separation include descriptions of famine and a quarrel over a bison. Among these accounts is a version obtained by Lieutenant James Bradley in 1876, from The Poorest, his oldest informant. The Poorest told Bradley about the roundabout journey to the west, describing a time of famine as part of the imperiled journey. It seems possible the increased cold during the Little Ice Age was responsible for food shortage and famine.

Turning our attention back to the study area, we are reminded that George Frison (1979) radiocarbon-dated sites, with ceramics he thought to be Crow, at A.D. 1500. This is also the logical time for the Mountain Crow to have abandoned gardening, moving west to take up buffalo hunting as their primary food pursuit. The evidence is fairly conclusive.

Using the compiled information as a guide, the Absaroka Phase begins ca. A.D. 1500 and ends ca. A.D. 1850. Artifacts associated with the phase include small, triangular un-notched and side-notched projectile points. The remainder of the chipped stone assemblage is an array of chopping, cutting, scraping, and drilling tools, but none of these are currently recognized as diagnostic or unique to the phase. Pottery vessels with s-shaped rim profiles, flat rim tops, and globular forms are a distinctive indicator of the phase. Pottery from the early part of the phase has incised, cord-wrapped, and stamped decoration, but toward the end of the phase, the ceramics are decorated by simple stamping or brushing. Tipis are the main domiciliary structure at the end of the phase, but arrangements of post holes at several sites suggest use of windbreaks, or arbors. Some of the post arrangements, such as the one at Pictograph Cave near Billings, Montana, may also represent a more permanent house. Temporary houses were also made of deadfall timber, by stacking dead trees or fragments of trees into crib or conical shapes.
If the Crow came west about 500 years ago, what groups did they encounter in the Rocky Mountains? Many scholars believe the Shoshone were living in the Bighorn basin and utilizing the surrounding mountain ranges at that time. Excavations at Mummy Cave near Cody, Wyoming convinced Wilfred Husted that the Shoshone occupied the northern portion of the Bighorn basin for thousands of years (Husted 1969). Other archaeologists are not as certain of an ancient antiquity for the Shoshone on the northern plains and they believe the Shoshone arrived at a much later date, perhaps about the same time as the River Crow (cf. Butler 1981). Whenever they made the association, it is clear the Crow were inter-linked with the Shoshone at the time of EuroAmerican contact and were serving as the link to obtain horses via the intermontane trail. Francois Larocque described this trade arrangement in 1805 with horses coming north through the Comanche, who were obtaining them from the Spanish colonies in New Mexico (Laroque 1910). The Crow, speaking a Siouan language, were not as capable at trading for these horses as the Shoshone, who were speaking the language of the intermontane trail.

Artifacts assigned to the Shoshone include a distinctive flat-bottom pottery vessel, looking most like a modern "flower pot". Steatite pots with the same shape, and tubular steatite pipes are also believed to have been made by the Shoshone. A distinctive ovoid knife, often with so much re-sharpening that it has lost its convex sides, is the only distinctive chipped stone artifact assigned to the Shoshone (Frison 1978:81). Some evidence supports the belief that small triangular corner-notched projectile points are more often found at sites believed to be remnants of the Shoshone (Frison 1978:71).

A tipi ring at the Pretty Creek site, stratigraphically below the ring thought to have been left by the Crow, contained several small corner-notched projectile points and a fragment of a steatite artifact, probably a tubular pipe. These artifacts and this ring may be remains of the Shoshone (Loendorf et al. 1981:127).

Lionel Brown (1969) discovered a similar situation at the Dry Head site, (24CB203) except that he found flat-bottom ceramics, associated with the Shoshone, in a cultural level stratigraphically below ceramics tentatively identified as products of the Crow Indians. Using a 14C date from another site, he assigns an age of A.D. 1100 to the presumed Shoshone level in the site. If he is correct, it supports the belief that the Shoshone lived in the study area prior to the Crow.

Other information, both direct and indirect, can be used to demonstrate the Crow had a long association with the Shoshone. For example, the Crow have many narrative legends that tell of the Little People. Curiously, the Hidatsa have
almost no legends about the Little People, which means the Crow must have first encountered these beings after they moved to the west. The Shoshone, on the other hand, have rich traditions of Little People, suggesting they are the source of some of the narrative of the Crow. This certainly appears to be true for a place known to the Crow as the "Home of the Little People", a site near a large outcrop of limestone in Pryor Gap that is known as "Arrow Rock."

Arrow Rock got its name because, in former times, when the Crow passed this place they shot arrows up into the limestone outcrop. The Crow continue this tradition today, leaving offerings at the base of the rock where there is a large stone cairn. Two professional archaeologists have excavated portions of the rock cairn at Arrow Rock. Nels C. Nelson (1943) and William Mulloy (1958) both report finding projectile points, olivella shell beads, dentalia shell beads, and other artifacts, of which the most important are the pot sherds. The pottery represents two ceramic traditions, one of the Crow and another of the Shoshone (Mulloy 1958:178). This suggests that both groups used the Arrow Rock cairn for offerings during some overlapping period of time. The precise placement in time and the duration of the overlap is not known, but if the Shoshone were already living in the region when the Crow arrived the Arrow Rock site may have been adapted for Crow use as a shrine to the Little People.

The Historical Background

The Crow Indians formed as a tribal unit when they separated from the Hidatsa Indians and moved away from the Missouri River in North Dakota. This seemingly straightforward historical episode is complicated by several factors. First, there is the issue of the different tribal units among the Crow themselves. As early as A.D. 1805, EuroAmerican trappers and traders describe the Crow as three different, but closely related, tribes (Larocque 1910:55). Second, there is the matter of conflicting stories about what caused this fission. Third, there is the question of when and how the constituent Crow groups fused as a self-identified ethnicity.

By the turn of the 18th century, the social and demographic state of the Crow had already been severely disrupted by a grievous smallpox epidemic, which French trader Francois A. Larocque said had reduced the tribe from two thousand tipis to three hundred (Larocque 1910). Due to subsequent epidemics, intertribal warfare and the economic and psychological pressures of adapting to new ways of economic, political and cultural life, the Crow population continued to decline. According to Mooney's (1898) estimate for the year 1780, there were some 4,000 tribal members. By the time of
Lewis and Clark’s first contact with the tribe a quarter century later, there were an estimated 350 lodges and some 3,500 members. From then on each demographic report on the tribe reflected a lower number of Crows: from 2,287 in 1890, 1,826 in 1904, 1,777 in 1923, to an all-time low of 1,625 by the early 1930s (Swanton 1984:390-391; Oswalt 1988:246). From such statistics it is not hard to understand the tribe’s abiding concern with the basic struggle to survive as a people.

The very first European report on the Crows actually came over a half-century before Larocque’s report of trading with the Crow. That was when Pierre G.V. La Vérendrye and his brother were taken in mid-September, 1742, by Mandan guides to a people they called "Beaux Hommes", or the handsome people. A more extensive written reference to the tribe comes from the journal of fur trader Jean Baptiste Trudeau (1921), who described their trading practices in 1795. By Trudeau’s day the Crows had already adapted items of European origin into their material inventory. Horses had come through trade by the late 1600s or early 1700s, and some knives, hatchets and beads were in use as well.

When Lewis and Clark passed through Crow country in late July, 1806, on their return from the Pacific Coast, they learned how badly Crows still desired horses when they lost twenty-four mounts one night (Coues 1965:1148). By then the historical record makes it clear that the Crow were divided into at least two groups, the Mountain and River Crow, with probably a third, the Kicked In The Bellies, the Mountain Crow branch who are believed to have separated from the Mountain Crow in the 1700s. In the comparative picture of the trans-Yellowstone and Bighorn plains, however, Crow overall strength remained low, rendering them vulnerable to outside predation by more numerous horse-riding tribes like the Blackfeet and the Teton Sioux. Furthermore, fresh epidemics of smallpox in the early 1830s, in 1837, and in 1848 also weakened their numbers.

In part to offset their numerical inferiority, the Crows early on began to show friendly responsiveness towards Anglo-American efforts to negotiate with them for rights to cross their lands and construct forts to protect their new wagon roads. In August, 1825, their chiefs Long Hair and Rotten Belly were visitors to a "Treaty of Friendship" gathering held at the Mandan villages at North Dakota’s Knife River near the Missouri River (which Long Hair signed but which the River Crow Chief, Rotten Belly, refused to accept)(Curtis [1909]1970:47). Twenty-six years later the Crows took up the invitation from Indian agent Thomas "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick to join a larger treaty conference at Ft. Laramie. By the terms of that 1851 agreement the Crows accepted broad
reservation boundaries for the first time, which covered 38,531,174 acres in northern Wyoming, southern Montana and western South Dakota (Hoxie 1989). For the time being, however, the perimeter of this vast area was relatively permeable. Crow hunting and raiding bands came and went at will, generally convening in fall and spring near the flank of the mountains for such multi-group gatherings as the planting and harvesting of their all-important sacred tobacco.

The cooperative Crow attitude towards Anglo-Americans was further demonstrated by their permitting the construction of Fort C.F. Smith in the summer of 1866 deep within the Bighorn River territory which they always protected as their heartland. As aggressive Blackfeet and Sioux forays into their territory increased, the Crow leaders saw the Anglo-American efforts to protect their Bozeman Tail, blazed in 1864, as a way to provide them with this buffer zone against their more numerous antagonists. Crow leaders were also not unwilling for their warriors to begin serving as scouts in U.S. campaigns against surrounding tribes who were already their oft-time raiding opponents, such as the Nez Perce, Sioux and Cheyenne.

Soon, however, the tribe felt so beset by external threats that they agreed in the second Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 to their first centralized reservation headquarters. It was situated on Mission Creek about nine miles northeast of present-day Livingston. At this new Fort Parker agency they received rations of such new additions to their diet as flour, coffee and sugar. The 1868 agreement also shrunk the boundaries of their reservation to about 9 million acres and cleared nearly an additional 30 million acres of their former holdings for Anglo-American settlement and rights-of-way for the Union Pacific Railroad. Ultimately this move also divided the great western buffalo herds and hastened their near-extinction as hunters gained easier access to big game.

Shortly enemy Indian threats intensified against the Crow, and the Livingston Agency proved inconveniently far to the southwest of most Crow hunting and gathering grounds and sources of timber. The reservation's second agent, Fellows D. Pease, shifted the agency in 1875 to the Stillwater Valley, not far from the confluence of Rosebud Creek and the Stillwater River near present-day Absarokee, Montana (Hoxie 1989). Here the Crows resided during the hectic time of the final great Sioux wars, in which their scouts played a peripheral role. At the same time, life was changing for the Crows. Between 1879 and 1882, mostly-white hunters killed an estimated 250,000 buffalo in the Yellowstone Valley, taking primarily their tongues and hides and leaving the meat to rot; after 1883, there were hardly even any stray animals to be found in the region. This shocking end to their traditional
subsistence base caused greater dependence for the Crows on their Stillwater agency, while at the same time the government kept pressuring them to cede more lands to incoming ranchers.

Resist as they might, with one delegation of Crow leaders even taking the train to the nation’s capital to plead their case in 1880, the Crows ultimately parted with another 1.5 million acres and reluctantly gave the Northern Pacific Railroad a right-of-way along the Yellowstone River. Meanwhile, some Crows complained that their Stillwater acreage was not conducive to the farming lifestyle encouraged by their Indian Agent and that the Wyoming railroads were drawing ever-increasing numbers of settlers into their landscape. For their part, government authorities were concerned about the bootleggers enticing Crows with their wares.

Although a handful of Crow families began to make progress with their potato and hay fields, and a group of Crow children began attending the Absarokee Agency school and learning English, U.S. Army Captain Henry J. Armstrong, their agent in 1884, decided that a final move was necessary if the tribe was truly to transform its lifestyle. It was decided that the Little Bighorn Valley would be an optimal location place for Crows to finally renounce their old lifeways and take up Christianity, agriculture, the use of the English language. In April of that year, the tribal capital was moved for the third and last time to Crow Agency, only a mile from where General George Armstrong Custer had been defeated by combined forces of hostile Plains Indian tribes eight years before.

Despite the ferment caused in Plains Indian life by the Ghost Dance of 1887-1890, the Crows for the most part behaved amicably towards Anglo-Americans. Their one exception of resistance to the tamer, reservation lifestyle which gradually developed at Crow Agency was the short-lived rebellion led by a warrior-visionary named Wraps Up His Tail, or "Swordbearer", which raised momentary alarm in the summer of 1887 (Hoxie 1989:94-95; Voget 1984:274). At this time the different Crow districts which still exist today began their formation. A mixed group of River and Mountain Crow families under the leadership of Plenty Coups, Bell Rock and The Wet, settled along Pryor Creek in the western corner of the reservation. By now old Fort Smith had been reduced to a crumbling adobe ruin, but Iron Bull and his followers, plus Pretty Eagle and his Mountain Crow entourage, established their farming and ranching homesteads in the region between the St. Xavier Mission and the old fort site at the base of the mountains. Over to present-day Lodge Grass and the Wyola area, the "Valley of the Chiefs" as Crows would call it, where Lodge Grass Creek empties into the Little Bighorn River, went Medicine Crow, Grey Bull, Spotted Horse and their bands of
The so-called Black Lodge district adjoining Fort Custer and near present-day Hardin, was founded by River Crows, with Two Belly and Two Leggings prominent among them. Finally, twelve miles south on the Little Bighorn, some families clustered in tipis around the government town of Crow Agency.

It was now that the institutionalized way of life began to have its greatest impact on Crow socio-cultural life. After passage of the 1887 General Allotment Act the Crow heads-of-households began to have allotments assigned to them for cultivating crops and raising livestock. In 1892 U.S. government officials persuaded Crow leaders to yield 1.8 million acres of western mountain country, and twelve years later the tribe was pressured into a land sale of another million acres. It was this 1904 land cession which largely reduced the Crow reservation to its present size of about two and a quarter million acres in south-central Montana. That year also signalled other changes in the tenor of Crow life. As part of the government’s plan to "civilize" the Indians on its reservations, new laws began to restrict freedom of movement and religion. Provision No. 586 of the 1904 regulations forbade Crows from travelling to other Indian reservations without written permission. Other rules discouraged them from observing their old rituals and festive occasions; Crows who were spied participating in their Tobacco Society functions, for instance, were levied fines or even jail time, punishments which were enforced by uniformed Crow Indian policemen working for the agency.

To provide an alternative to the traditional gatherings, the Indian agent established in 1904 an agricultural fair where Crows could display their progress in learning the "arts of civilization". While Crow Fair thus was inaugurated as a competitive event revolving around farming, where Indian families displayed their pumpkins and corn and canned and baked goods and fine seamstress, the Crows soon modified it to their own liking. Parades in full regalia, horse racing, powwow dancing and even Tobacco Meetings were held in late August during the Crow Fair. As within many Indian reservation communities, these years also saw different Crow points-of-view emerge about the future direction of the tribe. The debates between what simplistically can be described as Crow "conservatives" (often the older generation of nativisitic leaders) and "progressives" (often returnees from such boarding schools as Carlisle, Riverside and Hampton) were commonly conducted within the Crow tribal council, which was first organized on September 26, 1910, from representatives selected from the reservation’s six tribal districts.

By this time the Crow had also been interacting with various Christian missionaries for a quarter century. In 1887
Father Pierpaolo Prando founded the St. Xavier Mission, establishing an early foundation for Crow Catholicism. Soon came the Protestant Mission at Crow Agency, started by James Gregor Burgess in 1891, while the Baptist ministry began in 1904 when A.W. Petzoldt made Lodge Grass its center. For the most part Crows were not reluctant to add new forms of belief to the old; they only balked when the new missionaries asked that they abandon entirely their older social and cultural beliefs and practices which were often hard for them to separate from what the non-Indian considered "religion" (Hoxie 1989). Today these Christian denominations remain strong, joined by Church of Latter Day Saints and Pentecostal congregations.

Together with pressuring Crows to take up farming, send their children away to school, and adopt Christianity, in the 1920s the church sought to control their freedom to ranch and raise horses. By then it was estimated that Crow herds amounted to about 30,000 horses, many of them wild mustangs. But neighboring non-Indian ranchers wanted exclusive rights to Crow pasturage and persuaded the government to force the tribe to sell their mounts at two dollars a head (McGinnis and Sharrock 1972:56; Medicine Crow 1992:106). After 1923 those horses that were not sold were killed by the thousands by contracted horse-hunters.

In 1934, as Franklin Roosevelt ushered in the so-called Indian New Deal, a well-educated, forty-three year old Crow Indian named Robert Yellowtail became the Crow Reservation's first Indian superintendent. Now the era of governmental heavy-handedness against Indian tradition and culture came to an end. Although the Crow Tribe rejected the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (I.R.A.) a year after it was passed, preferring to decide its own course through their traditional council deliberations, on June 24, 1948 the tribe reconsidered and formally adopted an I.R.A.-style constitution and a General Council, which Crows however still prefer to call their "Tribal Council". In addition, Superintendent Yellowtail encouraged the rejuvenation of tribal arts, use of the Crow language, and traditional rituals such as Sun Dancing, the replenishment of their horse herds and even the reintroduction of buffalo into mountain pastures still retained by the tribe (Yellowtail 1991).

Yellowtail died forty years later. By that time the Crow had extended their old warrior tradition into loyal volunteerism for America's four major military conflicts. Despite participation in Montana's wider cultural life and work force, they retained their language, had many of their old ceremonies, fought unsuccessfully in the 1950s to halt construction of a dam across the Bighorn River, and established one of Montana's finest junior colleges, Little
Big Horn College, staffed and administered largely by Crow educational professionals.

Today the Crow Tribe of Montana occupies a 2.2 million acre land base which is the largest of Montana’s seven reservations. As of the 1990 census, the tribe comprised 8,588 self-reporting members, making them the 29th largest American Indian tribe in the United States. While the great majority of Crows still live in or around the reservation’s six major communities -- Pryor, Hardin, Crow Agency, St. Xavier, Lodge Grass and Wyola -- the off-reservation population is growing. The great majority of Crows still speak their own Siouan language, although over the last two decades the number of households where Crow is the primary mode of communication has declined. While the Crow elected not to participate in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, in 1948 the did adopt a tribal self-governing constitution which was amended in 1961. Currently the reservation is divided into six electoral districts which are represented through committees, but the unique Crow town council form of government allows every adult member to vote at all general council meetings.

The Ethnographic Record

Aside from early historical accounts of the Crow by traders such as Francois Larocque (1910), adoptees such as James Beckwourth (1972), and others, the ethnographic chronicle of the tribe can be said to have truly begun with a twenty-one year-old Pennsylvanian named Edwin Thompson Denig. In 1833 Denig began his employ with the American Fur Company and ten years later began writing up descriptions of the Upper Missouri Indian tribes whom he had witnessed in the capacity of trader (Denig 1961). Among the tribes he described were the Crow, whom he categorized as one of the "roving" variety of Plains peoples, and which he wrote about during the winter of 1855-56 in an essay which John C. Ewers considers "one of the best of Denig’s writings on the Indians of the Upper Missouri" (in Denig 1961:xxxvi). Denig provided information on Crow population estimates, on their subdivisions, intertribal relations, and their intertribal feuding practices. But he also delved into their gender roles, profiled key leaders such as Rotten Belly and Long Hair, described their cross-dressers or "hermaphrodites" and one unusual woman warrior, and provided the earliest account of their sacred Tobacco planting rites.

Following Denig, the interviews on Crow culture history conducted by Army Lieutenant James H. Bradley while at Fort Benton in the middle years of the 19th century provide rich glimpses into abiding themes of tribal religion and history (Bradley 1900, 1923). But the academically-trained ethnographic
work on the tribe did not commence until the summer of 1907, when a twenty-four year old graduate student from Columbia University named Robert H. Lowie first visited the tribe. For nearly every subsequent summer until 1918 Lowie returned to the Crow, amassing one of the most complete documentary accounts of any Plains Indian tribe. Lowie's estimated 2,000 published pages on the Crow established a baseline of data which nonetheless ignored history and commit the tribe in the ethnographic present. Because he focused largely on "salvage ethnography" during this period, collecting the "memory culture" of mostly elderly warriors who enjoyed recalling their people's heyday before 1870, Lowie's material largely ignored historical dynamics.

Lowie recognized the three distinct traditional units: the Mountain Crow, the River Crow, and the Kicked in the Bellies (Lowie 1956). Although other divisions are identified in some narrative versions of Crow tribal history, the Mountain Crow and the River Crow remain the primary tribal units. Although Crows told Lowie constantly about their derivation from the Hidatsa, he always viewed Indian testimony with some hesitation, preferring to make such connections from a more scientific perspective. It was unfortunate that he listened but did not often "hear" what his Crow consultants were telling him. Hence his ethnographic work made it clear that the Crow were alone among classic equestrian Plains tribes in featuring matrilineal descent, which, as Harold E. Driver has pointed out, "makes no functional sense in an otherwise male-dominated society where hunting and fighting skills carry the most prestige" (Driver 1969:37).

One way of explaining this anomaly was by reference to genetic language classification, which linked the Crow and the Hidatsa of North Dakota through the Siouan stock. Of course the latter tribe was known to be strongly matrilineal, with women responsible for deriving roughly half the Hidatsa subsistence through the cultivation of beans, squash, sunflowers and corn in their floodplain gardens along the Middle Missouri River and its tributaries. Coupled with the fact that all scenarios of Crow ethnogenesis -- whether the "quarrel" storyline concerning a fight over the spoils of a buffalo hunt or the "amicable" storyline of two vision questers and the sacred tobacco being given to one -- agree on the Hidatsa and the Crow branching from a common cultural tree. "If we postulate that the Crow and the Hidatsa both farmed at some time from five hundred to a thousand years ago", wrote Driver, following Lowie's logic, "the matrilineal descent of the Crow in the nineteenth century becomes a survival from an earlier period when women were more prominent in the society" (Driver 1969:37)
It was Lowie who recorded the rivalry among the traditional Crow warrior societies, of whom the most important shortly before the reservation era were the Foxes and Lumpwoods (Lowie 1912); who first documented Crow art forms and material culture and argued for the non-representational basis of Crow painted and beaded designs (Lowie 1922a); who chronicled the many forms of Crow religion, from vision-questing (Lowie 1922b) to the Tobacco Society (Lowie 1919) to the old-time Sun Dance (Lowie 1915), the Bear Song Dance, and the Hot Dance (Lowie 1924). But Lowie also made a special point of collecting Crow folklore, even when he failed to appreciate the stories Crow were telling him of their tribal origins. He collected myths and tales (Lowie 1918), provided bilingual versions of many key texts (Lowie 1960), and analyzed the literary style of their oral literature (1959; 1960). This unparalleled amount of data made the Crows, according to E. Adamson Hoebel, "one of the most thoroughly studied tribes in all North America" (Hoebel 1980:17).

However Lowie's record of Crow life contained omissions. He left virtually unreported the religious and social suppression being suffered by Crow people at the hands of government officials and the repressive Code of Religious Offenses during the years of his summer tenure on the reservation, from roughly 1911 through 1919. It remained for historian Frederick E. Hoxie (forthcoming, 1995) and anthropologist Peter Nabokov (1988) to begin to expose the costs to Crow religious life of official policy through this period and lasting until 1934. By ignoring history, Lowie also failed to document the dynamics of Crow social flexibility, whereby bands or clan groups might hunt and feud at will and yet remain linked by marriage, collective ritual and periodic unification of their roaming subdivisions. This was the task which young Donald Collier, working out of an Oklahoma summer field school, set himself in 1938-39. Working with a few of Lowie's old informants, Collier's unpublished notes provide richly detailed data on the final years of Crow freedom in the late 1860s and 70s (Collier 1938-39).

The first half of this century also witnessed unexpected religious changes among the Crow which Lowie noted in passing but left for other scholars to document fully. Based on fieldwork concentrated in the 1940s but continuing through 1975, anthropologist Fred W. Voget analyzed the Crow adoption of a new form of Sun Dance. Since the old-style Crow Sun Dance was largely a rite for increasing the chances of achieving revenge in war, the forced cessation of inter-tribal feuding in the early 1870s caused its natural demise; the last Crow Sun Dance was held about 1875 in the vicinity of their Rosebud Creek agency (Nabokov 1967:80). Borrowed from the Wind River Shoshone through the agency of a religious innovator named Pablo Juan Truhujo, the Pryor Crows led by
William Big Day held the first version of the ceremony in June, 1941 (Voget 1984). Since then Sun Dancing has become a central part of contemporary Crow spirituality, with three different Sun Dances held in the summer of 1994 alone and Truhujo's designated successor, the late Tom Yellowtail, contributing to two books on the subject (Yellowtail 1991; Frey 1987).

Over a quarter-century before, however, another new nativistic innovation had been appropriated by the Crow. Around 1912 tribesmen who had been joining meetings of the Native American Church on the adjoining Northern Cheyenne Reservation began to hold "peyote meetings" on their own reservation (Kiste 1962:1-2). Frank Bethune, son-in-law of the famous Crow scout, Mitch Bouyer, who was killed with General George Custer at the Battle of the Little Bighorn, is often credited with being a prime mover in the Crow adoption of peyote. The new ritual took hold until its constituency has become one of the strongest in the northern Plains. The tribe even produced a national president of the Native American Church, Frank Take the Gun; today its adherents remain a significant cultural force on the reservation.

Meanwhile the introduction of new Christian denominations into Crow society earlier in this century did not escape the scrutiny of anthropologists. Although Pentecostalism experienced a sudden upsurge in membership on the Crow reservation from the 1970s to the 1990s through self-appointed native ministers who engendered an independent Pentecostal movement, scholar Crow scholar and educator Timothy P. McCleary has focused on the initial acceptance of Pentecostalism among the Crow in 1923 (McCleary 1993). That year Nellie Stewart and five other Crows attended a Four Square Gospel Church revival conducted by Aimee Semple McPherson outside of Miles City, Montana. This contact led to the initial phase of Crow Pentecostalism. In what McCleary identifies as the latest phases, however, 1970-1972, the Pentecostals have played major roles in Crow politics and impacted on Crow social structure through bypassing the "clan uncle" and "clan aunt" practices and discouraging such Crow traditions as the medicine bundle complex, powwow giveaways, the Tobacco Society and related cultural expressions.

Yet other anthropologists have recorded the continued persistence of those same practices and traditional values. To anthropologist C. Adrian Heidenreich, key behaviors which sustain Crow culture today include a high per capita language retention, protective interaction between clan uncles and aunts and their charges, the ubiquitous use of sweat baths, the continued importance of vision-questing and sun-dancing (Heidenreich 1970, 1976). Frey’s more detailed study of the clan uncle and aunt (aassahke) complex, the acquisition and
use of medicine (xapaaliia) through fasting, sun dancing and medicine bundles, positions these practices within contemporary Crow culture and references them to narrative folklore still transmitted in Crow homes (Frey 1987). Of all these traditional social forms, the clans remain among the most distinctive features of contemporary Crow life. Today there persist eight active matrilineal Crow clans (ashammaleaxia), six of which still are paired into kindred groups in much the same way that Lowie observed earlier in this century, although he enumerated thirteen clans which had existed in the 19th century (Lowie 1956:9). Competitive events such as arrow-throwing and hand games pit clans against each other and enhance clan-kindred solidarity. But the "Clan Uncle" (aassahke) institution emphasizes the important role of male members of the patriclan, who are generically considered the protectors and cultural guardians of their nieces and nephews, their "children". It is Clan Uncles who offer prayers and bestow names, who are asked to "cut the cake" during birthday celebrations, who escort their siblings' offspring during solemn moments during public gatherings, and who are generally responsible for raising them in proper Crow ways and who are given gifts in return (see entire chapter on the aassahke institution, Frey 1987:40-57).

Recently the ethnographic record of the Crow has been considerably enriched by what might be termed auto-ethnography; that is, Crows writing their own books about themselves. The genre of Crow "life-history" has already provided important sidelights to the cultural record of the tribe, with autobiographies of Plenty Coups (Linderman [1930]1962), Pretty Shield (Linderman [1932]1972), Two Leggings (Nabokov 1967) and an adopted Crow named Thomas B. Leforge (Marquis [1928]1974). Recently, however, this bibliography has been joined by life-histories of Tom Yellowtail (Yellowtail 1991). In addition the Crow anthropologist, linguist and historian Joseph Medicine Crow has written an insider's account of Crow culture history which spans from origins to the 20th century (1992) and Mickey Old Coyote provides a rare look at Crow and government relations through dialogues with Helene Smith (1992), while the Little Big Horn College curriculum department has begun publishing its own study guides on Crow culture history, beginning with biographical sketches of all key Crow chiefs (Bernardis 1986).
CHAPTER THREE

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES OF THE CROW INDIANS

The Pryor Mountain/Bighorn Canyon region, presently including the Bighorn National Recreation Area and adjoining public and private lands, was ideally suited for a hunting and gathering lifeway of the sort practiced by the Crow Indians between at least 1600 and the 1870s. As with many other mountain regions in the drier parts of western North America, it was utilized by the Crows in a seasonal pattern of transhumance which began in the days when dogs were their primary beasts of burden and continued into their more mobile heyday as one of the northern Plains equestrian peoples. This pattern of use and the emotional ties it generated were eloquently summarized in an oft-quoted speech by the Crow Chief, Arapooish:

It has snowy mountains and sunny plains; all kinds of climates and good things for every season. When the summer heats scorch the prairies, you can draw up under the mountains, where the air is sweet and cool, the grass fresh, and bright streams come tumbling out of the snow-banks. There you can hunt the elk, the deer, and the antelope, when their skins are fit for dressing; there you will find plenty of white bears and mountain sheep.

In the autumn, when horses are fat and strong from the mountain pastures, you can go down into the plains and hunt the buffalo, or trap beaver on the streams. And when winter comes on, you can take shelter in the woody bottoms along the rivers . . .

Crow country is exactly in the right place. Everything good is to be found there. There is no country like the Crow country (Irving 1843:226).

This indigenous portrayal of what Crows have characterized as a "promised land" is echoed in speeches by other historical Crow leaders as well, down to the present day. As we have already stated, and as educator Karen Watembach has reiterated, "Many Crow people still say, 'All we have comes from those mountains, the Big Horns'" (Watembach ca.1982:v). Watembach adds, "Although the area of the Crow Reservation covered a little over 7500 square miles in 1887, the Crow people knew river, creek and valley intimately. The Crow people found their center in this land and in all the natural forces giving life to them and this land" (Watembach ca.1982:vi). The following sections reflect that cultural intimacy and historical interaction which Crows developed with the total ecology of the Bighorn Canyon Recreation Area.
In light of our notion of world-view previously discussed, it is not surprising that an understanding of the BICA+ study area through Crow eyes requires, initially at least, focusing less on particularized sites or prominent features, or even on the strict cartographic perimeters of the BICA+ study area alone. Rather, it requires a perspective which perceives the mountainous region as an ensemble of culturally-charged and interconnected locations which Crow used in many different ways for many different reasons throughout their traditional yearly round, and which continues to generate and nurture cultural meanings even though title control and landscape management of the area is no longer in Crow hands. From our intensive, though short-term, interaction with Crow consultants, we got the strong impression that a Crow "mental map" of the relevant BICA+ study cultural eco-zones area might include:

--- the various pathways, trails and migratory routes of both people and animals;

--- the outer cordon of foothills or in-turning ridges which, while not part of the mountain-scape proper, resonate with cultural significance, sometimes as burial plots, sometimes as locations for vision quests of shorter duration, and also as windbreaks for the wintering prey, Indian groups passing through, and raiders who utilize the good grass and narrow valleys between them and the mountain base proper;

--- the smaller draws, branching coulees and overgrown freshwater springs to which families returned summer after summer as their favorite spots for berrying, hauling drinking water, and camping;

--- the mountains proper with bighorn sheep occupying the uppermost eco-zones, locations for the most auspicious vision quests and harbingers for well-trained Crow observers of coming weather and the quantity of spring melt;

--- the sprawling basin pasture-lands in between the Pryors and Bighorns where bison, antelope, deer and elk and movements of unfriendly tribesmen were monitored;

--- the actual river canyon itself, the rushing channels and stiller pools, key crossings, sandbars, and cave accesses (and changes in this cultural landscape related to Yellowtail Dam construction).

It was instructive that when Crow Indian consultant Wilson Lincoln was queried about the names of notable Crows who had fasted in the area of Pryor Gap, and specifically on
the popularly-named "Castle Buttes", he referred to the famous Chief Plenty Coups (like the old chief, Lincoln hails from Pryor as well, another example of the intense regionality of Crow folklore. For Plenty Coups' own version of this homestead-chartering story see Linderman [1930]1962:61-65). Of special interest in the account was Lincoln's emphasis that the narrative took place over a series of interconnected sites (BICA+ 1993 Interview # 16). During one of his fasts, Plenty Coups had experienced his vision on the Crazy Mountains (Awaxaaawippiia), but then his vision "helper" directed him or magically transported him to the Castle Buttes at the mouth of Pryor Canyon. At this spot the Little People informed Plenty Coups of a subterranean tunnel leading to a sacred spring where, he was informed, his future homesite would be found. This was the plot which became the frame building with its lofty cottonwood grove known today as Plenty Coups State Monument and Museum.

This multiple-location motif deserves mention since it suggests a contrast, but also an important relationship, between manifest and internal expressions of the cultural landscape. The former are places endowed with the range of meanings discussed throughout this chapter; the latter suggest their significance as reflected within the individualized psychologies and memories to which vision or medicine dream testimonies provide unusual access. The occurrence of specific sites in such testimonies offers a strong indicator for their high cultural salience, while the relationship between manifest and internal sites suggests their relative status. This unstudied pattern is also evidenced in the vision quest of Bull All The Time, who actually fasted at Wyoming's Buffalo Heart Mountain (Bisheelaasesh) but who envisioned a person beckoning him from Pryor Gap to come and visit there (Lowie 1922b:338). It appears again when Two Leggings likewise fasted on Buffalo Heart Mountain and envisioned seven people standing on Thunderbird Sits Down Mountain, where he had fasted before (Nabokov 1967:88, 62-64). Indeed, when Lowie himself noticed this pattern after Yellow Brow told him the narrative of Twined Tail, he offered the following footnote: "This is an established feature of certain visions. Bull-all-the-time in describing one of his experiences told me: 'In my sleep I saw Pryor Gap and beheld a person holding out a blanket and making a sign for me to come over'" (Lowie 1956:159).

An example of Crow internalization of their cultural landscape and its symbolically-salient and psychologically-restorative aesthetic features is reflected by another consultant's vision testimony. In this case the consultant was a woman and her transcendental experience, even though its envisioned setting was the non-human higher altitudes,
actually occurred just outside of Pryor in the well-populated midst of a Sun Dance in which she took part during the 1950s.

I dreamt that there was a mountain there, right in the foot of the mountain there was a stream. A little fall from a, from a rock and there was still snow on the other side of this little stream. There was green grass on the side, on my side of the stream with real, lots of green grass and little flowers there. So I was kneeling down and drank that water and finally I lay down under that little waterfall and had a drink all that water. And there a little man right on top of this rock where the waterfall was. He was singing and he gave me some medicine and by the time this little man quit singing that's when they woke me up (Conner 1993:131).

In Crow thought, the fact that in today's world interaction between sites trespasses upon multiple private, state and federal land ownership does not deter them from considering this geographical interplay as culturally probable and legally proper. As Fogelson has written, "Traditional Native American notions about sacred space tend to be more transvaluative and flexible with respect to placement and boundaries. Rather than a fixed point, or a set of fixed points, Native American rituals often emphasize movement between relative locations" (Fogelson 1981:133).

Although government control, patrolling by uniformed custodians with law enforcement powers, and the abiding negative psychological impact of the Yellowtail Dam placement have tended to discourage intensive Crow use of the BICA+ study area as a zone of refuge, the terrain remains, in their view, an integrated cultural landscape. This "holistic" environmental sense is not unlike that of the Navajo, described by Kelley and Francis in their arguments about federal protection for topographic ensembles: "To be most effective preservation efforts must widen their focus from the specific place to the culturally significant landscape within which each place functions...Preservation efforts that focus on places but ignore their associated landscapes run the risk of saving the places while letting the living context be destroyed . . ." (Kelley and Francis 1993:161). While legal ownership is not in question, in tribal consciousness their religious and sentimental membership to this landscape is. By this we mean a cultural relationship between event and place, which remains anchored in diverse practices, oral narratives and cultural memories -- whether the "events" are supernatural, legendary, or historical -- and which predates the superimposition of territorial boundaries or jurisdictional responsibilities imposed by non-Indian society.
on the traditional Crow homeland. As Conner wrote about the Bighorn-Pryor area nearly a quarter-century ago:

This is Crow Country and has been since the Crow Indians arrived three or four hundred years ago. Many of the Rocky Mountain tribes came into the region on seasonal bison hunts. The Sioux and Northern Cheyenne forced their way into parts of it in historic times. It may be that the Crow legends of the Little People are based on fleeting glimpses of the timid Sheepeater Indians, as suggested by Medicine Crow. But the Big Horn-Pryor area is and has been Crow country... (Conner 1967a:4-5).

Emotional Associations -- Between Sacrament and Sentiment

During our Crow Indian interviews it became clear that, while some consultants associated certain sites with religious, or what might be termed "sacramental" importance, nearly all held fond memories of more secular, but equally personal, association with mountain landscapes (see Resource procurement section below). Not only must the category of "ethnographic resources" include sites with well-known folkloric, historical or sacramental importance, but also those sites with emotional associations, personal memories, and ingrained sentiments. This is especially true when successive interviewing, over many years, elicits recurrent themes and common experiences. For many de-territorialized, disenfranchised, exiled or immigrant ethnic groups, such psychological associations and emotion-laden memories are all that do constitute "culture" for them.

Crow Indian people have expressed the sense that their landscape contains many forms of unseen meanings. In 1907, during a conference when a large segment of the Crow reservation was proposed for white settlement, the famous, former U.S. Cavalry scout, Curley, alluded to one way the Crows could lay claim to the inner spirit of their environment:

I was a friend of General Custer. I was one of his scouts and will say a few words. The Great Father in Washington sent you here about this land. The soil you see is not ordinary soil - it is the dust of the blood, the flesh and bones of our ancestors. We fought and bled and died helping the whites. You will have to dig down through the surface before you find nature's earth as the upper portion is Crow. The land as it is, is my blood and my dead; it is consecrated and I do not want to give away any portion of it (Emphasis ours; from U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, pp. 770-771, 1908, quoted in Garber 1916:28).
In his forthcoming, definitive reconstruction of late 19th and early 20th century Crow history, Dr. Frederick Hoxie quotes an exasperated district farmer in 1925 who complained that "the greatest drawback in trying to teach these Crow Indians to farm is and has been that they will travel, visiting all summer long", and Hoxie describes reports from other districts which "regularly noted the absence of Crow families to visit, participate in tribal dances or gather berries in the Bighorn mountains" (Hoxie 1995 (in press):401-402). Hoxie also notes, "None of these reports indicated that these officials were aware of the tribe's ancient ties to the Bighorn basin, the high country of the mountains themselves, or other traditional hunting and gathering areas" (Hoxie 1995 (in press):402).

During visits to specific sites Crow Indian consultants invariably were reminded of the informal appeal and personal attachment to the study area. When Hank Old Coyote was being recorded at the Crow-Piegan battle site (24BH266), for instance, he mused:

I've been coming out here with my grandparents ever since I can remember. In the summer time we come over here and they pick berries in that draw up there and sometimes they go up towards Hoodoo. But they pick berries here in the summer and camp here and just get away from it all for a while you know...get away from these towns and...just enjoy yourself. (Conner 1993:209).

Historical Associations

The physical evidence of historical events in Crow culture-history is of two sorts. First are the "fortification" and "siege sites" of the sort to be described under Categories F & G. Second are the conscious efforts of traditional Crow people to mark their important sites, as Old Coyote describes in his account of the success of a famous warrior named Spotted Horse. "The Crow would pile a monument of rocks to mark the spot... Where Spotted Horse fought!" In this way, there would be a perpetual reminder of the fleeting glory of a "Great One" (Story of Spotted Horse in Old Coyote and Old Coyote II, 1985:26-27). Similarly, a location "where the entire camp mourned and wailed", (the intersection of Fly Creek and the present-day paved highway) was marked by "piled rocks as high as they could reach" (Story of Rabbit Child in Old Coyote and Old Coyote III, 1985:26).

Place-naming is another Crow mode of commemorating sites with historical importance. Crow terms for some sites are clearly drawn from historical experiences of a broadly-known nature, which nonetheless draw their mnemonic identification from the fact that they impacted upon a particular individual.
"The Rotten Sundance Lodge" (Linderman [1932]1972:224) refers to a religious occasion, while the Crow name for Custer Battlefield, Ihkaléaxdaake Alahaawiiio, means "where they did away with the child of the morning star".

A preponderance of other Crow site names likewise stress an individual rather than a collective association, although those personalities are often familiar only within the Crow community and its collective memory. Here one might cite Baaluushuahawatash Annahéeo, the creek known as "where One Blue Bead was attacked" (Bear-in-the-Middle Creek), Chiilapchiash, "White Bull's fork" (Alligator Creek), or Batchóosannapua, "He went on a white horse down a bank", which refers to the location near Pryor where a forty-year-old warrior of that name threw his life away in a gesture of fatalistic bravery (Lowie 1918:298).

When one does find sites named for Crow historical experiences of a collective nature, they often refer to times when the tribe was forced to share a common experience, such as the name for Big Timber, Montana, Bishéichiiłannuusuwaussee, or "where they first ate beef", or Crow Agency, Isbaatąwuaaxapé, "his bell fell" (referring either to an incident when the reservation agency's fire-bell tumbled to the ground, or to the killing of Wraps His Tail, whose medicine was a bell worn around his neck), or Columbus, Montana, Baaxawuashalíiko, "wheat house toward the back" (Medicine Horse 1987:8-10).

At the same time many Crow place names are purely descriptive, such as "Thick Ash Trees" (Linderman [1932]1972:214) for Reno Creek, "Yellow Willows" for Powell, Wyoming (op. cit.:227), or "The Snow-Melting River" (Linderman [1930]1962:299).

Finally, while Crow toponymy for the BICA+ domain reflects the lessened association between mythology (as contrasted with legend, folktale, and oral tradition) and landscape mentioned earlier, such references are not entirely absent in the wider Crow homeland and may suggest older 19th century haunts, religious reference points, or places of residence, such as "The Mountain Lion's Lodge" for Pompey's Pillar (Linderman [1932]1972:200). Directly associated with the BICA+ domain is another such site, "Thunderbird's Nest" (Suaihchisshe), which one BICA+ consultant took pains to identify as "up in the Pryor Mountains -- right above Sage Creek, in one of the canyons there," and to distinguish from "Where The Whooping Cranes Sit" (Apitalawaache), which is a pointed knoll by Parkman and Dayton (Conner 1993:2).

At the same time, Crow topographic memory for the BICA+ area is marked by their moral commentary on the recent history
of non-Indians. For example BICA+ Consultant # 11 offered anecdotes about greedy gold transporters boating up from the Wind River, who hid their treasure in the Dry Head area, just south of "Little Mountain" (near a favored June berry-picking region between the Pryors and Bighorns called "Where The Bear Eats"). He also identified The Gyp Creek region of the Garvin Basin as the place where a major portion of a 20,000-head cattle shipment being driven from Texas to the Crows and Blackfeet was rustled and held in hiding by local ranchers in the 1890s.

Categories of Crow Ethnographic Resources

A) Mountains in Crow Culture-History

When Crow people speak of the Bighorn mountains the word they use is basawaxaawùua, meaning simply "our mountains", which may be the only Crow place-name containing a possessive pronoun referring to the proprietary interest of the entire tribe (Medicine Horse 1987:9). Our consultant Mickey Old Coyote pointed out to us the official Crow seal, which he helped design. When asked about the mountains that are depicted prominently on the emblem, Old Coyote answered that it meant "The Yellowstone, Big Horn Mountain area was all ours. America's first national park, established 1872, all belonged to our ancestors who travelled back and forth on their own homelands" (Old Coyote and Smith 1992:34).

The initial association between Crows and mountains is mandated in the oft-told narrative of the original vision quest which led to the inception of the Crow as a distinct people. We heard many versions of this chartering narrative for Crow ethno-genesis, but most concur in the following way. Two leaders, often brothers, fast upon their father's injunction when their people are suffering a famine. In the sanctity of a sweat-lodge, after their vision quests, one brother tells how he was given corn and squash and told to stay put. The other brother is given the sacred tobacco seed and told "to seek the plant in the mountains" (Old Coyote and Smith 1992:35). Other accounts suggest that he was given the seed and told to depart on an epic journey until another vision told him where to plant them in some mountains to come. In a myth related by Medicine Crow to Lowie, the importance of the sacred tobacco is extended back before this vision quest narrative, and the mountains figure once again. It is in the dog-travel days, when Crows made fire with wooden drills. A fasting boy is adopted by the Sun and becomes chief of the Crow. As an old man he wants to leave the Tobacco medicine as his legacy for the people. "The mountain likes this medicine", he says (Lowie 1920:188).
As these comments suggest, certain mountains hold tribal-wide importance for the Crow. Such was the lofty Cloud Peak, known by them as "the extended 'mountain'", or the "mountain on top of a mountain", which may derive from the observation that low-lying clouds sometimes separate the base of the mountain from the peak, conveying an impression of two separate landforms. Towering over the southern Bighorns, this mountain is often associated with the end of the Crow sacred migration trek led by No Vitals. Another important mountain is Pryor Mountain, which, as Woodruff has noted, "was more sacred than its neighbors" and, hence, "It was to this Mount Nebo of the Crows that pilgrimages were made...The thunder had his home on this mountain, and storms could be seen sporting on its summit when fair weather ruled the neighboring country" (Woodruff 1939:86).

Outsiders' common descriptions of Crows as "mountaineers" (Curtis [1909]1970:40) are reflected in Crow song literature. One consultant (BICA+ 1993 Interview # 8) sang a praise song remembered from Iron Fork, his grandfather: "The things that are good, they are there on the sides of those mountains." This emphasis on the inherently bountiful and positive nature of mountains (also stressed in the taped commentaries by both consultant and translator in the session on place-names from Interview # 8) resonates especially throughout lyrics of personal songs related to the Tobacco Society (Baasshussuua). According to one consultant, when he was adopted into the Society and standing with his wife and daughter during the "dancing with your adopted children" period, he was given the following song (which he sang first and then translated):

The mountains are good. They are beautiful,
Look at the mountains and their beauty.
It's summertime now, and everything about the mountains is beautiful.

The consultant added his own commentary: "This song reflects all the things that are good about the mountains, their beauty, the things that they provide for us, and that's what the song is all about" (BICA 1993+ Interview # 8). Older Tobacco Society song collections echo this theme, including those elicited by S.C. Simms in 1902, "I walk towards the mountain. I am the last one" (Simms 1904:334); by Robert Lowie in 1914, "Tobacco is plenty, it is said, on the mountain, where I stay" (Lowie 1920:191), right up to 1982, "Get up and look at the mountains. It is raining in the mountains. Let us look at them. Get up and look at the mountains. The mountains are lush and green. Let us look at them" (Nabokov 1988:460).
Nor in Crow thought is there a sharp division between their sacramental and sentimental ties to the mountains. A consultant confided the personal appeal of the Crow high country where he had fasted:

...the mind is clear and ...[you] look across the country and see the lights and wonder what you are doing. Are you living wicked. Which reminds me of a story of Noah...I was thinking of stories like that and it really cures my mind and I'm ready to go for another month now...That's why I like to maintain a mountain as a tribal area. And I'm using religion right now and it's so clear. And I take my gun and leave it by the road and then walk up some high cliff and sit up there. You don't get cold and you feel so warm that nothing bothers me. My mind is clear and I know my family is safe at home. And when I come back I have better relationship with the people like you tonight....So that's one reason I kept this religion (Conner 1993:52-53).

As another consultant summed up the Crow attitude towards the BICA+ high country:

So the mountains have three values in them. This is where you acquire your spiritual gifts. This is where you get your needs, meat, hides, birds, whatever . . . plant life, berries, bear root, tobacco plant, many more. Plus, further down, the foot of the mountains, that's where they return to mother earth, back to mother nature. So the mountains were regarded in those three areas of respect . . . Even today, we have people that come up here, kind of like for reacquainting themselves with those concepts. You know, it's just a good feeling just to come up here. They might come up here and leave a smoke here...I hear people just say, "I want to go to the mountains". This is where we get our culture, our customs, our heritage, our background -- Mountain Crow! So our way of life is right here. We were born here (BICA+ 1993 Interview # 1).

B) Journey Sites

The BICA+ study area is crisscrossed with hunting trails and travelling thoroughfares which Crow people have used for centuries. The two most prominent are the Bad Pass Trail, which connects the Dryhead buffalo hunting country to Wyoming, and the trail through Pryor Gap. Although the Bad Pass Trail was used by Euro-Americans and other tribes of Indians, the only ethnographic account of its use is by Plainfeather, a Crow Indian. Plainfeather described his use of the trail in 1962, in a United States government hearing held prior to
When I was eight years of age, I made my first trip through Bad Pass. Bad Pass is a pass from the north side of the Big Horn Mountains across the Big Horn Mountains to the south portion to the Big Horn Mountains. In order to travel the route which has always been commonly known as Bad Pass, it is necessary to travel along the Pryor Mountains to Dry Head Creek and then south above the head-waters of the small creeks flowing into the Big Horn River and into the State of Wyoming. This was the trail which the Indians used to travel from the lands which is now Big Horn County, Montana, into the Big Horn Basin in Wyoming. Bad Pass was a very rough trail. My first trip through Bad Pass was made with my parents and other Crow Indians when I was eight years of age. Since that time I have travelled through Bad Pass upon many occasions. I recall when I was a young child, we found the remains of battle implements which indicated that the grounds had been used for the place of battle skirmishes. I remember in particular when we found broken tips of tepees. I was told that Falls Down Old, a member of the Crow Tribe of Indians, was the first Indian who discovered Bad Pass many years before my birth. At the time of my childhood and prior to that time, Bad Pass was the only trail to reach the Big Horn Basin from north of the Big Horn Mountains. I know Bad Pass so well that I could guide you without very little difficulty through the pass at the present time. Both the whites and the Indians knew the pass as Bad Pass. Although I camped for many weeks each year along the Big Horn River during my childhood and during the many years of my lifetime, yet I never knew of anyone travelling the water through the Big Horn River until recent years (Plainfeather Affidavit, Montana 1962).

Archaeological evidence indicates Bad Pass functioned as a travel route for many centuries prior to its use by Crow Indians, but the description offered by Plainfeather is also confirmed by archaeology (Figure 3.1). For example, Plainfeather remembers finding tipi poles along the trail. Tipi poles served a secondary function of making the travois that were used by the travellers of the trail. Although they are increasingly rare, the remnants of these poles are still found along the trail. In addition, a few artifacts have been found by archaeologists completing excavations into the rock cairns. Some of these include ceramics assignable to the Crow Indian use of the trail. Others are much older.
The Bad Pass Trail, itself, is marked by rock cairns that vary from a small group of stones less than 20 cm. high to major piles of rocks that are ca. 3 m. in diameter and 1.5 m. high (Loendorf and Brownell 1981). Hundreds of these rock piles have been found along the trail where they tend to increase in size and number in rocky areas (Figure 3.2). This suggests the major function of the cairns was to clear the trail so the travellers would have a smoother route. Rock cairns are also found along other trails in the western America, but Bad Pass contains the longest series known on the continent.

Former campsites along these trails contain artifacts lost or left behind by the travellers. One of the most significant of these sites, known as the Pretty Creek site, 24CB4 and 24CB5, is found where the Bad Pass trail crosses Layout Creek. Remnants of former travellers are abundant at the site, which contains stratified layers of deposits dating as far back as 8,000 to 9,000 years, artifacts that represent the intervening years, and recent components attributable to the Crow or their contemporaries.

Unusual artifacts found in the cairns, like pieces of mica or fragments of hematite, probably represent offerings, perhaps for a successful journey. Projectile points, some that are ancient varieties, may have been collected as curios by groups travelling the trail and cast into the piles. Because of this possibility, it is not possible to use projectile points as indicators of the age of the cairns. A single radiocarbon date on a fragment of charred wood found near the base of one cairn indicates it was built at least 1500 years before the present (Loendorf and Brownell 1980:32). This suggests the trail was in use for centuries prior to the time the Crow moved to the region, but the testimony by Plainfeather is ample evidence of the importance of the trail to the Crow.

Another important trail in the study area followed the northern flanks of the Pryor Mountains. Connecting the Clark Fork of the Yellowstone River valley with the Bighorn River valley, this east/west route went along Pryor (Arrow) Creek through the narrow defile known as Pryor Gap (Shoots with the Arrow Gap). The rock cairns marking this route are not as numerous as those in the Bad Pass. This reflects the shorter distance through the gap and the destruction of cairns for clearing agricultural fields. Nonetheless, several dozen cairns remain in a linear arrangement through the gap.

Few byways in Crow country receive as much mention in literature on the tribe as the Pryor Gap. Two Leggings
Figure 3.1. Mae Old Coyote (BICA Consultant # 7) and friend on horseback about the age when she witnessed the Bear Song Dance.

Figure 3.2. A rock cairn along the Bad Pass Trail.
constantly talks of movement on this thoroughfare and related routes: "We followed Arrow Creek, crossing the flats along the river for many days...[We] walked so far the weather grew hot. We had long since passed the place where the town of Cody now stands..." (Nabokov 1967:20), and later:

... our chiefs led us across the Bighorn River at the mouth of Black Canyon, along the foot of the mountains to Arrow Creek, and then through Hits With The Arrows. Finally we camped at the foot of the Buffalo Heart Mountain, close to the present town of Cody, a well-known fasting place where many important medicine men had received visions (Nabokov 1967:87-88).

Later still, "Immediately we broke camp and moved to Arrow Creek, travelling through Hits With The Arrows towards the Buffalo Heart Mountain. As our camp moved from place to place, following the buffalo, I would often walk into the hills to weep over Young Mountain" (Nabokov 1967:126). Plenty Coups' memoirs are full of similar travelling recollections, such as "After the tobacco-planting ceremony, the village, which had been camped on Arrow Creek, moved to Yellow-willows (Sage Creek) but did not stop there long because our Wolves (game scouts) signalled us from the high hills that there were many buffalo on the Stinking Water" (Linderman [1930]1962:100-101).

Other lesser trails are also marked by cairns. Often, these cairns mark the location of a pass or an appropriate route off a mountain. The row of rock cairns on Demijohn Flats, on the southern flank of Big Pryor Mountain, is an example. This row of cairns, more than 50 in number, marks an important access route from the mountains into the Crooked Creek bottom.

Rock cairns were used by Crow Indians to mark the location of local travel routes, as described above, and on a regional or national level to designate or commemorate the route used for a significant journey. Lieutenant James Bradley, travelling with the Montana Column in 1876, observed a Crow scout spit on a rock and cast it into a pile of rocks. When he asked about this practice, he was assured it was commonly done to assure good fortune on their journey. He also learned it was the custom of the Crow Indians to leave rock cairns as markers of a route. Described by Bradley in his diary:

The same tradition asserts that the Crows left such piles scattered all along the route by which they migrated from the southeast, so that they could find their way back if they ever decided to do so. They assert that even now
Yellowstone to the Arkansas River, and some of my scouts pointed out a knoll to the southeast where they said the next pile was to be found (Bradley 1961:55).

This account of Crow Indians using rock piles to insure good fortune, and constructing them as trail markers more than a century ago, strongly supports the bond between the Crow and "journey sites" as a category of ethnographic resources.

C) *Meat Procurement Sites*

Our consultants led us to early hunting, or "buffalo jump", sites of great significance in the contemporary Crow sense of their heritage (Figure 3.3). The BICA+ study area, which we were requested by BICA+ officials to refer to more generally as "Crow country", was originally dominated by pasturage that was optimal for bison. We tend to think of bison as a plains animal but there is considerable evidence that the mountain and foothills environments of Crow country were equally important bison habitat. Animal ecologists debate the likelihood of a separate species of mountain bison but, genetic evidence notwithstanding, the growth of the Crow Tribal herd in the Bighorn Mountains, the healthy condition of the buffalo in Yellowstone Park, and the successful herds of private ranchers in mountainous settings, are present-day evidence for the capacity of bison to thrive in a mountain environment. The prehistoric and proto-historic record, as well as the traditions of the Crow, also reflect the abundance of bison. The undulating grasslands of the Dryhead region, with the drainage systems cut into the underlying limestone, was once one of the most suitable locations for hunting, driving, and trapping bison on the North American continent.

It should not be surprising, then, that there are a dozen bison drives and jumps in this region, known to Crows as "where men pack their meat". Indeed, Conner has written:

This amazing concentration of buffalo jumps is unique...It is well within the realm of possibility that when time and manpower permits a detailed examination of the ground, it will be discovered that the Indians did in fact have the rock lines so laid out as to offer alternative routes to the slaughterhouse if the herd didn’t get started down the right chute (Conner 1967a:26).

The largest of the jumps is at the point where the Bad Pass trail crosses Dryhead Creek, near the present Dryhead Ranch. The Crow people refer to this area as Aashüchoosalaho, or
Figure 3.3. Photograph of the Buffalo Jump Diorama at the Montana Historical Society Museum.
"where there are many dry skulls". Bone beds are located along nearly a kilometer of the south bank of the creek below the canyon wall. Located on private lands, this important site, with evidence of extensive looting, has never been excavated by professional archaeologists, but an examination of projectile points found at the site indicates it has been used for the past 1000 to 1500 years.

To the north of this buffalo jump, the Grapevine drainage has remnants of 8 more buffalo jumps. One of these, 24BH820, is within the confines of Bighorn National Recreation Area. Another was used circa A.D. 1865 by the Crow Chief, Tip-Of-Fur, who organized and directed a successful bison kill at the confluence of Hoodoo Creek and Dry Head Creek. A Crow woman, Big Medicine Rock, who died in 1924, witnessed this bison kill and often repeated the story to her grandson, Martin He-Does-It:

After the butchering, the chief (Tip-Of-Fur) ordered that all the severed heads be piled at the foot of the cliff. This site was used several times afterward and, in time, a vast number of skulls or dried heads accumulated at this place. The Crow called this site "Place of many dry heads" and for this reason the creek was eventually called Dry Head Creek (Medicine Crow 1978:249).

The confluence of Hoodoo Creek and Dry Head Creek is within the boundaries of BICA and, although this site has not been relocated, remains of the bison kill are still likely to be found in the Hoodoo Creek canyon.

The Crow Indians were taught the technique of driving bison over cliffs by Running Coyote, a contemporary of Chief No Vitals. This is thought to have been during the time the original Crow band was migrating in search of the present-day homeland (Medicine Crow 1978:249). They remember using several of the better-known buffalo jumps in the area, but the most important complex is the previously mentioned "where men pack their meat". This complex of five separate buffalo jumps is repeatedly recognized by the Crow as an important site. Joe Medicine Crow (1978:253) writes that "the Crow Indians used the cliff jumping of bison more extensively and longer than any other tribe, and the greatest concentration of sites anywhere in North America is located in Grapevine Creek in the heart of Crow Country." Furthermore, Medicine Crow believes this complex of buffalo jumps should be preserved and opened, in its natural setting, as an interpretive site for the public to learn about bison driving. (Medicine Crow's written commentary on the "charming game" and other shamanic techniques associated with collective hunting is reinforced by Lowie 1922b:354-359).
The complex includes five separate buffalo jumps on Grapevine Creek, and a single set of drive lines on a tributary canyon to Grapevine Creek. The latter site is part of a series of drive lines that can only be recorded at times when grass cover is minimal. According to Joe Medicine Crow, some drive lines, obscured by grass cover, are within the boundaries of BICA+. One elderly BICA+ consultant discussed these "jumps" and the fate of their rock piles:

They pile rocks about that high [indicating about four feet]...and they hold a buffalo rug, hold it like this. All the way round they pile rocks there and hold hands. Drop it. They got all their buffalos there. They run, run around till they over each other, and ah, down the canyon they go. Then they have big feast. That's the way they, they had no guns in them days... (This was at) Grapevine Creek and there's a canyon there. Right in the corner. And all those piles of rocks, they're destroyed. But I don't know. Some white guys... Sundays they come around, they drink enough beer, they think they can do anything. They're smart, you know, drive here and there. People, they used to come horseback. Even old woman come over there to see. Way down then in that canyon, bone pile (Conner 1993:165).

This consultant's mention of destruction of drive-line rock piles was not uncommon in our interviews. An undercurrent of Crow resentment of non-Crow behavior towards their ancestral landscape runs throughout their commentaries on "ethnographic resources".

Driving Bighorn sheep into traps made of downfall timber was also commonly practiced by Indians in the region. Sheep were driven into v-shaped walls of interlaid timber and forced into a rectangular corral at the apex of the walls. Once in the corral they were driven in circles and bonked in the head by hunters who stood outside the corral. A downfall timber feature in the Pryor Mountains has the characteristic shape of one of these sheep corrals, but it also displays evidence that it was used by EuroAmerican cowboys to corral wild horses. The corral needs more investigation, but it may be an original sheep trap that was altered to trap wild horses.

D) Plant Procurement Sites

Our leading BICA consultant on the natural foods traditionally foraged by Crows in the study area was Alma Snell, granddaughter of the well-known Pretty Shield, who was the subject of a famous autobiography transcribed by Frank Bird Linderman ([1932]1972). Raised by Pretty Shield until the age of 18, Mrs. Snell allowed us to document the preparatory offerings she made before food procurement, as
well as the location and seasonal availability of various natural food products related to the following groups: the berry groups; the ground tuber groups; the medicinal groups; the ceremonial groups; and the utilitarian groups.

Throughout her younger years, she kept constant company with her grandmother and her cohort, "being at her footsteps all the time." Of these early years she recalls:

I followed her up in the hills, and we'd come out here [near Ft. Smith] to "Aspen Grove", where these berries are. We used to go to that Hoodoo Creek, "The place where they used to eat bear meat". We would go and they'd [the men] go hunting and we'd camp, travel by wagons and horseback...in the 30s. In July we'd go when berries were ripe. We took turnips in June (BICA+ 1993 Interview # 9).

In addition, the consultant mentioned gathering biscuit root (black potato), wild carrot (Queen Ann Lace), wild onions or prairie onions. At favored places near Lime Kiln Creek they gathered "burnt head", a medicinal root for building up the immune system. Even for ordinary work in the berrying patches -- gathering gooseberries, buffalo berries, juneberries, chokecherries and currants -- protocols were observed:

They would say Aho, Aho, all the time [thank you, thank you] to them. They picked with care. Then also would ask the children [only] to eat a little, but pick, pick without eating until you're done. And then sit down and take care and eat some. We had sorta a little traditional thing we went through. Our grandmothers handed down, I suppose. So we do it too. And I do it yet. And I thank the tree for the shade: "I'll take care of you". And we sing a song by it so we feel that it absorbs it (BICA+ 1993 Interview # 9).

This consultant recalled that on certain wild plant-foraging, for bear root (jiisée), hawthorne or bitteroot for instance, the actual work activity was prefaced by more formalized speech:

When they came up to a hawthorne, they're talking to it and say, they say, "I'll make you a pair of moccasins". And when they picked the bitteroot, some of the women would sit down. Before they even picked. They didn't start picking. They sat around in a little group, and they might be sitting, one here, one over there, where they could hear one another, and they'd pray to the Creator, and they'd say, "We're grateful for this plant. Now protect us from any harm that might be from picking
it"...They disappeared [the bitteroot]. I don’t know if it’s the dam (BICA+ 1993 Interview # 9).

For the majority of our elderly Crow Indian consultants, a common, fond memory was their summer camping sojourns in the study area, undertaken ostensibly for natural foods procurement, but also to reexperience, if only for a little while, the less-constrained older Crow mode of existence. Slowly moving into the mountain draws of the Bighorns, the Pryors, and the Wolf ranges by horse-drawn wagon; erecting old canvas wall tents on time-honored camping flats, hunting for deer and smaller game, berry-picking and root-digging at favored patches passed on from generation to generation, food-drying and socializing and star-gazing, the consultants’ accounts of these two-to-three week outings revealed them to be clearly more than just summer vacations. During these sojourns, extended, multi-generational, and often clan-related Crow families temporarily "reclaimed" the old Crow landscape. Here they recaptured a cultural world that was, only three or four generations earlier, functionally-integrated within a more socially-autonomous, religiously-free and self-dependant Crow lifestyle. The BICA+ study area was the last, best place where Crows could remember how to be themselves, all by themselves.

A careful scrutiny of the natural resources reveals over 90% of them to be procurable in BICA+ and adjacent foothill and riverine areas (cited in Toineeta 1970, from a Crow tribal perspective; in addition, see the extensive list of culturally-significant natural resources associated with ceremonial and social circumstances provided by Crow educator and traditionalist Dale Old Horn during preliminary hearings held February 24 and 27, 1978, by the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs. U.S.Senate Select Committee 1978:253-274).

As mentioned, for berries Crow women visited stream courses in the Dryhead region which support good stands of chokecherry, buffalo berry, and sarvis berry bushes. These berries, essential ingredients in pemmican (iakshe), were a significant factor in the selection of the area for autumn hunting activities. On the upper, open terraces were found ground tubers such as wild carrot, turnip and camas. Another natural resource, for which Crow families still return to the mountains from their lowland communities and river-front homesteads, are the stands of towering lodgepole pine. Grant Bulltail, (BICA+ 1993 Interview # 2) indicated to us that there was a trail leading into the Pryor mountains near Pryor Gap, known colloquially as "where they get tipi poles in one day", and knowledge of the precise location of other favored groves are passed down within families. Finally, for procuring the material used in various ceremonial situations,
such as red willow, "running" ground-cedar, sage, and especially "bear root", knowledge of key foraging spots is transmitted within the privacy of clan, family or religious association groupings.

During the archaeological survey work in the BICA+ study area in the 1970s, it was a common practice to take a field trip at the end of the season. These trips, including representatives from the sponsors of the research, the Bureau of Land Management, Custer National Forest, the National Park Service, the director and field supervisor from the archaeological survey team and members of the Crow Culture Committee, were good opportunities for the exchange of information. On one of these excursions, the group visited the Commissary Ridge bison-kill site on the flank of East Pryor Mountain. As the visit ended, Henry Old Coyote asked to say a few words and what followed was an eloquent description of the site and its surroundings, delivered by an orator with complete knowledge of the land and the ethnographic resources it held for Crow Indians.

Henry pointed out that he did not know how the ridge got its name, but that it was appropriate because the Pryor Mountains were the commissary to the Crow:

Within a radius of a few feet, Henry identified the plants that were edible, those that had medicinal use, and those that had other uses, such as the straight pines for tipi poles. He identified a reddish clay ochre used for paint and a piece of purple-colored chert as the crystalline material used to make stone tools. He wove together the inorganic and organic parts of the mountains while constantly reminding us that this was the commissary, the storehouse of life to the Crow Indians (Loendorf 1987b:23).

E) Occupation Sites

After years of intense discussion and visitation of the BICA+ area with Joseph Medicine Crow and the late Henry Old Coyote, Stuart Conner concluded that this area:

... has the greatest concentration of diverse sites of the Northwest Plains Indians. By reason of geography and ecology there is a great concentration of sites of much richer quality in the Dryhead-Grapevine Unit. Nowhere in the northwest plains is the pre-historic and historic nomadic-militaristic material culture of the Plains Indians so graphically represented as in this unit (Conner 1967a:22).
The Dryhead-Grapevine Unit described by Conner is the primary region for meat and plant procurement discussed above. That the area was frequented by larger groups in pursuit of these resources is evident in the increased size of the tipi ring sites (Figures 3.4 and 3.5). In the Grapevine drainage, the average number of tipi rings per site is nearly double that of other locations in the region (Loendorf and Weston 1983). The average number of individuals living in a tipi, based on historical accounts, was 8 to 10 persons. Using this estimate, the median group size for tipi ring sites in the Grapevine was 60 to 75 persons, while group size at tipi ring sites in nearby settings was 32 to 40 persons (Loendorf and Weston 1983:150). These larger tipi ring sites support the assumption that the region was important for communal bison hunting. Sometimes, grinding stones are also found at such sites (for example, see Conner 1993:156).

It is difficult to assign tipi ring sites to tribal groups when surface-collected artifacts are the only evidence, but there are several sites in the Dryhead region that are probably the remains of Crow camps. Artifacts like iron projectile points or glass scrapers were recovered from several tipi ring sites, and these historic artifacts represent the Crow or their contemporaries in the region. Many of the more important tipi ring sites are located along Grapevine Creek, Hoodoo Creek, and Pitchfork Creek where abundant berry bushes are also located. These areas remained important for collecting berries, picnicking, camping, and other outings for Crow peoples until the past decade. In recent years, the Crow are more likely to travel to the Wolf Mountains, east of Lodgegrass, Montana, to pursue these activities because they do not understand the authority of the National Park Service in areas near Bighorn Canyon.

An important excavation at the Pretty Creek site examined several jumbled tipi rings. One of these contained un-notched and side-notched triangular projectile points, bi-facially flaked stone knife-blades originally hafted to a handle of wood or bone, and an iron awl made from a square nail. These artifacts are clear indicators of site use in the proto-historic or historic period and they likely represent the Crow.

Frequently, tipi ring sites along the Bad Pass trail follow the line of the trail. These are often devoid of artifacts, and were probably overnight stops for travelling groups. Since they were probably only used for a short period of time, people would not have made, or lost, a lot of tools there. Where the trail crosses permanent water, tipi ring sites tend to cluster in oval-shaped groups along the water course rather than the trail. These sites are more likely to contain artifacts, suggesting people occupied them for greater
Figure 3.4. Real Bird tipi group at Crow Fair.

Figure 3.5. Lloyd Old Coyote (BICA Consultant #1) examines a tipi ring.
periods of time, when tasks were undertaken that produced the remains found in archaeological excavation. For example, the Crooked Creek site where the Bad Pass Trail crosses the stream of this name, contained artifacts indicating it was used over several days or on more than one occasion. The site has been assigned to the Crow (Husted 1969).

According to Crow consultant Mickey Old Coyote, the crucial shift from weighing down the hems of buffalo hide tipis with rocks to pinning them down with tent stakes is credited to the legendary Big Metal (Big Iron in Lowie 1918:288-298). This technical advancement, attributed to the badger whose claws became those proto-typical tent pegs (BICA+ 1993 Interview # 1), is recalled when Crows come across the numerous tipi ring sites in their landscape. As with the Crow-naming principle, which adds the suffix for "real", "original" or "authentic" to older cultural items when new ones appeared so similar that they were given the same noun (for example, horses being called "elk" while "elk" were renamed as "real elk"), Crows may manage to retroactively appropriate into their material inventory evidence on the ground which predates items more clearly associated with their documented heritage. For Crows, it is innovations of the past, like those of Big Metal, which depict them as engineering their own cultural evolution and which simultaneously endow their landscapes with commemorative reminders of where and how their cultural-history developed.

F) Deadfall Timber Houses

Houses made of dead-fall timber (Limber pine, Douglas Fir, and Juniper) are an important historical resource found along the trails. On May 16, 1965, Joe Medicine Crow related the following description of these structures to Stuart Conner:

Plainfeather, a Crow Indian nearly 100 years old, in recent months told Medicine Crow that when Plainfeather was a young man the Crow Indians made three types of lodges of logs or poles or saplings. The three types were:

1. Conical structures using several score poles.
2. A low, domed type shaped like a sweat lodge. This kind was made by tying the tops of willows together.
3. A cabin-like structure utilizing logs laid horizontally. In this one, logs were laid high enough so a person could sit down without bumping his head on the ceiling. The roof was also of logs, and the entry was from a hole in the roof (memorandum by Stuart Conner, in his personal files, dated June 16, 1965).
The most common of these, based upon archaeological reconnaissance, are the third in the list, the structures made by stacking dead-fall into horizontal tiers, cribbed at the corners, in rectangular or pentagonal shapes (Figures 3.6 and 3.7). Walls range from 2 to 3 meters in length and, inasmuch as the structures are in a collapsed state, some remain about 1.5 meters in height. Nearly all of the structures have rocks used as chinking in the openings between the tiers of dead-fall, especially along their lower portions. Doors are usually not well-defined, but it is believed most were entered over the top of the walls or through a hole in the roof. Roof construction varies, with one form made by stacking on increasingly smaller tiers of dead-fall; others were probably roofed with bark or hides. Some may have been used without roofs -- serving more for protection from the wind or as fortresses to protect sleeping people from enemy bullets.

The majority of these dead-fall structures investigated by archaeologists in the study area contain interior fire hearths but very few artifacts. A few fragments of chipped stone tools, including the base of a side-notched projectile point, and two bison ribs were found in one structure on Big Pryor Mountain. Others did not contain any artifacts, suggesting the structures represent temporary and short-term use.

Tree-ring dating on one structure at site 24CB776 yielded an age of A.D. 1630, but because the structures are made from dead-fall, the date only establishes the time the tree died. The date probably does not coincide with the time the house was constructed. Unfortunately, there are no studies in the Pryor Mountains as to the length of time it takes a dead-fall log to decompose or deteriorate to the point it is no longer useful for building material. The cool and relatively dry environment of the Pryor Mountains might be conducive to tree survival for longer than one might expect. Fire may be more destructive to dead trees than decomposition from the elements. On the other hand, trees that survived a fire would have a charred exterior that might increase their resistance to deterioration. If the tree were standing, it would likely survive much longer than if it had fallen (Figures 3.8 and 3.9).

Obviously, the question of wood survival is complicated by many factors. An age of A.D. 1630 for a log in one of the structures opens the possibility that some of them could be that old. The majority, however, were probably built between A.D. 1750 and A.D. 1880. In this time period, temporary houses like these were made by all of the northern Plains tribes. Lowie (1956:89) writes, "For temporary use warriors,
Figure 3.6. Crib Timber Structure # 1 at Timber Town. Custer National Forest.

Figure 3.7. Looking into Crib Structure # 1 at Timber Town. Note the fire hearth remains exposed by excavation.
Figure 3.8. Crib Timber Structure # 4 at Timber Town. Custer National Forest.

Figure 3.9. Crib Timber Structure # 2 at Timber Town. Custer National Forest.
Figure 3.10. BLM Timber Hut. View from Wind Spirit Site.

Figure 3.11. Looking out through the timber wall at Skybird Castle.
Figure 3.12. Floor plan of Skybird Castle showing standing and collapsed timber in the wall.
G) Siege and Battle Sites

Our consultants were well aware that the richness of the Dryhead region for hunting and gathering had made it a desirable place for other Plains tribes. It is part of current Crow self-image that this was "promised" land in terms of supplies of raw materials, like lodgepole pine and, of course, game. Hence, other tribes coveted it and tried to wrest it from them. Here raiding parties of Blackfoot, Cheyenne, or Sioux could be assured of locating the Crow during their autumn food procurement activities. Many fortification sites in this area result from conflicts which took place when these groups converged in the Dryhead region. The literature is full of references to cultural features that remain from such encounters: trenches, hastily-built rock blinds, timber fortifications, and cairns. Two Leggings recalled a fight with enemies hiding in trenches near the Pryor Mountains (Nabokov 1967:60). Similarly, he described a rock cairn near Ft. Smith which was built to commemorate a retaliatory raid against seven Piegans who had killed a Crow woman (Nabokov 1967:37-38).

One important site (24BH408), unique in the North American plains, is a group of tipi rings where breastworks of rock and wood were built around the entire community. Another spectacular and remarkably pristine battle site, which remains highly vulnerable to potential vandalism, is 24BH266 (Figures 3.13 and 3.14). Behind these hastily-arranged rock fortifications, an invading war party defended themselves to the death. According to BICA 1993 Consultant # 1, the colloquial name of this location is Where the Enemy is Surrounded, and older Crows remember that a man named Stumpy Horn led the charge against Piegan or Gros Ventres invaders. Several consultants offered versions of this confrontation, linking its hero to the father of William Moore, one of the first Crows to attend the St. Xavier Mission school. (In Conner 1993 other versions of the account are found on pages 158-165; 205-215). As BICA+ 1993 Consultant # 3 reported this event:

Long time ago, before the Fort Smith was built, about 1862, this battle took place. One day, part of the tribe was camped at Hoodoo Creek. Some young men were hunting around and noticed a party of men on foot coming this way. They looked at each other, [the Crows] recognized the group as enemy war party. They sent some of the boys back, said, "go back to the camp, four or five miles to Hoodoo Creek. We'll watch them." So they took off. The others waited here. Course the people here noticed they were being watched. So they just stayed around here, wondering what to do. After a while they noticed a party
This figure has been omitted in compliance with 43CFR7 Sec. 7.18

Figure 3.13. Map of site 24BH266. Tree locations not plotted.

Figure 3.14. Joseph Medicine Crow (BICA Consultant # 3) points at a fortification rock structure on 24BH266.
of Crows. So immediately they set to work here piling rocks. So they kept watching them. Then when [the Crows] all got here, they made their assault. They had rifles and bows and arrows. There were many of them. They tried several times, but they just couldn’t get here at all. In the meantime, some Crows were already hit, some killed, I suppose. They just stopped there wondering what to do. So here comes a man behind them on foot. "Alright," [he] says, "I’ll go get them. When I get up there you follow me." This man was little known, not a war chief. "Alright," he said, "I got the medicine, I can take care of them." So he headed this way, with his medicine sack, sang some medicine songs. His weapon was a stick like this, with two prongs, made of an elk. With that he headed this way. These people here, according to Martin He does It, they were Gros Ventres. But Henry Old Coyote’s version says they were Piegans. He started this way, and they noticed him coming. He got pretty close around here some place. Then they opened fire on him. They couldn’t hit him, he was just jumping back and forth. He came to the first fortification here. Boy he rushed up with his spear, and starts spearing them right and left. Went to the next one and did the same. Meantime they fired, fired, fired, they couldn’t [hit them], invulnerable, his medicine was too strong. By that time the Crows followed, and they caught up with them here. Then they panicked, started getting up. Some went around other side this hill and prevented them from going there. In a little while all of them were killed. Except one or two men who headed that way, to Muddy Creek, on foot, could have been caught easily. But leader said, "let them go, let them go tell the story." So the rest were killed, about sixty of them. And that man with the spear, he had two names. According to Martin He Does It they called him Stumpy Man. And Henry Old Coyote called him Stumpy Horn, short-horned elk. Henry said his medicine was an elk with spiked horn (Figures 3.15 and 3.16).

Other Crow-associated fortification sites in and around the BICA+ study area remain as mute testimony to historical conflicts. Although it is possible to find accounts of battles in which fortifications were constructed in the memoirs of Two Leggings and Plenty Coups, it would take further cross-referencing and closer archaeological analysis to link those accounts to extant fortification sites.

H) Rock Art Sites

A wary and respectful attitude towards rock art sites prevailed among our Crow consultants. This was underscored by Joseph Medicine Crow’s reminiscence that Crow Indian children were told by their elders to stay away from rock art sites because "they were the work of ghosts (ahpalâaxe)." Medicine Crow believed this response was reasonable because many of the
Figure 3.15. Larry Loendorf examines two rock structures at 24BH266.

Figure 3.16. Edgar Pretty on Top is near a structure at one side of the battle site.
drawings were already on the rocks when the Crow first arrived. Sites like Petroglyph Canyon and the Weatherman Draw sites to the west of the Pryor Mountains fall into this category (Figures 3.17 and 3.18). Despite the fact that the drawings also pre-existed EuroAmerican settlement of the region, the attitudes of the two groups differ markedly. For instance, it would be highly unusual to find a Crow Indian name scratched into the rock near an ancient petroglyph, yet ranchers' names and brands are commonly found. BICA+ 1993 Consultant #11 discussed Crow feelings about the "wall paintings" (baáhpawaalaachua) (stone writings) of Pitchfork Canyon:

Instead of tearing it down to protect that area we tell our people, our younger kids, you bring bad luck if you approach that area...It's an ingrained belief of all the Crows if you kinda approach those things that bad will come. So people normally for the past 300 years stay away from that, the Crows I mean. That's a way of preserving them for ourselves and for future generations. There's a horse and rider in Pitchfork Canyon. This one Indian, Crow cowboy, went down and seen it. Next day [he] come back and that horse was upside down. When [he] come back to Hardin to spend [his] wages as a cowboy [he] lost [his] father and mother. Then he told that story to everybody. That was sort of a reinforcement for people from going there.

Similarly, BICA 1993+ Consultant #9 recalled Crow attitudes towards archaeological sites:

We showed utmost respect. We did not pick up any little thing from there, bead or whatever it might be. It didn't belong to us. It belonged to them. If you took that person's spirit might pester you until you took it back. And then we are not to step over it either. We went around.

The majority of rock art sites in this region are probably not assignable to the Crow. (Loendorf et al. 1990:5-21) However, there are some rock art sites which can be associated with Crow traditions. The Hidatsa of North Dakota, progenitors to the Crow, utilized at least one rock art site to tell whether the future held good or bad luck. This site, called Medicine Rock, was originally described as an "oracle stone" by Lewis and Clark in 1804. Since then, the site has also been described by other western travellers; a good account was written by Major S. H. Long in 1819:

The Minnetarees [Hidatsa] resort to it, for the purpose of propitiating their Man-ho-pa or Great Spirit, by present, by fasting, and lamentation, during the space of
Figure 3.17. Ghost-like figures at the Tyrrell site. Bureau of Land Management.

Figure 3.18. Pecked human figure and thunderbird figure at Petroglyph Canyon. Bureau of Land Management.
from three to five days. An individual, who intends to perform this ceremony, takes some presents with him, such as a gun, horse, or strouding, and also provides a smooth skin, upon which hieroglyphics may be drawn, and repairs to the rock accompanied by his friends and magi [shaman]. On his arrival, he deposits the presents there, and after smoking to the rock, he washes a portion of the face of it clean, and retires with his fellow devotees to a specified distance. During the principal part of his stay, he cries aloud to his god to have pity on him; to grant him success in war and in hunting; to favor his endeavors to take prisoners, horses, and scalps from the enemy. When the appointed time for lamentation and prayer has elapsed, he returns to the rock... Upon the part of the rock, which he had washed, he finds certain hieroglyphics traced in white clay, of which he can generally interpret the meaning, particularly when assisted by some of the magi... These representations are supposed to relate to his future fortune, or that of his family or nation; he copies them off with pious care and scrupulous exactness upon the skin which he brought for the purpose, and returns to his home, to read from them to his people, the destiny of himself or of them (Thwaites 1905:57-58).

It is clear that the Hidatsa believed in a spirit that lived in the rock, and created images for those who prayed to it. Once we understand that a spirit within the rock can create petroglyphs or pictographs, the explanation for these images which Lieutenant James Bradley obtained from the Crow Indians in 1876 is logical. Travelling near the site of present-day Billings, Montana, Bradley described an area that was "lavishly adorned with Indian hieroglyphics, some of them graven deeply in the face of the rock at a considerable height above the ground and in places difficult of access" (Bradley 1961:52). When he asked the Crow Indians who were serving as scouts to explain the meaning of the rock art, they said, "They were placed there by spirits, and every few snows the spirits caused what they had written to disappear and replaced it with something else" (Bradley 1961:53).

The Hoodoo Creek Petroglyph, 24BH407, near the west rim of Bighorn Canyon, contains a petroglyph of a human face that can change its expression. Viewed from one direction it smiles, and from another it frowns. Crow Indians believe that if the face is looking glum, the viewer will have bad luck (Bearss 1970:22). Oral traditions over the past twenty-five years verify the potency of the Hoodoo Creek site with reference to several EuroAmerican visitors here who experienced bad luck, such as a broken axle or multiple flat tires.
The power, or "medicine", at the Hoodoo Creek petroglyph site lies within the image. Only after the face has shown its frown will the viewer experience bad luck. Whether or not the artist/s chose this spot for this reason, the face seems to change expressions when viewed from the side because it occupies a curved rock surface. This prophetic function corresponds with the Hidatsa use of the Medicine Rock in North Dakota.

Over the past twenty years, Crow Indians have told Stuart Conner about another rock art site which is important to them. Known as "Wall With Writing", it was described as a long sandstone wall. Recently, a large rock art site has been found outside the study area, near Joliet, Montana, which is believed to be the "Wall With Writing". Many human figures at the site have pompadour hairstyles, which is a clear indicator of Crow identity. Even if this is not the "Wall With Writing" site, it is probably Crow. Other petroglyphs here, such as therianthropic human-horse, human-elk, and human-bear figures, often have "power lines" emanating from them, which suggests the site played a role in key Crow ceremonies.

Despite the fact that the Crow seem not to have used rock art sites in the BICA+ study area as locations for vision quests, a practice that was common among the Shoshone to the south, the Cheyenne to the east, and the Flathead and Pend de' Oreille to the west, sites like the "Wall With Writing" indicate that rock art may have played a more important role among the Crow than was previously believed. A significant medicine mentor to many Crows (including his medicine "son", the late Thomas Yellowtail, and through him to Yellowtail's chosen successor, Sun Dance priest John Pretty On Top), the Shoshone Sun Dance priest Parukugare, or John Trehero, first acquired his medicine power at a rock art site:

When I was a boy, about fourteen years old, I brought horses that we had west of the mountains to the east, for my mother: I took them over the mountains and arrived, in the evening at a place at the uppermost run of the North Fork Popoagie. There are rock-drawings there, and I got a dream there. I didn't mean to go to sleep there; I slept there, I didn't know there were any drawings. In the dream I got scared; it was like having a nightmare. I wanted to wake up but could not do it -- for you can't when spirits come in your dream. This dream was pretty near daylight. I saw a snake and a bear. Then I woke up and saw signs on the cliffs, among others, of bear and snake. I saddled the horses and went on (Hultkrantz 1992:84).

Commenting on this account, Ake Hultkrantz points out, "We notice that the rock drawings were there when he woke up."
This signifies that the place was sacred, for the spirits are supposed to engrave their own pictures on the rocks up in the foothills. Visions, sought or unsought, could be received at such places" (Hultkrantz 1992:84). Meanwhile, at least one Crow consultant has speculated that markings in the Little People Cave "looks the Little People were keeping track of something. Looks like how many days lived in cave, or how many elk they kill, or how many years that they live in the cave, or maybe how many Little Peoples live in the cave...And there is another picture, half of it is faded away, looks like a drawing -- looks to me like they are drawing an elk..." (Conner 1993:99).

It is quite possible that ethnologists who have researched Crow culture may not have learned about rock art precisely because it was associated with similar spirits. Crows are increasingly reluctant to discuss places or things that contain powerful forces. Rock art was usually considered "medicine", and few persons believed themselves sufficiently powerful to eradicate another person's medicine. Recalling her life in the 1870s, Pretty Shield, a Crow Indian woman, once found a small round pile of arrow heads exquisitely chipped from a red stone material. When Frank Linderman asked if she picked these arrow points up, she replied, "We never touch such things. Some Person [spirit] had put them there. It was a medicine pile" (Linderman [1932]1972:53). Although she was not referring to a rock art site, Pretty Shield probably would have offered a similar response to a petroglyph. As she also told Linderman, it is culturally logical for Crows to attribute such remains to beings in their oral narratives. According to her, Red Woman was "the first woman...Her bones were stone", and rain that fell on her "hot stone bones made chips fly in all directions over the world. These chips are the stone arrow-points that are everywhere" (Linderman [1932]1972:54).

Caves are frequently recognized by Crow Indians as places occupied by spirits. On August 10, 1972, a group of young cave explorers, operating with permission from the Crow Culture Committee, were searching the inner recesses of Crystal Spring Cave on the Bighorn Canyon side of the Bighorn Mountains, within the boundaries of the Crow Indian Reservation. After several hours below ground, they surfaced to encounter a Crow Indian game warden and his wife, who told them:

...[we] should leave a man on top as some Crow might cut our ropes and block the entrance with boulders to prevent us from bringing the evil spirits out when we exited. His wife told us several interesting Indian legends associated with caves on the reservation. Church Cave, on Little Bull Elk Ridge, contains horse heads and
pews...[consultant's] father visited the cave and removed one of the heads [horse], mounted his horse with four companions and rode off towards camp. On the way, they stopped and dismounted to shoot some Bighorn sheep, setting the horse bust on the ground. Upon returning, the head had disappeared, and none could find it. That night, [the] father had nightmare or dream that the horses head was that of his sister - then it fell off. 2 days later his sister dropped dead for unexplained reasons, and soon after there was a death in the family of every one of the 4 other Indians...(C. J. Rushin's field notes 1972, on file with Worland District, Wyoming Bureau of Land Management).

Archaeologists believe a few rock art sites may have been the locations of Crow ceremonies that are no longer within the memories of living people. Frozen Leg Cave, for example, is located in the heart of Crow territory, about half way up the west canyon wall of Bighorn Canyon. Access is difficult, and the cave almost certainly reflects ceremonial rather than domestic use. (Figures 3.19 and 3.20). At least fourteen small chambers and three main caverns make up the Frozen Leg Cave complex. Several chambers are connected by passageways behind the limestone wall which are large enough for a human to pass through on hands and knees. Large areas in the caverns are underground, with smaller windows or openings overlooking the canyon. There is also a cave tunnel which continues beyond the back wall into the side of the limestone canyon wall. Spelunkers who explored this passage found it to be impassable after a distance of twenty feet or so, with no major interior chambers. No rock drawings were found in this interior portion.

Paintings appear in each of the three main chambers. The most impressive are in the middle chamber, and include a large panel of humanoid figures which face the viewer. The principal images are four large round heads with circular eyes and pointed ears, or horns protruding out the top. Two humanoid figures have vertical lines attached to the heads, with no necks, arms, or legs. The two remaining figures have crude bodies, and arms bent upward at the elbows. None has well-made legs or feet. Smaller humanoid figures in the panel are made in the same fashion.

The most striking features in all the figures are the eyes, and the head attachments. Accentuated by radiating lines on one, the eyes are saucer-like, and stare at the viewer. One wears what appears to be a horned headdress, while the others have antennae-like lines protruding from their heads. One very rudimentary human form has cup-like ears attached to its head; another has no body, only a circular head with two crude eyes. Upon close examination,
Figure 3.19. Frozen Leg Cave. For scale, note person in right cave opening.

Figure 3.20. One panel of pictographs in Frozen Leg Cave.
these two simplistic figures offer a fascinating perspective on the paintings. The ears in the rudimentary human form and the eyes in the detached head were made by outlining natural holes in the limestone rock wall. The artist seems to have intended the drawings, eyes on one and ears on the other, to become an actual part of the cave.

Paintings in another chamber are located on its south wall. One figure in this group is drawn with finer lines than other paintings in the complex, and resembles a tree, such as a fir or a spruce. Plants are unusual in rock art. To the left of the tree-like figure is another crude humanoid, similar to those in the middle chamber. Its rectangular body features faint, vertical parallel lines down its front. The arms are straight with splayed, three-fingered hands. Two large eyes are evident, but it does not have as large or as round a head as figures in the middle chamber. Two plant-like drawings flank this figure, one connected to its left hand, and the other connected by a line to its head.

These plant images are similar to a motif used among the Crow to depict the tobacco plant on ritual paraphernalia. Although there is no known association between these paintings and the Crow Tobacco Ceremony, this raises the hypothesis that Frozen Leg Cave may have served some role related to that ceremony. Because of the nearly constant temperature in the cave, it could have been a location where tobacco seeds were stored from season to season. It should be noted that soil samples taken from the cave did contain tobacco pollen, as well as the pollen of a large number of other plants used for medicinal purposes (Loendorf 1993).

I) Malevolent and Benevolent Beings

The traditional Crow landscape is inhabited by a multiplicity of entities which can do harm as well as good to the unwary. Some, as we have already seen, live in caves. Others are connected to the water. One example of this is the wolf-man described by Francois Larocque as a "Manitou", or "devil", who lived at a falls a few miles south of Frozen Leg Cave (Hazlitt 1934:19). This creature was impossible to kill because bullets bounced off him, and was thought to eat anyone who ventured near his home.

From one consultant, we heard about another class of dangers (wife of BICA+ 1993 Interview #13, in same taped account). This reminiscence involved her grandfather's wife, and the story of how she was blinded. While playing with other girls in the Bighorn River, she was approached by girl-
like water beings who asked her to come away with them. Sensing that something was amiss, the girl backed off. These other "girls" persisted, and when she continued to resist they became enraged. With a swipe of a hand, one of them dashed water in her face, which scalded her eyes and left her blind for life.

Other consultants told of run-ins with cattle-size or buffalo-like water creatures (BICA+ Consultant #1; in Lowie 1918:294; bimmuummishée, meaning "buffalo in the water"), mysterious dogs that barked near the river, and "ghost vehicles" that buzzed cars on the roads (BICA+ Consultant #9) and forced them to stop. One also hears stories about giant human skeletal remains turning up in the BICA+ area. Linderman ([1932]1972:50) learned about these creatures at the place known as "Where We Eat Bear Meat" (the Hoodoo Creek area), when Shows The Lizard said: "I believe that another kind of people once lived on this world before we came here." Today, this giant creature might be equated with the Euro/Native American Bigfoot or Sasquatch folk figure.

A number of Plains Indian groups have narratives about water beings, usually grotesque part-human and part-animal creatures, which inhabit rapids and falls. The belief that such a spirit lurked in Bighorn Canyon was commonly held among Crow Indians at least until the end of the nineteenth century. Often described as an alligator-like creature (in Lowie 1918:288; buliksée), this spirit lived below whirlpools in fast moving water such as "The Alligator's Lodge", at the mouth of Deer Creek (Linderman [1932]1972:126-128). BICA+ 1993 Consultant #3 offered four accounts of oversize snakes with four legs encountered by tribesmen and cowboys. In one, the "gila monster-like" creature became the medicine person of the vision-seeker, Flat Dog. Among the Crow, and throughout the oral narrative of Plains Indians, the water monster can be killed with the help of the Thunder Being (Lowie 1956:112).

Water-connected spirits, and especially those linked with medicinal or power-spring locations, could be benevolent. For example, BICA+ Consultant #2 escorted us to the dry spring location near Pryor Creek behind Plenty Coups' homestead where the old chief had talked of, "The-little-ones-of-the-pool [Baakátítitšiwišhe, where there are children's footprints], a boy and girl who dwelt there in eternal childhood and who possessed the power to tell coming Crow mothers the sex of their unborn children" (Linderman [1930]1962:81-82). Other places of special medicine power described in the literature lie closer to the BICA+ study area, such as the Pryor Canyon "Spirit Cave...which Crows regarded as a sacred place where dwelt mysterious and powerful spiritual forces," according to Thomas Leforge (1974:88). Another is the healing spring Bimmaaxiaa (Medicine Water) near present-day Thermopolis,
Wyoming. Plenty Coups told the story of how a famous Crow medicine man, The Fringe, confronted a strong, bad-tempered person with matted hair who took him under the waters to his striped lodge. Despite the person’s frightening look and demeanor, The Fringe obtained powers from him; thereafter, passing Crows have always dropped beads in this Medicine Water (Linderman [1930]1962:299-303).

The ambiguous role of some Crow natural-landscape "beings", who are dangerous in certain contexts but also, like the "alligator" and "outcast" entities, potential spirit guardians, deserves further analysis. Interestingly, even the white man’s Devil might join their ranks. BICA Consultant #13 remembered the following story of how his distant relative, the well-known Mountain Crow chief, Medicine Crow (Peelatchiwaaxpaash), first met the Devil and then refused to accept him as a guardian spirit:

Medicine Crow was trying to find buffalo. Not far from their camp they saw about three head. And Medicine Crow shot the buffalo with bow and arrow. The blood come out the nose. They chased them. Buffalo went way down into some brush. There was water down there. This buffalo running down, staggering. He see something, a man, sitting toward the east. Kinda all red. That Medicine Crow, he saw the man, got closer, his horse was kind of scared. He pulled the reins, make horse go slow. Medicine Crow seen him, the body all red, long hair, big ears, horns, all red, got a cane. This man got up. There was water there, he saw the man go down in the hole. Then he looked - no hole. He never seen him before. Then many years after that, they quit moving camp. The white people and Crows were mixed. Some people invited Medicine Crow and his wife to feast. They got off their wagon, they got into the tent. The tent lining inside, made of white [flour] sacks, [printed] with red picture [of red devil]. Medicine Crow said, "hey, I seen this man long time ago." The man [host] said the church people told us about him: "Long Tail, that’s his picture." Medicine Crow said, "I seen him long time ago." Then this [devil] man came later, asked [Medicine Crow] what you want, anything you want? But Medicine Crow told him, I got everything I want. I’m a chief. He [already] seen that man, long time ago.

Medicine Crow’s prophetic powers became well known (Medicine Crow 1992:43-44), as were his leadership abilities. A resident of Lodge Grass, it is not clear if Medicine Crow’s encounter with the Devil occurred in or out of the BICA+ area buffalo-hunting grounds.
J) Little People Sites

Among Plateau groups like the Nez Perce and Kootenai, stories are told of how natural features in the landscape have been "created" by primordial journeys, monster-eliminating deeds, or the rascally escapades of a creator (commonly the trickster, Coyote) during a mythic era of geographical transformation. Crow place-related narratives differ from these. The Crow landscape is full of pre-existing, supernatural or powerful "beings" who inhabit or hover around specific locations, which look much as they always have. These beings can help needy Crows who find themselves, or intentionally place themselves, in their vicinity.

One of the best known sites is Pryor Gap, where Crow consultants invariably placed a rock on a large cairn, uttering prayers and offering tobacco. This prominent outcrop of limestone on the north side of Pryor Gap is called Aluutalaho, or "where there are many arrows" -- more commonly shortened to Arrow Rock -- because in former times Crow warriors shot arrows into the rock as offerings to the "Little People". Crow travellers still leave offerings of beads or coins at this location to honor a safe journey. Curiously, this outcrop has an auditory component which cannot have been lost on earlier generations of Crows. The limestone formation in which Arrow Rock is situated has eroded into thousands of small holes, which function like musical wind pipes. A light breeze is a daily occurrence in Pryor Gap, as is a noticeable humming-buzzing sound.

Talking with Crow consultants about sacred entities in their natural environment inevitably raises the subject of the "Little People". Crows use the term awakkulé or awakkulésh, meaning strictly "they hold the Earth". The implications built into the term are, (1) that they are the "earth's original inhabitants" and, (2) that they "hold", "carry" or "possess" the earth (Conner 1993:100). Described by consultants as humanoid beings about two and a half feet tall, some of our consultants also expressed emphatic displeasure at the term "dwarves", maintaining that these are another category of being altogether. Most elderly Crows also agree that, at an earlier time, their "home" was the cave in Pryor Gap called The Home of the Little People (24BH416). This was also known as Elk Bone Cave (Conner 1993:88) for the huge pile of elk antlers that used to be near the mouth (from Conner cumulative files: "Elk Antler Piles"). The "Little People" are notoriously shy of humans, and over time they have vacated this cave. The antler pile is also gone now, pilfered by unknown persons.

One well-known "Little People" narrative concerns a group of Crow who were travelling through Pryor Gap using dog
travois, in the days before horses. One of the dogs chased after a frightened rabbit (or antelope), and a child riding on the travois was bounced off. The Crow looked for this child for a long time, but continued on their journey when they couldn't find him. The child was taken into the rocks by the Little People (owls in some versions), where he was raised until he was a handsome man. As a handsome man, he returned to the Crow to become a culture hero. Crow travellers who passed this place stacked up the piles of rock to make the route smoother, and left offerings in the rock cairns in Pryor Gap to commemorate the return of the child.

Voget observes that "Crows and Shoshonis shared common ideas about dwarf people who inhabited this earth, lived very much as humans, and who have bestowed great power on needy persons". He retells a narrative told by both Edward Curtis and Robert Lowie concerning a Pryor Gap Little Person:

His magic arrow unerringly cut the thread attached to the protective medicine feather floating above hateful Red Woman, and so he destroyed her. He then built seven sweat houses in the shape of stars and brought back to life his brothers, the victims of Red Woman. They became the Seven Stars of the Big Dipper (Voget 1984:302, after Curtis [1909]1970:124-126, and Lowie 1918:119-133; 165-171).

Bighorn Canyon is also inhabited by the Little People. Pretty Shield relates a tale about a woman and her daughter who were stolen by a Lakota war party and taken to the east. Escaping with the help of a grizzly bear, the two travelled back to Crow country until they reached Bighorn Canyon, at its junction with Black Canyon. At this location, they encountered a former Crow man, Burntface or Lost-boy, who had fallen into a fire at a young age and left the people because he was so disfigured. Lost-boy had been raised by the Little People, who lived in the rock wall halfway down the side of Black Canyon. The woman decided that Lost-boy would be a good mate for her daughter, but they can find no way into the solid rock. Waiting until he came out, the girl was able to gain access and become the wife of Lost-boy. Ultimately, they return to the Crow and Lost-boy tells that "he had lived in the rock with the Little People ever since the day after he had burned his face. The Little People gave Lost-boy a big medicine. He became a great healer of wounds" (Linderman [1932]1972:183-195).

While older BICA consultants could relate narratives of human interaction with Little People -- on the order of the Plenty Coups vision quest already mentioned -- for younger Crows the Little People appear to be more elusive. For a good example of the older variety of Little People narrative, the
following version from a BICA consultant braids Crow themes from the Little People corpus together with more generic medicine-origin stories:

It was told to my grandfather by some of his own people about a warrior returning from an unsuccessful war party in which he was separated from the main party, and he was making his way back to the Crow camp, and he was somewhere there in the Pryor Mountains. And early in the morning as he was prepared to resume his journey, he spotted two people at a distance, and they were trying to kill this elk. They had it boxed up into some sort of either a canyon or some grove of trees, in which he couldn’t escape. And this person saw these two people killing the elk, and instead of butchering this elk, one of them just simply packed it on his back and went in, straight into sheer rock which he later found out to be the home of these people. And he followed these people there, and he was accepted and they brought him to this rock home, and he was told by the mother there that the young people, or the [the two he had seen] were named Long-Tailed Magpie, and the other was Good Boy. That they were her sons. And she said that they knew this man was starving, and she gave him some meat, and as a sign of friendship she gave him some powers...he was told that, to go back to his tribe, and tell his fellow tribesmen that every time they passed within the area to make an offering and if they did this that these Little People would look after the Crows. And this is why there is some cairns up there where they made the offerings, and this is where my grandfather picked up the name. It was told at that time that these names should be carried on among the Crows and since nobody took that story seriously, apparently he did, for he named my brother the Long-Tailed Magpie and myself, Good Boy, which were the names of the two people that were seen hunting this elk and packing it on their shoulder (Conner 1993:201).

Crows generally concur that the Little People also inhabited the Castle Butte area near the mouth of Pryor Gap, and that, once again, human occupation, including the noise level generated by the railroad (Conner 1993:202), have driven them away. Some elder Crows do maintain contact with the Little People. The late Thomas Yellowtail could identify Little Fox as the "chief of the Little People" around Pryor, while he said Seven Arrows was chief of them all. Seven Arrows, a Shoshone-associated being who lived near the painted drawings at Dinwoody Canyon where Shoshones fasted in order to become medicine men, was closely associated with bestowing Sun Dance leadership (Voget 1984:301-304).
From here on, rather than clear consensus about Little People locations, one hears instead of individual "sightings" and rumors: they have moved to Canada, they have been spotted in Shoshone country, they are further south in the less-populated region of the Bighorns, they occupy the "three tipi" area on the flank of the Bighorns visible from Wyola, as pointed out and narrated by one of the consultants (BICA 1993 Interview #4). At the same time, one still finds testimonies of run-ins with Little People, where their amazing strength is often cited. "They can run fast as a deer or elk or buffalo and they are strong as an elephant" (Conner 1993:97). Our consultants described on-going reciprocal transactions they still conduct with these sacred beings. One said he'd left a toy bow and arrows near a known haunt in the Pryor Mountains when he hoped his pregnant wife would give birth to a son; he also laid doll clothes there when he desired a daughter (BICA 1993 Interview #14). Another consultant sewed little garments to please the Little People, in response to a vow -- a typical form of Crow transaction with power entities (BICA 1993 Interview #5). Still another told of a relative who had witnessed a Little Person easily lift a bull elk carcass which had been shot and fallen partway down Black Canyon. The tiny person shouldered it away as if it weighed nothing at all.

K) Vision Quest Sites

When asked to consider the cultural significance of the landscape, it is still common for contemporary Crows to think first of sites for vision-questing, the practice called baawalishtakooshtéchiiluua. Many of our consultants had sought visions by this once-imperative method. Fasting took from two to four days in a wilderness location uncontaminated by the human sights and smells that spirit powers find offensive. Robert Lowie has maintained that the vision and its search dominated Crow religious thought, and was more developed than similar religious practices in other tribes. Indeed, Lowie felt that this hypertrophy of the vision quest "largely remolded the rationale of Crow religion" (Lowie 1956:255). Perhaps the most important Crow ethnographic resources in the BICA+ study area are locations used for vision quests, of which many are found in the Pryor Mountains and near Bighorn Canyon. Crows would return to these isolated overlooks throughout their lives, to fast and wait for the visitation, or re-visitation, of their particular supernatural power-being. There are many variations on the actual practice, but an essential component is isolation from the familiar, cultural world. BICA+ consultant John Pretty On Top articulated the environmental requirements and experiential associations of an optimal vision quest site:

After a summer like this we’ll go into the mountains. I like to go up high enough to see all God’s creations.
And the more you see of God’s creations the more you realize of the gift to you. And in seeing, experiencing and setting aside all that he gave you to live with, to live by, thereby getting yourself into a state where your need is so strong that it’s not like an everyday prayer. If you’re there for three or four days your need as each day goes on gets so strong, and you’re wanting so much help that you actually communicate with your creator. And the place to do it is up high in the mountains, that is a cathedral, without a roof, without a wall, its forever, as far as you can see is what he has given you. And in appreciation for what he has given you, and making that pledge that you do without all the comforts of life, everything that you need to live with and live by and live on, you set all that aside and bring yourself to a state where your need is so bad, you’re so hungry, you’re so dry, the sun scorching your back, that you mean what you are talking about — this is when you start receiving visions, when you start receiving signs, how you can recover and go out and help other people. And everything about you, especially the animals, the insects and the birds, they come to you, because they’re curious, and when they come to you and if you concentrate strong enough you can communicate with them, you can see how they live. They’re stronger than we are. And you can concentrate on their ways, you can find ways to survive...This is how I see that mountain (BICA 1993 Interview # 17).

Another way in which vision quest sites are used by Crow Indians is to describe geographical locations. One way this takes place is for someone to remember the location of the vision of a former tribal member. Often, that individual was important for some other reason; for instance, for being chief. In reminiscences about the individual, the place or places where the person received power will be identified. For example, when Roger Stops was asked if fasters today ever envision the material elements of modern society, he recalled the location along with the narrative:

The first one I [heard of] was Fred Alden, who is deceased now. He fasted up on Black Canyon. He was talking about having visions of automobiles, it was a Mercury he described, and cattle and horses. He described the brand that was supposed to be on the cattle and on the horses. In later years, two or three years afterwards, he owned a Mercury that he described, through a windfall which was an oil lease, and the cattle, he didn’t have too much, but he had about 20 head of cattle with the brand that he seen. So that was the first one that I noticed. Since then they have been modern
visions...such as money, automobiles, new houses (Conner 1993:26).

Sometimes, these locations are so well known that they are named for the people who received power there. In addition, conversation about an un-named location will often stimulate discussion of the individuals who sought or obtained power there. For example, a conversation about the Pryor Mountains will eventually turn to vision quests, and those locations where historical or contemporary individuals received power. In this manner, the Crow are constantly reminded of the visions of former (or current) tribal members. Remembering these locations, especially in a communal way, reaffirms the spiritual potentiality of their landscape. It is as if the land itself remembers.

1) Anonymous Vision Sites

Certain dramatic, often east-facing, promontories and ridges in the Pryor and Bighorn ranges bear surface evidence of being common vision quest sites, visited and revisited by Crow people who want to interact with their spirit helpers (Figure 3.21). Castle Buttes (24BH417), at the south side of Pryor Gap, is known as "place where they fast" (Ammilisshiiissaannuua) for its popularity as a religious site. According to Heidenreich (1976:17), "The Castle Rock Buttes near Pryor was a favorite fasting site around the turn of the century." (For more on Castle Rocks as vision questing site see Conner 1993:90-95; 143; 203-204).

Plainfeather, who died in 1968, fasted in this area around 1912 and got power from the weasels to doctor sick people. Old Coyote describes how Badger With a Hump on the Neck (Awachii Appuush Xishish) fasted here, and received a visitation from beings known as "Outcasts". According to Old Coyote, it was this medicine that allowed Badger With a Hump On the Neck -- whose people had initially derided him for being half-Hidatsa and half-River Crow and having light-colored skin -- to defend Crow interests in the Bighorn Basin country against the challenges of the Shoshone and the Arapaho to the south. Old Coyote explains the power of these supernatural, but morally-ambivalent, guardians:

"Outcasts" describe beings who have "bald heads". They are hairless beings (bald) and "live without fire" (in the wilds). They possess extra-ordinary and supernatural powers and sometimes pass these on to mortals. The term is also used to describe men who have been overcome in battle, scalped and left for dead. Upon recovery, they are disfigured into grotesque and abominable beings. It is said that the skin from the forehead would collapse
and they would push this skin away from the eyes in order to see. They were considered evil beings, to be feared and avoided (Old Coyote and Old Coyote 1985:6-7).

The site known as "hole in the rock" (Baáhpe Hupé), across the canyon from Pretty Eagle Point, is also recognized as an important location for vision quests. As BICA consultants told us, this location continues to be used for vision quests today. This was corroborated by our own inspection of a vision site there containing fresh offerings of coins and gun-shells and a recently-constructed sweatbath complete with red cloth ties (Figures 3.22 and 3.23).

Along the east side of East Pryor Mountain, we found the remains of several stone fasting beds. This area was also mentioned frequently in our interviews, and is recognized as a vision site place in the ethnographic literature.

The east side of Big Pryor Mountain is also an important vision quest location. One fairly large group of stone structures clusters on the northeast rim. This location, found during an archaeological survey, was named the Wind Spirit site. (This name was bestowed by archaeologists; the Crow name is not known). Particularly interesting here is a

Figure 3.21. Grant Bulltail (BICA Consultant # 2) with the Castle Rocks in the background.
Figure 3.22. Joseph Medicine Crow and Larry Loendorf examine the remains of a recently used fasting bed at Hole in the Rock.

Figure 3.23. Joseph Medicine Crow and Edgar Pretty on Top near a sweat-lodge frame at Hole in the Rock.
This figure has been omitted in compliance with 43CFR7 Sec. 7.18

Figure 3.24. Map of the Wind Spirit Vision Quest site.

Figure 3.25. Fasting bed # 1 at the Wind Spirit site.
low rock wall which seems to demarcate the sanctified fasting area from the ramp-like approach to the rim where multiple "beds" were identified (Figures 3.24 and 3.25). Another important feature just below this site is a cribbed timber structure. Lowie (1956:89) suggests that some of these timber structures were used by "visionaries". Although no evidence suggests this one served such a purpose, it is close enough to the vision quest area to warrant special attention and protection.

2) Named Vision Sites

As mentioned before, the fasting sites of many renowned figures in tribal history are revered in Crow country (Figures 3.26 and 3.27). For instance, an in-law of the eminent late-nineteenth-century Bighorn district leader Pretty Eagle led us to a fenced-in cairn which held the remains of a fasting "bed" where Chief Pretty Eagle (Déaxitchish) once fasted. Here, overlooking the confluence of Black Canyon and the Bighorn Canyon, "a pretty eagle spoke to him and gave him his medicine" (Bearss 1970:536; for biography of Pretty Eagle see Bernardis 1986:53). Crows have remembered the site by leaving tobacco offerings, and subsequent fasters might have chosen locations nearby (see Conner 1993:204).

Similarly, a part of the eastern face of Sheep Mountain is said to be called "where White-Man-Runs-Him bedded" (Harcey et al. 1993:48), which probably refers to one of the fourteen times that this famous warrior and Custer scout fasted (Wildschut and Ewers 1960:7).

On the eastern rim of East Pryor Mountain lies another important vision quest location associated with a specific individual. Identified by EuroAmericans as the Dryhead Overlook, it is known to the Crow as "where they saw the rope". The Crow name was bestowed after some Crow Indians below the mountain saw a man fasting there. In his ordeal, he was dragging a bison skull which was attached to the end of ropes that were fastened to his chest. The incisions in his body to which the ropes attached were bleeding, and it was this blood running down the ropes and glistening in the sun that allowed the people below to witness the power seeker. Since that time, the location has been known as "where they saw the rope". At least one author has credited White Man Runs Him with being the individual whose thongs flashed for over a hundred miles, although this is refuted by Joseph Medicine Crow (Harcey et al. 1993:49-52).

3) Ceremonial Vision Sites

 Practically every Crow religious institution mentioned by BICA consultants rose out of a vision quest revelation, or was
Figure 3.26. A Vision Quest area near the Pretty Eagle site.

Figure 3.27. Remains of Pretty Eagle fasting bed.
ceremonially transferred from a neighboring tribe in which a
vision quest was the original inspiration. Visions, for the
Crow — as Dugan notes for Plains Indian peoples in general —
"were the source of many ceremonies which were prefigured in
them" (Dugan 1985:155).

Many of these original revelations occurred in or around
the mountains, which can be considered a wellspring for Crow
ritual. Leading the list was the Tobacco Society, which grew
out of a vision which yielded what Medicine Crow has termed a
"tribal totem" in the form of a rare species of tobacco
(nicotiana multivalvis), whose use has retained close ties to
the mountains.

Another well-known site is the Wyoming "medicine wheel". Crows
today maintain that this was the place where the Creator
gave them the design and ceremony for the old-style Crow
Indian Sun Dance, an identification which is suggested by
their name for the site, annáshisee (which is usually
translated as "big lodge", but which more accurately refers to
an old campsite where a religious gathering occurred). As for
the smaller, six-spoke "medicine wheel", near Ft. Smith on the
Bighorn River, our consultants Joseph Medicine Crow and the
late Henry Old Coyote attribute it to the hermetic Crow named
Burnt Face, who withdrew to the mountains after his face was
disfigured in an accident. Two other "medicine wheel" sites,
rumored to be within the BICA study area, are said to complete
the requisite number of four. These boulder arrangements have
been documented throughout the Plains and up into Canada, but
their function, for non-Indian scholars, remains a matter of
debate.

According to Mickey Old Coyote, the Bighorn range was
also the site of the original inspiration for the Daytime Hot
Dance. A bereft and suffering Crow, the sole survivor of an
enemy attack upon his band, received succor from a village of
"Indians" who mysteriously transformed into animals. They
bestowed upon the helpless one their unique animal powers in
the forms of feathers, claws, etc. Donning regalia covered
with these items, dancers honored the gift of these powers in
a dance which holds social as well as religious significance
for contemporary Crow. Indeed, it is often difficult to draw
hard and fast lines between such categories as social and
religious, especially since Crows, like other Plains peoples,
shifted to "social" and "commemorative" (Fourth of July)
dances like the Grass Dance as an evasive maneuver for
perpetuating tribal traditions during the early reservation
days of heavy suppression of activities deemed "heathen" by
government authorities (see Liberty 1964-65, for the most
detailed account of suppression of native religion in
Montana).
I. Cradle to Grave Sites

Both birth and death create landscape associations for Crows. Following his account of a sorcery duel between Big Ox and White Thigh, one BICA+ consultant cited the personal significance of places of origin:

Big Ox died in the 1880s. Although he was travelling all over the country, he made the last request that he shall be returned to the place that he was born, which apparently is in the Absarokee range of mountains near where Livingston is now located. And this is a custom among the Crows. In the old days, that people who have deceased were buried close to where they were born (Conner 1993:186, emphasis ours).

Whereas vision quest locations can be objects of pilgrimage and veneration, Crow burial sites should be left alone. In Crow protocol, it is the right of the dead and their associated personal possessions to return organically to the earth. Hence, when BICA consultant Henry Bull Chief guided us around the uplift which flanks the Ft. Smith area (Figure 3.28), and pointed out (as did other consultants) preferred areas where he remembered many burials in the rocky clefts, he also expressed dismay at the amount of burial disturbance and looting done by outsiders (especially during the time of the Yellowtail Dam construction). (BICA+ 1993 Interview #10). This important Crow burial area is located near the National Park Service headquarters in Fort Smith, along the ridge to the south and immediately west of the road to the Ok-A-Beh boat launch site.

Indicative of this contrast between the attention to vision quest and burial sites was the circumspect attitude of Crow consultants when it came to pinpointing significant burial sites, even when they are well known. One of these is Big Metal’s grave, located along the east side of the Bighorn River about three kilometers above the mouth of Rotten Grass Creek. His burial is related to the common Crow theme of the cruel stepparent; in this case, a stepfather pushed his son over the side of Bighorn Canyon near "hole in the rock" (Baähpe Ḥupé). The stepfather returned to the village to report the "lost" boy, but in fact the child had fallen onto a ledge among some juniper bushes, and was alive. Here, he cried for help. On the fourth day, he was rescued by seven bighorn sheep who were led by Big Metal. Named for the way his massive horns reflected in the sun like iron, the chief of the bighorns gave the boy his own name and instructed his companions to give him the powers of "wisdom, sharp eyes, sure-footedness, keen ears, great strength, and strong heart." Big Metal urged other animals to allow the boy to call upon
them for help. He also warned the boy that if the name of the Bighorn River in the bottom of the canyon was ever changed, it would no longer belong to the Crow (Bearss 1970:14-15). Big Metal (the human) asked to be buried near the Bighorn River, and Crow Indians still leave offerings and gifts at the site.

Figure 3.28. Henry Bull Chief (BICA Consultant #10) laments the loss of human burials on ridge near Fort Smith, Montana.

In a version of the Big Metal narrative told by our consultant (BICA 1993 Interview # 1), when the boy is rescued and named by the mountain sheep, the wording goes: "They gave him their strength, their knowledge. Then they told him 'This is the Big Horn River; this is where we reside; this is the Big Horn Mountains; this is our mountains; we are always here. Don't change the name of all the things we give you.'" Significantly, at this point in the narrative the badger offers its gift of claws as tipi stakes to replace the rocks used formerly. Nor was the implicit reference to the culture-creating potential of the mountainous region, suggested by the earlier category of "Ceremonial Vision Sites", lost on this consultant: "So up there, in that canyon on this side where it happened, and in these areas, you know, it's all evidence of Crow culture and its ways." Furthermore, "the names of those seven rams are still carried on into the Crow world
today...". It is said that when Big Metal finally died, "he declared that the Crow were to lay down presents at his tree-burial -- specifically, beads -- and he would fulfill their prayers; and the people obeyed his commands" (Lowie 1956:55).

Beliefs regarding life's end might be closely attached to landscape. One consultant recalled the symbiotic association between an elderly Crow and a tall pine tree at a fasting place (BICA Interview 1993 Interview # 9). "He was pretty personal with that tree," she said. The man predicted that his death would be presaged by the falling of that tree, which took place. Moreover, this consultant also remembered that when she was a girl they camped near the Grapevine, "where they sharpened knives" (meaning grooves in sandstone rocks or cliffsides, where arrow shafts were smoothed, or stone, bone or metal knives were sharpened -- a subject discussed by a BICA consultant in Conner 1993:168-169). This was also near where the famous Crazy Dog warrior Spotted Rabbit was buried. (Spotted Rabbit's career and tragic death are featured in Lowie 1918:299-304. There, it also stresses that his mourning mother did not bury him until forced to do so -- a possible explanation for his perpetually restless spirit.) When the consultant and her sister heard an echoing sound of mysterious singing, they would run into the wall tent and cover themselves in a blanket. But her grandmother "wouldn't even stop what she was doing...she would say, 'Oh, it's only Spotted Rabbit; he won't hurt you'. It seemed that way too, the singing would go on".

This concludes our descriptive overview of the principle categories of Crow "ethnographic resources" which came to light during this survey in the summer of 1993. Many of them evoked intimate ties between Crows, the landscape, and their cosmos. We might close with a memory from BICA+ Consultant #9, when at the end of her interview she recalled how her grandmother's day began:

She prayed every morning of the world. She would leave our bed, which I shared with her when I was a little girl. She'd sleep between buffalo robes. She wouldn't sleep on the bed, she wants to sleep on the floor. So in the corner was her bed, and I'd be in the buffalo robes with her. And I liked it there. But I knew when she'd get up. She would go outside, she was going out to pray. And it was about two, three o'clock in the morning. And alot of times I'd go peek out the door, and she would stand there. Usually she had a small belt on, and she'd put it on before she'd go out. And she'd hook her thumbs like this [in the belt] and she'd look up and she'd talk
and talk with the Creator. And pray for those, her loved ones, whomever. And she'd go back in and come back to bed. Every morning of the world.
CHAPTER FOUR
IDENTIFIED CROW ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES WITH COMMENTARY

As discussed in Chapter Three, the ethnographic landscape of the Crow Indians is made up of places with sacramental, subsistent, historical and sentimental significance. By landscape we mean something more than the geophysical environment, neatly divided by humans into segments and parcels. Rather, we envision the ethnographic landscape, described by Barbara Bender, as "something subjective, something experienced, something that alters through time and space, that is created by, and creative of, historical conditions and geographic emplacement" (Bender 1993:i). In this view, a landscape is not an inorganic entity, but something which people engage, re-work and, if appropriate, contest. Cultural groups develop identities through and with landscapes, and the Crow Indians of Montana have developed an identifiable ethnographic landscape in the BICA+ study area. (Figure 4.1)

Using the identifying terms offered above in a tentative and heuristic sense, it is possible to categorize Crow ethnographic resources. Like many systems of classification, the categories are not mutually exclusive; they can and do overlap. It should be clear these divisions are not the product of the Crow, whose own classifications of landscape deserve further study through linguistic analysis, as well as further interviews which would re-elicit and cross-reference the ethnographic data collected during this project. For the Crow it is the rule rather than the exception that a given site will present "multiple values" and overlap into more than one of these categories. What this document has described as the "patterned integration" of these Crow sites, and the undifferentiated "memory systems" which bring them to the surface of Crow narratives in so many different ways, requires that we appreciate the BICA study area as a complexly-layered cultural landscape. Nevertheless, we have produced this "working classification" as an investigative and analytical tool to differentiate between the sites, and to aid considerations regarding their management. (Figure 4.2)

Places of sacrament are an essential component of the Crow landscape, and include the spiritual abode of the non-empirical landscape, rock art, and vision quest sites. The power at these places can be associated with anthropomorphic spirits living in the rocks, the land, and the water, or with numinous forces that permeate the locations with a mystical power. Through their present day use, and recognition in Crow traditions, places of sacrament remain the most significant of the ethnographic resources.
Figure 4.1 Map of Ethnographic Resources in the Study Area
Places of sustenance are locations where the purpose is to hunt animals for food and ceremonial uses, or collect plants and herbs for food, medicinal or ceremonial uses. Many of these locations are so changed that they can no longer be used in traditional ways for sustenance, and in this respect they are better identified as places of sentiment. The buffalo drive sites throughout the study area are a good example. It is unlikely the Crow will ever drive bison over these cliffs again, but they can certainly use the sites to teach people about bison drives and the processes through which they procured their livelihood in historical times. On the other hand, some places of sustenance, primarily plant collection areas, are still actively sought and used by the Crow.

Historical sites are often places of sentiment, and these two categories probably overlap more than others. For instance, places of sentiment may include former battle sites and historically important old trails. In addition, because many historical sites have been documented in written contexts and tend to be known to a wide audience that includes Crow Indians and non-Crow Indians, they are important to the Crow for sentimental reasons, as sites where they can demonstrate their traditional use of the land. Cultural groups establish their roots to maintain their identity as a people. This process is obvious among the Crow, who recently offered a course on former Crow battles at Little Bighorn College. During the study, we were told by more than one consultant that the purpose of this course was to teach young people about Crow ways in the past.

It is important to recognize that different classes of ethnographic resources elicit different human behavioral patterns. Historical sites are locations where the Crow are more likely to go in groups, to reminisce, and to teach others about the importance of the site. At battle sites, for example, Crow retell the details of the confrontation with as much detail as possible -- naming the participants, the war songs that were sung, dramatic twists of fate, and in this regard they often become places of sentiment. At places of sacrament, however, behavior is different. These are more private sites, often isolated from the public view. Individuals go there to pray, leave offerings, or offer their respect to the power of the place.
Figure 4.2 Methods by which Ethnographic Resources were Identified.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of Crow Ethnographic Resources</th>
<th>Category 1 Ethnographic Resource Identified by Crow Consultant</th>
<th>Category 2 Site Found by Archaeologist and Verified as an Ethnographic Resource by Crow Consultant</th>
<th>Category 3 Site Found by Archaeologist and Recognized as Ethnographic Resource by Comparison to Known Sites</th>
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<td>1. Pretty Eagle Vision Quest Site (VQ)</td>
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<td>2. Dryhead Overlook</td>
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<td>3. Head of Lost Water</td>
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<td>4. Hole-in-the-Rock</td>
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<td>5. Big Pryor/Sage Creek</td>
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<td>6. Rock Ridge VQ</td>
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<td>15. Fortified Cave Pictographs</td>
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<td>16. Medicine Man Petroglyphs</td>
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<td>17. Weatherman Draw Rock Art Complex</td>
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<td>18. Fort Smith Medicine Wheel</td>
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<td>32. Fortified Cave</td>
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<td>33. Crow-Piegans Battle Site</td>
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<td>36. Original Dryhead Buffalo Jump</td>
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<td>37. Tillett Ridge Horse/Sheep Corral</td>
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Obviously, the management of these categories of resources should differ depending upon whether they are places of sentiment, sustenance, or sacrament. Stated more directly, procedures that interfere with an individual seeking a vision present a different management problem than those which might interrupt a group at a battle site, or a person collecting plants.

A second management problem is related to the appropriate course of action when a project is planned that has a potentially adverse impact on an ethnographic resource. One approach, currently being discussed by federal agencies, is the concept of "cultural triage", defined as "a forced choice situation in which an ethnic group is faced with the decision to rank in importance cultural resources that could be impacted by a proposed development project" (Stoffle and Evans 1990:95). In this approach the Indian people have a direct say in determining which resources are lost and which are saved. The concept would require an ongoing cooperative program between the land managing agencies and the Crow Tribe, much like the one proposed below.

The alternative to triage is an "either/or approach" where the land managing agency presents a proposed plan of
action, and through the appropriate process (i.e. ethnographic impact statement or National Register listing and section 106 proceedings) a decision is made to proceed or not proceed. The negative aspect of this approach is its confrontational nature.

We recommend that all future work, including efforts to learn more about the following sites, be accompanied by full and open consultation with the Crow Tribe. An appropriate strategy for this consultation should be developed between federal agencies and the Crow Tribe. This might be as simple as an official list of individuals who should contact one another regarding matters of ethnographic resources. The consultation format is a topic that urgently needs further study.

Crow Indian Ethnographic Resources Identified in this Study

Pretty Eagle Vision Quest Site. (see page 103). The site, situated near the Ok-a-Beel access road on the east rim of Bighorn Canyon, was used by Crow chief Pretty Eagle to obtain his power. Structural remains at the site include a low rock wall feature made of local rocks stacked in an oval outline. The site, recommended for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places in 1970, has been enclosed within a fence by Bighorn Canyon Park personnel to protect it from vandalism. It is not clear if this fence was constructed after a determination of "no adverse affect" was made by State Historic Preservation Office, or if the Crow Tribe (culture committee) was consulted to learn their thoughts about the fence. Appropriate management should have included consultation with both groups.

We did not find any evidence of current use of the immediate Pretty Eagle area for Crow Indian vision quests although we were told that the canyon rim to the south of the site was still actively used for seeking visions. More than likely, the proximity of the Pretty Eagle location to the Ok-a-Beel road, and the great possibility that a vision quest experience would be interrupted, has kept it from being used. Nonetheless, the location is a recognized place for the acquisition of power and, if it is not being used today, it might be at a future date. In addition to this potential site use, the location is currently used as a place of sentiment where Crow Indians can vividly remember their old ways. Descendants of Pretty Eagle have a particular affiliation with the location.

Commentary. The appropriateness of the fence around the Pretty Eagle structure should be reconsidered, as should restriction of access to the site. This site is on Crow
Tribal lands, but the access route to the Ok-a-Beh boat facility passes nearby. One option would be a sign that designates off-traffic road travel "off limits" because one is entering Crow Tribal lands. It must be recognized, however, that a recent study suggests signs actually attract visitors to important sites (Nickens 1993). Nonetheless, that study was not conducted in the west Rocky Mountain region where patterns of behavior may differ. If the area is restricted to Crow Indians, another sign on the site identifying it as the location of the Pretty Eagle vision quest would hopefully retard vandalism.

**Dryhead Overlook.** (see page 102). The site is on lands managed by Custer National Forest along the eastern scarp of East Pryor Mountain. Known to the Crow as the "Place Where they Saw the Rope", the location has special significance as a place of sentiment. Because the view of the lowlands to the east is spectacular, the site is a favorite destination for both Indian and non-Indian visitors to the Pryor Mountains. Living Crow Indians have sought and received power at this location.

The last known fasting for supernatural power by Crow Indians here was in 1973 (Conner 1982:91). In the early 1960s there were two or three vision quest structures at the northeast corner of the second highest topographic level at Dryhead Overlook, and six or seven vision quest structures side by side farther southwest on the highest level (Conner 1982:97; Wedel 1961:265-266). Some Crow leaders who attained chieftainship before the end of the inter-tribal wars and became leaders of the people in the difficult transition to reservation life, built and fasted in these beds (Medicine Crow 1992:82).

No protection or interpretation was given these "fasting beds", as the Crow refer to them, when easy vehicle access was provided by Custer National Forest. There is now no trace of any of these structures. An identical fate was met by six or seven vision quest structures on Bureau of Land Management land overlooking the Bighorn Canyon. The loss of these sacramental features is attributable to unrestricted visitation, lack of interpretation at Dryhead Overlook, and lack of protection. The consequences were fatal to these unique ethnographic, archaeological and historical resources.

**Commentary.** The use of the location for its view is so ingrained with the public that it would be difficult to deny or limit access to the immediate site. However, access to the edge of the scarp, in either direction from the immediate overlook site, could be limited in several ways. A significant number of visitors travel south from
the overlook site to reach the wild-horse range, but few make excursions to the north. Normal vehicle traffic is not possible to the north as there are no recognized roads. Foot traffic in the area could be re-directed by encouraging visitors to use routes to the south. Encouragement could take the form of signs which direct people to spots where they can get good views of identified locations in the lowlands. Because there are some archaeological features to the south, the route of any trail should be carefully planned. If pedestrian visitor traffic can be directed to the Dryhead Rim immediately south of the end of the road, this would provide solitude for vision seekers on the ridge spur that overlooks the Dryhead drainage to the north, a location where there are structural remnants of past use for vision quests.

**Head of Lost Water.** (see page 98). The location is along the eastern rim of the East Pryor Mountain near the head of Lost Water Creek. Crow Indian consultants recognize the area as an important location for obtaining power in vision quests, as the remains of rock fasting beds attest. This is the only ethnographic resource location in the study that is managed by both the National Park Service and the Bureau of Land Management. The BICA portion of the resource area is on the limestone spires along the upper reaches of Layout Creek, and the Bureau of Land Management portion is along the mountain rim at the head of Layout Creek.

One Crow consultant remembered seeing a vision quest structure with a collapsed wooden superstructure in this location. The remains of several vision quest structures were sketchily recorded in the area by archaeological crews in 1969. One was made of 34 limestone rocks stacked in an oval shape, with outer dimensions of 5 feet by 8 feet. The remains of thin poles, perhaps tipi poles, were found collapsed onto the rock outline.

**Commentary.** No evidence of active vision-quest use of the resource area was noted in the project, but we did not search the canyon rim, or visit the known structural remains on the limestone spires. Although the location overlooks the highway through BICA, it is a location which might be expected to be used for vision quests in the future. Access to the mountain top is possible on dirt roads which traverse the Pryor Mountain Wild Horse Range; although this road is rough, it can be negotiated with high clearance vehicles. Visitors in other vehicles frequently park somewhere south of Dryhead Overlook and hike in to observe the horses. Hunters also use the area, especially for blue grouse, in the autumn upland game-bird season.
Access to the BICA portion of the resource area is possible either by hiking up from the Layout Creek Ranger Station or by crossing onto the spur ridge from the top. Both are relatively arduous treks, and visitors are not common to the spires themselves. Anyone on the spires can be seen by people on the mountain rim.

Temporary closure of the canyon rim during vision quests might be an option if the Crow, or other tribes, have a mechanism for contacting the Bureau of Land Management and are willing to make such contact. Another option would be the sort of restricted access currently in place at the Bighorn Medicine Wheel, where visitors are required to park at an appropriate distance from the resource and then walk in to use it. Shared use of the area could work to the advantage of both EuroAmericans and Crow Indians. Under this sort of management, the area could be available for Crow vision seekers during a month (or some other length of time) of the year and open at other times. A practical way of curtailing visitation might be to limit grouse hunting to the west of the Mystery Cave road.

_Hole-in-the-Rock_. (see page 99). The site is among the most important ethnographic resources known to the Crow Indians. Located on the western rim of Bighorn Canyon, the site is near the place where Big Iron had his vision, more than a century ago, that prophesied the loss of Crow lands if the name of the Bighorn River ever changes. Low rock-wall vision quest structures are found on a prominent outcrop of limestone, while other structures are located along the canyon rim, slightly farther from the canyon edge. The importance of the site as a vision quest location has been known to the National Park Service since the Bighorn Canyon recreation area was formed. Bearss (1970:13; 533-545) recommended the site to the National Register of Historic Places in 1970 and, although the need for this nomination was supported in subsequent planning documents, the site appears not to have been sent to the Montana SHPO for a determination of eligibility.

_Hole-in-the-Rock_ remains a vision-seeking location today. We found remnants of sweat lodge features, some rebuilding of the fasting beds, and other evidence of its use in the past year or two. The National Park Service needs to coordinate the use of the site with the Crow Tribe.

**Commentary.** The National Park Service maintains a "repeater station" for radio signals immediately north of the vision quest area at _Hole-in-the-Rock_. Apparently, the potential National Register status of the
site was not considered when this location was selected for construction of the "repeater station".

John Pretty on Top and the Crow Culture Committee need to be consulted as to the appropriate action at the site. If the Crow believe the "repeater station" is affecting the power of the location, its removal should be considered. If the site retains its power and will be used for vision quests in the future, BICA personnel need to establish a procedure to allow the Crow use of the site without fear of interruption. Such a procedure will require contact between the Crow Tribe and BICA, either before supplicants go to the site or before BICA personnel visit the area.

BICA personnel, especially the maintenance person who checks on the "repeater station", need to be instructed as to the appropriate behavior if they inadvertently encounter a supplicant at the site. John Pretty on Top and/or other members of the Crow Culture Committee, as paid consultants, could offer a "workshop" where the topic is ethnographic resources and the behavior of park personnel. After this initial "workshop", the Crow Liaison person on the BICA staff could include this information in employee orientation.

Big Pryor/Sage Creek Overlook. (see page 99). The site, named Wind Spirit by the archaeologists who found it, is located on Big Pryor Mountain on an isolated limestone ridge point, overlooking Sage Creek and Pryor Gap. Several vision quest structures are found on the site, which is on lands administered by the Bureau of Land Management. The site is in a remote location, and access is up a rough road on the west side of Big Pryor Mountain, but its vicinity is still visited by off-road vehicles. Most of the individuals using these vehicles do not hike over to the actual site area. The presence of eagle feathers noted over the past 20 years in the bottom of one of the structures suggests the site is actively used by Crow Indians for vision quests or for prayer and meditation.

Commentary. The setting on a jutting ridge point makes it a good candidate for limiting access in some way. The Bureau of Land Management should consider management of the site as an Area of Critical Environmental Concern.

Rock Ridge Vision Quest Structures. (see page 96). The structures are on BICA-controlled lands in the southern part of the recreation area. Four structures, including one containing wooden remains, were found at the site. It is not
known if this location is currently receiving any visitation from native peoples.

Commentary. The site is isolated; it can only be reached by a difficult hike. It is unlikely the site has changed much since it was found in 1969, but a visit should be made to it to confirm this belief. If Crow Indians are actively using the site, it should be discussed with the Crow Culture committee. If hiking trails are ever planned into this region of the park, the planners should take this site into consideration.

Bighorn Break Site. (see page 96). The remains of five vision quest structures were noted by archaeologists on the site in 1969. Although no more recent visit has been made to the site, one Crow consultant told us it was an area used extensively for vision quests. The structures are on Bureau of Land Management-controlled lands along the Dryhead Rim overlooking Bighorn Canyon and the Bighorn Mountains to the east.

Commentary. The site is isolated. Access is from the mountain meadows of the Wild Horse Range to the west and few people, except an occasional grouse hunter, actually walk this far from their vehicles. Unless Crow Indians believe otherwise, no immediate change in the management is needed here.

Fort Smith Burial Ridge. (see page 105). Crow Indian burials are found in the ridge to the southwest and overlooking the town of Fort Smith. These burials were seriously looted by construction workers on Yellowtail Dam. The site was briefly visited by archaeologists in 1972 and, although no official site record was made, human remains were noted in crevices or caves behind low rock walls.

Commentary. The ridge should be recognized as off limits to any but Crow Indians. Park personnel and ranger patrols should watch the ridge for persons other than Crow Indians and cite them for trespassing. Patrol cars on the Ok-a-Beh road have a good view of the backside of the ridge.

Grapevine Creek Burial Ridge. (see page 107). The ridge point to the south and west of Grapevine Creek, about a half mile upstream from the junction of the creek and the Yellowtail Dam Afterbay, is identified as a burial area by the Crow. No actual grave sites are recorded on this ridge, nonetheless Crow traditions indicate it was used for burials and, during this project, we were given the names of important Crow Indians who were buried on this ridge. It is an important place of sacrament for the Crow and, to some extent,
a place of sentiment which arouses memories of their ancestors.

**Commentary.** The ridge should be recognized as off limits to non-Crow Indians. The ridge point is near the proposed location of the trans-park road. Although current plans for the trans-park road are inactive, this site clearly needs to be considered as an ethnographic resource in any future road planning.

*Tillett Ridge Bison Pit.* (see page 93). The site is a sinkhole on Tillett Ridge; it is on lands managed by the United States Forest Service. The remains of two dozen bison, cut up and placed in the pit, were removed by archaeologists in 1970. In a visit to the site at that time by members of the Crow Culture Committee (including Henry Old Coyote, Mickey Old Coyote, John Cummins and others), it was suggested the site had a ceremonial use, perhaps as an offering place to the Little People.

**Commentary.** The site is not well known. It is isolated and a sufficient distance from the road that few people find it by chance. Because the animal bones were removed from the pit, there is little left to attract visitors or vandals. If the bones were offerings, as suggested by the Crow, they are probably eligible for repatriation. The Crow may wish to keep the bones in their own curation facility or they may think it best to return them to the pit.

*Hoodoo Creek Petroglyph.* (see page 85). The site is well known in the Crow legends for the powerful forces it contains. It was recommended for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places by Edwin Bearss in 1970 and should be given any consideration conferred on National Register eligible sites.

**Commentary.** Although the site was visited by archaeologists in 1972, it was only sketchily recorded. The precise location of the site is not recorded, but it is apparently on lands managed by BICA. Information on the site condition should be obtained to consider any problems in protecting it.

*Tyrrell Site Pictograph.* (see page 81). The site, on lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management, exhibits anthropomorphic figures with head regalia similar to some worn by Tobacco Society members. This comparison may not be valid, as the consultant taken to the site in this project did not recognize the pictographs as related to the Crow Indians. However, other Crow Indian consultants could believe
differently. In any case, the Crow respect the site and consider it worthy of protection.

**Commentary.** Deposits in the small rockshelter at the site have been looted by pothunters. The paintings at the site have been adequately recorded, although they are not dated. A sample taken for a 14C date has not been processed, but it is a good sample and will probably offer an age estimate for the site. Establishing the age of the pictographs is critical to any association between the site and ethnographic groups. Although the pictographs are exfoliating, the site is not in imminent danger. This site, together with other rock art sites in the region, could become part of a site stewardship program established and directed by the BLM.

**Petroglyph Canyon.** (see page 81). Listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the site is on Bureau of Land Management-controlled lands. It has been intensively recorded and age estimates have been obtained for several of the petroglyphs. Although components of the rock art at the site are within the time frame of Crow Indian occupation, the majority are much older and not related to Crow Indians. Nonetheless, the Crow believe such sites should be venerated because they are related to spirits or to people who lived in the region before they did.

**Commentary.** The site should be considered by the Bureau of Land Management for site stewardship where interested public individuals visit it to monitor its condition. A site steward could successfully monitor this site and the Tyrrell site. A brochure on the importance of the sites could be distributed to any visitors encountered by the site steward.

**Frozen Leg Cave.** (see page 88). Among the most important archaeological and ethnographic resources identified in the study, the site is privately owned. It was recommended for the National Register of Historic Places in 1970 at a time when it was legal to put sites on private lands on the register without the owner's consent. The nomination process was never followed, however. The site contains pictographs that may be related to the Crow Tobacco Society, although this suggestion is that of archaeologists and no consultants in this project related the site to the Crow.

**Commentary.** The pictographs in Frozen Leg Cave have been extensively photographed. Some soil samples taken from the base of the pictograph panels were collected and processed, and from that it was learned that they contain tobacco pollen. No dating has been accomplished in the cave. The cave is in private ownership and
responsibility for it is with the owner, but the importance of the site is great. This site should be owned and controlled by the Crow Tribe or the National Park Service. It might be possible to complete a land exchange with the owner.

Access to the site is difficult and dangerous and keeps most people out. Nonetheless, the remote setting of the site also makes it vulnerable to looting and destruction. It should be monitored by ranger patrols and other BICA personnel on the reservoir, or from other locations where it can be observed.

**Fortified Cave Pictographs.** (see page 81). The site is on lands controlled by BICA, along the west rim of Bighorn Canyon near Hole-in-the-Rock. Red pictographs, of an unknown age, are found on the back wall of a small limestone rockshelter. Collapsed juniper logs across the mouth of the rockshelter indicate it was enclosed at some point in the historic period, probably within the time the Crow lived in the region.

**Commentary.** The site is difficult to find and visited by very few individuals. Annual monitoring to watch for conservation problems might be worthwhile.

**Medicine Man Petroglyphs.** (see page 81). The site is near the mouth of Crooked Creek canyon on lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management. It is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Petroglyphs at the site, in the en toto pecked style, include a large human figure interpreted by some viewers as a medicine man. An affiliation between this site and any particular cultural group is not certain, but it has parallels with similar sites to the south in the Bighorn Basin.

**Commentary.** Access to the site is through the Tillett Ranch. For this reason, very few people other than the Tilletts or their guests visit the site. The Tilletts should be enlisted in a stewardship program to watch the site for any conservation problems and to help stop practices like chalking or casting of the petroglyphs.

**Weatherman Draw Rock Art Complex.** (see page 81). This large complex of rock art sites, on lands controlled by the Bureau of Land Management, includes some of the most significant in Montana. Several of the sites have definite affinities with protohistoric groups and, although there have been rumors of American Indians visiting the sites for ritual purposes, their identification is not known. The area includes sites eligible for the National Register of Historic
Places and it is currently an Area of Critical Environmental Concern for management purposes.

Commentary. The sites are threatened by oil development and visitor vandalism. The Area of Critical Environmental Concern is a good protective measure but the remoteness of the area is such that it cannot be adequately monitored by BLM personnel. It might be possible to establish a site-stewardship program to help watch the sites.

Fort Smith Medicine Wheel. (see page 104). The site, on private lands at Fort Smith, was reportedly constructed about A.D. 1850 by the Crow Indian Scarface. Although it is smaller than the large stone wheel to the south in the Bighorn Mountains, the site is linked by oral traditions of the Crow to the larger wheel, and to two rumored others whose locations are not known. The site was recommended for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (Bearss 1970:547-559), but the actual listing was apparently never completed.

Commentary. The site is endangered by development of a fishing lodge on an adjacent parcel of land. The developers of the fishing lodge should be contacted to discuss the importance of the site and possible protection measures. The National Park Service, which understands the rules for protection of National Register-eligible sites, should take the lead in this contact.

Lloyds Timber Lodges. (see page 72). The site contains two collapsed cabin-like structures, used in protohistoric and historic times by Crow Indians and other tribes. The proximity of the structures to the Bad Pass Trail suggest they are the temporary houses of groups who travelled the trail.

Commentary. No Crow Indians or other tribes are known to visit this site. Nonetheless, it is associated with an historic trail, a place of sentiment to the Crow and other tribal groups. The site does not receive heavy visitation and is not as threatened by visitors as it is by fire. Extensive photography combined with complete recording needs to be completed at the site.

Timber Town. (see page 73). The site is the location of four cribbed log cabins. It is on lands administered by Custer National Forest. The structures are not directly related to a tribal group, but they are obviously protohistoric or historic. Excavations at the site did not produce diagnostic artifacts.
Commentary. The site is well recorded. It is isolated and not an area of heavy visitation although in the past few years it has become popular with local groups. Use of a metal detector at the site might produce artifacts. Fire is a significant concern, but there is probably little that can be done to prevent a natural force such as lightning from destroying the site.

Stick City. (see page 73). The site is on a ridge very near Timber Town on lands managed by Custer National Forest. The timber lodges at the site have been recorded and excavations have been completed. Although the site cannot be linked to a tribal group, it is obviously the product of a protohistoric or historic tribe.

Commentary. Like Timber Town, fire is a potentially destructive force at the site. But, as noted above, there is probably not much anyone can do to prevent its loss from natural fire that starts nearby. On the other hand, if a fire is burning toward the site, it might be possible to divert it. Fire crews should have a way to learn about this site and Timber Town for prevention if this possibility were to arise.

BLM Timber Hut. (see page 76). The lone cribbed-log structure is in the canyon bottom between the Wind Spirit vision quest and the Skybird Castle site on Bureau of Land Management-controlled lands. The site is not directly tied to a cultural group, but it is associated with a protohistoric or historic Indian tribe. It may also be associated with the adjacent vision quest site.

Commentary. Although the structure has been photographed and measured, it should be more intensively recorded. As noted below, this structure could be part of an Area of Critical Environmental Concern for Bureau of Land Management purposes.

Skybird Castle. (see page 76). The site is on the northeast face of Big Pryor Mountain on lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management. A deadfall timber wall remains across the front of a large rockshelter, and although the Crow do not have a direct association with the site, it was likely constructed during the time they controlled their Pryor Mountain territory. The site is unlike others in Montana in that the wall is extensive and in excellent condition.

Commentary. The site has been recorded, but should be visited with a metal detector to learn if any iron objects are found in the deposits. Test excavations might also reveal information regarding the cultural
affiliation of the structure. This site, the cribbed-log structure in the bottom, and the vision quest features on Wind Spirit could be considered as an Area of Critical Environmental Concern by the BLM.

Layout Creek Overlook. (see page 72; sometimes called Hough Creek). The site includes several cribbed-log houses used by either the Crow or other protohistoric or historic period tribes. Located on National Park Service-controlled lands, the site has never been adequately recorded.

Commentary. The site needs to be adequately recorded. Photography, mapping, measuring, the use of a metal detector, and possible test excavations should be undertaken. The site is not in danger of destruction by visitors because so few people get to its location. However, it could easily burn.

Bear Canyon Conical Timber Lodge. (see page 72). Recorded in the past few years, this site is one of the only remaining examples of a conical pole lodge in the Pryor Mountains. The cultural affiliation of the site is not known, but it represents a protohistoric or historic tribe.

Commentary. The site should be mapped, extensively photographed, explored with a metal detector, and test excavated. Protection measures should be studied and implemented, if feasible, to conserve the site.

Fortified Tipi Ring Site. (see page 76). The site is a large tipi ring village enclosed by a single course of dead fall logs and rocks. It is the only such known site in North America and is clearly related to the historic Plains Indian period of warfare. The site is very close to the BICA/Crow Reservation border and at present we do not know the appropriate land manager.

Commentary. The site is extremely significant. Although a site map was made during the archaeological research, the site has not been adequately photographed. The site has been extensively looted by illegal excavation. We did not learn a direct link between the Crow and this village, but it is clearly associated with historic Plains Indian battles in the region and it is likely either Crow or their enemies. It should be preserved regardless of its manager.

Bad Pass Trail. (see page 58). The trail is one of the major archaeological and ethnographic resources in BICA. Although these sorts of features are found throughout the west, the Bad Pass Trail is the longest and most complete example of a trail and associated cairns known in North
America. The direct link with the Crow use of the trail, offered in the testimony of Plainfeather, is ample support for the site as a Crow ethnographic resource.

EuroAmerican rancher-use of the trail, both as a route for access between the upland grassy areas of Montana and the Bighorn Basin of Wyoming, represents their claim to it as an ethnographic resource. Ranchers continue to use the trail on a seasonal basis for trailing cattle between pasturage.

Commentary. The site was recommended for nomination to the National Register (Bearss 1970:651-657). Throughout recent literature, the Bad Pass Trail is referred to as the Sioux Trail and/or the Shoshone Trail and, although both of these groups may have used the trail, the Crow use is the only documented example. Reference to the trail as either the Sioux or Shoshone Trail should cease. The Crow language for the Bad Pass should be learned and used in combination with the English "Bad Pass Trail". An effort should be made to find some remnants of travois poles for use in interpretive displays. Local ranchers may have some they would donate to the National Park Service. If this is not possible, BICA personnel should be instructed to watch for these artifacts in the juniper bushes near the rock cairns. If they note a limber pine pole with a frayed end in the bushes, they should photograph it before removing it for curation.

Demijohn Flats. (see page 62). The sheer size of the site, with more than 200 tipi rings, is significant, but the trail cairns that cross it are another important feature. The site is known to Crow Indians who occasionally visit it for sentimental reasons.

Commentary. The site, on Bureau of Land Management-controlled lands, is isolated and not the destination of many tourists. Nonetheless, the site has been plotted with its name on maps used for the public. The appropriateness of this designation on maps could be a topic for discussion between the BLM and the Crow Indian tribe.

Pretty Creek Tipi Rings. (see page 70). The tipi rings at this important site contained historic period artifacts that were left by travellers of the Bad Pass Trail. As more tipi ring sites are excavated, archaeologists are recognizing the importance of those assignable to a time period or cultural groups. Although the rings at Pretty Creek are not recognized by Crow Indians today as a tribally identifiable campsite, they are along a route known to be important to the Crow in the historic period, and there is every reason to suspect they were products of the Crow.
Commentary. The precise locations of the remaining tipi rings at the site should be shown to rangers so they can watch over them. At present, any individuals noted on the site are questioned by rangers, but knowing the exact locations of the tipi rings might make it possible to protect them better.

**Crooked Creek Tipi Rings.** (see page 70). The rings are along the Bad Pass Trail, near a parking area designed for fishing access. Extensive excavation of the site has already taken place and little remains from the scientific viewpoint. The location, however, was singled out by the Crow as an important ethnographic resource.

**Commentary.** The site is on a well travelled road and is not in any danger of destruction by artifact collectors. Nonetheless, future plans for any development that could affect the site should include consultation with the Crow Tribe.

**Site 48BH7.** (see page 70). Twenty-two tipi rings were recorded on the site by archaeologists. Using surface-collected and excavated ceramics as a guide, the site is believed to have been used by the Crow Indians. Located in BICA on the east side of the reservoir, the site has not been visited in recent years to learn its current condition.

**Commentary.** The site needs to be documented and assessed. It is in an area where some fishing takes place but it is not known how this is affecting the site. Once it is re-located, it should be included as an area monitored by rangers on their normal patrols.

**Fortified Cave.** (see page 72). The site is in the west canyon wall on lands controlled by BICA. A deep and narrow cave, the site has been fortified with low rock walls. Although the site is not within the memory of the consultants used in this project, it is likely associated with similar surface fortification features, used by the Crow in the historic period, in the area.

**Commentary.** The site is not known to many individuals. It is difficult to find, and its visitation is very low. The site should be monitored by BICA personnel travelling on the reservoir or from other locations where it can be seen by rangers.

**Crow-Piegan Battle Site.** (see page 79). The site is on Crow Tribal lands in the Grapevine Creek drainage. It is very important to the Crow as a place to reminisce about the battle and the cultural and historical era of its participants.
Commentary. This site is on Crow Tribal lands and not a direct management problem for BICA personnel. If, at some point in the future, there is increased visitation to Bighorn Canyon and increased exploration of the park lands above the reservoir, the site could become endangered. This site is such a stark reminder of Plains Indian warfare, it would be devastating to see it damaged. The site has been mapped and the fortification features have been measured and photographed, but the site has never been examined with a metal detector, nor has there been any excavation. A joint effort between the National Park Service and the Crow Tribe to nominate the site to the National Register is a management option.

Grapevine Buffalo Jump Complex. (see page 63). Although this complex of buffalo jumps will probably never be used again for driving animals over a cliff, it remains a reminder of the buffalo-hunting days of the Crow Indians. The complex of buffalo jumps "where men pack meat" is a very important ethnographic resource for the Crow.

Commentary. The complex was recommended for nomination to the National Register (Bearss 1970:454-465), but apparently the actual nomination has not been completed. Portions of the buffalo jump complex are on BICA lands and portions are on Crow lands. BICA personnel and the Crow Tribe need to coordinate completion of the nomination of the site. Joe Medicine Crow's suggestion that the site deserves interpretation should be given serious consideration.

Commissary Ridge Bison Drive. (see page 63). The site is an important Crow buffalo jump at the end of Commissary Ridge on Custer National Forest lands. The site was visited in 1972 by the Crow Culture Committee, and the setting was described by Henry Old Coyote, in eloquent prose, as a commissary to the Crow Indians (Loendorf 1987a).

Commentary. The site is isolated and, although some individuals visit the location, very few recognize it as a place where a bison kill took place. The site has been completely excavated. The recovered bison bones and the artifacts, currently curated by Custer National Forest, should be considered for repatriation to the Crow Tribe.

Original Dryhead Buffalo Jump. (see page 65). The site is the location of the buffalo jump that was the namesake for the Dryhead, based upon a pile of skulls placed near it following the instructions of Chief Tip of Fur. The site is on Hoodoo Creek and, although it has never been located, it may be in the boundaries of BICA.
Commentary. The exact location should be determined through discussion with Crow consultants. If remnants of the bison kill remain, they should recorded. Whether or not remains are found, the site retains sentimental significance. Any future plans for roads, trails, or other developments should consider the site location.

Tillett Ridge Horse/Sheep Corral. (see page 66). The site is the remains of a timber structure on Tillett Ridge used for wild horse trapping. It has the same shape and design as a mountain sheep trap and it may have served this function before it was used for horse trapping. Although no ethnographic group has an actual link to the site, it was obviously constructed in the protohistoric or historic period. It may be related to the Crow or the Sheepeater Shoshone.

Commentary. The site requires intensive recording. It should be mapped, photographed, examined with a metal detector, and undergo thorough test excavations. Perhaps Wind River Shoshone consultants could be taken to the site for their advice.

Hoodoo Creek Plant Collection Area. (see page 66). Both berries and root plants were extensively collected along the banks of Hoodoo Creek in the past, but it is not known if these areas are still actively used.

Commentary. Some of this area is on BICA-controlled lands, but the majority is on Crow Indian lands. Although there is probably no significant need for any change in the way it is currently managed, rangers need to recognize the possibility there might be Indians using it for plant collection.

Commissary Ridge Plant Collection Area. (see page 69). Commissary Ridge, on Custer National Forest lands in the Pryor Mountains, was identified as a root-plant (bitterroot, sego lily, Indian turnip) collection area. It is not known if this location is still actively used for plant collection by Crow Indians.

Commentary. Personnel stationed at the Sage Creek Ranger Station need to be informed, each season, that they might encounter Crow Indians collecting plants on Commissary Ridge or at other locations in the Pryors.

Water Spirit Lair. (see page 90). Beginning as early as 1805 and continuing to the present, there are Crow Indian references to water spirits in the Bighorn River. The general location is at the point where the major river rapids were in the canyon, below the Hole in the Rock.
Commentary. We were told of water creatures by the Crow consultants on this project, but never given a more specific location than along the Bighorn River. The waters in the reservoir may have displaced the water creature known in the canyon, but if any Crow consultants still recognize its existence, the appropriate control should be through consultation with the tribe.

Big Metal Site. (see page 105). The site is a prominent overlook along the west wall of Bighorn Canyon. It is the location where, according to legend, a cruel stepfather pushed a boy over the canyon wall. After crying for help, the boy was befriended by seven Bighorn sheep. It is an important ethnographic resource to the Crow Indians.

Commentary. The site is isolated and not visited by many tourists. Access is through BICA lands and the site itself is on BICA lands. Edwin Bearss recommended the site for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places in 1970, but the nomination has never gone to the Montana State Historic Preservation Office for a determination of eligibility. One course of action might be for the National Park Service to rewrite the nomination, putting it in the current format for a National Register nomination, and have it reviewed by the Crow Tribe. It could then be sent for a determination and, pending the outcome of the review, it could be listed on the National Register.

Summary

Even without the use of printed transcripts of our interviews, linguistic analyses of Crow Indian ethnogeographic terminology and careful tabulation and re-elicitation for particular sites have allowed us to identify forty-one locations as ethnographic resources with cultural significance to the Crow Indians of the past and the present. We must emphasize that this total is substantially less than the actual number of sites because so many of the designations are for locales which include multiple sites. For instance, the Dryhead Overlook includes up to fifteen recorded vision quest experiences and eight or ten separate vision quest structures. The same is true for Hole in the Rock, where at least five separate vision quest structures remain out of the dozens of vision quest experiences which have taken place there. Detailed transcription of the interviews will reveal approximately forty additional sites, as well as Crow place names which have yet to be translated.

Most of the locations are within the boundaries of BICA, or on lands controlled by Custer National Forest or the Bureau of Land Management. Of the sites within the BICA boundaries,
many are on Crow Tribal lands, some are on scenic easements, and others are on private land. Management arrangements for sites on such a variety of lands will undoubtedly have to change from one owner to another, and no attempt has been made in this document to sort such differences out. The Custer National Forest and Bureau of Land Management-controlled lands are fairly straightforward, since none of the sites are on other than federal lands. Even in these instances, though, mining, grazing, and timber claims have to be considered for management purposes. Some of the locations are on the Pryor Mountain Wild Horse Range, for example, where there may be rules about access or off-road vehicle use that need to be considered in their management.

The commentary is offered with each of the resources in the hope that it will open a dialogue between land managers and the Crow Tribe. The format for this dialogue is a topic for agencies to negotiate with each other and the Crow Tribe. The association between the National Park Service, Custer National Forest, the Bureau of Land Management, and the Crow Tribe for this particular project is a good beginning.
CHAPTER FIVE
THE EUROAMERICAN RANCHERS

The Historical Background

Git along, git along, git along, little dogies.
It's your misfortune and none of my own.
Your mammies was raised way down in Texas,
But now Wyoming will be your new home.

This cowboy anthem describes the open-range cattle industry, when Texas steers were herded up to northern plains for fattening. The open range, with its free grass, water and trails, did not last long in the history of cattle ranching, but was an ideal to which cattlemen aspired for decades afterwards. The loss of the open range pitted cattlemen against homesteaders, farmers, shepherders, the government and nature itself. This history is marked by violent clashes and grudging concessions.

Using John Bennett's concept of an "occupational culture", the ranching community along the flanks of the Bighorn Canyon represents a group with a unique ethnic identity. This group is a mix of homestead ranches and recent immigrants to the ranching industry. Some of the ranchers are resident while other owners are non-resident. A sizable segment of the ranching community are former owners who have sold and moved on to other locations and occupations.

Wyoming's Bighorn Basin contains all of the elements which characterize the history of ranching in the west. After the Indian Wars, fur trappers and prospectors passed through the Basin. By 1871, when herds of Texas cattle were already grazing elsewhere in Wyoming, the Bighorn Basin had just received its first house (Lindsay 1930:103). The reason for the delay of cattle here was both the distance from the railroad and the ring of mountains whose only crossing points contained wild rivers (Lindsay 1930:97; Rollinson 1947:69-70). The first herd of cattle here came by way of Oregon (Lindsay 1930:98).

In 1880, when the Bighorn Basin was being stocked, Wyoming had 521,213 head of cattle (Schlebecker 1963:6). Twenty years earlier, it had none. The cattle boom was accompanied by exhortations from the governor, saying, "These cattle have literally raised themselves for market" (Lindsay 1930:95). Others encouraged settlement in the Bighorn Basin by describing it in ideal terms:
The soil of the valley is a dark rich loam, capable of producing all the crops raised on a Missouri bottom farm. The climate in the winter is very mild; snow never falls to a depth exceeding six or eight inches (Triggs 1876:45).

Such claims would soon be proven erroneous, although facts of nature didn’t hold back the tide of men seeking profits from cattle. The largest Bighorn ranches arose in the early 1880s, with Billings as the main shipping center after 1883. Captain Henry Belknap of England chose two sites, one of which later became William F. Cody’s famous TE Ranch (Lindsay 1930:99). Count Otto Von Lichtenstein left Austria for the wholesale banana business in New York in 1866, but was later attracted to the profit potential in ranching (Rollinson 1947:68). By the time he established the Pitchfork in 1880, he was known as Otto Franc. Henry C. Lovell’s three ranches, among them the ML, and Captain Robert A. Torrey’s M-Ranch were the largest in the Basin (Rollinson 1947:70; Lindsay 1930:104). Each ran more than 40,000 head of cattle.

By this time, cows were being added to the herds, resulting in calves which could be mavericked. Cowboys could rustle unbranded cattle and start up their own outfits by branding them. When the Wyoming Stock Grower’s Association was formed, it put cowboys who branded cattle for themselves on a black list (Lindsay 1930:116). The Association also set the dates for spring and fall roundups, which were for branding calves and shipping beef, respectively. By 1892, the Wyoming Stock Grower’s Association had over one hundred members who collectively owned two million head of cattle; Wyoming’s governor and senators were listed on its roster (Kittrell 1954:xxv).

Meanwhile, other settlers had moved into the Basin. Floyd C. Bard, a homesteader, drew a distinction between the different generations:

Most of [the] early-day settlers were called nesters. Then came the dirt farmers mostly from Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, and Arkansas. They were called grangers. The nesters had a roundup wagon out on the range working right along with the big cow outfit. The grangers only had a roundup wagon out on the range in late fall to gather their cattle for winter feeding (Bard 1960:12).

Bard adds that as early as 1884, the grangers were plowing up sage brush to plant wheat (1960:12).

In addition to these farmers and small cattle outfits came sheep ranchers. Lindsay (1930:137) notes that sheep were
better suited to the Basin than cattle, because they could eat the salt sage all winter long. George Beck was one of the first sheep ranchers in the Basin, and one of the first to experience open hostility from cattlemen. In driving his first flock from Cheyenne, he was stopped at the Powder River by cowboys who pointed guns at him. He crossed anyway, but the foreman warned him, "...no other damn sheep man would ever cross that river" (McLaird 1967:170). This was but an inkling of trouble to come.

Cattle ranchers were beset by woes in the late 1880s. The winter of 1886-87 was so severe that by some estimates, three-quarters of Wyoming's cattle died (Kittrell 1954:xxvii). Poor management practices such as shipping heifers and yearlings to meet quotas for absentee cattle owners, or counting non-existent cattle on the books, were also exposed at this time (Murray 1966:60; Walker 1936:86-87). Even with huge herd losses, the industry had over-expanded, and the market price for beef declined. These events caused some cattlemen to adapt their ranching techniques to the times; for example, they switched to sheep, or reduced their cattle herds and increased their hay acreage, as Franc and Lovell did (Lindsay 1930:157). Other cattlemen looked for scapegoats. Shrinking profits were blamed on the "Chicago Millionaires" (Lindsay 1930:141), and shrinking herds on rustlers. Because the fences and growing herds of the nesters and grangers presented a more obvious threat, they were often defamed as "rustlers".

At the time, Johnson County comprised all of the land to the east of the Bighorn River. In 1892, the farmers and small stock owners of Johnson County split from the Wyoming Stock Grower's Association, to protest the murders of alleged rustlers in their community the year before (Lindsay 1930:147). They set their own spring roundup date, to begin one month before the official one (which, of course, gave them first access to unbranded calves). In response, the big cattlemen recruited gunmen from Texas and formed a fifty-two member invasion party.

The size and extra-legal nature of the expedition belie the assertion that the few "rustlers" of the region were their goal. ...Rather it appears they aimed to do in a number of alleged "rustlers" plus enough of the "guilty-by-association" (or rather by lack of association with the corporate interests!) to discourage not only rustling, but any influx of small landholders into the region (Murray 1966:61).

The invasion has been more bluntly referred to as a "war of extermination" (Kittrell 1954:xxix).
When the invasion party gathered at the Tisdale Ranch, they were informed that two of the rustlers on their hit list were at the KC Ranch. After a shoot-out there resulted in the death of the rustlers, the party continued to the TA Ranch, where they found themselves surrounded by angry Johnson County residents. The U.S. cavalry had to be called in to save the raiders. Although the invaders were never fully prosecuted and eventually went free, some people, such as the ranching journalist Asa Mercer, expressed the hope that things had truly changed:

From now on there will be a new Wyoming, purified by the people’s rule, and made the home of a happy and prosperous population, engaged in opening up and humanizing the mountain, valley and plain (Mercer 1954:149).

Mercer was rewarded for his documentation efforts with death threats, accusations of sending obscene materials through the mail, and jail (Kittrell 1954:xxix). Copies of his book, The Banditti of the Plains, were burned.

By 1893, Mormon families were working on irrigation projects in the Bighorn Basin. The first Mormon migration was haphazard, and many of the families eventually left due to hardship. William F. Cody’s Shoshone Land and Irrigation Company built the Basin’s first irrigation canal in 1895-96. These continuing canal-building projects caught the attention of church officials, who incorporated the Bighorn Basin Colonization Company in 1898 (Lindsay 1930:194). The Company sponsored the migration of Mormons from Utah and Idaho, and paid them for digging canals. The settlers also earned income from grading the new railroad connection to Cody (Walker 1936:132).

Two characteristics set the Mormon settlers apart. One was their view that migrating and working on construction projects were, in themselves, missions of God (see Charles Welch’s account of Mormon history in the Bighorn Basin, 1940). The other trait was that they settled in villages surrounded by their farms. Up to that time, homesteaders were required to live on the land that they cultivated. The state land board met to discuss the issue, and agreed that owners could live in town "if the land was cultivated up to the full requirements" (Walker 1936:133). The Mormons’ principal crops became sugar beets and alfalfa.

Other events occurring at the turn of the century were influenced by the changing economy and closing of the open range. Cowboys who were out of work sometimes became "grub-line riders"; that is, "they just rode the grub line from one ranch to another, stopping and staying at a ranch until they
thought their welcome as running out ..." (Bard 1960:225). In Sheridan, a horse boom was underway. The U.S. cavalry was buying mounts at the same time that the English government sought horses for the Boer War; horses went from being "worthless" to fetching $40 a head (Bard 1960:200-205). In 1905, the National Cattlemen's Association split to form the American Stock Grower's Association. To John Schlebecker, the split reflected a need for representation for ranch farmers rather than open-range herders (1963:28). The dissidents viewed it differently, as Will Barnes, first secretary of the new organization, explained:

We cowmen had a foolish idea that the packers, the live-stock commission men, the stock-yard owners, and the railroad officials were responsible for most of our sorrows (there was no Forest Service then to blame it all on) (Schlebecker 1963:28).

Thus, cattlemen still viewed themselves as victims of unfavorable economic circumstances, paving the way for more trouble.

Things came to a head again in the Bighorn Basin in 1909. For the six previous years, masked cattlemen had been attacking sheep camps, slaughtering sheep and sometimes killing the herders. Cattlemen, complaining that sheep ruined the range, drew "dead lines" which sheep were not allowed to cross (Lindsay 1930:231). In April, 1909, two sheepmen took their herd on a shortcut across cattle country. The "Ten Sleep Raid" occurred when their camp was attacked by cattlemen who killed the sheepmen and their herds (Walker 1936:104-105). Now, the National Wool Growers Association took up the matter; Wyoming was then the country's largest wool and mutton producer. The murderers were convicted and several of them were sentenced to hard labor. The times had changed; now, the law prosecuted cattlemen who vented their frustrations through violence.

Success started to come for the cattlemen who used dry farming techniques (e.g., fallowing) to raise supplemental feeds. After the First World War, the government set up assistance programs for ranchers who faced falling beef prices, dust storms and grasshopper plagues. This helped them get credit, control cattle diseases, impose rules on packers, and subsidize road-building for the growing trucking industry (Schlebecker 1963:103). A relief buying program for drought-stricken ranchers was also instituted, paying them $525 million for 8.3 million head of cattle in 1934 alone (Schlebecker 1963:141-142). That same year, the cattlemen-supported Taylor Grazing Act opened 80 million acres of public land to grazing under the administration of the Secretary of
the Interior, who charged nine cents per head less in grazing fees than the Forest Service (Schlebecker 1963:143-144).

World War Two brought prosperity to the ranchers. It also created black markets, which resulted in cattle rustling. Now, though, stock owners looked to the state law enforcement for protection (Schlebecker 1963:185). Trucks became the primary mode of cattle transport.

In the 1950s, assistance to ranchers came in the form of synthetic hormones, antibiotics and tranquilizers, which allowed cattle to gain more weight on less feed. Systemic poisons were used to control worms. "At the rate of discovery and use in the fifties, biochemical pills and shots seemed about to replace food altogether," writes Schlebecker (1963:231).

By the 1960s, the urban population was pressing for more wilderness legislation, and sprawl was forcing land prices to rise. This encroachment pitted ranchers against city dwellers, leading Schlebecker to observe that, "the more things changed, the more they remained the same" (1963:236). The history of Montana-Wyoming ranching is punctuated by disputes centering around the cattlemen’s attempts to remain free of competition and government regulations. These disputes pitted cattlemen against a cast of characters whose titles changed with the times. In one decade, state government protected the cattlemen’s interests; in another, it prosecuted them for resorting to violence. The changing times made grub-line riders out of cowboys, and sheepmen out of cattlemen. Wheat fields and oil fields eventually made a patchwork of the plains.

The Bighorn Basin’s history is a microcosm of this ranching history. Huge cattle outfits were established by men whose names have become legend. When nesters and grangers fenced in their homesteads and brought their own stock, the Basin witnessed such famous conflicts as the Johnson County War and the Ten Sleep Raid. Irrigation projects attracted Mormon settlers from other western territories. International events influenced export prices for beef, and drew horses for foreign wars. The Bighorn Basin continues to present an ideal, naturally-bounded setting for future studies of evolving Western culture history.

Historical Overview of the Project Area

Many old cabins in the BICA+ area are the remains of summer cow camps, homestead ranches and dryland farms. Sawmills were also common in the Pryor Mountains and place names, like Tie Flats at the head of Crooked Creek, relate to sawmills which produced ties for the Chicago, Burlington, and
Quincy Railroad. The railroad connecting Billings, Montana to Cody, Wyoming went through Pryor Gap. It was started in 1899, completed in 1901, and abandoned in 1911.

Much of the following history of the Pryor area has been adapted from the general history of the Pryor Mountains written by David Harvey in 1974.

Bowler Flats lies at the base of Big Pryor Mountain, south of Upper Sage Creek. Jack Bowler, a former soldier with the U.S. Seventh Cavalry at Fort Custer, was one of the first settlers on the "Flats", hauling logs from the Pryors to build his house. When the CB & Q Railroad began running through in 1901, Bowler experienced significant growth. The post office and some stores were owned by the Bemish family, Johnny Hanley operated the saloon, while the "Big Store", which had everything, was owned by Billy Gardner. When the railroad left in 1911, Bowler experienced considerable decline and it was almost completely abandoned in the Depression.

In the late 1880s, a horse thief named Teton Jack lived in a cave in Sage Canyon. Bert Schwend, who was interviewed in this project, knew many of the stories about "old Teton Jack", who stole horses from the Indians. According to Schwend, one time when the Indians were after him, Teton stayed in the cave for 30 days. Below the cave is a large rock pile where there used to be an old corral formed with rocks, and where two men are supposed to be buried.

Schwend also told the story of Toots Brown and Mike Wrote around 1910 when they opened fire on the Indians:

Brown and Mike run their horses and cattle up Sage Creek. The horses would get on the reservation and the Indians would take them down to Pryor and pawn them and charge them a dollar a head to get them back. Toots and Mike got in Teton Jack Cave and when the Indians came down with about 75 head of horses, they just opened fire on them. They killed two. Emory, a mail carrier, also saw the horses and came to a log cabin across from Teton Cave where Indians were "swarming around." There was an old Indian, Red Cloud or Red Bird who was lying inside the cabin on a cot and he was bleeding to death. Emory said, 'well let me go see him' and this Katy Roundface . . . said, 'no Emory, you can’t go in there, they’ll kill you -- you got a six-shooter on and they’ll kill you.' Emory rode to the ranch and got some Casic Balsam and put it on the Indian’s wounds and stopped the bleeding, for the Indian had his "privates" shot off.

Toots and Mike eventually served time in prison for their part in the shooting (Harvey 1974:23).
Originally known to the Indians as "Yellow Willow", Sage Creek was a site settled by A.P. Graham around 1895 (Harvey 1974:25). Other early residents of Sage Creek were the Shrivers and the Cummings, whose ranches are owned by the Schwends today. Blanche Cummings was postmaster of the first post office in the area, which operated from January 1910 until April 1911. Thereafter, the post office was established at the Schriver Ranch and operated by Nettie T. Shriver.

Indian Springs cabin, on the outside boundary of the Forest Service, was built by Crow Indians working for the CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) in the 1930s and used as an Indian Police Station for a time. The badly deteriorated cabin was destroyed in the 1970s.

The Pryor Mountains and the southern portion of the Bighorn National Recreation Area was influenced more by events in Wyoming than in Montana because the best access to the Pryors, especially to the Dryhead country and Bighorn Canyon, is from the Lovell and the Bighorn Basin.

The first big settlement was Lovell, on the Wyoming side of the Pryors. In 1879, Henry Clay Lovell brought cattle into the Bighorn Basin and by 1883 his "M-L" ranch had 25,000 head of cattle, and extended from Thermopolis, Wyoming, to the Crow lands in the north. This ranch is currently protected as a historical attraction in the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area.

Cowley originated as a 16-family Mormon settlement during the winter of 1900-1901; its name was taken from an apostle of the Mormon church. Deaver, named after D. Clem Deaver, was west of Cowley and began as a tent city. By 1917, it boasted a post office, railroad depot and other stores. Jesse Godfrey recalled that Cowley, now reduced to a population of 200, once housed around 2,000 residents.

The only town in the U.S. named Frannie was named after Frannie Morris, an expert horsewoman in "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show" and daughter of Jack Morris, who had a road ranch nearby. Today, Frannie, on the Montana-Wyoming border, is known as the "biggest little town in Wyoming." Around 1885, Jack Morris settled on Sage Creek, establishing his ranch near Frannie. Because his home was on the stage-line route from Billings to Basin City, it was a roadhouse for many years. Losing his water to upstream dams and irrigation, Morris filed suit against 25 residents of Montana along the Sage Creek, who had diverted the water to their lands. Eventually he won, but not before creating bad feeling with his neighbors.

Mormon logging operations on public lands in Montana were also a source of conflict with the early Pryor Mountain
settlers. The Schow brothers of Cowley set up a sawmill in the Pryors, near Wyoming Creek and Crooked Creek, to provide lumber for the Mormons' home-building. The residents in Montana objected, citing a federal statute that limited the use of timber taken from public lands to residents of that state. Legislation eventually gave both Montana and Wyoming residents use of the timber.

The establishment of the Pryor Mountain Wild Horse Range was largely influenced by the Strong and Tillet families. Bessie Strong Tillet (born 1889) and Edna Strong Anderson (born 1885) arrived in Lovell in 1894 with their parents, who opened the Strong Hotel and Saloon. The building of the first irrigation canals in the Lovell area was led by Frank Strong. The Strong family bought the Hugh Kelsey ranch and two others on Crooked Creek in 1903. The Strongs also had contracts with the government to carry the mail, with Edna doing horseback duty for some years and Bessie continuing on and off between 1905 and 1910.

What is now the Layout Creek Ranger Station was once the homestead of the Ewing family. One of the first post offices in the area operated from the Ewing ranch between June 1898 and August 1908, serving the area from Pryor. In 1915, the post office was established at G. William Barry's "Cedarvale Dude Ranch", located near Barry's Landing. Bearss presents an interesting account of Barry's acquisition of material for his cabin:

...several years before, a prospector had passed this way. He had been startled by a rattlesnake, which escaped into the underbrush. The prospector set fire to the brush, in an effort to get rid of the rattler, but the blaze got out of hand and killed all the timber on one side of the canyon. Dr. Barry found these dead trees ideal for building his cabin and several others (Bearss 1970:383).

A New York physician and "born promoter" who "chanced upon the Trail Creek Valley and liked what he saw" (Bearss 1970:383), Barry established the first dude ranch in the west. His Virginia-born wife, Edith, and Claude St. John, her son from a previous marriage, joined him out west. St. John became postmaster in June, 1920. The post office, called Hillsboro (Montana), remained in operation until lack of business closed it down in 1945. The dude ranch operated until the late 1950s.

Originally Barry intended to mine gold in the Bighorn River and he borrowed large amounts of money in order to set up a gold mine operation called the "Big Horn Gold Dredging Company". Like so many other operations dependant on Bighorn
Canyon or Pryor Mountain resources, it went broke because they couldn’t find enough gold to pay for the maintenance and operation of equipment. Investors back east threatened him, and the doctor had to come up with a better money-making enterprise. His new scheme was a dude ranch which was more successful than the gold mining venture but still a difficult way to earn a livelihood.

Carolyn Lockhart and Will James, two well-known authors, also lived in the Dryhead. James’ home was 15 miles northwest of Dryhead Creek, and Lockhart lived in the southern part of Bighorn National Recreation Area in a ranch originally homesteaded by the Hammond family and sold to Lockhart. Dryhead residents had differing opinions and memories of Carolyn Lockhart. Some women believed she was after their husbands while others thought she had poor manners and filthy language at best. Today, she is usually remembered with affection or admiration. In a column from the "People" section of the Lovell Chronicle, Anna Parks remembers the day she met Carolyn Lockhart:

It was in Dryhead, "Kane Country", 1921, the year she was 11 years old. She had run to post a letter for her mother at the Kane Post Office during her school recess. She reached the post office at the same time as Lockhart, who spit as she jumped off her horse, the spit landing on Anna’s new white stockings -- her mother had bought her 3 pair for 25 cents and warned her to stay off her knees, not play marbles and keep them clean. As they started into the post office, Anna saw that Lockhart had inadvertently dropped a letter which was carried away by the wind. Anna chased the letter and returned it to Lockhart, who was in the post office chatting with Mrs. Scott, the postmistress. She received a hug along with, "Well, thanks, you little s--of a b---", and 25 cents. Anna was impressed by the 25 cents, her mother was not impressed by the tobacco juice on her stockings, which the naive child thought was licorice juice! Anna remembers Lockhart had long black braids and was wearing a tall Stetson hat, and that this was before Lockhart bought her ranch in Dryhead. At this time, Anna was living with her family in a log cabin which had been home to her Uncle Fred’s father, Harlow Bassett, who had served in the Civil War (Lovell Chronicle).

Running cattle onto the Crow Indian Reservation, noted previously in the Sage Canyon area, was also common on the reservation along both sides of Bighorn Canyon. The best known culprits were Sam Garvin and Bob Lee. In 1893, Garvin put a herd of cattle in an inaccessible section of the Crow Reservation along the western flanks of the Bighorn Mountains, to the east of Bighorn Canyon. This area was so isolated, it
was 1900 before agent T. E. Edwards accused Garvin of stealing the pasturage and collected $200 as a lease fee. Shortly afterwards, several hundred head of the Crow Indian herd of cattle were stolen (Harvey 1974:47).

Frank Heinrich, an important stockman in Montana, suspected that Garvin and his partner Bob Lee were not operating fairly and notified law officials who began investigations in 1901. Garvin and Lee tried to intimidate witnesses when the Grand Jury met in Billings, but they were indicted nevertheless. Given the circumstances, their sentences were light: one year prison terms and $1,000 fines.

EuroAmerican Rancher Interviews

Four individuals who presently live or once lived in the BICA+ area were interviewed. Mrs. Beverly St. John was born in Minnesota in 1917. Her association with the project area is at the Cedarvale Ranch at the now abandoned site of Hillsboro, Montana. Mrs. St. John first came to the Cedarvale Ranch in 1945 as a dude. She returned in 1946 and married Claude St. John, step-son to Dr. Barry, in January 1947. She lived at the ranch until November 1958 when, due to her husband’s ill health, they moved to Billings. She has not returned to the ranch since, although her daughter has visited the site.

Ed Hammond was born in 1910 in Boyd, Montana. He lived with his parents and family on a ranch in the Dryhead. During their time on the ranch (and continuing today) the Hammonds have maintained a personal friendship with the Loendorfs, family of Larry Loendorf, a principal investigator for this project. In the course of the research, Helen J. Asay, born in Red Lodge, Montana in 1913 and sister to Ed Hammond wrote a letter describing some of her memories in the Dryhead. Both the interview with Ed Hammond and the letter written by Helen Asay are source material for the project. Ed and Helen’s father worked on the Two Legging Ditch out of Fort Smith in the 1890s and discovered the Dryhead while searching for lumber. They settled their ranch in 1900 and obtained a Forest Service grazing permit. Due to conflict over water and grazing rights, the ranch was abandoned in 1950. Although Helen has returned for short visits, Ed has not been back for 43 years.

Bert Schwend has lived in upper Sage Creek his entire life. Born in 1906 in the Deerlodge Valley, Montana, Bert moved to the Pryor Mountains when he was one month old. His father had a sawmill up Sage Creek. In the intervening years, Bert has bought and sold several ranches in the Pryor Mountain region.

145
Bessie Strong Tillett and Edna Strong Anderson came to Lovell, Wyoming with their parents in 1894. In 1903, the Strongs bought several ranches on Crooked Creek. Lloyd Tillett, Bessie's son, has lived on Crooked Creek all his life. Born in 1920, he has been an active and successful rancher in the region, and also an avid supporter of protection of the wild horse herd.

Ethnographic Resources of the Ranching Community

According to the definition, an ethnographic resource is "any natural or cultural resource, landscape, or natural feature which is linked by a subject community to the traditional practices, values, beliefs, history, and/or ethnic identity of that community". The questions we must ask ourselves are: Do the ranchers constitute a subject community? Are their traditional practices, values, beliefs, history and/or ethnic identities linked to any of the natural or cultural resources, landscapes, or natural features found in the study area?

Defining "community" is a time-honored anthropological difficulty. Have the ranchers been inhabiting this area for a thousand years? No -- but there have been ranchers here since the late 1800's. A few families have succeeded, but the majority have failed and moved on. The ranchers are not from a common ethnic background (other than white EuroAmerican), they speak an English virtually identical to that spoken by the larger non-ranching EuroAmerican population of Montana, and they are not particularly inter-married. They exchange goods and services with each other, but also with outsiders. As history shows, they'll band together against a perceived threat, and just as quickly turn against an infringing neighbor. The ranching consultants interviewed for this project told many tales of feuds between ranchers and their neighbors.

In short, however we define "subject community", the ranchers show some characteristics of being one and some characteristics of not being one. Most importantly, they themselves lack a sense of community regarding valued resources. Primarily, what they have in common are fierce independence and competitiveness. They have similar interests in such resources as water, good pasturage and timber, but those are interests in private ownership and use. Land ownership is not only important for the sake of the precious resources so vital to continuing survival, but also as a symbol that one has succeeded where so many have failed. Ranchers are often extremely protective of their private land holdings. One consultant does not allow public access to his lands, for he:
can’t afford to have public on lands as they show no respect. . . when you buy some property, you don’t feel like turning it over to them to do what they damn please on it, then they’ll run over you" and "pretty soon they will own it and you won’t."

Another rancher expressed a similar belief, and ranchers throughout the region have placed "no trespassing--private property" signs on gate posts and along access trails to their property.

Ownership of cultural resources like arrowheads is also a topic of debate between ranchers and the government. While the ranchers believed the resources should be protected, they think it is silly for someone to leave an arrowhead on the ground.

The Crow Indians have a different relationship with ethnographic resources than the EuroAmerican ranchers. For example, while the rancher would collect an arrowhead as a personal keepsake, Crow consultant #9 described a completely different attitude towards archaeological sites:

We showed utmost respect. We did not pick up any little thing from there, bead or whatever it might be. It didn’t belong to us. It belonged to them. If you took that person’s spirit might pester you until you took it back. And then we are not to step over it either. We went around.

These differences are reflected in attitudes about access to all sorts of resources. Crow Indians believe in "usufruct rights" where access is to the general populace and allowed on a "first come first served" basis. Ranchers, on the other hand, do everything possible to limit access to resources to their immediate families.

Finally, we must recognize that all of the resources needed to sustain the EuroAmerican ranching community are only moderately abundant in the region. While some portions of the Pryor Mountain Bighorn Canyon region receive enough precipitation to grow crops like winter wheat, irrigation is needed to raise crops throughout the vast majority of the area. The driest land in the state of Montana, most of it managed by the Bureau of Land Management, is found to the southwest of the Pryor Mountains. Although the stands of timber in the Pryor Mountains are adequate for limited logging operations, access to cut the timber and get it to markets is difficult. Good grazing lands are also scarce. Most of the good summer pasturage is at higher elevations where it is managed by Custer National Forest.
Many of the failed ranching operations are related to the lack of good water and grazing pastures. Ed Hammond noted that he left his homestead under difficult circumstances resulting from "pressures from outsiders and infringements on his water rights". Jack Morris, who lived along lower Sage Creek, had a lengthy battle with his upstream neighbors over water, and the Schow brothers' sawmill on Wyoming Creek, which produced lumber for Mormon houses in Cowley, Wyoming, was contested by Montanans.

The scarcity of good grazing land led to its theft from others, and running cattle onto the Crow Indian reservation to steal their pasturage was a common practice at the turn of the century. This practice was noted in Sage Canyon between the main Pryor Mountains and along Bighorn Canyon on the flank of the Bighorn Mountains. In the absence of an honorable way to make a living, stealing horses and cattle, especially from the Crow Indians, was a way to support oneself. The light sentences handed out by the "white man's justice system" did little to deter this rustling.

Mining operations also failed. From the historical perspective the best known failure is Dr. Barry's Bighorn Gold Dredging Company. In recent years there have been numerous uranium mining operations that were not successful for one reason or another. Schemes to dig and sell gem stones, like a group of mining claims for Dryhead Agate, can produce a few dollars a year but not enough money to support a family.

Dude ranches and recreation activities are among the most successful operations in the region. The Cedarvale Dude Ranch was a harbinger of the dude operations found today at the Dryhead Ranch and Tillett Ranch. The success of these operations reflects the popular romantic image of the American west throughout the world. Writing about the west, as Carolyn Lockhart and Will James did, was more successful than trying to make a living on the scarce resources that are found in it.

In sum, no ethnographic resources were identified for the ranching community. This does not mean the ranchers have no sense of history, or lack respect for the land. Nor does it imply they are anti-preservation. They respect the land in a way rooted in Christian-EuroAmerican culture. They want to protect their land so that future generations of their own families will be able to use and enjoy it. Bert Schwend "wants to take care of the land as long as he can... leave some grass" and Lloyd Tillett described stewardship of the land as one where he "wouldn't say we take care of it but we don't tear it up". Individuals may very well have places that are important to them personally -- places of sentiment and history and subsistence -- but the important thing to note is that this is not a cultural system. No two unrelated people
will have the same important places, or tell the same story about a single site.

Essentially, the ranchers are hard-working people who have learned to live in an environment which is better suited to hunting and gathering than to ranching and farming. We recommend that programs for historical preservation, rather than laws about ethnographic resources, be used to study the resources important to the ranchers in the BICA+ study area.
CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

Shortly after the completion of Yellowtail Dam and the Bighorn Canyon Reservoir, the Crow Indian Tribe was hopeful about the potential for recreational development. Writing in 1972, after meeting with the tribal leadership, Dale McGinnis and Floyd Sharrock believed that the future looked bright for the tribe:

...the tribe and the National Park Service have concluded an agreement for the tribe to be the master concessionaire of the Bighorn National Recreation Area. The tribe is planning to develop tourist facilities at Pretty Eagle, and a marina at Ok-a-beh -- both located on the recently filled reservoir (McGinnis and Sharrock 1972:92).

During this time the National Park Service was planning the transpark road, and Custer National Forest had started to upgrade the road system into the Pryor Mountains. The Bureau of Land Management was studying the wild horse herd with tourism as a part of the research. Crow Indians cooperated with these studies because they believed tourism would benefit them. One question of substance for the present report is: what happened in the intervening twenty years to change Crow Indian attitudes toward federal land management?

The answer is complex. Upon reviewing the record, however, it becomes apparent that, in some instances, land managing agencies did not address concerns regarding ethnographic resources which were continually being raised by the Crow Indian tribe. An obvious example is a section of the proposed transpark road which the Crow tribe have consistently complained about. This side road to Hole-in-the-Rock was intended to offer tourists a panoramic view into Bighorn Canyon. As clarified in this document, however, it would have also allowed access to a Crow site of sacrament. Clearly, this is not an acceptable location for a tourist overlook. The same is true regarding the burial ridges near Fort Smith, which all Crow consultants, traditional and Christian, described as culturally-sensitive. The National Park Service response to these burial ridges has been (and in some cases continues to be) one of disbelief because they have not found actual human remains on the ridges.

The point of this discussion is not to be critical of one federal administration over another. Rather, it is to resolve an ongoing difference between the Crow Indian tribe and land management agencies. If this project taught us one important
lesson, it is the consistency of many Crow positions regarding their traditional landscape. As long as EuroAmericans have recorded Crow Indian traditions, they have stressed the importance of the Hole-in-the-Rock area for vision quests, and the burial ridges near Fort Smith. An ethnographic resource reported by Francois Larocque in 1804 is discussed by Frank Linderman in 1932, reaffirmed by Stuart Conner in 1964, and described by the consultants for this project in 1993. For over 175 years, members of the Crow tribe have been using and protecting dozens of different ethnographic resources in remarkably consistent ways. It is time that land managing agencies recognize the sustained significance of such ethnographic resources to the Crow Indians.

The commentary associated with the resources in this document is offered in the hope that it will open a dialogue between land managers and the Crow Tribe. The form this dialogue will take is a subject for the managing agencies and the Crow tribe to develop together, but the cooperation which has already been established among the National Park Service, Custer National Forest, the Bureau of Land Management, and the Crow Tribe for this project is a logical beginning. The same roster of agencies was used during the 1970s for the cultural resource studies in the region. After those field seasons, the three federal agencies and members of the Crow Culture committee met to discuss what had been found. Those meetings were followed by field trips to the relevant sites. This format allowed participants an opportunity to engage in worthwhile dialogue about the resources (Figure 6.1).

Such an annual meeting schedule would bring the interested parties together once a year, while ad hoc contact could be maintained through a telephone system for emergency problems at ethnographic resource sites. A permanent topic for the annual meeting might be problems encountered by Crow Indians with their traditional use of the ethnographic resources on lands in the study area.

A recurring theme in Crow commentary on "ethnographic resources" is their resentment of non-Crow behavior towards the ancestral landscape. The looting of open-air gravesites, removal of antler shrines and stone cairns, defacing of rock art with bullet holes or graffiti, metal-detecting for battle mementoes, and a general lack of concern for Crow environmental, historical and religious sensibilities all underscore the distinction some Crows draw (and here they sometimes idealize) between the native discourse based on respect and the non-Indian discourse based on rights. Lest we fall into "harmony with nature" truisms here, let us be clear that the Crow concern is less with secular environmentalism than with "respect" for the "non-empirical environment" (see discussion on p. 22) and its denizens -- the deceased, the
Little People, animal spirit-beings, and the other Sacramental, Historical, Subsistent and Sentimental values elucidated in this document. The non-Indian concern with "rights", on the other hand, gives priority to legalistic definitions of real estate ownership and management, [UNCLEAR while exercising differential value control over landscape which falls outside legal boundaries or becomes underprotected for one reason or other] -- such as the Dry Head buffalo drive-and-jump sites, the burial ridge sites outside Ft. Smith, Little People abodes and other examples of site-defamation which Crows are quite equipped to provide. Even though archaeological and cultural resource legislation now in place was designed to protect certain Indian sites on private and public land, the collective Crow experience is that legislation has had little impact on resource protection or Crow access to them.

The Crow need to learn there are others who deplore the loss of ethnographic resources. They need to learn there are individuals within federal agencies who are prepared and willing to help them protect their ethnographic heritage.
The National Park Service is currently developing "partnerships" with various non-service entities. Although most of them are designed to bring income to the agency, this sort of relationship might be appropriate for the management of ethnographic resources at Bighorn Canyon. In this arrangement, the National Park Service would enter into a partnership with the Crow to cooperate in the management of the resources. This approach would formalize clauses in the Memorandum of Agreement between the National Park Service and the Crow Tribe that describe cooperation between the tribe and the National Park Service in protecting cultural and historical sites.

Custer National Forest and the Bureau of Land Management should consider entering this "partnership" in some way or another. If this proves too cumbersome within the bureaucratic process, individual "partnership" arrangements or "cooperative agreements" with the Crow Tribe should be considered. If such arrangements are already in place, they should be re-examined to make certain that the management of ethnographic resources is specifically addressed.

Future Research

The limited scope of this four-week survey of ethnographic resources yielded more data than we were able to analyze, and opened up new categories of ethnographic and ethnohistorical research which cry out for further study. We would like to stress the urgency of this further study, because much of the linguistic and ethnogeographical knowledge of the BICA area is held in the minds and memories of elderly Crow people.

First, the ethnotoponyms, fuller contextualizations and integrated nature of the study area must be extracted from the transcribed BICA 1993 interviews.

Second, these sites -- especially those without easily identifiable cultural features on the ground, such as traditional foraging areas -- must be visited and documented, interpreted with the help of biological and botanical experts, and new interviews and re-elicitations must be conducted to cross-reference them.

This is all necessary if the full history of Crow culture-history is to be "read" from this "book" of the Crow landscape. But the ranks of elderly Crow who can unlock the information bank of the BICA study area is thinning dramatically. Already two of the informants we had hoped to interview have passed away. There is still time to add primary data to our knowledge of Crow ecological practices, their historical experiences and commemorations, and the great range
of beliefs, customs and memories associated with the "non-empirical" aspect of their traditional environment. This must be done very soon.

The current contract did not include an obligation to transcribe the interviews. To be of use to others, however, and to make them more accessible, the interviews need to be transcribed. This problem was discussed in a progress meeting in which David Ruppert, Rocky Mountain Region, National Park Service, offered to find a way to begin the transcribing. Using a volunteer, Ruppert has made considerable progress on this project; in time, the tapes will all be keyed into a computer in a format that can be manipulated in several ways. Once the transcriptions are complete, the Crow words need to be translated with the correct orthography. This effort will require a linguist who is versed in the Crow language.

In the same progress meeting, problems of differing type styles and some missing words in Crow Conversations with Conner was discussed. Halcion La Pointe of the Custer National Forest, and Gary Smith of the Bureau of Land Management offered to explore ways to get the transcripts keyed into a single type-style and format. Through this effort, Crow Conversations with Conner is now in a single type-style and duplicated for distribution. It is included as a deliverable with this report, and has been filed with Little Bighorn College. In addition, Crow Conversations with Conner has been distributed to all the university and college libraries in Montana and Wyoming. Printing several hundred copies for a larger distribution should be considered as a future task.

Although we completed more than 30 hours of interviews, much more information remains to be collected. At least a dozen other Crow consultants were mentioned during the course of the project as individuals who retain important knowledge about the ethnographic resources of the Bighorn Canyon Recreation Area and adjoining landscape.

An important task to be completed with Crow consultants is a more directed ethnogeographic survey seeking their terminology for local springs, draws, canyons and other landscape features, as well as their ecological sensibilities regarding the interconnected environmental zones within the BICA+ study area. While it may be possible to get some of this information by using a detailed map, our experience in this project indicates the Crow consultants will have to travel to sites and offer information "on the ground". Crow names for locations like the Bad Pass Trail can probably be obtained using a map, but names for locations with less recognition will have to be obtained by travelling to the sites.
Although the EuroAmerican ranchers do not have ethnographic resources, they retain large amounts of local historical knowledge of the region. Bert Schwend and Lloyd Tillett, in particular, know many unwritten facts about the area. Riding through the Pryor Mountains, while tape recording either one of them, would be an extremely worthwhile project to collect historical information.
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