CULTURAL AFFILIATION STATEMENT AND ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCE ASSESSMENT STUDY

Final Report
December 8, 2006

Knife River Indian Villages
National Historic Site, ND

Fort Union Trading Post
National Historic Site, ND

Theodore Roosevelt
National Park, ND

M. N. Zedeño et. al.

BUREAU OF APPLIED RESEARCH IN ANTHROPOLOGY
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CULTURAL AFFILIATION STATEMENT AND ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCE ASSESSMENT STUDY FOR

KNIFE RIVER INDIAN VILLAGES NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE,

FORT UNION TRADING POST NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE,

AND

THEODORE ROOSEVELT NATIONAL PARK, NORTH DAKOTA

FINAL REPORT
December 8, 2006

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SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The findings of the cultural affiliation study and ethnographic resource assessment for Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site (KNRI), Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site (FOUS), and Theodore Roosevelt National Park (THRO) in North Dakota can be summarized as follows:

Prehistoric Affiliations for all Parks

At the outset it must be stated that the three park units under study are part of a single cultural historical sequence wherein ancestors of at least eight historically known ethnic groups lived and interacted with one another. The unique nature of this integration across the three park units becomes evident in the reading of the cultural-historical as well as the ethnographic sections of this report. By the same token, each park possesses unique and complementary characteristics in terms of natural resources, use patterns, and cultural histories. It is important to note that, while all tribes involved in the study see themselves as culturally and traditionally linked to each of the parks, the specific nature and timing of such connections are unique for each tribe or ethnic group. In this report we attempt to identify, albeit very generally, these relationships.

Pre-Plains Village Affiliations

The area where the parks are located--central and western North Dakota--was inhabited by human groups since the terminal Pleistocene (9,000 B.C.), as indicated by the scant but nonetheless present Paleoindian Clovis points (9500-7000 B.C.) as well as Folsom, Plano, Cody, and Plainview materials (7000-5000 B.C.). Whereas important climatic changes may have resulted in land use modifications during the ensuing millennia, the general mode of adaptation to the study region was that of highly mobile large game hunters who also made use of available wild plants and tubers. Ephemeral occupations characterized the regional use pattern during the Archaic Period (5000-400 B.C.). However, diversity in group composition and/or identity is suggested in the variability of projectile point types and styles. Most common is the Logan Creek Complex, but Oxbow, McKean, Duncan, Hanna, and Yonkee points are also found in the region.

The single most significant unifying characteristic of these hunter-gatherer groups is the widespread use of Knife River Flint (KRF), demonstrating the antiquity of exploitation of this resource as well as the centrality of the quarries. The widespread use of KRF, which spans the Northern Plains, further indicates that regionally and perhaps ethnically distinct groups flocked to the Knife River quarries throughout the pre-Plains Village period, traded for this resource, or both. Continuity in the extraction of KRF throughout the historic period and current use and significance of this resource also confirms the enduring character of human habitation of the study area.
The addition of a burial complex and cord-marked pottery signals the temporal and typological transition from the Archaic to the Plains Woodland period (400 B.C.-A.D. 1200). Whereas sites are not very well dated along the Missouri River Trench, there are at least two multi-component and thoroughly documented sites near the mouth of the Yellowstone River. It is during the Early/Middle Woodland period that eastern versus western influences in the diversity of land use patterns and artifact assemblages begin to appear. On the one hand, the Northern Plains groups continued to develop locally and regionally, as indicated by the Besant-Sonota complex whose distribution center is the Fort Union area. On the other hand, these groups were not impervious to the Hopewell developments of the upper Midwest, indicating, at least, an indirect connection to the east. This eastern influence continued throughout the Late Woodland period.

It is during the Woodland period that geographical and cultural distinctions among groups who used the study region begin to appear. For example, the degree of influence from the east may have been related to ancestral Siouan-speaking populations who inhabited the forest-prairie ecotone, and who were geographically close to the Missouri River Trench. On the other hand, the presence of locally and regionally developed Northern Plains complexes with distribution areas to the west and northwest may represent ancestral Algonquian-speaking populations along and beyond the lower Yellowstone River, with the Little Missouri River marking culture subarea boundaries.

Beyond these subtle distinctions it is not possible to pinpoint cultural affiliations of pre-Plains Village materials in the three park units under study. One serious possibility, which has been considered in an earlier cultural affiliation study by Schneider (2002), is that Algonquian-speaking populations whose descendants are Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Atsina or Gros Ventre, may well have been the earlier inhabitants of the study region before the immigration of Siouan-speaking populations who pushed them toward the western and central Plains. The archaeological record, unfortunately, is not always forthcoming as to making this ancient connection (but see Wood 1971). At least the Cheyenne, whose name is related to the French word Chien, were in eastern North Dakota and western Minnesota at the time of European contact. However, there is little or no mention of Cheyenne in connection to the three park units—thus they were not included in the present study.

**Plains Village Period Affiliations**

A.D. 1200 marks the arrival of the first wave of Siouan-speaking immigrant groups to the Missouri River Trench, namely the ancestral Mandan. The historic Mandan heartland was on the Heart River, but their traditional territory covered the area between the Heart River and the Cannonball River, extending west to the Little Missouri River. It is likely, but not confirmed, that a groups of resident Siouan-speakers from the northeast, known historically as the Awatixa, were already settled in the general vicinity (e.g., the Flaming Arrow site) when the ancestral Mandan arrived to the Heart River. Although the date of arrival of the Hidatsa groups is contested, they were certainly on the Knife River when
the first European visited the Mandan in 1738. The date of formation for the Crow Tribe is not precisely known, but educated inferences suggest a late prehistoric date for the first split from ancestral Hidatsa and a historic date for the most recent split from Knife River Hidatsa. Unquestionably, the primary affiliations of the protohistoric Plains Village sites with diagnostic pottery in the study region are Hidatsa-Crow or Mandan. Arikara components appear downriver from the Mandan sometime after A.D. 1350-1400, but the Arikara presence in the study region post-dates the 1781 smallpox epidemic, with a firm affiliation postdating the 1837 smallpox epidemic.

Assiniboine groups apparently split from the eastern woodland Siouan populations in the late prehistory, and by A.D. 1500 they occupied the areas to the north of the Missouri River and to the west of Lake Winnipeg, progressively moving toward the mouth of the Yellowstone River in historic times. Their presence in the vicinity of the Knife River villages is recorded before and after 1781. Little or no record exists for their presence along the Little Missouri River.

Historic Affiliations

French explorers first encountered “prairie” Sioux groups—presumably Teton, Yankton, and Yanktonai—along the upper Red River and vicinity in 1694. The advance of Dakota and Lakota Sioux groups toward the Missouri River Trench became clearly manifest in the ensuing decades of the eighteenth century, with a firm affiliation for sites in the general vicinity of the three parks postdating the 1837 epidemic (e.g., Warren 1986). The movement of Chippewa-Cree groups from the mouth of the Red River to the west also dates to the nineteenth century.

Park-Specific Affiliations

The nature of native lifeways in the Northern Plains inevitably led to the development of widespread social networks with a high degree of interethnic marriages. Captivity and adoption of individuals of diverse ethnic groups also contributed to ethnic diversity within groups. Thus, at a general level there are multiple ancestral connections with each of the three park units; this was most definitely demonstrated during the ethnographic assessments of the parks. At a specific level, however, there are groups whose connections are older and more evident than others.

Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site

The cultural affiliations of the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site are Hidatsa, Mandan, Arikara, and Crow.
Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site

The cultural affiliations of Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site are many; they likely respond to its physiography, to the geographic and cultural centrality of the Yellowstone-Missouri River confluence, and to the specific function that the fort had throughout its existence. Nevertheless, one may attempt to order affiliations by age, beginning with ancestral Plains Algonquian-speakers (postulated but not demonstrated), Assiniboine (on whose land the fort was erected), Hidatsa, Crow, Mandan, Arikara, Blackfeet, and Sioux (particularly the Yanktonai). Each of these groups, in turn, has a unique relationship with the park area. Of these groups, the Assiniboine, Hidatsa, Crow, Mandan, and Yanktonai Sioux have the closest connection to the park landscape as indicated by the existence of origin myths and traditional stories that specifically mention the confluence, and by the presence of ceremonial sites and resource use areas associated with these groups. Important traditional and historical ties also exist for the Arikara and Blackfoot speakers, as well as for groups of Lakota and Dakota Sioux.

Theodore Roosevelt National Park

Affiliations for Theodore Roosevelt National Park are also complex, as this was not only a boundary area but an important travel route and a resource procurement area since prehistoric times. Once again, there is a postulated affiliation between the pre-Plains Village materials and ancestral Algonquian-speaking groups. The Mandan seem to have been the first village farming group affiliated with the park area; the Hidatsa, Crow, Lakota and Dakota Sioux, and Arikara represent plains hunter ancestry. Currently there is little information about prehistoric and historic connections with the Blackfeet or the Assiniboine. Descendants of Arikara scouts who traversed the Little Missouri River during the Sioux wars of the nineteenth century may also have important connections with this park.

Ethnographic Resource Assessments

The ethnographic assessments indicate that all tribes have a familiarity and depth of knowledge of not only individual plant, animal, and mineral resources but also use of landscape features found at each of the parks. The assessments also indicate that groups who do not have a firm cultural affiliation with the parks' prehistoric and/or historic remains nonetheless are traditionally associated with them, as they have close attachments to ceremonial resources and places (e.g., paints, fossils, crystals, certain landforms used for navigation, etc.).

Four overarching themes associated with resources found in and around the parks unify the tribal perspectives on ethnographic resources as well as demonstrate the close historical and cultural connections that exist among the three parks. These themes, in turn, could be at the center of exhibits and interpretive materials produced in the near future, if they are not already incorporated as such:
• Extraction and/or exchange of Knife River Flint since time immemorial;
• Buffalo hunting strategies as evidenced in jump and processing sites;
• Eagle trapping; and
• Paint gathering.

Figure 1. Overarching Resource Themes (clockwise): Pigments, Knife River Flint, Bison, and Eagle Trapping

To accomplish these tasks, tribal ancestors engaged in frequent long-and short-distance travel, which brought them into contact with other groups and provided the occasion for marriage and trade as well as for war. The Missouri, Little Missouri, and Yellowstone Rivers were used as avenues for travel before and after the adoption of the horse. Importantly, all but the extraction of KRF could be carried out in and around all three parks. Many such activities continue to occupy a central position in religious practices of all the participating tribes—hence the recommendation that ceremonial resource permits be issued to tribal individuals who have the rights to collect and use them.
Park-specific recommendations are summarized in Chapter Four. Here are the more consistent recommendations that apply to all parks:

- Exhibits and interpretive materials could be expanded and updated to include all of the participant tribes as well as tribal views of the parks.
- Parks could be proactive at engaging K-12 students from tribal schools in educational programs. Exhibits and interpretive materials could also target children more explicitly and efficiently than they currently do.
- Parks need to consult with tribal elders who are authorized by their respective Cultural or Historic Preservation offices regarding certain aspects of exhibits. For example, the erection of tipis was singled out by one tribe as potentially inappropriate because it is done without proper explanation of their significance (e.g., they represent Mother) or proper ceremonial procedure. Elders would like to see traditional items and themes thoroughly interpreted, so that the public may learn to respect their culture.
- The perceived interpretive misunderstandings could be easily solved with proper consultation; participants suggested that a memorandum of agreement be written so that the tribes could formally consult regarding exhibit and interpretive materials.
- By the same token, consultation with, and participation of, individuals self-described as traditional elders or natives (that is, not appointed by the appropriate tribal authority, in this case, the Cultural or Historic Preservation Officer) in park programs is counterproductive and discourages authoritative elders from attending and participating in park-sponsored activities.
- Parks could issue permits to collect ceremonial resources or use the park for rituals. They note that such permits must be granted judiciously so as not to cheapen, desecrate, or destroy places and resources.
- More tribal elders need to come to the parks to share their knowledge about places and resources, so that this knowledge may be preserved for the future generations of Native and other Americans.
- Overall, there was a unity in praise for the beauty and current well-being of the resources managed by the parks.

Data Needs

The single most evident data need for the parks is a systematic ethnobotany, as there is none for the Missouri River Trench or for the Little Missouri River environs. Certain plant habitats only exist in the parks and thus they constitute an invaluable source of knowledge to preserve for future generations. Tribal representatives would like to see more elders brought to the parks so that ethnobotany and other traditional information (e.g., ethnogeography, ethnozoology, and ethnomineralogy) may be recorded before the elders pass away. Additionally, if the National Park Service (NPS) wishes to present a balanced view in their exhibit and interpretive materials, then tribal views about the parks' history and significance must be recorded.
CHAPTER ONE

STUDY OVERVIEW

This Final Report presents an overview of archaeological, historical, and ethnographic information relating to American Indian cultural affiliation and traditional association with three national parks in North Dakota: Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site (KNRI), Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site (FOUS), and Theodore Roosevelt National Park (THRO) (Figure 1.1). The primary purpose of this overview is to provide the National Park Service (NPS) with data that will aid in the development of consultation protocols and future cultural and natural resource studies, interpretation, program objectives, and park management decisions. Furthermore, the present study was designed to document contemporary connections between park resources and culturally affiliated or traditionally associated tribes. This documentation was accomplished through ethnographic assessments and resource inventories.

The data contained here are required to address the cultural affiliation and consultation requirements of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and other legislation, policy, and regulations that address peoples traditionally associated with park resources, including, but not limited to, the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA); the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA, Sections 106 and 110) as amended; the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA); Executive Orders 13007, 13083, and 13084; the National Register Bulletin 38; and NPS Policies and Guidelines, as amended.

Disclaimer

The information presented in this study represents the opinions of the authors and does not necessarily represent the opinions nor official positions of the U.S. Department of the Interior or the National Park Service.

Geographic and Cultural Focus of the Research

The main focus of the research is on the record of American Indian habitation and use of the area comprised by the three parks under study. Although each of these parks has unique resources and historical trajectories, all are a close-knit part of the cultural history of the Northern Plains. A rich archaeological record of human occupation spanning 10,000 years has been unearthed over the past century in the general study region, which centers around the central and western portions of North Dakota (see Figure 1.1), and also extends beyond the state to incorporate the cultural history of the prairie-forest ecotone to the east, the interior lakes to the north, and the Rocky Mountain Front to the west. The southernmost boundary of the study area, as far as it is explicitly mentioned in this text, roughly coincides with the Cannonball River and the current Standing Rock Sioux Reservation.
Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association

Connections between Native Americans and ancestral lands, objects, and resources take on multiple expressions, many of which are explicitly discussed in the relevant legislation (e.g., NHPA, NAGPRA, AIRFA). The NPS acknowledges a broad range of cultural and traditional connections between tribes and parks. These may be categorized, in turn, as Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association.

**Cultural affiliation** refers specifically to the relationship between contemporary Native American individuals or groups and archaeological objects currently owned by, or curated at, the parks. These objects may potentially fall into one of five NAGPRA categories and thus could be eligible for repatriation if such an “object-people” relationship can be established. A textual rendition of the legal definition of cultural affiliation is on page 11.

**Traditional association**, on the other hand, refers to the existence of a record of physical, cultural, and spiritual attachments between a park’s land and resources and a contemporary tribal individual or group. Traditional associations are unique in that they represent contemporary expressions of past spiritual and physical links between people and the land. Thus, a thorough understanding of such associations requires: (1) a review of the history of past activities as they relate to the landscape, and (2) an explanation of
needs, standings, and circumstances under which contemporary tribal groups and individuals engage the past to bring ancestral connections into activities of present relevance (see Bucko 1998:12-13).

Individuals or groups that are found to have a cultural affiliation or a traditional association with the parks may enter in future consultation regarding preservation, management, and interpretation of the parks' resources. This study has limited its scope to Native Americans; however, there are numerous examples in the National Park Service system of non-Indian groups that have traditional associations with park units.

**Project Scope and Methodology**

In 2003, the Midwest Region of the NPS contracted an ethnographic team from the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology (BARA) at the University of Arizona, Tucson (UA) to conduct a two-part study for the three parks: The first part is a cultural affiliation/traditional association determination statement, and the second part is an ethnographic resource assessment and resource inventory. This study is administered under Task Agreement No. J606804112, CESU Cooperative Agreement No. CA-1248-00-002 with Maria N. Zedeño, Richard Stoffle, and Rebecca Toupal.

Because each portion of the study had distinctive objectives, methodology, and data presentation format, the principal investigators, in consultation with Key NPS Official Michelle Watson, originally agreed in the production of two separate volumes. However, upon completion of the ethnographic assessment study it became clear that both parts of the study needed to be integrated in a single volume. Specifically, the objectives of this Report are to provide:

- Descriptions of any American Indian individuals or tribes who may be determined to be culturally affiliated with each of the three parks, including: (1) relationships determined between earlier archeologically-defined groups and contemporary Indian groups; (2) relationships determined between specific objects in park collections to contemporary Indian groups or individuals who may be descendants; and (3) relationships determined between other park resources to contemporary Indian groups.
- A summary of the cultural history of each of the potentially affiliated groups, including descriptions of occupation and use, past and present, of the area in and around the parks by traditionally associated groups of people.
- A detailed narrative summarizing the results of interviews conducted with tribal representatives during the ethnographic resource assessments.
- Suggestions for further studies on the parks’ associated groups and identification of new data needs.
- A list of potential interpretive topics that may be gleaned from the research.
- A bibliography of relevant published and unpublished sources pertaining to traditionally associated groups, and a references section of sources cited in the body of the report, with selectively annotated entries.
- A list of ethnographic resources identified during the ethnographic assessments, to be potentially incorporated in the Ethnographic Resource Inventory (ERI).
- A list of names and addresses of tribal officials representing culturally affiliated/traditionally associated groups to be delivered as a separate document along with the final version of the report.

Methodology for the Cultural Affiliation Study

To accomplish the cultural affiliation objectives, the UA research team conducted extensive research of published and unpublished sources containing information on regional and park-specific archaeology, history, and ethnography. Archaeological literature was reviewed to reconstruct the use history of the parks and to provide a frame of reference for identifying prehistoric and historic groups whose remains may be found in park lands. Searches included a week-long visit to the archives of the NPS' Midwest Archaeological Center (MWAC) in Lincoln, Nebraska.

To fully construct this frame of reference a review of archaeological research in the surrounding regions was also conducted. Historical literature was then reviewed to document the geopolitical, social, and legal dynamics of Indian-Colonial and Indian-United States relations as they affected the use of the parks and immediate surroundings. Ethnographic literature was reviewed to identify any oral traditions, folklore, social organization, or material culture that could be useful for establishing cultural affiliation and traditional association. Linguistic, forensic, and geographic data were also incorporated in the text when available or applicable. The Indian Claims Commission expert witness reports, published in 1974 by Garland Publishing, New York, were also consulted for this purpose.

In addition to published monographs, edited books, journal articles, and conference proceedings, we examined technical research reports, unpublished theses and dissertations, and historical manuscript collections. Last, but not least, we greatly benefited from the invaluable expertise of NPS archaeologists, historians, and chiefs of interpretation, and of archaeologists Stanley Ahler and David Kuehn, who generously exchanged ideas, references, and materials with the authors.

We are indebted to the following individuals, who provided substantive and fair reviews of the Draft Report: Michael Evans and Michelle Watson (NPS Midwest Region); Thomas Thiessen and William Hunt, Jr. (MWAC); Cheryl Schreier and Terry O'Halloran (KNRI); Andy Banta (FOUS); and Bruce Kaye (THRO). Vania Fletcher and Samrat Miller from the University of Arizona worked numerous hours building and editing the ethnographic resource tables and copy-editing the text.
Previous Research and Tiering

This report is the second multi-tribe cultural affiliation study conducted for North Dakota. The first such study, prepared by Schneider (2002), was commissioned by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation. Her study is a succinct and authoritative characterization of cultural affiliation, but lacks a focus on resource procurement and use as evidenced in the archaeological, historical, and ethnographic records. We see our report as an update and complement to Schneider's study, with detailed data on land and resource use, which is needed to fulfill the specific consultation needs of the NPS.

In addition, there are numerous reports commissioned and/or completed by NPS for each of the parks that have been incorporated into this report. Notable among them are the KNRI archaeological and historic volumes edited by Thiessen (1993), and Ahler's interpretive chapters in particular. Also invaluable is the archaeological report prepared by Kuehn (1989, 1990) for THRO. Various pieces for FOUS, including Barbour's (2001), Hunt's (1993) and De Vore and Hunt's (1994), were also foundations for this report. Non-NPS works, such as Toom and Gregg's (1983) study of the Mondrian Tree site, and Gregg and Davidson's (1985) overview of the prehistory of western and central North Dakota, provided essential archaeological background for the cultural affiliation study.

Legal Foundations for Cultural Affiliation

The concept "cultural affiliation" was given legal status on November 16, 1990, when the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) became law. NAGPRA makes provisions for the return of human remains and specified items (including funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony) held in federally funded repositories to lineal descendants and affiliated American Indian tribes, Alaska native villages and corporations, and Native Hawaiian organizations.

NAGPRA is triggered by the possession of human remains or specified items by a federally funded repository or by the discovery and intentional removal of human remains or specified items on federal or tribal lands. Under NAGPRA, human remains and specified items that were in the possession of said repository prior to November 16, 1990, are to be repatriated, upon request, to lineal descendants or culturally affiliated American Indians tribes, Alaska native villages and corporations, or Native Hawaiian organizations. Provisions also exist for the discovery and intentional removal of human remains and specified items after November 16, 1990 (25 USC 3002). NAGPRA defines the right of possession as:

...possession obtained with the voluntary consent of an individual or group that had authority of alienation. The original acquisition of a Native American unassociated funerary object, sacred object, or object of cultural patrimony from an Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization with the
voluntary consent of an individual or group with authority to alienate such object is deemed to give right of possession of that object. (25 USC 3001 [13]).

Thus, NAGPRA provisions for determining right of possession will in many cases help delineate the options available to the collection holder and the native groups. The question of right of possession (sometimes called "legal title") will not be asked unless a native group makes a repatriation request. To make such request, the native group must demonstrate a "burden of proof" of cultural affiliation (Evans et al. 1994:15).

The Act requires formal consultation with lineal descendants and Indian tribes, Alaskan native villages and corporations, and native Hawaiian organization officials in deciding the disposition of human remains or specified items. Consultation is required in the preparation of inventories of human remains and specified items in federally funded and federal agency repositories and in the event of the excavation or discovery of such items on federal lands of tribal lands. Executive Orders 13083 and 13084 restate and expand the requirement of government-to-government consultation with tribal and native governments and organizations.

**Determining Lineal Descent and Cultural Affiliation**

In preparing this report we followed the stipulations provided by NAGPRA in regard to the establishment of lineal decent and cultural affiliation of individuals and tribes. The regulations drafted by the U.S. Department of the Interior give the following definition of lineal descendants (Federal Register 1993:31129):

Lineal descendant means an individual tracing his or her ancestry directly and without interruption by means of the traditional kinship system of the appropriate Indian tribe to a known Native American individual whose remains, funerary objects, or sacred objects are being claimed under these regulations (43 CFR Part 10 Section 10.14).

The lineal descendant standard requires that the human remains under NAGPRA consultation be identified as individuals whose descendants can be traced directly and uninterruptedly, either by means of the traditional kinship system of the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization or by the common law system of descent to a known Indian individual whose remains and associated funerary objects are being considered for repatriation.

Cultural affiliation is defined as:

...a relationship of shared group identity which can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present day Indian tribe or native
Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group (43 CFR Part 10[2]e Section 2[2]).

To establish cultural affiliation, the existence of an identifiable present-day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization with standing under these regulations must be determined. The existence of an identifiable earlier group may be traced from: (1) distinctive patterns of material culture manufacture and spatial distribution; (2) cultural characteristics, such as mortuary practices, that point to the particular identity of that group; (3) biological characteristics of the population; or (4) any other type of evidence that is stipulated by the law, as cited below. The relationship of shared group identity must be supported with evidence that reasonably demonstrates that a present day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization has been identified from prehistoric or historic times as descending from the earlier group.

Lineal descent and cultural affiliation determinations are necessary steps before a museum or federal agency can begin the required consultation. Such determinations are a key component of NAGPRA, without which consultation is impossible. The 101st Congress Senate Report (2d Session 101-473:9) provides the following guideline for determining lineal descent and cultural affiliation:

The types of evidence...may include, but are not limited to, geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, anthropological, linguistic, oral tradition, or historical evidence or other relevant information or expert opinion.

One of the major obstacles in determining lineal descent of human remains and associated funerary items is the absence of specific information on biological or kinship continuity between contemporary American Indian people and prehistoric remains. In many cases these remains are not found in the areas now occupied by the potentially affiliated tribes; remains may be found in the possession of Indian people who came to areas previously inhabited by unrelated ethnic groups, in reservations recently created by the U.S. government, or in federal or state lands. The 101st Congress Senate Report (2d Session 101-473:9) also provides clear guidelines for establishing cultural affiliation in such circumstances:

The committee intends that the ‘cultural affiliation’ of an Indian tribe to Native American human remains or objects shall be established by a simple preponderance of the evidence. Claimants do not have to establish ‘cultural affiliation’ with scientific certainty...Where human remains and funerary objects are concerned, the Committee is aware that it may be extremely difficult, unfair or even impossible in many instances for claimants to show an absolute continuity from present day Indian tribes to older, prehistoric remains without some reasonable gaps in the historic or prehistoric record. In such instances, a finding of cultural affiliation should
be based upon an overall evaluation of the totality of the circumstances and evidence pertaining to the connection between the claimant and the material being claimed and should not be precluded solely because of gaps in the record.

In most circumstances a gap in one evidence type (e.g., archaeology) may be filled in with another evidence type (e.g., oral history, geography). A cultural affiliation statement is thus a complex interweaving of data of varying detail and specificity that altogether provides a reasonable, albeit not scientifically certain, consultation baseline for the collections manager.

Also, the existence of different kinds of tribal relations with the land where human remains and specified items were originally collected create the need to build a case for cultural affiliation that is specific to a tribe and that includes a unique combination of evidence types. It follows that complex land use histories of specific federal or tribal land holdings will result in complex cases for multiple cultural affiliation. The law acknowledges that such historical complexity may result in multiple requests for repatriation of any item. NAGPRA provides the following stipulation for addressing competing claims:

Where there are multiple requests for repatriation of any item and, after complying with the requirements of this Act, the federal agency of museum cannot clearly determine which requesting party is the most appropriate claimant, the agency of museum may retain such item until the requesting parties agree upon its disposition or the dispute is otherwise resolved pursuant to the provisions of this Act or by a court of competent jurisdiction (25 U.S.C. 3005 [7e], as amended).

The ownership or control of specified items that are either collected from, or inadvertently discovered at, federal or tribal lands after November 16, 1990, goes to (in order of priority):

- Lineal descendants
- Tribe on whose land the item was found
- Tribe that is most closely affiliated with the item
- Tribe that was recognized by the Indian Claims Commission as the aboriginal occupant of the land where the item was found (25 U.S.C. 3002 Section 3A).

Thus, if lineal descent cannot be ascertained and in the case of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony, then the tribe on whose land the items were found will be considered for ownership/control of the items. Should that tribe not claim cultural affiliation then the Indian tribe having the closest cultural affiliation with such remains or objects that upon notice states a claim for such remains or objects, will be considered. If cultural affiliation cannot be reasonably ascertained, then
the Indian tribe recognized by a final judgment of the Indian Claims Commission or the U.S. Claims Court as aboriginally occupying the area wherein the items were found is given ownership or control of such items.

**Theoretical and Practical Issues in Cultural Affiliation Research**

In a recent cultural affiliation study of four national monuments in Arizona, Toupal and Stoffle (2001:8) observed that NAGPRA's definition of cultural affiliation and criteria for establishing cultural affiliation are based on a presumed relationship between social groups and discrete constellations of cultural and biological traits that most anthropologists no longer accept because of their normative underlining. Indeed, the academic community at large acknowledges the lack of coincidence among boundaries of polities, biological populations, speech communities (languages), material culture, and other culture “traits” (Anthony 2001:78). For example, prehistoric groups whose archaeological records show evidence of having shared a ritual complex, such as the Woodland period burial and ceramic complex of the Northern Plains (Gregg 1994), did not necessarily share ancestry, geography, or language. Likewise, the currently accepted notion that modern Indian groups, such as the Cheyenne or the Chippewa-Cree, are composites of people from different cultural trajectories and geographies who, since prehistoric times, variously aggregated and split dates back to the nineteenth century (e.g., Dorsey 1894). Unfortunately, this historically and ethnographically informed notion was later eclipsed by the powerful frameworks of historical particularism, functionalism, and culture history, which favored the construction of 'culture' as a constellation of discrete traits rather than as a dynamic composite of cultural trajectories (Adams and Zedeño 1999:323).

More recently, and partly in response to interpretive issues raised in the context of consultation with modern Indian tribes and organizations, American anthropologists have revisited the problem of ethnogenesis of prehistoric and historic groups (e.g., Symms 1977; papers in Schlesier 1994; Ahler 1993). They are willing to piece together the fragmentary evidence needed to rebuild the difficult paths Indian groups followed to the present day. NAGPRA has forced American anthropologists to face this problem, thus offering the opportunity for tremendous intellectual growth, as long as one is willing to reconcile the apparent contradiction between the normative definition of cultural affiliation and the requirement of a dynamic and flexible understanding of ethnogenesis. In reference to Moore’s (2001) study of ethnogenetic patterns in native North America, Terrell (2001:31) points out that,

Proponents of ethnogenetic models of human history and evolution argue that human societies periodically reorganize themselves and that the resulting new social formations are likely to have their “roots” or “origins” in several antecedent societies (which may be greatly dissimilar), not just in one. The resulting patterns of diversity in biology, language, and culture can be said to be more like a “tapestry” than a “family tree.”
Cultural affiliation studies must recognize the complex ‘tapestry’ of historical and cultural trajectories and accept the very likely possibility that more than one present-day group will be affiliated with a particular past group, however one defines it, and that only certain segments of the present group may be affiliated with a particular past group (or segment thereof). The question that must be answered, in order to piece together such complex cultural trajectories is, what became of the descendants of the past group (or segment thereof) whose remains, objects, and resources are under consultation? The process followed to answer this crucial question begins in prehistory and moves forward to present times in order to capture as much diversity and change as possible. This thinking process contrasts with that followed by proponents of the more traditional direct historical approach who, in attempting to answer the question, who were the ancestors of the present day group? Begin in the present and move back to the past–hence emphasizing continuity and homogeneity over diversity and change (see Galloway 1986).

Fortunately for this study, Northern Plains scholars have traditionally conceived of their culture area as one of integration between prehistoric and historic cultural trajectories and populations. Thus, many obstacles currently faced in other areas of the country were discussed and even solved long ago by Alfred Bowers, John Ewers, George Frison, Owen Libby, Waldo Wedel, and Raymond Wood, among many others.

Object, People, and Place

The execution of NAGPRA requires that consultation with culturally affiliated tribes be focused on specific collections in the hands of museums and federal agencies, and thus the stipulations require only that connections be made between objects and culturally affiliated present-day groups. The narrowly defined requirement, on the one hand, eliminates the problem of lacking information on archaeological provenience and context, which plagues old museum collections. On the other hand, it presupposes an identifiable relationship between an object’s form and the cultural practices and identity of a past group. This presupposition lends an artificial intentionality to the manufacture of objects, and does not even begin to explain the complex relationship between artifact use and discard and ceremonial or religious significance. In our experience, numerous American Indian cultural practices, including artifact use and discard, produced sacred objects, funerary objects, and objects of cultural patrimony that do not exhibit any formal characteristic or attribute that one could readily use to identify a religious or ceremonial function in a museum piece.

Across native North America one may find examples that illustrate widespread religious practices involving ordinary objects. For example, individual medicine bundles often contained unmodified materials thought to have special powers, including pigments, crystals, fossils, feathers, animal bones, or snake rattles; everyday objects, such as pots, grinding stones, and garments were ritually burned or destroyed in funerary rites; projectile points were ritually deposited as offerings; plant and animal parts, such as seed fruits and tortoise shells, were used as ceremonial and funerary offerings. These are but a
few examples of artifacts that do not have any identifiable attribute that make them fit in a NAGPRA category except for the context or place where they were stored or retired. Also, modes of discard of similar objects may have varied from group to group. These examples highlight the importance of considering place and context in discussions of cultural affiliation and NAGPRA consultation.

**Temporal and Spatial Scales**

Whereas the historic records generally provide very specific information on the identity of Indian groups who occupied particular and often accurately mapped places or areas for a specified amount of time, the prehistoric records are far less specific and thus need to be framed in broad temporal and spatial scales. In situations where Indian groups vacated areas before written records were available, alternative sources of information must be used, for example, oral traditions, linguistics and glottochronology, biology, and similarities in material culture and land use patterns. Each of these information sources needs its own temporal and spatial scales. Thus it is impractical and often futile, to attempt to establish contemporary cultural affiliation of prehistoric groups with the same degree of temporal and spatial specificity as that of historic groups.

In many cases cultural affiliation of prehistoric groups may be determined only at the regional scale or may refer to tentatively dated and centuries-long archaeologicaal phases, as is the case of remains dating to pre-Plains Village periods. This particular situation is common for archaeologically defined cultures identified in parks without a history of continuous occupation by a historically known group. The scale is therefore regional rather than park-specific, but it may expand or contract in response to historical particularities for each park and for each ethnic group.

**Land Use Practices, Ethnographic Resource Assessments, and Cultural Affiliation**

Prehistoric groups may have used broad areas for very specific tasks and during specific times (e.g., stone quarrying, hunting, vision-questing) or may have occupied a single site or an area for generations going back to the Archaic period. Each type of land use, in turn, generates its own kinds of cultural or traditional attachments to the land and its resources. Whenever federal lands contain evidence of long-term prehistoric occupation that does not directly tie to historically documented users, multiple types of land and resource use and diverse kinds of attachments will likely be identified for each culturally affiliated Indian group. Here is when ethnographic resource assessments, comprising both literature searches and contemporary site visits and consultation, come into place as potentially contributing to cultural affiliation or traditional association determinations.

In all instances it is important to point out that exclusive use or occupancy, as defined by the Indian Claims Commission, is not a requirement for building a statement of cultural affiliation. On the contrary, cultural affiliation legislation acknowledges that more than
one present-day group may be associated with a particular archaeological culture in a
given site, park, or region.

The archaeological record from each of the three parks suggests two land-use traditions:
(1) a locally developed highly mobile hunter-gatherer adaptation, and (2) a more
sedentary, farming, village-focused way of life that was brought into the region by
immigrants from the south. These traditions were not mutually exclusive; rather, they
were complementary and inextricably tied through economics as well as religion. The
result was a continuous, solid, and ethnically and culturally diverse land use trajectory.
This symbiosis, which characterized the lives of the groups that eventually became the
modern tribes with whom we consulted, is evident in the number and importance of
overarching cultural themes that figure prominently in the worldviews expressed by the
tribal consultants who participated in this study. The Cultural Affiliation data are
summarized in Chapters Two and Three of the report.

Methodology for Ethnographic Resource Assessments

The basis for conducting systematic research in an ethnographic resource assessment is to
(1) let Indian people evaluate the sites or resources first-hand; (2) furnish technical
information (e.g., maps, archaeological reports, photographs) to assist them in the
evaluation of resources that may have been impacted by modern activities, such as
plowing and road construction; (3) provide a standardized instrument for data collection
that reflects their concerns and areas of knowledge and matches their ability with the
English language; (4) give them the opportunity to speak freely about their concerns; and
(5) develop a system of data-recording that captures to the greatest extent possible all
comments and recommendations, thus facilitating further analysis and reporting tasks.
Data collection procedures used by the ethnographers follow these basic requirements.

A site visit is the most important data-collection procedure followed, because without a
first-hand view of the resource being assessed, a Native American may not be able to
fully comment on it. Site visits act as mnemonic devices, allowing Indian people to
recognize familiar landscape features and biotic communities, remember oral history, and
relate resources to traditional practices. Every tribal representative was taken to each site
at a comfortable pace and encouraged to walk around for as much time as he/she
considered necessary before giving the interview. Representatives asked questions, took
notes, and drew pictures. Consultants spent approximately two to four hours in each site.

Site Selection

Whereas many of the culturally affiliated tribes had either first-hand knowledge or
general information on the parks’ resources, most tribal representatives who came to the
parks had not spoken officially about the significance of these resources until this study.
Thus, sites to be visited were suggested by park officials based on one or more of the following criteria:

- presence of archaeological resources;
- presence of specific natural resources, such as stands of native plants or salient geological formations;
- view of a large portion of the park and surrounding landscape;
- accessibility within the time allotted to the site visits; and
- relatively low risk of disturbance by our visit.

An issue that is culturally specific to the study region and that needed planning by the ethnographers is the existence of individual ceremonial rights to certain resources, or conversely, taboos about certain resources. Thus, the identification of sites and resources that all people could visit and talk about without restrictions became significant over the course of the visit.

Each park selected a set of sites or locations that conformed to these criteria and offered the broadest possible range of ethnographic resources. In each park we visited sites that were open to the public as well as those that are currently closed to public view.

**Background Information**

Many representatives who participated in this study had been in the parks previously. Others, however, had never been to any site on the parks, but had knowledge of them through oral history, reading of published materials, and hearing descriptions by tribal elders. Before and during each site visit park, personnel, and ethnographers explained in detail previous research at each site and provided maps of the area.

**Data-collection Instruments**

Ethnographers conducted one-on-one consultations with tribal representatives whenever feasible. Over the years of researching Native American ethnographic resources, the University of Arizona (UA) has designed and refined three types of standardized instruments to collect information on single resources, on places where multiple resources are found, and on connections among places within a specific study area and beyond it. Both site- and landscape-specific forms contain questions about resource preservation and management recommendations. The standardized instruments used in this study are in Appendix A.

**Open-ended Consultation**

Most representatives made comments about a site or park that went beyond the topics outlined in the instrument. A few felt more comfortable talking freely about a site or resource. In cases where consultation was carried out in the reservation rather than in the
parks, open-ended conversations focused on oral history and family connections rather than landscape or resource topics. It is important to note here that tribal representatives were informed, at the onset of the site visits, that the information they were about to provide is public domain under the Freedom of Information Act. With this explicit understanding, the tribal representatives participated in the site visits and interviews.

**Data-Recording**

Information provided by the tribal consultants was recorded in writing and audiotape. Panoramic and close-up photographs were taken to record the fieldwork and resources assessed. Field personnel also kept a journal to make note of information provided by representatives in contexts other than the one-on-one consultation.

**Data Analysis and Write-up**

Upon returning from the field, the information collected was summarized by park and by tribe. This database was then reviewed against tapes and field notes for accuracy. The principal investigator first summarized site-by-site and landscape interpretations according to the main topics covered in the standardized instruments. Individual field notes and tapes were then consulted to add information to the core site-by-site interpretations, but tape transcripts were not made because of time and funding constraints. Comments and recommendations on site preservation and preservation-related activities were summarized separately, by park and by tribe. It must be noted that the structure of the report and format of ethnographic summaries is flexible and can be adjusted according to the requests of the parks, the tribes, or both.

Detailed resource use tables by park and by tribe were prepared for this report and they are compiled in Appendices B and C. These tables contain both published information and data collected by the UA at the parks.

**Interactions with Park Officials**

Crucial to the completion of this study was the collaboration of park and regional office officials who assisted the UA ethnographers in opening their archives, selecting the sites to visit, coordinating schedules, and actually bringing everyone to the field. All of this was accomplished within the planned timetable. Park personnel participated in each site visit, guided the field groups to the sites, helped elders reach the sites, and provided information on park resources. Interactions included a kick-off meeting and tour of the parks in September 2003, a visit to selected sites in July 2004, and numerous email and telephone exchanges.
Tribal Contacts

Culturally affiliated tribes were officially contacted by letters prepared by the parks' superintendents and addressed to the tribal chairperson and the cultural resource manager or specialist. Letters were followed by telephone calls to set up a visit to the tribal headquarters to introduce the project. In March 2004, the principal investigator visited all but two of the tribes identified as potentially culturally affiliated to invite them to participate in the ethnographic resource assessments. The following tribes were visited in March, 2004:

- Blackfeet Tribe of Montana (2)
- Blood Nation of Alberta (3)
- Crow Tribe of Montana (3)
- Standing Rock Sioux Tribe of North Dakota (1)
- Fort Belknap Tribe of Montana (2)
- Fort Peck Tribe of Montana (2)
- Three Affiliated Tribes of North Dakota (6)
- Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Cree, North Dakota (1)

(Numbers in parentheses indicate individuals interviewed per tribe)

Visits could not be arranged with the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe and with the Rocky Boy’s Band of Chippewa Cree, but one interview was conducted with a Rocky Boy’s Band representative in May 2005 at the reservation.

These introductory tribal visits were instrumental for securing the participation of the tribal representatives in the ethnographic resource assessments. Letters of introduction and scheduling letters and phone calls followed this initial visit. The Fort Peck Tribe visited FOU5 in May 2005. Representatives from the Blackfeet Tribe were interviewed at the reservation in May 2005; the Canadian Blood representatives were invited at the suggestion of the Blackfeet Tribal Historic Preservation Office. All other tribes sent representatives to participate in park visits during the weeks of July 15-August 15, 2004.

In all, 20 tribal representatives participated in the study, 16 of whom visited at least one park, and 12 of whom visited all three parks. One tribal member provided information anonymously. The information they provided is summarized in Chapter Four and in Appendix C of this report.

Participants

Blackfeet Tribe
  Carol Murray
  Lea Whitford
Blood Reserve  
  Narcisse Blood  
  Francis First Charger  
  Alvine Mountain Horse

Crow Agency  
  George Reed  
  Gordon Plainbull  
  Phyllis Plainbull

Fort Peck Tribe  
  Dallas Fourstar  
  Curley Youpee

Fort Belknap Tribe  
  John Allen  
  Diana Allen

Rocky Boy Chippewa-Cree Reservation  
  Dunkin Standing Rock

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe  
  George Ironshield

Three Affiliated Tribes  
  Elgin Crows Breast  
  Calvin Grinnell  
  Marilyn Hudson  
  Luther Grinnell  
  Lyle Gwinn  
  Anonymous

Turtle Mountain Chippewa-Cree Tribe  
  Brady Grant

We are much indebted to these tribal representatives, who made the time and effort to travel from distant areas to the parks, and who shared invaluable information for this report.
CHAPTER TWO
CULTURAL HISTORY

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the archaeological record of Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site (KNRI) (Figure 2.1), Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site (FOUS) (Figure 2.2), and Theodore Roosevelt National Park (THRO) (Figure 2.3) to identify and explore potential cultural affiliations of the prehistoric and historic users of the park from the material traces they left behind. In this undertaking, we look both inside and outside of park boundaries to better understand the park’s place in the regional cultural history. Extending the scope of view to the broader landscape also facilitates an exploration of connections between sites, both inside and outside of the three park units that were potentially used by the same groups of people.

Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site

KNRI was created by Congress in 1974 to protect the historical and cultural resources found at the mouth of the Knife River. From the various overviews that exist on Northern Plains prehistory (see DeMallie 2001; Gregg and Davidson 1985; Lehmer 1971; Schlesier 1994; Toom 1996; Wedel 1961; Winham, et al. 1994; Wood 1998) and KNRI (see Ahler 1978; Lovick and Ahler 1982; Thiessen 1993a; Thiessen 1993b; Thiessen 1993c; Thiessen 1993d), it is clear that the villages of the Middle Missouri were dynamic and important locations in the social landscape of the Northern Great Plains. The villages lay at the heart of traditional Hidatsa and Mandan territory and many archaeological sites are included in the oral histories of both tribes (Bowers 1992, 2004). The villages also had unique roles in fostering prehistoric and historic contact and social interaction between the myriad groups in the region—becoming focal points or population centers late in prehistory.

With roots as early as the Paleoindian period, the Upper Knife-Heart region (Lehmer 1971:29) was an important node in an indigenous pan-American trade network (Ewers 1968:14-44; Wood 1972; Wood 1980b; Wood and Thiessen 1985). It was this role, as an established locus of trade, which attracted Euroamerican explorers and traders to the villages of the Knife-Heart region during the 18th and 19th centuries. Euroamerican groups exploited the preexisting socio-economic framework to establish their forts and trade empires. With the coming of Euroamericans, their trade goods, and their diseases, the Northern Plains witnessed dramatic changes in population size, material technology, and tribal territories (Lehmer, et al. 1978). The Upper Knife-Heart became a refuge for Plains Villagers who had traditionally resided further to the south and a target for nomadic groups who would trade with and raid the villagers (Ahler 1978:1; Chomko 1986; Glassner 1974; Stewart 1973; Stewart 1974; Trimble 1988).

The first written accounts of tribal groups near the mouth of the Knife River appear late in the 18th century (Chomko 1986; Stewart 1973; Wood 1977). Some of the most
important early written records relevant to the park were provided by La Vérendrye (Burpee 1927; Wood 1980a), Evans and MacKay (Nasatir 1952:93-108; Wood 2005), Trudeau (Nasatir 1952:376-382), Thompson (Tyrrell 1916; Wood and Thiessen 1985-128), Lewis and Clark (Reid 1947; Thwaites 1959), McKenzie (Wood and Thiessen 1985:221-296), Henry (Coues 1897), Larocque (Wood and Thiessen 1985:129-220), Bradbury (Thwaites, ed. 1904:142-168), Catlin (Catlin 1965), Maximilian and Bodmer (Thwaites, ed. 1906a:330-375; Thwaites, ed. 1906b:207-395), and Chardon (Abel 1997).

Written documents relevant to KNRI after its abandonment in 1865 are found in the oral histories and ethnographies recorded by Gilbert Wilson (for an overview or Wilson's work see Gilman and Schneider 1987; Weitzner 1979; Wilson 1924, 1931, 1934, 1977, 1987) and Alfred Bowers (1950; 1963). Wilson's work provides insights into Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara culture on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation. Bower's research, also conducted on the reservation, served as a foundation for a useful, though flawed, cultural chronology for the region that was created via the direct historical approach (Ahler 1993a; Bowers 1948; Lovick and Ahler 1982). The works of both authors record memories of native life at KNRI.

The wealth of archaeological, historical, and ethnographic documentation on post-contact life within KNRI stands in contrast to the amount of information available on the
prehistory of the park. Archaeological research at KNRI began just after the turn of the century, but was mainly descriptive, slow to proceed, and relied heavily on written histories (for a complete summary of work conducted at KNRI before 1974 see Ahler 1993a; Lovick and Ahler 1982:85-93). Initial archaeological investigations focused on mapping and recording sites along the Missouri River (Ahler 1993a:27-28; Libby 1908; Lovick and Ahler 1982:85-87; Will 1924; Will and Spinden 1906; Wood 1978). Excavations at or near KNRI were conducted in the late 1920s through the 1940s (Bowers 1948; Strong 1940; Will and Hecker 1944). Unfortunately, little archaeological research was conducted in the upper Knife-Heart region from the mid-1940s until the mid-1960s. During this period, attention was directed to the Garrison and Oahe regions of the Middle Missouri—to the north and south, respectively—for federally sponsored surveys and salvage excavations required before dam construction could be initiated (Lehmer 1971:1-45). Interest in the Knife-Heart region reemerged in the mid-1960s, as this was the last section of the Missouri that remained largely unaffected by dam construction and inundation, thus providing an archaeological context in which the spatial and cultural connections within and between sites remained intact.

Since the establishment of the park in 1974, there has been continuous, intensive archaeological investigation on the prehistory and history of the upper Knife-Heart region. This research culminated with the publication of a four-volume report on the archaeology and history of KNRI that summarizes the work conducted in the park prior to and after 1974 (Thiessen 1993a; Thiessen 1993b; Thiessen 1993c; Thiessen 1993d). Archaeological research conducted in the region since the publication of these volumes has focused on the refinement of chronologies, elaboration of cultural historical frameworks, and understanding social variability in prehistory (Prine 2000; Toom ongoing).

The Park and Its Resources

KNRI is located in the northern portion of the Knife-Heart region of the Middle Missouri subarea (Lehmer 1971) at the confluence of the Knife and Missouri Rivers in North Dakota (see Figure 2.1). The park boundaries encompass approximately 1700 acres of land, 164.7 of which are not owned by the park, but function as a scenic easement. There are 58 known archaeological sites within KNRI boundaries, representing a wide range of cultural activities and time periods (Lovick and Ahler 1982). Most of these sites are related to the Plains Village Tradition (A.D. 1000 – 1861). Some sites, however, date to a pre-Plains Village period (Ahler 1993d; Lovick and Ahler 1982:12-13, 52-54). Unfortunately, almost all pre-village age components from KNRI are diffuse artifact scatters (primarily lithic debris), making functional or precise chronological interpretation of such deposits difficult (Lovick and Ahler 1982:159).
Physiography, Site Type, and Land Use

There are currently four recognized physiographic zones within the Missouri River Trench (Lehmer 1971:50-53; Lovick and Ahler 1982:36-38). Each zone has unique physical features and available resources, with concurrent variability in types of cultural activities in the past. The floodplain zone, found immediately adjacent to the river, served as the planting area for village crops. Additionally, the wooded areas of the floodplain provided a protected location for winter villages and winter resource procurement. The terrace zone, located above the floodplain, was the location of the permanent villages occupied during most of the year. The terrace, with its views of the plains and the river valley, also provided a defensive advantage for the villagers. The breaks zone, with its valley/trench slopes, is a highly eroded, wooded, and topographically diverse area that provided floral, faunal, and water resources for prehistoric groups. And the fourth zone or upland of the Missouri Plateau was utilized for ritual, resource procurement, and one of the most important activities—the bison hunt. Only two of these physiographic zones, the floodplain and terrace, are well defined within KNRI boundaries. Breaks and upland zones, however, are found not far from KNRI borders. See Chapter Four for a detailed description of the contemporary significance of physiographic features in the park.

Pre-Plains Village Period Archaeology

Prehistoric occupations dating to the period before A.D. 1000 in the Middle Missouri subarea are assigned to the pre-Plains Village period and tend to be less well understood than later cultural manifestations (Ahler 1993d; Lovick and Ahler 1982:12-13, 52-54). Archaeological assemblages placed within the pre-Village period are assigned to the Paleoindian (9500 –5500 B.C.), Plains Archaic (5500 – 400 B.C.), and Plains Woodland (400 B.C. – A.D. 1000) traditions (Lovick and Ahler 1982:52-54). Ahler provides a detailed overview of sites within the park boundaries belonging to the pre-Village period (1993d). From this overview, however, it becomes clear just how difficult and problematic interpretation of such sites can be (issues of preservation, location, and investigation of Paleoindian sites are discussed by Reeves 1973 and Waters and Kuehn 1996). An examination of sites outside of KNRI allows for a more complete understanding of cultural adaptations prior to A.D. 1000.

The Paleoindian Tradition (9500 – 5500 B.C.)

At present, no diagnostic Paleoindian cultural components have been identified within KNRI (Ahler 1993d). Evidence of human occupation in the immediate vicinity dates as early as the Paleoindian period (Frison 1991; Gregg 1985:81-99; Hofman and Graham 1998). Clovis fluted points (9500 – 9000 B.C.), as well as later Paleoindian artifacts, have been found in surface contexts in almost all counties bordering the Missouri River Valley and its tributaries (Schneider 1982:16, 37). Additionally, Early Holocene Paleoindian assemblages, including Folsom, Plano Complexes (e.g., Hell Gap and Agate Basin), Cody Complexes (e.g., Cody, Alberta, and Scottsbluff), and Plainview Complexes have
been identified, in many of these same counties and in Dunn County, where the Knife River Flint quarries are located (90 km west of KNRI) (Clark 1985; Root 1992; Root 1997; Root 2000; William 2000). Specific Paleoindian sites located near KNRI are the Moe Site (32MN101, Schneider 1982), located 90 miles northwest of the park, the Benz Site, and over 54 sites located in the Lake Ilo National Wildlife Refuge (Root 1992; Root 2000; William 2000).

The Paleoindian Tradition has been characterized by a subsistence strategy based primarily on the hunting of Pleistocene megafauna by highly mobile populations who produced and used long, lanceolate, and sometimes fluted projectile points (Johnson and Wood 1980). Recent research has begun to question some of these assumptions and suggests a more dynamic and diverse lifeway for Paleoindian groups (Hudecek-Cuffe 1998; Loendorf and Borchert 1991). Evidence from Montana, for example, suggests a heavy reliance on small game and wild plants based on the discovery of grinding stones and diverse faunal assemblages (Loendorf and Borchert 1991). The Paleoindian period on the Northern Plains was characterized by regionally distinct groups who used diversified strategies, practiced broad-spectrum economies, and exploited a wide variety of plant and animal resources from different environments (Hudecek-Cuffe 1998). With the exception of the reliance on megafauna, these new interpretations of Paleoindian subsistence economies (or “adaptation types” Frison et al. 1996) lend support to inferences of cultural continuities in the region.

An overarching trend with regard to Paleoindian projectile points in the Northern Plains is the preference for the use of Knife River Flint (KRF) for stone tool manufacture (Schneider 1982:35). While KRF can be obtained from a number of locations in North Dakota (Artz 1985; Gregg 1987), the primary source area for KRF is located in Dunn and Mercer counties, 90 km west of KNRI (Loendorf, et al. 1984). Root (1997) has noted that the Late Paleoindian period has the widest distribution of KRF outside of the source area, with lithic artifacts found in Canada, Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, and New York. This evidence, combined with material from the KRF quarries, suggests that Paleoindian knappers may have practiced part-time specialization, producing tools for exchange during the Late Paleoindian and Late Archaic periods (Root 1992; Root 1997). In addition, investigations at the Bobtail Wolf site (32DU955A) and Big Black site (32DU955C) by Root (2000) and William (2000) suggest the use of the KRF source area by Paleoindian groups from the Northwestern Plains and the Middle Missouri River.

Based on the presence of diagnostic materials along the Missouri River trench, many scholars note that it is reasonable to assume the presence of cultural complexes ranging from the Clovis through Cody and later lanceolate point complexes in the Upper Knife-Heart region (Ahler 1993d:15; Root 1992; Root 2000; Schneider 1982; William 2000). Because of KNRI’s proximity to the KRF quarries, and its location at the confluence of the Knife and Missouri Rivers, it is necessary to explore the nature of Paleoindian,
Archaic, and Woodland manifestations in the region, as sites within KNRI could have served as nodes in KRF procurement and distribution networks.

**Plains Archaic Tradition (5500 – 400 B.C.)**

Cultural remains dating to the Plains Archaic period are more common in the Northern Plains and the Upper Knife-Heart region than earlier manifestations. While Early (5500 – 500 B.C.) and Middle (2500 – 1500 B.C.) Archaic occupations are not well understood in North Dakota, much more is known about the Late Archaic period (1500 – 400 B.C.). Reasons for this lack of understanding relate to the fact that existing typologies for Archaic deposits in the Northern Plains (see Frison 1991; Frison 1998) are not wholly applicable to cultural remains found in the Knife-Heart region and specifically within KNRI (Ahler 1993d:26).

The appearance of the Early Plains Archaic coincides with the onset of the Altithermal, or Atlantic Climatic Episode, a relatively hot and dry period that resulted in many ecological changes in the region (Loendorf and Borchert 1991:9; William 2000:12). Despite the changing environment, archaic peoples followed a lifeway similar to their Paleoindian predecessors (Gregg and Davidson 1985; Johnson and Wood 1980; Loendorf and Borchert 1991:9). With the extinction of the Pleistocene megafauna, however, hunting strategies shifted towards a focus on intermediate and modern forms of bison—an adaptive strategy that would remain a major theme in the region until the late nineteenth century (Reeves 1983). Differences between Archaic and Paleoindian Traditions resulted from the adoption of different adaptive strategies relating to changing environmental conditions and a changing resource base in the region.

A characteristic of the Plains Archaic period is the development of smaller territories and restricted contact between groups to smaller geographic areas (Loendorf and Borchert 1991:9). One indication of this is that KRF is no longer found over as vast a territory as during the Paleoindian period (Root 1992; Root 1997). Archaeologists recognize a distinction between Western (short-grass High Plains) and Eastern (tall-grass prairies) Archaic adaptations that persisted into the Historic period (Johnson and Wood 1980:38). The western Plains Archaic Plano traditions emphasized the earlier Paleoindian pattern of big game hunting, whereas eastern traditions began to exploit riparian and woodland habitats.

During the Early Archaic, there was an abrupt change from the Late Paleoindian lanceolate and stemmed projectile points to side-notched forms (Frison 1991:79). Diagnostic artifacts for this time period include Simonsen, Mummy Cave Side-Notched, Hawken, and Oxbow points. Simonsen Side-Notched points, which are characteristic of the Logan Creek Complex, are more common in North Dakota than the other diagnostic points (Ahler 1993d:24; Gregg 1985:101-105). The Tysver-Olson Site in the Killdeer Mountains, Dunn County, has a cultural component dating to this period (Gregg 1985:103-104).
The Middle Archaic is marked by the sudden and widespread appearance of the McKean complex over the entire Plains region (Frison 1991). Frison has noted an increase in the number of sites during this period and in the reliance on wild plant foods, as well as movement of groups into the open plains and intermontane basins (Frison 1991:88-89). In North Dakota, sites such as Mondrian Tree (32MZ58) and Moe exhibit McKean Lanceolate points with indented base as well as Duncan points (a stemmed version of the former), which are indicative of Middle Archaic manifestations (Ahler 1993d:24; Frison 1998:91; Gregg 1985:109-112). Site 32ML143, which is a knapping area located on the eastern bank of the Missouri river and directly across from KNRI, is the closest Early to Middle Archaic archaeological manifestation to the park (Ahler 1993d:26).

The Late Plains Archaic marks an increase in the production and interregional distribution of KRF artifacts that mirrors that of the Paleoindian Period. Typical forms are the Corner-notched Pelican Lake points and Side-and Corner-notched Besant points (Frison 1991:102-109; Root 1992; Root 1997). Hanna, Oxbow, and Yonkee projectile points are also diagnostic artifacts for this time period and have been found in western North Dakota (Clark 1985). Late Archaic archaeological components in the Middle Missouri are identified by the presence of small to medium corner-notched dart points similar to those described for the Mondrian Tree site (Ahler 1993d:24). Besant points are found in the region; however, these points are assigned to the Besant/Sonota Complex of the Woodland Tradition.

**Plains Woodland Tradition (400 B.C. – A.D. 1200)**

Little is known about the Archaic-Woodland transition in the Middle Missouri due to a lack of well-dated Early Woodland (500 B.C.–A.D. 1) deposits. Early components are situated along the eastern edge of the Plains and may not occur in the study area until later if at all (Johnson 2001:159). The Woodland Tradition on the Northern Plains is defined by the appearance of pottery, burial mounds, mortuary rituals, the adoption of the bow and arrow, and other changes in technology (Gregg 1985:79; Johnson 2001; Johnson and Johnson 1998). These developments, however, are characteristic of Middle (A.D. 1–700) and Late Woodland (A.D. 500–1200) horizons. The lack of a clear three-stage Woodland sequence in the Middle Missouri subarea led Lovick and Ahler (1982) to create a two-phase classification, Early/Middle and Late Woodland. Despite the dearth of information on the Archaic/Woodland transition, many scholars have posited that the Woodland developed out of indigenous, regional Archaic traditions. Johnson and Wood (1980:38) characterize the Plains Woodland as Plains Archaic with pottery and burial ceremonialism. Gregg (1985:117) speculates that there may not be a qualitative difference between Archaic and Woodland subsistence economies in North Dakota indicating a cultural continuum in the Northern Plains region (1985:117). Others have suggested that Woodland manifestations may have ties to the east and southeast, but the
nature of this relationship is not yet well understood (Johnson 2001; Johnson and Johnson 1998).

Middle Woodland (A.D. 1–700) cultural manifestations are prevalent in and near the Missouri River Trench and are characterized by linear mounds, Besant projectile points, cord-marked ceramics, and non-local artifacts obtained through trade, such as catlinite, sea shell (Olivella, Marginella, and Dentalium), birch bark, native copper, as well as pottery and artifacts with Hopewelian nuances (Johnson and Johnson 1998:221; Montgomery 1906; Neuman 1975). Cultural components dating to this period have a geographic distribution from east of the Missouri River in the Dakotas to western Montana and from South Dakota into southern Canada (Gregg 1985:118; Reeves 1983:93). The corresponding culture historical taxa are the Besant (A.D. 1-800, Reeves 1983) and Sonota (A.D. 1-600, Neuman 1975) complexes. These complexes, however, are presently recognized as two parts of a single cultural entity in the Middle Missouri, where Sonota is the burial complex and mortuary ritual aspect of Besant (Reeves 1983:13).

The Besant phase, as defined by Reeves (1983), begins in the Late Archaic; it is characterized by a bison hunting economy, use of traps and jumps, seasonal site reoccupation, and participation in long-distance trade. The burial mounds, originally ascribed only to Sonota (Neuman 1975), often contain secondary burials, red ochre, and nonlocal trade goods. Johnson and Johnson (1998:218) note that Middle Plains Woodland burial mounds and pottery do not share the same distribution in the Dakotas, and thus these complexes could have been transmitted along different routes by different stimuli from the Midwest and Central Plains to Besant-phase populations. Clark has attempted to infer routes of trade between the Middle Missouri and the Midwest using KRF and proposed an overland route from North Dakota, through Minnesota, and into Wisconsin (Clark 1984). Burial mounds are widespread in eastern North Dakota but are rarely found west of the Missouri River, although some mounds have been identified (Chomko and Wood 1973). Yet Woodland ceramics are found throughout the Northern Plains, although the frequency decreases as the distance from Midwest stimuli increases (Johnson and Johnson 1998:218). Johnson makes a point that similarities between important technologies and adaptations in Late Archaic complexes and those in the Plains Woodland indicate that a major component of Woodland origins lay in earlier Plains Archaic populations (Johnson 2001).

In the Upper Knife-Heart region there are a number of Middle Woodland sites, the majority of which are linear mound groups (Chomko and Wood 1973), although bison kill sites, processing loci, and camp sites are also present (Weston, et al. 1980). To the north of KNRI, less than 10 miles, are High Butte Site (32ME13, Wood and Johnson 1973), High Butte Mound (32ME103), and the Stanton Mound Group (32ME104, Ahler, et al. 1991; Chomko and Wood 1973). To the south, there are an additional six linear mound groups (Chomko and Wood 1973). Activity and occupation sites representative of the period are found on the Cross Ranch, Oliver County, North Dakota. Weston et al.
found extensive evidence for Woodland camp sites, kill sites, and processing loci in the breaks zone. Ceramics characteristic of the Early/Middle Woodland are elongated pottery vessels with straight or slightly flaring rims, with slight shoulders, conoidal bottoms, and cord-roughened surfaces (Johnson 2001).

It is generally acknowledged that there is a paucity of information about Late Woodland (A.D. 700 – 1200) in the Dakotas (Ahler 2003b:4; Gregg 1994:79-83; Johnson and Johnson 1998:221-223). To the northwest and west of the study area are many well-documented Avonlea complex sites, with small, fine, side-notched points (similar to late Pelican Lake points), that are characteristic of the Late Woodland on the Northwestern Plains (Johnson and Johnson 1998:221-222). To the northeast are many Black Duck complex sites, which post-date the Laurel phase and continue into the protohistoric period, and indicate an adaptive strategy based on wild rice and lacustrine resource procurement (Johnson and Johnson 1998:223-224). Only three Late Woodland sites have been identified in the Knife-Heart Region, the Flaming Arrow site (32ML4, Toom 1988), Menoken Village (32BL2, Ahler 2003a), and sites on the Cross Ranch (Weston, et al. 1980).

With the lack of a specific Woodland chronology for the study area, Ahler has proposed the Charred Body Complex (beginning sometime before A.D. 1200 and ending a short time after) for Late Woodland sites in North Dakota near the Missouri River (Ahler 1993c:65, 72; Ahler 2003b:5). Flaming Arrow, the type site, has yielded radiocarbon dates between A.D. 920–1230 (Toom 1988); however, no beginning date has been published. The Charred Body Complex is characterized by cord-roughened pottery, similar to Middle Woodland forms, and oval shaped, semi-subterranean dwellings. Ceramics from Menoken, which consist of globular, straight rim vessels, with simple lip decorations, and a smaller group of collared-rim vessels, are similar to pottery at Cross Ranch and Flaming Arrow (Ahler 2003b). Ahler notes that several ceramic wares from eastern North Dakota resemble pottery found on the Cross Ranch (Ahler 2003b:5). Sandy Lake ware, as well as Fox Lake and Lake Benton phase pottery, are more elaborate than those identified as belonging to the Charred Body Complex. The presence of Foreman ware at Menoken, an Initial Middle Missouri variant type, may indicate interaction with contemporary Plains Village groups to the south in the form of trade. Both Toom (1988) and Winham et al. (1994) have suggested that pottery from Flaming Arrow is similar to Great Oasis and/or Initial Middle Missouri variant forms far to the south. Without further ceramic analyses this situation will remain enigmatic.

No evidence for permanent occupation is known from the Upper Knife-Heart region during this period. Woodland sites on the Cross Ranch are most likely seasonal campsites. However, to the south, both Flaming Arrow and Menoken indicate permanent or semi-permanent occupations, with moderately high population densities. In addition, Menoken village was fortified (Ahler 2003a and ongoing research). It seems that populations at all three sites relied on bison hunting and some wild resource procurement, continuing with previous Northern Plains adaptive strategies. Also, stone tools at these
sites are mostly KRF. Nonlocal artifacts, such as native copper and marine shell ornaments, indicate continued participation in a wide interaction sphere. No evidence has been recovered to suggest a reliance on horticulture during this phase. Other evidence illustrates growing populations and perhaps movement into the region from outside regions.

**Pre-Village Archaeology at KNRI – Relevance for Cultural Affiliation**

The earliest cultural manifestations identified in KNRI have been tentatively assigned to the Middle Archaic, Late Archaic, and Middle Woodland. Assignment of cultural remains to one of these traditions at KNRI has been undertaken based on one of three criteria: (1) the presence of chronologically diagnostic artifacts; (2) the presence of moderate to heavily patinated Knife River Flint (KRF) chipped stone artifacts; and/or (3) stratigraphy (Ahler 1993d:16). Unfortunately, few diagnostic artifacts have been recovered from well-provenienced deposits within the park. The majority of Archaic lithic artifacts at KNRI are assigned to “unidentified Archaic” point categories (Ahler 1993d:24). Woodland ceramics are represented by six small Woodland sherds from the Elbee site (Ahler 1984). In most instances, assignment of artifacts and sites to chronological taxa relied heavily on the level of patination and the identification of objects as “non-Plains Village” in origin.

The most convincing evidence of pre-Plains Village occupation at KNRI is found at Taylor Bluff Village (32ME366, Ahler 1988a), the Elbee Site (32ME408, Ahler 1984), Scovill (32ME409, Ahler and Mehrer 1984), and Hump (32ME414, Ahler 1993d). Bone fragments, flaked tools, and charcoal occur together in a buried paleosol at Taylor Bluff Village. Radiocarbon dates from the charcoal at Taylor Bluff produced a date of $3,430 \pm 70$ RCYBP. Elbee, a multicomponent site, has yielded the best-documented pre-ceramic components from excavation. Ahler (1984:151) has inferred a Late Plains Archaic component at the site from patinated lithics artifacts and two partial dart points. Deposits at Scovill have been tentatively assigned to the Paleoindian based on the presence of an abundance of patinated stone tools and debris. Hump also has a large sample of patinated tools; however, these are found only in surface contexts at the site.

The few diagnostic artifacts belonging to the pre-Village period within KNRI are found at the Big Hidatsa (32ME12, a Simosen Point, 6000–5000 B.C.) and Lower Hidatsa (32ME10, dart points predating the Plains Village Tradition) village sites (Ahler 1993d). Goulding (1980:119-120) interpreted the presence of these objects and other patinated samples of KRF at the large village sites to be the result of scavenging by post-contact Plains Village groups during the protohistoric and historic periods. These findings call into doubt some of the interpretations of pre-Village age deposits in the park. This, however, does not indicate that KNRI was not actively used by pre-Plains Village populations. Post-depositional, environmental, and geological processes may have resulted in the under-representation of pre-Village age sites in the region (Waters and Kuehn 1996).
In short, the pre-village occupation of the park area and vicinity is characteristic of the northern plains prehistory, where highly mobile populations made seasonal use of riparian resources after the end of the Pleistocene. It is clear from the diversity of materials found in the immediate region that distinctive groups of hunter-gatherers traversed the Missouri River Trench. Many of these groups, as identified archaeologically by their projectile point styles (e.g., Besant and Sonota), had broad regional ranges extending west along the Missouri River, and to the Rocky Mountain Front. These hunter-gatherer populations, in turn, may have been joined in the subsequent periods by immigrants from the northeastern prairie-forest ecotone as well as from the south.

Plains Village Archaeology

Appearing ca. A.D. 1000 across southern Minnesota, northwest Iowa, South Dakota, North Dakota, and eastern Nebraska, the Plains Village Pattern (Lehmer 1971) marked a dramatic change in adaptive strategies on the Northern Plains. The Plains Village way of life was characterized by the onset of sedentary or semi-sedentary maize horticultural societies organized as tribal groups, each with more or less distinctive territorial and material culture markers, but all sharing a mixed subsistence economy where food production was, for the most part, as important as hunting (Henning 1983:4.43-4.46; Gibbon 1994). Settlements during this period functioned as autonomous social and political units and maintained independent social identities through time. The Plains Village Pattern has conventionally been divided into two cultural historical units: the Middle Missouri Tradition and the Coalescent Tradition (Lehmer 1971). These two were further subdivided into Initial, Extended, and Terminal variants (the Coalescent also had Post-Contact and Disorganized variants).

Recently, the utility of these designations for archaeological analyses in the study area has been called into question (Ahler 1993c; Lovick and Ahler 1982). Lehmer’s chronology was developed from data recovered in the Oahe region of South Dakota and fails to account for archaeological variability encountered in the Knife-Heart region. Lehmer’s chronology, however, has a long history of use in the area and is commonly used when discussing cultural developments in the Middle Missouri (DeMallie 2001; Wood 1998). To facilitate communication and to avoid difficulties in merging the myriad chronologies used in the Northern Plains, we will combine Lehmer’s larger framework with a region specific chronology developed by Lovick and Ahler (Lovick and Ahler 1982) and refined later by Ahler (1993a; 1993c).

The origins of the Plains Village Pattern are somewhat unclear, especially in North Dakota. Lehmer originally posited--and many agree--that the appearance of the Plains Village Pattern in the Dakotas resulted from population migrations, of Late Woodland and/or Early Plains villagers, from the Prairie Peninsula Border and eastern Minnesota, along the Missouri River (Johnson 1977; Lehmer 1971; Toom 1992; Wood 2001:186). Others have claimed that Early Plains Village components developed out of local Late Woodland manifestations in the region, thus indicating a cultural continuity, based on
similarities in material culture, adaptive strategies, and the presence of permanent or semi-permanent Woodland, earth-lodge villages (Ahler 2003a). Most likely, this pattern is the product of both local population dynamics as well as external input of people and ideas (Toom 1992, 1996). Regardless of the origins of this pattern, few archaeologists doubt that cultural components belonging to the Middle Missouri Tradition are ancestral to the protohistoric and historic Mandan and Hidatsa groups.

The Middle Missouri Tradition

One of the primary archaeological traits of Lehmer’s (1971) Middle Missouri Tradition is the presence of rectangular earth-lodge impressions and specific frequencies of different ceramic wares within individual sites. Of the three temporal variants representing this period, the Extended and Terminal variants are most relevant for this study, as each constitutes the tradition’s northernmost manifestations. The Initial Variant occurs farther to the south, in South Dakota, and at present no sites from this variant are known to exist in North Dakota, with the possible exception of Flaming Arrow. The relationship between the Initial and the Extended variants remains unclear. Initially, the three variants were viewed as a progression in which one developed into the next (Lehmer 1971). At present, based on new radiocarbon dates and ceramic data, it does not seem as though the latter was a direct outgrowth of the former (Wood 2001:190). Wood states that the two variants are distinct cultural and geographic expressions of the Middle Missouri Tradition that may have developed from similar, but unknown, antecedents (ibid:192).

Complicating this picture is the existence of “subgroups” of Mandan and Hidatsa—each with its archaeological ancestry or “mini-tradition” and with its historical trajectory. These subgroups persisted into the later historic period and often lived in their own villages until epidemics and the forces of European colonization forced subgroups to join into what we know as the modern Three Affiliated Tribes. Nonetheless, their existence and persistence are clearly acknowledged ritually and socially, as indicated in many ceremonies recorded by Alfred Bowers for both the Hidatsa and the Mandan.

The initial establishment of Plains Village settlements in the Knife-Heart region occurs sometime between A.D. 1100–1200. Using complex and phase designations established by Lovick and Ahler (1982:70), and later refined by Ahler (1993c:76-78), the earliest manifestation of the Extended variant in the study area is the Clark’s Creek phase (A.D. 1200 – 1300, originally defined in Wood 1986:7-11). While no sites dating to this period have been identified at KNRI, small, dispersed settlements were distributed throughout the Knife and Garrison regions, at the Clark’s Creek (32ME1), Stieffel (32ME202), and Grandmother’s Lodge (32ME59) sites. Villages at this time may have been frontier settlements, exploring open landscapes to the north of existing population centers. These components are marked by long, rectangular, semi-subterranean houses organized in open, unfortified settlements. Riggs Ware (straight rim) dominates ceramic assemblages with Fort Yates Ware (S-rim) occurring in lower frequencies (Lovick and Ahler 1982:70). Decorative techniques include simple stamping with very low frequencies of...
check-stamping. These traits are similar to many Extended Middle Missouri variant components downriver. Ahler has included this phase in his Middle Missouri complex, which is associated with the Mandan ethnic tradition (Ahler 1993c:78).

Nailati phase (A.D. 1300-1400, Calabrese 1972) components are the earliest Extended Middle Missouri variant manifestations that occur within KNRI. Sites assigned to this phase are similar to those of the Clark's Creek phase, with small, dispersed, open settlement layouts. Architecture of the Nailati phase, however, was constructed on the existing ground surface, and was not semi-subterranean as was the case in the previous phase. KRF decreases for lithic production, while downriver exotic materials increase. This change in the use of particular lithic materials may indicate diminished contact with western territories and an increase in cultural interaction with groups to the south. S-rim wares (Fort Yates and an unnamed ware) become more common than straight-rim wares (Riggs and an unnamed ware) during this period, and vessel surface treatments are marked by a degree of heterogeneity not seen before.

The defining characteristic of the Nailati phase, however, is the high frequency of check-stamped surface treatments on body sherds. Ahler interprets these differences as an indication for the initial movements of the ancestral Hidatsa into the region. As a result, he assigns the Nailati phase to a new Painted Woods complex that is similar to Bowers' Painted Woods Focus (Bowers 1948), which has a possible Awatixa ethnic tradition (Ahler 1993c:78-80). An overlap between Clark's Creek phase and Nailati phase components has been inferred to represent an existing Mandan population in the region with an influx of ancestral Hidatsa ca. A.D. 1300 (Ahler 1993c:78). Sites assigned to this phase include the main component at Buchfink (32ME9, Ahler and Mehrer 1984), the early component at Amahami (32ME8, Dill 1975a; Dill 1975b), Stanton Ferry (32ML6), Angus (32OL144), and components at Upper Sanger (32OL12), Cross Ranch (32OL14), Mahhaha (32OL22), and White Buffalo Robe (32ME7) (Ahler 1993d:72).

The Scattered Village phase (A.D. 1400-1450) is marked by a high degree of heterogeneity in the archaeological record (Ahler 1993c:80-82; Lovick and Ahler 1982:73-75). Two settlement patterns characterize this phase. The first includes large nucleated villages with deep middens and clear house depressions, such as those found at Upper Sanger, Mandan Lake, and Mahhaha. The second pattern involves dispersed villages with little to no evidence of middens and no visible house depressions, such as the sites identified within KNRI. This second settlement type may have developed out of previous Nailati phase components, or as Ahler has suggested, may represent communities that budded off of the larger Scattered Village sites to the south (Ahler 1993c:81).

A population explosion in the Knife-Heart has been inferred from the dramatic increase in the number of identified archaeological components in the region (Ahler 1993c:82). This growth is viewed as the result of a massive population movement or immigration into the Knife region and, based on increasing heterogeneity in ceramic assemblages,
Ahler infers this migration resulted from multiple source areas. Climate change has been cited as the driving force behind these movements. Favorable environmental conditions allowed budded farming communities to expand into the Upper Knife-Heart and into new and productive territories. Eleven components have been identified for this phase in the region, all of which are assigned to the Painted Woods complex and the Awatixa ethnic tradition. In KNRI, manifestations of the Scattered Village Phase have been identified at Big Hidatsa, Poly, Scovill, Forkorner, Hump, and Youess. Like the Nailati phase, S-rim ceramiscs dominate archaeological assemblages, in the form of Le Beau, Fort Yates, and unnamed S-rim wares. Ahler (1993c:80) also has noted that there are a number of closely related ceramic complexes in the Little Missouri and Lower Yellowstone regions, possibly indicating a larger geographic distribution for this phase. Lithic artifacts indicate a further decrease in the use of KRF, and a continued increase in exotic materials from downriver. The overarching pattern for this phase is one of dynamic cultural interaction and culture change.

The Mandan Lake phase, also known as the Late Scattered Village phase (A.D. 1450-1525, Ahler 1993c:82-85), is seen as an outgrowth of the Scattered Village phase based on ceramic similarities. Differences in ceramic assemblages relate to increases in the frequencies of Le Beau S-rim Ware and cord-impressed decorative techniques. At present, this phase has only been identified at three sites in the Knife region, Mandan Lake, Mahhaha, and Bagnell, which are south of KNRI in Oliver County. The Mandan Lake phase is marked by large multicomponent sites with significant quantities of refuse, and nucleated settlement patterns. Ahler has proposed a decrease in regional population resulting from disease or emigration during this time. Information on architecture from Mandan Lake phase sites is mixed. Wood (1986a:15) reports circular house forms at Mandan Lake; yet architectural data at Bagnell indicate rectangular floor plans. Ahler stresses, however, that remnants of leaner posts or puncheons were identified around the structure at Bagnell, and may indicate the presence of an atuti—a storage or living area that gave a rounded appearance to the structure (Ahler 1993c:83). Use of atuti is a trait that has always been claimed by the Awatixa as indicated from oral histories relating to Flaming Arrow. Bowers suggests this trait is Hidatsa and not Mandan or Arikara in origin (Bowers 1963:481). It is also possible that during the Mandan Lake phase both circular and rectangular house forms were being used, with differential adoption through the Knife-Heart region. Whichever hypothesis proves more accurate, Ahler (1993c:85) emphasizes that this phase holds the key to understanding changes in house form in North Dakota, a central trait in Lehmer’s definition of the Coalescent Tradition.

The Coalescent Tradition

The Coalescent Tradition was defined by Lehmer (1971) to denote the protohistoric and contact period developments in the Middle Missouri region. Lehmer originally thought that the Coalescent Tradition was a blending of central and Northern Plains cultures. More recently, archaeologists have argued that the Coalescent Tradition does not constitute a “tradition” identified through redundant material culture characteristics but,
rather, it refers to the process of coming together of distinctive ethnic and linguistic groups—the Caddoan speakers who became historic Arikara and the Plains Siouan-speaking villagers who became the historic Hidatsa and Mandan. These episodes of ethnic "coalescence" occurred sequentially and did not involve all three groups at any given time (Johnson 1998; Lovick and Ahler 1982). The origins of the Lehmer's Coalescent period lay in the central Plains, as indicated by ceramic material (Johnson 1998) and craniometric variation (Jantz 1977; Jantz et al. 1981).

As already discussed, the hallmark of the Coalescent Tradition was the appearance of circular house forms in the Middle Missouri subarea. The emergence of this architectural form in South Dakota was inferred to be the result of the movement of ancestral Arikara into the Middle Missouri subarea. Analyses of architectural variability in North Dakota, however, indicate a greater cultural continuity through time, with ancestral Mandan and Hidatsa groups adopting circular domiciles at differential rates (Ahler 1993b:33). The circular earth-lodge and village fortifications first appear near the Knife River during the Heart River complex, which is similar to Lehmer's Heart River phase, and is characterized by ceramic assemblages dominated by LeBeau ware and by fortifications in at least one half of the sites. The earliest manifestations of the Heart River complex in the study area are assigned to the Hensler Phase (A.D. 1525 – 1600, Ahler 1993c:85-87).

The Hensler phase has been identified at six sites in the Upper Knife-Heart region based on the presence of high frequencies of Le Beau ware and cord-impressed decorative techniques. Settlement size varied with Hensler being the largest site. There is evidence for fortifications at some sites during this period, suggesting a possible response to intrusive groups in the region. There is some evidence that indicates population decline at this time, a pattern that continues into the contact period. Circular house forms are the norm during the Hensler phase; however, according to Ahler, Bowers unearthed a rectangular lodge at Hensler that was inferred to be a ceremonial structure (Ahler 1993c:85). The continued use of the rectilinear form, even if restricted to ceremonial structures, is an indication of cultural continuity in the region.

In KNRI, Hensler phase components have been found at Lower Hidatsa (32ME10) and the associated Hotrok site (32ME412), which was somehow related to ceremonial sweat lodge practices based on the presence of large quantities of fire-cracked-rock (Ahler and Mehrer 1984). From bone tool analyses it has been suggested that metal tools were available to Hensler populations almost 140 years before contact with Euroamerican explorers (Ahler 1993c:86). The lack of Hensler phase components at KNRI is not surprising. The regional population at the time was in an apparent state of flux, and Ahler indicates that the nuclear or climax area for the Heart River complex was centered to the south, near the mouth of the Heart River—traditional Mandan territory. At this time many of the Hidatsa settlements would have been located in the Painted Woods area and both tribes claimed some sites north of Square Buttes. Based on oral histories, ethnohistory, and archaeology, Ahler indicates that Hensler phase components in the
Knife-Heart are assigned to both Awatixa and Awigaxa/Istopa ethnic traditions (Ahler 1993c:73).

The next identifiable phase in the study area is the Willows phase (A.D. 1600-1700, Ahler 1993c:87-89), which has a geographic distribution confined to the Upper Knife region. Ahler has proposed that the Willows Phase marks the movement of the Hidatsa-proper into the region from the east and the period in which Big Hidatsa Village was established (Ahler 1993b:50; Ahler 1993c:89; Ahler and Swenson 1985). Early in the Willows phase there is an apparent population decline downstream from the Knife—possibly a result of a pre-contact epidemic (Ahler 1993c:88). Late in the phase, a population increase is attributed to the immigration of the Hidatsa-proper. The Awatixa were already established in the region, and ca. 1680 the main village component at Lower Hidatsa was established (Ahler and Weston 1981:188). According to oral histories, the Awaxawi, at this time, were reported to inhabit sites in the Painted Woods area and near the Heart River. Sites assignable to the Willows phase have not yet been identified this far south. The inference for the appearance of the Hidatsa-proper is based primarily on the appearance of Knife River ware during this phase, which is also attributable to the Awaxawi.

The continued presence of Le Beau S-rim ware is seen as an indication for a continuing influence of the Mandan ceramic tradition in the region (Ahler 1993c:88). In addition, during this phase a Transitional S-rim ware appears for the first time and is an apparent hybrid of Le Beau and Knife River wares. Increases in the use of KRF and western exotic lithic resources, and a decrease in downriver exotics, also indicate a shift in cultural interaction and territoriality in the region. Non-local artifacts present at Willows phase sites include small quantities of primarily blue glass beads and metal artifacts, including an awl, knife blade, and conical and tubular copper ornaments (Ahler 1993c:89). Archaeological manifestations belonging to the Willows phase are assigned to both the Heart River complex and the Knife River complex with a geographical extent at or near the mouth of the Knife River. Ahler eloquently states that the Willows phase is significant in that it “marks the termination of Mandan typological dominance emanating from the Heart River area, and the beginning of self-awareness of the various Hidatsa subgroups as a distinct tribal unit... [and it] marks the real beginnings of the Euroamerican influence on native material culture and technologies” (1993c:89).

This process of ethnogenesis, or group self-awareness and cohesiveness, continued into the next phase—the Minnetaree phase (A.D. 1700-1785, Ahler 1993c:89-91), which is marked by the dominance of Knife River ware in all components assigned to this region. Deapolis ware, Transitional ware, and Le Beau ware also occur but in smaller frequencies. Cord-impressed surface treatments dominate all ceramic assemblages. A marked decrease in KRF and an increase in local materials for stone tool production may suggest an increasing isolation of the villages from distant resource bases (Ahler 1993c:91). This was likely the result of incursions into the region by hostile equestrian groups. Nucleated settlements dating to this period include Lower Hidatsa (Awatixa), Big
Hidatsa (Hidatsa-proper), and Molander (A waxa wi), the latter two with possible indications of fortification systems.

It is during this period that the first written descriptions of the region are available. La Vérendrye’s expedition to the Mandan villages, near the mouth of the Heart River in A.D. 1738, marked the first contact between tribal groups and Euroamerican explorers in the Upper Missouri (Chomko 1986). Although La Vérendrye and his sons failed to reach the Hidatsa villages, their accounts provide the first written descriptions of Plains Village life in the Knife-Heart region. From these records we can determine that this phase represents the historic period Hidatsa and Mandan as culturally independent groups. The smallpox epidemic in 1780-81 marks the end of the phase (for a discussion of the smallpox epidemic see Trimble 1985, 1989, 1993). It was after this first recorded epidemic that Lower Hidatsa village (32ME10) was abandoned, at which time the Awatixa moved north to establish Rock Village with a group of Hidatsa-proper (Ahler and Benz 1980; Ahler and Weston 1981:187; Hartle 1961). No written accounts are available on the tribal reactions to this first tragedy or on the settlements at KNRI prior to this time.

The Roadmaker Phase (A.D. 1785–1830) occurs in the period just after the first documented smallpox epidemic in 1781 (earlier outbreaks likely occurred) and before another major outbreak of the disease in 1837. Ahler assigns the phase to the Knife River complex (1993c:92-95). During this period there was an influx of several different ethnic groups into the Knife region, including Hidatsa, Mandan, Arikara, Sioux, and Euroamerican traders and explorers. The Awatixa returned to the Knife River, from Rock Village, and established Sakakawea Village (32ME11) ca. 1790 (Ahler and Benz 1980; Ahler, et al. 1980). The A waxa wi, who traditionally had lived further to the south, created Amahami Village ca. 1797 on the southern boundary of KNRI (Dill 1975a; Dill 1975b). Mandan groups founded several sites south of KNRI, such as Black Cat (32ML5), Deapolis (32ME5), and Fort Clark (32ME7). Additionally, the Arikara set up a village, the Greenshield site (32OL17), in the Painted Woods area ca. 1795, essentially resettling an abandoned Mandan site (Chomko 1986; Wood 1986a:23). All villages at this time were highly nucleated, with well-defined fortifications. Ceramic assemblages were similar to those of the Minnetar e phase, dominated by Knife River ware, regardless of cultural affiliation, with lesser frequencies of Deapolis Collared ware (Ahler 1993c:94).

Determining cultural affiliation of groups at this time is difficult as there is a great deal of homogeneity in the material culture of the region. From ethnohistorical documents there is some indication that several villages in the region were inhabited simultaneously by both Mandan and Hidatsa households (Thompson in Wood 1977; Wood and Thiessen 1985). Thompson described Sakakawea and Deapolis as being composite communities—yielding some insight into the difficulty in distinguishing the cultural affiliations of different sites. A noticeable exception to this problem, and the homogeneity in material culture, is the presence of ground stone objects at Big Hidatsa and Rock Village that

With regard to chipped stone, KRF use continued to decrease, with downriver exotics slightly increasing possibly due to the migration of Mandan populations into the area. Emphasis on western resources and local lithic materials continued; however, chipped stone recycling also became more common during this phase. Native copper decreased at this time, but there was a marked increase in all other trade goods. From overall trends in archaeological, ethnohistoric, and historic records, it seems as though Mandan and Hidatsa maximized their role as middlemen in tribal-Euroamerican trade at this time—supplying western nomadic groups with guns, eastern groups with horses, and all groups with cultigens and other provisions (Lehmer 1971:169; Wood 1980b). From accounts provided by Evans, MacKay, Thompson, Lewis and Clark, Larocque, McKenzie, Henry, and Bradbury, at this time a clear picture of village life in the Upper Knife-Heart and in KNRI can be established.

The final period of the Plains Village tradition is the Four Bears phase (A.D. 1830-1886, Ahler 1993c:95-97). This phase had a geographical extent from the mouth of the Knife River to the central portion of the Garrison Region of the Middle Missouri subarea—where Like-a-Fishhook Village was established in 1845. It is marked by many significant events: a devastating smallpox epidemic, which placed the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara at risk of being further decimated by nomadic tribes; increase in native warfare and threat from nomadic groups; and a focus on the trade of buffalo robes, which is marked by the construction of a number of permanent trading posts by Euroamerican fur companies and the introduction of steamboat travel up the Missouri in 1832. Native settlements that were located south of the Knife River, early in this phase, moved upstream over time as raiding by nomadic groups increased.

Another impetus for this northern movement was a growing dependency on raw materials and trade goods provided by trading posts that required habitation closer to the forts near and north of the Knife River. The Mandan village at Fort Clark, for example, was built shortly after the construction of the post between 1829-1831. With the increased dependence on the trading posts, the role of Hidatsa and Mandan as middlemen in the trade systems deteriorated and both groups were reduced to provisioners and suppliers of the forts (Ahler 1993c). Changes in material culture at this time have been attributed to the growing reliance on Euroamerican trade items like metal knives and containers. Knife River ware and Deapolis ware continued to be common in ceramic assemblages during this phase; however, plain surface treatments increased in frequency and overall pottery abundance and quality deteriorated at an accelerated pace (Ahler 1993c:96). Stone tool production continued, but expedient tool production and lithic recycling became much more common (Ahler 1993c:96). In general, this period was characterized by large-scale population movement, reorganization, and culture change, as Plains Village groups adapted to pressures from warfare, disease, and encroachment by outsiders.
In 1834, both Amahami (Awaxawi) and Sakakawea (Awatixa) villages were burned after a Sioux attack (Stewart 1974:196), and it has been speculated that both groups took refuge at Big Hidatsa, or with Mandan groups in the area, where they resided until the move to Like-a-Fishhook. An alternative hypotheses is that the Awatixa settled at Taylor Bluff Village (32ME366), near Big Hidatsa, after the Sioux attack (Ahler 1988b; Trimble 1988). Warfare and raiding by nomadic equestrian groups was a primary cause for much of the population movement and coalescence in the Upper Knife-Heart. The Plains Villagers were safer in larger numbers living in highly nucleated, well-fortified settlements. Sioux presence in the region is supported from evidence at the Ice Glider site (32OL110, Wood 1986b), a Yanktonai Dakota winter camp, and the Washburn Ferry site (32OL102, Wood 1986b), a cemetery associated with the previous site based on spatial proximity and skeletal analysis.

The massive smallpox epidemic, in A.D. 1837, resulted in a devastatingly high death toll for all groups in the Northern Plains. Settlements at Boller, Rock Village, and Taylor Bluff represented depopulated remnants of larger groups decimated by the disease. The Mitutanka Mandan were forced to abandon their village at Fort Clark, as a result of disease and Sioux attack, and take refuge at Big Hidatsa. They attempted to return in 1838 but found the Arikara had resettled the village (Hunt 2003). In 1845, Hidatsa and Mandan groups moved north to establish Like-a-Fishhook village near Fort Berthold to find protection from advancing nomad groups. The remaining Arikara and Mandan families who had continued to reside to the south joined Like-a-Fishhook in 1861.

The year of 1845 is most often cited for the end of the Plains Village way of life at KNRI and elsewhere in the Dakotas.

Summary and Commentary

From oral histories, archaeological data, and ethnohistoric documents, it is evident that KNRI lies at the heart of traditional Hidatsa territory. Each of the four major village sites within KNRI has been attributed to one of the three Hidatsa subgroups: the Hidatsa-proper, Awaxawi, and Awatixa. A review of the park’s history, however, indicates a greater complexity in the occupation of the Knife River and vicinity, with Mandan, Arikara, and other tribal groups coming into and out of the area for settlement, trade, warfare, and refuge. Furthermore, the relationship with the Crow must be given careful consideration, as they continue to have close ties with the Hidatsa.

The pre-Plains Village period was marked by intermittent use of the area by nomadic hunting and gathering groups of the region. Many of these groups may have been encountered, and even joined, by the immigrating populations that gave rise to the village way of life. Other such groups likely moved west in response to macro-regional demographic trends in both human and large game populations. With the onset of the Plains Village period, permanent or semi-permanent occupations of local or immigrant populations became more common near the Knife River. Based on similarities to
downstream groups some have suggested these early settlers were related to a Mandan ethnic tradition. Either contemporaneously, or shortly after this initial settlement, we find evidence for population movement into the area—likely the ancestral Hidatsa and, by extension, ancestral Crow.

The park’s place within a pan-American trade network and interaction sphere, which dates from the Late Paleoindian to modern times, illustrates some of the complexities in determining the traditional cultural affiliations with the park. Overall, however, anthropologists and historians of the Northern Plains have traditionally recognized the continuity of cultural affiliations and the evolution of traditional associations of prehistoric and historic groups.

**Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site**

In 1961 Congress created the Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site (Figure 2.2) in recognition of the fort’s importance in the fur trade and in the expansion of the United States. For nearly forty years in the nineteenth century the post functioned as a major trade and distribution center in the Northern Plains. In addition, the site on which the fort was founded hosted numerous visitors, such as Catlin, Maximilian and Bodmer, Tabeau, Audubon, and Denig (Audubon 1960; Catlin 1965; Coues 1898; Denig 1928-1929, 1961; Thwaites, ed. 1906; Thwaites 1959), who left written and painted records of life in the area which proved to be significant contributions to the history of exploration, the history of the general area, and anthropology.

The cultural significance of FOUS does not lie solely within the walls of Fort Union but with its location relative to major culture areas and travel routes. The confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, near which the fort once stood, coincides with the juncture of the Middle Missouri and Northwestern Plains subareas of the Northern Plains culture area (Lehmer 1971), and has a deep and complicated history of its own. Groups that traditionally used and/or inhabited the Middle Missouri, Northwestern Plains, and Northeastern Plains frequented this location throughout prehistory and history. Therefore, the history of the human landscape surrounding the fort is crucial to achieve a true understanding of Fort Union’s success in the fur trade enterprise as well as its significance for the conquest and settlement of the Western frontier. Evidence of occupations that pre- and post-date the fort abounds, both in and outside of FOUS boundaries (Bauermeister 2000; De Vore and Hunt 1994; Toom and Gregg 1983). Yet very little systematic research has been conducted on pre-fort archaeological assemblages at FOUS (Bauermeister 2000:2), as this is not the focus of the park’s specific mission. Nevertheless, important clues exist there as to the identity of groups who frequented the fort’s location since early times.
The Park and Its Resources

The Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site is located on the North Dakota Montana border near the old confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Throughout prehistory and history, the confluence served as a territorial boundary marker and as a stopping location for groups who traveled using trails along the major waterways. The Blackfoot Confederacy used the region to the northwest of the confluence. Different Crow bands held the area to the southwest. The land to the southeast belonged to the Hidatsa and later included holdings by the Mandan and Arikara. The lands to the northeast and the land upon which Fort Union was built were traditionally occupied by the Assiniboine (Denig 1930:396-397). Despite these formal conceptions of territory, the use of and travel in the area tended to be fluid; there is abundant information about various groups, including the Sioux, who camped, hunted, fasted, prayed, and fought on or near the park. Furthermore, native maps of trails to and from the confluence suggest that this may have been a boundary marker (e.g., westernmost for the Mandan and Hidatsa; easternmost for the Blackfeet; and northernmost for the Crow) as well as a central place where people met to trade long before Fort Union was established.

There are two well-documented historic sites within FOUS boundaries—Fort Union itself (32WI17) and the Garden Coulee Site (32WI18). Abundant evidence of prehistoric and
historic use of the area has been attributed to the wealth of resources in the vicinity of the fort (for a summary of floral and faunal resources, including ethnographic uses see Hanson, et al. 1983:3.2-3.26; Weist, et al. 1980). Appendices B and C summarize tribal traditionally used resources at FOUS.

Physiography, Site Type, and Land Use

FOUS is located on the flat terraces just above the Missouri River floodplain. Much of the land surrounding the fort, including the area on which the Garden Coulee site is situated, was formerly cultivated. Today, much of the area is being restored to native prairie vegetation. As explained above there are four recognized physiographic zones within the Missouri River Trench (Lehmer 1971:50-53; Lovick and Ahler 1982:36-38; Toom and Gregg 1983). Each zone has unique physical features and available resources; as a result, each zone was the location of different types of cultural activities in the past. The riparian ecozone, which included the river and associated wooded areas in the floodplain, provided a protected location where game such as white tail deer, elk, and bison could be hunted. In fact, the Crow call the Yellowstone River “Elk River” because of the abundance of this species (see Chapter Three). The terrace ecozone, located above the floodplain, was the location of the campsites and villages used by both Native Americans and Euroamerican explorers. The terrace, with its views of the plains and the river valley, also provided a defensive advantage for its dwellers. The breaks ecozone, which is characterized by dramatic topography, provided floral, faunal, and mineral resources for prehistoric and historic groups. The final zone, the uplands grassland ecozone or Missouri Plateau, was utilized for ritual, resource procurement, and other important activities such as eagle trapping and the bison hunt. Only two of these physiographic zones, the riparian and terrace, are well defined within FOUS boundaries. Breaks and upland zones, however, are found not far from FOUS borders.

The Paleoindian Tradition (9500-5500 B.C.)

At present, no Paleoindian sites have been identified within the boundaries of FOUS. However, Clovis and Folsom sites are known to exist to the north and east of the park (Gregg 1983; Schneider 1982). Two Plano sites have been found near the Mondrian Tree site (32MZ58) just a few miles away from the park near the mouth of the Yellowstone (Gregg 1983:4.6). In a survey of the North Dakota Cultural Resource Site Files, Schneider discovered that a Scottsbluff projectile point (associated with the Cody Cultural Complex, ca. 7000 B.C., Frison 1991) was found associated with a bison skeleton at 32W1102—a site north of, and adjacent to FOUS (Schneider 1982:32). These data indicate evidence of human occupation in the immediate vicinity as early as the Paleoindian period (for overviews of the Paleoindian period see Frison 1991; Gregg 1985:81-99; Hofman and Graham 1998).

Clovis fluted points (9500 – 9000 B.C.), as well as later Paleoindian artifacts, have been found in surface contexts in almost all counties bordering the Missouri River Valley and
its tributaries (Schneider 1982:16, 37). Additionally, Early Holocene Paleoindian assemblages, including Folsom, Plano Complexes (e.g. Hell Gap and Agate Basin), Cody Complexes (e.g. Cody, Alberta, and Scottsbluff), and Plainview Complexes have been identified in many of these same counties, as well as in Dunn County at the Knife River flint quarries (Clark 1985; Root 1992, 1997, 2000; William 2000). Specific Paleoindian sites located in North Dakota are the Moe site (32MN101; Schneider 1982) along the banks of Lake Sakakawea, the Benz site, and over 54 sites located in the Lake Ilo National Wildlife Refuge (Root 1992, 2000; William 2000).

The Paleoindian Tradition has been characterized by a subsistence strategy based primarily on the hunting of Pleistocene megafauna by highly mobile populations who are recognizable archaeologically by the production and use of long, lanceolate, and sometimes fluted projectile points (Johnson and Wood 1980). Recent research has begun to question some of these assumptions and suggests a more dynamic and diverse lifeway for Paleoindian groups (Hudecek-Cuffe 1998; Loendorf and Borchert 1991). Evidence from Montana, for example, suggests a heavy reliance on small game and wild plants based on the discovery of grinding stones and diverse faunal assemblages (Loendorf and Borchert 1991). According to Hudecek-Cuffe (1998), the Paleoindian period on the Northern Plains was characterized by the exploitation of a wide variety of plant and animal resources from diverse environments by regionally distinct groups, who used diversified strategies and practiced broad-spectrum economies. With the exception of the reliance on megafauna, these new interpretations of Paleoindian subsistence economies suggest great antiquity and continuity in the ways humans interacted with nature in the Northern Plains.

The Archaic Tradition (5500 B.C. – A.D. 500)

The Early Plains Archaic began around the time of the onset of the Altithermal, or Atlantic Climatic Episode, a relatively hot and dry period that resulted in many ecological changes in the region (Loendorf and Borchert 1991:9; William 2000:12). Despite the changing environment, Archaic peoples followed in the footsteps of their Paleoindian predecessors, relying on hunting and gathering (Gregg and Davidson 1985; Johnson and Wood 1980; Loendorf and Borchert 1991:9). When Pleistocene megafauna became extinct, hunting strategies shifted towards a focus on intermediate and modern forms of bison—a resilient and highly successful adaptive strategy that survived until late nineteenth century (Gregg 1983:4.7; Reeves 1983). Differences between Archaic and Paleoindian Traditions resulted from the adoption of different adaptive strategies relating to changing environmental conditions and a changing resource base in the region.

During the Plains Archaic period, a regionalization in material culture and changes raw material use has been interpreted as evidence of the development of group territories (Hayden 1982:118-119 as cited in Gregg 1983; Loendorf and Borchert 1991:9). For the Archaic, archaeologists recognize a distinction between Western (short-grass High Plains) and Eastern (tall-grass prairies) adaptations that persisted into the Historic period.
(Johnson and Wood 1980:38). The western Plains Archaic Plano traditions emphasized the earlier Paleoindian pattern of big game hunting, whereas eastern traditions began to exploit riparian and woodland habitats.

During the Early Archaic, there was an abrupt change from the Late Paleoindian lanceolate and stemmed projectile points to side-notched forms (Frison 1991:79). Diagnostic artifacts for this time period include Simonsen, Mummy Cave Side-Notched, Hawken, and Oxbow points. Simonsen Side-Notched points, which are characteristic of the Logan Creek Complex, are more common in North Dakota than the other diagnostic points (Gregg 1983; 1985:101-105). A Simonsen point was collected 40 km to the southeast on the Northern Border Pipeline Survey (Gregg 1983:4.8). In addition, the Tysver-Olson site approximately 90 km (56 mi) southeast in the Killdeer Mountains, Dunn County, has a cultural component dating to this period (Gregg 1985:103-104). The type site for the Oxbow complex is 200 km (125 mi) to the northeast of FOUS, but Oxbow points have been recovered as far south as the Olsen Ranch site (Gregg 1983:4.9; Root and Gregg 1983), which is in the Little Missouri River region, about 66 km (41 mi) from FOUS.

The Middle Archaic is marked by the sudden and widespread appearance of the McKean complex (ca. 2500-800 B.C.) in the Northern Plains region (Frison 1991; Gregg 1983:4.9-4.10). Frison has noted an increase in the number of sites during this period and in the reliance on wild plant foods, as well as movement of groups into the open plains and intermontane basins (Frison 1991:88-89). In North Dakota, at sites such as Mondrian Tree (32MZ58), which will be discussed in greater detail below, and the Moe site (located 120 km [75 mi] to the east of FOUS), McKean Lanceolate, with indented base, and Duncan points, a stemmed version of the previous, are indicative of Middle Archaic manifestations (Frison 1998:91; Gregg 1985:109-112).

The Late Plains Archaic (1500 B.C. – A.D. 500) is marked by the appearance of corner-notched projectile points such as Pelican Lake and side- and corner-notched Besant points (Frison 1991:102-109; Root 1992, 1997). Hanna, Oxbow, and Yonkee projectile are also diagnostic artifacts for this time period and have been found in western North Dakota (Clark 1985). A Late Archaic campsite is hypothesized to exist at the Edna Mae site, which is discussed below. In addition, Gregg (1983:4.11) has noted that Late Archaic "debris" is found throughout the area and to the south in the Little Missouri Region.

**Plains Archaic Archaeology at FOUS – Relevance for Cultural Affiliation**

Few landscape features possess the breadth and complexity of human occupation that river confluences do; such is the case of the Fort Union landscape. Examine for example, the Mondrian Tree site, located only a few miles away from the fort. Mondrian Tree (32MZ58) is located on the right bank of the Missouri River, approximately 6.5 km (4 mi) below the present confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers. The site, as
identified by Toom and Gregg (1983), covers 7500 m². The site catchment area is defined by a 40 km (25 mi) radius around the sites and incorporates Fort Union and Fort Buford. The earliest occupation of this site has been assigned to the Middle Plains Archaic period (ca. 2200 B.C.). A total of twelve archaeological components, including nine prehistoric components, representing short-term occupations by nomadic hunter-gatherers and Plains villagers, one early historic Native American occupation, and two historic Euroamerican occupations exist at Mondrian Tree. The site was occupied intermittently over the last 5,000 years by a variety of prehistoric and historic cultural groups including ancestors of the tribes considered as culturally affiliated with the park (Toom and Gregg 1983:1.9). Use-wear analysis of a Duncan point, two Hanna points, and other lithic materials from the site indicate hunting, game processing, hide working, and heavy plant processing activities (Gregg 1983:4.10). The Edna Mae site, like the Mondrian Tree site, yielded evidence of occupation from the Middle Plains Archaic period through the Plains Village/Late Prehistoric Periods (Gregg 1983:4.9; Root and Gregg 1983). Overall, these two sites are but examples of the continuity in human presence at the confluence and explain, to a great extent, the reason for the existence of Fort Union Trading Post.

Plains Woodland Tradition (500 B.C. – A.D. 1000)

The Plains Woodland lifeway differs little from the Archaic in the study area with the exception of the manufacture and use of ceramics containers and burial mound ceremonialism (Johnson and Wood 1980). The Woodland Tradition on the Northern Plains is defined specifically by the appearance of pottery, burial mounds, mortuary ritualism, the adoption of the bow and arrow, and other changes in technology (Gregg 1985:79; Johnson 2001; Johnson and Johnson 1998). Many of these developments, however, are characteristic of Middle (A.D. 1–700) and Late Woodland (A.D. 500–1200) horizons. In and around FOUS, Besant (Reeves 1970) and Sonota (Neuman 1975) complexes dominate the first half of this period (Gregg 1983:4.11), while little is known about Late Plains Woodland and transitional Woodland-Plains Village groups in the region.

It should be noted that FOUS lies very near the geographic center of the Besant complex. A complex is a consistently recurring assemblage of artifacts or cultural traits which may indicate a common cultural tradition or set of activities. Several Besant/Sonota sites are known in the area (Gregg 1983:4.12). For example, a component at the Edna Mae site yielded a Besant point and cord-marked sherd, indicating Woodland occupation(s) (Gregg 1983:4.12).

Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric Periods

The landscape around FOUS abounds with evidence of late prehistoric and protohistoric use by Native American groups. Eagle trapping pits, travois trails, and cairns are but a few examples of the material indicators of this utilization. Unfortunately, these remains have received little attention and are often difficult to date. Two cultural-historical
designations are discussed below to establish a general understanding of adaptive trends for these periods—the Plains Village period and the Equestrian Nomadic period.

Plains Village Period (A.D. 1000-1862)

The Plains Village "Pattern" (which coincides with a period [A.D. 1000-1862] and involves an often discussed long-lived tradition) was originally defined by Lehmer (1971). Gregg (1983) has posited that the origins of the Plains Village lifeway rests in cultural developments ca. A.D. 700-900 near the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. He acknowledges, however, that in North Dakota the appearance of earthlodge villages with large storage pits, distinctive ceramics, and the practice of both horticulture and hunting and gathering was likely the result of two different processes: (1) indigenous development within the region stimulated by contact with established villagers to the south and east, and (2) immigration of groups such as the Mandan (Gregg 1983:4.12). In all probability a third scenario exists in which both processes co-occurred.

Established Plains villages were found primarily in the Knife-Heart Region of the Middle Missouri subarea as well as in the Cannonball region. No true earthlodge villages are known to exist near FOUS for the prehistoric period, although a single earthlodge has been documented at the Hagen site on the Lower Yellowstone in Montana (Mulloy 1942). Given the high density of artifacts and the number of cache pits, Mulloy (1942) has hypothesized that the site was the location of a number of hide structures, such as tipis. A preliminary analysis of the pottery, as well as other material culture from the site, indicates affiliations with Mandan-Hidatsa-Crow groups. The frequent and persistent use of the Yellowstone by the ancestral Crow makes this a likely interpretation.

Beginning in the protohistoric and culminating in the historic periods, with the encroachment of Euroamericans and other tribal groups, such as the Sioux, village sites were established north of the Knife River in the Garrison region. Like-a-Fishhook Village (Lehmer 1971) and the Garden Coulee site are but two examples. Plains villagers, as well as nomadic groups to the north, east, and west, did frequent the area near the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers during this time period. Gregg (1983:4.13) notes that it is often difficult to discern the differences between campsites belonging to these two different groups. Field camps, hunting locations, and resource processing areas are often assigned to the Plains Village tradition only when Plains Village pottery is observed. Gregg (1983) points out that often times neighboring nomadic groups could obtain such pottery through trade, gift giving, or via production in cases where Plains Village women married into the nomadic groups.

Only a few possible Plains Village components have been identified near FOUS. Near the Mondrian Tree site, a Plains Village component is known to exist in the valley near the modern confluence, and also there is one such component at the Edna Mae site. Site 32MZ484 is located approximately 23 km (15 mi) to the southeast and represents a possible field camp (Gregg 1983).
The Equestrian Nomadic Period (A.D. 1740-1880)

The Equestrian Nomadic period (A.D. 1740-1880) refers specifically to the addition of the horse to the nomadic Plains lifeway. Via an indigenous pan-American trade network (Wood 1972, 1980), the horse was introduced to the Northern Plains prior to the appearance of the first Europeans. This event significantly altered the subsistence economies of groups in the region (Gregg 1983:4.14). People, food, and other resources could be transported over greater distances at a more rapid pace—a factor that would have significant impacts on the later fur trade in the region. See Ewers (1980) for a superb analysis of the impact of the horse upon the Plains Indians.

Short-term occupation sites from this time period, mostly encampments, may be found in the vicinity of FOUS, particularly to the south of the confluence and along the Yellowstone River. These historic encampments both predate and postdate the establishment of Fort Union. The best summary of this period’s archaeology is in Gregg (1983). Many early historic documents (e.g., Hazlitt 1934) refer to encampments along the lower Yellowstone River. Similarly, historic sites such as Hidatsa eagle trapping pits that were described by Wilson (1928) and mapped by Bowers (1950) could date as early as the protohistoric period. Shrines, such as the famous buffalo shrine painted by Karl Bodmer, signify a site type that is not easily dated to any particular period. Occupations of the FOUS during this period are best understood from historic documents than from the archaeological record.

Prehistoric and Protohistoric Archaeology at FOUS – Relevance for Cultural Affiliation

As mentioned earlier, little systematic archaeological research has been conducted on pre-fort era material assemblages (Bauermeister 2000:2). Most research has been designed specifically to understand fort-era occupations, even though pre-1829 materials do appear within the park’s boundaries. A study of chipped stone by Bauermeister (2000) is an exception. Bauermeister notes that stone artifacts, pottery, and aboriginal features underlie fort-era strata. She explains fort-aged chipped stone as the result of production and use by the Native American wives of the Euroamerican traders and notes that these women may have been using this technology to process hides commercially for their husbands. Bauermeister, however, speculates that earlier components within FOUS probably represent something analogous to the Coalescent or Post-Coalescent Variants of the Plains Village Pattern (also a long-lived tradition) (Bauermeister 2000:20; Lehmer 1971). Pottery from the pre-fort strata has been assigned to the Mortlach Aggregate (A.D. 1500-1780). Mortlach sites are commonly found in coulees and river valleys in southeastern Saskatchewan, northeastern Montana, and northwestern North Dakota and are frequently affiliated with the Assiniboine and/or Hidatsa groups (Bauermeister 2000:44; Walde 1994).
The Historic Period

The Late Plains Village period, Equestrian Nomadic period, and the Historic period are archaeological designations used to refer to differences in past lifeways that changed over time. It should be noted that in actuality, these three periods shared a great deal of cultural continuity and overlapped chronologically. The appearance of the first Europeans in North Dakota occurred in the mid-eighteenth century. Yet written accounts of the area near FOUS did not become common until after the beginning of the nineteenth century. For example, Lewis and Clark camped at the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers on their expedition in 1804-1805. In 1807, Manuel Lisa, a Spaniard from St. Louis, Missouri, passed by the mouth of the Yellowstone on a trade expedition to the Crow territory, and established the short-lived Fort Lisa.

From the early nineteenth century onwards, information on the Historic period at FOUS abounds (for general overviews of the fort's history see Barbour 2001; Chittenden 1935; Dougherty 1957; Harper 1925; Koenig 1933; Mattison 1962; McBrien 1950; Thompson 1968, 1994). Owing to the tremendous power of attraction Fort Union held upon travelers, scientists, and artists, there is a wealth of information on the upper Missouri River tribes recorded for the mid-1800s. Visitors and traders such as Catlin, Maximilian and Bodmer, Audubon, members of the Pacific Survey, and Agent Matthews, would record accounts of life at the confluence from the period before the construction of the fort and after the post's demise (Audubon 1960; Coues 1898; Denig 1928-1929, 1961; Thwaites, ed. 1906). Additionally, long-time traders and fort employees Larpenteur, Denig, and Kurz kept detailed journals of the fort's activities over many years. In short, the history of Fort Union is rich with detail of everyday life at a frontier outpost. Much of this detail is beyond the scope of this report; however, specific interactions with different tribal groups are discussed in Chapter Three.

In 1829, Kenneth McKenzie set out to build Fort Union to establish trade relations with the tribes of the Northern Plains and compete with the Hudson’s Bay Company. He and his company employed three different tactics in the establishment of trade relations with indigenous tribes. Fort employees at the post entertained tribal members, giving gifts and food (McBrien 1950:96). Traders also married young Indian women to secure stronger relations with specific groups. Lastly, envoys were sent into the different tribal territories to establish satellite posts (IBID:44-58). This last approach ensured that warring groups remained separate from each other early in the post’s development.

The Assiniboine, Cree, and Chippewa tribes were the first to which McKenzie sent messengers with invitations for trade at the fort (Mattison 1962; McBrien 1950:44). From the 1830s onward, descriptions of Assiniboine visits to Fort Union are common in the diaries and journals of visitors and employees (De Vore and Hunt 1994:23). Similarly, there are descriptions of large parties of Chippewa and Cree coming through the fort to trade while en route to the bison hunts or to the villages (Kurz 2005). Following the establishment of trade relations with the Assiniboine, McKenzie sent an expedition
headed by Jacob Berger into Blackfoot territory in 1830 in an attempt to secure trade relations with the Blackfoot, Blood, and Piegan groups as well (McBrien 1950:47-50; Smyth 1989). After “making peace” with the Blackfeet, McKenzie directed his attention to groups living along the Yellowstone—the Mountain and River Crow (Barbour 2001; Chittenden 1935; McBrien 1950).

Throughout the entirety of the fort’s occupation, traders used keelboats to travel up and down the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers. The adoption of the steamboat, however, dramatically changed the fur trade on the Upper Missouri. It was via steamboats that individuals such as Maximilian and Bodmer were brought to the fort, in addition to large amounts of trade goods. McKenzie used the steamboats to bring a still into the Upper Missouri in 1833 and later that year he was retired as head of the Upper Missouri Outfit of the American Fur Trade Company because of this act. Many journals have described Indian life and interaction around the fort during the years of 1830-1860, but none with the detail of Larpenteur’s journal (Coues 1898). He recorded all details of daily transactions and incidents, large and small. Among those recorded is the disastrous winter of 1837-1838, when a severe smallpox epidemic swept through the region. The journal also continues after the epidemic when the operations of the trading post resumed with renowned vitality for the next 20 years.

After the treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851, Fort Union was made an annuity distribution center for some of the Upper Missouri tribes. It was also in this year that Rudolph Kurz was sent to the fort. In 1853 the post was used by the Northern Pacific Railway Survey. During the 1860s the Assiniboine and Crow continued to visit the post for their annuities and the area witnessed an increase in Sioux raiding. In 1866 the military post at Fort Buford was established, and in 1867 the military post purchased Fort Union, which was dismantled for building materials.

Investigations at the Fort Union Site

Two phases of archaeological excavation were undertaken on the fort itself to secure architectural documentation for the reconstruction of the fort on site (De Vore and Hunt 1994:v). The first phase was undertaken between 1968 and 1972 (Gillio 1973 as cited in Hunt 1993; Husted 1970 and 1971 as cited in Hunt 1993). The second phase began in 1986 under the direction of William Hunt, Jr. and Thomas Thiessen and ended in 1988 (Hunt and Peterson 1988 as cited in Hunt 1993; Peterson and Hunt 1990 as cited in Hunt 1993). The result of both phases of fieldwork was a ten-volume report in which analyses and summaries are presented on different artifact classes recovered from Fort Union, most of which are of objects of European manufacture for trade or sale to the tribes. The first nine volumes document artifact assemblages from the fort’s occupation—the period between 1828-1867. The final report, on burials found within the fort, focuses almost exclusively on the post-occupation period. There are many other important research pieces that grew out of these investigations, including the analysis of the world-famous trade bead collection from the fort (De Vore 1992; Ross 2000).
The “Ice House Burials” reported by DeVore and Hunt in 1994, although post-dating the fort occupation, are nonetheless indicative of the significance of this site and also contains some information regarding the extent of native trade networks during the nineteenth century. Two female and one male adults, plus one child were recovered in 1970 from the fort’s ice house depression. The female (Burial 2) was found wrapped in a Southwestern blanket commonly made between 1850 and 1880, which was likely acquired through long distance trade. Other important burial offerings were projectile points made of metal, pigments, and a decorated elk antler scraper (De Vore and Hunt 1994:5). Food offerings and many other objects were interred with the dead. A fifth burial found in the collapsed well was of a woman whose remains were stained in red; the burial contained packed red pigment, cloth, and objects of personal adornment. Isolated human bones also found at the fort may be related to interment of remains after decay on a scaffold burial.

Historical documentation and archaeological information reveal that between 1867 and 1880 two different Native American groups lived near the site of Fort Union after the post’s demolition (De Vore and Hunt 1994:23). Assiniboine bands from the Fort Peck Reservation (probably the Rock band) continued to camp around the post and hunt in the vicinity throughout the 1860s and 1870s (De Vore and Hunt 1994:23-26) while seeking employment, protection, and annual annuities which were distributed from Fort Buford. Specifically a small community of thirty to forty families occupied a site at Fort Union for an indeterminate period around 1866 (De Vore and Hunt 1994:30). Between 1866 and 1874 the area suffered from numerous attacks by the Teton Sioux; traumatic injuries suffered by the victims suggests that they could have been victims of Sioux attacks that reportedly occurred near Fort Buford. In fact, two skeletons showed signs of trauma (Jantz n.d.).

From 1870 to 1884, a dissident band of Hidatsa, led by Crow-Flies-High (Bowers 1965; Malouf 1963), established a village of cabins and earth lodges at the Garden Coulee site (32WI18) just east of Fort Union (Fox 1988; Wilson 1928:109) after leaving Like-a-Fishhook village on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation. Included in this band were Hidatsa, Mandan, Arikara individuals, as well as a few Dakota (De Vore and Hunt 1994:27; Fox 1988; Malouf 1963:163), but the composition of the band was constantly changing (Fox 1988:63). Individuals from the Fort Berthold Reservation, as well as other groups in the area (e.g., Crow), would stop at Garden Coulee on their way to hunt, trap eagles, trade, or visit others farther along on the trail. The site was considered a good place for a village because game was plentiful, unlike at Fort Berthold, and the presence of Fort Buford offered protection from raiding war parties that were frequently in the area. The band lived in the area for many years, but by 1884 had become a nuisance to the military at Fort Buford due to decreasing game populations and an increasing need to care for and feed older and “indigent” members of the group (Fox 1988:16). The band was forced to return to the area near Fort Berthold. They established the Crow-Flies-High village (Malouf 1963) one mile northwest of the reservation on unsurveyed government land—but before leaving Garden Coulee they sold their houses for firewood.
(Whistler 1884 as cited in Fox 1988). A hypothesis about the identity of the skeletons was offered by Fox (1988) who thought they could be related to Crow-Flies-High's band. It is known that a raid on the Hidatsa by a hostile war party about the same time as the one against the Assiniboine left Two Bulls dead (Malouf 1963:152).

Archaeological research at Garden Coulee and vicinity began in 1969-1970 (Husted 1970), but did not include systematic excavation. Many findings actually came from salvage excavations (Fox 1988). Surveys of the fort's vicinity and surface collections, nonetheless, provided data to complement the historical documentation. For example, from the subsurface storage pits found during construction activities, it appears that gardening was practiced at Garden Coulee. The pits contained squash seeds and were lined with some type of grass. Also stored in these pits were a variety of trade goods. The research also indicates that there was a contemporaneous site—Figley Coulee—that is located two miles away from Garden Coulee.

Within the boundaries of FOUS, Anderson (1973) identified numerous post-1900 material remains scattered throughout the area. Anderson makes specific note of several large trash dumps along the riverbank, associated with the 1904-1926 occupation of Mondak (Greiser et al. 1982; Hunt and Bauermeister 2002; Sweetman 1965), a small frontier town located less than a mile to the northwest of the Fort.

Summary and Commentary

The significance of the human landscape where FOUS is located cannot be overstated. Although the Fort Union Trading Post was not built precisely at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers, the fort was in such proximity to it that its historical trajectory and its power of attraction must be explained within the context of human use of the confluence. By the same token, although the fort site was within traditional Assiniboine lands, temporal depth in the area's occupation (predating the postulated arrival of Assiniboine groups to this area) as well as historic references to intertribal use indicate that more than one tribe had unimpeded access to the confluence. A rich record of prehistoric occupations of the immediate vicinity of the fort site (e.g., Mondrian Tree) demonstrate that the area was intermittently used by groups of nomadic hunters coming toward the Yellowstone River mouth from all directions. It is likely that the area was a focus for human interaction as well as a stopping point in long-distance movements since at least the Middle Archaic period.

The significance of the fort location was only reaffirmed with the advent of the Mandan ancestors (and, sometime later, the Hidatsa ancestors) in the late prehistoric period; this is indicated by the presence of mythical sites, such as Bear’s eagle trapping pit, across the Missouri River from the fort site (Bowers 1950:Fig. 29). Crow encampments along the lower Yellowstone River, as well as Assiniboine encampments and possible cairns (shrines) on the north bank of the Missouri River, attest to the continued use of this area in the protohistoric and early historic periods. Similarly, native maps made by a
Blackfoot speaker as well as Assiniboine and Mandan individuals (Warhus 1997) indicate that the fort site probably was located at or near an important territorial boundary, to which different ethnic groups could flock without fear of being accused of intrusion. In fact, trails that traversed the northern plains in many directions began (or ended) near the fort site.

Given the population disruption caused by military undertakings soon after the demise of Fort Union Trading Post, followed shortly by the establishment of the reservations, one will never know whether this site would have continued to play its key role in interethnic relations. Although the Fort was no longer in existence when the Ojibwa-Cree community of Trenton was founded within short distance of the confluence, the area around it was used for a variety of activities, including hunting and gathering, and bone collecting for profit (Peers 1994). A close spatial relationship still exists between the community and the site. Likewise, connections may be found among the descendants of Crow-Flies-High and his followers.

**Theodore Roosevelt National Park**

The Badlands of the Little Missouri River are a hinterland between two cultural-historical regions—the Northwestern Plains and the Middle Missouri subarea (Beckes and Keyser 1983; Kuehn 1990; Kuehn 1995) (Figure 2.3). In order to understand the diversity and complexity of cultural manifestations identified within THRO, the archaeology of both areas must be taken into consideration (for overviews on Northern Plains prehistory see Beckes and Keyser 1983; Frison 1991; Frison and Mainfort 1996; Gregg 1983; Gregg and Davidson 1985; Mulloy 1958; Wood 1998).

Contrary to late nineteenth and early twentieth century perspectives of the Little Missouri River Badlands as devoid of life (Broach 1992), this region was an area of abundant animal, plant, and mineral resources that were intensively used by indigenous prehistoric groups (Root 1985:91). Land use strategies of the different tribes resulted in similar archaeological deposits representing temporary habitation sites, locations of resource procurement, and hunting localities. Additionally, the Badlands functioned as a pathway with overland trails along upland ridge systems that linked the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers (Simon 1982).
From oral history and ethnohistoric records it is known that the park area was utilized by multiple Plains groups for hunting, travel, and ritual purposes. Parts of the Badlands are known to have been traditional Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow hunting and eagle-trapping territories (Allen 1982; Allen 1983; Bowers 1950; Bowers 1963; Curtis 1976 as cited in Kuehn 1990:130; Wilson 1931). Other groups known to have used or passed through the Badlands include the Assiniboine and Cheyenne (Denig 1961; Hoebel 1960 as cited in Kuehn 1990:130). Furthermore, in the nineteenth century few Euroamericans ventured into the Little Missouri area because of the increasing presence of Sioux and other tribes (Denig 1961:xxvi-xxvii; Emmons 2001; Petty 1965), thus many natives, including Crow-Flies-High's band, found seclusion in that area.

Figure 2.3 North and South Units of THRO (Elkhorn Ranch property not included)
Unlike the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site and the Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, there is a paucity of historic documentation on THRO. During the exploration of western North and South Dakota in 1742 and 1743, the two La Verendrye brothers traveled through the Badlands leaving behind descriptions of the landscape but little or no information about indigenous groups that might have been in the area (Kuehn 1990:129; Smith 1980). Prior to joining the expedition of Lewis and Clark in 1804 and 1805, the French-Canadian trapper Jean Baptiste Le Page descended the Little Missouri River, passing through the THRO region (Petty 1968). Unfortunately, no detailed accounts of the area were left behind. With this dearth of written documentation one must rely even more heavily on archaeological research to gain insights into the prehistory and history of the park.

Archaeological research in THRO did not begin until 1950. This work, and the work that came shortly thereafter, concentrated entirely on historical sites within park boundaries (Beaubien 1950; Beaubien 1957; Taylor 1959 as cited in Kuehn 1990 and in National Park Service 1993). It was not until 1968 that the focus of archaeological reconnaissance expanded back into prehistory (Sperry 1981). Forty-one sites were identified at this time consisting of stone circles, artifact scatters, rock shelters, conical timbered lodges, eagle traps, cairns, kill sites, and isolated finds. In the years that followed, work within the park produced few new finds, with only 15 new sites between 1974 and 1986; however, through oil and gas related surveys and excavations, a substantial body of information was produced for areas surrounding THRO (Kuehn 1990:1-4). Successful attempts at synthesizing these data into a regional cultural chronology for western North Dakota are found in the works of Beckes and Keyser (1983) and Gregg and Davidson (1985). Beginning in 1987, David Kuehn directed a three year survey project in THRO designed to assess cultural resources located near the park’s trails, roads, utility corridors, and springs (Kuehn 1989; Kuehn 1990). This survey resulted in the identification of 269 cultural resource sites dating from the Early Archaic to historic periods. From these findings, Kuehn was able to illustrate the variability and complexity of THRO’s archaeological record.

**The Park and Its Resources**

THRO is located in the Little Missouri subarea of the Northern Great Plains. The park is divided into three units, the North Unit, Elkhorn Ranch Unit, and South Unit, which together encompass roughly 70,000 acres of discontinuous land in the Little Missouri Badlands of western North Dakota. At present there are over 300 known archaeological sites within THRO boundaries, representing a wide range of cultural activities and time periods. Sixty-one sites are historic, associated with either Native Americans or homesteading and ranching activities of Euroamericans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Kuehn 1990). The remaining sites have been assigned to various categories and are associated with a number of different Plains groups. These range from the Archaic period (5500-400 B.C.) to the Plains Village or Late Prehistoric periods.
Physiography, Site Type, and Land Use

The Badlands of western North Dakota are characterized by a rugged and highly dissected terrain that was sculpted by a half million years of erosion. The advance of the Wisconsin glacial ice sheet, ca. 40,000 years ago, altered the course of the Little Missouri River and initiated alternating processes of erosion and landscape stability that continue to the present. The modern day topography of the park is the result of dynamic geomorphological processes that have had a dramatic effect on the park’s archaeological record. With ongoing wind, water, and rain erosion the face of the landscape is in a constant state of flux that often results in the displacement and/or loss of archaeological provenience. In order to understand and explain the prehistory of THRO, archaeologists must also take into consideration the geoarchaeology of the Badlands region.

Nine ecozones are recognized within the Little Missouri Badlands (Kuehn 1990:22). Distinct combinations of topographic, pedologic, floral, and faunal variables distinguish each zone. As a result, the region has an abundance of natural resources that attracted prehistoric groups to the area. The nine ecosystems include river bottoms, hardwood draws, upland grasslands, rolling grasslands, terraces, upland breaks, river breaks, toe slopes, and hilly scoria (Beckes and Keyser 1983:26-43). For at least 5000 years, indigenous groups used different constellations of raw materials, game, as well as edible and medicinal plants found within these zones. Appendices B and C summarize tribal traditionally used resources that exist in the park.

Numerous designations have been used to characterize archaeological components identified within the Badlands. These include: lithic workshops, bison kill sites and/or processing areas, camp sites, conical timbered lodges, eagle trapping locations, etc. (Beckes and Keyser 1983; Gregg 1985). In order to understand prehistoric land use strategies within THRO and quantify the range of activities that took place throughout prehistory, Kuehn (1990:12) used four standardized “site types” to describe the park’s archaeological deposits—base camps, field camps, locations, and stations (Binford 1980). Field camps, which are temporary operational centers for task groups, tend to be the most prevalent site type (Kuehn 1990:137-140). This likely relates to resource procurement behaviors and camping behaviors that took place in the park. Locations, the next most common type, are resource procurement areas where extractive tasks are exclusively carried out (Kuehn 1990:140-142). Base camps, or residential bases, encompass the widest range of activities and are located next to critical resources (Kuehn 1990:135-137). These sites have high artifact diversity indices and dense artifact concentrations. Only three base camps were identified within THRO—32MZ954, 32MZ957, and 32MZ1000. All three date to the Besant complex (A.D. 1-800) of the Plains Woodland Tradition (A.D. 1-1200). The final site type, stations, represents loci of observation in which the sole purpose of the area is the gathering of information (Kuehn 1990:142).
The Paleoindian Tradition (9500-5500 B.C.)

Cultural components dating to the Paleoindian period within THRO are extremely rare (for overviews of the Paleoindian period see Frison 1991; Gregg 1985:81-99; Hofman and Graham 1998; Mulloy 1958). Two mutually exclusive hypotheses have been offered to explain this paucity of early prehistoric materials. The first proposes that the Badlands received little or no utilization by Paleoindian groups and that current distributions of sites dating to this time period are the result of prehistoric settlement and hunting patterns (Loendorf, et al. 1982 as cited in Kuehn 1990:115-118; Schneider 1982). The second hypothesis explains the lack of Paleoindian deposits in the Badlands as a result of post-depositional formation processes, such as wind and water erosion, and not as a function of prehistoric behavior (Kuehn 1990:115-118). The latter explanation is lent credence by evidence of human occupation in the immediate vicinity dating as early as 9500 B.C. From what little information is available, Kuehn (1990:26) suggests that the early prehistory of the Little Missouri Badlands is similar to other areas within the Northern Plains.

The Paleoindian Tradition is characterized by a subsistence strategy based primarily on the hunting of extinct Pleistocene fauna, highly mobile populations, and the production and use of long, lanceolate, and sometimes fluted spear points (Johnson and Wood 1980). Recent research suggests a more diverse subsistence base for Paleoindian groups (Hudecek-Cuffe 1998; Loendorf and Borchert 1991). For example, evidence from Montana implies an additional reliance on small game and wild plants (Loendorf and Borchert 1991). According to Hudecek-Cuffe (1998), the Paleoindian period on the Northern Plains was characterized by regionally distinct groups, exploiting different environments, using diversified strategies and practicing broad-based economies with the exploitation of a wide variety of plant and animal resources. With the exception of the reliance on megafauna, this way of life continued on for millennia.

Clovis fluted points (9200 – 8900 B.C.), as well as later Paleoindian artifacts, have been found as surface isolates in almost all counties bordering the Missouri River Valley west of the Missouri Coteau (Schneider 1982:16, 37). Small nomadic groups and a reliance on the hunting of extinct Pleistocene megafauna, such as mammoth, characterize Clovis and Goshen adaptations (Frison, et al. 1996:10-12). The Moe Site (32MN101, Schneider 1975 as cited in Schneider 1982), located on the banks of Lake Sakakawea, is perhaps the most important Paleoindian occupation in North Dakota, yielding multi-component deposits with Clovis, Folsom, Agate Basin, Plainview, Milnesand, Angostura-Lusk-Frederick, Scottsbluff, Parallel Oblique projectile points, and later Archaic, Woodland and Plains Village artifacts.

In North Dakota, Folsom and later Paleoindian materials are much more common than Clovis artifacts (Schneider 1982). Folsom economies were marked by a shift away from megafauna to a reliance on extinct forms of bison, Bison antiquus (Frison 1991; Frison, et al. 1996). Early Holocene Paleoindian assemblages, including Folsom, Plano Complexes
(e.g. Hell Gap and Agate Basin), Cody Complexes (e.g. Cody, Alberta, and Scottsbluff), Plainview Complexes, and Parallel Oblique Flaked Complexes have been identified, in many of these same counties, as well as, east of THRO, in Dunn County, at the Knife River Flint (KRF) quarries (Clark 1985; Root 1992; Root 1997; Root 2000; William 2000) and in the Killdeer Mountains (Beckes and Keyser 1983:93; Root 1992:44). Specific Folsom sites located within western North Dakota are the Moe Site, the Jensen Site (Ahler, et al. 1990 as cited in Root 1992), the Bobtail Wolf Site (Root 2000), the Big Black Site (William 2000), and several other sites in the KRF Primary Source Area. In addition, extensive Cody Complex deposits have been found in the same region (for example see Root 1997). Within the McKenzie District of the Little Missouri Grasslands-Custer National Forest, archaeologists have identified sites containing Hell Gap, Agate Basin, Eden, Alberta, and Angostura projectile points made of both KRF and local cherts (Beckes and Keyser 1983).

An overarching trend with regard to Paleoindian projectile points in the Northern Plains is the preference for the use of KRF for stone tool manufacture (Schneider 1982:35). While KRF can be obtained from a number of locations in North Dakota (Artz 1985; Gregg 1987), the primary source area for KRF is located in Dunn and Mercer counties (Loendorf, et al. 1984). Root has noted that the Late Paleoindian period has the widest distribution of KRF outside of the source area, with lithic artifacts found in Canada, Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, and New York (Root 1997). This evidence, combined with material from the KRF quarries, suggests that Paleoindian knappers may have practiced part-time specialization, producing tools for exchange during the Late Paleoindian and Late Archaic periods (Root 1992; Root 1997). In addition, Root (2000) and William (2000), from investigations at the Bobtail Wolf site (32DU955A) and Big Black site (32DU955C), have identified use of the KRF source area by Paleoindian, Northwestern Plains, and Middle Missouri groups. Travel to and from the KRF quarries may have brought prehistoric groups through the Badlands region, which was a more common means of spreading KRF than trade of specialized tools.

**Paleoindian Archaeology at THRO – Relevance for Cultural Affiliation**

At present no artifacts associated with the earliest Paleoindian complexes have been found within THRO. However, three Leonard-aged paleosols (11,070-7200 B.C.), buried soils that usually function as cultural-historical horizon markers, have been identified in upland contexts in the South Unit yielding possibilities for the discovery of cultural materials of this age (Kuehn 1990:115). The only diagnostic Paleoindian projectile point recovered from the park is a heavily reworked Agate Basin point collected by Sperry, and found in a non-primary context at site 32BI122 in the Petrified Forest area near the paleosols (Kuehn 1990:118). Reasons for the paucity of Paleoindian sites relate to issues of site location, preservation, and post-depositional formation processes such as those discussed by Reeves (1973) and Waters and Kuehn (1996). These materials, altogether, demonstrate continuity in uses by mobile hunter gatherers since the end of the Pleistocene.
The Archaic Tradition (5500 B.C. – A.D. 500)

The Altithermal Climatic Episode, which resulted in dramatic ecological transformations across the Plains, also marks the transition to the Plains Archaic period (Loendorf and Borchert 1991:9; William 2000:12). Archaic peoples relied on hunting intermediate and then modern bison species and a broader pattern of gathering, but nonetheless followed a lifeway similar to their Paleoindian predecessors (Gregg and Davidson 1985; Johnson and Wood 1980; Loendorf and Borchert 1991:9; Reeves 1983). Cultural change was brought about by innovations and adaptation to changing environmental conditions.

During the Early Archaic, there was an abrupt change from the Late Paleoindian lanceolate and stemmed projectile points to side-notched forms (Frison 1991:79). As a result of drought, and unstable or uncertain flora and fauna resource bases, the Archaic period was marked by small group sizes adapted to local resources and the development of smaller territories over time (Beckes and Keyser 1983:96; Loendorf and Borchert 1991:9). One indication of this is that KRF is no longer found over the vast territory that it was during the Paleoindian period (Root 1992; Root 1997). Additionally, there seem to be fewer Early Archaic sites in the Northern Plains, which could be related to smaller group size, land use strategies, and formation processes. Another trend that develops during this period is one of restricted contact between groups (Loendorf and Borchert 1991:9). This inference is based on the development and proliferation of new projectile point styles throughout the Archaic period.

The Early Archaic period, in western North Dakota, is synonymous with the Logan Creek/Mummy Cave Complex (5500-3300 B.C.) and is characterized by projectile points such as Simonsen side-notched, Hawken, or Bitterroot types (Beckes and Keyser 1983:176; Gregg 1985:101-105). Late Early Archaic components belong to the Oxbow Complex (3700-1500 B.C.) and are characterized by shallow side-notched, basally-thinned projectile points (Beckes and Keyser 1983:97-98; Frison 1991:86; Gregg 1985:105-108). While sites assigned to either of these cultural-historical units are rare, many locations within and surrounding the Little Missouri Grasslands have yielded Early Archaic materials. The Tysver-Olson Site in the Killdeer Mountains and site 32BI249 have Simonsen points (Gregg 1985:103-104). At Anderson Divide large side-notched Hawken or Bitterroot-like types have been recovered (Beckes and Keyser 1983:176). The Moe Site, Cinnamon Creek Ridge, and site 32MZ417 have yielded Oxbow materials (Beckes and Keyser 1983:98).

The Middle Archaic (3000-600 B.C.) is marked by the sudden and widespread appearance of the McKean Complex over the entire Plains region (Frison 1991). McKean forms include McKean Lanceolate (3000-2000 B.C.), Duncan (2000-1500 B.C.), Hanna (1500-1000 B.C.), and Yonkee (1000-500 B.C.) point types (Gregg 1985:108-112). The abundance and distribution of these types varies across space and through time. Frison has noted an increase in the number of sites during the Middle Archaic and in the reliance on wild plant foods, as well as movement of groups into the open plains and intermontane
basins (Frison 1991:88-89). In North Dakota, at sites such as Mondrian Tree (32MZ58) and Moe, McKean Lanceolate, with indented base, and Duncan points, a stemmed version of the previous, are present (Frison 1998:91; Gregg 1985:109-112).

A general pattern within the Little Missouri Grasslands is an abundance of McKean deposits on many of the linear ridge systems that occur throughout the Badlands (Beckes and Keyser 1983:177; Simon 1982). Duncan and Hanna points are found at Cinnamon Creek Ridge (Beckes and Keyser 1983:179-180; East, et al. 1981 as cited in Gregg 1985) and Anderson Divide (Beckes and Keyser 1983:183-184). Additionally, there is a McKean component dated to ca. 2180 B.C. at Ice Box Canyon (Beckes and Keyser 1983:189-190; Simon and Borchert 1981 as cited in Gregg 1985). Ridge systems, such as Flat Top Butte, Burning Mine Butte, and Lone Butte, in addition to the aforementioned, are dotted with small Archaic campsites with stone-lined hearths and scatters of KRF (Beckes and Keyser 1983:177). It has been argued that these ridge systems offer pathways of least resistance to prehistoric groups traversing the Badlands (Simon 1982). In addition, the ridges would have provided floral and faunal resources, water, and shelter to Archaic travelers.

Throughout the Northern Plains, components of the Pelican Lake Complex (1500 B.C. – A.D. 250), originally identified at the Mortlach site in southern Saskatchewan, follow McKean components throughout the latter’s entire geographic extent (Gregg 1985:112). Little change is noted in subsistence economies of Middle and Late Archaic (1500 B.C. – A.D. 500) Plains groups. Some have proposed that Pelican Lake groups relied more heavily on bison procurement than their predecessors (Beckes and Keyser 1983:185). Yet the corner-notched Pelican Lake projectile points remain the primary disparity between the two complexes. Some have noted, however, that Pelican Lake varieties resemble McKean Hanna points and it is likely that Pelican Lake developed over time out of the McKean (Gregg 1985:112-113). Other than the Mortlach site, Pelican Lake components have been found at the Marsh Hawk site (32BI317), site 32BI249, and 32BI272 on Anderson Divide in the Little Missouri Grasslands. Additionally similar components occur at Ice Box Canyon (32MZ38) and Cinnamon Creek Ridge in the area around THRO (Gregg 1985). During this time unnamed Late Plains Archaic projectile point types are abundant in western North Dakota and found in many of these same contexts (Beckes and Keyser 1983).

During the Late Archaic, Hopewellian influences from the Midwest reached the Northern Plains (Gregg 1985:113). Side-and corner-notched Besant atlatl points, and morphologically similar but smaller Samantha arrow points, appeared ca. A.D. 1-800 (Frison 1991:102-109; Gregg 1985:118-124; Reeves 1983). This complex is Late Archaic in nature; however, there is crossover with Woodland components. Besant points are not exclusive to the Archaic and are also found in Woodland components. Most archaeologists would consider these materials to be Woodland.
Plains Archaic Archaeology at THRO – Relevance for Cultural Affiliation

Like Paleoindian deposits, cultural components dating to the Early Archaic are rare within THRO park boundaries (Kuehn 1990:115). An exception occurs at site 32BI703 in the Petrified Forest area of the South Unit. A KRF Simonsen point (5500-3300 B.C.) was discovered during profile excavations and may represent an extant Early Archaic deposit in the park (Kuehn 1990:118-120). This artifact is similar to a specimen recovered from the Tysver-Olson site in eastern Dunn County that dated to 5345 +/- 110 b.p. (Kuehn, et al. 1987:72, 75 as cited in Kuehn 1990:120). Based on the presence of the side-notched projectile point, Kuehn speculates that the component may be associated with the Logan Creek/Mummy Cave complex rather than the Oxbow complex (Kuehn 1990:120).

McKean sites are relatively common in the Badlands and well represented within the park. Sites within THRO that have components dating to the Middle Archaic include sites 32BI522, 32BI548, 32BI520, 32BI614, 32MZ912, and 32MZ935 (Kuehn 1990:116, 120-121). Seven diagnostic projectile points were recovered from these six locations. These include McKean lanceolate, Mallory, Yonkee, and Hanna. Kuehn (1990:121) suggests that an improvement in climatic conditions and resource availability during this time period might have led a number of different McKean groups to utilize and/or occupy the THRO area for almost two millennia.

Five Pelican Lake sites and two unclassified Late Plains Archaic sites were recorded during Kuehn’s three-year survey project (Kuehn 1990:116). These include 32BI562, 32BI567, 32BI573, 32BI614, 32BI615, 32BI629, and 32BI649. Six corner-notched projectile points of varying sizes and morphology characterize the Pelican Lake specimens. Because Pelican Lake likely developed out of McKean, the presence of these components represents a cultural continuum in the region.

Plains Woodland Tradition (A.D. 1-1200)

The Plains Woodland Tradition (A.D. 1-1200), in western North Dakota, is characterized by the persistence of a hunting and gathering subsistence economy, based primarily on bison, and smaller nomadic groups moving through known territories in seasonal rounds (for a summary of the Plains Woodland Tradition see Beckes and Keyser 1983:103-108; Chomko and Wood 1973; Johnson 2001; Johnson and Johnson 1998; Kuehn 1990:30; Neuman 1975; Reeves 1983; Wood and Johnson 1973). Technological and ceremonial changes mark the transition to the Woodland throughout the Plains.

The Woodland Tradition on the Northern Plains is defined by the appearance of pottery, burial mounds, mortuary ritualism, the adoption of the bow and arrow, and other changes in technology (Gregg 1985:79; Johnson 2001; Johnson and Johnson 1998). Despite the dearth of information on the Archaic/Woodland transition in the Dakotas, many scholars have posited that the Woodland developed out of indigenous, regional Archaic traditions. Johnson and Wood (1980:38) characterize the Plains Woodland as Plains Archaic with
pottery and burial ceremonialism. Gregg (1985:117) speculates that there is not a qualitative difference between Archaic and Woodland subsistence economies in North Dakota indicating a cultural continuum in the Northern Plains region. Alternatively, Woodland manifestations could have had ties to the east and southeast, but the nature of this relationship is not yet well understood (Johnson 2001; Johnson and Johnson 1998). Evidence for interaction in the Hopewell Interaction Sphere (Caldwell 1964 as cited in Gregg 1985) is found in the presence of Besant style KRF mortuary offerings in Woodland deposits in the Upper Mississippi Valley (Braun, et al. 1982 as cited in Gregg 1985). Furthermore, the appearance of burial mound ceremonialism in eastern North Dakota and along the Missouri River trench correlates in time with the Hopewell Interaction Sphere (Gregg 1985:121).

The Besant/Sonota complex in western North Dakota is marked primarily by the appearance of pottery with conoidal vessel forms and cord-marked surface treatments. The introduction of the bow and arrow also occurs during this time period as evidenced by Samantha projectile points. KRF is the most frequent lithic raw material type in components assigned to this complex. Linear burial mounds, such as those found along the Missouri River (Chomko and Wood 1973; Wood and Johnson 1973), do not extend west into the Badlands. There is some speculation that bison procurement strategies and associated ceremonialism reached a zenith during this period. Bison pounds and ceremonial structures and features (e.g., bison bone uprights and bison remains in mounds) are found in association with Besant components (Gregg 1985:120-121; Neuman 1975).


Roughly 26 percent of the lithic materials found in Laurel components are KRF (Gregg 1985:124). Clark (1984) has proposed that this material was entering the Hopewell Interaction Sphere through Minnesota. There may have been established interaction between Laurel populations and Besant populations in western North Dakota. Based on these data, Gregg (1985:124) suggests that Laurel components should be anticipated in the KRF quarry area—which is located east of the Badlands. Complexes dating after A.D. 500 could also be considered Late Prehistoric. The Avonlea Complex, originating in south central Saskatchewan, most likely developed out of Pelican Lake (Reeves 1970 as cited in Gregg 1985). This is an important indicator for the macroregional reach of Woodland hunter gatherers, which appear to be archaeologically associated with...
northwestern Plains populations rather than with northeastern Plains groups. In the Badlands, Woodland components have been found at the Sunday Sage, Abraxas, and Cinnamon Creek Ridge sites (Kuehn 1990:31).

**Woodland Archaeology at THRO - Relevance for Cultural Affiliation**

The largest numbers of sites with known cultural affiliations in THRO are those assigned to the Besant complex of the Plains Woodland tradition (Kuehn 1990:122-123), once again conforming the affinity with northwestern Plains populations. Kuehn recorded eleven sites between 1987-1989. These are 32B1548, 32B1575, 32B1706, 32B1614, 32MZ954, 32MZ946, 32MZ957, 32MZ984, 32MZ988, 32MZ1000, and 32MZ996 (Kuehn 1990:116). The identification of these sites as Besant was based on the recovery of eleven projectile points and nineteen cord-roughened sherds. No Samantha points have yet been found in THRO. These findings contrast previous observations about Plains Woodland in the Badlands (Beckes and Keyser 1983:190).

**Late Prehistoric Period (A.D. 500-1750)/Plains Village Tradition (A.D. 1000-1865)**

For the purposes of this chapter the Late Prehistoric period (A.D. 500-1750) and the Plains Village Tradition (A.D. 1000-1865) are combined. The Late Prehistoric period was a cultural-historical concept developed for the Northwestern Plains. The Plains Village Tradition consists of a semi-sedentary horticultural and a semi-nomadic hunting-gathering subsistence economy (Ahler 1993; Lehmer 1971; Lovick and Ahler 1982) and was covered in depth in the KNRI Chapter of this report. Only 12 Plains Village sites have been professionally documented in the Badlands as of 1990 (Kuehn 1990:123).

**Late Prehistoric/Plains Village Tradition at THRO - Relevance for Cultural Affiliation**

The six Plains Village sites identified within THRO are 32B1549, 32B1568, 32B1626, 32B1731, 32MZ915, and 32MZ948. The identification of the Plains Village sites was based on the recovery of 138 sherds and two projectile points (Kuehn 1990:124). Site 32B1549, a bison processing area, yielded a single simple-stamped body sherd. At site 32B1568, determined to be less than 1000 years old, two simple-stamped sherds, two smoothed sherds, and one Late Prehistoric projectile point were found. Site 32B1626, estimated to be less than 300 years old, had 10 simple-stamped sherds and two undecorated straight-rim sherds with rounded lips. 32MZ915 contained 25 simple-stamped sherds, one sherd with a possible punctate, and a small Plains side-notched point. Two cord-impressed sherds and one check-stamped sherd were recorded at site 32MZ948. Ninety-three sherds represent two or three vessels from site 32B1731. Seventy-one are smoothed sherds and 20 are check-stamped. The remaining two artifacts are cord-marked.
The presence of cord-impressed ceramics indicates a Plains Village cultural affiliation. The technique was occasionally used during the Initial and Extended Coalescent variants; however, it was more common during the Post-Contact Coalescent variant (Lehmer 1971). Check stamping was common in the Knife-Heart region during the Scattered Village and Nailati phases and may be indicative of ancestral Hidatsa (Ahler 1993:78). Simple-stamping was a common form of surface finish from the Extended Middle Missouri variant through the Post-Contact Coalescent (A.D. 1100-1865, Lehmer 1971).

Sites 32BI549, 32BI626, 32MZ125, 32MZ915, 32MZ948 are all Plains Village sites within the park (NPS 1993:17). 32BI549 is a bison processing area with one sherd and some historic trash. 32BI626 is a possible PVT site with lithics, ceramics, and a possible heart/bone eroding from the bank. 32MZ125 has a side-notched Plains Village projectile point. 32MZ915 is a possible Plains Village “field camp.” Site 32MZ948 has ceramics (NPS 1993:34). The unclassified Late Prehistoric sites are 32BI579, 32BI548, 32BI703, 32BI648, 32BI695, and 32MZ868.

Historic Period (A.D. 1742-1880s)

There is information on the oral traditions of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow regarding the uses of resources along the Little Missouri River as well as traversing the badlands for warfare and trade. Additionally, the Arikara have stories associated with their scouting activities and the Sioux have close traditional associations with the upper Little Missouri River.

Unfortunately, there are not very many sites that indicate the types of historic uses of this area. Notable exceptions are the conical gabled lodges presumably used during eagle trapping seasons. These sites were documented by Sperry (1981) and Kuehn (1990:63-64). Site 32MZ101, a conical timbered lodge with hearth, painted bison skull, sherds (Fort Yates ware), and projectile point, was excavated by Sperry (1981) in 1968. It has a Plains Village cultural affiliation (NPS 1993:17). The site is located in the North Unit in the North Unit River Foothills survey area (Kuehn 1990:63-64). The site is in a dense stand of juniper and ash along a tributary of the Apple Creek (below the scenic overlook). (Kuehn 1990:62). Sites 32MZ116 and 32MZ435 are also timbered lodges identified by Sperry. 32MZ435 is located outside of park boundaries. Sites 32MZ106, 32MZ112, 32MZ113, and 32MZ114 are eagle trapping pits also identified by Sperry. Site 32MZ102 is a tipsy ring site (Sperry 1981). Site 32MZ995 has a “Historic-Indian affiliation” and consists of four conical timbered lodges (two of which are still standing). Sites 32MZ993 (rock cairn) and 32MZ994 (stone circle site or tipi ring) in the upland grasslands ecozone off the Scenic Drive Road in the North Unit (Figure 7 in Kuehn 1990:37). Site 32MZ1002 has three stone circles (tipi rings). The trail is in the North Unit and is adjacent to a portion of the Little Missouri River bottoms and foothills. The cultural affiliation of the site is unknown.
Many stories exist in association with the activities of Crow-Flies-High’s band along the Little Missouri River and his encounters with the Marquis. No known sites are associated with this band.

Summary and Conclusions

The nature of THRO’s physiography and the wealth of its natural resources likely attracted human groups since early prehistory, as indicated by the age and affiliations of the archaeological remains discussed above. Diversity in materials and lack of depth in single sites also indicates that occupations were brief and likely limited to resource extraction and other uses associated with secular as well as religious pursuits. This type of use of THRO’s landscape does not seem to have changed through time; on the contrary, it constitutes one of the most resilient use histories in the region. What changed through time were the political and territorial affiliations of the groups who used this area, as late prehistoric and historic groups likely subsumed the earlier hunter-gatherer groups.
CHAPTER THREE

CULTURALLY AFFILIATED AND TRADITIONALLY ASSOCIATED TRIBES

The purpose of this chapter is to characterize the developmental history and land use history of each of the tribes identified at the onset of the study as “potentially culturally affiliated or traditionally associated” with KNRI, FOUS, and THRO. Each of these tribes, in turn, had its own unique relationship with the landscape where these parks are located. This chapter complements Chapter Two in that it brings to life the descendants of those who made and created the archaeological remains recovered in the parks. It also explains many of the statements made during the ethnographic assessments, summarized in Chapter Four.

Mandan

The Mandan are a Siouan-speaking group of sedentary farmers that likely originated outside North Dakota, but migrated and eventually settled in the Heart River region sometime after A.D. 1150 (Figure 3.1). The ethnic group was originally comprised of four subgroups, their distinctions in turn corresponding to different migration episodes and settlement location along the river relative to one another (Ahler 2003b). Glottochronology indicates that Mandan language split from a proto-Siouan parent language at least 3,000 years ago (Grimm 1985), and certainly before the introduction of agriculture into the Midwest, as there are no common Siouan words for domesticated cultigens. Mandan is the most archaic of the Siouan languages and is genetically distinct from Hidatsa-Crow; speakers of both languages were in contact by the time corn agriculture was introduced into the Plains (Rankin 2000). Whereas modern linguists regard Mandan as a separate Siouan group, earlier linguists, such as Voegelin (1941:246) included it in the Mississippi Valley subgroup on the basis of some lexical commonalities obtained either by borrowing or by diffusion.

The protohistoric and historic Mandan were renowned across the continent for their role as traders and middlemen before the smallpox almost annihilated them in the nineteenth century. The historic Mandan spoke several languages that, aside from facilitating their middlemen role, would have introduced grammatical and lexical innovations to their language. Yet, as Bowers (1950:157, ff41) observed, archaic place names survived in ceremonial speech and song. These names refer to ancestral villages built during the migration. Today, only seven Mandan speakers remain, and a Mandan language preservation project is underway (Calvin Grinnell, personal communication 2004).

The Mandan held two distinctive origin stories: one that legitimizes their “right-of-being” on the Heart River where the Mandan, as known historically, emerged and another one that refers to their primordial origin on the right bank of the Mississippi River, near its mouth, and near a group of people whose language they understood. This story is tantalizing in that it accords with some archaic “Mississippian Siouan” linguistic forms in
Mandan language noted by Voegelin (1941), and with archaeological evidence as noted below. Although these origin stories have been frequently presented as contradicting each other (e.g., Bowers 1950:156; Winham and Lueck 1994:162; Wood 1967:9), they may refer to different historical experiences of politically and socially autonomous groups who eventually merged into a single “ethnic tradition” (sensu Ahler 1993c), and certainly two different epochs. Bowers’ informants recalled that during their residence at the Heart River there were five bands of Mandan, representing in turn three major dialectic groups. It is possible, therefore, that there may have been even more origin and migration stories that eventually became conflated into the two that survived to this day.

Figure 3.1 Aboriginal territory of the Mandan (after Wood and Irwin 2001)
Origins

Regional archaeologists generally agree that the historic Mandan derive from a stable and long-lived sedentary, agricultural, “Plains Village” adaptation that probably developed as early as A.D. 800 (Ahler 1993; Benn 1983; Bruner 1961; Glassner 1974; Henning 1983; Lehmer 1971; Siry 1978; Tiffany 1983; Wedel 1961; Winham and Calabrese 1998; Winham and Lueck 1994; Wood 1967, 2001). Whereas there is strong evidence for continuity between late prehistoric traditions (namely, the Extended Middle Missouri Variant, Wood 1967) and the historic Mandan, there is much less certainty regarding the trajectory that would connect the earliest Plains Village manifestation known as Initial Middle Missouri Variant to the Mandan. Part of the problem is that Initial Variant sites occur as far south and east as southeast South Dakota, northwest Iowa and south-central Minnesota and as far north as the Sheyenne River (Toom 1996), whereas the later sites are restricted to the Missouri River trench north and west of the Bad River. Thus, Initial and Extended variants hardly overlap and are seen as geographically and temporally distinct from each other (Lehmer 1971:66). Only one exception may be cited here: the Flaming Arrow site on the Knife River valley contains Great Oasis, a transitional Archaic-Woodland component of arguable regional origins (Winham et al 1994:82-83; contrast Benn 1983; Henning 1983; Tiffany 1983). However, this site is not considered ancestral Mandan but Awatixa (a subgroup of Hidatsa, see below).

Both Initial and Extended variants share material culture and organizational principles; yet, the general understanding is that they were likely culturally unrelated. Lehmer’s (1971:100) view of ethnogenetic relationship is an exception in that he considered that the “parent stock” of both variants were the Initial Variant groups that occupied the tri-state border region (South Dakota, Minnesota, and Iowa). On the basis of his work at the Arzberger site in South Dakota, Spaulding (1956) suggested that there were strong connections between the Middle Missouri Tradition and the Mandan. He noted that the Over-Anderson-Monroe foci (or Chamberlain Aspect) stood at the beginning of a sequence that eventually led to the rise of the historic Mandan. In fact, there is at least one map, made by Glassner in 1953, of ancestral Mandan village sites (pre-1550). One of these sites is on the Big Sioux River drainage (Glassner 1974:26). This village, as plotted, also appears to be in the general vicinity of Brandon, a little known Early Middle Missouri Tradition-Chamberlain Aspect site in southeast South Dakota (Wood 1967:128), but there is no confirmation that Glassner’s site and Brandon are one and the same.

On the other hand, Wood’s (1967) more parsimonious (and accepted) hypothesis is that only the Extended Variant can be identified with some certainty as ancestral Mandan. Toom’s (1992) recent analysis of the origins of the Middle Missouri Tradition complements Spaulding’s original hypothesis in that he unpacks the dynamics of this development by considering several lines of evidence—environmental, demographic, and economic—to argue for a northward migration as the source of Plains Village population in the Heart River area. Still, the ultimate association of early components and people
who colonized the Heart River valley and who arguably became the Mandan is still controversial and poorly understood. Ongoing research by S. A. Ahler, F. Swenson, and their colleagues at Menoken, Larson, and other sites along the valley, as well as D. Toom’s ongoing research in South and North Dakota may illuminate this controversy in the near future.

Ahler (1993b) approaches the Mandan historical trajectory much as Bowers (1950) originally did, that is, as a composite of archaeologically distinctive subgroups, northern and southern Mandan, that may have in turn migrated at different times early in the prehistory of the area (at least around the Late Woodland period). The Mandan are represented archaeologically in the Middle Missouri complex (A.D. 1000-1500), in the Heart River complex (A.D. 1450-1781), and variously at sites of the Knife River complex (A.D. 1600-1880). This approach succeeds where preceding ones failed: it demonstrates that the Mandan had different historical trajectories from the Hidatsa that can be identified as such in the archaeological record. Ahler’s ongoing research at Double Ditch as well as his recent research at Fort Clark (Ahler 2003c) confirms the close ethnogenetic relationship with Plains Village cultural manifestations in North Dakota. Furthermore, he contends that ancestral Mandan in South Dakota are represented by the Middle Missouri Tradition Initial and Extended variants whereas the ancestral Arikara are represented in the Coalescent Tradition. This would correspond to Lehmer’s original model and to Spaulding’s interpretation of the Chamberlain Aspect. However, this distinction does not apply to North Dakota, where Mandan and Awatixa are probably responsible for the early archaeological manifestations we know as Plains Village complexes.

Physical anthropology has lent limited support to theories of Mandan ethnogenesis. A small number of craniometric analyses of prehistoric and historic human remains from different Plains groups have contributed to define the range of variability within these populations as well as characterize the effect of genetic flow among them (e.g., Blakeslee 1981; Glenn 1974; Jantz 1974, 1977; Jantz and Willey 1983; Jantz et al. 1981; Williams 1997). One study, in particular, furnishes evidence of physical similarity between Initial Variant individuals and the historic Mandan. Owsley, Morey, and Turner (1981) compared crania from Initial and Extended Middle Missouri sites with crania from Coalescent sites (which they infer are “proto-Arikara”) as well as Terminal Middle Missouri and historic Mandan sites. They aimed at assessing whether there was a general genetic relationship between the Initial variant groups and the Mandan. Their prehistoric sample included materials from complexes identified as Mill Creek (Big Sioux), Anderson, Grand Detour, Fort Yates, and Thomas Riggs, that is, spanning from A.D. 1150 to 1450. Reference samples were from late prehistoric and protohistoric Arikara sites and from Terminal Middle Missouri and historic Mandan sites.

Statistical analysis of cranio-facial features led Owsley and colleagues (1981:306) to conclude that the Initial Middle Missouri Tradition crania were best classified as Mandan in morphology (see also Williams 1997:71-72). However, they also found out that the sample from the Mill Creek site (Big Sioux phase) was more similar to the Arikara
samples rather than to Initial Middle Missouri or Mandan. The authors qualify their findings by noting that their sample is very small. Differences between Mill Creek samples and historic Mandan could also be explained by the temporal and geographical cline in cranial variation identified by Jantz (Jantz et al. 1981). This cline shows that certain morphological features in Plains groups vary from north to south and also show relatively rapid changes through time.

It is also very difficult to understand Mandan population dynamics—or any other Plains native population, for that matter—without reference to the introduction of European diseases to which Indians did not have immunity. The village tribes of the upper Missouri are the poster children for understanding the incalculable impacts of epidemics in historic populations (Trimble 1986, 1989; see also Dobyns 1983; Ramenofsky 1987). Trimble, for example, examined the dynamics of disease systems as well as individual and community responses to contagion and survival. His chronology of infection for Plains tribes and vicinity indicates that the Arikara and Sioux were the earliest to suffer smallpox in 1734, with 16 subsequent epidemics affecting the Missouri River tribes of pre-reservation days (Trimble 1989:50). Reference to specific episodes is made below.

Colonial Period

The strength of the Mandan was trade, which prehistorically involved Knife River Flint, corn, tobacco, dressed hides, and crafts. As early as the eighteenth century, the Mandan began to acquire horses from Southwestern tribes that could in turn obtain them from the Spanish colonists. The horse trade placed them in a unique position with respect to the northern tribes, the Cree, Ojibwa, and Assiniboine, who could obtain European items but were initially horse-poor. Thiessen (1993, also Wood and Thiessen 1985) notes that this indirect trade of European goods was the second of three stages for the Mandan trade, the third one coming up later in the historic period, when the Mandan could engage in both aboriginal and European trade networks (see also Ewers 1954).

The earliest historic record of the seven (perhaps nine) villages of the Mandan comes from Pierre Gaultier Varennes sieur de La Verendrye. There is some debate as to which village La Verendrye visited in 1738, but Wood points out that most historians agree it was in the Apple Creek area near Bismarck, North Dakota (Wood 1980:Figure 10; but see Thompson 1984). The villages were built on either side of the Missouri River, and are known archaeologically as Boley, Scattered Village, Motsiff, Slant, Double Ditch, Sperry or Larson, Lower Sanger, and Smith Farm (Stewart 1974:290). Double Ditch and Boley are currently being investigated (Ahler, personal communication 2005). At this point in time, their core territory probably extended from the Heart River to Square Buttes, just south of the Knife River, with a larger hunting area that included the watersheds of the Heart, Little Missouri, and Cannonball rivers (Wood and Irwin 2001:351).

Recent investigations in one of these contact-period villages, Double Ditch, also known as the Bourgeois Site, by Ahler and Kvamme (personal communication 2005) has shown
extensive fortifications, indicating that defense was, since early on, a major concern of the Mandan. Indeed, they sustained a primary trading center with networks that reached across the Plains and beyond, from the Des Moines River to the Pacific Northwest and from the Hudson Bay to the Rio Grande, involving some twenty tribes (Abel 1939; Ewers 1954; Wood 1980). A detailed summary of the role of this trading center in the early history of the Northern Plains is found in Thiessen (1993a, 1993b) and Wood and Thiessen (1985). Archaeologists and historians have proposed that the Mandan trade network evolved from one of perishable foodstuffs and ceremonial/gift objects in prehistoric times to one of European imports such as horses and firearms, and to furs in the nineteenth century (Thiessen 1993a). This three-stage evolution coincided with the westward expansion of the Dakota Sioux and concomitant loss of access to ancestral and sacred places.

Little is known of the local Mandan history between 1740 and 1790, except from rumors reported by Northwest Company trader Peter Pond, that a Mr. Pinneshon had reached the Mandan villages prior to 1763, where he found other French traders already there (Thiessen 1993:35). There are also rumors that Mr. Menard, a Canadian trader, had a house in their villages sometime around 1770 and remained there for about 16 years (Nasatir 1952:82). Imperial traders often dreamed of the Mandan and their legendary riches even after the smallpox epidemic of 1781 severely impacted the population and reduced their villages from seven to three, forcing them to move upriver near the Hidatsa. Immediately following the epidemic, the Mandan consolidated in two settlements about 20 miles south of the Knife River villages. By the time trader David Thompson reached them (Coues 1897), the Hidatsa and Mandan were consolidated in five villages: Big Hidatsa and a winter village with only Hidatsa lodges; Black Cat, across the river, with only Mandan lodges; and Sakakawea Village and Deapolis Village with a combined population of Hidatsa and Mandan (Ahler 2003c:3). However, by the turn of the nineteenth century the population had recovered to the point that Mandan and Hidatsa were able to regroup separately and were living in two and three villages, respectively.

Despite an increasingly chaotic and violent environment surrounding the Mandan, numerous historic trading posts built around the new villages flourished after 1794. At around that time imperial Illinois Lieutenant Governor Zenon Trudeau initiated concerted efforts to reach the affluent Mandan in order to gain trading partners and stop the English from approaching the upper Missouri from the north or east. After several failed envoys, his agents finally succeeded in reaching the Mandan. In 1791 Antoine Tabeau, a chronicler for Trudeau’s envoy Jacques d’Englise, described that “all the rivers, which empty into the Missouri above the Yellowstone, are frequented by a swarm of nations with whom, at the post of the Mandanes, a trade, as extensive as it is lucrative, can be carried on” (Abel 1939:161). This centrally located post was also connected in down-the-line fashion with secondary trading centers (Ewers 1968:16).

In 1795 James MacKay, an agent of the Trading and Exploring Company of the Missouri River, and John Evans, explorer and surveyor, reached the upper Missouri and provided
descriptions of the villages along the river. John Evans actually arrived at the Mandan villages only to discover that the Mandan had well-established trading relations with Canadian and English houses (Bruner 1961:207; Wood 2003). Cartographer Nicholas de Finisels produced the most accurate map of the Missouri River, including village locations, which were based on this expedition’s findings (Wood 1987). Another imperial voyager, Jean Baptiste Truteau, described the Mandan, who had been already hit by the smallpox and were threatened constantly by the Sioux, as living in three villages near the mouth of the Knife River and having about 300 warriors (Nasatir 1952:381). Other traders, including Clamorgan and Pardo from Spanish houses, and Jusseaume, Fotman, Charbonneau, Thompson, Henry, and Larocque from Canadian and American houses, reached the Mandan in the years before the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. As Ronda (1984:67) observes, few places in the frontier gave more evidence of the diversity of people and material culture making up North America in colonial times than the Mandan and Hidatsa towns. Unfortunately, these traders left little in the way of ethnographic description of this group; Truteau’s notes on the Missouri River Indians (Nasatir 1952:257) are one exception.

**American Period**

Numerous scientific, military, and trading expeditions to the upper Missouri region were undertaken throughout the nineteenth century, leaving records that help characterize Mandan lifeways during that time. The most famous expedition is that of the American Corps of Discovery, led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, who in the fall of 1804 arrived at the Mandan villages near the site that would become known as Fort Clark (Reid 1947; Jenkinson 2003; Moulton 2003). Their intention was to spend the winter at the location of their planned upper Missouri River winter post “Fort Mandan,” while learning about the country and people they would encounter in their journey. At that time, the Mandan were consolidated in two villages and split along their subgroup lines, with the Ruptari and Nuptadi living together in one village and the Mitutanka in another (Ahler 2003c). There were also two winter villages near Fort Clark (Schneider 2002:44). The Arikara had settled close to Mandan under a very uneasy alliance that often resulted in violence (Bruner 1961:210). Lewis and Clark wanted, among other things, to make peace among these nations in order to secure better trading agreements for American trading houses. As Bruner (1961:208) ably puts it, “it is not surprising that the Indian people equated scientist, military man, and government employee with trader...From the Mandan point of view, to be White was to be a trader; there was no other kind of non-Indian in their social universe until the last decades of the Fur Trade Period. Only then did forces emerge more powerful than the American Fur Company.”

The Corps of Discovery was no exception. Whereas Lewis, Clark, and other expedition members did keep travelogues and heeded Jefferson’s mandate to collect information on the western tribes, that particular leg of their voyage was not devoted to ethnography but to diplomacy and survival through the first Dakota winter (Ronda 1984). From interactions between Clark and the Mandan chief Big White (which was how Clark
translated *Sheheke*, which in Mandan means White Coyote) it is possible to reconstruct
the vast geographical knowledge held by both Hidatsa and Mandan as well as their
enduring presence at the Yellowstone River confluence and beyond, as far as the Rocky
Mountains.

Other important expeditions followed the Corps of Discovery; the overland Astorian
expedition (1809-1811), for example, touched the Mandan villages. The record of this
expedition, which included notorious traders, trappers, and travelers such as Wilson
Hunt, James McKenzie, Robert McClellan, Henry Brackenridge, and Joseph Miller, is
best known for the journal of one of its members, naturalist John Bradbury. Bradbury
briefly described meetings with the Mandan chief *Sheheke*, with whom he traded
moccasins for blue beads and vermilion (lead sulfide) (Thwaites, ed. 1904:V:164).
Stephen Long’s famous Missouri River expedition in 1819-1820 (Thwaites, ed.
1905:XIV) contained rich descriptions of Missouri River tribes; but since he did not
reach the Mandan, his journal only contains indirect information from other tribes. Some
of this information likely came from the expedition interpreter, Toussaint Charbonneau,
who was a long-time resident of the Knife River villages (NPS-Thiessen 2006:15).

Of all the visitors to the villages in the pre-treaty era, George Catlin and Prince
Maximilian zu Wied in the 1830s left the most detailed accounts of the earthlodge tribes.
George Catlin, the former Philadelphia lawyer turned artist, after relocating to St. Louis
and making the acquaintance of Captain Clark, decided to journey up the Missouri River
from St. Louis to Fort Union. His goal was to paint portraits and scenes of everyday life
among the many tribes that Catlin thought would eventually disappear in the wake of
civilization. In 1832 Catlin journeyed up the Missouri River aboard the American Fur
Company steamer “Yellow Stone” and encountered the Mandan. George Catlin (1965)
painted the villages and the people extensively, leaving an invaluable legacy for history
and archaeology that details the character and structure of the villages, the costumes
of their inhabitants, and many other cultural and religious features, traditions, and material
culture. Catlin also painstakingly (and with some exaggeration, too) described the
Mandan ceremony of the Okipa (Ewers 1967; Taylor 1996). Below we return to his
paintings and writings. Maximilian, accompanied by painter Karl Bodmer, also spent a
great deal of time describing and portraying the Mandan. Maximilian’s journal
(Thwaites, ed. 1906) is very likely the best pre-reservation ethnography of the upper
Missouri tribes that has been written. Of particular interest is his detailed account of
interactions among the Mandan and other tribes both at the villages and at Fort Union.

In the 1830s, the Mandan hunting grounds extended west to the Little Missouri River;
despite the threat of the advancing Sioux, they continued to hunt south around their
ancestral villages in the Heart River area (Abel 1997). Shortly after Maximilian’s visit to
the Mandan, seven-eighths of the tribe succumbed to the smallpox epidemic of 1837, as
described by Fort Clark’s trader Francis Chardon (Abel 1997:133). Catlin also wrote
accounts of the smallpox epidemic of 1837-1838 and its effects on the Missouri River
tribes. Catlin heard from his friends of the Upper Missouri, including from Kenneth
McKenzie of Fort Union, that the fur traders accidentally exposed the Mandan to smallpox. The smallpox was so virulent that many Mandan were dying within a few hours of presenting the first symptoms, some passing in agony even before the pustules began to erupt. Catlin wrote that maybe only 30 to 40 Mandan people survived (Catlin 1965 vol. II: 257-258). It has been established, however, that between 19 and 24 families actually survived the epidemic.

As observed by Chardon, on January 9, 1839 the Teton Sioux attacked and burned the devastated Mandan village near Fort Clark (Abel 1997:181). The next year the Arikara moved into this village, where they remained until 1862. The Mandan, meanwhile, regrouped and joined the Hidatsa survivors at Big Hidatsa, while a small group of Nuptadi remained at Fort Clark (Ahler 2003c) for at least another 20 years, as noted by many visitors in the 1860s, including Boller (1868) and Kurz (2005). Importantly, they continued to camp at various other locations within their ancestral territory.

In 1845 the joint Hidatsa and Mandan population left Big Hidatsa and built a village on a bend of the river that was shaped “Like-a-Fishhook.” That same year traders open a post that became known as Fort Berthold, which moved once after burning down. In 1851, four leaders, including the famous Hidatsa war chief Four Bears, attended the Treaty of Fort Laramie, where the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara were assigned one reservation that originally extended, clockwise, from the mouth of the Yellowstone River to the Heart River, and to the Powder River—the modern reservation is only a fraction of the original one. In 1862, the Arikara moved to Like-a-Fishhook, building a new section of the village above the site of the first trading post building.

Fort Berthold soon took on a military character, and was used as a base of operations, along with Fort Buford, during the Sioux Campaign. In 1869 Washington Matthews recorded a celebration of the Okipa Ceremony at Like-a-Fishhook Village, which was being kept alive even after the terrible decimation of the Mandan (Matthews 1877), and to which the modern Mandan descendants attribute their survival. The village was abandoned, when they were forced to move to new areas in the newly established reservation after the passage of the General Allotment act of 1885 (Schneider 1990:71-72).

**Traditional Resource Use and Significance**

In the Mandan origin stories, when the creator and culture hero “Lone Man” made the earth, he made the Heart River as well as the Mississippi River, and populated them with buffalo people, fish people, bear people, eagle people, corn people, and others “whose history was inaugurated into myths of the sacred bundles” (Bowers 1950:26). All of these people were born into the tribe and thus, their animal representatives are one of the Mandan. There were once thirteen Mandan clans, of which only four remained in 1930; two had animal names—Speckled Eagle and the Prairie Chicken. (ibid:30). These and the
other two remaining clans, the WaxikEna and the Tamisik, held certain key positions in
the ceremonial cycle.

The clan system was closely tied to the sacred bundles and thus also controlled, directly
or indirectly, many aspects of ceremonial resource acquisition, use, and curation. For
example, the eagle trapping bundle belonged to the clan of the person building the eagle
trap and remained within the clan even after that person died (Bowers 1950:39). They
also were custodians of different varieties of corn, and in the old times one clan could not
grow the other clans’ corn variety without first securing the rights to it. The moieties
were also responsible for organizing and holding complementary aspects of resource
procurement, from buffalo hunts and distribution of meat to eagle trapping and the Okipa
ceremony.

Among the numerous ceremonial and secular activities in which the Mandan engaged,
the Okipa ceremony is the most significant one as it incorporated all realms of land and
resource use both symbolically and effectively. Plants, animals, minerals, and landforms
were represented in this four-day fertility and power transfer ceremony in which the
entire community participated. The first account of the Okipa comes from Thompson’s
late eighteenth century narrative (Coues 1897). Catlin (Ewers 1967; Kipp 1872; Taylor
1996) and Maximilian (Thwaites, ed. 1906) also described this ceremony in some detail.
Matthews’ (1877) description of the post-smallpox epidemic Okipa ceremony at Like-a­
Fishhook village indicates the resiliency of Mandan cultural traditions in view of near
extermination. Many of the resources described below in smaller ceremonies and daily
practices are also embodied in the Okipa. Unfortunately, there is no Mandan or Hidatsa
ethnobotany, and thus the plant information is fairly meager. Animal uses and
symbolism, on the other hand, are richly described in Mandan ethnographies, as are the
uses of paints and the references to different places in the landscape. The ceremonial
sequences are so complex and interrelated that it is easier to enumerate resources by
briefly describing ceremonies and other activities than by sorting resources by class.
Information about the Hidatsa complements that given below.

**Buffalo Hunts**

Buffalo appear consistently in Mandan oral traditions and origin myths associated with
various bundles and ceremonies, as for example in the myth of the Small Hawk
Ceremony and the Snow Owl Ceremony (Bowers 2004:280). The Mandan believed that
the spirits of the buffalo lived in buttes before they came to the surface. These were
sacred places where people left offerings and prayed. Buffalo calling rituals and buffalo
impersonators figured prominently in the ceremonial calendar and specific rites of the
Mandan. Buffalo skulls were present in every important bundle as well as ceremony.
Buffalo was, in fact, the central figure of the Okipa ceremony.

Although the Mandan were horticulturalists and their gardens often produced in excess of
their needs, their rainfall regime was uncertain and in years of drought buffalo hunting,
and hunting in general, provided for a large portion of the diet. Bowers (2004:86) notes that buffalo hunts required a certain degree of specialization among the villagers, where those who demonstrated aptitude for finding herds and common sense were asked to supervise the summer hunts. This was an important aspect of leadership, and good luck in hunting and in averting injury to horses and riders was regarded as power. Bundle owners who owned buffalo skulls chose the leader of the hunt, and this was advertised by the Black Mouth Society crier. The summer hunt took place every year after the gardens were planted and after the propitiatory ceremonies of the Okipa were completed.

Buffalo hunting expeditions required a great degree of planning, from sending scouts daily to report on the position of the herds to selecting the camping spots. These expeditions were also used as training opportunities for basic hunting and tracking skills as well as for the rituals needed to attract herds close to the villages. Offerings of sage and feathers of the speckled eagle were made to buffalo skull shrines or skulls opportunistically found near the herd. The leader was assisted by those who had the right to pray for the buffalo, generally the Okipa priests or owners of the Red Sticks bundle. Frequent fasting also took place during the summer hunt (Bowers 2004:90), as it was thought that the buffalo was generous and gave people dreams and visions.

The summer hunt was also used to gather wild plants, particularly turnips, to gather paint, and to scout for enemy parties. After the hunt, people would drag skulls through the villages and offer calicoes and feathers to the spirit homes or Buttes where the buffalo came from. Another Okipa was performed after the hunt and just before the harvest (Bowers 2004:90).

**Eagle Trapping**

The Mandan and the Hidatsa shared almost indistinguishable eagle trapping ceremonial complexes. Eagle trapping was significant in many respects, particularly in that it helped delineate the tribal territories, in complement with the spirit buttes that had a similar territory-marking function. It also helped to further leadership within the villages. Inheritance of the eagle trapping bundle and the rules of transfer were complex and required some measure of wealth. Both Wilson (1929) and Bowers (1992, 2004) recorded in detailed the eagle trapping complex. Here we summarized these sources.

Eagle trapping was given to the Mandan and Hidatsa by Black Wolf (Wilson 1928:99-245). Mythical eagle trapping sites that were used by small black and brown bears were located in close proximity to the mouth of the Yellowstone River, among other sites. The trapping sites were confined to the rough lands adjacent to wooded streams. The activity involved the erection of a ceremonial conical lodge in the sheltered wooded areas and the construction of the actual trapping pit on the hillsides near a cliff. Historically, the Mandan claimed eagle-trapping rights to the territory on both sides of the Missouri River from Like-a-Fishhook Village to the Yellowstone River and along the Little Missouri River to its headwaters (Figure 3.2). Prior to their departure from the Heart River,
however, the Mandan claimed trapping rights to all the rough lands between the Little and Big Missouri Rivers as far west as the Powder River in Montana. Important trapping areas lay along the Cannonball River and in the north side of the Black Hills, which they shared with the Cheyenne. Eagle trapping seasons were not to be interrupted by war (Bowers 2004:209).

Eagle trapping bundles contain elements of black bear, coyote, snake, buffalo, and young eagle—all spirits that contributed to the power of the bundle. Old Black Bear contributed numerous songs for the lodge, the sweatlodge, the bait, the pit, the snare, the goose, the swan, the little bear, and the bear. Coyote, eagle, and buffalo each contributed one song. Resources involved in transfer ceremonies included buffalo skulls, porcupine quills, juneberry branches tied up with white sage, feathers of a black-tipped eagle, a fiber snare, chokecherry branches, and bird sticks. Bird sticks were made of chokecherry wood and decorated with a piece of Knife River flint, a strip of rabbit skin, and white sage. The sticks were thought to represent the 12 tail feathers of the eagle, and also the kinds of eagles and birds recognized by the Mandan: bald, speckled, four stripes, calumet or black tipped, spotted-barred tail, half feather good and half bad, black hawk with white tails, I'pamasina, chicken hawk, goose, and small goose (Bowers 2004:236). In the old times a bear skull and hide were also used. These elements, in turn, appear in the lodge altar at eagle trapping camps.

![Figure 3.2 Eagle trapping pits; black bear's original pits were near the confluence (Bowers 2004)](image_url)
Fish and Game Traps

Households kept game pits or traps even after the introduction of the horse. These were privately owned by the old people; wolves, deer, elk and even buffalo were caught in these pits (Bowers 2004:97). Buffalo corrals also figure in origin myths, as the one depicted in the map of the Missouri River made by Sitting Rabbit in 1907 (Thiessen, Wood, and Jones 1979). Fish traps were given at creation and had their own ceremonial complex. Fish traps were constructed of diamond willows woven into sections for the trap walls. Children and teenagers commonly took care of the construction of traps and extraction of the catfish, whose remains are abundant in the Knife River villages. Fish traps were circular and set out in the water or built against a bank. An opening was left on one side.

The Catfish Trapping Ceremony was associated with the eagle trapping bundle and had a common mythological origin from Black Wolf, who gave the Mandan the sacred snare. According to Crows Heart, even a buffalo corral was nothing but a big snare with the same origin as the fish and eagle traps. Men with rights to sacred snares could call up their magical powers to trap these animals and to doctor and officiate at the buffalo and antelope pounds. While the fish traps were up, the owner of the trap kept a bear hide stretched on four posts and laid over calicoes (Bowers 2004:255-259).

Planting and Corn Ceremonies

The Mandan had productive gardens in which they grew several species of cold-resistant corn, squash, beans, and sunflowers. Good ground for planting was a significant element in locating a place for building a village. Associated with planting was a complex of ancient corn ceremonies with the associated corn bundles. The oldest of the ceremonies was thought to originate at the time when the Mandan were living underground near the mouth of the Mississippi River. The second set of ceremonies dates to the time of the migrations. Some of the myths associated with the more recent corn ceremonies are also associated with the Okipa. The bundles originate with the Mandan first chief and culture hero Good Furred Robe and his children. Corn bundle owners had to observe numerous taboos, including using red body paint, wearing a robe throughout the planting season, and avoiding eating berries, plums, and other fruits until the harvest, just as Good Furred Robe had done (Bowers 2004:195).

According to Bowers (2004:184), the Sacred Robe bundle contained the following articles: Good Furred Robe’s robe painted with a map of the world that showed the Missouri River as a great snake and the hole through which the corn people reach the earth; Good Furred Robe’s wood pipe with a carved goose, a headdress of fox skins, a bundle of white sage, moccasins of buffalo hide, a clay pot; a strip of elk hide, a dried gourd for a rattle, corn silk, several ears of corn, a narrow strip of badger skin, blackbird
heads, a mallard head, a white-tailed deer skull with antlers, three dried squash, one sunflower head, a robe made of fox hides, and a braid of cornhusks. Many of these items, particularly the birds, were associated with Old Woman Who Never Dies myth, which engaged a wide variety of animals, plants, and minerals in its story (Bowers 2004:200-204). This bundle had geographical associations in the Round Lodge and Yellow Earth (Double Ditch) sites and belonged to the Nuptadi Mandan.

The second bundle contained three human skulls representing Good Furred Robe, and two other mythical persons, corn silk, white sage, a headdress of fox skins, and a wooden pipe. This bundle originally was inherited along the same line as the Sacred Robe Bundle but became separated during the smallpox epidemic; in the 1920s it was in the possession of the Awaxawi (Bowers 2004:186). Associated bundles included those of Old Woman Who Never Dies, also connected with the Women’s Goose Society. The principal bundle had a corn basket, an elk skin robe, a clay pot, a wooden pipe, a deer skull and antlers, corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, blackbird heads, a bullsnake skin, young white sage, duck heads, swan feathers, goose heads, a strip of grizzly bear skin, gourd rattles, and a scalp. Secondary bundles and composite bundles that became intermixed in more recent times and after the death of bundle owners complemented the corn ceremonial complex.

**Bundles and Rights**

Many rights to ceremonies and doctoring were acquired through certain bundles. For example, through the Snow Owl bundle one could acquire the right to give a feast for the owls, the arrow making rights, the buffalo calling rites, and the Woman Above rights, all of which had their own bundle and ritual complex. The myth that accompanies this “nested” bundle refers to Black Wolf’s misadventures while imprisoned by the snow owl. Warriors made a pledge of feast and wore an article from the Snow Owl bundle into battle. Bundle inheritance was, as others, associated with dreams and purchases, although it could also be inherited within the family (Bowers 2004:282).

Arrow making rituals were associated with two snow owls in the bundle and also refer to Black Wolf, who was given the gift of arrow making by the owls as payment for his services. Arrow making rights were associated with other bundles as well, e.g., eagle trapping, Big Bird (see Hidatsa section and Woman Above). In the old days people without rights purchased arrows from arrow makers, as this was a secret art just like pottery making. There were songs that went with the arrow making process and also a tradition that said beaver actually was the first to secure the stone tips (Bowers 2004:283).

The Mandan Buffalo Calling ceremony was associated with Buffalo Woman, who lived in Dog Den Butte, just to the east of the Painted Woods. This was a complex four-day ceremony involving numerous resources; a complete bundle contained an arrow-straightener of buffalo rib with perforations, a wooden groover, a rawhide with sand glued to it as polisher, a grapevine, tanned fawn skin, two feet of a white owl, two feet of
a small owl, yellow and black clay for painting, one large white-owl wing feather, gray
sage, bow and lance, buffalo robe, magpie tail feathers, and plain black elbow pipe.

The Woman Above Bundle was a powerful, often dangerous bundle that called upon the
power of the Sun, the Moon, and Old Woman Above (the Mother), and was used by
owners to doctor insanity, paralysis, feeble-mindedness, spasms, and fits. It was also
thought to cause these illnesses to those who were not supposed to open it or witness its
opening. Plants such as sweet pine (sub-alpine fir) imported from the Rocky Mountains
and sweetgrass were used as smudges in the ceremony, and these and other plants,
including blackroot, were used in doctoring. Magpie feathers and an ash digging stick
were also associated with doctoring with this bundle. The myth also speaks of obtaining
the rights to buffalo skulls, to digging turnips, and to use the chokecherry tree for various
purposes.

The opening of this bundle was witnessed by Catlin and Maximilian, but Bowers
provides the most detailed description of its contents. It included a copper ring
representing Old Woman Above, a copper ring representing Sun, a copper crescent
representing Moon, one large gourd rattle, six magpie tail feathers to represent the Holy
Women, twelve owl tail feathers, a human scalp representing a Cheyenne killed by the
Moon, left arm and skull of Grizzly Bear, hide and hair from various parts of buffalo, left
buffalo horn and buffalo skull, and one stuffed jackrabbit representing the Sun (Bowers
2004:302). The women who cared for the Woman Above Bundle had several skull circle
shrines near the village and they had to take care of these too, as they belonged to the
Holy Women. Catlin (1965) painted these shrines in the vicinity of the Knife River
villages.

Ceremonial Use of Paint

Pigments for ritual painting come from origin myths associated with most bundles. Paint
was a crucial resource in the performance of all ceremonies as well as in the observance
of taboos associated with bundle ownership and certain offices. Many pigments to
prepare body paints and feather dyes originally came from the exposed clays along the
Missouri River banks and from the Little Missouri Badlands. Red paint, in particular,
came from the Badlands. The narrative entitled “Geography of a War Party,” recorded by
Beckwith from the Mandan warrior Crows Breast, describes how warriors would visit
sacred buttes to the southwest of modern Dickinson, North Dakota to collect yellow,
blue, and red paint (Beckwith 1938:303). Paint colors used ceremonially included red,
yellow, white, black, blue, and green. All of these colors except black were used by boys
after their coming of age ceremonies (Bowers 1950:50). Black and white body paint
designs were also a central part of impersonations and figured prominently in the Okipa
ceremony. In historic times, bright commercial dyes obtained from the trading post
replaced or augmented the paint color repertoire, particularly for dying feathers.
Ceremonial and Medicinal Plants

Little mention is made of ceremonial plants in Mandan ethnographies; only a handful of plants—cottonwood, willow, sage, pine, blackroot, chokecherry, and juneberry—are consistently mentioned in the literature in addition to cultivars (e.g., Bowers 2004). However, a recently examined Mandan ceremonial bundle produced at least 27 species of plants which have been tentatively identified to the species (Grinnell et al. 2006). These plants are listed in Appendix C under “Mandan.”

Hidatsa

The Hidatsa are a Siouan-speaking group composed of three culturally related subgroups—Hidatsa proper, Awaxawi, and Awatixa, each speaking their own dialect. The first two subgroups have an ancestral origin in the woodland-prairie ecotone of northeast North Dakota, whereas the third group likely represents hunter-gatherer people who inhabited the Missouri River environs since time immemorial or, archaeologically, since at least the Woodland period (Wood and Irwin 2001). The Hidatsa and Crow are closely related, having been a single group in early times. Before their split sometime in the prehistoric period, the Hidatsa and Crow were scattered along the lower portion of the Yellowstone River, the Little Missouri River, the Missouri River from the mouth of the Yellowstone to Square Buttes, and then eastward into the Devils Lake, Red River, and Sheyenne River regions (Bowers 1992:213) (Figure 3.3).

The Hidatsa language split from a proto-Siouan parent language around 2,000 years ago, and certainly before the introduction of agriculture into the Northern Plains. Hidatsa and Mandan are the oldest of Siouan languages and thus are mutually unintelligible (Hollow and Parks 1980; Voegelin 1941; Rankin 2000). The Hidatsa, in turn, are linguistically, culturally, and genetically related to the Crow or Absaroke, who left the Missouri River in at least two migratory episodes sometime before the eighteenth century (Lowie 1956).

Wood (1980) suggests that the Hidatsa of the eighteenth century are difficult to distinguish from the Mandan, as they were intimately tied to one another. Thus, the Mandan were the ones most frequently referred to in the literature. Also, the fact that the Europeans called the Hidatsa “Gros Ventre” often times confused them with the unrelated Algonquian-speaking Atsina or Fall Indians, known today as Gros Ventre. Another reason the Hidatsa are difficult to distinguish from the Mandan of early record is the high degree of ethnic diversity that existed in the large earthlodge villages and that also may have characterized life in the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods (Wood 1980:5).

Origins

The Hidatsa origins are difficult to pinpoint archaeologically, mostly because their presumed origin place—Devils Lake and Red River regions—was located along an ecological and cultural boundary in an area occupied by at least three groups: ancestral
northern Ojibwa, ancestral Hidatsa, and ancestral Yanktonai (Dawson 1987). Regional investigators such as Bowers (1992) and Wood (1980), whose work has set the foundation for understanding Hidatsa historical trajectories, have generally relied on oral traditions to guide them in the identification of possible Hidatsa remains in northeastern and central North Dakota. Whereas the consistency of these traditions add tremendous strength to archaeological interpretations, most of the conflict surrounds the timing of arrival of the Hidatsa at the Missouri River and their relationship with the cultural historical framework for the Middle Missouri/Plains Village cultures originally proposed by Lehmer (1971).

Figure 3.3 Hidatsa territory (after Stewart 2001)
In reconstructing early village formation on the Plains, Toom (1992) noted that the likely Hidatsa ancestors evolved from a generalized “Plains Woodland” adaptation to the prairie peninsula or Cambria (Henning 2001) into the horticultural-semisedentary populations that represent the “Plains Village” adaptation, generally referred to in North Dakota as the Middle Missouri Tradition (Lehmer 1971). As noted in the Mandan section, the Initial and the Extended variants of this tradition are geographically and temporally distinct, with little overlap except for one site, the Flaming Arrow Village, which is located in the Painted Woods region near the Missouri River. Flaming Arrow has a Late Woodland component, Great Oasis, which is thought to be an expression local to the prairie peninsula (Tiffany 1983). Flaming Arrow, however, is traditionally tied to the origin of the Awatixa but not the Hidatsa proper or the Awaxawi (Bowers 1965). Toom (1992:141) contends that the Middle Missouri Tradition was a response to demographic packing of the woodlands, which in turn pushed people toward the prairie and then, taking advantage of a general climatic amelioration, toward the river valleys in the heart of the plains where they could develop a diversified economy based on bison hunting, horticulture, and generalized foraging.

In his study of the Knife River villages and vicinity, Ahler (1993a) proposed some major and useful updates to the cultural history of the area in order to properly collate the archaeological, historical, and ethnographic data available for this region. Among these changes, his updated definition of complexes, or constellations of spatially and temporally distinctive material culture (e.g., house plans, ceramic types), is perhaps the most useful, as it allows one to trace the evolution of Plains Village ancestors of the Hidatsa and the Mandan. Following closely Bowers’ identification of subgroups for both ethnic groups, Ahler was able to assign sites and complexes to most of the subgroups, in particular the Hidatsa ones.

Ahler’s (1993a, 1993b) work strongly focuses on tracing the historical trajectories of Hidatsa subgroups as separate entities and opposes the use of the Extended Variant as a manifestation of the Hidatsa. He thinks that the Awatixa subgroup migrated probably in waves beginning sometime around A.D. 1000 or during the Late Woodland period. The Awatixa are represented archaeologically by the sequential complexes named Charred Body (A.D. 1000–1200), Painted Woods (A.D. 1250-1525), Heart River (also overlapping ancestral Mandan, A.D. 1500-1700), and variously represented at sites belonging to the Knife River Complex (A.D. 1600-1880). Ahler contends that Hidatsa proper and Awaxawi groups, on the other hand, may have migrated as late as A.D. 1550, being represented at Knife River Complex sites dating to the post A.D. 1600 period. This view contrasts with that of Toom’s, who would have these subgroups already at the Knife River as early as A.D. 1400-1500 and expressed archaeologically in the Scattered Village Complex.

Toom (2004) notes that ceramic materials around Devils Lake and the Red River area are predominantly Sandy Lake, followed in time by Lisbon, Oswego, and Devils Lake-Surisford—that is, probable ancestral Siouan (Dawson 1987; Gregg 1994; Michlovic...
1983; Johnson 1963). His analysis of radiocarbon dates for the northeastern Plains Village Complex sites in North Dakota strongly suggests that this area was virtually abandoned by A.D. 1400. He interprets this timeline in conjunction with the dates for the beginning of the Scattered Village Complex on the Knife River as indicative of a connection between the two complexes. In other words this timeline would place the ancestral Hidatsa, provided that they are indeed represented by the materials from Devils Lake, particularly from the Irvin-Nelson site, at the river sometime after A.D. 1400 and certainly by A.D. 1500 (Toom 2004:294). Protohistoric materials known as Knife River Wares appear around Devils Lake after these dates (Dawson 1987), probably indicating that connections were not broken after the migration toward the Missouri River. Recent excavations at the Elbee site in the park may contain clues into the temporal framework proposed by Toom (Terry O’Halloran, personal communication 2005).

**Historic Period**

Earliest historical documents, particularly those written by La Verendrye and David Thompson, focused mainly on the Mandan, leaving the Hidatsa, then called ‘Minatarees’ in the throes of the historical imagination for the eighteenth century. David Thompson’s journals are exceptional in that they constitute the first attempt at distinguishing and describing both ethnic groups in their own right (Wood 1977). This lack of direct reference is unfortunate, given that the Hidatsa were just as involved traders as were the Mandan and probably had their own unique intertribal relations with the northern tribes. Thus, little is known of the Hidatsa until the arrival of Lewis and Clark in 1804. The various journals written during the expedition, in particular Biddle’s, have been most useful for regional anthropologists in placing each of the Hidatsa subgroups in proper temporal and spatial contexts (Bowers 1965; Jenkinson 2003; Moulton 1983, 2003; Potter 2003; Stewart 1974; Wood 1980).

Among the numerous enlightening entries of these journals is that of Clark’s description of the making of Sheheke’s (Big White or White Coyote) map of the Missouri River, and his surprise at the remarkable knowledge of the Yellowstone River the chief had even though hunting territories of the Hidatsa were rather circumscribed (Jenkinson 2003:180 ff15). It helps reaffirm the notion of connections far beyond their homeland and certainly with the mouth of the Yellowstone River.

Genetic relations among the three Hidatsa subgroups are complex and their reconstruction largely depends on the oral traditions. Fortunately, over time these have remained consistent among both Hidatsa and Mandan, thus lending a foundation to the otherwise fragmentary historical record. From Biddle’s journals, Bowers’ ethnography, and the unpublished notes of Wilson, one may surmise, for example, that the Hidatsa proper and the Awaxawi were geographically close but dialectically distinct, with the Awaxawi being more agriculturally oriented but otherwise culturally indistinguishable from the Hidatsa proper. Both subgroups had, historically, a strong emphasis on hunting and were far more seasonally mobile than the Awatixa or the Mandan (Bowers 1965;
Wilson, cited in Wood 1980). This is an important aspect of their adaptation, as it indicates that their ancestral ties are within the Northern Plains big game hunters rather than the more southerly horticultural and semisedentary groups of presumed Mississippian ancestry, such as the Mandan. Paradoxically, the Awatixa are closer linguistically to the Hidatsa proper than the Awaxawi, but culturally they are more similar to the Mandan. These subtle cultural variations, as recorded in the early historic period, probably reflect the comings and goings of culturally flexible and mobile populations that variously separated and came together within a relatively short time span—300 years of interactions, or even less. Furthermore, one must take into consideration that historical catastrophes, such as the smallpox epidemics of 1781 and 1837, as well as endemic warfare, were determinants in the complex geographical and political dynamics of these people.

At any rate, the historical records indicate that the Hidatsa, who because of their mobility had a higher survival rate during the 1781 smallpox epidemic than the Mandan, were a distinctive social, cultural, and political entity throughout the historic period, with clear differences in social, political, and ceremonial identities among the subgroups. Depending on the archaeologist, sometime between A.D. 1400 and 1600 the Hidatsa at large settled in two villages at the mouth of the Knife River. Roving and restless, as Alexander Henry the Younger described them in 1806 (Coues 1897), the Hidatsa proper were gifted and aggressive buffalo hunters. They moved frequently, covering enormous distances during their seasonal hunts, regularly engaging in warfare campaigns as far from their home as the three forks of the Missouri River, as indicated in maps of warpaths that date to the Lewis and Clark expedition (Bowers 1965; Warhus 1997). This characteristic set them apart from the more sedentary and less aggressive Mandan traders. The Hidatsa and the Mandan were not always allies and during times of stress they fought each other fiercely (Abel 1932).

The Hidatsa village subgroups had each their own hunting territory as well as garden acreage, thus demonstrating the enduring ethnic and political differences that existed between each of the three subgroups (Bowers 1965). In more recent times, the nature of the differences among the residentially distinct subgroups has been blurred by both the demographic reorganization that took place in the late 1800s and the anthropological focus on village organization as opposed to ethnic differentiation as overarching identity markers. Yet, the groups knew who they were and had no qualms about it (Hanson 1983). Even though the Hidatsa proper were latecomers to the Missouri River, they resisted every attempt of neighboring groups, particularly the Awaxawi, to settle upstream from their villages in the Knife River, as their hunting territory extended above the mouth of the Yellowstone River. From Alexander Henry's journals it is also known that they claimed the Little Missouri River to themselves (Coues 1897:334). This was particularly evident after the smallpox epidemic of 1781, when the Hidatsa refused to let the Mandan or the Awaxawi move their villages above theirs (Wood 1980:30). The Hidatsa proper, therefore, readily consolidated their positions in the Knife River watershed, whereas the Awaxawi continued moving on a north-south direction until the mid-1800s. Aided by the
Mandan leaders, the Hidatsa were successful in keeping their hunting grounds during the Laramie Treaty negotiations of 1851, but not for much longer.

Throughout the nineteenth century the Hidatsa steadily asserted their political control on the Missouri River, allowing members of other subgroups to join their villages. This dominance was particularly evident when it came to defend their territory against the Sioux (Abel 1932). They consolidated their hunting territory, which around 1830 extended from the Powder River to Square Buttes and from the mouth of the Yellowstone to the Cannonball River. The decade of 1830 was particularly momentous for the Hidatsa. At the height of the buffalo hide trade they occupied a prominent role in providing hides to the American Fur Company posts between the Heart and the Yellowstone Rivers. And, importantly, they controlled the river traffic to and from the river posts below Fort Union. These activities were recorded by travelers and keen observers such as Maximilian zu Wied and Karl Bodmer, who must be credited for their attempts at characterizing the Hidatsa or “Minataree” as a distinctive and powerful ethnic group. Political and demographic strength notwithstanding, the Mandan dominated cultural and ceremonial affairs and, in the opinion of Bowers (1965), the Hidatsa adopted many traditions from the Mandan.

In 1837 the smallpox epidemic ravaged the villages below the Knife River, forcing the Mandan, Awatixa, and advancing Arikara to reorganize their settlements (Ahler 2003c). Within the next few years, all but a small group of Nuptadi Mandan would join the Hidatsa at Big Hidatsa Village. The increasingly heterogeneous population of that village moved their lodges to the opposite side of the river in 1845, at an easily defensive bend that became known as “Like-a-Fishhook.” This, too, became the site of Fort Berthold Trading Post, where the Hidatsa and Mandan, soon joined by the Arikara refugees, would remain until the passage of the General Allotment Act of 1885. In 1867-69 Dr. Washington Matthews visited and wrote extensively about the social organization of the Hidatsa and Mandan. Important details about the social and ceremonial organization of both groups, their commonalities and differences, come from his writings, as well as from the ethnographic work of Gilbert Wilson in the 1920s and of Martha Beckwith in the 1930s (Beckwith 1938, 1978). But by and large, it was Bowers who would eventually contribute to a better understanding of the extraordinary complexities of these societies. The Fort Berthold Reservation was established in 1870.

Crow-Flies-High at the Confluence

Following the Sioux rebellion of 1862, Euroamerican influence became stronger around Fort Berthold. A small band of Hidatsa and Mandan, led by a Hidatsa proper named Crow-Flies-High, split from Like-a-Fishhook Village and remained in self-imposed exile until 1894, when the band was marched back to the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation (Fox 1988). Crow-Flies-High was a respected warrior but had his own ideas about tradition and governance, and that placed him at odds with his elders. Thus, when leadership of the council at the village came into question, his band broke away (Bowers
1965). The fissioning of Crow-Flies-High's band coincided with the decrease of bison herds and the need to move far west to hunt. The newly established regime and the military threats discouraged the Hidatsa and Mandan from pursuing their old way of life. Crow-Flies-High considered that many of his compatriots had grown complacent toward the Americans and wanted to pursue his own traditional way of life. On the other hand, as Malouf (1963) and Fox (1988) suggest, this simply may represent yet another periodic segmentation of the Hidatsa proper that followed the previous two fissions of the Mountain and the River Crow.

The departure of the band also speaks volumes about the desperate condition of the Like-a-Fishhook village in the 1870s; starvation was such a threat that the Indian Agent at Fort Berthold had to push hunters to move to the Yellowstone River so that supplies could be stretched through the winter (Clifford 1870, cited in Fox 1988:14). The Crow-Flies-High band moved upriver toward the Yellowstone River, which was then controlled by the Crow, and established a refugee village near the newly established military post of Fort Buford, which is located in an area known as Garden Coulee (Fox 1988). From this village the dissident band hunted, farmed, traded, and peddled with the incoming settlers.

The refugee village became a stopover in the customary travels upriver by Hidatsa and Mandan; and eagle trappers who had their pits in the vicinity of the confluence would camp at this village, too (Wilson 1928). The band contained members of all the Hidatsa clans and was visited frequently by relatives. The band members also went back to Like-a-Fishhook on a regular basis. The success of this band, which has a respectable village of about 30 dwellings and 240 dwellers, eventually became a sore point for Fort Buford. They were asked to leave in 1884. Subsequently they established a comparable village at the mouth of the Little Knife River, where they stayed for at least a decade, fishing, gardening, and deer hunting (Malouf 1963; Fox 1988).

From their encounters with rancher Marquis de Mores in the early 1890s, it is known that the Crow-Flies-High band frequented not only the Yellowstone River but the upper Little Missouri River, and it is possible that they had an encampment or even a small temporary village by Squaw Creek, near the X Ranch site. This particular piece of information comes from a permanent exhibit case at the Three Affiliated Tribes Museum in New Town, North Dakota, but an independent reference to it has not yet been found. Eventually, disputes with settlers and worries that the band would not cooperate led the US government to coerce them into returning to the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation. In 1894 they were forced to leave their village and escorted back to Fort Berthold (Malouf 1963). The site of Crow-Flies-High's village now overlooks the Four Bears Bridge in New Town.

**Traditional Resource Use and Significance**

Characteristic of Plains adaptation is the Hidatsa's concern for hunting, eagle-trapping, gardening, and procuring plants, animals, and minerals for bundles and society
ceremonies. The ethnographic work of Gilbert Wilson (1906-1918), as edited and compiled by Weitzner (1979) and that of A. Bowers in the 1930s (Bowers 1992) provide the most detailed accounts of resource use and significance.

Animals, Birds, and Fish

In addition to buffalo, the Hidatsa hunted mule deer and, less frequently, white-tailed deer. They would pursue the deer in the forested areas of the Badlands. Antelope were taken in a pound or trap constructed with poles and skins and set at the base of a high hill. Antelope were driven to the hilltop and pushed over the crest and into the pen. This was supposedly part of a ceremonial sequence not revealed to Wilson at the time (Weitzner 1979:195). Mountain sheep were hunted and carefully dressed as their skins were prized. Gophers and prairie dogs were not hunted, but old men who were sick often used the dirt from their mounds as medicine.

Bird trapping was a task usually given to young males and children (Weitzner 1979:197-198). They regularly trapped them in the banks of the Missouri River. Noted species were golden winged woodpecker, meadowlark, and yellow birds (unknown name). Meadowlarks were only eaten as medicine to treat deafness and dumbness. Hawks, magpies, and white breasted swallows were consider sacred and neither hunted nor eaten. They were used for replenishing bundles. Woodpeckers that were also considered sacred include the winter woodpecker with black spots, the yellow woodpecker, and the red woodpecker. Migratory birds, including geese and numerous species of ducks, were captured by adults (Wilson 1928:239). Bird feathers and paints figured prominently in war customs as well as in doctoring. Hawk feathers and hawk skins attached to weasels were particularly prominent. Feathers and beaks of the mallard, teal, and others were used to make pipestems or “dancing calumets.” Swallows were considered thunderbirds, and thus very sacred (Weitzner 1979).

The Hidatsa fished opportunistically and less frequently than the Mandan. They used fish traps to catch catfish. The traps were constructed with diamond willow branches made into mats and bait was often used to attract the fish. Fish trapping rights and techniques, as well as the origin story and the song that went with this activity were prized and expensive to obtain. The Hidatsa sometimes purchased the rights from the Mandan. The origin story tells how the men got the power to build fish traps from the bear (Weitzner 1979:204). Sage bundles and golden eagle feathers were also used in the rituals associated with fish traps. The Awatixas frequently fished in the Knife River (ibid:210). Carp (or sucker, perhaps), buffalo fish, and sturgeon were occasionally taken in the traps.

Minerals

Red, white, and yellow clays were used to fix hairdos in males and females (Weitzner 1979). Yellow hair in particular was favored by the Hidatsa. White clay would be used in the old days to protect skin against cold weather. Charcoal from kinnickinnick bark was
one of the colorants dabbed in incisions to darken tattoo designs into a blue hue. Sharpened quills of owl feathers and tin strips fastened to reddened buffalo bones were the preferred tattooing tools. Tattooing required visioning, fasting, and piercing or self-wounding as well as sweat baths.

Red, yellow, white, and black pigments were used in hide painting. Red ocher came from the Badlands and so did some yellow pigments; white paint came from White Clay Butte, near Fort Union. Black pigments were collected near the Knife River and also came from Fort Stevenson (Weitzner 1979:256). Painting the body and face white detracted from their visibility and thus increased protection for the warrior. Horse painting with red pigment was also practiced and it was said to have come from visions accompanied with a song. Painted horses had numerous taboos attached to them. Dyed and decorated horsehair had several uses in signaling warrior honors. Golden eagle feathers, used in combination with other elements such as scalps, weasels, kit fox tails, raven feathers, and minks also figured in warrior honors (Weitzner 1979).

Clay pots were sacred items, believed to forewarn death when they cracked. They were associated with water and snakes and thus were used in rainmaking ceremonies (Bowers 1992:347). The Awaxawi kept a very large sacred pot that was beaten and sang to in times of drought. The last sacred pot was buried during the 1837 epidemic and its keeper died without revealing the burial place (Weitzner 1979:264). Pots were also used to hold coals for smudging during ceremonies (Bowers 1992:348). Pottery making was, by extension, a sacred ritual imbued with secrecy (Coues 1897: 328). Rights to pottery making knowledge were purchased, and so were the songs that went along with the craft. The best clay was collected from the lower Little Missouri River; yellow and blue clay were collected along the Missouri River outcrops near Like-a-fishhook. Rotten granite taken from the firepit of a sweatlodge was used as temper (Weitzner 1979:260). Cottonwood paddles were used to even out and shape the pots (Bowers 1992:374).

Arrow-making was a craft given to the people by supernatural beings, notably Flaming Arrow, also referred to as Burnt Arrow (Weitzner 1979). Arrow-making was a closely guarded right, as many arrow materials were thought to be poisonous and used mainly for war. Arrows were mostly made of Knife River Flint, but other materials, including buffalo tendon tissue, horn, wood, and beaver teeth were also used. Historically, points were also fashioned from suitable metal implements such as butcher’s knife blades. Feathers of various birds were used to give “wings” to arrowshafts. The fletching patterns were, too, associated with creation stories and therefore very sacred. Eagle feathers were the preferred ones, but as they were also very expensive, poor men used duck, goose, or hawk feathers. These were carefully prepared and split before fletching (Weitzner 1979:240-242). Quivers and bow cases were made of the skins of buffalo, otter, lion, badger, and beaver. Lances made of ash and fastened with a horn or flint tip were also used in hunting buffalo.
Plants

The wood of young ash, chokecherry, wild plum, cedar, elm, and a species the Hidatsa called white wood were fashioned into bows. Horn from the Rocky Mountain sheep (hunted up the Little Missouri River) and imported woods such as osage orange were used by the Mandan (Will and Spinden 1906; Bradbury 1986 [1817]:159-160). Lava-like stones, such as scoria or clinker from burned lignite coal beds, were used to polish the bows along with suet (Weitzner 1979:234-237). Arrowshafts were made from juneberry, chokecherry, shoots, split ash, buckbrush wood, and snake wood (snakeweed)—a woody shrub that grows among rocks in white clay hills. Snake wood was considered magical. Serviceberry wood was also very popular (Thwaites, ed. 1906:354).

The Hidatsa distinguished several types of sage. “No-top sage” was used as incense in the sweatlodge and the fish trap to avert evil. Eagle trappers used it in connection to menstruating women who happened upon their trapping lodges. They would make four balls of this sage, paint them red, and set them in live coals in four different places inside the lodge; the woman would walk from ball to ball, and would inhale the black smoke of the sage to empower the eagle trappers’ sacred objects (Wilson 1928:168). “Top sage,” on the other hand, was just like no-top sage but with seeds and a head. This plant was commonly used by the Goose Society. Lake sage, the same kind as top sage, actually grows in old water beds and damp places. Warriors frequently mixed this sage with white clay to paint their bodies to gain strength when on a war party. This was a very sacred procedure that gave power and the ability to run fast (Weitzner 1979:268). Straight sage, that which grows straight, was used by the sun singer during a sacrifice to the Sun to make crowns and head plumes. Finally, the charcoal of black sage was used for healing rheumatism. Sages are still collected in the vicinity of Big Hidatsa village.

The Hidatsa probably used numerous plants from the uplands and the river bottoms. Unfortunately, no ethnographer who worked with them was adept at botany, and thus little more than vague plant descriptions is available today. Of the few recorded plants, mint tea was used to ease childbirth in combination with blackroot, scrapings from the turtle, or pulverized rattlesnake rattles taken with water (Bowers 1992:128). Black medicine or red baneberry root, used mythologically (in the Charred Body myth) to cure lameness, is a sacred plant used in many snake curing rights (ibid:307). Branches of sand bar willow and buckbrush were tied to buffalo skull in ceremonies, as for example the hide beating ceremony most commonly referred to as the Sundance (ibid:316). Jointed stems of the big bluestem plant were used by little boys to make arrows (Gilmore 1919:68).

Bundles

Bundles used in the past as well as those still in use today are the best expression of multiple resource uses and thus deserve careful consideration. Since the Hidatsa and the Mandan shared many bundles, here we will only mention those that were Hidatsa in
origin. The bundle contents had close and explicit references to all of the elements, persons, and events related in an origin story that the bundle and corresponding ceremony relived every time the bundle was opened.

Old Woman Who Never Dies is the deity of all vegetation and thus watched over the return of the leaves in spring, the ripening of the berries in the summer, and the gardens. Bowers (1992:332) believed that the association of Old Woman Who Never Dies with wild vegetation preceded that of agriculture; this was a fairly widespread bundle and thus probably associated with plant use by nomadic tribes. The bundle, also associated with the Goose Society, which is of Mandan origin, contains representative items of corn, beans, pumpkin, sunflower, elk, deer, bear, dog, blackbird, goose, duck, and crane. In the principal bundle of the Hidatsa there was a corn basket, a wooden pipe with a duck head carved on the stem representing the change of seasons, two sacred clay pots representing water and snakes, a fox skin headdress, white sage, a circular drum decorated with bird tracks, and whistles made of stalks (ibid:344-345).

The closely related Robe Bundle contained a buffalo robe said to have been worn by the Mandan culture hero known as Good Furred Robe, on which a map of the world had been painted showing the Missouri River as a huge snake and the hole through which the people believed to have passed in reaching the earth, a carved wooden pipe with the head of a goose, a fox skin headdress, white sage, buffalo hide moccasins, a clay pot, a piece of elk hide, a gourd rattle, corn silk, three ears of corn each from a different variety, a strip of badger skin, several blackbirds and one green-head duck’s head; a deer skull to rest the bundle on, three dried squash, a sunflower head, and a robe made of kit fox hides (Bowers 1992:346).

The Hidatsa recognized personal and origin-story bundles associated with the grizzly bear. The latter were also associated with Grandson and the sacred arrows, from the Woman Who Never Dies myth relating Charred Body’s (Awaxawi) adventures. This bundle is also associated with Rainy Buttes and other vision-questing locales, such as Sentinel Butte, near or along the Little Missouri River. The Grizzly Bear Bundles were used symbolically to enhance the power to ensnare the enemy and to keep the buffalo close to the villages. It had different functions from the Black Bear Bundle used to trap eagles and fish (see Mandan). Associated with the Grizzly Bear Bundle myth were the sacred arrows (one red and one black), a bear hide, parts of buffalo, bear, elk, deer, and dog; a rattle with owl skin cover and decorated with raven feathers, white eagle down, and a snare made of a vine (unknown kind) for the enemy (Bowers 1992:348-358).

A second cluster of ceremonies with associated bundles is that of Thunder, which are separate from the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremonial complex. The origin story for these ceremonies encompassed a broad geographic area that referred to that used by the Hidatsa before establishing at the Knife River; they relate to the exploits of Hidatsa culture hero Packs Antelope. The ceremonies are performed to capture the power of various water spirits, including toad, turtle, otter, beaver, mink, muskrat, and snake
(Bowers 1992:358). Some of the Thunder bundles had stone effigies at places where hunting rites were often performed when away from the village (ibid:369).

The first of the Thunder bundles was that of Big Bird, also the oldest story (Bowers 1992). This bundle contained one “sleep feather” of the golden eagle as well as a white feather near its tail, a head feather and a claw feather; 12 bird sticks painted red; a bullsnake skin representing the Grandfather in the Missouri River; a turtle shell, an otter skin, a ferret skin, sage, a wooden sword with an image of lightning on each side, a flint knife, rattles, and a wooden pipe. The “bird sticks” were chokecherry sticks painted in red and often decorated with eagle tail feathers.

The Missouri River bundles, identical to the Grandfather Snake bundles of the Mandan, were used variously to attain the power of Packs Antelope and the six gods of the river, to make rain, to make pottery, to make bullboats, and to doctor (Bowers 1992:371-373). Closely associated with these bundles were the Creek Bundles of the Awatixa and Awaxawi. The bundles were associated with spirits that resided in the tributaries of the Missouri River, and particularly with the snake said to live in the Little Missouri River. The Creek Bundles were propitious for good hunting. A complete bundle contained beaver fur and claws, otter skin, turtle shell, buffalo skull, mink skin, dried frog, blackroot, peppermint, sage, cedar, muskrat skin, and watersnake skin. Although the contents of these bundles were similar to those of the Thunder and the Missouri River, the accompanying songs were very distinctive and had their own myth (Bowers 1992:380).

The Wolf Bundles are yet another set belonging to the Awaxawi; the three bundles, Wolf Woman, Sunrise Wolf, and Sunset Wolf, in turn, refer to different stages and events in the history of this sub-tribe; they were also used in association with warfare. Items in a Sunrise Wolf Bundle included a wolf hide, a braid of sweetgrass, blackroot, a cap of wolf hide with the ears attached, any fox or coyote to represent scouts, a buffalo skull, and 12 sticks. A buffalo tail skin was used to make a pipe for the Wolf ceremony. The white clay included in this bundle came from a particular hill designated in the wolf myth and was located to the west of the Knife River; the clay was believed to have fallen down from the sky (Bowers 1992:411). The bundle also contained a coyote cap decorated with two raven feathers, four coyote manes with feet attached to be worn as manacles, a wolf hide, two canes with four dark strips (made of chokecherry wood), red grass, and a buffalo skull. The Wolf Woman Bundle contained a wolf hide and wolf hide cap decorated with 12 eagle tails, wolf claws and mane for manacles, a buffalo hide with hair removed, braided sweetgrass, and an enemy’s scalp. Also there was a buffalo skull and white clay.

The Buffalo Calling and Red Stick bundles were specifically used to ensure good hunts, and were recently combined with other bundle rites. The myth relates the discovery of buffalo by First Creator and Lone Man, and introduces Blood Clot Man and Buffalo Woman, who fed the starving people. Some of the resources involved in the annual ceremony included branches of creeping juniper, a buffalo robe, hawk or owl claws, sage
leaves, a dog medicine bag, and a rattlesnake. The bundle, called Dog Medicine, was used to cure mad dog bites and snake bites (Bowers 1992:444-445).

The Buffalo Corral ceremonies derived from the Eagle Trapping and Buffalo Calling ceremonies. They were particularly important before the adoption of the horse, when corrals or jumps were commonly placed along the breaks and cliffs of the Missouri and Little Missouri rivers. The corrals along the Little Missouri were used as late as the 1800s, or after the Crow had split, as they were used by Hidatsa while going to visit the Crow on the Powder River. The rights to build corrals were purchased or inherited along with the medicine used to attract the herds (Bowers 1992:447). Moieties participated in the hunt as well as in the distribution of meat. The Red Sticks ceremony included carved sticks from the Painted Woods that were painted in red and also red body paint. Finally, the Buffalo Neckbone ceremony included elements such as white sage, magpie feathers, rose hips, poles made of ash, and red paint (Bowers 1992:465).

Clan bundles also compiled numerous resources. The Water Buster Clan, whose bundle is still in use, is associated with the four eagle villages in the sky where Spring Boy was tortured. The eagles are said to have given the elements of this bundle: a wooden pipe, peppermint to cure illness, a turtle shell in which to place the peppermint, cornballs and pemmican, and buffalo skulls. This is a bundle used to make rain (Bowers 1992:467). This is only one of five clan bundles associated with the Awatixa, shared with the Mandan, and in more recent times, shared by the Hidatsa and the Awaxawwi when they moved to Like-a-Fishhook Village. Finally, men and women societies also had ceremonial items involving plant, animal, and mineral resources; these were often kept within other larger ceremonial bundles.

Landscape Bundles

An important bundle with landscape feature associations, particularly buttes, was the Earth Naming Bundle. This bundle had origin myths that explain that animal and other spirits actually lived and came from specific buttes. Each butte had a spirit and each spirit had a sacred myth, ritual, and songs. The buttes were in turn represented symbolically by buffalo skulls. Bears Arm's map of the Hidatsa territory (Figure 3.4) shows some of the most important spirit buttes as identified by the bundle owners. This ceremonial complex was practiced until the extermination of the buffalo.

The most important spirit was a large owl who lived in Singer Butte in the Killdeer Mountains. Periodically all the spirits met at the big cave where the Owl lived. Other buttes are the Ghost Singing Butte in the Killdeer Mountains, where swallow and hawk are buried, Crow Butte, Singing Butte, Heart Singing Butte, Little Heart Singing Butte, Fox Singing Butte, Rosebud Butte, White Butte, Opposite Butte, Buffalo Home Buttes, and Dog Den Butte, among others (Bowers 1992:433-438).
The buffalo spirit buttes were visited during the summer hunts, and offerings of feathers from the speckled (juvenile) eagle were made to increase the buffalo herds. Feathers were tied in bundles to buffalo skulls placed near caves under overhanging cliffs. The bundle contained two very large rattles made of buffalo hide; the head, two wings, and two claws of the speckled owl; red and black clay; white sage; and a buffalo skull. Feathers represented swallows and hawks.

Arikara

The Arikara are a group of Caddoan-speaking farmers whose language and culture are closely related to the larger Pawnee groups of the central Plains. Arikara is one of, at least, three related dialects. It is Douglas Park’s opinion that the Arikara dialect began to separate from Pawnee language at least 500 years before European contact, that is, prior to the major divergence of Skiri (northern) Pawnee and the South Band dialects (Parks 2001:365). Citing Grange (1979), Park traces the Arikara and the Pawnee to the Upper Republican phase of the Central Plains Village tradition that was located in Kansas and Nebraska. The split is also documented in traditional Pawnee stories collected by Dorsey (1904:xiii).

Deetz (1965) notes that the Arikara were one of the first groups to be connected to certain archaeological sites through the application of the direct historical approach by W. D. Strong (1940). Having occupied scattered small villages in the central Plains for most of their pre-contact history, the ancestral Arikara began moving northward sometime in the
late prehistoric period. Eventually, the Arikara ancestors merged with the Middle Missouri Village groups of South and North Dakota, becoming part of what Lehmer (1971) named the Coalescent Village Tradition (Figure 3.5). Warfare and epidemics of the eighteenth century forced the Arikara to move north and westward, progressively closer to the Mandan. These processes led to a change in settlement pattern from small, scattered villages to fewer, larger, compactly-arranged, and fortified towns (Holder 1974:27).

![Map of Arikara territory](image)

Figure 3.5 Arikara territory (after Parks 2001)

Sometime friends and often enemies, the Mandan and later the Hidatsa coalesced with the Arikara in the Heart-Knife River region throughout the historic period. The Arikara kept their distinctive identity as Caddoan-speaking farmers and are known and referred as such by the numerous visitors to their villages (e.g., Abel 1939; Smith 1980; Thwaites, ed. 1906; Catlin 1965). In 1804-1805 Lewis and Clark spent time learning and describing Arikara culture, in particular their unique glass bead industry (Ronda 1984). Besieged by the advancing Siouan groups and decimated by the 1837 smallpox epidemic,
they eventually joined the surviving Mandan and Hidatsa in Like-a-Fishhook Village in 1862.

Origins

The Arikara, like numerous other indigenous groups, have traditional histories of their original migration (Ludwickson, Blakeslee, and O’Shea 1981). Gilmore recorded one tradition from Four Rings, “an old man of the Arikara”. All living beings were “first contained and took substance in the womb of Mother Earth” (Gilmore 1926e:189). All the living beings in embryo, in the womb of the Earth, prayed and exerted themselves to emerge and live upon the lap of Mother Earth, under the Sun. First the mole dug up to the surface, but blinded by the sudden light, he remained living within the Earth. Living beings emerged onto the lap of Mother Earth, but the Earth closed before all beings had emerged. As a result, living beings still live in the earth, like snakes, badgers, and various insects. The people moved westward and encountered a great body of water. They prayed and exerted themselves again and crossed through the waters, but waters closed before all the people had crossed, thus there are living beings in the waters like fish. Those beings who could fly crossed the waters and continue to fly to this day.

On the other side the people continued to travel, and they eventually encountered a great obstacle, a large and dense forest. Again with prayer and exertion the people crossed through the forest which closed before all the groups of living beings had passed through. So, there are still living beings who remain in the forests like deer, moose, bears and other forest dwellers It was God who blessed the human people with religion, sacred bundles and the sacred pipe, the friendship of all plants and animals, and especially, the knowledge and gifts of plant medicines to cure illnesses (ibid:188-193). Other traditions have them migrate from big mountains in the south and into the Missouri River country via the Black Hills (Anonymous 1909, cited in Winham and Lueck 1994:171). The Omaha and the Ponca have memories of encountering the Arikara and learning from them during their respective migrations (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972).

Archaeologically, the arrival of the Arikara to the Missouri River trench, particularly the Big Bend and Bad-Cheyenne river regions, arguably post-dates drought episodes that began around A.D. 1300—a time when population relocation and settlement reorganization reached macro-regional proportions (Blakeslee 1993, 2000; Nester 2001:15). This beginning date would roughly correspond to the dialectic split suggested by Parks (2001). Given that the adoption of agriculture in the ancestral Arikara homeland dates to A.D. 900, the migrating Arikara brought about a fully developed farming system to the Northern Plains, which included corn, beans, squash, sunflower, and marsh elder (Lehmer 1971).

Research undertaken by Lehmer and Jones (1968:80-83) in the vicinity of the Oahe Reservoir led them to suggest that by 1475 a cultural ‘configuration’ of Central Plains origin was present in Initial and Extended Coalescent horizons. This configuration
represented a departure from earlier horizons in the region, as was demonstrated by Spaulding (1956) in the Arzberger site and by Caldwell (1966) in the Black Partisan Site. The fusion of Central and Northern Plains Village traditions is evident in a number of features, particularly house construction and ceramic manufacture. However, bioarchaeological studies do indicate that Arikara and Mandan populations remained distinctive—and, therefore, did not intermarry in any significant proportion—throughout the prehistoric and protohistoric periods (Williams 1997). By 1675, the Coalescent Tradition led way to the historic Arikara Tradition, as exemplified in two villages located near the mouth of the Cheyenne River and one just below the Mandan, which is known archaeologically as the Greenshield site (Wood 1978). These sites were occupied until the end of the eighteenth century.

Colonial Period

The earliest European records of the Arikara were based upon descriptions of them made by other tribes rather than by direct interaction between Arikara and European people (Park 2001; Smith 1980). Yet, the Arikara were one of the earliest Missouri River populations to be affected by European diseases (Trimble 1989:50). The first mention of the Arikara is found in a report by Etienne Venyard (or Veniard), sieur de Bourgmont, who recounted his journey and exploration of the lower Missouri River. Bourgmont’s report mentions the Arikara as well as other tribes who lived downstream from them (Smith 1980:9). Bourgmont said that there were three Arikara villages on the west bank of the Missouri River, just above the mouth of the Niobrara River, and that there were about 40 Arikara villages located further upstream and on both banks of the Missouri (Norall 1988:110; Parks 2001:366). It is Norall’s opinion that the extant documentary record can neither confirm nor deny the possibility that Bourgmont explored the Missouri River as far upstream as the Arikara villages of the Bad-Cheyenne river region. Norall points out that Bourgmont made no claim to have visited the Arikara, though they are mentioned in his official reports (Norall 1988:26-27).

Bienville, in 1734, reported that a fur trader had visited the Arikara. Another report from the early eighteenth century noted that there were 40 villages of “Pawnee” (probably the Arikara) that were allied with the Omaha (Smith 1980:10). Thereafter, Europeans who had contact with Arikara people included a Frenchman who lived with the Skiri and visited an Arikara village in 1734. La Verendrye, a French trader who, when making his visit to the Mandan in 1738 was told about the Arikara, could have very easily met Arikara people who routinely visited the Mandan. Also, La Verendrye’s sons visited a group on the Missouri at the mouth of the Bad River who Parks (2001:366) thinks were Arikara.

Sometime in the decade of 1790 the Arikara were pushed out of the Cheyenne River by the Teton, and were forced by them to join those living at the Greenshield site (Will 1924:303). They moved downstream soon thereafter. Jean Baptiste Trudeau, writing in 1796, stated that the Arikara were located a few leagues downstream from the mouth of
the Cheyenne River. However, the villages were probably closer to the Grand River than to the Cheyenne River, as the Arikara had already abandoned this location in favor of the more defensible places. Reportedly they had about five hundred warriors (Nasatir 1952: 379). It appears that Trudeau lived in an Arikara village for a time in order to establish trade relations with them. However, in May of 1796, some Sioux attacked the Arikara village in which Trudeau lived, resulting in the Arikara nocturnal evacuation of the village. Trudeau was obligated to leave his goods behind (ibid: 527).

Pierre-Antoine Tabeau, a trader from St. Louis, lived with the Arikara for a year between 1803 and 1804 in a village on the Missouri River near the mouth of the Grand River. He was, in fact, the guest of an Arikara Chief named Kakawita (Abel 1939:55 n3, 134). According to Wood and Thiessen (1985:56), Tabeau traded with the Arikara from 1803-1805. Tabeau reported that the three villages he was familiar with were the remnants of eighteen villages that previously represented eight to ten Arikara groups or sub-tribes. At this time, Tabeau states that there were only 500 fighting men of the Arikara left due not only to hostilities but mainly because of the ravages caused by the smallpox epidemic of 1781 (Abel 1939:123-124. Lewis and Clark reported similarly in their journals that the Arikara comprised only three villages that had been reduced from a significantly larger number (Parks 2001:366-367).

While living among the Arikara, Tabeau recorded his observations of the times and situations that surrounded him. In his narrative of Loisel’s expedition, Tabeau recounted the exploits of various traders and trappers, as well as a modest amount of information regarding several of the Native American groups in the region, including some aspects of their culture and customs. Tabeau observed that the Arikara cultivated corn and other crops on sand banks and islands in the Missouri River (Abel 1939:69). He also reflected upon the Arikara’s hunt for buffalo, deer and antelope, their gathering of certain species of plants, and fishing among other things. Moreover, Tabeau recognized the importance of the golden eagle in Arikara and other native people’s ceremonies.

At this time, Arikara people were living tense lives due to westward Sioux (Lakota and Yankton) expansion and aggression, and their relationship with the Mandan and Hidatsa was quite hostile. Added to this mix were the pressures and intrigues of competing fur trading companies, and the looming American expansionism foreshadowed by the Lewis and Clark expedition. The Crow were also among the Arikara’s enemies, as Tabeau reported, thus blocking many opportunities for the Arikara to hunt far to the west of their villages (Abel 1939:149). Tabeau stated that the Arikara became tired of war and their position of inferiority in such hostilities in relationship with the Mandan and the Hidatsa. He recorded that on August 31, 1804, the Arikara offered to accept the peace pipe from the Mandan and the Hidatsa (Abel 1939:127), but a sub-tribe of the Arikara did not agree with the proposed alliance and rebelled. Thus, only nine of the remaining Arikara tribes allied with the Mandan and the Hidatsa. The unified group was planning to eradicate the rebelling tribe and had made preparations with the Mandan to destroy the renegade tribe.
However, an imminent advance of Sioux warriors drew their attention away from the renegade Arikara sub-tribe (Abel 1939:128).

**American Period**

While Tabeau was living among the Arikara in 1804, the Corps of Discovery, led by captains William Clark and Meriwether Lewis, made its way to the Missouri River villages. When the Arikara chief Kakawita, Tabeau’s host, took the pipe to the Mandan and Hidatsa delegations assembled most likely in a Mandan village, Lewis and Clark were witnesses to the peace making (Abel 1939:130). It was this event that helped the Arikara develop the ever closer relation between them and the already allied Mandans and Hidatsas, eventually paving the way for the migration of the Arikara to Like-a-Fishhook Village later in that century. Tabeau actually had contact with the expedition members.

The capitalist nature of fur trading, combined with very different customs and ideologies of property, caused many tensions between the Arikara and traders such as Tabeau. He himself recounts how many Arikara chiefs and warriors expected Tabeau to freely give of his stores as the people had need of trade goods. Tabeau could not convince the Arikara that all of his goods were to be purchased, or traded, with valuable merchandise like furs and peltries. Tabeau also declared that, in the Arikara mind, he was a “miser, a hard man, a glutton,” an appellation he earned by building a partition of stakes that locked from the inside, where Tabeau prepared his own meals, within Kakawita’s lodge (Abel 1939:144-145).

A particularly violent incident in Arikara relations with American traders happened in 1823. In general, the tone of Arikara-Euroamerican relations was tense and filled with suspicion on both sides. Arikara people were living on the west side of the Missouri River at the mouth of Cottonwood Creek, where the Leavenworth and a second village sites were located. In 1822 William Ashley, in the service of the American Fur Company, was ascending the river with two keelboats. Neither the Sioux nor the Crow would trade horses with Ashley’s partner Henry, who was further upstream, so Ashley was compelled to trade with the Arikara for the horses. His instructions were to acquire horses and to deliver them upriver to his partner Henry, at the mouth of the Yellowstone. According to Nester, although Ashley knew that there had been a recent skirmish with rival traders and these same Arikara, he stopped at the villages and attempted to trade. An employee under Ashley was killed by the tribesmen for philandering with Arikara women, sparking yet another bloody skirmish. In the volleys of shot and arrows, the traders were at a strategic disadvantage. Reports of the “violence” of such a “horrid tribe” as the Arikara prompted a military campaign to punish the Arikara for such an “outrage” (Nester 2001:139-147).

The two Arikara villages on Cottonwood Creek were inhabited until a joint American and Sioux force laid siege to the villages, bombarding them with artillery shells. Stoked by the wounded pride and ire of Ashley and the Indian Agent O’Fallon, the United States
sent forces under Colonel Henry Leavenworth to punish the Arikara. About 500 Sioux warriors joined the Americans as they were pursuing hostile relations with the Arikara (Nester 2001:168). When peace talks failed after the bombardment, the Arikara fled to the Mandans and Hidatsas under cover of night (Parks 2001:367). The more bloodthirsty traders and soldiers condemned Leavenworth as cowardly and inept. Leavenworth did not desire to exterminate the Arikara. However, the fur traders Pilcher and Campbell, as well as the Indian Agent O’Fallon, accused Leavenworth of failing miserably in the campaign (Nester 2001:178-180). Whether it was cowardice or wisdom, or just common human decency that motivated Leavenworth to seek a diplomatic solution after the initial battle, the pause in the fighting and Leavenworth’s refusal to exploit their advantage at a crucial point allowed the Arikara to survive as a people.

After taking refuge with the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Arikara returned to Cottonwood Creek in 1824 and signed a peace treaty in 1825. According to Barbour (2001:180), the Atkinson-O’Fallon expedition negotiated an omnibus treaty with several nations of the Upper Missouri including the Arikara, Crow, and Assiniboine, among others. This treaty did not regard any lands, boundaries, or exchanges of property, but regarded the safety of white people who would be under the protection of the United States government. The Arikara abandoned the Cottonwood Creek villages again in 1833 for reasons that included Sioux hostility, drought and crop failure, and tensions with Americans (see Jensen and Hutchins [2001] for a comprehensive review of this treaty expedition). The Arikara then relocated to the Loup River staying near their Skiri Pawnee relatives until 1835 (Denig 1961:54-56).

In Barbour’s (2001) history of Fort Union, the early years of the American Fur Company’s trade at the mouth of the Yellowstone River were marked by hostilities from the Arikara. Barbour attributes this hostility to the perceived threat that the Arikara posed to American traders, given their location and (arguable) control of the Missouri Trench. The Arikara were not incorrect in their assessment of the potential disruptions that Europeans and their descendants represented to their land holdings. In one particular incident in November of 1830, some Arikara stopped traders on their way to Fort Union, and took their cargo of blankets, saddles, and tomahawks (Barbour 2001:44). Barbour also mentions that “warfare between Arikara and traders ceased after 1830” (ibid). With major hostilities over, there would be fewer disruptions of shipments between St. Louis and Fort Union.

The hostility, of course, was not one-sided. Edwin Denig (1961), employed at Fort Union for many years and married to an Assiniboine woman, wrote about the native people that he interacted with during his long-time residence at the fort. One of the groups that he spoke of the Arikara. He included some information about how the Arikara subsisted, their population, and the construction of their earth lodges. However, Denig maintained a very bad opinion of the Arikara. As Denig’s contempt is more than adequately described, it may be safe to assume that he may not have had much success in dealing with them.
directly or in accessing any cultural and ethnographic information about Arikara life and customs.

While visiting the Mandan in 1832-33, Catlin wrote of the Arikara, a people who had sworn to kill and hate all whites due to the abuses suffered at the hands of the fur traders and US military. Catlin recorded that the reputation of the Arikara’s hatred for white people was fierce enough to keep him from daring to visit the Arikara personally. He painted the portraits of a few Arikara people, but these were visitors and guests of the Mandan at the time. One of the Arikara portraits of a “brave” is a person who offered himself to Catlin as a pillow. For several nights, in the Mandan lodge in which Catlin was a guest, Catlin slept with his head upon the Arikara brave as his pillow (Catlin 1965:1:203-204).

In 1832-1833, Prince Maximilian zu Wied voyaged on the Missouri River with several companions on board of the Yellow Stone. Maximilian recounted his observations, adventures, and experiences, and on May 14, 1833, he mentioned hearing of the Arikara as “a dangerous Indian tribe,” which “had lately murdered three beaver hunters” (Thwaites, ed. 1906:294). The Prince observed from his steamer the remains of Arikara villages on both sides of the Missouri at and above the mouth of the Cheyenne River. This former dwelling place of the Arikara was abandoned due to Sioux hostility, according to Maximilian (Thwaites, ed. 1906:333).

In both Catlin’s and Maximilian’s accounts of their respective journeys, the Arikara are not as strongly represented as the Sioux, Mandan, and Assiniboine are. This is due mainly to two reasons. First, Catlin and Maximilian ascended the Missouri River only a year apart from one another. During that time, the Arikara were particularly hostile towards fur traders and white people in general and kept to themselves. Second, in the year 1833, as noted above, the Arikara abandoned their Cottonwood Creek villages and joined their relatives, the Pawnee, for a few years. Their immediate presence in villages of the upper Missouri River was temporarily reduced just during the time when Catlin and Maximilian were traveling in the region.

Parks recorded an oral history from Arikara people who commented upon the period of history of the 1820s and 1830s. Referring to the nineteenth century split between the Arikara and the Skiri, Parks notes that the Arikara were unsatisfied with Pawnee treatment. For example, the Pawnee neither shared food nor buffalo hunts when the herds drew near and did not come in their defense against Dakota aggression. For these reasons, the Arikara chiefs chose to lead their people away from the Pawnee (Parks 1991:3:363-365). Parks reports a two-year nomadic period for the Arikara in western Nebraska and South Dakota until 1837. Continuing their movement to the north, the Arikara settled around the American Fur Company’s post, Fort Clark, near the Mandan. It was there that in 1837 and 1838 the Arikara lost more than half of their population to smallpox. The Hidatsa lost possibly two-thirds. The Mandan were also badly stricken, reduced to about 30 survivors (Barbour 2001:138). Soon thereafter, the Arikara moved into the former
Mandan village at Fort Clark, where they successfully grew large quantities of corn for consumption and trade (Holder 1974:100), and thus remained there until 1862. While the Arikara stayed near Fort Clark until its destruction in 1861-1862 (Parks 2001:367), the surviving Mandan joined the Hidatsa.

Apparently, as Sioux aggression against both neighboring tribes and against American settlers and traders increased, so too did political and economic disruption in the region. In the years 1861-1862, various bands of western Sioux pushed the Crow to the Rockies, attacked the Mandan and the Hidatsas at Fort Berthold killing the great Four Bears, and attacked the remnant Arikara village near Fort Clark. Faced with such aggression, the Arikara abandoned their village near Fort Clark (Barbour 2001:215). The Arikara moved up the Missouri River and built two villages on the opposite bank of the Missouri from Like-a-Fishhook Village, amalgamating, by 1862, with the Mandan and Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook. Parks states that by 1872, the Arikara section of this village consisted of 43 earth lodges and 28 log cabins.

The Fort Berthold Indian Reservation was established by executive order in 1870, and by 1886, no Arikara remained in Like-a-Fishhook’s village. By moving families onto plots of farmland, the General Allotment Act of 1885, also known as the Dawes Act, contributed to the abandonment of the village by the Arikara, who settled on individual plots throughout the reservation (Parks 2001:367). Small rural townships, including Elbowoods, Little Shell, Twin Buttes, and Parshall, among others, replaced the bustling villages of previous centuries. Travel, for the most part, was kept to the boundaries of the reservation, and thus much of the continental network that had sustained the Missouri River villages came to a close.

From 1946 to 1954, the US Army Corps of Engineers built the Garrison Dam, just below the boundary of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation. The rising waters inundated the Missouri River trench and robbed the Three Affiliated Tribes of much of their residential and agricultural land (152,360 acres). Population concentration in the bottomlands required the resettlement of 352 families, or approximately 80 percent of the tribal membership, thus causing a tremendous disruption in economic and social networks (Lawson 1982:50-62). Subsequent flooding destroyed innumerable resources and ancestral places of these tribes.

**Traditional Resource Use and Significance**

In assessing Arikara resource use and cultural significance, it is imperative to first place them in their proper historical context, as they were, after all, different from Northern Plains tribes. The Arikara shared many cultural traditions with Plains cultures; however, they also carried with them remnants of their prehistoric past as a Caddoan tribe, which included strong influences from Mississippian cultures of the Gulf of Mexico. This influence was evident particularly in elements of the Southeastern Ceremonial Cult as
well as in incipient social stratification and associated differential access to offices and resources (Gregg 1985:28; Holder 1951, 1962, 1974).

**Animals**

One of the most important animals for the Arikara, like many other societies on the Plains, was the American bison or buffalo. All the village cultures of the Missouri watershed hunted bison. Although much of the sustenance of the village groups came from their gardens and from gathered plants, until the 1880s bison were still being hunted for their meat, bone, hide, horn and hair. Every part of the bison was eaten or used (Berry 1978:56). Hunting was regulated by warriors chosen for the occasion. Detailed descriptions of the Arikara buffalo hunt were written by Henry Brackenridge and John Bradbury in the early 1800s (Berry 1978:57).

Tabeau observed in his account that the Arikara enjoyed bison meat, and used the bison for many other purposes. For example, the hides were used for clothing in any season, and for lodgings. Bison hide was also used for shoes (Abel 1939:174). The horns and the bones provide various tools such as using the shoulderblade of a buffalo cow as a pickaxe (Abel 1939:149), while buffalo horn was used to split driftwood collected from the Missouri River (ibid). Bison sinew was used as thread; stomachs were used as vessels; and bison wool could be spun (Abel 1939:72). Tabeau also noted a hideous episode of deprivation among the Arikara when a rotten bison carcass floating down the Missouri was captured by the people and eaten (ibid:74).

Beyond the provision of food, clothing, and tools, the buffalo provided symbols for the Arikara. Gilmore procured a buffalo skull for the Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation from an Arikara sub-chief named Soldier. Soldier used the buffalo skull, according to Gilmore, as a “religious symbol ... kept on the roof of the owner’s house, overlooking the entrance.” This skull was taken down from the roof when it was needed for religious ceremonies in the holy lodge where it may have been used as the symbol or as the presence of the spirit of the buffalo (Gilmore 1926c:75-76). Gilmore also mentions that sometimes a buffalo skull would be taken out onto the prairie and set down. The person who took the skull would sing songs and make prayers and offerings to the spirit of the buffalo to look upon the people with pity, to bring food and sustenance to the family, village, and people (ibid). In Arikara cosmology, the pipe could also be offered to the skull, and thus be symbolically and religiously offered to the spirit of the buffalo and to the powers of the southwest, in Arikara cosmology.

Arikara hunters also took antelope, white-tailed deer and mule deer. Antelope were sometimes captured in a similar method as bison. The antelope would be driven over a drop and into a coulee or other trap. There the hunters could shoot those antelope that survived the fall. Deer hide was sometimes used to make small balls used in games. The deerskin would be filled with “feathers, hair, or some such light and elastic material” (Gilmore 1926g:293). In addition to food, both antelope and deer hides could be made
into clothing and other ornaments (Abel 1939:76). Antelope were hunted twice a year as they crossed the Missouri River, in the spring and autumn. Tabeau said that the Arikara would wait for the antelope herd to enter the stream. From bluffs they shot arrows at them, while another group of hunters placed on the opposite bank would frighten the herd, which would return to the water, to be fired upon and shot. The Arikara hunters who were good swimmers would swim out and bring back many antelope bodies (ibid:77-78). Tabeau also noted that antelope hide provided fine garments for both men and women (ibid:78).

Another highly important animal is the eagle. Eagle plumes were used in many ceremonies both corporate and personal. Tabeau specifically referred to the golden eagle as the “calumet bird”, showing that the feathers of this bird have, throughout historic times on the Missouri River, been associated directly with the pipe and with religious ceremonies. Moreover, Tabeau described how the Arikara captured eagles by lying in a pit covered by brush, and baited the eagles with the carcass of a rabbit or some another small prey. When the eagle grabbed the prey, the hunter reached up to grab the bird (Abel 1939:90-91). The act of trapping an eagle was a highly ritualized activity across the plains. The seeker must fast, pray and purify in a sweat lodge before hunting the eagle. Eagles were also a frequent presence in medicine bundles. Many sacred medicine bundles also used parts of other animals and birds. Numerous varieties of hawk and falcon skins and feathers, as well as owls, could be found in sacred bundles.

One of Parks’ recorded oral narratives relates to eagle trapping. Although the narrative is mainly about a conflict between Arikara eagle trappers and Sioux aggressors, there is a story containing key information about eagle trapping. The story is set in the time of the combined village of Like-a-Fishhook (c. 1863-1886). Men from the Arikara tribe decided to go eagle-trapping, so they headed westward on the south side of the Missouri River. Parks recorded that the trapping took place near the old Beaver Creek District of Fort Berthold Reservation. The trappers went to a bluff where they knew that many eagles lived and soared in the sky, as they prefer to fly around on windy days. According to the story, once the Arikara men arrived at the place where the trapping would take place, they would first construct the lodge where they would live while trapping. The lodge was made with four posts and layers of grass, pumice, and sod to cover the roof. When this work was completed, each man would dig and set his own eagle trap. The top was covered with sticks, small logs, and brush over the top. A few days later, after trapping an eagle or two, the party would return to the village (Parks 1991:391-399).

The Arikara also ate fish (Abel 1939:90). The traditional knowledge associated with fishing was proprietary. Only those men who possessed the sacred rights to construct a fish trap were allowed to do so. If not, a person must engage a man with the rights to set up the trap. It must be remembered that this fisherman did not keep all of the catch, but shared the catch with the assistants and kinfolk. Gilmore recounts the methods for Arikara fish-trapping. In an eddy in a natural bend of the river with a sandy beach, a fisherman would build a fish trap frame with sandbar willow. The trap was baited with
maggoty meat. As the fish entered the trap to eat the bait, they became trapped. The fisherman took the fish out with a fish basket and piled them in a small trench dug into the sand bar to collect the fish. Fish was not dried or stored but eaten until the taste for it was satisfied or until the waters of the Missouri became too cold to fish comfortably. The fish most commonly caught were catfish (Gilmore 1924b).

**Plants**

The Arikara brought a solid and stable horticultural subsistence base to the Northern Plains. Their cultigens included corn, beans, squash, sunflower, watermelon, marsh elder, and several varieties of tobacco (Berry 1978:55-56). The entire horticultural process belonged to women, as did the gardens and their produce. Horticulture was very important among the Missouri River Village groups. As most groups at this time, the majority of calories consumed by human beings came from vegetable sources. Denig’s list of plants cultivated by the Arikara includes corn, pumpkin, and various squashes (Denig 1961:44). Women were responsible for gardening and cultivating food crops.

The agricultural practices of the Arikara were important for them and for their commerce with other groups of the Plains. The Missouri River and its tributaries provided excellent trade routes for goods and the products of human society—ideas, myths, rituals, and material culture. The Arikara traded their surpluses of corn, beans, squash, and sunflower for products brought to the villages from other tribes and regions (Gilmore 1926b). Gilmore mentions that a standard Arikara work basket, full of shelled corn, would be traded for “one ordinary good buffalo robe or two packs of dried meat” (ibid:14). Women pounded corn in wood mortars made from an ash log placed in the ground inside the earth lodge (Parks 2001:372). Pestles were usually of hickory. Corn, its cultivation and processing was important in Arikara life and economy, and Arikara corn surpluses were traded for other items in intertribal trade networks before the advent of European market economies.

Corn was not only an important plant of sustenance, but also a part of the rituals and piety of the Arikara, both public and private. Will and Hyde (1917) point out that the Arikara cultivated several varieties of corn. The Arikara consumed and traded corn with other indigenous groups. For the Arikara, the corn and the buffalo were the culturally central foods, nourishing the people as mothers would. Gilmore (1925b) describes a household (private) sacred bundle to Mother Corn. Gilmore calls this sacred bundle “a shrine”, which was used for private prayer, veneration, and blessing. It consisted of a perfect ear of red flour corn and a braid of sweetgrass contained in a bag made of buffalo hide.

Many other plants were used for utilitarian purposes. An interesting note from Tabeau’s narrative deals with both crop and bison shortage. Tabeau observed that the Arikara were sustaining themselves with starvation foraging of summer pear blossom, willow stem, sweetgrass, and other plant matter (Abel 1939:74). Women gathered and harvested serviceberry and chokecherry. They also gathered plum, buffaloberry, red haw, sand
cherry, grape, gooseberry, and raspberry. Chokecherries were pounded and dried in cakes. Other wild berries and fruits were eaten fresh or dry. Women also gathered wild prairie turnip in July and would then peel, braid, and dry them. Wild onion and ground bean were also gathered. Arikara women would search for the cache pits of bean mice and the meadow vole, taking away their stored beans but leaving instead corn. In this manner, the mice would not be left destitute. That would be a violation of mutual interdependence and proper relationships. Beans were boiled and eaten (Parks 2001:369-371; Gilmore 1925d).

Gilmore records Arikara tradition regarding the “Origin of the Arikara Silverberry Drink” (1927b). In this story, during a bad famine in which the Arikara people suffered greatly, a hunting party of men futilely continued their hunt for absent game. Upon reaching a certain hill, a man heard a strange voice calling to him. The voice came from a cluster of bushes that are commonly known as silverberry. The plants told the man that they wished to comfort the people. They told the man to take some of the leaves, steep them in water and make a pleasant drink that would be comforting for the people. The man did so, and he took this knowledge back to the people. Afterwards, the people performed a ceremony of thanksgiving in honor of the kindness and friendship of the silverberry bushes.

Arikara women usually made baskets from black willow bark and box elder bark. According to Gilmore (1925a:90), the untreated inner bark of the willow was mainly used to make work baskets because it turned “a dull reddish-brown after exposure to the air for a short time.” The bark of the box elder was combined with willow bark to make work and decorative baskets. Box elder bark left untreated maintained a white color. If box elder bark strips were buried for two days in black mud, then they would provide a black color to be woven into patterns and designs in baskets (ibid:91). Dry elm wood was preferred for firing clay pots and articles. Elm wood burned hot and quiet, without sparking and popping (Gilmore 1925e:289). Another useful plant was the cattail that was used in a children’s game (Gilmore 1928c).

Sandbar willow was used extensively to make posts, walls, and doors of fish traps. In the middle of the trap, a cottonwood sapling with its twigs and leaves was placed to represent the fireplace of the lodge. The posts of the trap are analogous to the four posts of the lodge. The bar that held the door of the trap must be of serviceberry wood. Sage bundles were attached to the four posts and to one side of the door. The proper rituals of offerings, fastings, prayers, and sexual abstinence accompanied the process of constructing the trap and the process of fishing. Tobacco is also listed as one of the required offerings to the spirit of the fish. Another significant plant in the fishing assemblage was the “fish medicine”. This was boiled and dried red baneberry (Gilmore 1924b). This fish medicine was applied to the wound caused by a sting from the catfish to remedy its poison.

The custom of smoking the pipe is still practiced by many nations on the plains, and the Arikara were no exception. One of the most common woods used for the pipe stem is ash
wood (Gilmore 1926d:91). According to Gilmore, the Arikara used a smoking mixture of herbs. They cultivated *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* or sacred tobacco, which they mixed with dried bearberry leaves and the dried inner bark of red osier dogwood (Gilmore 1929a, 1926d). Tobacco was used as smoke in rituals and ceremonies of communal and corporate importance as well as private and personal piety. Gilmore records an Arikara tradition that recounts the origin of tobacco. A great bird visited a man fasting and praying for a vision for many years. The bird was the eagle, who gave to him a branch of a previously unknown plant. It was the tobacco. Eagle instructed the man on how to use the tobacco flower buds as a smoke offering in a pipe. The eagle also told the man that this tobacco should be used for all rituals of Mother Corn. Then the eagle instructed the man on the proper way to capture an eagle for taking its plumes and feathers. The eagle said that the eagle will be a part of all sacrifices through the feathers, and that tobacco must also be offered to the eagle as well as to the powers that be. Gilmore also states that tobacco was used like incense for an ill person (Gilmore 1929a).

Sweetgrass is yet another sacred plant. This grass was collected and usually braided while fresh and pliable. This grass when burned releases a pleasing scent that is used for ritual purposes as incense (Gilmore 1926f). Another important plant that was used in the process of capturing eagles is sage. Gilmore states that when the seeker captured the eagle by its feet, the seeker had to thrust a bundle of sage towards the eagle’s beak. The eagle will take the artemisia bundle in its beak and therefore not attack the seeker with its beak (ibid). Wild sage had many sacred and ritual uses.

**Minerals**

Tabeau mentioned that the Arikara women made very hard but coarse clay pots for cooking (Abel 1939:149). Gilmore provides us with more detail, he records that the Arikara and Pawnee people made ceramics from a “fine tenacious clay” with a temper of baked and pulverized granite (Gilmore 1925c:286). Such granite could be obtained from granite stones used frequently for the sweat lodge. Stones were heated to glowing in fire, then placed within the sacred lodge, in a pit. The stones were drizzled with water, and after many uses in the rituals, the granite stones become friable. They could then be further heated or roasted and pulverized (Gilmore 1925e:286-287).

When making glass beads from pulverized trade beads, the Arikara used copper plates (Parks 2001:372). Gilmore provided more detail about this process. Arikara women would grind and pulverize the oversized trade beads in a stone mortar. Taking sometimes a brass rim from the butt of an old musket and using it as a firing pan, the worker would lay a bed of sand on the brass pan. Using a fine wooden tool, the pulverized glass was mixed into a paste with water and shaped into the desired form on the sand. The assemblage was carefully fired in a very hot, dry elm wood fire. Sand was also used to keep holes open in the beads and shaken out when the bead cooled (Gilmore 1924a). Tabeau said that this art was taught to the Arikara by a “Spanish prisoner” and in Tabeau’s day passed “for a supernatural and magical talent” (Abel 1939:149).
The Arikara used mineral dyes and clays in their household industries. One of Gilmore's informants lived near an alkali spring with black mud. She used this black mud to dye the willow strips black for her basketry (Gilmore 1925a:91). The mud of the lignite spring was used to dye willow bark black for use in decorative baskets. The Arikara used various clays of different colors for decorative and ornamental purposes such as red, yellow, blue, and black. Another clay used was a white clay that was cooked with dog fat, stirred and kneaded, then stored away. This was used as toilet soap (Gilmore 1925e:286). Gilmore also mentioned a substance called “native ink”, which the Arikara used to make black designs on skins and hides. This heavy dark brown/black viscous substance was found only in one spring on the Fort Berthold Reservation. The Arikara used the substance fresh or would dry and store it. To render the “ink” useful again, the Arikara just added water to the dried substance (Gilmore 1925e:283-284).

Heated selenite crystals were crushed into a fine white powder and used “for cleaning, brightening, and giving a gloss to porcupine quillwork, and it was used also for cleaning and finishing arrows or any other objects in which glue was used” (Gilmore 1925e:284) that there are no salt deposits in the Arikara lands, so the Arikara use alkali water from springs or ponds to season their meat. This alkali substance was collected when the water evaporated, leaving a surface deposit (Gilmore 1925e). The Arikara also used catlinite (red pipestone from Minnesota) for the bowls of their pipes. This may not have been the only stone for pipes, but it was one of the important stones, if not the highest stone, for this purpose (Gilmore 1926d).

Crow

The Crow are a Siouan-speaking group with close archaeological, historical, and linguistic ties to the Hidatsa. The Crow currently reside in and around their reservation in southeastern Montana near Billings. The reservation is in the heart of traditional Crow territory but has been reduced from its original size after numerous treaty cessions (Figure 3.6). McCleary (1997:1) stated that the Crow formally called themselves Apsáarooke, meaning ‘Children of The Large Beaked Bird.’ Informally, however, the Crow call themselves Biiluuke, which translates as ‘Our Side.’ Crow historian and religious leader George Reed (n.d.) notes that, historically, there have been three main divisions of the Crow: the Mountain Crow (Ashalahó, “Where there are many lodges”), the River Crow (Binnéessippeele, “Those Who Live Amongst The River Banks”), and the Kicked in the Bellies (Eelalapiio, “Kicked in the Bellies”, or Ammitaalasshé, “Home Away From The Center”) (see also McCleary 1997:2; Lowie 1956). A fourth band became extinct long ago (Reed n.d.). McCleary (1997:5) noted that in the present-day Crow Reservation, the Mountain Crow’s main residency is in the Big Horn and Pryor districts, the River Crow in the Black Lodge and Reno districts, and the Kicked in the Bellies in Lodge Grass and Wyola districts.
Scholars continue to debate the ethnogenesis of each of the three bands of Crow. It is thought that perhaps there was more than one split from the Hidatsa that led to formation of the three Crow divisions at different times in prehistory. Scholars also debate when the Crow may have split from the Hidatsa, but the scholarly consensus places the latest separation as post-Columbian at the earliest and as late as the eighteenth century. Voget (2001:695) rejected the late separation date of 1750-1775, which Denig (1961) favored. Instead, Voget utilized Hollow and Parks’ (1980) glottochronology of Siouan languages to place the Crow and Hidatsa separation between 1500-1600. Voget’s opinion is that the Mountain Crow were perhaps related to the Awatixa Hidatsa whereas the River Crow were associated or descended from the Hidatsa proper (ibid). Linderman’s oral history
(1972:20), collected from Pretty Shield, a Crow woman, provides an alternate opinion. Pretty Shield told Linderman that the Mountain Crow and the River Crow separated from each other just before her time, which Linderman had recorded as prior to 1832. George Reed (n.d.) contends that, as early as 4,000 years ago, there was a group of Crow ancestors already residing in the Crow heartland. The archaeological record indicates that a possible northern migration of Crow ancestors to the Cluny site in central Alberta may be dated to the fifteenth century or earlier (Byrne 1973). The Cluny site is among the late prehistoric sites in Alberta that have unusually high frequencies of Knife River Flint; another site is Dlox I (Narcisse Blood, personal communication 2004).

Wood and Downer (1977) summarized the pertinent arguments about the Crow-Hidatsa split and prompted readers not to assume that linguistic separation and physical separation are temporally congruent. These authors support a glottochronological split between the Crow and the Hidatsa “no less than five centuries ago, and perhaps even earlier,” and state that in Lewis and Clark’s time, the Hidatsa villages on the Knife River were already linguistically diverse. If the proto-Crow had always been in their own village, they would be linguistically separated from one another prior to their cultural and geographical separation. Wood and Downer (1977) espouse a gradual migration of proto Crow people onto the western plains over a sudden and quick migration away from the Hidatsa villages. They interpret the ethnohistorical accounts of this separation to be illustrative of a final separation of the groups rather than the beginning of the gradual process, with the advent of the horse precipitating this finality in the mid-eighteenth century.

In 1979, the journal *Archaeology of Montana* published the proceedings of a symposium devoted to discussing evidence for the Crow-Hidatsa schism. Frison (1979) noted that a series of sites dating from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries were found along the Montana-Wyoming border, and particularly in the Bighorn Mountains. These sites contain pottery resembling that of the Hidatsa, in addition to obsidian artifacts in association with remains of bison hunting and other food processing activities. Sites containing ceramics, stone circles, and other features commonly occur around springs in foothills and mountain locations, and caves, rockshelters, ridges, terrace edges, and high buttes were also used. Additionally, sites along stream banks were common. Frison (1979:12) suggested, on the basis of the distribution of archaeological remains, that the historic Crow were probably the product of integration of various ancestral groups whose histories were distinctive but whose culture was on the whole very similar. He further suggested that answers should be sought along western North Dakota and eastern Montana, in particular along the Littler Missouri River and the Black Hills.

Medicine Crow (1979:81) analyzed a number of ethnohistoric and ethnographic accounts regarding the Crow-Hidatsa split, and together with archaeological evidence, concluded that at least two waves of migration of Crow from the Knife River might have occurred, certainly before 1800. It is important to note that the established westward traveling route of historic Crow was overland, as noted by Francois Antoine Larocque in 1805 (Larocque
1934:12), and traversed from the Knife River, across the Little Missouri River to the Powder River. Another route the Crow followed was that of the Missouri River upstream to the mouth of the Yellowstone River and then south to the upper Yellowstone. Thus, the Yellowstone River should also yield archaeological evidence pointing to Crow presence. Indeed, it does, and the evidence, judging from the findings at the Mondrian Tree site, date to the pre-contact period (Toom and Gregg 1983).

In her cultural affiliation study, Schneider (2002:23) cites Bowers (1992) to point out that that before the disastrous smallpox epidemic of 1837, the Hidatsa consisted of “three autonomous, linguistically different groups: the Hidatsa-proper, the Awatixa, and the Awaxawi (2002:23). Schneider follows Bowers’ belief that the Mountain Crow split from the Awatixa before the River Crow split from the Hidatsa-proper. Schneider (2002:25) notes that, through visiting and trading with their Hidatsa relatives, the Crow maintained a presence along the Missouri River in North Dakota, but did not lay claim to land in North Dakota after relocating west to the Powder, Tongue, and Big Horn River valleys of eastern Montana. Additionally, Wildschut (1975:121) observes that the Crow with other tribes participated in their first official dealings with the United States in 1825 at the villages on the Knife River.

Many oral histories about the separation of the Crow and the Hidatsa have been recorded. McCleary (1997:16) recorded a Crow oral tradition regarding the origins of the historic Crow nation. The parent group of both the Hidatsa and the Crow traveled all over the upper Midwest even into southern Canada. Two brothers, ‘No Intestines’ (No Guts) and ‘Red Scout’, after fasting and asking the Great Spirit’s guidance, eventually split and each led their followers in separate directions. No Intestines settled in Montana and Wyoming thus becoming the Crow, and Red Scout settled on the Heart-Knife region, becoming the Hidatsa after learning horticulture from the Mandan.

The Crow and Hidatsa separation reflected religious worldviews according to the traditions recounted by McCleary (1997) and by George Reed to the authors of this report (see Chapter Four). No Intestines and Red Scout fasted and received visions at Devil’s Lake. McCleary (1997:17) stated that Red Scout’s vision led him to settle his people on the bluffs along the rivers and to plant corn. No Intestines on the other hand, was instructed to find the seeds of Sacred Tobacco, thus setting off a cycle of migration and fasting for further instruction until the seeds were found. Migrating westward from Devil’s Lake, No Intestines again fasted at Chief Mountain in Montana. His vision told him that this was not the place, the center of the world. He then migrated southward, moving past the Great Salt Lake and eventually got to the Canadian River in Oklahoma, called the Arrowhead River by the Crow. A new vision instructed him to move north, following the Missouri River, the Platte, to the Powder River, then finally to the Big Horn Mountains in Wyoming. Here No Intestines fasted for the fourth time upon Awaxaawaküssawishe, “Extended Mountain” the center of the world, which is the Big Horn Mountains. His vision told him that this was the right place, and he was also instructed to find the sacred tobacco seeds at the base of this mountain. No Intestines
found the seeds as “twinkling stars.” For the Crow there is a deep religious and spiritual association between the stars and the sacred tobacco (McCleary 1997:17-18).

**Colonial Period**

The Crow’s subsistence and economy was greatly enhanced by the introduction of the horse. Greater mobility allowed the Crow to have a wider range over the plains, no longer having to remain closer to nearby rivers and waterways. The efficiency of the hunt was increased as the Crow hunted buffalo while on horseback rather than on foot. Lodge sizes increased due to the greater hauling capacity of the horse over the domestic dog. Additionally, the Crow developed and refined their skills in horseback riding, raising, breaking and caring for their horses, including the development of physical and spiritual medicines to make them healthier and quicker (Voget 2001:695). The Crow had horses by 1730, one scholar asserted, nearly a century before the construction of Fort Union on the Missouri River, just west of the mouth of the Yellowstone River. The Crow called the Yellowstone River the Elk River, as many elk lived along this river and many of its tributaries. Citing L. H. Morgan, Voget (2001:695) stated that the Crow pushed the Shoshone from the Yellowstone River after gaining the horse.

The Crow traded extensively with the Hidatsa, Mandan and Arikara. The River Crow sometimes served as middlemen between the Missouri River tribes and the Mountain Crow. Voget also noted that the Mountain Crow traded extensively with the Nez Perce (Voget 2001:697). The Crow were one of the more mobile groups that traded with the village groups, especially their relatives the Hidatsa. As the fur trade grew, and as American interests began to infiltrate the upper Missouri River area, new entrepreneurs sought direct trade relations. Importantly, their access to the headwaters of the Yellowstone (Yellowstone Lake), which was visited by numerous tribes since prehistoric times (Loendorf and Nabokov 2004), and to trails that paralleled or crossed the Rocky Mountains, placed them in an ideal position to also trade with western tribes and obtain resources from the Far West and Southwest that eventually made their way to the upper Missouri.

The French trader Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Verendrye traveled to the Mandans and Hidatsa villages in 1738 (Wood and Thiessen 1985:5). Verendrye had been at a post on the Assiniboine River, and Assiniboine people accompanied him on his journey to the villages of the Mandan and Hidatsa along the Missouri River. By trying to establish stronger trade relationships with these village groups, other groups like the Crow would be reached by trade extension. At least this would have been the logic of expansionist fur traders. Wood and Thiessen note that the presence of European goods between 1675 and 1780 in Hidatsa and Mandan villages is rare. But the late 1700’s show a great increase in European goods. Wood and Thiessen also point out that as direct trade increased, intertribal trade decreased (ibid:8). Tabeau did not visit the Crow but made mention of them as great warriors and heroes of the northwest inhabiting the Yellowstone River. Tabeau, writing in final years of the eighteenth century, added that a trading post
and presence on the Yellowstone would benefit the Crow and the Cheyenne (Abel 1939:160, 165).

Nasatir (1952) reviewed many colonial documents of explorers and traders to illustrate what contact had been made in the upper Missouri before the journey of the Corps of Discovery. He tells of a Canadian trader among the Sioux named Pardo, who with Le Raye and a group of men, a few women and children traveled to the Mandans and the Hidatsas and continued up the Missouri River. They ascended the Yellowstone River to the Powder River. While hunting and trapping, they found a Crow encampment near a tributary of the Big Horn River in September of 1802 (Nasatir 1952:110). Unfortunately, the journal of Charles Le Raye was found to be fraudulent (Dollar 1982). In 1796 Trudeau described the people of the upper Missouri River and also those who inhabited the Yellowstone River and its tributaries. These people were the Crow (Nasatir 1952:381). Manuel Lisa established trading forts at Three Forks of the Missouri River and at the mouth of the Big Horn River to draw the Crow into the fur trade (Voget 2001:697). Lisa began his journey up the Missouri River in 1807 for the Missouri Fur Company (Wood and Thiessen 1985:31). Due to Blackfoot aggression, Manuel Lisa did not succeed at these forts.

**American Period**

Lewis and Clark's journey up the Missouri River brought them into contact with the Crow. Reid's and Jenkinson's editions of the Lewis and Clark journals mention the Crow as a tribe of people that had separated from the Hidatsa prior to 1750. The departing group left the sedentary agricultural lifeway behind and took up a life of wandering and hunting, living in hide lodges (Jenkinson 2003:117; Reid 1947:79; Jenkinson 2003). Upon reaching the mouth of the Yellowstone River, Lewis and Clark recognized both the beauty of the water and land, but also the economic potential of the area for trade with the native nations. They specifically mentioned the Crow. They recommended a trading post be established near the mouth of the Yellowstone on the Missouri. Approximately fifteen years later, the establishment of Fort Union by the American Fur Company would realize this potential.

Around 1822 Major Pilcher of the American Fur Company established a fort eleven miles above the mouth of the Knife River in order to trade with the Assiniboine and the Crow (Thwaites, ed. 1906:364:n35). This venture was short lived indeed, as Prince Maximilian notes that when he passed the site of the former post in 1832, no trace was found. The American Fur Company established Fort Union in 1829. The strategic placement of the fort was beneficial for the Crow, as the fort was within easy reach from their hunting and camping grounds in the Yellowstone River. Though the fort was established ostensibly to attract Assiniboine commerce, its proximity to other nations such as the Crow and the Plains Cree improved trading opportunities for each of these groups (Voget 2001:697-698; DeMallie and Miller 2001:574-575).
George Catlin was quite impressed by the Crow in 1832, and described them as handsome and well dressed. He noted the presence of Crow and Blackfeet together at Fort Union, even though they were bitter enemies elsewhere. While at the fort, Catlin painted the portraits of several prominent Crow men and women. He also gathered what information he considered to be interesting about the various tribes from the trader and other sources. Catlin placed the Crow as roaming and inhabiting the headwaters of the Yellowstone River. He estimated Crow population at about 7,000 people (Catlin 1965:43), although he did not explain how he came to this figure. Qualitatively, however, Catlin stated that both the Blackfeet and the Sioux significantly outnumbered the Crow against whom they warred on a regular basis (Denig 1961:144). Catlin also described aspects of the Crow life, for example, he noted the similarities between Crow lodges (tipis) and the lodges of other groups such as the Blackfeet, Sioux, and Assiniboine. The Crow engaged in bison hunting to procure meat for sustenance, skins and hides for clothing and for lodge covers, and hides and skins to trade at the fort. While describing Crow lodges as the most beautiful that he had seen, Catlin also told that the women were in charge of taking down and setting up these lodges, and then fastening them to horse travois to be hauled away to the next site of encampment.

A contemporary traveler of Catlin was the German Prince Maximilian zu Wied who traveled up the Missouri River in a steamboat visiting Fort Union in 1833 the year after Catlin’s visit (Thwaites, ed. 1906; Barbour 2001:45). Maximilian spent time at Fort Union with his traveling companion Karl Bodmer, also a painter. Bodmer’s paintings of the landscape and the indigenous people of the upper Missouri are quite famous. Maximilian was taken aback by the beauty and luxury of the costumes worn by the Crow, particularly the long hair extensions made of human scalps and worn by noted Crow warriors.

Among the notes on the Crow in the upper Missouri are those written by Edwin Denig (1961), who was the bourgeois of the fort for many years. He wed two Assiniboine women who bore his children. While living at Fort Union he wrote about the regular Crow presence there and their habit of camping upstream from the fort on the west bank of the Yellowstone River. Various bands of Crow people traded at Fort Union. Schneider (2002:25) notes that even after fur trading forts were established deeper into Crow lands in Montana, the Crow people who hunted and gathered near the confluence of the Yellowstone and the Missouri Rivers would continue to trade at Fort Union until its demise.

The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 was the first treaty signed by the Crow, and it established the boundaries of the Crow Reservation. This land encompassed large portions of south central Montana and northern Wyoming, including much of the Yellowstone River, and its tributaries Pryor Creek, Bighorn River, Rosebud River, Tongue River, and Powder River (Frey 1987:28-29; Plummer 1974:63). In 1868, the Crow again signed treaties with the United States at Fort Laramie. Represented by Chief Blackfoot, the Crow ceded title to an estimated 38,000,000 acres (Frey 1987:30), and out
of those acres, 8,000,000 were to be set aside exclusively as the Crow Reservation (Voget 2001:698). The Crow, at the height of their territorial claims, ranged through what is now eastern Montana north to the Milk and Missouri Rivers, west to the Marias River and the Big Belt Mountains and to Absaroka and Wind River Ranges in Wyoming, south to the Sweetwater River and the North Platte River in Wyoming, and east by the Little Missouri River (Voget 2001:696).

Reporting for the Indian Claims Commission, Plummer (1974:63, citing Royce 1899:2:786) drew the boundaries of Crow Territory according to the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1868. The boundaries are as follows:

Commencing at the mouth of the Powder River, on the Yellowstone; thence up Powder River to its source; thence along the main range of the Black hills and Wind River Mountains to the Headwaters of the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Twenty-five Yard Creek; thence to the headwaters of the Muscle-shell river; thence down the Muscle-shell river to its mouth; thence to the headwaters of Big Dry Creek; and thence to its mouth.

But the Treaty of Fort Laramie reduced Crow territory to a reservation with the following boundaries:

Commencing where the one hundred and seventh meridian crosses the S. boundary of Montana Territory; thence N. along said meridian to the mid15 channel of the Yellowstone River; thence up said mid-channel of the Yellowstone to the point where it crosses the said southern boundary of Montana, being the forty-fifth parallel north latitude; thence E. along said parallel of latitude to the place of beginning... (Royce 1899:2:848, cited in Plummer 1974:63).

Plummer continued, “[t]he ceded territory extended from 48° 30’ north latitude to 42° 30’ north latitude. Its western boundary reached to 111° west longitude and its eastern boundary was just within 104° 55’ west longitude. Today, the Crow cession is located in southeastern Montana and northern Wyoming” (Plummer 1974:63-64); it is an estimated 2.2 million acres (McCleary 1997:3; see Figure 3.6).

After the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, the government established the first Crow Agency near Livingstone, Montana. Frey (1987:30) reports that the Crow Reservation was further reduced in size, and by 1905 it was a mere 2,282,000 acres. Rapid changes to Crow life and land occurred since the first treaty of Fort Laramie; the Gold Rush, homesteading, and the railroad increased the migration of EuroAmericans into the area, with the consequent encroachment into Indian lands. Frey also states that the slaughter of buffalo was aided by the railroad’s ability to ship goods quickly back to the east coast, thereby enhancing the buffalo hide trade.
The first constitution of the Crow Tribe was drafted and approved in 1948. Currently, the main economic focus of the Tribe’s four main communities—Crow Agency, Prior, Lodge Grass, and Wyola—is livestock supported by both tribal and allotment lands. Additionally, the commercial exploitation of renewable and nonrenewable resources including sand, gravel, water, timber, coal, oil, and gas provide revenue for the Tribe.

**Traditional Resource Use and Significance**

George Reed and the Crow Tribe’s Cultural Affairs Department (CAD) have produced several informative documents that describe Crow belief, social organization, and traditions to explain the significance of many resources and their uses. According to these documents, the four basic components central to Crow identity are the Clan System, the Sweat Lodge, the Sacred Pipe, and the Tobacco Society. These components were given to the people at the time of Creation and after their migration was completed.

The Clan System is central to the social organization of the Crow. Crow people are born into their mother’s clan. Therefore, a Crow person belongs to the same clan as their mother, not their fathers. The father’s clan is given great respect. There is also the institution of a “teasing clan”. All tribal members receive respect. But the institution allows for joking relationships to be formed. Reed (n.d.) also describes the clan system to be inseparable and synonymous with native religion, as well as associated with animals and bundles.

The Sweat Lodge ceremony is indicative of Crow people who identify and affiliate with traditional and indigenous religious values. It is also called a religion in and of itself. The CAD describes the sweat lodge ceremony as “a means of appeasing, petitioning, and praying. The sweat lodge not only purifies but it also has healing power.” Moreover, there “are five kinds of Apsaalooke [Crow] Sweat Lodges: the Small Sweat Lodge, the Twelve Pole Sweat Lodge, Fourteen Pole Sweat Lodge, the Sixteen Pole Sweat Lodge, and the Hundred pole sweat lodges” (Reed n.d.)

The Pipe is the central focus in Crow life and religion. Reed (n.d.) describes the pipe as a “celestial gift, a bison woman presented it to Bison Boy and it was the pipe of the Seven Bison Bulls, the brothers of Bison Boy. It is used to pray, to lead caravans, processions and war expeditions. It is used to create peace and harmony.” The pipe commands great respect. Pious Crow people would not refuse the pipe when called upon to accept the pipe, especially to resolve an issue. After smoking the pipe, it is required to speak the truth.

According to the CAD document (Reed n.d.), the fourth basic component is the Sacred Tobacco Society. The Crow refer to the Sacred Tobacco plant as the very “cause of our existence” as the Crow, following the vision of No Guts (or No Intestines), split from the Hidatsa and migrated in order to find the Sacred Tobacco plant. This quest and migration began centuries ago. Membership in the Sacred Tobacco Society is by adoption only.
Adoption to the society improves the lives of the adopted. The impetus for adoption could be a quest for healing, prosperity, a better life, and spiritual development or all of the above. The first song sung for the adoption ceremony is the song that No Intestines’ son sang to his own son to adopt him into the Tobacco Society and thus begin the ceremony of adoption. The Sacred Tobacco is associated with the stars; its seeds sparkled and twinkled as the stars. In fact, those Sacred Tobacco seeds were stars that had come to the earth to be with the people. Tobacco is smoked to pray and to establish relationships between people.

**Bundle Acquisition**

In the traditional Crow view, medicine or power is diffused throughout all of life and the living cosmos (Wildschut 1975; Reed n.d.). The term medicine is applied not only to herbs or remedies that ameliorate various physical, mental or emotional maladies, but also to the spiritual power that can be sought from more powerful beings and can be given or shared. Medicine can also refer to knowledge about aspects of life, like plants, animals, and spirits. A Crow person can fast and pray for a vision. Before beginning, the seeker must participate in a ritual sweat lodge. In the vision, a spirit being may come in some form or shape that is recognizable to the visionary. For example, if a young man prays and fasts for guidance and for power, and in the vision a bison bull comes to him, then this would indicate that the visionary has been accepted by the spirit of Buffalo Bull. Thus an adoption has taken place, and a relationship has been established. The visionary may be instructed in the vision by his spirit helper how to prepare a medicine bundle, or how to perform a particular act of prayer or piety, or the spirit may give the visionary a song. The visionary may arrange a sacred bundle from items he saw in the vision or from items given to him by the spirit helper. The visionary will keep and care for this bundle as it not only represents his vision but also carries the power of that vision. Keeping the bundle also maintains the relationship established at the time of the vision (Wildschut 1975).

The visionary prays to the Creator for a vision. Any spirit who has pity on the visionary may visit. Because of this, the possibility of items and combinations of items that can be included in a personal medicine bundle is almost infinite. Animal parts, feathers, various plants, stones, minerals, or mineral pigments, just about anything that has true significance according to the vision might be used and included in a medicine bundle. Offerings made by the visionary may include pieces of flesh; in return he may receive songs, spiritual power, and knowledge about the properties of different resources. There are also medicine dreams, which are important as they impart power or medicine. Wildschut (1975:6) recorded such a dream by a Crow man. The man was camped on the Missouri River scouting. At night he dreamt of a chicken hawk that flew near to him, lighted and changed into a man. Then enemies came to the camp and the hawk-man fought and defeated them all. After the man had the same dream later, he knew that it was a medicine dream, and so, the man “made medicine of a chicken hawk and carried it with [him] while [he] was doing scout duty for the U.S. Army”.

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The number four is central and significant in Crow religion. Many ritual actions may be performed four times; songs may be sung four times. It can be recalled that No Intestines fasted for a vision four times while leading the people to a homeland. This reflects both the sanctity and importance of the number four. Many Native American groups reflect the importance of the number four in their religious rituals, cosmology, and philosophical schema. The four seasons, the four cardinal directions, are examples of the significance of four within the natural world (Reed n.d.). The Crow have the Sun Dance and a number of other ceremonies. Today Crow people also participate in Pentecostal Christianity, the Native American Church, and the Roman Catholic Church.

Animals

The most important animals for subsistence included deer, elk, antelope, and bison. The Crow also hunted mountain sheep and bear (Lowie 1956:72; Voget 2001:698). The Yellowstone River is called Elk River by the Crow, due to the abundance of elk that lived along its banks and tributaries. Elk was another important source for meat, hide, bone and antler. Lowie (1922:222) mentions a whip stock made of elk antler. Crow people could make strong bows from elk antler and sheep horn (Voget 2001:699). The Crow used rawhide bags to store dried and pounded meat (Lowie 1956:75).

Hunting was mainly a masculine activity. Voget (2001:698) points out that Crow methods of bison, deer, and elk hunting were the “surround, precipice jump, and impoundment methods”. Individual hunting methods could also be employed, especially for deer. Hunters would sometimes wear buckskin masks with horns to disguise themselves while stalking deer at watering holes (Lowie 1956:72). Deer and antelope were also driven into corrals, but Lowie (1935:72) noted that it was done on level ground. Ceremony, prayer, and ritual preceded and accompanied such endeavors. Antelope and deerskin were sometimes smoked; the women would make a small dome-like structure over a smoldering fire of rotten wood, and place the skins over the framework. Smoked skins resisted hardening when dried after being exposed to wetness (Lowie 1956:76-77).

Lowie (1935:72) points out two main hunting methods for bison. The earlier bison hunts were communal hunts. Hunters drove a herd of bison over a steep embankment. If the fall was high enough, many animals died due to the fall alone. Surviving bison were impounded in the corral built for this purpose, and shot with arrows at will. Since the advent of the horse, hunters rode to the herd and shot them. Guns later replaced the bow and arrow in the hunt. Rituals of prayer were necessary to undertake hunting. The large communal hunts required communal organization. At this time the chief and the police society were quite strict. Medicine men would use their medicine (power) to call the bison, so that there would be many bison for the hunt.

The bison provided much more than just meat. Much of a bison was used to make articles of clothing and items of everyday use. Hides provided the coverings of lodges, blankets, mattresses and robes. Women also made soft leather pouches from skin of bison and
other animals (Lowie 1956:77). Rawhide provided pots for boiling by the heated stone method, while the bison pericardium could serve as a water bottle (Lowie 1922:212, 216). The pericardium could also be stuffed with antelope hair and made into a children’s ball (Linderman 1972:35). Bison shoulder blades after being cleaned and bleached could be used as plates for serving food (Linderman 1972:33). Bison dung was used for fuel (Frey 1987:12). Bison neck and shoulder sinews could be used as bands (Voget 2001:699).

Tanning hides and skins was women’s work. A hide could be tanned on one or both sides as desired or as necessity demanded. Different techniques were employed for different results and purposes. Also deerskins, being different from bison hides, were processed differently. Tanning used an oily substance made from bison brain and liver. A skin may or may not be smoked. While describing Crow material culture, Lowie (1922:217-218) illustrated several tools used in skin dressing. One particular tool was a beaming tool made from a bison rib. Another tool, a flesher, used a metal blade attached to a leg bone handle.

Lowie (1922:210) noted that war parties sometimes ate skunk and badger. Porcupine quills were dyed and sewed onto things, usually hide, to decorate them. Porcupine tails were used as combs, according to Pretty Shield (Linderman 1972:33). Mountain goat could also be eaten. Mountain goat horn was sometimes used to make drinking cups (Linderman 1972:34). Rabbits provided food (Frey 1987:12). Rabbit skin and fur could be used to make parts of clothing and ornaments.

Lowie (1922:220-221) presented some ambiguity as to Crow use of the travois. He stated that horse travois was not used except to carry the wounded away from battle. He also noted that dog travois were used in days past, and recounted a legend showing such use. Many dogs were indeed kept by Crow people. Moreover, Lowie stated that traditionally, the Crow did not eat or consume dog. He also noted a particular ceremony the Crow received from the Sioux in which a dog was ceremonially eaten.

Horses provided excellent transportation, for their agility and ability to run a distance in warfare and hunting, especially in the communal bison hunts. Horses could swim, after their fashion, and could ford rivers bearing loads. Lowie (1922:219) mentions that the Crow using poles would fashion a triangular frame over which a hide was pulled and fastened tightly. Goods were placed on top. And horses pulled the load across the water. Lowie also states that the Crow did not use bull boats/coracles. Horses were also part of Crow systems of honor, prestige, and kinship obligations. Horses could be very important gifts and items for trade between families, clans, individuals and tribes. Medicine could be made to speed foot and hoof healing, and to protect warrior and mount.

The golden eagle was another important animal for the Crow, especially in ritual and ceremonial life (Wildschut 1975). Eagle feathers were and are medicine. Their use as ornaments or in prayer and ceremony was not taken lightly. Some war bonnets were
made of eagle feathers, while dancers used eagle feathers in their bustles, headdresses and other regalia. Eagle feathers may also be seen ornamenting a very sacred pipe. In some ceremonies, a whistle made of an eagle wing bone was blown. This whistle figures prominently in the Sun Dance. Eagles were trapped much in the same way as other plains tribes did (see Mandan section above).

In his study of Crow Medicine Bundles from the Heye Foundation’s collection, Wildschut (1975:10) mentions many different animals, or rather animal parts, that were included in various bundles. As medicine bundles reflect the visionary or dream experiences of the maker of the bundle, the items in the medicine bundle thus reflect or represent the spirit power of the spirit being that visited the visionary in his or her dream or vision quest. Various spirit beings and supernaturals have helpers, for example the Sun’s first attendant is the eagle. A visionary visited by the Sun will have an eagle feather (or claw or head) in the bundle as the representative of the Sun.

In recounting the origin stories for a snake medicine bundle primarily used for healing, Wildschut (1975:136-138) notes the importance of not only the snake but also the snake’s home, which is a sacred spring. The visionary who received medicine from the snake was led by this animal to a spring which transformed into a medicine lodge filled with other snakes. These snakes turned into human form. They had gathered to doctor and heal a real human who was brought into the lodge. The visionary was given medicine and taught how to use the medicine to heal people (Wildschut 1975:136-138).

Other animal parts used in medicine bundles analyzed by Wildschut (1975) include the following: the skin and sinew of white-tailed deer, bison hide used many times to wrap and keep a bundle, bison hide or robe to place the bundle upon (for opening, displaying, and petitioning the bundle), bison horn, bison bone, hair from the mountain sheep, hair from mule deer, otter skin, skunk skin, weasel skin, hair from horses, owl feathers, eagle feathers, eagle plumes, eagle claws, eagle heads, hawk feathers, swallow feathers, the head of a duck on a medicine society pipe stem, abalone shell, hair and claws of the bear, coyote skin, coyote tails, and wolf skins. Love medicine robes made of elk skin were sometimes made according to visions of the elk. This list does not represent all possibilities of articles that could be included in medicine bundles, as there was a large variety of bundles.

Plants

The Crow grow the sacred tobacco in a ceremonial manner employing the Tobacco Society to maintain these sacred ways and doings. The sacred tobacco is also associated with the stars. In one of the legends the stars come down and become the seeds of the sacred tobacco plant. As long as the sacred tobacco is kept by the Crow, there will be Crow people. Lowie (1922) asserted that the Crow did not cultivate with the exception of their sacred tobacco. The Crow could obtain corn, beans, and squash through trade with the Hidatsa. Lowie also pointed to the references of corn in Crow myths and legends as
referring to Hidatsa myth, legends and characters therein (Lowie 1922:209). The Crow were once people of the earth lodges. At that time, certainly agriculture was part of daily life.

Women harvested wild prairie turnips with wooden digging sticks. Other edible plants were wild rhubarb, strawberry, serviceberry, wild plum, wild grapes, and chokecherry (Lowie 1922:210). Whole chokecherries were pounded on a stone with a maul. Then they were formed into small, elongated shapes and dried in the sun. Wild grapes were eaten fresh or made into a pudding. Chokecherries and other berries could be pounded, dried, and then mixed with fat and with pounded, dried meat to make what is commonly known now as pemmican. Native peoples including the Crow could easily store pemmican for periods of time. Usually pemmican was stored in rawhide bags and pouches, making it portable fast food.

Box elder wood was sometimes used for eating bowls (Voget 2001:698). The Crow used bows made from wood including cedar, ash, and hickory (ibid:699). Arrows were made from chokecherry wood. Lowie also mentioned that he saw some men with small wooden bowls that they carried strapped to their belts. He was informed that these bowls were “medicine.” In the past men on war parties would carry these small bowls or cups with them. They would mix yellow or red paint with water in these cups and then paint their faces and the faces of their horses (Lowie 1922:216).

Willow is another useful wood for the Crow and other Native American groups. Rotten willow wood was used to smoke deer and elk skin. According to Lowie, bison skin was not smoked (Lowie 1922:217). Willow was also used to make the backrests used inside a lodge. The frame made of willow was formed into a tripod, lashed with sinew and bison skin covered the side of the frame to rest the back (ibid:224). Traditional Crow sweat lodges are made with a dome shape of willow branches covered in hide in the old days and sometimes covered in canvas, rugs, and other materials today. Pipe stems for the Medicine Pipe Society were made of red willow (Wildschut 1975:121).

Many indigenous people of the Northern Plains, including the Crow, use sweetgrass as an aromatic, for smudge and incense. Sweetgrass is also used ceremonially for prayer and for blessings (Linderman 1972:32). Sage is another plant burned for prayer and as an aromatic. Lowie noted the use of wild carrot incense (Lowie 1956:267). Cedar incense was also important (Voget 2001:703). Pine needles were burned to cleanse and purify a seeker of visions after their ritual sweat bath was finished and just before the beginning of the fast (Wildschut 1975:7). The Tobacco Society initiation and adoption ritual is extremely important to Crow religion and society. The altar is constructed with willow branches and sprigs of juniper (Lowie 1956:280). Wildschut (1975) also noted the use of plants in medicine bundles and in the rituals associated with using the bundles. Plants in this list include sweetgrass, sage, “herbs”, white pine needles, birch twigs, commercial tobacco, and willow. Wildschut does not specify the “herbs” that are kept in smaller bundles within bundles. He may or may not have been told what those herbs were, nor
may he have had the skills to identify the dried and crushed plant remains that survived in any particular bundle.

**Stones and Minerals**

Stone tools were used extensively before European trade goods replaced them rapidly. Using specimens of material culture from museum collections, Lowie described stone tools. These tools included "knives of chipped stone; stone or bone arrowheads; stone mauls; an awl of unspecified material" (1922:214). Flint was used to make fire. Women used pestle shaped stone hammers to pound chokecherries on a flat stone anvil. Smooth river stones were used to smooth skins (Lowie 1922:218). There were also stone scrapers especially useful in dressing skins. These scrapers were usually fastened to bone, antler, or even wooden handles.

Paints were generally made with mineral pigments. Yellow paint and red paint, mixed with water and sometimes with fat, were applied to the faces of warriors and their horses (Lowie 1922:216). Linderman reports that chokecherry gum was boiled with bison hooves until a jelly was formed. Mineral pigments were added to this for the appropriate color. After the paint dried it was cut into small pieces. Later water or grease could be added to the paint in small bowls to make the paint again useful (Linderman 1972:135-136). One skull medicine bundle that Wildschut analyzed from the collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, contained a skull that was covered in small feathers. Skull and feathers were painted with sacred red ochre in a grease medium (Wildschut 1975:80).

The Crow also had rock medicine bundles. Wildschut (1975:94) notes that Arrow Rock, a butte near the Pryor Gap, is the origin place of the first Rock Medicines, and thereafter rock medicine bundles. The Crow continue to leave offerings at this place. He explains that not all sacred rocks are medicine, or rather personal medicine. But if a particularly interesting looking rock is prayed to, and a medicine dream or vision is received, then the rock will be kept as medicine in a bundle. He also found that there are male medicine rocks and female medicine rocks. The "female rocks are egg-shaped pebbles, gastrolites or fossilized ammonites. The male rocks invariably are fossilized baculites, or rocks within which the Indian imagines he sees a human face, or merely a sharply pointed rock of the same kind" (Wildschut 1975:91).

The Crow used steatite to carve pipe bowls, as well as the Minnesota catlinite. Wildschut (1975:114) looked at pipe bundles, stating that "there were two principle types of medicine pipe bundles among the Crows: (1), the ceremonial pipes of the Medicine Pipe Society, and (2), the pipe-holders' (i.e. war leaders') pipes, which were carried on the warpath as powerful war medicines". It is Wildschut's assessment that the Medicine Pipe Society is of "foreign introduction" basing this on the fact that the "elaborately decorated pipestems" resemble those of the eastern tribes (ibid). His informants told him that the Crow received this society and ceremony long before the split with the Hidatsa. Pipe
holders’ pipe bundles have a stone bowl and a wooden stem that is not as elaborately decorated as the calumets (pipe stems) of the Medicine Pipe Society. Like other personal medicine bundles, the use and creation of the pipe came from visions (ibid:121). The pipe holder, as a war party leader, carried the pipe.

**Human Remains**

Wildschut (1975:76-81) describes owl skull medicine bundles and medicine articles that contain human remains. Skull medicine bundles had as their main article a human skull kept with such items as beads, shells, feathers, red ochre, tobacco, and other articles. These bundles were opened and consulted at times for dreams, protection, direction, for success in raiding or warfare, for vengeance and other purposes depending upon the need of the petitioner and the quality of the medicine bundle. Skulls could be the remains of a beloved family member or of a powerful medicine man.

**Assiniboine**

The Assiniboine are a Siouan-speaking people who currently reside at the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation and the Fort Peck Indian Reservation in Montana, and on the Carry the Kettle Reserve, Ocean Man Reserve, Pheasant Rump Reserve, White Bear Reserve, and the Mosquito-Grizzly Bear’s Head Reserve in Saskatchewan (DeMallie and Miller 2001:572; Figure 3.7). Nakota, the language spoken by the Assiniboine, is a Siouan language closely related to Dakota and Lakota. DeMallie and Miller (2001:572) assert that Assiniboine language is equidistant to Dakota and Lakota, and suspect that the Assiniboine language separated at the same time that did the Lakota and Dakota.

The Jesuit Relations of 1640, as cited by DeMallie and Miller (ibid) list the Assiniboine and Dakota as separate groups. These authors also state that the story of the Assiniboine separating from the Yanktonai in the seventeenth century due to a dispute among two prominent families (Robinson 1956; Riggs 1893) is not supported by historic, biological, or linguistic data. They do, however, recognize that the Stoney separated from the Assiniboine in the eighteenth century. In his 1838-39 journals, Joseph Niclot noted that the Sioux “recognized perfectly their language in that of the even though much changed by the contact of the latter with other nations of the Rocky Mountains” (Bray and Bray 1993:264). A contemporary Yanktonai consultant considers the Yanktonai as separate from the Assiniboine, at least historically.

An important piece of evidence for the separation of Assiniboine and Sioux populations is provided by anthropometrics. Wescott and Jantz (1999) conducted a statistical reanalysis of 465 Sioux and 22 Assiniboine cranial and body remains originally collected by Franz Boas in 1892 for the World Columbian Exposition. They separated the sample in four groups: Assiniboine, Santee, Yankton-Yanktonai, and Teton. The results indicate that Santee and Yankton-Yanktonai populations are similar to one another, whereas Assiniboine and Teton are distinct from all other groups. Differences found in this
reanalysis point toward the existence of temporal, geographic, social, and demographic factors affecting population variation. First, the differences between Assiniboine and Sioux groups were such that it indicates a population split long before the seventeenth century. Second, the lack of gene flow between these groups suggests that geographic distance must have impeded sustained contact for a long period of time; thus, differences are due to time rather than genetic drift. And third, the large variation within the Assiniboine group indicates that gene flow did occur between Assiniboine and non-Siouan groups such as the Cree. Even though the Sioux groups also showed internal variation, probably due to capture of females from non-Siouan groups, these differences are not nearly as pronounced as those between them and the Assiniboine (Wescott and Jantz 1999:854-55).

Origins

Archaeological remains of mobile bison hunters who inhabited the ancestral Assiniboine lands may be found in the parkland and southern boreal forest regions from the Lake of the Woods, Ontario (which is named “Lake of the Assiniboine” on Franquelin’s map of 1682 [Tucker 1942:Plate XIA]) to the Souris Trench in North Dakota (Dawson 1987). Whereas lithic complexes known as Avonlea and Sonota may represent the more temporally distant Archaic period ancestors, the protohistoric Mortlach Complex is frequently assigned as representing Assiniboine or Hidatsa populations of the forest/prairie ecotone (Bauermeister 2000:44). Lowie (Lowie 1909:7; Ray 1974:6) placed the mid-seventeenth century Nakota around Lake of the Woods and Lake Nipigon, west-central Ontario. Thereafter, there was westward migration towards Lake Winnipeg, Manitoba, and then toward the lower Saskatchewan River (Denig 1961:69:ff5).

It is possible that the northernmost distribution of the archaeological expression known as Sandy Lake may have represented the protohistoric Assiniboine (Meyer and Hamilton 1994:125). However, Sandy Lake is most generally associated with Sioux populations living on the middle and upper Red River valley, which would be too far south to be within Assiniboine range in the protohistoric period (Dawson 1987). Schneider (2002:9) suggests that Assiniboine presence in North Dakota cannot be documented before 1804. Although material evidence remains elusive, it seems improbable that the Assiniboine people would not have had at least a minimal pre-contact presence in North Dakota, given their mobility as bison hunters and the many avenues of travel north-south and east-west.
Colonial Period

Several Europeans mention the Assiniboine in their travels and adventures, including Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Duluth, Father Hennepin, Alexander Henry the Elder and the Younger, Jonathan Carver, and Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Verendrye (Schneider 2002). As Europeans and Americans began to occupy these areas, more contact and interaction with various tribes was inevitable. The Jesuit Relations indicate that, in the mid seventeenth century, the eastern limit of many Assiniboine was estimated to be one hundred miles west of Lake Nipigon, and that Assiniboine camps were located along the present Pigeon River, between Minnesota and Ontario (Ray 1974:11). First contact with the French occurred in 1678 with Duluth, who in 1684 established a trading post on Lake Nipigon for the Assiniboine and the Cree.

Although the Assiniboine are ancestrally and linguistically related to the Sioux, they sometimes fought one another. Some of the earliest references to the Assiniboine come from accounts of major historic hostilities that began after the British established York Factory on the Hudson Bay and began trading with various Cree bands. The Cree, after attaining firearms from the British, attacked the Assiniboine and the Sioux. According to
DeMallie and Miller (2001:572), the Assiniboine withstood the worst of the Cree attacks, but later allied themselves with the Cree, thus becoming enemies with the Sioux (2001). During his time as a captive of the Dakota in the upper Mississippi (1680s), Father Louis Hennepin was able to ascertain the distance between his captors and the Assiniboine—about four moons from what was interpreted by Thwaites, ed. (1903:267) to be Lake Winnipeg to central Minnesota. Ray (1974:11-12) interpreted Hennepin’s recollection as placing the Assiniboine around the vicinity of Rainy Lake, but noted that Jacques de Noyon, in 1688, called the Lake of the Woods the “Lake of the Assiniboine.” Citing the journal of Henry Kelsey of 1690-1691, Ray related that the Assiniboine frequented York Factory and occupied the Carrot River and southward to the Touchstone Hills.

By the 1730s the Assiniboine were moving northwestward, abandoning their homelands around Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods and no longer frequenting Lake Superior or Lake Nipigon (Ray 1974:16). The Cree and Assiniboine alliance against the Dakota continued. Moreover, the Dakota faced other pressures from the Ojibwa. La Verendrye, when he was active between Minnesota and Ontario, noted that few Assiniboine lived around the Lake of the Woods. Ray (1974:19) further stated that the Cree and the Assiniboine were trapping furs as north as the headwaters of the Churchill River. Meyer (1977:18) noted that a whole village of Assiniboine accompanied La Verendrye on his expedition to the Mandan villages of the Heart River, a tributary of the Missouri River. He also pointed out that the Assiniboine were no strangers to the Mandan; Assiniboine bands frequented not only Mandan villages but also the villages of their northern neighbors, the Hidatsa.

The British Captain Jonathan Carver traveled in the areas of the western Great Lakes and the headwaters of the Mississippi River in the years 1766 through 1768, collecting information regarding various tribes in the region including the Dakota, the Ojibwa, the Cree, and the Assiniboine. Carver noted the similarities in language and custom between the Dakota and the Assiniboine. During Carver’s travels, the Assiniboine and the Cree were still in alliance against the Dakota and had been for many years (Carver 1956:76, 80, 112). The similarity of the Assiniboine to the Sioux was noted in Tabeau’s narrative of Loisel’s expedition, and the possibility of enumerating the Assiniboine bands under the Sioux (Abel 1939:102). Tabeau noted that the Assiniboine and many other nations hunted along the Missouri River above the Yellowstone and traded with the Mandan further down the Missouri (Abel 1939:161). Tabeau did not have much direct information about the Assiniboine since his main connection was with the Arikara, Mandan, Sioux, and Hidatsa, in that order. All of these tribes were affected by the smallpox epidemic of 1781, when it is thought that the Assiniboine lost at least 3,000 lodges (almost one-half of the population) between the mouth of the Yellowstone River and the Edmonton House (Bray and Bray 1993:262).

Nasatir (1952) provides various insights into the colonial dynamics surrounding the Missouri River. One document reviewed by Nasatir (1952:332, 335), dated July of 1795, is a declaration by two traders to the Spanish authorities in St. Louis regarding their
presence near the Missouri River, and indicating that the Assiniboine belonged in the Missouri River above the Mandan villages and going toward the Rocky Mountains. At the time, the Assiniboine also traded with the British on the Assiniboine River. The French voyager Jean Baptiste Trudeau mentioned the Assiniboine in his description of the upper Missouri of 1796, eight years before the journey of the Corps of Discovery. Trudeau described the Assiniboine as a “wandering nation” which traded with the English and roamed north of the Missouri River. They traded guns and other trade goods for corn, tobacco and horses with the Mandan and the Hidatsa (Nasatir 1952:381, 385).

American Period

Lowie (1909:8) noted that the Assiniboine, at the time of Lewis and Clark, were not only in contact with the Missouri River tribes, but effectively hunted along the north bank of the river. Their westward and southward movement placed them increasingly at war with the Dakota, Crow, and Blackfeet. During this time, many Assiniboine bands lived in a huge area ranging the Missouri River and the Souris River in present day North Dakota northward into Manitoba and Saskatchewan beyond Saskatoon, and also westward through present day northern Montana to the Sweetgrass Hills and the Cypress Hills.

Schneider (2002:10) explains the nature of Assiniboine presence near the Knife River villages. She states that, “in late fall 1804, the Crane and seven other Assiniboine accompanied the Black Cat on a visit to Lewis and Clark at Fort Mandan. From the Crane, Clark learned that three bands of Assiniboine lived on the plains above the Knife River villages and traded with the British on the Assiniboine River”. Fort Pilcher, in fact was intended to attract Assiniboine and Crow business when it was established in 1822 “eleven miles above the Knife River, and that the Assiniboine traded with, and sometimes raided, the Missouri River tribes such as the Mandan and the Hidatsa” (ibid:11-12; Thwaites, ed. 1906:364).

DeMallie and Miller (2001:590) summarize Assiniboine population data. They claim that historical data is of “uncertain accuracy”. Perhaps pre-contact Assiniboine population was about 10,000 as Mooney suggests. The 1780-1781 smallpox epidemic may have reduced the population “by one-third or to one-half”.

A measles and whooping cough epidemic may have again reduced the population by half in 1819-1820. Smallpox struck many tribes along the Missouri River in 1838 reducing the Assiniboine by “as much as 60 percent”. This same epidemic nearly destroyed the Arikara, whose surviving remnant joined the Mandan and the Hidatsa. Smallpox returned to Assiniboine people in 1856-1857 and 1869. DeMallie and Miller also claim that modern reservation population data are also unreliable and cite the degree of intermarriage of Assiniboine people with various other indigenous ethnicities making it difficult to determine just how many Assiniboine there are.
Assiniboine at Fort Union

The breadth of the Assiniboine range in the first half of the nineteenth century is a consequence of demographic and political trends that resulted from the fur trade and its impact on the upper Missouri River tribes. It also shows their close connection with the confluence and with the fort. While Fort Union was active, the Assiniboine lived and ranged from the Turtle Mountains in the east along the Assiniboine River, northwest to the Saskatoon River in Saskatchewan, southward to the confluence of the Red Deer and Saskatchewan Rivers and the Cypress Hills in the west, down to the Missouri River and onward beyond the confluence of the Little Missouri River (DeMallie and Miller 2001:573).

Writing in 1838-39, Nicollet identified nine bands of Assiniboine and their ranges: the Watopenans or canoeists, between the Yellowstone and Devils Lake; the Wichiyanans or Hohes, on the north bank of the Missouri, about the White River; the Inhantonwanyans or people of the village of the rocks, in the vicinity of Fort Union, “of which they declare themselves the protector”; Watopar’ndate or the boats covered with skins, between the Yellowstone and Wood Mountain to the north, “a three days’ march from the fort” Union; Iya openaka or those who speak in a sharp manner, ranging from Wood Mountain to the Yellowstone, and from Edmonton to the Souris River; Wakpatowan or those who make a village on the river; Minishan-atowan, the village of lone water; Rheatonwan or the village on the mountain; and Tchan’rata or flexible wood (Bray and Bray 1993:262).

The reference to Wood Mountain actually indicates a northwestern range located 50 miles below the mouth of the Milk River, by the Quaking Aspen or Poplar River in northeastern Montana, which enters the Missouri from the north (Denig 1961:64). The Eagle band (same as Iya Openaka?), identified some 80 years earlier by Anthony Hendry, ranged as far west as the lower Saskatchewan River; the presence of Assiniboine bands as far south as the Missouri River was also noted by Lewis and Clark in 1804 (Denig 1961:69:ff5). These bands are but one-half of the original 17 bands that made this nation.

The career of Fort Union was intimately tied to the life and land of the Assiniboine. As noted by DeMallie and Miller (2001), the founding of Fort Union in 1829 by the American Fur Company, attempted to draw mainly the Assiniboine, but also the Cree, Chippewa, and Crow into trade relationships near the confluence of the Yellowstone and the Missouri rivers. According to Larpenteur (Coutes 1898), the American Fur Company consulted an Assiniboine chief, head of the Rock band, to locate the intended fort (DeMallie and Miller 2001:574-575). Respected St. Louis trader Pierre Chouteau and the fort’s first bourgeois, Kenneth McKenzie, rightly recognized the benefit of drawing the Assiniboine and Cree into trading further west than their competition did. Hence, Fort Union was built where the Assiniboine thought it would be beneficial.
The Assiniboine soon developed strong attachments toward the fort, visiting it frequently and acting as guarding it against marauders. Barbour (2001:131) states that in August of 1835, the Girl Band of Assiniboine held a Medicine Lodge or Sun Dance ceremony at Fort Union, thus reaffirming the significance of the fort and its location. Contact with the Assiniboine was recorded by numerous visitors and long-time traders who frequented or worked at Fort Union. Chief among the journals that detail life at the fort are those by Larpenteur (Coues 1898) and by Kurz (2005). Ethnographies were also written by Edwin Denig, a fur trader at Fort Union in the early and mid 1800s, by Maximilian (Thwaites, ed. 1906) and by Catlin (1965). Karl Bodmer produced famous portraits of Assiniboine visitors to the fort while accompanying Maximilian.

George Catlin encountered the Assiniboine in his Missouri River travels of 1832-1833. Particularly memorable are Catlin’s illustrations of Native American life and his portraits of Assiniboine whom he encountered in his journey. Catlin placed the Assiniboine to the north and northeast of the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers, and estimated their population to be around 7,000 people. During this time, Catlin (1965:53-54) noticed the close proximity and peace between the Assiniboine and the Northern Ojibwa, and placed the two groups to the north and northeast of Fort Union, ranging through both American and British jurisdictions all the way to Lake Winnipeg. He also recognized the close similarity of Assiniboine and Sioux in language and dress, custom and manner.

Besides meeting and seeing Assiniboine people at Fort Union and its surrounding environs, Catlin also met and spent time with hundreds of Assiniboine encamped on the Missouri River downstream from Fort Union one day’s river journey. At this encampment Catlin (1965:67) encountered his friend Wi-jun-jon, whom he had first met at Fort Union. Wi-jun-jon was an Assiniboine man who traveled to Washington D.C. and back again over the course of more than a year, returning to his family and people at Fort Union.

Prince Maximilian zu Weid also came into contact with Assiniboine people at Fort Pierre, South Dakota in 1832. Maximilian noted, upon leaving Fort Pierre, that the Assiniboine people were traveling with him upstream to Fort Clark near the Mandan villages (Thwaites, ed. 1906). While at Fort Clark, Maximilian visited with various groups of indigenous people. He recorded in his journal reflections and thoughts about the Crow, the Mandan, the Hidatsa and the Yankton delegation that sought peace with the Mandan so that they could hunt in their region and have greater access to the Missouri River, and he noted that Assiniboine people were also present. At Fort Clark he recorded an Assiniboine raid and the departure of the Assiniboine on the 19th of June (Thwaites, ed. 1906:356). He stated that the territory of the Assiniboine was located a few miles above the mouth of the Little Missouri River (ibid:367). Maximilian reached Fort Union shortly thereafter.
At Fort Union, Maximilian learned that the Assiniboine trapped bison ten miles from the fort. He placed Fort Union in Assiniboine territory, and mentioned that only ten miles from Fort Union, there was a “buffalo park” or buffalo trap used by Assiniboine hunters. Beyond this information, the prince also recorded some basic ethnography in his journal, such as his estimation of the Assiniboine population in 1833 as 28,000 people (Thwaites, ed. 1906:304), that is, before the 1837 epidemic. While admiring the surrounding countryside, Maximilian noted peculiar items on the landscape: these were rock cairns of granite that the Assiniboine had erected on high bluffs on top of which was placed a buffalo skull. This skull, on top of the piled rocks, was meant to call the buffalo to the area so that the people could hunt them successfully (ibid:383). The prince’s companion Karl Bodmer painted the shrine, as well as many portraits of the Assiniboine.

Edwin Thompson Denig was a trader and bookkeeper at Fort Union beginning in 1837, until 1856. While at the fort, he learned a great deal about the indigenous nations in the area, in particular, the Assiniboine. He married an Assiniboine woman who gave birth to two children. Denig’s second wife, Deer Little Woman, also an Assiniboine, gave birth to another two children by Denig (Denig 2000:x-xi). Denig’s major report on the Assiniboine was the result of his responses to the questions of a circular, composed and disseminated by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. Even though this manuscript was not published until many years after Denig’s death, Denig had reported much about the Assiniboine, thus producing the first English language ethnography of the Assiniboine people, through the knowledge he gained during his tenure at Fort Union, and his relationships with Assiniboine people (Denig 2000:xiii, xv). Importantly, Denig’s work stands as one of the very few extant ethnographies for the nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Assiniboine, as they were not recorded directly by Bureau of American Ethnology scholars (but see Dorsey 1894 for some general information on Siouan groups).

In short, the Assiniboine traded goods at Fort Union regularly from its establishment until its demise. The character of the relationships between the fort’s traders and the Assiniboine could be described as quasi-kinship, in the sense that the Assiniboine developed personal friendships as well as close social ties with the fort’s employees (see Larpenteur’s notes in Coues 1898). The Assiniboine also became self-appointed guardians of the fort, and were kept on night and day duty during the Sioux hostilities of the 1850s (Barbour 2001:231). The men served as soldiers at Fort Buford to obtain both protection and economic benefits from the Army.

The Assiniboine were present in the signing of the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, but as late as 1862 they were still living in close proximity to the confluence and the village tribes. Lewis Henry Morgan recorded in his journal on Saturday, June 7, 1862, that he visited an encampment of Assiniboine people on the north side of the Missouri “between Forts Berthold and Union, and not far above the mouth of the White Earth” (Morgan 1959:166). Morgan estimated the Assiniboine population along the Milk River at about
200 people, with a “good number of horses” (ibid). The Assiniboine continued to encamp and live around Fort Union even after it was dismantled (Devore and Hunt 1994).

Establishment of the Reservations

The Sioux wars of the 1860s brought the Assiniboine and the Yanktonai close together, as the latter refused to settle in the South Dakota reservations. Both tribes participated in the Ghost Dance movement of 1890 (Mooney 1991). Eventually, they came to live in the same reservation. The Fort Peck Agency was established in 1871, and was housed within at old trading post that the government purchased from traders Peck and Durfee. It soon had to be moved to the Poplar River because of insidious flooding. Camp Poplar (located at Fort Peck Agency) was established in 1880. The early 1880s brought many changes and much suffering. By 1881, all the buffalo were gone from the region. Coinciding with these dramatic changes was the surrender of rebel Sioux leader Sitting Bull at Fort Buford on July 1881. Thereafter, some of his followers, as well as the Yanktonai, remained near Fort Peck and eventually settled and intermarried with Assiniboine (http://www.fortpecktribes.org 2006).

Starvation set in the years of 1883/84 when over 300 Assiniboines died of starvation at the Wolf Point sub-agency. The modern reservation boundaries were established in 1886-87. Struggle for land and against non-Indian homesteaders continued for many decades, and culminated with the construction of Fort Peck Dam beginning in 1934. Currently, Fort Peck Reservation is home to two separate Indian nations, each composed of numerous bands and divisions. The Sioux divisions of Sisseton/Wahpetons, the Yanktonais, and the Teton Hunkpapa are all represented. The Assiniboine bands of Canoe Paddler and Red Bottom are represented. The Reservation is located in the extreme northeast corner of Montana, on the north side of the Missouri River (http://www.fortpecktribes.org 2006).

Not all the Assiniboine bands settled at Fort Peck, as the westernmost were encamped near the Milk River and the Little Rocky Mountains in north-central Montana. In 1855, Isaac Stevens, Governor of the Washington Territory, concluded a treaty to provide peace between the United States and the Blackfeet, Flathead and Nez Perce Tribes. The Gros Ventre (an Algonquian-speaking tribe closely related to the Arapaho and Cheyenne), who were at the time living in the vicinity of the Little Rocky Mountains in north-central Montana, signed the treaty as part of the Blackfeet Nation, whose territory became common hunting grounds for all signatories, including the Assiniboine. In 1868, the United States government established a trading post called Fort Browning near the mouth of Peoples Creek on the Milk River. This trading post was originally built for the Gros Ventre and Assiniboine, but because it was built on a favorite hunting ground of the Sioux, it was abandoned in 1871. After the abandonment of Fort Browning, the government built Fort Belknap on the south side of the Milk River, about one mile southwest of the present town site of Chinook, Montana (http://www.fortbelknapnations-nsn.gov n.d.).
When the fort was discontinued in 1876, the Gros Ventre and Assiniboine receiving annuities at the post were instructed to go to the agency at Fort Peck and Wolf Point. The Assiniboine did not object to going to Wolf Point and readily went about moving; but the Gros Ventre refused to go because of the heavy Sioux presence at Fort Peck. Fort Belknap Agency was re-established two years later, and the Gros Ventre, and remaining Assiniboine were again allowed to receive supplies at Fort Belknap. It was at this site that the Fort Belknap reservation was established, in 1888. By an act of Congress on May 1, 1888, the Blackfeet, Gros Ventre and Assiniboine tribes ceded 17,500,000 acres of their joint reservation and agreed to live upon three smaller reservations (http://www.fortbelknapnations-nsn.gov n.d.).

Traditional Resource Use and Significance

The highly mobile parkland Assiniboine mastered bison hunting strategies, and supplementing their subsistence with wild plants and other animal resources. Unfortunately, as Dusenberry (1960) notes, anthropologists neglected to thoroughly document traditional Assiniboine life while elders of the “time of the buffalo” were still alive. Here we summarize available information about resource use and significance.

The Bison Complex

Bison, and all its geographical and ecological associations, figure prominently in Assiniboine economy, ideology, and belief systems. Elaborate seasonal rounds, steeped in propitiatory rituals, characterized the bison hunt. Part of this relationship relied upon knowing the bison’s habitat, habits, temperament, and behaviors. When Assiniboine technology changed during and after the adoption of the horse, methods of hunting bison were also innovated. The spirit of the bison was central to Assiniboine ritual and worldview. Religion included the bison in many prominent relationships with the people through songs, medicine, prayers, and ritual practice. The Sundance was also central to their religious system and closely associated with the hunt.

The Assiniboine and many other Native American groups consumed bison meat, wore bison hide and skin, and worked with tools and implements made with bison bone. They used almost every part of a bison for one purpose or another. A major use of bison skin is the tanning of hides for lodge (tipi) covers. Long (1942) stated that an average lodge used 6 to 14 bison hides, while extra large lodges were constructed with 20 hides. Bison hide also provided clothing for the people. Another important use for a bison skin assisted in transportation. Bison hides stretched over a circular “basket-like” framework of willow were used as small boats (bullboats) for fording rivers.

The bison’s name “was given to children so they would be hardy and reach maturity quickly; organizations were named after it; medicine men relied on the powers of the Spirit Buffalo to help them perform their rituals more successfully” (Long 1942:103). The Buffalo Chaser Society, still active, is in charge of many of the highest ceremonies...
that involve buffalo, including the annual ceremonial hunt. As an example of detailed knowledge of bison habits, Long mentions that sometimes a young bull may take a couple of cows with him down into deep coulees to hide from the rest of the herd, and from the older bulls that would fight with the younger bulls to keep them from cows during the mating season (ibid:104). Bison bellowing is a deep rumbling tone and it can be heard at great distances. Hunters would listen carefully for these sounds.

The great bison hunt of the Assiniboine was in October, as this was the time when bison were fat and still in herds. This was the main hunt to obtain great amounts of meat to dry and to store for the winter. November was the month that the bulls left the main herds. At this time four-year-old cows were hunted, as their hides were best at this time for lodge skins. Hunters took calves and yearlings for children’s robes. Calves dropped in April and May. The best hides for adult robes were taken in January and February from male and female bison four years in age. Bison six years old were considered mature (Long 1942:105-107).

Long (1942:116) also mentions a sacred rock in “buffalo country” that resembled a bison lying down on the plains. It was considered sacred by the tribes in the area, who made offerings to it. Long also recounts one of the Assiniboine stories associated with this rock. The rock was moved when U.S. Highway 2 was being built. When completed, the rock “was placed near the highway just east of Lake Bowdoin, Montana, a short distance from its original site”. At the time Long recorded his stories, offerings were still being made to the rock by the Assiniboine and by other groups.

Other Animals

The Assiniboine also hunted and trapped other animals for food, clothing, ornaments, rituals, and other purposes. Traps for small game such as fox, coyote, badger and others were made of wooden stakes with a collapsing roof. Rabbits and prairie chickens were snared with a “loop of twisted horsetail hair”. Ducks were snatched from the water by hand (Long 1942:163-165). Deer also fed the people when bison were scarce. Denig (2000:142) describes deer hunting as a skillful art, the hunter requiring skill in tracking, stealth, and marksmanship, as well as intimate knowledge of the habits of the deer. Deer Society members possessed a hunting charm made of the “short prong of a deer horn” (Long 1942:172, 177), which brought good fortune to the hunter allowing him to bring home deer meat. Wintertime provided good opportunities to hunt deer, antelope, elk, and moose, as they could be more easily tracked by hoof prints left in the snow, while in the summertime, hunters chose to be near watering places where deer would drink in the evenings.

Long defines “buckskin” as the tanned hide of deer, antelope, elk or moose. Antelope is the thinnest and lightest, while moose is the heaviest (Long 1942:134). Buckskin was used for baby cradles (Long 1942:66). Buckskin was also used to make the diamond shaped bag into which was placed the severed umbilical cord of a newborn, and “beaver
claws were sewed to the two side corners and also the bottom point as decorations”. Fawn skin with the hair on was made into a bag to store dried juneberries (ibid:125). Antelope skin, in particular, served as the dress for a young girl who participated in a specific ceremony (ibid:97). Elk teeth decorated the most valuable of women’s buckskin dresses (ibid:135). Moccasins were usually made from the old hides of the tops of lodges as it was continually smoked from the lodge fires. Bison hair provided padding and warmth inside large sized moccasins used in cold weather.

Denig notes that elk hunting is done by parties of men on foot. Large numbers of elk could be found in the wooded river bottoms of the Yellowstone and the Missouri Rivers. Parties of men would locate a herd and fire upon them. Elk could also be hunted single with the same precautions as that of hunting deer (Denig 2000:143) Elk horn could be used to make whip stocks. Women made hide scrapping tools by attaching stone to horn handles. Deer hair stuffed into skin bags could be used as saddles (Long 1942:140). The tips of elk horn were sometimes fastened to one end of a bow to be used as a kind of bayonet (ibid:149).

Bear hunting was not common, according to Denig (2000). Denig reports that the more common method for taking a bear is to shoot it while hibernating in the winter. On the plain, mounted hunters could shoot down a bear with arrows. A bear is skinned, save the head. With great respect the head of the bear is painted with vermilion, offered the pipe, and other gifts. The bear will also be propitiated to not harm the hunter or his family (Denig 2000:144). Bear intestines were blown up and dried, and when softened, they were cut into strips for ribbon and decorative edging (Long 1942:140).

Porcupine quills were dyed and used to make decorative patterns on various objects especially dresses, shirts, moccasins and other pieces of clothing (Long 1942:67, 97, 135). Nakota tattooing consisted of pricking the skin with large porcupine quills and rubbing charcoal onto the wounded skin (ibid:137). Eagle feathers were considered to be very sacred and important to religion, ceremony, ritual and society. Eagle tail feathers were used to decorate the stem of the sacred pipe (ibid:48). As many other Native American groups on the Northern Plains, the Assiniboine made war-bonnets from the tail feathers of the eagle (ibid:96). Large eagle or hawk wing feathers were used for fletching (ibid:151).

Before the advent of the horse, Assiniboine used their domestic dogs to pull travois. A single dog with a travois carried approximately a 50-pound load. If an elder needed to be transported, two dogs were yoked together with a double travois (Long 1942:50-51). Later, when the Nakota had horses, larger travois were used, with a greater carrying capacity. At this time also, lodges could increase in size as horses could carry more hides that the Assiniboine used to cover their lodges. Eating the dog or the horses was the last resort of utter destitution and famine for the Nakota (Denig 2000:115).
Horses, as mentioned before, became extremely important in the chase and hunt of bison (Long 1942:54). Horses fit nicely into the mobile lifestyle of the Nakota and other plains dwellers. Horses also became a mark of status, since to have many horses was a sign of opulence. Hunters were proud of their swift buffalo runners. Horses were also used as property to be given away as presents, as payment of services, to pay for medicine and healing, to establish relationships, and to gain honor. Horses also figured prominently in warfare. Besides the utility of a horse in transport, hunting, and warfare, the horse was a valuable prize for a raiding and warfare party. War honors could be gained by slaying an enemy, by counting coup on an enemy, and by stealing horses from an enemy or an enemy camp (Long 1942:84).

Additional animal resources mentioned by Long (1942:138-140) include large clamshells for kitchen utensils and smoothed out turtle carapaces used as cups.

Plants

According to Denig (2000:13-14), the Assiniboine did not cultivate the soil, but they procured and ate wild rhubarb raw or cooked, artichoke, chokecherry, bullberry, wild rose buds, red plums, sour grapes, and wild hop. The Assiniboine traded with the Missouri River tribes, Hidatsa and Mandan, for corn and pumpkin. Wild turnip was commonly found, and as Denig (2000:14) noted, could “sustain life alone for a great length of time...”. Women and children dug up wild turnip in late June through July, using a digging stick. They were eaten raw, cooked in soups, or were sliced and dried to be stored for the winter. Dried wild turnips were consumed in the winter after being boiled (Long 1942:124). Lowie referred to this vegetable food of the Assiniboine by its French name, pomme blanche, while Denig (2000:189) called it prairie turnip. Lowie (1909:12) also cites the Jesuit Relations, stating that the Assiniboine, at one time, harvested wild rice. This would probably serve as a link to their past further east, and to subsistence that may have been more similar to their Dakota relatives.

After turnips were finished in late July, it was time to pick juneberries. Long (1942:125-127) reported that beyond eating them fresh, juneberries were also dried and stored, and could be consumed after being “rubbed into pounded dried turnip.” Juneberry leaves were also used to make tea. Soon after came the chokecherry harvest, and the women pounded chokecherries, mixed them with tallow and dried them into patties. Pounded or crushed cherries could be mixed with fats or with pounded meats, especially bison meat (Long 1942:122, 126). After the main berry season, wild rosehips, mixed with tallow, also provided food for the people. According to Long, at this same time, buffalo berries were gathered, washed and dried.

Small willow twigs were used to clean pipes. Old men notched these pipe cleaners to count days in a moon. Willow branches were also used to make the frames of buffalo boats or coracles. Willows could be used to make the support frame of the dog travois; and backrests used by chiefs and important men in the lodges were made from willow.
branches and decorated Stirrups were fashioned from bent willow branches wrapped in rawhide (Long 1942:33, 93, 140).

Long (1942:148-149) noted that bows, varying in length according to uses, were made from the wood of chokecherry, serviceberry, ash, burr oak or scrub oak, while arrow shafts were of juneberry or chokecherry. The process of selection of the wood for bows, as well as the curing of the wood, was a long and involved process (Dusenberry 1960), but the resulting bows, greased and painted with white clay, lasted a long time. Lodgepole pine was used in the construction of different types of structures (Long 1942:131). The name is derived from its use as the poles for lodges and tipis for numerous tribes. Long also mentions that the pegs used to secure the lodge to the ground and the pins used to secure the hide were usually of chokecherry wood.

Cattail fluff was used as the inner lining of the child’s cradle under the buckskin as a “combination blanket and diaper,” and renewed when necessary (Long 1942:66). Long also records the significance of children’s play and amusement. In particular, young boys would use dried grass arrows and small wooden bows to hunt mice. Young girls would make small conical lodges from very large cottonwood leaves and make camps and bands with the little green lodges (ibid:69). Willow sticks were preferred for the slide stick game (ibid:142). Flattened pieces of wood were used as plates (Long 1942:140). Lowie states that these were made of either box elder or willow (Lowie 1909:12). Ash wood was used as one of the methods for making fire. A block of ash wood provided the base and small bowl for flammable objects and tinder. An ash wood stick was spun with the hands back and forth to produce the friction necessary to ignite the material (Long 1942:199).

Very little information is available regarding the use of plants for medicinal or sacred uses by the Assiniboine. Denig’s (2000:29) descriptions of medicines used during doctoring ceremonies were mainly restricted to his observations of patients being “made to drink decoctions of roots or powders made by the doctors of pulverized roots, rattles of the rattlesnake, calcined bones, etc.”. Denig (2000:31) also noted that the Assiniboine had very few plant medicines, yet the few described by him were observed to have good results. Blackroot (also called comb root or racine noir by the French) was well known, readily available and considered good for cases of rattlesnake bites, “frozen parts, and inflammatory wounds”. A decoction of cattail root and the use of the inner bark of the red osier dogwood (commonly called red willow) were applied externally to reduce inflammation on wounds, strains and for pain, while a decoction of cattail root was also given internally to produce perspiration (Denig 2000:32).

Sacred tobacco and sweet grass were commonly used in ceremonies. Long (2000:156-158), describing bison hunts, noted that sweet grass offerings were made to the buffalo spirit continually during the hunting process. For instance, once all the bison in the trap had been slain, the medicine man would take braided sweet grass as an offering and reverently touch each bison with it (ibid:158).
Current efforts are being made to identify and protect traditional plants of the Assiniboine. In 1997, the Cultural Resources Department of the Fort Peck Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes applied for and received a Historic Preservation Fund Grant for an ethnobotany project that is charged with protecting traditional medicine plants on the reservation. Additional information on contemporary plant uses is detailed in Chapter Four.

Minerals

The Assiniboine used stone to make the bowls of their pipes and sacred pipes. Long (1942:48) mentioned sacred pipes with black stone bowls, and noted that a “soft grayish rock, similar to the red pipestone found in Minnesota” was also used in making pipes. After the stone was carved, it was smeared in fat and passed through fire repeatedly and was finally polished to a gloss (ibid:138).

Long (1942:136) noted that vermilion was used to paint faces to protect from sunburn. Denig (2000:160) reported that warriors painted their faces with vermilion when they went off to war. Red paint was also placed on the graves and bodies of the dead. In fact, this was found in the Ice House burials at Fort Union, which likely are from Assiniboine individuals (DeVore and Hunt 1994; see Chapter Two). White clay was smeared into the hair to keep it in place (Long 1942:137). White clay was also mixed with bison ankle sinew glue to coat bows to make them stronger (ibid:149). Stones and rocks provided tools such as mashers, anvils, clubs, hones, and hammers (ibid:138). Dusenberry (1960) notes that the knowledge of making arrows of heated flint was given to an arrowmaker in a dream. Bone, iron, and wood were also used to make arrow points.

Plains Chippewa (Northern Ojibwa)

The Algonquian-speaking peoples known as “Plains Chippewa” are a composite population of woodland Ojibwa, Metis, and eastern Cree, who are organized in two federally acknowledged tribes—Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, in North Dakota, and the Rocky Boy’s Band of Chippewa-Cree Indians in Montana (Figure 3.8). Although both tribes share the same cultural ancestry and ancient adaptation to the prairie-woodland ecotone, each has its own historical trajectory. The unification of Chippewa and plains Cree bands in a single tribe, as is the case of Rocky Boy’s Band, is a relatively recent historical phenomenon.

The Plains Chippewa people share a culture of woodland ancestry that became uniquely adapted to the Northern Plains through the adoption of the horse and a focus on buffalo hunting as the main subsistence strategy in historic times. Their original homeland is the Red River Basin and the lakes that flank it—Lake of the Woods in Ontario and Lake Manitoba in Manitoba, with the Pembina Hills and River at the center of this area. The Red River bands of the late 1700s were highly mobile, efficient hunters and gifted trappers, with a 600-mile annual round that took them to the rich fisheries of Lake
Superior, and a vast knowledge of plants and animals from the surrounding forests and prairies. They were the last of the woodland bands to follow the westward movement of equestrian hunters and settle on the plains.

Origins

Origins of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa may be traced to three shifting, kin-related Algonquian groups that inhabited the subartic region, from Lake Winnipeg, Manitoba to the north shore of Lake Superior, Michigan in prehistoric and historic times. Archaeological characteristics place the first group as the northern Ojibwa or Saulteaux, who inhabited the north shore of Lake Superior; the second group is a blend of Chippewa and Cree who occupied the interior lakes and headwaters of the Hudson Bay; and the third group is associated with the southwestern Ojibwa of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, who inhabited the area between Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods (Skinner 1912; Dawson 1987:145). Huron and Ottawa ancestry of some tribal members probably dates to the rise of multiethnic refugee populations that coresided in the interior lakes and eastern woodlands during Iroquois wars of the mid-1600s (Albers 2001). Assiniboine ancestry of some Northern Ojibwa bands is also documented. Collectively, they are often referred to in the literature as the “Northern Ojibwa” of northwestern Ontario, a term that is used in this report to simplify the prehistoric and contact period narrative, and to explicitly discuss their historical trajectory.

Dawson (1987) points out that the home of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa ancestors was located around the Winnipeg River, the south Shores of Lake Winnipeg, and the mouth of the Red River. The Cree, on the other hand, lived on the north shore of Lake Winnipeg and Sandy Lake. This whole region could be considered the home base of these highly mobile groups. However, the hunting range of the ancestral Chippewa populations was huge, extending from the Hudson Bay to the Missouri River and from the White Earth River to the Sault St. Marie.

Dawson (1987) states that the contact period populations are more visible archaeologically than historically, at least for the better part of the seventeenth century. Archaeologically, the Northern Ojibwa are very well represented in their primary homeland. Dawson (1987:151-152) identified over 222 Terminal Woodland components dating approximately to A.D. 1600-A.D. 1700 and 930 Woodland components representing late prehistoric and protohistoric occupations. The archaeological remains generally comprise small stratified habitation sites and associated hunting camps, plus many other features, including abundant pictographs and shoreline cobblestone pits known as “Pukaskwa Pits.” Overall, the variability in stone artifacts (flaked and polished) and in features indicates use of seasonally available resources over a broad area—a resilient adaptation that precluded the formation of clearcut ethnic-territorial distinctions among the groups within the Northern Ojibwa designation.
Ceramic assemblages are important because they serve both to identify long-distance connections with other Ojibwa and Cree ancestors, and to distinguish the Algonquian from the Siouan groups that used resources on overlapping ranges, as for example, the Red River Basin and the Souris-Pembina Trench (Nicholson and Hamilton 2001; Johnson 1963; Michlovic 1983). Ceramic assemblages in the Lake Superior region are dominated by the Blackduck tradition. Although it was originally thought that Blackduck was a Siouan pottery (e.g., Wilford 1941) mostly because of its geographical association with Siouan Kathio contexts in the Mississippi headwaters region of Minnesota, archaeologists currently attribute Blackduck to Algonquian populations (e.g., Syms 1977; Wright 1972; Dawson 1987). Other minor components associated with the Lake Superior region are the Michigan ceramics. On the other hand, groups closely associated with the waterways of the interior are strongly represented by the Selkirk tradition, which is generally attributed to the Cree on the basis of their presence in historic Cree sites (Wright 1968; Dawson 1987) and wrongly attributed to the Assiniboine.
Finally, the Sandy Lake ceramics, which appear in small numbers on the southern portion of the Northern Ojibwa homeland, namely, the Lake of the Woods (Dawson 1987:155), but are increasingly common along the middle and lower Red River in North Dakota (Michlovic 1983; Johnson 1963) and in Vickers Focus sites along the Souris-Pembina Trench in southwestern Manitoba associated with Siouan speakers (Nicholson and Hamilton 2001). Interestingly, during the late prehistoric period, as far as the archaeological record indicates, Algonquian and Siouan populations were occupying different territories, with some overlap on to the south and west of Lake Winnipeg. Overlap to the south is particularly noteworthy, as it indicates joint use of resources in a pattern that Syms (1977) calls “co-influence spheres” where multiple ethnic groups share a single resource area and single ethnic groups use resources spread over various areas. It is precisely through this “co-influence sphere” pattern of resource use that ancestral interaction and connections among Algonquian and Siouan populations from the Mississippi and Missouri river valleys (ancestral Yanktonai, Dakota, Hidatsa, Mandan, Chiwere and Dhegiha) likely began sometime in late prehistoric times.

Yet another important piece of evidence that places the Turtle Mountain ancestors in the Winnipeg River and Lake areas in the seventeenth century is physical anthropology. Wyman (1993) conducted a comparative study of cranial attributes of samples from the Winnipeg River area, the Fort Alexander Site, southwestern Manitoba, and North Dakota. The materials he analyzed date mostly to the terminal Woodland and early historic periods and incorporate remains from native sites as well as colonial sites but the individuals represented are purely Native American. The results of Wyman’s statistical analysis (Wyman 1993:69-72) clearly show that, first, the Fort Alexander and the Winnipeg River remains are Algonquian and, second, that they are significantly different from the North Dakota and Manitoba remains, which are likely Siouan.

**Colonial Period**

Dawson (1987) demonstrates that the Northern Ojibwa of the early Colonial period are better known for their archaeological remains than for historical accounts. Yet, through his detailed reading of the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Thwaites, ed. 23 vols.) and other seventeenth century documents including Etienne Brulé’s 1619 visit to the Saulteaux fisheries in Lake Superior (Butterfield 1898), Nicolas Perrot’s direct and indirect records of Ojibwa presence in the Great Lakes (Blair 1996), and Pierre Esprit Radisson’s sixth voyage to the Mississippi headwaters in 1661, Dawson is also able to reconstruct an ethnic picture of the north shore Lake Superior-Sandy Lake region that complements the archaeological reconstruction. Hence, it is safe to assume continuity in ethnicity and territoriality of Northern Ojibwa bands throughout the seventeenth century or roughly 1615-1730.

Of the colonial documents directly related to the historical trajectory of the Northern Ojibwa, three fur trader journals and one captivity account stand out for their relevance: Pierre Gaultier Varennes Sieur de la Verendrye (1738-39), Alexander Henry (1798-
1811), Charles Jean Baptiste Chaboillez (1797-98); and the fascinating 30-year captivity account by John Tanner (1994). In 1738, la Verendrye and his sons traveled from Fort La Reine in Manitoba to the Mandan Villages in the Missouri River. They used the Turtle Mountains located in North Dakota, just south of the international border, as a major landmark on the route through an otherwise fairly flat terrain. Historians have struggled with the exact route followed by Verendrye’s, particularly when attempting to locate villages in some accurate fashion, but all attempted reconstructions invariably place him in the Turtle Mountains in 1738 (Burpee 1927; Reid 1965; Wood 1980).

La Verendrye’s travels were of great significance because they opened the fur-rich Red River country to the trade. For their part, the Northern Ojibwa and their Assiniboine and Cree neighbors, having access to the Hudson’s Bay as well as to Lake Superior, took fast to trapping and trading at different posts. It is likely that they advanced south to the upper Red River as early as the mid-1700s. The French followers of la Verendrye dominated the trade in the interior lakes and river basins of Ontario and Manitoba for a good part of the eighteenth century.

Although initially the Ojibwa were trading with the Northwest Company, after the end of the French and Indian War of 1763 the Hudson’s Bay Company began to compete with the Canadian houses for areas that had been previously dominated by the French trade. By the late 1790s the English traders had penetrated the interior lakes. At the same time, the westward population movement that had begun during the Iroquois wars, displacing people in a domino effect, gained strength with the westward expansion of the fur trade, causing conflicts and all-out warfare among former allies, namely, the Ojibwa and the Sioux. Without the horse, the eighteenth-century Northern and Southwestern Ojibwa kept to the woods for the most part, venturing into the open prairie only infrequently.

In 1789, Alexander Henry the Elder, a noted English trader among the tribes of the south shore of Lake Superior, contracted two traders to take “the Savages from the Lac de la Sensue [Leech Lake, Minnesota] to the prairies” (Jean Baptiste Perrault, cited in Hickerson 1956:296). This was a most dangerous enterprise, as many travelers that came through the Red River country after 1763 observed that this area was practically uninhabited due to the fact that the Yanktonai Sioux used the river as a warpath against the Northern Ojibwa, Cree and Assiniboine. It is known, however, that in 1795 there were Ojibwas setting up hunting camps between the mouth of the Red and the Assiniboine rivers, and perhaps as far as the Souris River in 1796. Henry the Elder’s envoys had succeeded in penetrating the prairies, but at a high human cost (Hickerson 1956:297).

Little is known of the Ojibwa activities in the Red River except for indirect notes made by Peter Grant, who had a post in Rainy Lake. Yet, it is known that they participated, along with the Cree and the Assiniboine, in the trade of corn, horses, and craftwork at the Mandan Villages (Peers 1994:46). The first detailed account of the Red River bands dates to 1797, when Chaboillez arrived at Pembina, to build a fort for the Montreal-based
Northwest Company. This was a key decision, given that the Red River would allow direct contact to the north shore of Lake Superior and the Grand Portage house, while at the same time opening new "virgin" trapping grounds. His journal indicates that in the winter of 1797 the Ojibwa were trapping on the Red River and tributaries, as far south as the Goose River and in the Pembina Mountains (Johnson 1965:92). Furthermore, the journals of the Northwest Company traders also show that Ojibwa were trading as far west as the Souris River in western Manitoba and also south of the 49th parallel (Ewers 1974:23).

Chaibollez’ fort was abandoned sometime before the arrival of Alexander Henry the Younger in 1801. Henry reinstated trade at Pembina, pushing the Ojibwa to penetrate farther south even though the Yanktonai were a major threat (Schneider 2002:20). Indeed, in 1805, a major attack by the Sioux near the Tongue River killed a large party of Chippewa hunters and also Henry’s relatives. The Northern Ojibwa continued pushing, unabated, until the beaver all but disappeared within the next ten years. It may be said with confidence that at the onset of the nineteenth century the Northern Ojibwa had successfully penetrated the country to the west of the Red River.

Ojibwa and Cree on the Missouri River

Peers (1994:45) citing Hugh Dempsey, notes that a factor in the expansion of the Ojibwa to the west and the acceptance of their presence among the Plains tribes was their reputation of possessing dangerous magical powers. We would add that, in addition to being known for their war magic, they were also master plant doctors with a vast pharmacopoeia that was passed down through membership in the Midewiwin or Medicine Lodge (Zedeño et al 2001; Zedeño and Stoffle 2003). Fear was thus influential in the success of the Ojibwa in the west, despite the fact that they lacked horses for the most part at that time (Tanner 1994).

There is scant information regarding relations between the Northern Ojibwa and the Mandan and Hidatsa for the eighteenth century, however, trade at the villages probably dated at least to the protohistoric period and may have been handled through the Cree (Wood and Thiessen 1985; Peers 1994). Alexander Henry, writing about his own journey to the villages in 1805 (Coues 1897:330-333), noted that his Ojibwa companions had no reservations about dealing with the Mandan. However, relations with the Mandan and Hidatsa were not always friendly, in part because of trade conflicts between the Mandan and Cree. At other times, they were allies against the Arikara and the Sioux (Albers 1996) and trusted the Mandan enough to leave their women and children under their watch while the men went on the warpath.

The Northern Ojibwa weathered well the fur trade conflicts that arose around 1812-1815, but after that time their focus on the buffalo hunt began to develop. As interest in acquiring horses for hunting grew, so did their trade relations with the Mandan and visits to the Missouri River. The Northern Ojibwa also engaged in horse raiding forays against
different groups. The shifting politics of the time are marked by high band mobility and increasingly distant hunting expeditions in search of buffalo. Trader George Nelson’s journals, cited by Peers (1994:80), for example, indicate that by 1820 the Ojibwa were devoting the winter to hunt buffalo rather than to trap, but continued with their seasonal schedule of sugaring in the early spring and conducting ceremonies afterwards. They also were learning how to coexist with the white colony on the Red River that Selkirk had established back in 1816, and with the Metis groups that eventually came to dominate affairs along the Red River (Murray 1984).

**Northern Ojibwa on the upper Missouri**

Throughout the 1820s the Northern Ojibwa worked at consolidating their rights to hunt on the prairies, progressively shifting operations to the south and west of Pembina. Their presence in what is now North Dakota was formalized at the signing of the Peace Treaty of 1825 at Prairie du Chien, when a boundary line between the Dakota Sioux and the Ojibwa was drawn, effectively giving the Ojibwa rights to the Mississippi headwaters and interior lakes. A few years later, the line was extended west to keep a boundary between the Yanktonai and the Ojibwa; this line went all the way to the Goose River and split Devils Lake through its center (Schneider 2002:20). After the treaty the Northern Ojibwa, aided by increasing numbers of Metis, expanded further west.

It had been a long-standing desire of American traders such as James Kipp to attract trade from the Ojibwa and Cree to the upper Missouri, sending envoys to invite its chiefs to trade with him. With the establishment of the American Fur Company’s Upper Missouri Outfit, Ojibwa and Cree presence on the Missouri River posts became more frequent, as they were invited by Kenneth McKenzie to trade at the American posts (Larpenteur 1898:92). These groups were regular visitors at Fort Union, as noted by George Catlin (1965) and by Maximilian (Thwaites, ed. 1906) in the 1830s. The journals of Charles Larpenteur (1898), a long-standing Fort Union trader and eventual bourgeois, state that the Ojibwa traded buffalo hides at the fort and interacted with many visitors. In fact, Broken Arm, a chief of Cree and Ojibwa ancestry, was painted by Catlin while both were wintering in St. Louis (Ewers 1968).

As late as 1851, Northern Ojibwa warriors customarily visited Fort Berthold, an occasion that called for pomp and ceremony. Their presence at the fort, and on the Missouri River in general, may be attributed to the virtual disappearance of buffalo north and east of Pembina and Turtle Mountain after 1850. As a result, the Ojibwa pushed toward the southwest, which caused them to engage in warfare almost as often as in buffalo hunts. Danger made the hunters travel in large parties, particularly when they were not accompanied by Metis. This was observed at Fort Berthold in 1851 (Kurz 2005).

Beginning in the 1850s, the collapse of the buffalo herds on the east, the demise of the fur trade market, and a push to develop agriculture on the valley resulted in unrest among the Northern Ojibwa and the increasingly large Metis community on the Red River. The
Pembina and Turtle Mountain Ojibwa communities also suffered several conflicts that eventually caused them to fission. Under pressure from the American government and from various settlement enterprises, the Turtle Mountain Ojibwa began to cede the land formally assigned to them by treaty in 1825. Several treaties, culminating with that of 1892, resulted in the cession of most of their Red River land in exchange for a one million dollar settlement. Throughout this process, which lasted at least 30 years, the Turtle Mountain people underwent tremendous struggle, which they overcame owing to the leadership of Little Shell. His efforts eventually resulted in the establishment of grassland reserves in North Dakota for the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa-Cree.

At the turn of the twentieth century and after Little Shell’s death, the Turtle Mountain full-blooded Indians were forced to take individual allotments in separate reserves across northern North Dakota and Montana. One of these reserves was Trenton, in the northwestern corner of the state and within a few miles of the old Fort Union and Fort Buford sites. This is currently a Metis community with strong ties to the Missouri River, the confluence, and the park.

Beyond the Red River – Rocky Boy’s Band

Ewers (1974:24) cites the Lewis and Clark journals of 1805 to suggest a probable presence of northern Ojibwa hunter/warrior camps as far west as the Musselshell River in Montana. The diagnostic element for this identification appears to be the construction of the lodges or wigwams with sticks and bark rather than the traditional hide. Although this is an isolated reference that is not backed up by additional observations of these people so far from their homeland, it does provide an important clue: the Northern Ojibwa had retained most of their woodland traits after their move toward the prairies and thus were distinctive enough from other Plains people to attract attention and be easily recognized. This was an observation made originally by Alexander Henry (Ewers 1974:28).

The establishment of the international border at the 49th parallel in 1818 created some difficulties for hunting bands that were used to roam these latitudes freely; yet, the Northern Ojibwa were able to move west on Canadian territory as far as the Saskatchewan, as noted by Stephen Long from a conversation with an Ojibwa individual in 1823 (Ewers 1974:39). However, no evidence exists that they were able to advance west on the American side during that time period, owing to the increasing pressure from the Sioux. This situation would soon change during the height of the buffalo hide trade.

After 1840, large hunting parties composed of northern Ojibwa and Metis were found searching for the elusive buffalo herds as far from their hunting territory as the Cheyenne River. Among these hunts are the famous 1840 expedition led by a Metis to the Cheyenne River, which included 1,630 individuals, many of whom were Red River Ojibwa, and which is still remembered among the contemporary Turtle Mountain people. These large expeditions were discouraged by the Indian Agents, however, they continued to occur throughout the life of Fort Union and other Upper Missouri Outfit forts (Kurz 2005).
According to Ewers (1974:62), Rocky Boy’s band (or bands, to be more precise) is traceable beginning in 1860. Some of the oldest references were actually recorded in 1934 by anthropologist Mandelbaum, who worked among the Cree (Mandelbaum 1940). The band known to have ranged southwest of the Q’Apelle River was described to him as Cree with Assiniboine kin relations—also referred as “prairie Cree.” Speculations abound as to when the actual and mysterious Rocky Boy joined the prairie Cree, or vice versa, as there are no historical documents of his existence until 1902 (Ewers 1974:63). However, contemporary oral history gathered from a Rocky Boy tribal consultant for this report seems to indicate that Rocky Boy’s band may have remained independent from the prairie Cree until the Riel Rebellion of the 1880s forced Big Bear’s band and other refugees to flee Canada. Rather, this consultant states, Rocky Boy’s band may have roamed in North Dakota and Montana, sometimes camping west of Fort Berthold, other times ranging in the Rocky Mountains and taking in Cree refugees—eventually needing refuge themselves. Observations made by a trapper known as Frank Linderman regarding the identity of the “roving Crees” supports this elder’s recollections. Linderman eventually became a benefactor of the refugee bands and helped them obtain a reservation.

At any rate, the last decades of the nineteenth century witnessed Cree and Ojibwa hunters defy all dangers in the search for buffalo, once again traveling as far as the Musselshell River. The demise of the buffalo was swift (Hornaday 1889) and killed of starvation an untold number of Indians. Refugees wintered at Fort Assiniboine and sought to settle in the Judith Basin, but fear that they would prey upon the settlers made the Army turn them back. From Fort Assiniboine they moved their camp to Fort Belknap. In 1886 the government made several attempts to settle the refugee bands in the Flathead Reservation but failed. The second choice was the Blackfeet Reservation, where approximately 60 Cree refugee families lived in the most abject poverty until 1916. According to the elder we interviewed, they fled the reservation upon hearing that a new reservation for their relatives had been established in the Bear Paw Mountains, at the site of old Fort Assiniboine.

Other refugees continued to live in the outskirts of Montana’s booming towns. Among them was Rocky Boy, who in 1902 petitioned for a reservation for his people, on account that he and his kin were American-born Chippewa whose ancestors came from Wisconsin. Linderman and many other advocates of Rocky Boy’s cause lobbied for almost 14 years until the reservation was established in 1916. Rocky Boy died before the reservation was established, and its place was taken by Little Bear, the son of Cree leader Big Bear. Until his death in 1921, Little Bear led a most heterogeneous band, composed of Chippewa, Cree, Metis, and people from other ethnic groups who joined the wandering refugees.
Traditional Resource Use and Significance

Contemporary Chippewa-Cree communities share numerous cultural traditions with other upper Missouri groups, namely, the buffalo hunt and all beliefs and practices associated with it, the Sun Dance, and the Dog Soldier societies. In addition, there are many pieces of material culture that are associated with Plains culture, such as the Sioux dance drum and round dance, the plains-style clothing, the tipi, and the horse complex. There are, too, many creation stories and traditions specifically associated with Assiniboine interaction (Dusenberry 1962:71). Peers (1994) has raised the question as to whether the Chippewa or Ojibwa communities of Turtle Mountain and Rocky Boy’s reservations actually adopted the full range of prairie resource uses and traditions; she disagrees with earlier anthropologists such as Skinner (1916), Howard (1965), and Hickerson (1956), who thought that these communities had become effectively Plains Indians. Instead, Peers emphasizes the great adaptability of the northern Ojibwa that allowed them to move fluidly between the wooded areas of the interior lakes and the open prairie.

It is important to note, too, that the Chippewa and Cree emulated one another and shared many areas of knowledge and practice (Brown and Brighton 1988). Many subartic woodland traditions survived into the twentieth century, chief among them the shaking tent, which is central to curing rituals. In the shaking tent one may find many examples of woodland-prairie integrative concepts practiced by the Chippewa-Cree. For example, the Ojibwa and the Cree group buffalo, moose, bear, and horse together as spirits that speak languages intelligible only to conjurers, while other animals, such as the turtle, flying squirrel, and pike, spoke fluent Ojibwa, Cree, and French, respectively. The spirit known as Skeleton and the souls of dead humans could be added to this pantheon on the basis of linguistic taxonomy (Brown and Brighton 1988:154). The concept of cannibals or “Windigos” that are associated with the north wind, the winter, and the northerly direction, is a second example. Skinner (1916:500) documented the cannibal cult and dance, called Windigokan, in which the Dog Soldier Society (or a plains Chippewa/Cree version thereof) had a central role.

The Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society, which includes six degrees of priesthood, is a powerful mystical and magical institution among woodland tribes; it acts to transfer knowledge about powerful animals and plants, as well as to keep oral traditions alive. This society was functioning at the Rocky Boy’s Reservation by Cree and Chippewa until 1938, when the old people died and the knowledge about it died with them (Dusenberry 1962). The authors of this report suspect that the woodland knowledge basis of the Midewiwin likely lost its compass once the practitioners moved into the plains.

The Place of Buffalo and its Associations

Buffalo was never abundant in the subartic plains that the Cree ancestors inhabited. However, since early on the Cree came south toward the Saskatchewan River to hunt it, and possibly initiated the Ojibwa into the hunt. As early as 1830 the mixed northern
Ojibwa bands were building pounds to hunt bison and they may have already have had trained buffalo horses. Skinner (1916:497) provides a diagram of a buffalo pound, which could only be constructed and used by those who had received special powers. Other methods of hunting were chase-surround-and-jump in the summer, and the snowdrift drive in the winter. Bison slowly built into the transitional cultural patterns. For example, it is known that Paskwa, a noted leader of the Cree and Ojibwa bands around 1860, was a gifted woodland trapper but nevertheless his power came from a buffalo dream. Therefore, his tipi had painted designs representing this power (Peers 1994:193). Some young men received the power to call buffalo when the people were hungry (Skinner 1916:497).

George Nelson described the view held among Cree and Ojibwa of the Saskatchewan River and Lake Winnipeg of the buffalo bull as “a stern and formidable alien spirit” who resented interruption during conjuring ceremonies and who also spoke a language intelligible only to the other animals and to a conjuror—suggesting its rather foreign place in a traditional subartic society. Yet, to the Cree, this spirit also could protect, forestalling the threat of monsters that pestered shamans (Brown and Brightman 1988:111). Plains Chippewa-Cree traditionally associated the buffalo with shamanism (Howard 1965:118).

A plains variant of the Buffalo Dance, as described by Skinner (1916:507, 530), was practiced by the Chippewa and Cree mainly to heal the sick and to call the herds in times of scarcity. Buffalo dreamers had the right to organize and dance in buffalo headdress regalia. Also a dog feast was prepared. Small headdresses were made of the large ones to heal sick children. In addition, a medicine for internal bleeding came from the buffalo. Usual ceremonial foods included berries, meat, and maple sugar. The Cree traditionally only held the dance to secure buffalo, but not to heal or pledge as did other tribes (Skinner 1916:530). In modern Cree beliefs, the buffalo is one of three Masters or “Manitous”: He is the Master of Food (Dusenberry 1962:67).

According to Skinner (1916:540), a peculiar ceremony associated with the use of a buffalo skull or a spirit stone and a dreaming tent or lodge was performed among the Chippewa-Cree as well as the Blackfoot and the Crow. It consisted of a “sexual confession” where men would be called to the lodge and told to confess their sexual adventures. Generally the purpose of this confession was to ascertain paternity or force men to marry the women with whom they had slept.

**Other Animals**

Other animals considered spirit beings by the Chippewa-Cree include the tricksters coyote and raven, the water spirit represented by the lynx or bobcat, and the snapping turtle, which is associated with creation, the Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society, and the shaking tent ceremony. The turtle speaks Ojibwa and so it can translate the language spoken by other spirits (Brown and Brighton 1988:111). Wolverine is a hunter’s trickster.
and a comic; and the flying squirrel, an animal of plains ancestry, has similar characteristics. Bear is considered half-human and the most powerful of animals. Bear has hunting medicine and thus his power is also over other animals. Beaver is an animal of mythical origins and of human or protohuman ancestry. Moose is the representative of the Creator on earth. Among the birds, crow, loon, and kingfisher figure prominently in the origin stories (Dusenberry 1962). Wolf is also a mythical animal. Cree ceremonies associated with plains animals included the Prairie-chicken, Bear, and Horse dances (Skinner 1916).

The eagle and eagle trapping do not figure prominently in oral traditions collected by modern ethnographers; it is possible that, as the oral tradition suggests, the plains Chippewa and Cree obtained eagle feathers through trade. Dusenberry (1962:245) relates an origin story involving the trickster Wisakachak or Nanabozho, which describes an instance of trading berries for eagle feathers. Eagle feathers are used by the Dog Soldiers and by Sun Dance participants. An eagle bone whistle is used in the Sun Dance. (Dusenberry 1962:197). Ultimately, any animal can appear in a person’s dream and bring he or she power. This is experienced by boys during their coming-of-age fast, when a spirit helper will appear to them and, by the characteristics of the helper, they will know the specific nature of their gift. For example, a boy who dreams of a jackrabbit will know that he will be an unstoppable runner (Dusenberry 1962). The modern version of the Algonquian shaking tent, called the Spirit Lodge, is one place where adults go to consult with the spirits and obtain knowledge and help from spirits, often in the form of an animal. In addition to the Spirit Lodge, the Smoke Lodge is a prayer place where the master Spirit of the Bear, or a manifestation of the Creator’s pet, comes to hear people’s prayer.

**Knowledge of Plants and Minerals**

In Montana Cree beliefs, plant medicine is associated with Creation—humans were created from clay and clay is decomposed vegetation; therefore, when people become ill they can be cured with an herbal remedy. In other words the Creator (Inktomi, in Assiniboine, from whom this belief originates) “arranged for nature to take care of its own creation” (Dusenberry 1962:72). Knowledge of plant medicines may be obtained from animals or other spirits that appear in a person’s dream. However, Nelson reported that among the plains Ojibwa there was the concept of a medicine heaven, located in a small mountain where the Chief of the Knowledge lives along with representatives of all nations in the world. His lodge has six doors and a lock. Inside this lodge one may find rocks, minerals, pigments, and shells that have medicinal power. Outside the lodge, there are plants from all places, arranged along 40 rivers that run from the mountain, each of a different color. Here, a gifted shaman will be taught about the power of plants and minerals, how to prepare the medicines, and the songs and prayers that go along with them. One may learn about the plants that grow at home, as there are representatives of all the plants in the world (Brown and Brighton 1988).
Personal medicine bundles include such medicines found in the heaven, as well as those that are given by individual spirits. Every individual carries such a bundle and uses it for protection from sickness and death, particularly in war. Interactions with the Little People, who live in homes carved in the sides of riverbanks, may increase or decrease the potency of certain medicines and bundles (Dusenberry 1962:162).

Among the plants most commonly used by the Chippewa-Cree are the sweetgrass, which is associated with the buffalo spirit, and the white sage, which is associated with the bear spirit and also is used for purification and protection. The bark and branches of sandbar willow, red osier dogwood, and chokecherry are associated with the Sun Dance. Service berries or juneberries figure prominently in oral traditions and are a staple spirit and human food. The wood and other parts of trees common to the prairies of the upper Missouri River region that are traditionally used by Chippewa and Cree people include the American elm’s root bark, once used to treat gonorrhea; box elder bark, used as emetic; cotton from cottonwood seeds, used to treat open wounds; green ash bark, used as ingredient in a tonic; and common juniper, for various purposes. Other useful plants include bearberry or kinnickinnick, dandelion, false Solomon’s seal, Indian paintbrush, wild carrot, spreading dogbane, wild bergamot, wild mint, wild onion, wild plum, wild prairie rose, and yarrow (Dusenberry 1962:118).

**Dakota and Lakota**

There can be several names associated with a particular Native American ethnic group owing to the variety of recorders from many different cultural backgrounds. The category “Sioux” is used to cover a large and diverse group of peoples, but it is not uncommon to see the word “Dakota” used in literature as a synonym for the general term Sioux. Linguistically, Dakota is one of the three Mississippi Valley linguistic groups; historical linguists believe it split from proto-Siouan at least 3,000 years ago and probably about 5,000 years ago (Hollow and Parks 1980; Rankin 2000; Grimm 1985). Dakota encompasses three dialect groups: the Dakota or Santee Dakota, the Middle Dakota (sometimes called “Nakota”) or Yankton and Yanktonai, and the Lakota or Teton Dakota (Figure 3.9). They are distantly related to Stoney and Assiniboine, which once were a part of the proto-Dakota family (Springer and Witowsky 1982:Figure 3). Some researchers place the Yankton and Yanktonai as a group separate from the Dakota (Santee) and the Lakota (Teton). DeMallie (2001a:718), however, asserts that indeed Yankton and Yanktonai people are Dakota and not Nakota. For DeMallie, the term Nakota refers properly to the Assiniboine and the Stoney Sioux groups.

Difficulty arises when attempting to ascertain correct band names and to pinpoint the general locations of Dakota and Lakota bands due to movement and (mis)translation or transliteration of band names as recorded by Europeans from different nationalities and backgrounds. As early as 1694, French explorer Charles Le Sueur identified 11 Dakota bands in the forested upper Mississippi drainage and four eastern Sioux in the adjacent prairies to the west of the river (Wedel 1974:166; see also Howard 1980). Jonathan
Carver, who traveled through the Upper Mississippi region from 1766 through 1768, claimed that there were 12 bands of Naudowessie (Sioux) until the Assinipols (Assiniboine) broke off from the main Sioux Nation, leaving 11 tribes of the Sioux. Carver placed three of these bands around the vicinity of the St. Croix and the Minnesota (St. Peter) rivers. He calls the Nehogotawonahs, the Mawatawbauntowahs, and the Shahsweentonahs, the “River bands” of the Naudowessie (Carver 1956:60; see also Carver’s journals, edited by Parker [1976]). In comparison, Hickerson lists seven tribes of the Sioux, and records them as the Mdewankanton, the Wahpekute, the Wahpeton, the Sisseton, the Yankton, the Yanktonai, and the Teton (1974:23-24). Very few of the names in his text seem to correspond to those listed in Carver’s journal.

Besides the river bands mentioned by Carver, there were also the eight bands of the Plains; the Wawpeentowahs, Tintons, Asrahcootans, Mawhaws, Schians, Schianese, Chongousceton, and Waddapawjestin (Carver 1956:80). Of these, Tintons appears to be the Tetons, or rather the Lakota, the Schians may possibly be Sicangu, one of the bands of the Lakota, and Carver’s Wawpeentowahs may actually be the Wahpeton. Much can change over two centuries and perhaps some of Carver’s bands were only sub-bands. Alternatively, some of these bands may have died out or blended with other Sioux bands. Hereafter, we use the term “Dakota” exclusively in reference to the eastern Sioux bands, unless indicated otherwise.

Origins

Given the spatial and temporal breath of Dakota-speaking Siouan tribes, it is ironic that very few scholarly works currently discuss their culture history before A.D. 1650. Gibbon’s (2003) monograph entitled The Sioux successfully fills this gap. Although there may be archaeologists that would most certainly contest the specifics of regional interpretation of prehistory, Gibbon’s is, overall, a well-rounded and unique overview. Archaeology and ethnohistory both agree that the ancestral homeland of the Dakota bands is in the headwaters of the Mississippi River, that is, central Minnesota and northwest Wisconsin, with the clearest and most important village cluster located in the vicinity of Mille Lacs (Birk and Johnson 1992; Durand 1994; Gibbon 2003). Less certain is the ancestral homeland of the Lakota, Yankton, and Yanktonai. However, there is evidence to support the assertion that the Yankton-Yanktonai ancestors may have inhabited the upper Red River valley, that is, the forest-prairie ecotone where they could easily access both ecological zones for hunting and gathering at different times of the year (Dawson 1987; Michlovic 1983; Johnson 1963). From this homeland, the bands could have easily accessed both the Mississippi River and the interior lakes of the north.
Gibbon (2003:37) notes that, while the archaeological presence of the Dakota ancestors may be traced back to Havana-Hopewell materials in central Minnesota, it is only after the demise of the Havana cultural manifestation (ca. A.D. 250) that the regional adaptations to the upper Mississippi River began to coincide with major habitats. Tracing the origins of Dakota people as far back in time would probably raise the hair of many an archaeologist. However, Gibbon qualifies this statement by indicating that it is only by A.D. 700, with the emergence of the Clam River-Cathio-Blackduck ceramic-mound building continuum, that one may arguably identify remains representative of prehistoric Dakota ancestors (see also Birk and Johnson 1992). The Blackduck materials, however, have been determined to be ancestral northern Ojibwa rather than Dakota (Dawson 1987; Syms 1977; Michlovic 1983), and thus do not fit in with the continuum. Other materials, known as St. Croix, are a better fit for the continuum.

By A.D. 1300, a clearly Siouan ancestral cultural manifestation emerged in the upper Mississippi woodlands, which Gibbon named *Psinomani*. The Psinomani are considered
direct Dakota ancestors, with their central villages in Mille Lacs and their territory ranging from Lake Superior to the Minnesota River. The Psinomani were hunter-gatherers and horticulturalists, with an additional focus on the exploitation of wild rice and fish. To the west, the more mobile and bison-oriented Lakota and Yankton-Yanktonai, also represented archaeologically by the Sandy Lake ceramics, likely inhabited the middle and upper Red River and the upper Minnesota River, with seasonal hunting ranges extending to the Missouri River. The rise of palisaded sites during the protohistoric period (A.D. 1450-1650) clearly indicates that by this time hunting ranges were probably contested among all prairie and plains tribes.

First Contact

The first Europeans to come into contact with the Dakota were French. Jean Nicolet mentioned the presence of the Nadouesioux, or Dakota Indians, west of Lake Superior in 1639 (Robinson 1956:20-21), but direct contact did not take place until 20 years later. Nicolet related the information he uncovered during his Green Bay voyage to the Jesuit Father Le Jeune in 1640. As cited in Winchell (1911:518), the Jesuit Relation of 1641 describes a meeting at the Sault Ste. Marie between Jogues and Raymbault and a band of Potawatomi Indians fleeing the Dakota. The Potawatomi told the Jesuits that the latter “lived to the west of the falls about 18 days’ journey, the first nine across the lake [Superior] and the other up a river which leads inland, referring probably to a stream which interlocks with the headwaters of the river St. Croix [the Brule River of northern Wisconsin].”

Winchell (1911:519) also suggests, based on maps drawn in the 1640s, that by this time the French, having had enough intercourse with the aboriginal groups living around Lake Superior, began to refer to this lake as Grand Lac des Nadouessiou. This may indicate that either the Dakota inhabited the lakeshore or that this designation referred to the direction by which one had to travel in order to reach the Nadouessiou. Father Allouez’ 1665 relation mentions meeting a Dakota war party near Fond du Lac, Minnesota. From his and Father Marquette’s 1669-71 relations it is clear that, although the Nadouessiou inhabited the interior region of the upper Mississippi River, their presence was ubiquitously near Lake Superior. Indeed, battles were fought between these and the Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Huron refugees who were then inhabiting the vicinity of La Pointe and Lac Court Oreilles (Winchell 1911:522-523). In 1674, the Dakota made peace with the Algonquians at Sault Ste. Marie.

While traveling down the St. Croix River in 1680, Duluth found “at its junction with the Mississippi … eight lodges of Sioux” (Duluth in Shea 1852:133-139). Perrot mentions a Sioux village on the lower St. Croix that was abandoned around 1680 due to tribal warfare, with the Dakota relocating to the safety of the swampland west of the Mississippi (Anderson 1984:23; Perrot in Blair 1911:97-99). Father Hennepin, in his 1680 journal, gives the following description of band distribution:
Near Lake Buade there are numerous other lakes, which give rise to several rivers on the banks of which live the Issati, Nadojessans, Tinthonha or men of the prairie, Oudebathon or men of the river, and Chongaskethon or tribe of the dog or wolf... There are also other tribes called as a group Nadojessioux. These Indians can assemble eight to nine thousand warriors who are brave fighters, swift runners, and excellent bowmen (Hennepin 1938:92).

Based on this information, the Dakota, including bands of the Tetons or Lakota, are placed mainly at Mille Lacs Lake. However, it is feasible that there were other Sioux villages in the region, and hunting ranges were bound to be much wider than the Mille Lacs Lake and its immediately surrounding environs. The estimation of 9,000 warriors may imply that the total population reached at least 19,000 souls in the headwater lakes alone. Bearing in mind Duluth's observations, it is very possible that other Sioux villages existed, raising the population number even higher. Anderson (1984:19) speculates that "the total Sioux population in the Mississippi watershed to be about 38,000 at white contact"—a reasonable estimation indeed, given that the Sioux at that time practiced polygamy.

**Current Location of the Sioux Bands**

The Mdewakanton band and their descendants now reside mostly on the Santee Reservation, in Knox County, Nebraska. The Mdewakantons, along with the Wahpukute, are called Santee Sioux (Hickerson 1974:21), yet, in the literature, it appears that Santee was also used to designate two other groups, the Wahpeton and the Sisseton. The United States government had originally assigned the 96,000-acre Santee Reservation in northwestern Nebraska to the Ponca Indians, however, the treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868 assigned that area to the Sioux, forcing the Ponca to relocate to Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Today, the reservation is home to Santee Sioux and Ponca people (Tiller 1996:410). The Santee community is located in the northeastern portion of this reservation.

Some Mdewakanton Dakota are also living at the Flandreau Santee Sioux Reservation of South Dakota, which is near the Minnesota border. The Flandreau reservation, according to Albers, resulted from a group of Dakota who settled in the Dakota Territory after splintering from the Santee Reservation due to dissatisfaction with reservation conditions (Albers 2001:771). There are four smaller Mdewakanton reservations, classified as communities, in Minnesota: the Upper Sioux, the Lower Sioux, the Prairie Island, and the Shakopee Mdewakanton Communities. The Upper Sioux Community, founded in 1938, is located on the Minnesota River five miles south of Granite Falls in Yellow Medicine County. Downstream from Upper Sioux is the Lower Sioux Community, first established in 1888; it is located two miles south of Morton, in Redwood County. The Prairie Island Community, also known as the Prairie Island Mdewakanton Community, is located on Prairie Island in the Mississippi River. Finally there is the Shakopee Mdewakanton
Community, formerly the Prior Lake Reservation, within the city of Prior Lake, Carver County, Minnesota.

Dakota people of Santee heritage also live on other Dakota and Lakota reservations further west. As Dakota people migrated westward, in groups or as individuals, they took up residence and intermarried with other bands of Dakota and Lakota. As the United States forced native peoples onto reservations, Santee Dakota, Yankton Dakota, and Lakota peoples were sometimes amalgamated into reservation communities. This is partially the case for both Fort Peck and Standing Rock reservations. After the Sioux Uprising of 1862, the American military and many American settlers in Minnesota fought to expel all Dakota from the state. Congress, in 1863, abrogated all its treaties with the Santee Dakota. The State of Minnesota claimed all Santee lands within the boundaries. Many Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, and Wahpeton fled Minnesota for the Northern Plains. Some Santee on the plains faced with starvation, according to Albers, signed treaties with the United States and established the Spirit Lake and the Lake Traverse Reservations (Albers 2001:771). Many other Santee Dakota fled into Canada, establishing many smaller reserves there. According to Albers, after fleeing Minnesota and the U.S. military, groups of mixed Santee joined the Tetons and the Yanktonai to continue living outside the reservation system on the Northern Plains. They were mostly settled on the Fort Peck Reservation by 1873-1874.

Yankton

Yankton are mainly grouped as Yankton and Yanktonai “Little Yankton.” Although J. O. Dorsey (1894) also refers to them as Nakota, it is the opinion of DeMallie (2001a) that the term Nakota should only apply to the Assiniboine and the Stoney. Yankton and Yanktonai seem to be a dialect that is more closely related to Dakota and Lakota, a dialect that retains aspects of both, and is not as distinct as the dialect of the Assiniboine. Like other Dakota bands, the Yankton and the Yanktonai have their origins in the woodlands, but over the course of time, they moved their areas of use and habitation westward and slightly south from the Minnesota woodlands and lakes. Prior to this movement the Yankton Dakota ranged into the prairies and plains to hunt bison. They expertly used various methods of subsistence including hunting, fishing, collection of plants for food and medicine, and limited gardening and cultivation. Dakota people in general used several ecosystems throughout the year including woodland, riparian, lacustrine, and prairie. The ability to adapt to a variety of environments in order to subsist aided the Yankton-Yanktonai as they moved westward from Minnesota, making their migration not very difficult (Hoover and Bruguier 1988).

Yankton and Yanktonai dialects are mutually intelligible and vary slightly from other cognate languages, which indicates a late split (likely post-A.D. 1500) from the eastern Dakota speakers. DeMallie (2001b:778) maps a wide territory for the Yankton and Yanktonai in the nineteenth century, at the peak of Yankton power before conflicts with the United States reduced the Yankton Dakota and many other indigenous cultural
groups. In the mid-nineteenth century the Yankton and Yanktonai lived and ranged over the prairies between the Missouri and the Red Rivers, encompassing eastern North and South Dakota, northward beyond Devil’s Lake and southward to the confluences of the James and the Missouri Rivers and of the Big Sioux and Missouri Rivers at Sioux City, Iowa. This region includes the Coteau des Prairies and the red pipestone quarry that is today the Pipestone National Monument. There is no archaeological or physical evidence that ties the Yankton to prehistoric inhabitants of the Prairie Lakes subregion where the monument is located, or to northwest Iowa sites occupied by protohistoric Oneota groups (Alex 2000; Gibbon 1983, 2003; Glenn 1974; Wedel 1981, 1986).

French documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth century do not distinguish the divisions of Teton, Yankton and Santee Dakota to any degree of scientific precision or accuracy. Instead, the division of reference is geographic — the Sioux of the East and the Sioux of the West — the latter sometimes applied to Chiwere speakers as well (Wedel 1986). As per DeMallie (2001a:722), the Yankton would be part of the Sioux of the West. Le Sueur describes the Sioux of the West, which ostensibly includes the Teton and Yankton bands, as living by the hunt, roamers of the prairie with no need of the canoe, and practicing neither horticulture nor wild rice harvesting. Champe (1974:261) argues that “it seems reasonable to conclude that by 1700 the Yankton were established at the Pipestone Quarry, only a few miles east of the Big Sioux River, and were hunting in the prairies from that point to the Missouri River on West.” Howard (1972:283, 1976) concurs that the Yankton were living west of the Mississippi by the late seventeenth century and certainly before 1700. Le Sueur also lists Dakota bands, one of which is a band of the Sioux of the West named “Hinhanetons — Village of the Red Pipestone Quarry” (Champe 1974:261; Woolworth 1974:27; Howard 1972:283).

Hurt (1974:77), interpreting both Hennepin and Le Sueur’s maps, indicates that the Yankton Dakota had migrated from their woodland homeland northeast of Mille Lacs Lake and then established themselves near the pipestone quarry near the Big Sioux River (Hurt 1974:77). However, Wedel’s (1974, 1981, 1986) translation of the original Le Sueur document, as well as her intimate knowledge of the protohistoric archaeological record of the region, indicates that this group may have been established west of the Mississippi by 1700, but not west of the Minnesota River until at least one or two decades later. At any rate, there was recognition on the part of the Sioux, according to Le Sueur’s account, that the land to the west of the confluence of the Blue Earth and Minnesota Rivers belonged at that time to the Ioway; and oral traditions of the Dakota, Ioway, and Omaha confirm Wedel’s interpretation of this account (Zedeño et al. 2003).

By the mid-eighteenth century the Yankton and Yanktonai groups lived throughout the Coteau des Prairies, between the James and Minnesota rivers and west to the Missouri River. Robinson (1956:56) states that the Oto drove the Yankton and Yanktonai out of present-day western Iowa, consequently they settled in the James River Valley. They also lived around the lower Sioux River and the headwaters of the Little Sioux and Des Moines rivers. Champe cites Tabeau recording that some Yankton were hunting at the
mouth of the Grand River and hunted in the territory of the Minnesota River. Tabeau also noted a band of Yankton who lived on the James River and hunted beaver on the Des Moines River, and the east bank of the Missouri River (Champe 1974:268; Howard 1972:286).

Pierre Antoine Tabeau was a fur trader who, among his many accomplishments, lived a year in an Arikara village between 1803-1804. Tabeau’s journal records tidbits of information concerning many of the nations that inhabit the Missouri River regions, including the Sioux. Tabeau divides the Sioux into “people of the lakes, people of the leaves, Seissitons, Hyinctons, Titons” (Abel 1939:102). He then lists subdivisions of the main tribes of Sioux. For example “Hyinctons or Yinctons of the North” are subdivided into six groups and the “Sitchenrhou-Yinctons or Yinctons of the South” are subdivided into two groups. Tabeau places the Yinctons of the South on the James River and mentions that they trade on the Minnesota River.

Native American alliances and trade relations could change very quickly, and since individual bands, of particular tribes, provided for their people independently of other bands, it is certainly conceivable that one band of Yankton could be maintaining decent trade relations with the Arikara while another band of Yankton could be at war with them. As Yankton and Yanktonai people moved westward they came into contact with Missouri River tribes such as the Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa. Just as the Santee shared cultural and economic similarities with their woodland neighbors, so too did the Yankton and Yanktonai share some cultural and economic traits with their neighbors. Howard notes that the Yankton, eventually displacing the Arikara and some of the Ponca, “took over virtually intact the seasonal economic and settlement patterns characteristic of riverine groups” (Howard 1972:303). The Yankton and the Teton accomplished more than cultural assimilation. Aided by the horse, they quickly expanded toward the upper Missouri River, and by the end of the eighteenth century had gained enormous military advantage over the Plains groups; they were not simply “playing the game of war” but attacking the Mandan and Hidatsa en masse and burning their villages (Bruner 1961; Stewart 1974:196). They continued this trend until the Mandan were practically decimated by war and plague.

When Lewis and Clark ventured into the area, they reported that the Yanktonai had no agriculture, and were at peace with the Arikara while being at war with Assiniboine, Cree, Plains Ojibwa, and Mandan. The Yankton were at peace with the Omaha and Ponca but at war with the Arikara. They also observed that the Yankton and Yanktonai traded on the James and the Des Moines rivers. Lewis and Clark met with Yankton, Yanktonai, and Lakota peoples in 1804 (DeMallie 2001a:731, 733). During the expedition they observed the Yankton inhabiting the area north of the Missouri River between the Floyd River and the James River (Champe 1974:271). Tabeau and Lewis and Clark recorded that during this time, the Dakota, Yankton, and the Teton would gather to trade with each other annually on the James River. Tabeau states that the Dakota inhabitants of the St. Peters and the De Moines Rivers would bring “guns, kettles, red pipes, and bows of
walnut. The Titons give in exchange horses, lodges of leather, buffalo robes, shirts and leggings of antelope-skin” (Abel 1939:122-123).

Once the War of 1812 ended, the Yankton were one of the groups to sign treaties of peace and friendship with the United States at Portage des Sioux in 1816. In 1825, Yankton and Yanktonai and Lakota people signed treaties with General Henry Atkinson and Indian Agent Benjamin O’Fallon. These peace and friendship treaties were written to have the Sioux acknowledge the supremacy of the United States and to recognize that the Sioux lived within the United States (DeMallie 2001a:733). According to Samuel W. Pond (1986:4-6), a number of Yankton still lived in Minnesota in 1834 along with Sisseton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute and Mdewakanton Dakota peoples. Pond recognized that there were a great number of Dakota to the west, beyond the border of Minnesota to the Rocky Mountains, but he focused his description to those Dakota living within the present state boundaries. The Yankton lived around Lake Traverse on the Minnesota River, and Pond (1986:4-6) estimated their population in Minnesota at one thousand.

Yankton representatives signed the 1825 Treaty of Prairie du Chien for intertribal peace along with the Santee, Omaha, Iowa, Oto, Missouri, Ojibwa, Sauk and Fox. Treaties in 1836 and 1837 further eroded Santee and Yankton lands (DeMallie 2001a:734). The 1837 treaty ceded all Yankton claims to land in what is now Iowa (Woolworth 1974:117). By the mid-nineteenth century, the Yankton and Yanktonai hunted west of the Missouri River, sometimes hunting with the Lakota (DeMallie 2001b:777). Woolworth (1974:153-158) characterizes the period of 1845-1850 as a time when game became exceedingly scarce between the Missouri and Minnesota rivers, thereby causing great hardship for Yankton and Santee Dakota who occupied this region. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, signed by a Yankton and other Teton chiefs, defined the boundaries of the lands of the Sioux. There had been no Yankton representation at other 1851 treaties with Sioux bands, such as the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, signed by the Sisseton and Wahpekute bands, and the Treaty of Mendota, signed by the Mdewakanton and Wahpakoota bands (ibid).

As game was depleted east of the Missouri River, and as the buffalo receded further west, many Yankton were hunting buffalo west of the Missouri River in 1853, where cholera plagued them (Woolworth 1974:160). In fact, there is a probably mid-nineteenth century Yankton winter camp just a few miles south of the Knife River villages that produced abundant faunal remains (Warren 1986). During this period, white settlement pressure increased in the region and threatened the Santee, Yankton, and Yanktonai peoples. As the United States government began to pressure the Yankton to cede lands, the Yankton pondered about ceding lands to the United States. The Lower Yankton were the first to succumb to government pressure to cede lands in exchange for a reservation. Yankton land cessions west of Minnesota began in 1858.

As pressure mounted, Struck-by-the-Ree and Charles F. Picotte went to Washington D.C. in order to negotiate a treaty of land cession. On April 19, 1858, the treaty was signed
with the United States government, ceding all Yankton land, including the sacred pipestone quarry, to the United States in exchange for a Yankton reservation. The Yankton did secure the free and unrestricted use of the red pipestone quarry. The Upper Yankton did not support Struck-by-the-Ree’s decision to make a treaty of land cession. Other Yankton band leaders and tribal members also opposed the sale of land to the government (DeMallie 2001b:779).

The Lakota were deeply angered with the Yankton cession of lands over which the Lakota felt they still retained title (White 1978:342). One chief declared that the Yankton would not be allowed to settle in Lakota lands if they sold their lands to the whites (Woolworth 1974:182). When meeting with American officials, the Lakota claimed that the lands ceded by the Yankton did not belong to the Yankton exclusively but to all Dakota peoples, thereby denying the sole authority of the Yankton to cede the lands they occupied (Woolworth 1974:186; White 1978:342). The United States government treated the leaders who signed treaties as the authorities for the whole tribe, even when a particular chief could not speak for all bands. At the time of the 1858 treaty negotiations, the United States government recognized Struck-by-the-Ree as the head chief of the Yankton. After 1858, the Yankton bands (but not all Yankton people) started to settle on the reservation, on the east side of the Missouri River above the mouth of the Niobrara River and downstream of Fort Randall. Adjustment to the new environs was made more difficult due to the Christian agrarian social norms enforced upon them by their Indian Agents. In the beginning there were still hunts. Later on, as hunting became more difficult and crops failed, the Yankton were faced with other reservation problems, such as not enough support from the government and not enough hunting opportunity to support themselves and their families.

**Yanktonai**

Although the Yanktonai did not sign the 1851 treaties, Agent Vaughn distributed goods to some Yanktonai bands. Particularly, DeMallie mentions one excursion by Vaughn to the Little Soldier’s band of Upper Yanktonai. The Yanktonai had made a village on the right bank of the Missouri River near present site of Pollock, South Dakota, and Vaughn reported that they had attempted to grow corn. The following year he found, further up the Missouri, Two Bears’ band of Lower Yanktonai (DeMallie 2001b:780).

In 1856, at Fort Pierre, Missouri River Sioux chiefs were summoned to council and treaty for peace between the tribes and the United States. However, tensions were soon to flair as new settlements, white encroachment, and steamboat traffic on the Missouri disrupted Sioux life. Tensions exploded in Minnesota in the Sioux Uprising of 1862. Military and civilian forces ruthlessly sought vengeance on the Sioux regardless of participation in the uprising. All Sioux in Minnesota were suspect and therefore targets. As fleeing Sioux left Minnesota and entered the lands of their relatives, the Yankton and Teton, the military continued their pursuit. American generals Sibley and Sully led army forces against the Sioux, Sibley from Minnesota, and Sully by ascending the Missouri River. Sully’s forces
fought through the summer of 1864, pursuing the fleeing Santee from Minnesota. At Killdeer Mountain, near the Little Missouri River in North Dakota, Sully killed many Yanktonai and Teton who had nothing to do with the uprising (DeMallie 2001b:781).

De Mallie (2001b:781-783) notes that after the conflict between the Sioux and the United States, Peace Commissions were established from 1865 to 1868. The United States government made treaties with all Teton and Yanktonai bands on the Missouri River. Although the intent of these treaties was to establish peace in the region, many Sioux protested the provisions of the treaty, which favored the United States and its colonial interests. Nonetheless, the U.S. Senate ratified the treaties into law. The Treaty of 1868 established the Great Sioux Reservation in South Dakota west of the Missouri River. All other lands in North Dakota and South Dakota, not previously reserved, were ceded to the United States. The same treaty established the Crow Creek Reservation, and many Yanktonai settled there. Crow Creek had begun in 1863 as Fort Thompson to manage the Santee from Minnesota. When the Santee were moved to Nebraska in 1866, Fort Thompson became the Upper Missouri Agency, and in 1898 it became the Crow Creek Reservation east of the Missouri River, and Lower Brule Reservation west of the Missouri. The east side was assigned to the Lower Yanktonai, and the west side was assigned to the Lower Brule (Sicangu Lakota). While Bone Necklace's band of Lower Yanktonai settled at Crow Creek, Two Bear's band of Lower Yanktonai settled at Grand River Agency by 1868. All Over Black and Big Head led their respective bands to settlement at the Grand River Agency in 1869.

The United States government had thought to contain all Sioux people into a relatively small area by creating the “Great Sioux Reservation”, but not all Sioux people wanted to live in western South Dakota. More significantly, not all Sioux people wanted to live in such close proximity with all the other Sioux bands that were encouraged to settle on the Great Sioux Reservation. Some Sioux who were still following the bison herds roamed into Montana Territory. More than a thousand Yanktonai ventured to Fort Buford on the Missouri River just near the present border between North Dakota and Montana in the fall of 1869. These Sioux told the commanding officer of the fort that they wished to receive annuities and that they were not yet bound by a treaty. DeMallie lists the chiefs that went to Fort Buford and negotiated with Lt. Col. Morrow: Medicine Bear, Thunder Bull, and His Road to Travel of the Cuthead Yanktonai; Shoots the Tiger, Afraid of Man, Catches the Enemy, and Heart of the Wazikute Yanktonai; Calumet Man, Afraid of Bull, Long Fox Eagle Dog, and Standing Below of the Thakini Yanktonai; and Brave Bear and Your Relation to the Earth of Sisseton Dakota (DeMallie 2001b:786).

The Yanktonai population more than doubled the following summer. In 1870 Black Eye’s band of Lower Yanktonai came to the region, encamping at the mouth of the Poplar River in present day Montana, upstream from Fort Buford. In 1871 there were 250 lodges of Yanktonai, Yankton, Teton, and Santee Dakota encamped downstream from the Milk River Agency, which was the agency for the Gros Ventre and the Assiniboine. This collection of Sioux and Assiniboine became the Fort Peck Reservation in 1874 (DeMallie
However, definite boundaries were not set until 1888, which included cession of all claims to land outside the reservation boundaries for the Yanktonai, Yankton, and Assiniboine who lived there.

The Sisseton and Wahpeton Dakota reservations were established as the Devil’s Lake Reservation and the Lake Traverse Reservation. Cuthead Yanktonai (a division of the Upper Yanktonai) wishing to join the Sisseton and Wahpeton at Devil’s Lake, traveled there looking for rations, but there were not enough resources for all present. Other Cuthead Yanktonai did not want to settle on the reservation but preferred to roam over the territory. Eventually the Cuthead Yanktonai settled on the western side of Devil’s Lake Reservation after 1874 (DeMallie 2001b:784).

As other bands were ceding land to the United States, Drifting Goose and his band of Lower Yanktonai remained on the James River, refusing to enter a reservation. Drifting Goose’s band had refused to sign any of the cession treaties, and although they occupied an Executive Order Reservation from 1879-1980, it was rescinded a year later. Between the influx of settlers and white squatters along with the army’s refusal to remove them, Drifting Goose eventually led his people to settle at Crow Creek in 1880 (DeMallie 2001b:782-783).

**Lakota (Teton)**

Similar to their Dakota relatives, the Lakota were also at one time a woodlands people. The Lakota migrated to, and then beyond, the prairies to the plains, adapting to their environs. With the addition of the horse to the life and economy of Lakota bands, the classic images of the stereotypical nomadic “Indian” on the plains, hunting buffalo and living in hide tipis were born.

In the earliest European literature regarding the Lakota we see them referred to as the Nadouesioux (of infinitely different spellings) or when more precision was needed, the Nadouesioux of the West as opposed to those living east of the Mississippi River. This distinction is ascribed to Hennepin (Blair 1996). In the mid and late seventeenth century, the modern divisions of Santee, Yankton, and Teton were not yet in use; neither was the ethnic and linguistic marker “Lakota”. The term Teton was derived from Tetonwan, which was glossed as “Prairie Dwellers”. There are seven major bands of the Lakota that have had continuity, at least from the early nineteenth century to the present. These bands are the Oglala, Sicangu or Brule, Mnikowoju (sometimes Minneconju), Itaziptco or Sans Arc, Hunkpapa, Oohenunpa or Two Kettles, and Sihasapa or Blackfeet (Powers 1977:13). Each of these major bands also contains smaller bands. Bands could be as small as a large extended family.

The Sioux (most likely the Mdewakanton Dakota) captured Father Louis Hennepin in 1680. He was held, from April to July, in a Dakota village just southeast of Mille Lacs Lake. Hennepin reports in his memoir that the nation of Nadouessans inhabits the
neighborhood of the lake. Hennepin also placed the “Tinthonha which means prairiemen” near Mille Lacs Lake and the surrounding streams and lakes (Hickerson 1974:53). The Teton or Lakota still had a strong presence in the Upper Mississippi woodlands, even though they were known as people of the prairie. It is quite possible that at this time the Teton hunted and lived for part of the year on the nearby prairies and lived for part of the year in villages near their Santee relatives. The Santee themselves were also quite mobile at the time, spending the summer hunting buffalo and retiring to the woods in the winter. The Teton, however, did not maintain a presence in the vicinity of Mille Lacs long into the historical period. They were already migrating westward following the buffalo just as the Yankton and Yanktonai did (Howard 1980).

Circa 1702, Delisle’s map places the Teton northeast of “Lac des Tintons” which Champe identifies as Lake Traverse on the Minnesota River between present day South Dakota and Minnesota (Champe 1974:263-264). In the mid-eighteenth century as the various Sioux bands were moving westward, they encountered other tribes including the Missouri River tribes the Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa, in some cases coexisting and in other cases displacing them. Robinson states that the Teton moved to the Missouri around 1760 (Robinson 1956:55).

According to DeMallie, smallpox epidemics starting in 1771, and lasting until 1781, devastated the Arikara population. Northern Teton groups (Minneconjou and Saone) took advantage of this demographic change and moved into this area of the Missouri river just below the Cheyenne River. The Missouri River valley was quite hospitable to the Lakota. The Lakota would winter in the wooded areas along the river, where the buffalo would also retire. In the summer the buffalo returned to the prairies, thus the Lakota followed (DeMallie 2001a:731).

During the late 1700s and early 1800s, the Lakota and Yanktonai pushed the Omaha, Oto, Cheyenne, Missouri, and Ioway to the south and west, the Omahas, Otos, Cheyennes, Missouris and Ioways thus taking their lands (White 1978:322). The Arikara were at one time allies coexisting with certain Teton groups when they first advanced to the Missouri River. By 1832, the Arikara, being fully displaced from their villages and from the Missouri River, moved south to live with the Skiri Pawnee for a time. Then, the Yanktonai from the Minnesota River moved into the Arikara region of the Missouri (White 1978:333). The weakening of the river tribes was not by warfare alone, but also from smallpox and other epidemics that ravaged the Missouri River. The Sioux lost lives too, but not in the proportions of the sedentary, village dwelling Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa. Champe cites the Lewis and Clark map made in 1814, which places the Sicangu (Brule) across the Big Bend, and the Ogilalas on the Missouri above the Teton River and below the Cheyenne (Champe 1974:271).

DeMallie (2001a:733) states that the Lakota continued to press westward and drove the Kiowa and the Crow from the Black Hills in the early 1800s (DeMallie 2001a:732). In the summer of 1815, after the War of 1812, American interests prevailed over the British.
The Teton and the Yankton sign a treaty of friendship with the United States at Portage des Sioux. It is DeMallie's opinion that this treaty was the first extension of American jurisdiction over the Sioux. In 1851, the United States government sought to treat with western tribes in order to reduce intertribal warfare, which threatened the advancement of American trade and settlement, and to establish recognized boundaries between the tribes and recognized "Chiefs" with which to conveniently negotiate. Near Fort Laramie, Wyoming representatives of Teton, Yankton, Arapaho, Assiniboine, Cheyenne, Eastern Shoshone, Crow, Mandan and Hidatsa met at Horse Creek to sign the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851. DeMallie points out that the significance of this treaty lies in the establishment of intertribal boundaries. It also began an ongoing process to limit Indian sovereignty, and it established, strictly from the American point of view, a head chief over all the Lakota (DeMallie 2001c:795).

The United States government's goals for the treaty included ending intertribal warfare and establishing boundaries for Indian tribes, yet the treaty was, by and large, ignored by the tribes. The Lakota in particular were perplexed by the American injunction against war for the Lakota, yet the Americans continued to make war in quest for new lands (White 1978:340-341). As more immigrants flooded over the plains on the Oregon Trail, the Lakota resented their presence, the diseases they carried, and the buffalo they took or scared away. Many altercations between Americans and Lakota would take place. General William S. Harney, wishing to punish the Lakota, marched his troops over the Oregon Trail in September 1855 and attacked a Brule village killing 86 people (DeMallie 2001c:795). This would not be the last altercation with the U. S. Army.

DeMallie interprets the 1860s as difficult for the Sioux and other tribes because two American authority systems, the military and the civilian, were vying for primacy over Indian policy. The 1862 Sioux Uprising in Minnesota also fueled the military's fire to conquer and punish the Sioux collectively. As Dakota people fled Minnesota to seek refuge with their Dakota, Yankton, and Lakota relatives, the military pursued them relentlessly. As tensions continued to mount, American settlers pressed into Sioux hunting lands, compromising Sioux resources, driving buffalo away, and spreading epidemic diseases, and as the military seemed willing to avenge any Sioux attempt to protect their interests, it would be the military extension of the government that pursued intercourse with the Lakota and other western Sioux bands (DeMallie 2001c:796).

The Colorado Volunteer Militia attacked a Cheyenne village near Sand Creek on November 29, 1864 killing 137 Cheyenne. The Oglala and southern Brule joined the Cheyenne and the Arapaho in seeking revenge, consequently attacking Camp Rankin on the South Platte River and the settlement of Julesburg on January 5, 1865 (DeMallie 2001c:796). Another Oglala Chief, Red Cloud, became a particularly famous Lakota leader against American expansion and interests. He declared all "whites" as enemies. Hostilities also occurred over the Bozeman Trail. After 1862 settlers began streaming up the Bozeman Trail to Montana, crossing Lakota hunting grounds on the Powder River. The Lakota naturally fought to protect their land and interests. In 1865, the military
responded by building Fort Connor (Fort Reno). Other forts on the Oregon and Bozeman Trails followed: Fort Kearny (1846), Fort Smith (1866), and Fort Fetterman (1867). The Lakota continually attacked these forts. Mounting tensions led to the drafting of the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1868. This treaty established the Great Sioux Reservation which encompassed present day South Dakota west of the Missouri River and a section of present day North Dakota between the Missouri and Cannonball rivers. According to the treaty, lands in Wyoming and Montana remained unceded Indian lands. The treaty did not, however, solve all of the problems between the Lakota and the United States.

The Lakota and other Sioux groups did not remain strictly inside the reservation established for them. Many Lakota lived west of the reservation. Other Sioux groups were moving into Montana on the Yellowstone River. As Sioux presence in Montana increased, eventually the Milk River agency, which served the Assiniboine and the Gros Ventre, was moved to Fort Peck in 1872 and later established as a reservation for the Lower Assiniboine, Yanktonai, and some Teton and Santee (De Mallie 2001c:797). Military resistance to American expansion, settlement, and interests continued throughout the region in the 1870s. Many Sioux opposed the building of the Northern Pacific Railroad. When gold was discovered in the Black Hills in 1874 the publicity of such news instigated a new flood of fortune seekers to the Black Hills, all trespassers upon the Great Sioux Reservation. Although the government sought the sale of the Black Hills from the Sioux, they refused strenuously.

Tensions rose further, and other skirmishes continued. Most famous was Custer’s defeat at Little Big Horn on June 25, 1876. Lieutenant Colonel Custer attacked a village of Sioux and Cheyenne during their summer gathering for the Sun Dance ceremonial. Custer and his men were defeated and killed. This indigenous victory sent shock waves over the country and beyond. Hostilities between the army continued with such famous chiefs as Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, American Horse, and Lame Deer. Slowly the Sioux bands surrendered and returned to their agencies. Buffalo were becoming more and more scarce. The height of Sioux power had ended and decline followed. The United States government wanted reservation land for settlers and for progress, and it thought to reduce the size of the Great Sioux Reservation by taking the remaining lands. The Sioux were unwilling to part with their land, but the government used every tactic they could to get the land. The Act of 1889 broke up the Great Sioux Nation into five smaller Sioux reservations: Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Lower Brule, Pine Ridge and Rosebud (DeMallie 2001c:815). These reservations remain today’s with the descendants of many different bands of Sioux living and intermarrying on each reservation.

**Sioux in the Upper Missouri River**

Several adventurers, traders, and explorers had contact with Sioux people over the years and through their travels on the Upper Missouri River, including people like George Catlin, Prince Maximillian zu Wied, Karl Bodmer, and others. Of these, the most comprehensive overview is that of Edwin Denig, trader at Fort Union for several years,
who wrote about several of the tribes in the area with whom he had contact. The Sioux were one of these nations. Denig states that the Sioux range was quite large, bounded in the east by the Minnesota River and the Mississippi River, westward to the Black Hills, the headwaters of the Powder River, and beyond the headwaters of the Grand River, to the north to Turtle Mountains and to the Pembina River, over to the Apple River and its confluence with the Missouri River below the Hidatsa, and southward to the Platte River and the Missouri River to the mouth of the Big Sioux River. Denig estimates western Sioux population in 1833, mostly Lakota, Yankton, and Yanktonai, with a small remnant of Dakota (Wahpekute), at about 2,360 lodges and 11,800 souls (Denig 1961:14-15).

Denig (1961:16) places the Sicangu or Brule Lakota on the headwaters of White River and L' eau qui Court to the Badlands, and bounded on the north by the Little Missouri River and the Teton River. In his time, the Sicangu were perpetually at war with the Arikara and the Pawnee. Denig (ibid:17-18) also states that the young men of the Sicangu would capture wild horses south of the Platte in Arkansas territory; and he also claims that this was the only Sioux band that impounded antelope. Sicangu relations with whites were aggravated as American expansion and settlement impinged on Sicangu and general Lakota hunting grounds. “Since the emigration to California and Oregon has passed through the Sioux Country, the Brulees [Sicangu] have suffered more from diseases thus introduced than any other portion of these Indians, they being situated nearest to the trail. Smallpox, cholera, measles, etc., have year after year thinned their ranks so that but a remnant of this once numerous band remains” (Denig 1961:19).

Denig (1961:19) placed the Oglala “from Fort Laramie on the Platte, extending northeast, including the Black Hills, the heads of Teton River and reaching as low down as the forks of the Cheyenne. Continuing west they are frequently found near the head of Grand River. In their land there is plenty of buffalo, elk, antelope, and deer which they hunt. They are in bitter war with the Crow”. Denig estimated the Oglala as 300 lodges in 1833, but twenty-two years later they were reduced to 180 lodges. The decrease was mainly attributed to the diseases spread by white emigrants (ibid:22).

The Miniconju (Minneconju) Lakota were living mainly “from Cherry River on the Cheyenne to the Butte de Minece on Grand River” (Denig 1961:22). Denig notes that the Miniconju were at war with the Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa until 1846, and allied with the Oglala against the Crow. The peace with the Arikara resulted from the disappearance of the buffalo. The Miniconju could trade skins with the Arikara for corn and other food to the advantage of both. This peace was still active in Denig’s day (ibid:23).

Denig (1961:25) laces other bands, the Hunkpapa, “Seahsapa” (Blackfeet), “Etasepecho” (Sans Arc), together “along the Moreau, Cannon Ball, Heart, and Grand Rivers, seldom extending very far up on Grand River but of late years reaching to the Little Missouri in company with” the Minneconju. Denig states that these Lakota hated all white emigrants and traders; that they were at peace with the Arikara, and at war with the Assiniboine,
Mandan, and Hidatsa. The Two Kettle band inhabited the Moreau River and the Cheyenne River but as high on the Cheyenne as the Cherry Creek (ibid:28).

When reflecting on the Yanktonai, who hunted and resided to the east of the Missouri River, Denig also noted that “from the Apple River down to the mouth of the Little Cheyenne, north to the neighborhood of [Spirit Lake], and east along the Coteau de Prairie, but never going as low down as the [James River]” (Denig 1961:30). According to Denig (ibid:30), in 1830, near Fort Pierce, the Yanktonai achieved a remarkable feat, killing 1,500 buffalo in one surround. Denig places the Yanktonai in the hostile category. The Yankton resided “east of the Missouri lying between the Vermillion and Fort Pierre, sometimes placing their camp on the head and along the [James River] ... west side of the Missouri between L’eau qui Court and White River” (ibid:36).

As the fur trade began to decline during Edwin Denig’s tenure at Fort Union, the American military and economic expansion in the Upper Missouri region and even further west increased steadily. After the mid nineteenth century, Americans, through their quest for easy routes overland to the Pacific coast and through the fever of lust for gold and for “unsettled” lands, continued to invade native lands west of the Missouri River. The opening and use of the Bozeman Trail, along with the quest to build the railroad brought conflict with many Native American groups including the Lakota in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

DeMallie (2000) remarks about the movement of Dakota and Lakota peoples into the Yellowstone area and its confluence with the Missouri. During much of the historic period, this area was a borderland or gathering place between Crow, Assiniboine, and even Blackfeet. The Sioux were further down stream on the Missouri, but the movement of the bison herds further north and west pulled the Lakota towards those regions. The Sioux were also pushed north and west due to the expansion of American military and economic forces. DeMallie mentions that in the fall of 1869, a group of about one thousand Upper Yanktonai spoke with Lieutenant Colonel Henry A. Morrow at Fort Buford to ask for a treaty. DeMallie calls this an event which led to a major migration of Sioux people to the north and west of their traditional hunting grounds. Morrow encouraged the Yanktonai to remain in the Yellowstone country rather than return to their agency at Grand River (DeMallie 2000:6).

By 1871 about 250 lodges of Yankton, Yanktonai, Tetons and even a few Santees were in Montana near the Milk River Agency, which was set up for the Assiniboine and Gros Ventres. As the numbers of Sioux increased in eastern Montana, environmental pressures could be felt as game became scarce. The Americans tried to survey for the railroad which many Sioux opposed. In 1872, as the military prepared for conflict, delegations of Yanktonai and Tetons traveled to Washington. One major outcome of these proceedings and tensions was the movement of the Milk River Agency to the trading post at Fort Peck. This new reservation, with buildings for the agency constructed in 1873, combined Assiniboine and Gros Ventres of the Milk River Agency with the Yankton, Yanktonai,
Teton, Sisseton, and the Santee Dakota who had moved into eastern Montana (DeMallie 2000:8). Furthermore DeMallie states that, “in 1877 Fort Peck Agency was moved 75 miles downstream to the mouth of the Poplar River” (ibid:9).

**Traditional Resource Use and Significance**

Over the historic period the various groups of Dakota and Lakota people used a great variety of natural resources. There has been the need for great adaptation on the part of the Sioux as their lands transverse quite diverse environments including woodlands, lakelands, riparian, prairie, and plain. The Eastern Dakota, for example, lived in the woodlands and the lake and river country of Minnesota and Wisconsin; they moved westward to the prairies, and then some settled on reservations on the plains of the United States or Canada. Therefore, there is not one Sioux complex of resource use, but several that changed, sometimes drastically, in the historic period.

**Woodland Resources**

Wild rice and sugar maple were important plant food resources. When maize agriculture was introduced to the Dakota, they raised corn in small gardens, and they also raised tobacco (von Gernet 2000:67). Wild food resources were also collected in season such as raspberries, chokecherries, blueberries, wild spinach, and wild potato. Elk and deer were hunted for food, hide, and for bone and antler tools. Eastern Dakota people also hunted buffalo in the summer months. This important activity not only provided food, hide, and tools from the bones and sinews of the beast, but also provided Dakota people the opportunity to travel for intertribal trade and socializing. Before buffalo populations were decimated, buffalo herds existed in much of western and southern Minnesota. Mdewakanton Dakota consultants participating in an ethnographic resource assessment for the St. Croix River National Scenic Riverway mentioned that there were once woodland buffalo that were smaller than their plains relatives (Zedeño et al. 2001); these were also hunted for food, bone tools, hide for clothing, and various other cultural uses.

Many lakes and waterways in Minnesota and western Wisconsin were important habitats for wild rice (Hoffman 1896). In early to mid autumn, eastern Dakota families would separate from larger villages and retire to wild ricing camps to harvest the rice. Dakota consultants also mentioned that they would never take all of the rice from the stalks, so as to ensure that some grains would fall back into the water to seed the next year’s harvest. Also, it was not unheard of for Dakota people to take handfuls of grains and throw them over the water. Rice was pounded and threshed. Wild rice was also stored in caches. In the late fall and winter the Dakota would begin their winter hunting and trapping. In the spring Dakota families would move into the maple woods to tap the trees for sap, boiling down the sap eventually to make solid pieces of sugar. Before the advent of kettles and pots, sap was collected in boxes made from birch bark, and the sap was boiled in hollowed out logs. In the spring the Dakota would also begin their planting. In late spring early summer, the Dakota would commence the summer buffalo hunt. After returning to
their villages in the late summer and early fall they would harvest their crops and harvest late summer berry crops (Robinson 1956; see review by Zedeño et al. 2001).

**Animal Resources**

All Dakota and Lakota bands hunted bison (Anderson 1984; Pond 1986). Western bands of Lakota and Yankton Dakota, as they moved westward across the prairies, could follow the herds. With the advent of the horse, western Sioux bands could more easily follow and hunt the bison. In the summer, there were large communal buffalo hunts. At these times, especially among Lakota bands, a soldier’s society would act as tribal police to maintain order in the hunt and in the traveling camps. Before the horse, Sioux people also used buffalo jumps and traps to hunt the bison. These hunts had to be organized as the imprudent actions of a single hunter may chase the herd away. Buffalo could also be hunted throughout the year by individual hunters. But this hunting behavior is quite different from the organized communal hunting of the summer.

As with many other Native American groups on the plains and prairies, almost every part of the bison was used. The meat was eaten. Dried meat pounded with berries or chokecherries mixed with tallow made pemmican. This portable food could be stored well. Hides were processed and used as robes, blankets, and as the coverings of lodges. Bones would be fashioned into tools. Bladders and stomachs could be used as containers and bottles. Sinews were used as twine and for sewing. Horn could be fashioned into spoons and other tools or objects of use. With the horse, lodges grew in size as the horse could transport larger poles and packs than domestic dogs.

Other game was also taken and eaten, and used by the Dakota and Lakota. Deer meat was also consumed, especially among the Eastern Dakota. Elk was also good meat. Similarly, deer and elk skin could be used to make garments and other packs, sometimes parfleches. Bones and antlers could be used as tools also. Antelope was impounded by the Brule band. An extremely important animal in the everyday life of Dakota families was the dog; a burden beast, hunting companion and, as Radisson documented as his own experience in Dakota territory, dependable starvation food (Adams 1961). It is the traditional interpretation of history that the horse transformed Plains Indian culture. While not extremely useful in the woodlands, horses were used in open areas as transportation and beasts of burden (Woolworth and Woolworth 1980:76). As various bands of the Dakota became skillful in using the horse, they were better able to range wider plots of land in a shorter amount of time. The horse became vital to the buffalo hunt. Horses as well as dogs could be used to carry the travois. Horses like dogs before could also be used as starvation food if necessary. We have not found a reference to the use of horsehide, however, horsehair had a wide variety of uses, including thread for beading and quillwork.
Fishing

To the Dakota, fishing was a secondary activity. Fish was a secondary food source compared to hunting, rice gathering, and horticulture. Yet, Woolworth and Woolworth (1980:78) mention that they ate sturgeon and bullpout. Landes (1968:192) notes that catfish, dogfish, and bullhead were also caught. Spear fishing was one method commonly used in rivers. The Dakota fishermen also used line fishing and some used nets (Landes 1968:192). Winter fishing, of course, required breaking a hole in the ice. As westward migration was facilitated by the horse, and as Lakota, Yankton Dakota and Dakota people relied more and more upon hunting, fishing became a more marginal subsistence activity. However, on the Missouri River and throughout its watershed, fishing was at least a possibility.

Wild Fowl Uses

Migratory and resident waterfowl species, including geese and duck, were trapped or hunted for food alongside other animals during the spring and early summer seasons. Waterfowl was considered good food, specially the flightless molting geese, which were delicious and an easy prey (Woolworth and Woolworth 1980:78). Turkey was also eaten; their feathers used for various purposes including religious.

Other birds provided bones and feathers for multiple craft and ceremonial uses. Dorsey (1894:440) notes that a swan down feather was used in the making of a particular medicine bundle. Feathers were also used in fletching, that is, making and dressing arrows and darts. There are no conclusive references as to the most appropriate feathers for fletching. However, based upon the precision in general that many Native American’s place upon proper use of animals and plants for specific purposes, there may have been preferences and prescriptions for, or taboos against, specific species of birds for fletching according to clan, medicine society, or personal medicine.

Finally, eagles were of high importance to the Dakota, like many other Native American peoples. They did not eat the flesh but kept the feathers. Landes (1968b:192) recounts a story where Dakota hunters would leave out a deer carcass for an eagle, allow the eagle to feast until gorged and then shoot the eagle. According to Landes’s informants, a person needed a “power” or dream to hunt the eagle. When the gun became common, dreams became less imperative. The eagle is the messenger of the Great Spirit. The eagle carries the prayers of the people up to the Great Spirit. The eagle feather is also a symbol of great importance to Lakota and Dakota spirituality, just as the sacred pipe is also an important symbol for traditional ritual and religious practice.

Plants

In Melvin Gilmore’s classic ethnobotany Uses of Plants by the Indians of the Missouri River Region, he systematically notes important plant species and their uses among
several plains and river groups including the Dakota. For example, while among a group of Dakota women near the mouth of the Cannonball River, Gilmore noted that the women collected elm cap, an edible fungus that grows on decayed parts of box elder or on elms. These women were searching the old tap wounds for sap collecting on the box elder (Gilmore 1919:61-62). We have already mentioned the importance of wild rice for the Eastern Dakota. But as the Dakota and Lakota migrated westward, this food source declined in importance. Wild prairie turnip was gathered by most native groups and most Dakota/Lakota bands when on the plains and prairies. A wild potato or Indian potato was boiled or roasted (ibid:94). The ground bean was sometimes gathered by women by seeking out the stashes collected by voles or other small mammals. The women replaced corn for the stash of ground beans so that the vole would not starve (ibid:95).

Nuts from black walnut, hickory, and hazel provided food (Gilmore 1919:74). Acorns from the red oak and from the bur oak were also eaten (ibid:75). Wild gooseberry, wild black currant, wild strawberry, wild raspberry, juneberry, and elderberry were consumed as well. Gilmore also noted that the wild plum fruit was eaten and its branches were used in prayer offerings. Wild rose fruits would also be eaten as starvation food. Chokecherries were eaten fresh, or they were dried and stored. The chokecherry and other berries could also be pounded to be mixed with pounded meat and tallow to make pemmican. Gilmore also states that, “the time of the Sun dance was determined by the ripening of the cherries. It began on the first day of the full moon when cherries were ripe” (ibid:89).

The lodge pole pine (Pinus contorta var. murrayana) was very important in its use for making lodges, both ceremonial and domestic, by many plains and prairie groups including the Sioux (Gilmore 1919:63). The cedar was also sacred to the Sioux, and it is associated with the thunderbird. Therefore, according to Gilmore, its boughs are attached to the tops of tipi poles to “ward off lightning” (ibid:63). Cedar berries were boiled with cedar twigs to make a tea for coughs for humans and horses, and Gilmore also notes that the Oglala used cedar tea and bathed in boiled cedar water as a remedy for the cholera epidemic of 1849-1850. Willow branches were used to make the frame of the sweat lodge (ibid:73-74). False indigo stalks were once used to make arrow shafts (Munson 1981:231).

Cattail was a useful plant and fairly common in the Missouri watershed. The down was used to make pillows, as padding in cradleboards, as diaper pads for infants, and as dressing for wounds (Gilmore 1919:64-65). Yuca root provided soap for all the tribes in the region. The Lakota, according to Gilmore, bound the sharp blades together with sinew to be used as a fire drill with the stem used as the hearth. The fibers could be twined to thread and the point used as a needle (ibid:71). An edible plant was the yellow lotus or water lily. Gilmore also mentions that this plant may be invested with mystic powers. The tubers of this plant and its seeds were eaten. The tubers were harvested by barefoot wading. Natives would use their toes to search for the tubers; and then the feet to remove the excess mud. Then the tubers were pulled up with a hooked stick (Gilmore 1919:79).
Sweet grass and sage are important smudging incenses for Sioux people. Sweetgrass was used for attracting blessings as it is associated with ceremony, ritual and things sacred. And sage was used to exorcise evil and negative influences (Gilmore 1919:66). Many rituals include some type of sage and the use of tobacco. Tobacco smoking was an extremely important component of prayer and ritual both for the group and for individuals. The inner bark of the red willow was used as part of the smoking mixture. Gilmore (ibid:114) notes that the Lakota tobacco was *Nicotiana quadrivalvis*.

Munson (1981:229-240) lists medicinal plant use among the modern Lakota. Plants used include the narrow-leaved milkweed, ground cherry, and locoweed as appetite stimulants; locoweed is also used for stopping coughing and blood spitting; pulverized roots of the green and low milkweed to cure diarrhea; and a tea of the former, to increase mothers’ milk. Other plants used for this purpose are whorled milkweed and roots of slender milkweed. Yarrow is also used for wounds; all parts of the sweet flag are mixed with gunpowder and water to ease leg and arm cramps. A tonic of common ragweed reduces swelling. A tea of wormwood roots is commonly used to relieve constipation, insomnia, difficulty in urinating, and pain during childbirth. Purple coneflower is of course used to alleviate toothache and other pains. Pepper grass and lotus for the kidneys, dotted blazing star for heart pain, and wild indigo for an eye wash. Other medicinal plants include: lamb’s quarters, west virgin’s bower, horseweed, skunkweed, licorice, broomweed, alum root, wild lettuce, wild bergamot, false gromwell, stinging nettle, yucca glauca, ground bean, cut-leaved nightshade, arrowhead, prairie coneflower, hairy puccoon, narrow-leaved puccoon, and various docks.

Plants used by the Lakota as horse medicine include: ground plum, wooly white hymenopappus, dotted blazing star, and false gromwell. Cottonwood bark was once a suitable food for horses in the winter months (Munson 1981).

**Minerals**

Halsey (1996) notes that the Siouan ancestors made use of various minerals and metals, including native silver, lead, copper, and meteoric iron, since prehistoric times. Thus, it is not surprising that the historic Sioux bands used metal obtained from the traders and the annuities to fashion traditional items, from ornaments and weapons to glittery paint pigments and pipe inlays.

Red pigments made from various minerals are known to have been used by Siouan peoples since time immemorial. Red paint was used both prehistorically and historically to decorate faces and bodies ceremonially. Powdered mineral substances of red hue have also been sprinkled on graves. Red pigments were used widely for making pictographs and Sun Dance altars (Mallery 1886:33). White and blue clays were used for body painting, as well as for dyeing certain objects used in races and games. Red and black clays were usually found near springs along the Missouri Breaks. Items to be dyed, such as rushes, were buried in the clay for several days until a satisfactory color was obtained.
Black clay was also used as a coloring ingredient with other substances. Reddish earth was collected, dried, and baked in fire until it became hard as stone. The reddish bricks were pounded into a fine powder, which was used as a dye and for painting the face and body.

Rock minerals figure in Dakota oral traditions. For example, it is told that Rabbit needed flint to make arrowheads. At that time in the past, all the flint of the world was on one side of Bear's body; the other side was flesh and blood. Rabbit went to Bear to flake off some pieces of flint, but he only flaked pieces that were too small. This annoyed Bear, who grew impatient with Rabbit. He told Rabbit to chip larger pieces by striking harder. Rabbit then struck with all of his might and severed Bear in half. Thereafter, there was flint for all people and the bear no longer controlled the flint (McLaughlin 1916:31-33).

Arrowheads and spear points were made of chert, jasper, agate, flint, cherty graywacke, taconite, quartz, quartzite, slate, obsidian, basalt, felsite, and quartz porphyry, among others. Some raw materials, such as obsidian and basalts, came from places as far as Montana. Others came from the Knife River. Hammers, mauls, and mallets were made of granite (Winchell 1911:466). Quartz crystals were collected for making white paint and for lightening tanned hides.

Red pipestone, acquired from the sacred quarry in southwestern Minnesota, was the single most significant mineral for all Siouan people. Beginning in the late prehistoric period, ancestors of the Chiwere Siouan speakers (Ioway, Oto, Missouri), specialized in the quarrying and manufacture of disk pipes, elbow pipes, and other objects. These were traded far and wide, reaching New York and the Rio Grande. At the time of first European contact, the migrating Omaha and also their splinter tribe, the Ponca, were living in close proximity to the Ioway and to the quarry. The Yankton and Sisseton took over the quarry area in the early Colonial period (Zedeno et al. 2003).

Blackfeet

The Blackfeet or Nitsitapii, are Algonquian-speaking Plains Indians who currently reside in three reserves in Canada and one reservation in the United States. These arbitrary land divisions roughly correspond to the four main subgroups of the Blackfeet: Blackfoot proper or Siksika, northern Peigan, Blood or Kainaa, and Blackfeet, also known as southern Peigan or Piikani. Historically, the four groups were thought of as forming the "Blackfoot Confederacy" (Campbell and Foor 2002:2); contemporary Indian and non-Indian historians affirm that the four subgroups were rather loosely organized but had close social and kinship ties. The 22 bands that composed the Blackfeet ethnic group had overlapping wintering grounds and were not confined to the aboriginal territories assigned to the four subgroups by the Canadian and American governments (Ewers 1958; Reeves and Peacock 2001).
The Blackfeet were (and still are) foothills people, who lived along the eastern boundary of the northern Rocky Mountains and took advantage of both mountain and western prairie environments. At the time of European contact, which did not occur until the turn of the eighteenth century, the Blackfeet hunting range extended from the upper Saskatchewan River in Alberta to the headwaters of the Yellowstone River, and from the eastern glaciers of the Rocky Mountains to the mouth of the Yellowstone River (Jackson 2000:xii; Figure 3.10). In historic times, bands from as far north as the Bow River are known to have wintered close to the Yellowstone River and to the Great Falls of the Missouri (Schaeffer 1934). High mobility, intermarriage, trade, and long-distance social and political networks among the four subgroups and between these and other tribes who inhabited the upper Missouri River contributed to the development of this far-reaching, populous, culturally-complex, and politically-influential buffalo hunting society (Reeves and Peacock 2001:77).

**Origins**

There are two main schools of thought regarding Blackfeet prehistoric origins and culture history. The long-standing hypothesis has been that these Algonquian speakers originated in the northeastern forests of the subartic region, and that they migrated to the southwest until they reached the upper Missouri and upper Saskatchewan River basins, only a few hundred years before the arrival of the horse (Hale 1883; McLean 1896); this hypothesis has been discarded. Ewers (1958) used ethnohistoric documentation to assert that the prehistoric Blackfeet lived in the vicinity of the lesser Slave Lake and the north bank of the Saskatchewan River and arrived at the upper Missouri no earlier than the end of the sixteenth century. Accounts by early fur traders, notably David Thompson’s recollection decades after his tenure at the Edmonton House (Tyrrell 1916), were used to support this claim. On ethnohistoric information alone, Ewers concluded that the aboriginal territory of the Blackfeet was the result of conquest of territories formerly inhabited by the Northern Shoshone, Salish, and Kootenai of the late prehistoric period (Ewers 1974).

To a large extent, the difficulty in establishing a solid cultural-historical framework for the Blackfeet stems from the dearth of well-dated long-term occupations of archaeological sites that would provide independent evidence for the oral traditions of Blackfeet origin, and that would demonstrate cultural continuum in the northwestern Plains. Compounding this difficulty is the fact that the culture history of ancestral groups thought to have been displaced by the Blackfeet, namely, the Shoshone, is highly controversial (Grayson 1993). Among the controversial issues surrounding the presence of northern Shoshone, variously known as *Nimi* and Snake Indians, is the erroneous interpretation of Lamb’s (1958) original glottochronology for Uto-Aztecan languages, specifically Numic languages by Great Basin archaeologists (Grayson 1993), and the misidentification of numerous rock art sites, including the Warrior-shield sites and Writing on Rock, as Shoshonean rather than Atapaskan or Algonquian (Loendorf 1990).
Reeves (1983; Reeves and Peacock 2001) has developed alternative frameworks for anchoring the Blackfeet to their traditional homeland. His primary source of evidence is relatively recent archaeological data from Alberta and Montana (but see Vickers 1994 for a critique). Also, Reeves uses historical linguistics and population genetics to refute late arrival theories and to fuel more discussion and research regarding the Blackfeet’s
ancient occupancy of the northern Rockies. Archaeological findings that support Reeves' hypothesis of a millennia-old occupancy of the Rocky Mountain Front by the Blackfeet encompass numerous site types, including buffalo jumps and driving lines (e.g., Head-Smashed-In, Alberta; Two Medicine, Montana), tipi rings, rock art, and a few deeply stratified sites with projectile points dating from the archaic period (e.g., Sonota Complex) to the historic period.

In addition, there are ancient ritual practices, such as the gathering and use of fossils known as buffalo stones or iniskim, whose origin (or the first visioning on the Bow River) has been dated archaeologically and geologically to approximately 1000 years ago (Reeves 1993). Likewise, the probable archaeological origins of some of the medicine bundles, notably the Beaver Bundle, which was first received in a vision at Waterton Lake and which contains buffalo stones and plants and wildlife specimens that are native to the Rocky Mountains, would be at least as old as the date of initial use of the fossils, or 1,000 years ago. Thus, a conservative date for the establishment of the Blackfeet people in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains may be A.D. 1000, and many are willing to push this date to A.D. 500 (e.g., Greiser 1994; Goddard 1994; Brumley and Dau 1988).

Greiser (1994:36) agrees with Brumley and Dau (1988) and with Reeves (1970) in that sometime between A.D. 250-500 a population movement from the northeast, marked by distinctive technological characteristics, probably displaced resident populations known archaeologically as Tunaxa Tradition-Pelican Lake phase between the Yellowstone, Milk, and upper Missouri rivers. She goes further, however, to affirm that not one, but two markers indicate such displacement. The first and best known is Besant, known technologically for its side-notched dart points that replaced corner-notched points and for many other distinctive characteristics. The second marker is the Avonlea point, which succeeded Pelican Lake and overlapped with Besant, and which Greiser suspects is also intrusive to the northwestern Plains. Besant sites extend from the Saskatchewan headwaters to the Milk River and along the Powder and lower Yellowstone Rivers. Besant sites are common along the Middle Missouri River. The vast majority of Besant sites are bison kill and processing sites (Greiser 1994:37). Importantly, the exploitation and/or trade of Knife River flint all the way to the Rocky Mountain Front ties the western and northernmost Besant sites to the Middle Missouri Tradition. In fact, the frequency of this raw material in central Alberta is such that has prompted Vickers (1994:13) to suggest a population movement from North Dakota.

After A.D. 500, local western plains and foothills technological traditions known as the Keaster II phase, as well as Besant traditions, seemed to have continued after Pelican Lake with only marginal influence of Avonlea arrow technology. The ancestry of the latter is variously seen as Ataphaskan, Kutenai, Algonquian, and Siouan (compare Kehoe 1966, Byrne 1973, Reeves 1983, and Brumley and Dau 1988, in Vickers 1994:Figure 1.2). Greiser (1994:42) contends that these eastern plains hunters did not advance into the front due to the presence of the dominant Besant. But by A.D. 850 Besant had but disappeared and Avonlea had begun to dwindle. Kehoe's (1966) original point typology
has the prairie side-notched point technology replacing Avonlea and, in the footsteps of conventional theories, he saw this replacement as the marker of the advance of peoples from the upper Mississippi. Reeves' (1983) Old Woman complex would be equivalent to Kehoe's prairie side-notched complex, which Reeves regarded as the ancestor of the Blackfeet and Gros Ventre people.

By A.D. 1250 the distribution of the prairie side-notched complex, regarding of origin or linguistic affiliation, covers the Missouri River basin from the three forks to the mouth of the Yellowstone, thus roughly corresponding to the traditional territorial claim of the Montana Blackfeet (e.g., Greiser 1994:Map 2.3). Greiser's reconstruction of Blackfeet culture history thus begins with Besant, continues with a northern complex named "Samantha" by Kehoe (1966), and evolves into the prairie side-notched point complex/ceramic complex known as "Old Woman's", which in turn advances well into protohistoric times. Alternatively, Brumley and Dau (1988) see the trajectory as evolving from Avonlea into Old Woman’s complex. Protohistoric phases known as "Mortlach" and "Old Gun" also contain side-notch points and often are indistinguishable from Old Woman’s assemblages. Yet, Old Gun sites such as the Cluny site in the Bow River are so similar to the Middle Missouri Tradition that Byrne (1973) was able to document a unit migration hypothesis for this site. Vickers (1994:25) likens the rise of the Cluny occupation to the Hidatsa/Crow split, and may well be associated with the migration of Crow ancestors across Canada instead of the migration of Blackfeet ancestors.

Highlights of the foregoing overview are the fact that prehistoric populations who occupied the Northern Plains had far reaching hunting ranges and resource procurement zones, and were able to move from places such as the source of Knife River Flint in North Dakota to the source of obsidian in Wyoming. The reach of the proposed Blackfeet ancestors (regardless of whose culture historical reconstruction one accepts) certainly covers most of that distance. If we are to believe that archaeological complexes ultimately represent people, then, ancestral connections existed between the Rocky Mountain Front populations and the groups inhabiting the Missouri River Valley from the mouth of the Yellowstone River to the mouth of the Heart River and south to the Powder River. It is also noteworthy that long distance relationships between these “distant” groups may have involved not only regular travel and trade, but also migration of people, intermarriage, and residence in adjacent or even overlapping territories, as Symms (1977) ably explained.

Colonial Period

Remote as they were throughout the colonial period, the Blackfeet acquired horses and contracted smallpox decades before they had established sustained contact with Europeans. Claims were made in 1690 that Explorer Henry Kelsey had met a group of Blackfeet near the Carrot River in Canada (Campbell and Foor 2002:32); however, French traders and successors of La Verendrye, who in 1751 built a fort on the lower Saskatchewan River, must be credited with having been the first Europeans to engage in
trade relations with the Blackfeet. Three years later, the concerned Hudson’s Bay Company’s governor Isham sent Anthony Henday as a delegate to the Blackfeet on behalf of the company. He was well received, but the tribal leaders let him know that they would not travel to trade to the bay; goods had to come to them (Jackson 2000:21). For the next 25 years the factors would employ the Cree as middlemen for the Hudson’s Bay Company while continuing to send traders to winter with the bands.

During the 1760s and 1770s, many traders and adventurers, who worked independently or at either of the competing Hudson’s Bay Company or North West Company, interacted with the Blackfeet bands at different times and recorded some aspects of their culture, largely through the eyes of the Cree middlemen. Few left journals with brief mention of these bands, but only Mathew Cocking, who wintered among the Peigan with other “Baymen” in the 1770s, made valuable direct observations about their livelihood, for example, he observed their manner of building buffalo corrals and pushing the herds into them. The Blackfeet remained, for the most part, unknown to the world beyond the trading houses.

In 1780 the first signs of smallpox appeared among the Cree, and the disease soon spread across the plains. Two-thirds of the Blackfeet and about one-half of the entire native population in the affected region died in the epidemic (Ewers 1958; Jackson 2000). It took a few years for the Plains tribes to recover from the devastating epidemic and to resume their regular life cycle. For the Blackfeet, change also came in another way: they no longer had the Cree middlemen to bring trade goods to them, thus if they wanted guns and other goods they had to undertake the long winter journey to the factory until more convenient houses on the Saskatchewan River (e.g., Hudson House, Fort Augustus, and Edmonton House) were established. Going to the trading houses also changed the ways in which the Blackfeet related to the fur trade and the effects of trade goods in their lives. These changes were particularly tough on the Peigans, who were the beaver pelt providers, as the Blood and the Siksika were not fond of trapping beaver but brought in wolves (Coues 1897:541, cited in Reeves and Peacock 2001).

Written records of the Blackfeet culture and society increased during the Late Colonial period, as the notorious traders David Thompson (Tyrrell 1916) and Alexander Henry (Coues 1897) were excellent observers as well. Their observations include ethnography and geography as well as politics, for the traders were concerned with intertribal relations and their effect on the flow of trade goods. The notes of trader Peter Fidler (1934) are also very useful for understanding this critical transitional period. Fidler wintered with the Siksika and acquired knowledge about their history and territorial reaches. The data he collected demonstrates that, at the turn of the nineteenth century, the Blackfeet and neighboring tribes had securely established territories and were living in the places they later claimed as their aboriginal lands well before the arrival of Euroamerican explorers.
American Period

Against Ewers's (1974:50) assertion that the Blackfeet did not penetrate the Yellowstone country until after the establishment of Fort Union Trading Post by the American Fur Company in 1828, stands the map drawn in 1801 by Old Swan for trader Peter Fidler (Warhus 1997). This map covers the watershed of the upper Missouri River, from its origin to its confluence with the Yellowstone River. It demonstrates the breadth and detail of the Blackfeet's knowledge of the country and its peoples, which they most likely knew first hand. This map was so compelling to Thomas Jefferson that he used it to plan the journey of the Corps of Discovery in 1804-1806.

The relationship between the Blackfeet bands and the trading houses had always been uneasy at best, and by 1803 the companies were struggling to keep their houses open and safe from being burned. For their part, the Peigan bands were having difficulty filling in their beaver trapping quotas as the animal population was dwindling and competition with Indian and non-Indian trappers was peaking. It was under these difficult circumstances that in the summer of 1805 Meriwether Lewis came upon a Blackfeet war party on the Two Medicine River, resulting in the death of two warriors (Jackson 2000). Earlier, American traders from the St. Louis houses, namely Truteau and Tabeau, had become acquainted with the Blackfeet during their tenures in the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara villages (Nasatir 1952; Abel 1939). From them and from the Mandan chiefs, William Clark was able to gather data to complete his map of the upper Missouri River that showed the trails and warpaths from the Yellowstone River to the Rocky Mountains.

The rather brief encounter between members of the Corps of Discovery and a war party of Blackfeet in 1805 had profound consequences for the latter. Traders from the St. Louis houses, beginning with Manuel Lisa's fort (1807) at the junction of the Yellowstone and Big Horn rivers—heart of Crow territory—and continuing with Menard's and Coulter's attempts at opening houses on the upper Missouri in 1810, were met with distrust and anger by the Blackfeet (Barbour 2001). They continued trading with the English. Within the following five years, the beaver was trapped out in the northern portions of the Blackfeet range. In response, Canadian and independent trappers moved south along the Rocky Mountain Front, in search of beaver, thus effectively opening the Rocky Mountain to trade partnerships with the neighboring tribes.

In the middle of the Hudson's Bay Company's and the North West Company's struggle for control over the newly opened beaver country, American traders once again advanced toward the upper Missouri. Undaunted by failure, in 1819 Manuel Lisa formed the Missouri River Fur Company and made plans to open a new post near the Rocky Mountains. His company eventually failed after many attacks by hostile tribes, presumably Blackfeet, and was shortly followed by the also short-lived Rocky Mountain Fur Company's posts, built by Henry and Ashley along the tributaries of the Yellowstone. Eventually, the Peigan began to trade some of their pelts at the southern houses, causing the Hudson's Bay Company, which had closed the Rocky Mountain
In the mid-1820s, the American Fur Company, founded by J. J. Astor and masterminded by St. Louis entrepreneur Pierre Choteau, advanced once again toward the west, encouraging the Blackfeet to trade at their Missouri houses. Its Upper Missouri Outfit, which combined Choteau’s traders as well as the previously independent Columbia Fur Company and Bernard Pratte and Company established in 1828 a trading post on the mouth of the Yellowstone River (Dougherty 1957:21-22). Fort Union would become the trading center of the upper Missouri River for the next three decades. To a great extent, the success of the Outfit over the other companies lay in the fact that it focused most of its efforts on the trade of buffalo hides. Astor had noted in his travels to Europe (ca. 1830) that the demand for beaver hair was dwindling as it was fast replaced with oriental silk fiber. He reoriented his trading business toward the vast herds of buffalo and the numerous buffalo hunting tribes that populated the Northern Plains. This change in trade focus succeeded in that buffalo hunting was an Indian activity so the tribes practically had no competition from the whites.

The Blackfeet, who did hunt beaver but were not fond of this activity, and who detested the invasion of white trappers into their lands, readily took to the American Fur Company’s trading strategy and demands for buffalo robes, much to the dismay of the Hudson’s Bay Company and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. This important change was due to a series of decisions by Fort Union’s first bourgeois, Kenneth McKenzie, who undertook several trips to Blackfeet country in three years, and convinced the Blackfeet that they should trade with the Americans at the post that would open near their homelands (Dougherty 1957). This was Fort Piegan, built by Berger in 1831 on the Marias River and soon thereafter renamed Fort McKenzie. Through this post, the Blackfeet would trade thousands of buffalo robes annually for more than 30 years (Reeves and Peacock 2001).

Three factors ran Fort McKenzie in rapid succession: Berger, Mitchell, and then A. Culbertson, who took over the post in 1833 and made its trading business with the Blackfeet a great success. He eventually married a Blood woman, Natuitsa (see Chapter Four for a contemporary account by one of her descendants). Culbertson withstood tremendous hardship, all the while keeping the friendship and respect of the Blackfeet. Wischmann (2000:19) notes that his good reputation allowed him to negotiate many dangerous conflicts among the tribes and between the Blackfeet and the government, particularly the Blackfeet Treaty of 1855. She further notes that Natuitsa’s knowledge and influence among the Blackfeet tribes probably contributed greatly to Culbertson’s success, despite the horrid smallpox epidemic of 1837, the Blackfeet massacre at the hands of Harvey and Chardon in 1844 (see Larpenteur’s journal, in Coues 1898:217), and his post’s indictment for illicit traffic of whiskey in 1846.
After the massacre and the burning of Fort Chardon on the Judith River, Culbertson endeavored to open a new post in 1846, which he named Fort Lewis. That same year, Culbertson also hosted Jesuit missionaries Father de Smet and Father Nicholas Point and introduced them to his Blood relatives in 1846 (Wischmann 2000:58). This introduction proved deleterious to Culbertson, whose wife resented the intrusion of the missionaries in the religious affairs of the Blood. The first Catholic Mission among the Blackfeet was established twelve years after Point’s stay on Fort Lewis. In 1847, Culbertson moved Fort Lewis closer to the Teton River at the request of the Blackfeet, dismantling the building and resettling on the other side of the river. The new post was named Fort Benton. Between 1846 and 1852, Fort Benton surpassed all trade expectations for the Upper Missouri Outfit (Wischmann 2000), even though Culbertson was not there to witness the smooth management of his new post.

Blackfeet at the Confluence

Except for certain Assiniboine bands, no Indian group lived permanently in the vicinity of Fort Union. The Fort was located at a confluence that had been used by different groups since prehistoric times, particularly the Assiniboine, whose territorial boundary at times included the confluence, and the Crow, Cree, Gros Ventre, Mandan, Hidatsa, Chippewa, and Blackfeet. Thus, Pierre Choteau, who refused to launch the Upper Missouri Outfit without proper infrastructure, chose, in fact, the ideal location as the center of its operations.

Throughout the life of Fort Union, numerous illustrious visitors, including naturalist John James Audubon, painter George Catlin, traveler Prince Maximilian zu Wied and his companion painter Karl Bodmer, visited the fort and recorded events. In his journals of 1832-1833, Catlin (1965:22) wrote, “There are now here, and encamped about the fort, a great many, and I am continually at work with my brush; we have around us at this time the Kristeneaux, Crow, Assinneboins, and Blackfeet...”. The Blackfeet made a tremendous impression upon the painter, who described them as “elegant in dress and manners” and described their attires in great detail (Catlin 1965:30). This suggested that the visit to the confluence was, for the Blackfeet as well as for other tribes, a festive occasion, as indicated also by Maximilian’s observation that the Blackfeet did not adorn their dress while at home (Thwaites, ed. 1906:102), but that the chiefs always painted their faces with red and blue paint when visiting Fort McKenzie.

Catlin described the Blackfeet as “warlike and ferocious” and as “the most powerful tribe of Indians on the Continent; and being sensible of their strength, have stubbornly resisted the Traders in their country...” (Catlin 1965:51). One particular Blood warrior, whom Catlin identified as “Pe-toh-pe-kiss”, or Eagle Ribs, was described as one of the “extraordinary men of the Blackfoot tribe; though not a chief, he stands here in the Fort, and deliberately boasts of eight scalps, which he says he has taken from the heads of trappers and traders with his own hand. His dress is really superb, almost literally covered with scalp-locks, of savage and civil”. This warrior wore many other insignia of bravery
on his dress as well as a medicine bag (ibid:34). Yet another detailed description provided by Catlin is that of a Blood medicine man that came to the fort to tend a wounded warrior and painted this medicine man who wore a “yellow” bear robe, possibly a grizzly bear robe, to which the skins of other smaller animals had been attached (ibid:40, Plate 19).

Among the many observations of Catlin, perhaps one of the most important for understanding the true character and significance of the place where Fort Union was built, as well as the activities that were carried out there by the tribes aside from trading, was that of truce among enemy tribes. He notes, for example, that “the Crows and Blackfeet, who are here together, are enemies of the most deadly kind while out on the plains; but here they sit and smoke quietly together, yet with a studied and dignified reserve” (Catlin 1965:42). He also noted that there were exchanges of special objects, as for example, the time where the Mandan purchased from the Blackfeet a white buffalo robe in exchange for eight horses.

The Blackfeet traveled along the river on horseback or on the traders’ boats, frequently coming to Fort Union or using the post as a stopping point on their way to eastern villages and posts. Traveling continued after the demise of Fort Union and but stopped at the onset of reservation life.

**Blackfeet Treaties**

In 1850 the Federal Government had ordered all the tribes living north of Texas and south of the Missouri River to convene at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, in the following year. Superintendent Mitchell called upon Culbertson and de Smet to help bring in the upper Missouri tribes. They promptly complied, bringing the Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara, and Assiniboine chiefs to Fort Union, from where they traveled to Fort Laramie. The Blackfeet and Gros Ventre were not told of this meeting because of lack of time and thus did not sign the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851. In 1853 a new Indian Agent arrived at the upper Missouri, and in 1854 Culbertson was named special Agent to the Blackfeet (Wischmann 2000).

The early 1850s proved trying to the Blackfeet, as increasing numbers of whites were trespassing their land. Raids and skirmishes placed them at odds with the settlers and the government, despite Natuitsa and Culbertson’s interventions (Wischmann 2000). Unrest, combined with the U.S. Congress decision to initiate the survey for the Pacific Railway in 1853, prompted the need to secure a treaty with the Rocky Mountain tribes. In 1855 the Blackfeet, Gros Ventre, Nez Perce, Flathead, and Pend D’Oreille convened at Fort Benton and signed a treaty known as the Blackfeet or Lame Bull Treaty, in which the Blackfeet got annuities for ten years plus exclusive use of the country between the Rocky Mountains, the Medicine Line, the Missouri River, and the mouth of the Milk River (see Reeves and Peacock 2001:Map 6), and joint use of the area between the Missouri and the Musselshell Rivers, and between the Milk and the Yellowstone Rivers. The Blackfeet
worried, however, that without the Crow, Cree, and Assiniboine signing this treaty they would continue to raid one another and steal horses.

The treaty did little to avert conflict with the increasing number of Montana settlers; conflict with the Blackfeet was compounded by the discovery of gold in the 1860s. This discovery coincided with the demise of Fort Union in 1867, due to pressure from the U.S. Army and political power play against Pierre Choteau. Faced with dwindling commerce and with the withdrawal of protection from the American Fur Company, the whites continued to war against the Blackfeet. This little war attracted the attention of the Army, which was already in the territory because of the Sioux rebellion. Incidents mounted, culminating with the Baker Massacre of 1870, in which soldiers killed 173 Blackfeet, mostly elders, women, and children (Reeves and Peacock 2001:114).

Last Boat to the Yellowstone

Soon after the Baker Massacre, the government began the partitioning of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation. Whiskey, fear, and the onset of hunger conspired to “tame” the once ferocious Blackfeet, both north and south of the Canadian border. The Pikaani stopped recording the winter counts (Jackson 2000). Ceremonies such as the Medicine Lodge slowly came to a stop. In 1883, the Blackfeet found no buffalo on the plains. Between 1883 and 1885, the American Blackfeet all but succumbed to starvation. It is difficult to comprehend how, after all those years, the Blackfeet managed to regroup and continued on with their society and their culture. Religious ceremonies, along with traveling outside the reservation, were prohibited by law (Jackson 2000). Missionaries destroyed the religious bundles and interrupted all attempts at cultural activity. A new and foreign subsistence system of ranching and farming was imposed upon the Blackfeet, and sedentary life in nuclear family lodges began to replace the old tipi camps. The final blow came in 1896, when the tribe agreed to “cede” the strip of Rocky Mountain Front that was still part of the reservation, thereby losing possession of their mountain grounds.

Ceremonies survived, somehow, and so did numerous social and cultural aspects of the Blackfeet way of life. As many Montana Blackfeet are fond to say, “we sent our culture to Canada, for safe keeping, and we slowly got it back,” (authors’ note) implying that the Canadian system was far and did not impinge so directly upon their traditional belief system and language. Thus, it was kept alive by the Blood, Northern Piegan, and Siksika. The Montana Blackfeet were one of the first tribes to reorganize in 1934, but it took them the better part of the twentieth century to bring self-sufficiency back to the reservation.

Traditional Resource Use and Significance

The Blackfeet worldview centers on the Creator Sun and the Star people as well as on supreme beings—Napi and Bloodclot—that created the earth and gave people the sacred gifts they needed to survive. These gifts, which are the most sacred of Blackfeet belief and practice, include the Continental Divide, the Sun Dance or Okan, the sweat lodge, the
beaver and medicine pipe bundles, red paint, painted tipis, the sacred turnip, berries, and all that is associated with buffalo, including the buffalo stones or *iniskim* and the corrals or *piskun* (McClintock 1999; Wissler and Duvall 1995). Many other sacred items and resources derive from the initial gifts. Here we briefly review those gifts that contain resources available in the parks or that are connected spiritually to park landscapes.

**Ceremonial Resources**

Following is a brief summary of ceremonies and associated resources that were and are in use by the Blackfeet. The Sun Dance is the most complex of ceremonies practiced by the Blackfeet. The Sun Dance gathers all of their sacred societies, including the Buffalo Woman Society, the Horn Society, and the Brave Dog Society, among many others still operating in Canada. Resources used during this ceremony involve all the realms of the Blackfeet world and represent both the Rocky Mountain Front, with its river, lake, and forest ecosystems as well as the prairies. Likewise, many rocks and minerals, and particularly all colors of paint, are also represented.

Among the most powerful of gifts is the Beaver Bundle. This bundle was given to the people as a gift from the animal world; animals taught people about plant medicine (McClintock 1999:108-112). The Beaver Bundle, which is sometimes likened to Noah’s Ark (Zedeño et al. 2006), contains a representative of all the beings that inhabit the above, ground, and below portions of the universe. Birds and waterfowl, water mammals, forest dwellers, and prairie animals are all represented in this bundle; some Beaver Bundles are thought to contain upwards of 100 animals in them. Buffalo is well represented in this bundle, in the form of the *iniskim*, as are plants, including roots and tubers, grasses, trees, and berries. Among the animals commonly represented are: beaver, otter, badger, meadowlark, loon, magpie, mallard, lynx, wolverine, fox, woodpecker, chickadee, crow, dog, moose, frog, and buffalo.

Yet another powerful bundle is that of the medicine pipe. The pipe connects people to the Creator and carries their prayers. One of the oldest pipe bundles is that of the Blue Thunder Lodge, which is a gift from thunder and thus is associated with the arrival of spring and renewal of the world. The traditional medicine pipe is made of black soapstone, but a regular red pipe may be ceremonially blackened with the smoke of red osier dogwood (red willow) and polished with its ashes (Zedeño et al. 2005; Reeves and Peacock 2001). The Medicine pipe is associated with grizzly or black bear (depending on the specific bundle origin); the bear is the shield of the pipe. This bundle is also associated with the sacred tobacco seeds that the people originally received from the beaver (Schaeffer 1934). Other associations include red paint to stain the stem, serviceberry, which is the wood used to make the stem, and “sweet pine” (sub-alpine fir from the Rocky Mountains), which appeases thunder and prevents lightning from striking.
Warrior bundles and war bonnets were common in the past and were still transferred as recently as the Vietnam War era. The most prominent feature in these items is the golden eagle feather. Eagle trapping, which was practiced by the Blackfeet, is thus connected closely to warrior rituals as well as with society rituals that require the use of eagle feathers and bonnets, as, for example, the Buffalo Woman Society. In addition to the general eagle trapping practice of digging a hole, covering it, and using bait to attract the eagles, the Blackfeet has medicine songs associated with coyote, which was also used as bait (McClintock 1999:428).

In addition to paints, a number of mineral, plant, and animal resources are represented in each of the ceremonial societies of the Blackfeet. Buffalo, of course, is at the center of the Matoki or Buffalo Woman Society, as are the eagle and the hawk. In Blackfeet oral tradition, knowledge about building buffalo corrals and hunting buffalo was given to the women (Wissler and Duvall 1995). Thus this society figures prominently in the Sun Dance and had a significant role in the past during the hunts. The Horn Society is a mystical society where powerful plants and roots are used in various stages of its rituals and continues to be prominent among the Canadian and American Blackfeet. Other societies with animal associations are the Kit Fox, Mosquito, and Dove societies (McClintock 1999). Members of the now extinct Sacred Tobacco Society held a vast knowledge of plant medicines.

Sweat lodge ceremonies are requisite of all society and bundle rituals and have a central role in the Sun Dance. Among the Blackfeet only the men may participate in the sweat lodge rituals. The sweat lodges are made of willow branches; rocks, usually granites, basalts, diorites, or quartzites, are collected from outcrops or riverbeds but not from glacial tills (Reeves and Peacock 2001). A special type of fuel that does not spark, such as cottonwood, is used to heat the stones and to make coals for lighting the medicine pipe. Sparkless wood is also used to make fires inside the tipis for ceremonial and domestic purposes.

**Medicine Animals**

Among the animals sacred to the Blackfeet, the bear and the wolf are the most powerful. Bear power is one of the most dangerous. Medicine grizzlies are feared even today, and there are numerous stories about specific instances when this power was experienced (McClintock 1999; Schultz 1924; Grinnell 1892). Grizzly bear claws were widely traded and probably redistributed at the Mandan villages. These objects also appear in ceremonial objects, bundles, and dance costumes of all the upper Missouri River tribes and particularly the Hidatsa and Mandan, thus confirming the ancestral connection with the Blackfeet. The wolf is a mystical animal that connects people to the world of the dead. Their medicine and wisdom is sought on occasions when people must travel long distances and cross dangerous territory (Reeves and Peacock 2001). There are numerous oral traditions where wolves play a significant role (e.g., Schultz 1916). It is said that humans learned how to drive buffalo from observing the wolf packs.
Water animals, including beaver, otter, and muskrat, have power of their own and bring medicine to the Blackfeet people when they are a part of a bundle. Water animals figure prominently in oral traditions about the creation of the Blackfeet universe and are givers of numerous gifts. Beaver, for example, taught people the power of plants and roots and the use of different paints as well as the seeds of the sacred tobacco, the lunar calendar, and the curing songs, prayers, and dances (McClintock 1999:108). Water birds, such as the loon, are also prominent in traditions and ceremonies. The magpie is among the most magical birds, which bring people power and freedom and which have helped the ancestral Blackfeet in numerous occasions. Other powerful birds are the chickadees, woodpeckers, meadowlarks, blackbirds, and geese (Schaeffer 1934; McClintock 1999).

In addition to the buffalo, animals commonly hunted for food included deer, elk, and pronghorn antelope. Horns and hides of mountain sheep and mountain goat may have been traded as exotic items along the Missouri River and at the earthlodge villages. Elk is closely associated with sexual power and fertility. Elk ivory was a sign of wealth, so the wives of hunters proudly exhibited their ivory collections on their dance costumes.

**Plants**

The Blackfeet used numerous herbs, grasses, shrubs, roots, and trees that grew or still grow along the upper Missouri and Little Missouri Rivers. Among the foodstuffs are the wild turnips, wild onions, wild carrots, buffalo berry, serviceberry, huckleberry, and chokecherry. Medicinal plants used today include: yarrow, sage of various types, bearberry or kinnickinnick, milkweeds, red osier dogwood, sweetgrass, juniper/red cedar species, dandelion, mint, moss, puffball mushrooms, wild bergamot, rosehips, and willows. Ash wood was used for making bows. Cottonwood, juniper/cedar, and willow have numerous domestic and ceremonial uses (McClintock 1999; Johnston 1970; Reeves and Peacock 2001; Zedeño et al. 2006). Among the most powerful plants is the wild turnip that was given to the Blackfeet by the Star People. Plants, like animals, can appear to people in dreams and visions and give them power.

**Minerals and Rocks**

Paints are the most conspicuous minerals used by the Blackfeet for a variety of medicinal and spiritual purposes. Women are usually the ones who have the rights to collect and prepare paints. Red paint, which wards off sickness and brings long life, was given to the people by beaver along with other paints. There are several kinds of red paint that are distinguished both by their raw and baked hues. In the past, green paint came from a large lake to the east of the Sweetgrass Hills and yellow paint came mostly from warm springs along the Yellowstone River (McClintock 1999:415). Blue paint is rare and so sacred it cannot be worn outside the ceremonial context. White paint is also very sacred, as it is associated with the elder of Buffalo Woman Society and the Okan. White gypsum crystals and white clay were used to tan and lighten hides. The “seventh paint”, holiest of all, is a metallic-sheen red that may be obtained by pilgrimage as far as Wyoming. In the
past, Knife River Flint artifacts were extremely valued exotic items and, as discussed above, they appear with some frequency in archaeological sites as far to the northwest as central Alberta (Zedeño et al. 2006). Some paints are so rare, that they must be sought after and “captured” after performing appropriate ceremonies.
CHAPTER FOUR

ETHNOGRAPHIC ASSESSMENTS

This chapter summarizes statements made by representatives of eight tribes about each of the three parks included in this study. Emphasis has been made on statements of cultural affiliation, landscape, resource, and meanings, and recommendations for management and interpretation. Specific information about resource identification and uses is summarized in Appendix B.

Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site

Ethnographic Overview

In the broadest sense, Native American consultants see the Knife River Indian Villages as central places in the lives of the Northern Plains tribes in general and particularly of the Three Affiliated Tribes (TAT). For the TAT consultants, KNRI is the place where all the migrating ancestors of the Mandan and Hidatsa came together and eventually became who they are now; where many creation stories began or ended; and where many friendly tribes—Sioux, Chippewa, Assiniboine, Crow and Blackfeet—gathered to visit, trade, and participate in ceremonies. Importantly, the Knife River region is also the ancestral home of a group of Hidatsa who, sometime in prehistory, left the region and became a distinct people—the Apsaaloke or “people of the large-beaked bird”, historically known as Crow.

The villages welcomed many refugees and people who were adopted from other tribes. There were enemies, too, living in the outskirts of the villages, sometimes marrying into the villages, and all the while trying to outsmart the U.S. Army and one another. According to one consultant,

At the time of trade they would make peace, because they had dignity, all war activities stopped, they needed each other, they would smoke the pipe. There were a lot of internmarriages between the tribes; different tribal members lived with the Hidatsa and the Hidatsa lived elsewhere. During war raids they would take women, children, and horses—became family.

Although each ethnic group has a unique traditional and historical association with KNRI, the concept of the Knife River as the historical center of the earth-lodge villagers’ homeland unifies the views of all ethnic group representatives. These groups were once connected geographically and socially by a network of ancient east-west trails that ran from the Great Lakes region to the Rocky Mountains, paralleling both banks of the Missouri River and converging in Mandan-Hidatsa territory (e.g., Warhus 1997). These were the trails that eventually brought European and American explorers to Native American lands. The Crow, Blackfeet, Blood, Chippewa-Cree, Assiniboine, and Sioux consultants expressed that there are many kinship ties with TAT families that were
established during the prehistoric period and that strengthened in the historic period. The Blackfeet and Blood further stated that they hold ceremonial objects transferred to them by the Mandan while they were visiting or living in the villages.

The existence of such shared views and experiences suggests that the cosmopolitan character of the “earth-lodge villages” resulted from the combination of numerous internal and external processes and events dating to time immemorial. This character withstood the smallpox epidemic of 1780, declining only after the second small epidemic of 1837 devastated the villages. Despite 150 years of reservation life, prohibition to travel or practice traditional religion, and unrelenting social and economic foes, a strong sense of affinity with KNRI remains among the consulted ethnic groups. Not surprisingly, the commemoration of the Corps of Discovery Expedition to the Pacific Ocean in 1804-1806, popularly known as the “Lewis & Clark Bicentennial” has reunified these ethnic groups, allowing them to share pieces of their cultural knowledge and to recount their common history, including the ancient trade and warfare, the fur trade, the epidemics, the advent of reservation life, and the construction of the Missouri River dams. In the following sections we discuss in detail each ethnic group’s view of KNRI.

Three Affiliated Tribes

Three TAT consultants visited at length with the UA ethnographers and three other individuals granted short interviews (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). The consultants provided brief descriptions of the villages’ past significance and activities that took place there, but spent comparatively far more time and effort in emphasizing the significance of “place” as a cultural category that permeates all aspects of Mandan and Hidatsa culture and identity, past and present. Their message, overall, was intended to underscore the continued centrality of the villages in contemporary people’s lives. They also furnished many recommendations for management and interpretation.
Village Life

Although in the past certain families and bands were connected to certain villages at different times in their history, contemporary TAT families and individuals see themselves as connected to all of the Knife River villages; these connections are both social and individual, as each person may experience the ancestral villages differently. Consultants explained that not all villages were occupied at the same time but overlapped somewhat. Contemporaneous village clusters were once connected through the travois trail; there were villages and camps all along the river and people moved and visited one another all the time. The villages were populous and kept in order by the “Black Mouths,” which is a soldier or police society. There were many rules as to how to live and behave when in the village.

The consultants observed that George Catlin’s paintings are a fair portrayal of traditional life at KNRI. The lodges in his paintings could be put up in as little as four days. The four indoor poles represented four powers of the earth and the 13 external poles on the outside represented the original Hidatsa clans. Bison skulls were fastened over the doors as guardians, as were the painted and stuffed head effigies. Sentries placed themselves on the rooftops to watch out for incoming parties and to catch up on the townsfolk’s whereabouts. Burial scaffolding were built on the hills above the villages. Outside the villages there would be, at certain times of the year, a vast array of camps from the different tribes that came to trade and visit. Gambling was an integral part of Mandan and Hidatsa society and thus many games were shared by the visiting tribes. Many other scenes in Catlin’s paintings, including ceremonial and personal paraphernalia, are also fairly accurate. Other scenes, such as warfare and hunts, portray activities that took place on the open prairies.

Park Physiography

There are many geographic landmarks connected to the Knife River villages; some have names whereas others are known only to certain people. The river terraces were used for a variety of activities (e.g., winter villages), depending on their location (elevation) relative to the water. Unfortunately, the original physiography of the Missouri River above the mouth of the Knife River was destroyed by the construction of the Garrison Dam and subsequent impoundment of water that flooded many historical villages and other important places, as well as modern allotments. But the Knife River lies between two dams, and thus its physiography is close to what was in the pre-dam era. The villages were occupied year-round, therefore they needed to use a large area with resources available most or all of the year.

Rivers

Rivers were significant to the people because water is the source of life. The Knife River, traditionally known as Meecii Aashish, was used for its water and also for fishing,
swimming, and floating boats. It was not a trail like the land trails, but only for bull boat
use, to carry meat, and wood and other things. The boats were useful for crossing the
river and when people needed short-distance water transportation. Rivers guided people
on their travels elsewhere and helped them return home. Rivers also marked territorial
boundaries.

**River Banks**

*Cottonwood* groves and wetlands along the Knife River were important sources of
medicinal and other useful plants that are unique to the bottom areas, including
*sweetgrass, sage, cedar, and bitterroot.* One such area still exists in the park, on the road
to the Big Hidatsa village. Consultants noted that they would come and gather plants in
the stands of native vegetation near Big Hidatsa. Children would learn how to snare birds,
such as *prairie chickens,* and small animals in the woods along the river banks.
*Cottonwood* bark was used to feed horses during the winter. In the colder seasons the
forested river bottoms were used as shelter for the winter villages, as firewood was more
easily obtainable there, and bison also took refuge among the trees, facilitating the hunt.

**Terraces**

The villages were built on the terraces above the flood plain but close enough to the river
so that water could be easily transported. One consultant noted that there were camps all
along the Knife River, but most are flooded now. Terraces had a view of the river that
allowed villagers to see people approaching at a distance. Terraces were also breezy and
kept the mosquitoes at bay.

Gardens were very important to the community. Every family had one garden tended by
the women. Gardens were placed in well-drained soils near the villages but outside the
fortification and closer to the floodplain. Gardens were associated with important
religious bundles, including the Corn Bundle, and with the winter counts. Stories abound
about the misfortunes of families whose women did not tend the gardens; the gardens
would be taken over by weeds and the families would starve in the winter. One woman
was caught stealing another woman’s vegetables and her female clan relatives were
forced to repay for the lost vegetables, which caused great embarrassment to them.

**Hills**

The terraces above the villages and nearby hills were reserved for the construction of
burial scaffolds and shrines. Grasslands in the vicinity of the village were used for
grazing horses. The prairie patches were also good for plant collecting at certain times of
the year, as well as hunting and trapping. Bison were generally sought and captured on
the open hills near the villages.
Bluffs

Hills and bluffs were and are significant locations for fasting and other personal rituals. These locations hold specific meanings for the TAT consultants. The river bluffs had many uses and significance, notably the placement of eagle trapping pits. One such pit exists above Big Hidatsa and is strongly connected to two of the TAT consultants who visited that site. Consultants stated that there are many other features in the bluffs, including cairns, effigies, and shrines, but many of these are “old” and it is not known which group built them. Bluffs were ideal locations for large buffalo hunts, where jumps and corrals were used. There is an old buffalo jump below a bluff nearby the park—it is really old and has good-sized skulls.

Coulees

Coulees are important because they offered protection against the elements, frequently had waterholes or seeps that travelers could use, and were also good for hunting and spiritual activities. According to one consultant, women fasted in protected areas like coulees or valleys whereas men sought high places. Women were powerful from having children, but could become even more powerful through fasting. Men and women had complementary roles.

Buttes

Buttes in the vicinity of KNRI, and in the TAT territory in general, were important traveling landmarks. All around the buttes there are winding trails. In particular, when people did not follow the river course they had to rely on the buttes to tell direction; they would make their own path and mark it. One TAT consultant referred us to Martha Beckwith’s 1938 account of “Geography of a War Party” as an example of how significant these and other landmarks were, not only to tell direction, but to relate important events that occurred during a journey. Also, this consultant suggested that we look at Sitting Rabbit’s map of 1908 (see Thiessen et al. 1979) to identify important place names in the vicinity of the Knife River.

Consultants suggested that buttes were like houses: a “baby house” for example, would be a butte where a woman could place toys and sometimes she would find out this way the gender of her unborn baby. There is such a place as a butte where the souls of all babies dwell. Other such “houses” are Dog Den Butte and Buffalo Den Butte. The buttes are full of spirits and sometimes when men go out there to meditate they can hear or see them. There are stories, such as that of the two chiefs whose souls knew each other in the butte before being born; one fell while crossing and had to start over. Along the river, to the southwest of Parshall, there are massive clay buttes that people would use for worshiping and vision questing. Young men also went to the buttes to collect fossils and paints.
Religion and Place

In the view of TAT consultants, the resiliency that characterized their ancestors and the roots of their success as traders and warriors was and continues to be their religion. They explain that religion is what made people survive and overcome the demographic devastation of the smallpox epidemic of 1837. The few Mandan survivors who joined the Hidatsa were strong enough to keep the most significant religious ceremony—the Okipa—alive, as Matthews witnessed in 1876 while visiting Like-a-Fishhook Village. In the words of a TAT consultant,

*When I read the story of how my ancestors kept on going after so many hardships and how they continued to practice their religion, I often get overcome with emotion, it brings me to tears to think that all they had to hold on to was their religion and that is why our people survived until today. The Sioux were going to wipe us out and we prevailed even when we were outnumbered. The Hidatsa as a whole and the Mandan people had a faith that no matter what, they were going to continue their ceremonies and that's what it was all about. Even the war dances continued to be performed during the Vietnam War.*

There are strong associations among places, religious beings, and oral traditions that provide the rationale for ritual belief and behavior. Contemporary TAT people acknowledge and appreciate the need that their ancestors had to tell about their religious practices and associated places to anthropologists such as Wilson (1908-1918), Beckwith (1930-1937), and Bowers (1930s-1940s) so that the knowledge would not be lost to future generations. However, consultants noted that it is difficult to discuss the significance of each place today, as many are special places for each individual family and others are fasting and ceremonial locales that must remain known only to those with the proper rights. There are also places where something was gifted to a person and thus only that person is able to talk about that place. Consultants felt comfortable with sharing information on some places to which they have rights or which are known by the community.

Holy Places

Holy places are connected to spiritual beings, religious institutions such as bundle groups, and blessed events. An elder explained that there are places that were always holy, whereas other places became holy by virtue of magical or “blessed” events that occurred there. Examples of places that are holy include Thundernest Butte (also known as Table Butte), where the water monsters live and where Packs Antelope changed into a human after being a thunderbird. There is a big granite boulder on the butte top that was brought up by Packs Antelope to protect himself against the giant snake, which came out of Skunk Lake to eat young thunderbirds and to shoot arrows at it (see Beckwith 1937). Thundernest Butte is connected to the Water Buster Bundle and the Low Cap Clan (also associated with Thunderbird); thus it plays a crucial role in rainmaking rituals.
Thundermest Butte was traditionally sought for vision quests and fasts because of its spiritual power. Hidatsa men of the post-Wounded Knee generation have gone there to fast.

An elder consultant tells that holy places give people the rights to do certain things, as his Mandan grandfather, Black Chest, experienced himself. Holy places also had songs. People who needed help, particularly warriors, would keep a medicine bundle, a song, a special prayer, and special names—these were names of holy places that also were mentioned in the songs. They also had a special “person” to pray to, and they would go to certain places and pray to the person to help them over the strife and protect them. Naming was also important for warriors and they generally acquired a new name before battle. Sometimes places became holy because people were killed there; life is sacred. Battles made places holy, as it happened to the Killdeer Mountains.

**Storied Places**

These are places associated with origin stories and oral traditions that relate the adventures of culture heroes and the historical pathways of the Mandan and Hidatsa people: *The land is a story, it tells what happened there*. There are numerous migration places that tie the Knife River all the way to the place of Hidatsa emergence—Devil’s Lake in eastern North Dakota. One consultant related how, when the Hidatsa ancestors climbed through a hole to the surface of the earth, many did not make the climb. If you go to Devil’s Lake and be very quiet you can still hear the people underwater, singing and talking. Another story about the river is as follows:

*There was one time when the people saw a ship with a bow in the shape of a snake or dragon head. The ship approached the village but nobody came out. Something appeared and disappeared on the back. So the people thought “the spirits are doing something” and so they filled the ship with blankets and flint and other stuff. That night the clouds came and the ship was gone the next morning. Every year the ship appeared and the people would fill it up. Until one day a young man asked, “Why give to the ship? I will prove that the ship comes from man”. He got into the ship even though they warned him not to do it. He left with the ship and the ship never returned. That following year was the hardest ever.*

The Painted Woods, near Washburn, North Dakota, is a place associated with the Hidatsa descent from the sky and the stories of Hidatsa culture hero Flaming Arrow. One consultant noted that place names come from the specific properties of the place. There are buttes, for example, that are named after animals because someone saw animals go in and out of the earth at that place. Other places are named after their shape, for example Table Butte, and yet others are recalled after a historical event, for example Five Man Kill Butte, where the Mandan captured and killed five Sioux intruders.
TAT consultants stated that the Mandan, Awatixa, Hidatsa proper (Amahami), and Awaxawi each have their own storied places, which in turn relate to their separate origin stories and experiences through time. For example, the medicine rock by the Cannonball River has a marker that is originally Mandan medicine—it is in the path of the Mandan migration and only later did the Sioux discover it after they took over that part of the country. It was used for hunting mostly and hunters went there and set some kind of token on the rock; you would ask “her” a question relative to the token and the rock would give you an answer. Some hunters were blessed by her and they would fast and get their vision. They would return to the Mandan village and ask the chief what they should do about it. Their vision or petition came true mostly. The Mandan were powerful medicine people and had war medicine that protected them from the Sioux.

Places mentioned as connected to KNRI include Painted Woods, Dog Den Buttes, Killdeer Mountains, Singing Buttes, Bear Butte, and Devils Lake, among others. Dog Den Buttes, for example, was a stop-over on the way to the Knife River; travelers would cross the prairie on a clearly defined route that they would have to know well enough to find the waterholes. The Killdeer Mountains are associated with adventures of culture heroes and are also of significance because many battles were fought there among enemy tribes. Devils Lake is the place of emergence of the Hidatsa ancestors, and thus is intimately connected to their villages on the Knife River. Big Hidatsa also has a number of stories associated with it, particularly of spirits that inhabit it. For the Mandan, there are also places to the south associated with their migration.

**Personally Experienced Places**

KNRI as a whole is central to the identity, history, religion, and culture of the TAT; the villages allow contemporary people to reinforce their connection with the ancestors and to learn from the past. The villages also are a source of spiritual enlightenment for certain individuals who seek peace and pray here. There are places in the park where TAT consultants had spiritual experiences and thus have the right to share with others. *Big Hidatsa* is one such place.

Big Hidatsa is not visited very often and has not been landscaped for tourist use as the other villages; therefore, it is the home of spirits such as the Little People, who have remained at the site until today. Also, many powerful plants and animals still live at Big Hidatsa. Spirits abound at Big Hidatsa and those who pray can connect to them. To illustrate, in 1983 one of the consultants and his elder companion came to the village to stay overnight. They prayed, talked, and then laid down in the central area were the ceremonial lodge once stood. They were looking at the stars and relaxing when they heard the clinking of pots and pans. A Little Person then held the consultant down and grabbed him from the back; this person rubbed his skull and they went away. The elder companion then told him many other stories about the locals sighting Little People there. At a later time, two consultants built a sweatlodge in the immediacy of Big Hidatsa, in a safe area, and stayed there for two or three nights. The consultant who had previously
encountered the Little Person helped the other consultant to communicate with the ancestors and the spirits.

Another personally experienced place is in the general vicinity of Big Hidatsa. There are eagle trapping pits located on the edge of a large bluff overlooking the Missouri River north of the village site. One consultant had an actual experience involving eagles that occurred in this area, which was very powerful and meaningful to him. In later years, he was told of an eagle trapping pit along the bluff, which he visited. In the next twelve years, the consultant was instrumental in an Eagle Sun Dance on his reservation. It is his belief that his experience and this place foretold his involvement in the Eagle Sun Dance. The Big Hidatsa village and other places in the park were also the scenes of significant spiritual experiences in his life.

The TAT consultants stated that these kinds of experiences, where individuals feel a physical contact with the spirits at a particular place, especially an ancestral village or site, serve to reinforce the traditional culture and religion, and fuel the acquisition of first-hand religious knowledge that can later be transmitted to the children or to other adults.

Cultural fairs are good and productive for letting the public know what this is all about and why it is important; they learn to respect and appreciate [the park]. But there is a far more profound relevance to this place, and it is the source of individual and social identity—the fact that people come here to get a sense of spiritual self that only comes from the connection with the ancestors.

In contemporary Hidatsa and Mandan thinking, the significance of place and history cannot be reduced to a legend or an “old tale” told to children by the campfire or written in a picture book. On the contrary, it has to be personally experienced to be fully appreciated and internalized.

Knowledge belongs to the spirits; it is timeless and it is all there. Some knowledge may be lost but we can recover it by seeking that knowledge spiritually. It is up to us to suffer to regain it; if we are sincere, it will happen. That is why we sit on these hills, even the old village people needed to go out there and shake their comfort; they needed to suffer. There are stories that go with these villages and locations that should be preserved by encouraging young people to fast and to establish their own ties to the land; in this way they, too, will have their own personal history.

Place, Story, and Resources

TAT consultants stated that all plants, animals, and rocks have a spirit, which looks human; resources are alive. When people cleanse themselves spiritually and become holy enough they can connect with these things and learn from them. Water is the main thing of all, but everything is equally significant. Everything is connected and provides for people who lived in the villages and who continue to live in the right way—these
resources give life. Through these resources one could acquire answers to important questions and also get powerful medicine. Whereas much of the information on plant uses and properties is exclusive to the people who have rights to it, there is other information that could be shared with the ethnographers that demonstrates how people acquire rights to plants and what kind of power and medicine they can get. One consultant told that he learned to make bows of chokecherry. Before cotton string came about, sinew was used to string the bow. Willow branches would be wrapped in leather to make them straight.

Resources and Medicine

Stories about Cherry Necklace, a famous medicine man, brother of Bird Woman, and ancestor of one consultant, were told in connection with the medicine power of animals and other resources.

Cherry Necklace was famous for his snake medicine. He would rub one braid and it would be a bull snake, and he would rub the other braid and it would be a rattlesnake. My grandfather told my mother that he had witnessed this. There was a certain way you had to approach Cherry Necklace or else you would be poisoned. If you went to ask him for medicine he would say “come back tomorrow, if you see a bear I can help you, but if you don’t, then I can’t”. He had to prepare himself too. When he was about to do a healing ceremony, the entire village, even the dogs, had to be quiet for one day preceding the healing. He also had otter power. My grandmother, who was named “She Who Prepares for War” may have been his sister. She was said to have bear medicine. [She had] a growth on the back of her neck (no one was supposed to touch her there). She went into convulsions and the medicine came out of her mouth.

The consultant added that Cherry Necklace had the power to use animal parts. For example, he once used an otter skin and a sacred song that go with it to cure Four Bears’ bullet wounds. Cherry Necklace could bring the animal, whose part he was using, back to life. There were many individuals who had specialty medicines that they had received as gifts; these could include animals, plants or minerals.

There are two highly significant resource-gathering areas within the park: the eagle trapping pit above the river, and the lowlands and stands of native prairie that surround Big Hidatsa. One consultant stated that these plant communities are more powerful than others because they are connected with the ancestors. He would come and collect plants here if that were possible. He has rights to sage and could collect sage there. There may be more people from the Fort Berthold Reservation who come here to collect medicinal plants, but that is a private issue.

Yet another highly significant resource in the vicinity of the park is the Knife River Flint quarry, located mostly on private land. This is one of the primary trade items that the
Mandan and Hidatsa people used to obtain other resources across the plains, occurring as far to the northwest as Alberta, Canada.

Buffalo, which was hunted in the vicinity of the villages, is of course the single most important animal resource. Buffalo gains power from the earth, grasses, and plants. It takes in plants from all around, and so when we eat buffalo he transfers all that power from the earth to us. Also associated with the river are turtles, snakes, otters, and many other animals.

Finally, horses and horse medicine were highly significant to the village folk throughout historic times. Horses are special animals because they are spirits with power and abilities; they are not just livestock; otherwise, why wouldn't there be cow medicine? asked a consultant. Additional resource information is in Appendices B and C.

Recommendations

TAT consultants stated that KNRI has played a very significant role in the life and culture of contemporary Mandan and Hidatsa and will continue to play that role in the future:

This is our old village, it tells the history of our tribe. When we come here, and breathe the air and look around we can imagine how life was back then. Now that the nation's attention is on the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial then the park is even more significant. We have a close relationship with the park and have had two formal events here.

Management

Overall, TAT consultants were pleased with the condition of KNRI and said they did not mind that the villages were kept mowed because people needed to see them clearly so that they could appreciate them. They also support the park's stabilization efforts along the river banks. On the other hand, they are very concerned with the state of the cottonwood groves and lowland environments, which are not flooding properly. These are areas where important medicinal plants grow and should be kept alive by allowing the flow of the spring nearby and not capping it. It is crucial that NPS understands how rare and precious these resources are for Indians and non-Indians alike, as this is probably one of only two remnant bottomlands that survived after the construction of the Garrison Dam. Plants and animals here should be carefully inventoried with the assistance of TAT elders. The park should also make efforts to hire tribal members.

Exhibits and Interpretation

In terms of exhibits and interpretation, TAT consultants are concerned that KNRI continues to bring outsiders or "Hollywood Indians," such as Michael Terry, to their festivals and cultural activities to explain Mandan and Hidatsa history to the general
The consultants think that outsiders use a pan-Indian approach to explaining native history, religion, and culture that damages the individuality of each tribe and ethnic group and destroys diversity, in addition to spreading information that is just plain erroneous. They consider this inappropriate and would like to remediate it by asking the park to hire or invite interpreters from their own tribe.

Also, the consultants realize that KNRI sometimes wants to portray a “museum-like” image of the Hidatsa and Mandan to go along with the archaeological exhibits. They suggest, instead, that KNRI make efforts to embrace the fact that the TAT are modern people who have withstood tremendous hardships to be where they are now. In this regard, they suggest that the exhibits should include more of their contemporary cultural life and concerns vis-à-vis their ancient history, so that the public may understand that modern Indians have not lost their culture; on the contrary, they have managed to hold on to it despite the changes in the world around them.

Other recommendations include the need to update the exhibit signs at the villages to best explain the connections among villages, for example, the fact that not all of them were occupied at once. Also, certain garden plants should be better identified, and the garden in general expanded and interpreted in more detail. Also, the damage done by the Garrison Dam to the Knife River and other areas along the Missouri River should be incorporated into the exhibits. In short, the TAT would like to have a say in redesigning the interpretive signs to best capture the past and the present significance of the park.

As a collaborative effort, the consultants suggested that KNRI arrange temporary exhibits in the TAT Museum at New Town, for people who cannot travel to the park.

Access

The single most important request regarding access to the park is the issue of fire permits for ceremonial uses at Big Hidatsa. TAT consultants expressed that making fire is very important for protection during rituals and ceremonies that individuals would like to perform at Big Hidatsa, and thus they would like the KNRI to be more lenient about making small fires. Also, they would like to collect medicinal plants along Big Hidatsa and in other parts of the park.

Absaaloke or Crow Tribe

Three consultants from the Crow Tribe visited KNRI. The consultants’ main concern was to explain the historical relationship between the Crow and the Hidatsa, and their ancestral connection with the Knife River or Biche Asha. This connection was emphasized through storytelling (Figures 4.3 and 4.4).
Ancestral Connection

In the traditional view, the Crow people’s ancestral relationship with the Missouri River, and the Knife River in particular dates back several thousand years. Three sacred institutions unite them with the Hidatsa: the clan system, the sweat lodge, and the pipe; the fourth institution or Sacred Tobacco Society, lends the Crow an identity distinct from that of the Hidatsa. The Crow are the keepers of the sacred tobacco plant which they obtained after their long migration was completed.

Figures 4.3 and 4.4 Crow Elders visit KNRI

The Crow ancestors underwent at least three transitions: the first transition refers to their emergence as Awaakuwilexpake or “People of the Earth”; the second transition corresponds to their time in the Knife River as Ashishé (Awashé) or “People of the Earthen Lodge” or Hidatsa, from whom they split over an argument about the distribution of bison meat; and the third transition is their becoming plains people, Apsaaloke or “People of the Large-beaked Bird”. The Crow ancestors traveled far and wide, from Canada to the Salt Lake and to Oklahoma, all the while looking for the sacred tobacco plant, until they found this plant on the eastern slope of the Bighorn Mountains. This finding marked their final transition. Throughout this time the Crow language underwent several changes to become what it is today.

Consultants noted that, in some of the oldest Crow traditions, there was once a very ancient race of people, who wore long white hair and who inhabited the Missouri River even before the Hidatsa arrived into the Knife River area. These people eventually moved on, perhaps migrating toward Crow land. The general sense is that the process of becoming Crow is far more ancient than conventionally thought, dating to 4000 to 5000 years ago. It is possible that the Crow as a whole are the result of more than one population movement into the Bighorn Mountains, and that the Mountain Crow may represent populations that predate the arrival of the “River Crow”, who split from the Hidatsa sometime in prehistory. One consultant emphasized the need to “use archaeology
appropriately”, and to reexamine the archaeological record to fully decode the ancestry and antiquity of the Apsaaloke. The rock-lined tipi construction, for example, is a craft that the Crow people acquired upon arrival to Montana, and the remaining tipi rings date thousands of years. Stake construction was adopted only 450 years ago.

The tipi, or symbol of their last transition, was acquired from the animal/bird world, specifically associated with the owl. There are 19 poles inside, two outside, and one extra pole; these stand for the cycle of life. Originally, it was covered with 18 bison hides and it would be a woman’s job to pack them up and set them down. The lodgepole pine used to make tipis does not grow in North Dakota (however, there were tipis in the Hidatsa and Mandan villages in historic times; see Tyrell 1916). Lodgepole tipis are heavier and sturdier than the jack/ponderosa pine tipis.

Despite the time elapsed from their separation from the Hidatsa, the Crow have never lost the connection with the Knife River villages. In the past, people would travel back and forth all the time, to visit their kin, trade, dance, gather, exchange gifts, and perform ceremonies. As a result of modern reservation life, nowadays they visit less, perhaps once or twice a year, but they continue to keep in contact with their old relatives. One consultant stated that her blood relations in the Knife River villages go back at least five or six generations. The songs of her relatives and their language are very similar to her family’s, but the dance steps and costumes are different. Some ceremonies are different, too, as the Crow beliefs changed somewhat after they moved to the plains.

**Story, Song, and Place**

Consultants noted that the Crow have songs about all the places where they traveled, but they only claim the area delineated by one of their great leaders in 1859, from the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers to the big saddle of the Bighorn Mountains, and from the three forks of the Missouri River, along the ridge of the Continental Divide, to the Platte River. Song, story, and place are tied to Crow origin, identity, and culture. For example, during the ceremonies of the Sacred Tobacco Society, they sing a special song and take four steps out of the lodge to replicate the migration steps that they took after they left the Knife River villages. Stories told by the Crow consultants were aimed at illustrating cultural affinity with the Hidatsa as well as their historical trajectory. A short version of the Crow emergence was offered by one consultant.

_There was a time when it rained 100 nights. The Creator found two ducks who were equal; he sent them to find mud. The first duck went and found no mud. The second duck went and found no mud. He sent the first duck again; it took a long time, but when the duck came back he had mucus and dirt under the bill. The Creator mixed them and put it in water to make mud. The ducks wanted to leave, but there was no water back home. Coyote came into the picture and danced around the ducks. Coyote wanted company and so the Creator made animals and humans, all male, from mud._
There appeared Redwood Woman, who was a root digger. She scratched the ground and created the river system. She gave roots and berries to the people. Afterwards they had water, earth, air, and food. Animals came next: bear, elk, wholly worm, and prairie chicken. Prairie chicken was dull in appearance, so the Creator took red paint and lined the edge of its eyes and gave it the gift of dancing when the sun rises and sets.

Bear got mad and got some sage. Beaver sang and danced and bear got mad again and howled at the Creator. He said to the Creator”, I wanted the gift of dancing”, but the Creator told him, “do not come around again”, and so bear lives in the brush.

The clan system, which ties the Crow to the Hidatsa, was also created at this time.

After a while Coyote became lustful. He asked for females to reproduce. So the Creator made females, but since they were equal he put a garter belt on females to restrict their abilities. They reproduced and along came the clan system, in this way. Coyote (whose name was Sore Lip) first came upon a chipmunk and asked, “what is your name?” “Chipmunk!” He asked again, “what is your name?” Chipmunk said, “Live with Snakes.” Then he asked the prairie chicken, “what is your name?: And he responded, “I scare animals.” So Coyote started naming people living in groups. He named twelve groups, of which three are extinct. The thirteenth group was “Sore Lip” or Coyote Clan.

All of these clans were once represented in both the Hidatsa and the Crow tribes. The story that ties them to the Knife River, known as “place where the Sun had a son” is as follows.

There was this girl who kept chasing a porcupine, but he kept running away, until one day she chased the porcupine all the way up a tree until she reach the sky. There she met a man, who was the Sun, and they had a son. The son was not to kill meadowlark, dig up turnips, or turn over buffalo chips. But he disobeyed and had to be sent back to the earth. He was small and could not quite reach the ground so the mother placed a big rock to cushion his fall. This was a good size rock and made an indentation on the ground. It is said that the rock was by Elbowoods [on the TAT reservation], but it may be underwater now. The boy lived with an old lady. She put food behind the tipi liner everyday and everyday the plate came empty. The boy was curious and looked into the tipi liner and saw that there was a one-eyed serpent. He killed the serpent and threw it over the cliff, where the serpent became a lake [Short River]. The old lady got mad and said that it was Grandfather who she fed and that the boy had killed him. But the boy had mystic powers and is known by the people as “Grandmother’s Grandson”. This also led to the tradition of the “Kaalish baapiduua” or “children raised by their grandparents”.

Consultants noted that the Crow had numerous place names along the Missouri River and in the vicinity of the Knife River; each of these places had stories and songs tied to them. People would fast and dream on these places to acquire knowledge. They also knew this landscape from scouting and frequent visiting. The rivers were the main traveling system as trails would follow their courses, particularly the Yellowstone River, very closely.
Sadly, the landscape has changed much since the construction of the Garrison Dam and many places are gone.

**Place and Resources**

Many plants and animals available in and around KNRI are also used by the Crow people. Detailed resource information may be found in Appendices B and C. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy to mention at least some of the most significant resources noted by the consultants.

*Eagle* trapping was traditionally practiced by the Crow people. A pit similar to that found on the bluff above the river was dug and covered with *willows*. The trapper would be hiding under the willows and placed a skinned *hare* on top of the willows, outside the blind, to attract the eagle. When the eagle came the trapper would grab it by the feet. Other birds mentioned in connection with the park are the *prairie falcon*, whose feathers make horses go fast, and *magpie*.

Two consultants, who are elders in the Sacred Tobacco Society, explained that *cottonwoods* are also very important trees. They, along with willows, play a role in the adoption ceremony of the Sacred Tobacco Society. Their branches are used to build the altar, which is made of two upright cottonwood stakes and seven willow loops on each cottonwood stake. *Juniper* is placed flat between the upright cottonwoods. Four black lines made with ashes from the ceremonial fire are painted on the juniper branches.

Other plants mentioned by the Crow consultants include: *bergamot*, which was used to make crowns for warriors when they returned; *chokecherry*, which has a smokeless wood used by warriors during expeditions; and also *buffalo berry*, *milkweed*, *snowberry*, *skeleton weed*, *prairie coneflower*, *little bluestem*, *prairie turnip*, and *buffalo grass*. Buffalo berries were a significant source of food and would be picked after the first frost. One consultant's grandmother would lay a canvas below the plant and then beat the bush with a stick to harvest the berries. It is a ceremonial food for the sacred tobacco society and for that use it is cooked with flour. Finally, *buffalo* and *deer* were once very abundant along the Knife and Missouri rivers. The Crow and Hidatsa ancestors would hunt them all the way to the Yellowstone River.

**Recommendations**

The Crow consultants unanimously stated that KNRI is well preserved and constitutes one of the last "pure" ancestral sites for the Crow; they think that it must continue to be preserved in the same manner. They would like to have exhibits or interpretive signs that explain in detail the Crow history in connection with the park.

One consultant felt a little uneasy about having an empty tipi on display, as empty tipis are bad omens. He thought *that the tipi was out of place and needed more explanation.*
He said, *it is important to remind children and adults that these homes were sacred and revered by the Indians and that taboos regarding them still exist.* The tipi symbolizes the sacred mother and thus it should not be pitched without regard for deeper and more thorough explanations as to its significance. For example, there are numerous origin stories for the lodge and the tipi. Consultants, however, could not find interpretive signs that explain the meaning and significance of each component of the lodge and tipi.

The consultants explained that they do not need to have access to resources here as they have them closer to home. They do see, however, how the presence of a shared resource and similar resource uses further strengthens their ancestral tie to the Hidatsa and the park. Finally, the consultants would like to have more Crow elders interviewed in connection with the Knife River villages and other parks before they pass away.

**Standing Rock Sioux Tribe**

One consultant from the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe came to visit and interview at KNRI (Figure 4.5). He has Lakota, Dakota, Nakota, Mandan, Hidatsa, and French ancestry, and grew up speaking the three Siouan dialects. Many Sioux children were adopted by the earth lodge tribes and eventually intermarried, just as TAT members were adopted into Sioux groups. In times of peace, the Sioux also traded at the villages. Bands that were known to roam the region were the Oglala, Hungpapah, Santee, One Feather, and Wood Mountain. Nowadays, there are Sioux elders at Standing Rock who were born near the Missouri River and the Fort Berthold Reservation. The Sioux people still remember the Mandan Okipa Ceremony, with its dancers covered in white paint, which was the most important ceremony performed at the villages, nine days of dancing coinciding with the harvest but before the Water Buster ceremony. Lone Man brought the paint for the original Okipa ceremony.

*Figure 4.5 Standing Rock Sioux elder at KNRI*
The consultant explained how the entire region surrounding the Knife River villages is strewn with remains of the Sioux ancestors who fought many wars against the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara, as well as against the U.S. Army. The Killdeer Mountains, for example, contain thousands of archaeological sites affiliated with the Sioux. In particular, there are areas where original scaffoldings were erected in this region. This story was offered in connection to the burial grounds found in the Killdeer Mountains:

*There was this man who was in love with this girl but she rejected him because he was homely. He kept coming at her and she kept saying no. So he gave the girl medicine and she got very sick and passed away. Her father erected a scaffold and placed the girl on it. Someone warned him that the homely man would come to steal her, so the father stayed below the scaffold with a rifle. When the night was coming he saw a wolf approaching the scaffold but he chased it away. The second night he chased him again. On the third night, he fell asleep. Then he heard this bird flapping; he looked up and saw that the wolf was on the scaffold eating the corpse of his daughter. People were powerful in the old days, and that man was a shape shifter.*

The consultant noted that the Hidatsa and Mandan had scaffoldings around their villages in addition to inhumations. The former mode of burial was important because it allowed the spirit to be released. The latter, however, does not allow that to happen easily. Therefore, modern ghost priests must perform ceremonies to help release the spirit of those buried underground. The lower level of the river and the lakes has caused many of these burials to surface and thus the priests cannot keep up with the reburial ceremonies.

Some of the rock rings and big boulders found in the region also have ceremonial meaning. They mark the burial of a medicine man and are usually painted in red. In the old days, the medicine men were so powerful that they could move big rocks telepathically to make stone circles for a burial.

**Place and Landscape**

The consultant noted that the Sioux people have connections all around KNRI, and to the east and southeast of the park. The river has changed much since his childhood; for example, areas that he used to go to gather wood are now flooded, whereas areas that should be flooded, such as the stand of northern forest on the KNRI, are not. These changes make it difficult to reconstruct the old landscape around the villages. He explained that differences in elevation, from the river banks to the bluff tops, would encourage people to build seasonal villages or camps in different areas around the park, for instance, the Big Hidatsa area and the northern prairie stand, to escape from the heat and mosquitoes or to shield from the cold.

On the bluffs around the park there are many locales that were special to the Hidatsa and Mandan people, including the eagle trapping pit, a possible burial area that the consultant, as a ghost priest, could feel was nearby, and places where individuals go fasting and
vision questing. The highest buttes in the region, in particular, were sought by individuals who wished to acquire medicine or power from thunder. These were dangerous places and affairs, so those who survived the vision became very powerful. Thunder is one of the biggest forces that connects all the high places in the region. Many resources were used by the Hidatsa in early spring ceremonies to celebrate the time when thunderbird comes back to the sky; there is a kettle dance after planting the crops and also a puppy ceremony, which is the sacrifice and burial of a dog in a pit to feed the thunder; this ceremony is common among the Sioux as well. The feeding of the thunder should be done after the harvest.

In addition to the places that connect thunder and the earth lodge villages, there are also other powerful places in the region, for example, the turtle effigies. These are very powerful and women place offerings of tobacco and food to have children—they are fertility medicine. The turtle effigies are related to the villages, too, and the origin story goes as follows.

Originally there were four turtles that came up from the river and each required an eagle feather, but not all eagle feathers were they same: they each wanted a bald, a gold, a black, and a blue eagle. The people of the villages went to find the feathers and found them all except for the blue eagle feather. So they replaced it with a magpie feather to satisfy the four turtles. Eventually all but one of the four turtles went back into the river. Turtle medicine is associated with the last Mandan speaker who lives in Twin Buttes, Eddie Benson, who is the keeper of one of the turtle drums.
An Arikara man with turtle power once lived near Pierre, South Dakota. He would lift the turtle out of the water and it would have medicine in its mouth. He would feed it and put it back. He turned himself to stone. He became a turtle to go get medicine and when he returned he became a stone. The Sioux used to go up there to pray and feed the turtle; I am a turtle priest, like Ron Little Owl, and I feed the turtle with squash pemmican for healing and other ceremonies.

On occasion of mentioning to the consultant that there is a turtle effigy on private land near the park, he said that there are effigies of water creatures all over this country, turtles, snakes, and lizards. There are piles of rocks pointing to the southwest, or somewhere else but never to the cardinal directions, because, as the consultant described, there is a spirit at the center of the directions and when one places an object directly pointing in any of the directions, this object would get lost.

The turtle effigies’ heads point to the southwest and the tails toward the southeast. But one time we went to feed a snapping turtle effigy and it was a mirror of itself, like if you go to feed the head, all of a sudden it looks like a tail, and if you go to the other side there is a square rock and it looks like the head.
When we first started finding the turtle effigies it was because there were eagles flying over them. We were there and there comes a golden eagle and flies west, and there comes another one and I got the spookies. And then came a third one and we said, “we need to
do a ceremony” but didn’t have any kidneys so we just ran out of there. It began to snow and the archaeologists that were with us could not complete the project... I told the head of the project, “bring me raw kidney, a red cloth and tobacco.” But she didn’t and it snowed again—even that simple thing they couldn’t even do. So one of us went to get the kidney and we fed the eagles and it was fine. The law books say, “not knowing the law is no excuse [to commit a crime]”. So why is this is not also true for the cultural ways?

The lesson, according to this consultant, is that one should always feed rocks and rock piles, with food, tobacco, and a bit of red paint. One should also watch the animals and pay attention to what they are trying to tell people.

The people also used to have other kinds of places all around the region. They had petroglyphs, and places where they stored the food, places where they had ceremonies, and burial grounds. Each of these places had names, stories, and songs. Songs, in particular, were central to a place, because they made the Creator hear the people’s prayer and petition faster than just the spoken word. Songs are so powerful indeed, that they make people ill or well, just by singing them. Hence, when the power of a place (e.g., a holy or storied place) is combined with the power of a song, the individual can acquire the vision or the medicine he wishes to have. The consultant’s grandfather, who was Hidatsa, used to tell him all kinds of stories about places in Fort Berthold, including Thundernest Butte and Snake Creek, but many of those places are now underwater. I can’t tell my grandkids the stories I was told because I can’t show them the places that the stories talk about. The memories go away when places are no longer accessible.

The river is what connects all the tribes that I come from, first I should mention the Oglalas, Hunkpapas, the Santees from Minnesota, (here they were called Wichina, which means “to borrow a place”) and then the Mandan and Hidatsa. [The river] is what connects all these tribes, and the Crow and the Sioux; they are all related. They also have the same stories because they were once part of the Great Sioux Nation.

**Place and Resources**

Individuals traditionally learned about plant uses from their family and also from dreaming. The consultant’s healing power comes from bearroot or the bear medicine called osha. He usually knows ahead of time when a person is sick and comes to ask for help. The consultant does not usually collect osha as it does not grow near his home in Standing Rock, but when he goes to the Sun Dance, generally at Twin Buttes near KNRI or at other places, people give him a stash of his plant medicines as a gift. Sometimes he looks for certain plants when he is out there traveling and comes up to someone in need of help.

The consultant noted a number of plants growing in KNRI. For example, in the northern forest he noted that the bark from trees that have been struck by lightning is used to cure bone pains. The puffball mushrooms that grow under the buffalo berry are used to reverse
love medicine. *Osha* does not work for thunder dreamers. He uses *Buffalo sage*, also known as big sage, or *wormwood* tea for his diabetes. Along the main trail to the villages he also found a sacred plant called thunderbird medicine. *Chokecherries* can be made into a tonic tea.

Animals and rocks are spiritually significant too. The consultant told that everybody has his desires in life and everybody likes a bird, an *eagle, hawk, meadowlark* or a stone, a tree, an animal or creature. In the Indian way, that thing you like is part of you and eventually becomes part of your dream. If you are tuned in you go to see someone to interpret the dream and have him complete that dream. Once that dream is completed you will be able to use that dream as a helper. Even a mosquito can become a person's helper.

There are many resources mentioned in origin stories and that is how the people learn to appreciate them. For example, the Water Buster Clan has the following story. *During a drought there was a young girl and she had a buffalo bladder and she could make rain by letting water seep from it. One day she got enthusiastic and hit the bladder; all the water came out and the rain flooded the whole land.* This story tells people of that kind of connection. In the same way, all medicines have thorns on them, to remind people of how they came to be that way—they carry a lesson, too.

**Recommendations**

No specific recommendations were offered by the consultant. Nevertheless, when asked about his opinion on controlled or prescribed fires, he responded that in the old days people would burn the prairie to attract buffalo to the area. Prayers would be placed to call the “big firefighters” or the rain clouds. There are many animals, like *bats* and *woodpeckers* that eat the flying insects, and fire would also help get rid of the nuisance.

**Chippewa-Cree Tribes**

The Chippewa-Cree people were consulted regarding general and specific information about KNRI on three occasions. First, the ethnographer visited the former Tribal Historic Preservation Officer of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa-Cree Tribe of North Dakota. Second, the current Tribal Historic Preservation Officer came to KNRI to visit the park and consult (Figure 4.6). And third, the ethnographer visited the Rocky Boy’s Reservation of Montana (Figure 4.7).

**Ancestral Connections**

Consultants stressed their ancestral connection with the earth lodge tribes, which dates to several centuries ago and involved co-residence, adoption, and intermarriage. They relate that, since time immemorial, the Chippewa-Cree ancestors roamed the land “far and wide”, from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains and as far south as Colorado. There were many resources that they sought in addition to the buffalo, for example, the
high-quality flint that could be found in a quarry near Missoula. The Sweetgrass Hills were sacred to the Plains Cree ancestors and to other Northern Plains tribes. The ancestors made pilgrimages to the hills and visited other cultural sites. Many cultural sites belonging to the Cree ancestors may be found between the Knife River villages and the Rocky Mountains, but their original heartland was to the north.

![Figure 4.6 Chippewa and Crow representatives review interpretive signs at KNRI](image)

*Figure 4.6 Chippewa and Crow representatives review interpretive signs at KNRI*

![Figure 4.7 Elder from the Rocky Boy’s Reservation, Montana](image)

*Figure 4.7 Elder from the Rocky Boy’s Reservation, Montana*

The Chippewa ancestors, on the other hand, come mostly from Pembina, near the Lake of the Woods, which once served as a boundary between the Chippewa and the woodland Cree. The ancestors would travel east and west and would use the Red River, Souris River, and White Earth River as avenues of travel to the Missouri River and beyond. Sometime in the historic period a holy man had a prophecy that their land would be taken
by trains, planes, and agriculture and that the people would be destroyed. So people were sent out to find a way to survive.

According to a Chippewa elder, two Chippewa bands left the Great Lakes sometime around 1820; Rocky Boy’s mounted band went toward the southwest. Rocky Boy was most definitely an eastern Chippewa and it is said that he was given an original 13-star U.S. flag by the Cavalry. His band started out huge and included a few Mohawk and Mohigan people, many stopped along the way or turned back. Rocky Boy’s father, for example, stayed in Wisconsin with his other son, Little Wolf. Rocky Boy’s band made it all the way to the Missouri River and wintered at the Knife River villages. At one time the Arikaras attacked the Mandan and Rocky Boy defended the Mandan and defeated the Arikaras. Afterward the Mandan and Hidatsa adopted his band and gave them 15,000 acres of land to the west of the villages. When Rocky Boy went on the warpath, he would leave the women and children at the villages to be safe. But one time Rocky Boy’s band went out hunting in the late summer and never returned. It is said that he went back north toward Minot; here the band split in half, with Rocky Boy moving up the Missouri River and Broken Arm, leader of a band known as Ochis, moving northwest toward Alberta and Saskatchewan.

One consultant indicated that Rocky Boy adopted a band of Crees after the Metis-Cree Rebellion of 1885, when a group of Cree, under Chief Little Bear, migrated to the United States and were given asylum in Fort Assiniboine. But their bad reputation “did them in” and they had to be escorted across the plains until they joined Rocky Boy’s band. He took them in and moved west to live near the Blackfeet. The Chippewa-Cree lived there until the U.S. government gave them trust land near the Bear Paw Mountains in 1916, where they moved under the leadership of Little Shell, and where they live today. The numbers of Chippewa have greatly diminished since then, and the majority of the modern Rocky Boy people are Cree, in contrast to Turtle Mountain, which is primarily Chippewa in composition.

Place, Story, and Resources

The Chippewa-Cree tribes have numerous places along the Missouri River that they hold sacred. The Cree, for example, have shrines and writing rocks where they left their mark during their migration. The Chippewa have numerous burial grounds all along the river, on both banks, that belong to the time when Rocky Boy’s band used to roam the plains. The Missouri River was always a border between tribes and thus it is the most significant landmark in the region, in addition to buttes and hills. Both tribes have many stories about the Missouri River and other rivers. There are stories about the villages, too, but the consultants did not know them to tell them well; according to one consultant, stories must be told accurately to be powerful. Many resources that occur in the park are also present in the reservations and are used as well. One example is the prairie falcon, whose feathers make horses run fast. Normally, feathers and ribbons are used on horses for
protection. There are plant smudges, songs, and various objects that go along with horse medicine. More information on traditional resource uses is in Appendix C.

Recommendations

There were two recommendations from the Chippewa-Cree. The first recommendation, from the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Cree consultant, refers to the significance of KNRI in education and the need to be proactive about bringing in school children and teaching them about the park’s history. The consultant who made this recommendation wishes that visits to the park should be mandated by the state’s school board as it is such an integral part of the state’s history. Furthermore, the educational programs should coordinate the involvement of state and federal parks to give a more complete picture to the students.

The second recommendation, from a Rocky Boy’s Chippewa-Cree consultant, refers to the presence of “false prophets” at parks in general, or those Indians who pretend to know traditional history but only tell stories for money. The park system should be able to distinguish between these people and the elders or other culturally knowledgeable people who actually can tell stories accurately. In all, the park is viewed as a well preserved haven for native people.

Assiniboine Tribes

Two representatives from Fort Belknap, Montana, visited KNRI, one of whom is an elder in the Buffalo Chaser Society (Figure 4.8). In addition, general historical information was gathered through several visits with the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer from Fort Peck, Montana. Information specific to KNRI was, for the most part, historic. Resources also received attention from the Fort Belknap consultants.

Figure 4.8 Representatives from Fort Belknap visit KNRI
Ancestral Connections

Three activities characterized the Assiniboine relationship with the Mandan and Hidatsa people at the Heart-Knife River region: travel, trade, and warfare. In the “old days,” or before 1800, the Assiniboine came from the north, from the Assiniboine River, to trade at the Mandan villages. The Assiniboine were traders and middlemen for the Hudson’s Bay Company and thus traveled to the Missouri River all the time. During these travels they also devoted themselves to hunting buffalo. From the earth lodge people the Assiniboine obtained tobacco, corn, and other garden products. This was before Fort Union took the trade away from the Mandan.

There were many Indian battles that sometimes united the Assiniboine with the Hidatsa and Mandan, while other battles placed them at odds with one another. There were pan-regional treaties, such as the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851 when the Plains tribes lost their land, that were signed in conjunction with the river tribes. The consultant’s great grandfather was Crazy Bear, who was at the treaty. Another historical connection with the Hidatsa and Mandan is the Metis Rebellion of the late 1800s, in which many upper Missouri tribes participated directly or indirectly.

In terms of cultural geography, the Assiniboine heartland and origin place, the Little Rocky Mountains, is connected to the river villages through land trails that crossed the plains in many directions. Entire bands would travel all year round in search for food, and also for trade and visits. They continue to travel, particularly during the Sun Dance. The Sun Dance connects people all over the plains; as a keeper of the medicine lodge, the consultant is familiar with its intricate rituals that take at least six months to prepare, and he hosts a Sun Dance. There must be strong commitment from spiritual leaders and from the participants. Therefore this ceremony contributes greatly to unify the tribes.

Story, Place, and Resources

There are many creation stories that the Plains tribes share, in one version or another, and that connect all the tribes. For example, while looking at the plants that grow along the Knife River banks, the Fort Belknap consultants told the story of how First Man or Ektomi saw the buffalo berries reflected in the water and fell when attempting to capture them. He looked up and saw the berries hanging from the bush. In punishment for tricking him in to getting wet and embarrassing him, First Man gave thorns to the buffalo or bullberry bush. First man always did the contrary to show people what they should not do. These stories are told at night, every night they continue, and tell people how things are the way they are, most aspects of life, too.

In another story, one consultant explain how mosquitoes are the keepers of ecological balance, as the Creator gave us mosquitoes that would keep man and beast away from certain areas in certain seasons; this, in turn, would allow certain plant communities time to replenish.
In and around the park there are many resources that the Assiniboine people hold dear: for example, the water from *springs along the coulees* is used for purifying the body and cleaning festering wounds; the plants in the northern prairie stand, including *whitetops* for diabetes and acne, *echinacea* or *blackroot* mixed with other plants for lung and heart disease, and *buffalo sage* for making fasting beds and for spiritual protection. Animals that are significant include *deer*, *antelope*, and *eagle*. *Willow* is yet another important plant, used to make frames for sweatlodges, among other uses. Many wood objects go into fires during different types of ceremonies, and different woods are used for different types of fires.

**Recommendations**

The consultants noted how important parks such as KNRI are for educating people. Today, elders still teach the youth about stories, places, and traditional resource uses when they are interested in learning such things. Much of the sacred knowledge was sent to Canada for safe-keeping during the time when the Native Americans were persecuted for practicing their religion. But the knowledge was returned to the American tribes in the 1980s and now there are many religious and other traditional practices that are being reinstated. There are many ceremonies, particularly the Sun Dance, that also connect all of the upper Missouri River tribes.

Places such as KNRI and other areas where resources are preserved and kept away from public use are important for the people who want to practice their religion and traditions. Specifically, the consultants commended the park for preserving the stands of native northern prairie and native northern forest, and recommended that these areas be kept from public use. In the words of the consultants: *this is the kind of place that our people would likely keep secret*. Spiritual leaders would probably like to come and visit this place in the park.

They were concerned with the fact that the spring that used to feed the northern forest is now capped and thus the stand is not properly flooded. Also they noted that some plants that should be growing here are not present at the park. Sod was mentioned as a possible culprit; however, park officials have explained that sod was never used at KNRI. Overall, the park is regarded as well maintained and “they have no complaints”.

**Blackfeet and Blood Tribes**

Consultation with the Blackfeet Tribe of Montana was initially conducted at the reservation in Browning. At the suggestion of the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, the UA ethnographer contacted elders from the Blood Tribe of Alberta, Canada, who have a traditional connection with KNRI. Both tribes were invited to visit the park but only three consultants from Blood Tribe with their children were able to visit the park (Figures 4.9 and 4.10).
Blackfoot speakers from both American and Canadian tribes acknowledge ancestral connections with the Mandan and Hidatsa that date to time immemorial, and more specifically, to early prehistory. The single item that, in the view of the consultants, demonstrates the connections, is the Knife River Flint found at archaeological sites in Alberta. A consultant who attended a summer archaeological field school, in particular, was very excited to have come to KNRI after finding this raw material in his excavation at the Dlox-5 Fincastle, a Sonota-age kill site (ca. 500-1000 B.C.). The Knife River Flint was prized by the Blackfoot speakers who preferred and continued to use the bow and arrow after the introduction of firearms. There was also pride of craftsmanship, and each arrow had its own distinctive design that the owners could claim. Nowadays they continue to appreciate this resource. There are lots of respect given to sharp objects in a ceremonial context.

The consultants noted that the Blood people were allies of the Mandan, who they called “the earth hut people”. They also had alliances with the Hidatsa against the Crow and the Sioux, whom they raided for horses. There were warpaths and trade routes connecting the Blackfoot bands to the Mandan-Hidatsa territory that predate the arrival of Euroamericans to the Northern Plains. The buffalo also made good trails for the people. The trails were used often by hunters and warriors and also by entire bands during their seasonal moves. One band of Blood people, in particular, used to winter far to the east.

Both before and after the advent of the fur trade, the Blood had established trade relationships with the Mandan and Hidatsa and may have visited their villages on an annual basis. When they traveled they navigated by the landmarks during the day and by
the stars at night; the Big Dipper and the Pleiades were the main constellations for traveling and for scheduling buffalo hunts. The Blood trail was a branch of the Old North Trail and followed the Missouri River along the south (or west) bank. Given the frequency of their visits and regularity of the trade, it is no surprise that the Blackfoot nations and many other upper Missouri tribes contracted the smallpox that decimated the Mandan and Hidatsa in 1780.

In more recent history, the Blood people used to travel to the Knife River villages in the traders' boats. There were many family connections among these tribes that originated from warfare, adoption, captivity, and intermarriage. The consultants stated that there were numerous transfers of ceremonial objects performed between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the Blood people. There were many kinds of bundles but the peace bundles and two songs that go with it were the main connection. In fact, according to one Blood elder, her family, whose female ancestors were captured in war and eventually married into the Mandan tribe, still keeps a ceremonial bundle from the Mandan. Her kin relations are still very much alive.

For their part, the TAT consultants also said that ties among the tribes were very strong, for example, the Baker family from Fort Berthold has well-known ties with the Canadian tribes; the Mandan and Hidatsa went up to visit the Blackfoot country and had earth lodges built there. In fact, a delegation of Siksika (Blackfoot proper) elders from Canada recently visited the Fort Berthold Reservation to commemorate the 350th anniversary of the building of an earthlodge in their homeland.

Yet another ancestral connection, indicated by a Blackfeet consultant, is a Beaver Bundle that the Blackfeet acquired from a Crow woman long ago. This bundle came with its own origin story, songs, and prayers, and also had distinctive geographical associations. While indirect, the connection with the Crow signifies a link to the Hidatsa ancestors as a whole.

**Place and Resources**

The consultants noted that it is difficult to understand the landscape that the ancestors would have experienced because the river has changed much and now the land around KNRI is farmed and developed. They pondered on the impact that the decimation of the buffalo had on this environment, for example, it affected many other animals, including the wolf, bear, raptors, and plants and grasses. The old people used to watch animal behavior to predict the weather and to find out about the cycles of nature; but when the animals were affected, the people lost a great source of knowledge.

There are many resources at KNRI that the Blackfoot speakers used and still use traditionally. For example, the wood of *chokecherry* and *serviceberry* bushes is used to make the sticks to remove coals from the fire during society and bundle ceremonies. These are long and straight sticks with a forked end; they are harvested by the society
members and painted in red before use. The berries are eaten. *Cottonwood* is preferred as firewood in sweatlodges and tipi fires because it does not spark.

There are at least four kinds of *willow* still used ceremonially: two of them are the rabbit willow that has really narrow leaves and the “good sweats willow” which has a broader leaf. The rabbit willow has a soft center that can be burned off with a hot iron to make a pipe stem—it is a hardwood. *Poplar* is used for the Sun Dance pole and for the fire because it makes nice coals that do not spark, pop, or break apart and last a long time. They burn *sweetgrass* in these coals. *White sage* is the men’s sage, used ceremonially for purification and cleansing. Likewise, many animals and birds are used in the ceremonial bundles, particularly in the beaver bundle, which contains representatives of all the living things in the universe.

Regarding the *eagle* trapping pit in the park, consultants explained that the consultants, too, used similar eagle trapping pits, in which the trapper would lay, covered with willow branches. A smelly carcass would be placed above the willow branches and the eagles would be caught by their feet when approaching the carcass. While waiting for the right eagle the person would have to have a stick in hand to chase off the *crows*, *magpies*, and older eagles whose feathers would not be useable.

Regarding the *bison* jump site nearby, the consultants noted that buffalo jumps were a starvation hunting strategy; only when there was a need to thin the herd would they push bison over the edge of a cliff in times of wealth. In the old days, foot hunters would prefer to approach a herd wearing a disguise, such as a *wolf* hide over their heads, and kill animals that were alone or straggling, much in the way shown in paintings by George Catlin and Karl Bodmer.

**Recommendations**

The Blood consultants were very moved by the visit to KNRI and they laid a tobacco and cloth offering at the village sites to commemorate their historical and traditional connections with the Mandan and Hidatsa ancestors. They stated that the preserved and interpreted villages contribute to teach the general public about the sense of community that Native Americans have like no other ethnic group—which is also evident during the Sun Dance.

The one missing element in the exhibits is the information about the nature of complex intertribal relations and the uniqueness of the relationship between the Mandan and Hidatsa and each of the upper Missouri tribes. *We are conspicuous in our absence at the park*, said one consultant, indicating the need to add detail to the current interpretive materials.

In terms of resource management, the consultants stated that prescribed fires were used traditionally, at the end of the winter, to thin the woods and make room for understory
species, particularly berries. Thus they support, at least in principle, the use of this managing tool by KNRI.

Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site

Ethnographic Overview

The unifying theme of historical and cultural interpretations of Fort Union Trading Post (FOUS) offered by Native American consultants is its strategic location, at the confluence of the Yellowstone and the Missouri Rivers, and at the boundary of several territorial units. Consultants emphasized the fact that the centrality of this location for the upper Missouri tribes dates to ancient times, and that it is connected to numerous cultural activities in which people participated centuries before the establishment of the fort. One consultant stated,

*It is neither coincidence nor vision that made the American Fur Company choose this place to build a fort. The Indians had known for a long time that this was a meeting place for many tribes. The traders just took advantage of it.*

Ancestral connections mentioned by consultants include buffalo hunting, plant collecting, eagle trapping, cairn and effigy building, trade, and warfare. The physiography of the confluence area made it ideal for subsistence and religious resource gathering. The trails that converge at Fort Union are evidence that this was a destination place for the upper Missouri tribes since prehistoric times; individuals and groups would come to the confluence to settle their differences and to build alliances. In addition, consultants stated that many renowned band leaders are buried in the vicinity of FOUS. One important link among individuals of different tribes is the presence of Sitting Bull and his band in this area; people from the Rocky Mountains to the Mississippi River have kinship connections with Sitting Bull and thus feel attached to the confluence through him and the fort’s history in general.

*A lot of important things took place here. The Light, an Assiniboine man who went to D.C. in 1832 was killed here by one of his own band members. He put fear into his people and no one wanted to touch him. There were times when things were rocky, as 500 to 1000 [warriors] could show up at once. Carpenters had to build [burial] scaffolds. Blue Capotte built a Sun Dance lodge camp here to try to smooth things out. Others intermarried while camping out here. We shared some ceremonies. To the west of the fort, Sitting Bull showed up once with 300 warriors in full regalia. All these things and more happened at the confluence.*

The confluence is mentioned by the Assiniboine, Hidatsa, Crow, and Blackfoot as a boundary marker at the time of contact (ca. 1700). In the old days, hunters and warriors of all tribes roamed huge expanses of land, converging in the confluence and often surpassing it, as noted by the Chippewa-Cree and the Sioux consultants. Likewise,
consultants noted that kinship connections established among tribal individuals and between Indians and American traders crosscut territorial boundaries. Importantly, the role of the confluence as a boundary marker continued for several decades after Fort Union was dismantled in 1867.

Three Affiliated Tribes

Two consultants visited FOUS and spoke at length about the park. Additionally, Park Ranger Loren Yellowbird, who is an Arikara member of TAT, contributed historical and cultural information (Figures 4.11 and 4.12).

Figures 4.11 and 4.12 TAT representative and interpretive ranger at FOUS

Ancestral Connections

According to the consultants, the confluence of the Yellowstone and the Missouri River was traditionally known as *Awa hay* or “the place where the white clay/dirt is.” The clan name “white clay” in fact came from this area, from a butte near Williston where a band lived for three years. They had the rights to the white clay used to prepare ceremonial body paint such as that used in the Okipa ceremony.

The area where Fort Union was built was a focal point, probably an old rendezvous place in the prehistoric and early historic trading system that connected the Mandan and Hidatsa with other Plains tribes. It was also a staging place for war parties and a stopping point along the way to and from the villages, for example, when Four Bears went to Fort Laramie to sign the Treaty of 1851, he camped at Fort Union. Trails that followed the water courses branched out from the confluence and there were landmarks nearby that were both used for navigation and for religious activities. The confluence became increasingly integrated to the villages after A.D. 1500, when the Hidatsa moved their
villages closer to the confluence. Until then, the confluence was under Assiniboine control.

The consultants pointed out that in historic times the confluence became the northwestern corner of Hidatsa-Mandan territory, which by 1851 extended along the Missouri to the Yellowstone, south to the Powder River into Wyoming, east to the Black Hills, and north to the Heart River (see Figures 3.1-3.4). Access to this broad territory was particularly important after the buffalo became scarce, as the people would have to go far from the villages to find the herds. It is known that the Hidatsa and Mandan hunted as far as the Yellowstone River, and perhaps farther west or south. The mother of one consultant, a woman named Many Dances, was born at the confluence.

The consultants also noted that Fort Union itself is significant because it became the refuge of a dissenting band of Hidatsa in the mid-1800s. Crow-Flies-High’s band, which refused to live in a reservation and wanted to return to the old ways, built the village known as Garden Coulee outside the fort. Crow-Flies-High and his band lived in the vicinity of Fort Union and Fort Buford for about 25 years, and then hunted and raided all along the Missouri River until it became “a nuisance” to the settlers and the army and in 1894 the band was marched back to Fort Berthold.

Many stories refer to events surrounding the confluence during the Sioux wars. For example, one consultant told that there was an Arikara scout, Bloody Knife, who carried the mail for Fort Buford. One day of 1876, he was traveling in a foggy night and the horses got spooked and would not go forth. Soon he saw about 1000 warriors crossing toward the Little Big Horn.

After the demise of Fort Union, the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara continued to travel to Fort Buford, to visit the Indian scouts and to trade. Two trading houses opened near this fort in the late 1800s: George Grinnell’s and Edward Hall’s. The houses were located upriver from Like-a-Fishhook Village and thus people would go there all the time, by land or by water (in the river boats). But eventually it became dangerous to travel far, with miners coming and going from Montana during the gold rush of the 1860s and with the army campaigning against the Sioux. People stopped traveling far from the villages after the reservation was established.

**Place, Resources, and Religion**

For the TAT, the confluence is a place of spirituality, where individuals seeking dreams and visions would have fasted—a powerful place where two rivers come together. The coulees contained springs that provided pure water for ritual purification and medicine. Traditionally the river was thought of as a man, a big male snake, and the springs were thought of as women; this was established by Lone Man during the creation. Medicinal plants and animals lived on the river bottoms. The buttes that surround the confluence were sought for visions or for ceremonies of certain societies; ancient people actually left
the “material proof” of their visions by building effigies there. There are small caves high up that are spirit homes or where the Little People live. The confluence is connected, through stories and trails, to other significant places such as Bear Butte, the Killdeer Mountains, Singing Butte, Horn Butte, Dog Den Butte, and Devils Tower. There were also songs associated with such places: war songs, veteran songs, dance songs, women or corn songs, praising or thanking songs, individual songs, and songs that told about people and events.

People who lived and died here, specifically members of Crow-Flies-High’s band, left spiritual sites as well as burial grounds that continue to be significant to contemporary people.

The clan mothers on my Hidatsa side [told me] that my great-great-grandfather Joe Youngbird was born out here... Last year I went and fasted and made a tobacco pack and wondered where I was going to put it up. They told me what tree to look for and stuff, and said I could do that up here, because we were up here and my grandpa was born up here. It is part of our area too. This is what I think when I think about my attachment to this land. Iron Bear was also here, he was in the party that went to Fort Laramie, a war chief and direct ancestor of my [Arikara] father.

Just south of here there are a lot of Hidatsa sacred sites—holes in caves where they went into and changed into animals. The Arikara had some of these too but further south. This was a good place to trap eagles. There are a lot of things about women here but I don’t talk about it, they should.

Consultants noted that, in addition to trade and warfare, the confluence was significant for key resource gathering associated with subsistence and with religious activities. First, the bluffs of the Missouri River just opposite Fort Union were choice places for eagle trapping. They also mentioned that Crow’s Heart drew a map for Bowers (2004) showing a cluster of eagle trapping pits near the fort location on the Yellowstone River, some of which are associated with Black Bear (see Figure 3.2). One of the consultants, who has eagle rights, explained that in the past the right to trap eagles gave the individual tremendous spiritual power to help others, and also translated into generous transfers of wealth. Eagle trapping generally involved fasting and self-sacrifice.

Second, the confluence was a very productive hunting ground for the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan in historic times because the buffalo wintered in the river bottoms. This area grew in importance in the late 1800s when buffalo were disappearing. To illustrate how significant this hunting ground was, one consultant noted that the Okipa ceremony required 100 buffalo robes. A particular individual would come to this area to seek dreams that could entitle him to participate in the Okipa ceremony. Buffalo hunting was a big part of that religious quest. The Hidatsa and Mandan did use buffalo skulls for their ceremonies; one consultant suggested that the buffalo cairn that was painted by Karl Bodmer may have been directional or a shrine. Consultants also noted that this area was
well known for its elk and people would come to hunt it here. The teeth were used in dance dresses, for example. Women used bighorn sheep to make fancy outfits.

Third, also associated with ceremonies were the animals that the seeker needed to meet in a dream: among them were eagle, buffalo, badger, weasel, beaver, crow, horse, snake, dog, bear, otter, elk, deer, antelope, and bighorn sheep. Dog was particularly important for the warrior society known as Crazy Dog. Animal hides would be kept as part of the dream and at the time of the ceremony the spirit of the animal would come and inhabit the hide (see Cherry Necklace story in KNRI section). There were many birds, too, that gave people power; for example, a man had stork power to pull out bullets from wounds, but turtle was particularly important and individuals would seek turtle power by praying to an effigy and beating the drum made of oak and bison hide:

The story goes that a man was looking for an animal to use for a drum in the Okipa ceremony, and Lone Man was helping him. He asked for the turtle to try drumming on his shell and the turtle was able to withstand it. The best turtle would be a sea turtle and he had to go to the gulf. The sea turtle said he wouldn’t give the man permission, but gave permission to build an effigy in his likeness. So the man used an oak tree and a bison hide to make an effigy. The turtle spirit would then go into the effigy [and the man] would have his drum. There are many effigies in these hills but their original purpose is not well known. The turtle effigies had something to do with the fog and Crow’s Heart knew about it. Crow’s Heart visited an effigy around here.

It is known historically that the Hidatsa also performed ceremonies around turtle effigies to aid in hunting rites; one particular ceremony witnessed by Bowers’ informants was performed at the effigy near Williston in 1860 (Bowers 1992:370). Many other creatures can give people knowledge, for example, one consultant told that once I had a vision and I remembered seeing ladies dancing in the badlands; when I woke up I sang a song, a rain song, and the animal was a bug, a “fly type” bug.

Fourth, plants that grow around here and are still significant today include: sage, sweetgrass, cedar, bitterroot, pennyroyal, cattail, bear medicine, cottonwood, and willow. In the old days, the TAT people would come up to the confluence to camp and they would go down to the river bottoms to gather food plants, wood for different purposes, and medicinal plants and smudges. People who had the rights to medicinal or ceremonial plants acquired them through dreams or purchase; it was harder to purchase plant knowledge than to dream it. The spirits were very specific about how to prepare medicines and ceremonial plants.

And last, in addition to the White Clay Buttes there were other sources of ceremonial paint, including the one on the local coal vein from which red paint used to seep. Consultants also mentioned a source of yellow paint nearby and of crystals, which are used in certain ceremonies.
Recommendations

TAT consultants offered recommendations for preservation and interpretation from two different angles. The first recommendation refers to the historical significance of the area before Fort Union was built and the need to use the park to educate people, including young Native Americans, about its significance. Consultants mentioned that only trade is highlighted as a traditional activity that attracted people from various tribes. They would like to see an expansion in interpretations of other significant activities that made this area so attractive, for example, hunting and eagle trapping. According to one consultant,

*Nowadays people learn about eagle trapping from the few individuals who have rights or by reading Gilbert Wilson’s and Alfred Bowers’ writings. There is a map in Bowers that shows the location of the eagle trapping pits in this area. Why not place an enlarged copy of that map, and perhaps others, to indicate things that were important to the Hidatsa and Mandan around here. Plants are also part of the history of this place.*

A consultant also suggested an update of the annual Fort Union events, such as the rendezvous, to show more of the significance of the traditional resources and activities that took place in the park area. Also, traditional trade relations were different than trade with the American Fur Company and this should be highlighted in the exhibits.

The second recommendation refers to the interpretation of Garden Coulee and activities related to its past history. TAT consultants would like to see it given more significance in Fort Union’s interpretive efforts, both for the public’s sake and for the sake of the descendants of Crow-Flies-High’s band. They think that perhaps there are people related to this band that would like to come here and fast to communicate with the ancestors. That would require accommodation of sorts, for example, permits for a ceremonial fire.

Overall, the consultants praised the great efforts that have been made to reconstruct the fort structures and wished that more structures and more “original flavor” be brought back to the park.

Crow Tribe

Four consultants from the Crow Tribe visited FOUS and gave detailed interviews. Consultants talked about traditional uses of the Yellowstone River and the significance of its confluence with the Missouri River as well as its ancestral and cultural connections with the Crow people (Figure 4.13).
Ancestral Connections

According to the Crow consultants, the traditional name for the Yellowstone River was *Elk River* or *Where the Elk Drink*. The Missouri River was called *Aá shi se* or Big River. The mouth of the Yellowstone River marked one of the four corners of the Crow territory.

*Before the Treaty of Fort Laramie, Chief Black Foot a.k.a. Sits in the Middle of the land took out his patron power or spirit, he burned incense and smoked his pipe, and he prayed asking for guidance for what he was to undertake later that day. The Great Spirit told him, “the white man will tell you to pick lands”. So he picked a great big land and claimed all the good water. That’s how they got claims to all the water of the Yellowstone. The Crow also got the right to hunt anywhere in the U.S. —never let go of their hunting rights.*

Many waterways converged near the confluence and hence the tribes whose trails followed the rivers also gathered here. *Most of our sacred places and cultural sites had that same quality—approachable from all directions. This was true even before the fort was established, so it was quite appropriate to build a fort here.*

Since prehistoric times the Crow people traversed the length of this river from their homeland to the confluence during warm-weather hunting and food gathering seasons: here there was *elk, buffalo, berries, and good water*. Before the horse they used dog travois. They camped along the river and left numerous archaeological remains, for example, tipi rings, buffalo drive lines, and the cairns that they built to mark trails, to stake a good resource location, or as part of the buffalo hunt. Specifically, the consultants mentioned an “Indian Rock” or cairn that was built at the confluence by the Crow.
They also traveled to the confluence to trade and meet with other tribes, to gamble, and to participate in dances and ceremonies. Although they often smoked the pipe with other tribes, they also traversed the river while on the warpath. Crow winter camps were located upriver or south of the confluence, in wooded and sheltered areas where the buffalo wintered too, whereas their summer camps were frequently located on the Missouri River, where they could meet with their Hidatsa kin. After Fort Union was established, they continued to come to the confluence to trade at the fort to get new technology and to continue trading with other tribes. Contemporary Crow people still visit and exchange gifts with the Hidatsa.

**Place, Story, and Song**

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**Place, Story, and Song**

The Yellowstone River is frequently mentioned in songs and stories. There were war songs and social songs, and also old Hidatsa songs that alluded to this place. Consultants explained that the Crow people underwent three transitions. In the first transition they were all created as one kind or “people of the earth”, in the second transition they were farmers and part of the Hidatsa; and in the third transition they separated from the villages and traveled all over until they became “Apsaaloke” or “People of the Large-beaked Bird” that someone translated into Crow.

During the migration it is said that there were two brothers. They were advised that one was given the knowledge of sacred tobacco that would be found in a mountain and the other was given the knowledge of the squash or pumpkin. That’s when we broke away [from the farmers or Hidatsa] and went out to find the sacred tobacco plant. We went first to Canada, to Winnipeg but it was too cold, so then we went southwest to a place with many salt lakes, then we went southeast to Arrowhead River, now called Canadian River in Oklahoma where it was too hot, and then returned to Canada, the second time to the Chief Mountain in Glacier National Park. There was no sacred tobacco plant, so we came to the eastern slope of the Bighorn Mountains where we found the sacred tobacco plant. The mountains are called “Avaache” or “place where the bighorn sheep bends down” which literally means to sit but in the context it means bend down, animals don’t sit. The eastern slope is called “Clouds Peak” which is the white man’s name but we call it “Extended Mountain”.

Here we dispersed in four bands to protect this sacred mountain. Mountain Crow went to Stillwater country toward Yellowstone National Park; the River Crow went down the Yellowstone or Elk River, up the Missouri River to the White or Milk River. Another band was named “Those who live on the outer edge” near the Wind River country and this band’s name was changed to “Kicked in the belly” after the horse arrived, and lived in Sweetgrass Creek or Red Cliff country and still live. There was the band that dwelled south named “Beaver Dried Fur”, which vanished, some say they intermingled with the Kiowa, others that they may have gone to the Northwest Territory, to Cree country.
The consultant who told this story also noted that both the River and the Mountain Crow are a part of this area and most of their prehistory is here and all the way to Rainy Butte. Many Crow things, like the hand game, originated in this area.

**Place and Resources**

There are numerous resources in the vicinity of FOUS that were used by the Crow before, during, and after the existence of the fort, including plants, animals, minerals, and landforms. The consultants explained that the riparian environment was sought by the people during different seasons for hunting big and small game as well as water fowl. Rabbit fur, for example was used in great quantities for the rabbit dance and ceremony and for other uses. Elk teeth were also prized ornaments for personal use or were traded for guns. Other animals common along the river were mule deer and white-tailed deer. Powerful animals and birds lived in the area. For example, while conducting one interview a chickadee flew nearby, reminding the consultant that Chief Plenty Coup’s power was the chickadee, which made him such a great warrior.

Plants included all bulbs and roots—turnip, black potato, wild carrot, wild turnip, that were boiled or roasted and eaten. Sage, chokecherry, and sweetgrass were used for prayers and ceremonies. Willow and cottonwood saplings were also used for sweat lodges. In addition, there was bearroot used to name, smoke and sweat; ground cedar used as incense, which one consultant got from his father along with an eagle wing; and a lichen that grows on juniper trees and that cures love pains. The consultant uses sage, juniper, and sweetgrass, as his personal smudge mix. Many of these plants are also kept in the sacred bundles.

Landforms were likewise significant for the Crow people. For example, the rivers were their pathways to places such as Fort Union, and the river banks were sources of food and medicine. Buttes were visited for vision quests; there are also origin stories associated with buttes in the general area. The rocky benches or ledges above the river were used as burial locations; the dead were placed on the ledges but never buried. Caves on mountains were the homes of the Little People and also of the Big and Furry People. Individuals sought high elevations to speak to the Creator. Many places, some as far as the Grand Teton and Chief Mountain, Wolf Mountain, Overlook Mountain, Castle Rock, Pryor Mountain, Bighorn Mountain, and a place by Medicine Arrow, are connected to the confluence in these and other ways.

**Recommendations**

The Crow consultants commended the extensive reconstruction of the fort and surrounding grounds: it is nice to sit in the shade and look at the river. They would like to see exhibits and interpretive signs that explain in some detail the pre-fort significance and uses of the area. They stressed that trade was but one activity that was conducted here. The full range of tribal uses needs to be displayed, including, for example, the
Indian and English names of native plants and animals, and Indian place names when possible. The consultants noted that lack of knowledge about a resource, being this archaeological or natural, leads to its destruction. People need to learn so that they can respect.

One Crow consultant noted that having empty tipis is a bad omen and calls death; traditionally tipis had to be smudged before they were left for any period of time, and contemporary Crow people still smudge their houses before going on travel. In the words of the consultant,

If there are going to be tipis, then the full story of the tipi should be explained to people so that they know how sacred the tipis are and what is their religious meaning for the tribes. For example, the tipi was given to the Crow by a white owl, it was a gift from the animal or bird world; our tipi had 19 poles inside, two outside, and one extra that stood for the cycle of life. It required up to 18 bison hides to be fully covered. Our tipi was different from those of other tribes. It should be made clear that we each have our own tipi and story that goes with it.

And finally, the consultants suggested that, given that Fort Union is so rich in history, the National Park Service should encourage the use of Indian opinion and other knowledge to correct falsehoods and misunderstandings about the tribal life and culture that are in the historical journals of the region. The trappers, the traders, the explorers, the military, they all came through here, they passed through here. But we lived here. We had names for places around here, for the river and the hills and the mountains that are often ignored.

Assiniboine Tribes

Two representatives of the Fort Belknap Tribe and two representatives of Fort Peck Tribe visited FOUS and were interviewed at the park, in turn representing the Assiniboine, Gros Ventre, and Sioux ethnic groups that are integrated into these tribes (Figures 4.14-4.15). The Gros Ventre representative did not give a formal interview, but offered historical information in informal conversations.

Ancestral Connections

Assiniboine consultants explained that their bands, which once numbered over 60, had camps all over the vicinity of the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers. Their homeland extended north and northwest, with its southern boundary fluctuating at times of war and at some points in history including the confluence, as it was in the early 1800s. However, the consultants also noted that this area was a recognized boundary and meeting area for the Northern Plains tribes. According to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, the Assiniboine Reserve was to reach the Yellowstone River, the area between the Missouri and the Yellowstone above the confluence.
The Assiniboine were warlike, and moved constantly for long distances in chase of bison herds. Before and after the establishment of Fort Union, the main reason to come to the confluence was to trade, to war, and to attend ceremonies, political meetings, and games. There was a trail along the north bank of the Missouri River that was a known warpath into Blackfeet territory, and other trails that were followed by hunters. After the horse we were able to abandon many river trails and cut across the plains. The Crees were our neighbors and allies against the Blackfeet, and it was unwise to fight against each other. While visiting the exhibits the consultants noted that shields and certain headdresses and hair styles, for example, the Assiniboine horn headdress and the Gros Ventre updos, indicated both rank in politics and aggression in war. The Assiniboine did not wear bonnets.

Consultants noted that Fort Union had a big influence in Native American culture and economy—good and bad. It affected their economy and political relationships with one another. It improved technological efficiency by introducing European goods, but it created dependency, as bands went from fort to fort, all year-round, collecting rations. The influence of the traders killed people with liquor and smallpox—the first chemical warfare waged against us. But the Indians who came to the fort also developed kin relations with the traders and had a big attachment to this place—the Kipps lived in Fort Belknap and had relatives there, who are my friends. One consultant explained that there are many relatives of the Assiniboine buried around the fort (remains have been repatriated) and that his own great grandfather is buried in its vicinity. He smoked the pipe and sang while at FOUS to honor his ancestors. This area was in fact so significant to the Assiniboine that they held a Sun Dance here in the 1930s. Under several treaties they retained use rights in areas just to the northeast of the confluence.
The time when Sitting Bull was held at Fort Buford before he left for Canada was also cited as a significant ancestral connection with the confluence, even after the demise of Fort Union and the establishment of the reservations. Sitting Bull’s presence in the area and his life and spoils in general are further remembered because of kinship connections that have endured to this day.

**Place, Religion, and Resources**

The physiography of the confluence—the two rivers, coulees, bluffs, rock formations above the Missouri River, and natural resources—figure prominently in traditions and religious practices of the Assiniboine and the Sioux from Fort Peck. One consultant stated,

*There are origin stories associated with all of these places; the breaks all around this area have spiritual significance. Origin stories say that the rocks are the male Creator and the earth the female Creator. These rocks are very powerful and our people came to pray to the Creator and to leave offerings here. These rocks often have petroglyphs and pictographs in them. A petroglyph on a rock adds a new life to it, a new spirit. The spirits live all around here, and that is why there are so many cairns, medicine wheels, rock rings and all kinds of archaeological sites in this area. In Canada, there are rock writings that could only have been made by medicine men standing on a horse. Now, that is power.*

Another consultant related that,

*There are vision quest sites on the high rises above the river. Traditionally, older boys would go fasting for four nights and four days, go way out, and the spirits would come out to test their willpower. The third night would be the toughest, for example the spirits would bring the smell of food, will come out and you will have to stand it. I am going to fast for my son, who took ill and cannot see. I will go quite a way out and away. Long ago I used to fast in a sweat, too. The first time, I got my fasting bed fixed and made sure my pipe was loaded, but only lasted one day. They [the old people] fasted around here before the fort was built. I once found a smudge rock. This whole place here, there is a spirit with each plant, rock, and water in the river. Everything has a spirit. The drums have spirits, too. You smudge the drum and put tobacco in the drum for the spirit. You put tobacco when you pick plants and medicine offerings to Mother Earth.*

Another consultant noted that the most important activity that occurred since very early times, the buffalo hunt, had great spiritual and religious significance. In the past, the medicine men or the spiritual leaders of a band would build a cairn, much like that famous cairn near FOUS, to mark a hunting drive, or to pray and attract ritually the buffalo. *The medicine men would go to camp, pray, and even sleep at the medicine rocks to interpret them and get knowledge and directions for the buffalo hunt. They would leave ceremonial offerings there. That’s how they knew how to guide their people to be*
successful. Other times they would put a pole with flag and then would read the wind to tell the direction of a war party. The consultant also noted that ceremonial buffalo hunts still take place today, and that the offerings made before they kill the chosen buffalo are placed on ledges above the breaks at different spots along the river.

The people who lived off the land in the region surrounding Fort Union often received songs and spiritual power through dreams or ceremonial transfers associated with the land and its resources. One consultant, for example, noted that he was handed down one naming song and one sweat song in a four-day fast. He obtains names from people by praying to the Creator; the Creator sometimes talks to the dead family member and gets that name to stay in the family. Other times the name comes to him from the spirits: I pray in Assiniboine to them and they talk back! My dad only spoke and prayed in Assiniboine and I’m going to teach Assiniboine to my grandson. His songs are not to be used at any time other than those prescribed spiritually. He has a very powerful song that is only used for healing. This consultant also said that there are many songs associated with different mountains and landmarks in the region.

This consultant’s plant medicine, the whitetop, grows in this area, too, although he does not gather it here. He can cure many difficult ailments with it. He also uses white sage for his personal smudge. Like the medicine men in the past, he travels from place to place to heal those in need and to help with songs at different ceremonies. That is how I got to know the Missouri River country. He carries his songs, his medicine, and his pipe (he is a pipe carrier) with him wherever he goes, sometimes to a hospital when someone is sick. These are modern examples of a traditional way of life that the Assiniboine practiced since time immemorial.

Another resource mentioned during interviews, among the most significant around the confluence, is the eagle. The eagle was not created, but is a creator itself; the eagle watches people for the creator. The Assiniboine, like other Plains tribes, also had eagle trapping pits and associated ceremonies. Other important resources in ceremonies are the paints available in this area; red, white, yellow, and blue paint were traditionally gathered from the rocks along the river.

Finally, the confluence is connected, through history, songs, and many ceremonies and sacred resources, to places along the river including the Woody Mountains, Sleeping Buffalo rock, and most important of all, the Little Rockies, the Bear Paws, Writing on Stone, the Sweetgrass Hills, and the Cyprus Hills, which have many origin places and stories.

Recommendations

The consultants unanimously enjoyed the visit to Fort Union and were particularly taken with the trading house. They observed, however, that the interpretive materials and exhibits are geared to entertain Western tourists. They recommended that more
educational materials that explain in greater detail the history of the northern tribes around the area of Fort Union should be prepared. There is much less known about them than about the traders and the history of trade at the fort. *This was a metropolis in the Indian world and that needs to be emphasized more.* Another recommendation was to add a bit more information about the tribes who lived farther upriver, like the Gros Ventre. For example, one consultant said, *the Mandan were not the only ones to build and use the bull boats. Other Missouri tribes used them too, but that is often ignored.*

In terms of management, there was some concern about the existence of many service roads running over the archaeological sites (e.g., Garden Coulee area) and along the bank. The consultants were divided as to the need to mow the grass; alternatively, they suggested that *a few horses would mow it naturally.*

**Chippewa-Cree Tribes**

One consultant, the Historic Preservation Officer from the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, visited Fort Union and gave an interview (Figure 4.16). Additional information was gathered from the previous THPO at Turtle Mountain, and also from a consultant at the Rocky Boy’s Reservation.

![Figure 4.16 The THPO from Turtle Mountain Chippewa Cree Tribe and ethnographers at FOUS](image)

**Ancestral Connections**

Ancestors of the modern Chippewa-Cree roamed a vast area of land along the upper Missouri River and tributaries, particularly after they acquired the horse. Stories abound about hunts that took them as far as the Cheyenne River and warpaths that took them to the Rocky Mountains. Consultants explained that they had numerous trails that ran east-
west from Turtle Mountain toward Williston and beyond, following the path of what is now U.S. Highway 2:

*Fort Union is at the center of our traditional hunting territory. We were created in Turtle Island at the Turtle Mountains, which is a geographical center of North America. We used to camp at Buffalo Lake Lodge, where our last Sun Dance of the 1800s was performed, and traveled along the river to Fort Union and way past there. We always traveled along the waterways, with horses and travois on the plains.*

The Chippewa-Cree also used the White Earth River, which empties into the Missouri River between the Knife River and the Yellowstone River, as a north-south trail that took them from their northern hunting grounds to the Missouri River. Their most intensive time of contact with Fort Union dates to the mid-1800s, when they would come and winter in the Knife River villages. Soon after they left these villages. The Chippewa-Cree were active participants in the fur trade, trapping beaver and hunting bison, and thus their connections with Fort Union remain strong, as indicated by the existence of the sister community of Trenton just a few miles from FOUS.

**Place, Religion, and Resources**

Consultants explained that, as a result of this way of life, the ancestors left behind numerous cairns, landmarks, and other cultural remains, including burials and Sun Dance grounds, all along the upper Missouri River. This is the reason why the U.S. Government eventually gave them trust lands scattered from north-central North Dakota to western Montana on the north bank of the river. *There were many allotments along the Missouri River, but not so many now. We had 160 acres of steppe grassland per person, and some of these were near Fort Union.* Specifically, one consultant from Turtle Mountain mentioned that there are burials and campsites in the vicinity of Fort Union.

Important historic landmarks include the White Earth River, which was a trail that split their range but became their boundary with the Assiniboine as specified in the Treaty of 1864. The Writing Rock State Historic Site, located on the northwest corner of their historic territory, was also an important landmark; and there was a medicine rock north of Fort Union that the Assiniboine used too. Other places connected to religion, warfare, hunting and trapping include Buffalo Lodge Lake and many buttes, coulees, and creeks. Symbolically, Fort Union is a part of their history of migration and survival, as Rocky Boy and Little Shell (there were three Little Shells, actually) would have traveled by and camped here.

**Recommendations**

The consultant who visited the exhibits noted that they are very interesting but a bit narrow, as they show one point of view but do not indicate who was here before, when and why were they here; the narrative covers a short time in comparison with the time the
Native Americans have occupied this place. He recommended that in future updates the interpretive materials should tell a more rounded version of history, with more input from tribes and educational institutions. *All the tribes have connections [with the area] at some point in time. There is an emphasis on European perspectives; Native American sites that are close by have not been interpreted, recreated, or emphasized. The tipis, at least, show a bit of perspective. There is an enormous amount of resources at the fort but not tribal perspectives.*

The consultant supported the fact that FOUS employs a Native American interpreter. He also wished that more Chippewa-Cree people had come to the site visit to get broader perspectives and detail about their historical ties with Fort Union.

**Standing Rock Sioux Tribe**

One consultant from Standing Rock Sioux Tribe of South Dakota came to Fort Union and gave an interview as well as recommendations.

**Ancestral Connections**

The foremost connection with the confluence area mentioned by the consultant is his kinship with Sitting Bull. The consultant’s mother’s mother’s father was a relative of Sitting Bull and traveled with him all the way from Fort Buford to Fort Randall. His ancestors followed the great chief all the way to Canada. His great grandmother was Matilda Ironshield, a Lakota Sioux, but his mother’s father’s father was Dancing Bull, who was Mandan-Hidatsa and was also at Crow-Flies-High’s village. *Sitting Bull and Sitting Rabbit knew each other, they had relations.*

In addition to his personal connection to the fort and the confluence, the consultant noted that many Sioux bands, who are now intermixed in different reservations, came to hunt buffalo all the way down the Yellowstone River and also traded at the fort. Oglala, upper Yanktonai, and Hunkpapa are among the bands known for having roamed around this area. Many Sioux families have connections to Fort Buford and to the confluence in general because of the Indian wars. There are many people buried around here too; the THPO for Standing Rock, for example, mentioned that one great Sioux chief, Black Moon, is buried near Fort Union.

**Place, Story, Religion, and Resources**

The consultant noted that, in addition to buffalo, there are many resources in the river that are of great significance to the Sioux people and to the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara as well. The *turtle*, for example, is a powerful medicine animal, and the turtle effigies often found on the breaks around the river are places of prayer where people leave *tobacco* and other offerings. Turtles are, in turn, connected with *eagles*. There are many origin stories surrounding the turtle, the eagle, and the *magpie*, and all are connected with the Missouri
River (see KNRI section above). The consultant is a turtle priest and Sitting Rabbit also was a turtle priest.

Another significant resource growing in the river bottoms or near water is wood. The *cottonwood* trees were given to the people at creation time and are connected to the gift of the tipi. *Ash*, which is used to make pipe stems, also grows near water, particularly above underground springs, which are common on the breaks. There are, too, *fossils*, or *dinos*, which are associated with origin stories about good and evil. Rocks available in this region were emphasized as crucial. Stones like the thunderstone, which is a *granite*, are associated with rainmaking. A granite boulder exists on Thundernest Butte and granite from that butte is very powerful. *Sandstone* is also a curing rock. Many Sioux priesthoods use particular rocks in their ceremonies.

**Recommendations**

The consultant explained that the significance of telling one’s history and preserving one’s history is evident in the education and the healing of this generation and future generations. He volunteers his skills as healer and teacher of traditional culture and religion at tribal prisons and recovering alcoholic programs. He uses traditional methods and knowledge to teach pride and to raise the self-esteem and self-acceptance among his patients and pupils. He has seen far more success with this method than with other Western methods of spiritual and physical healing—people need to know who they are to accept themselves like they are. Therefore, his recommendation for interpretive programs was:

*To tell the whole story; not just the story of one group of people or another group of people, but the story of each and everyone who came across this place and who came to Fort Union. Even the American soldiers, the scouts, who had to leave their homes to come to winter in North Dakota, who were probably alone and scared just like the Indians, have the right to have their story told just as well.*

**Blackfeet and Blood Tribes**

Three representatives from the Blood Reserve, Alberta came to visit and give interviews at FOUS (Figure 4.17). In addition, two representatives from the Blackfeet Tribe of Montana related their genealogical connections with individuals closely tied to Fort Union’s history.

**Ancestral Connections**

The Blood consultants stated that the history of the upper Missouri fur trade is intricately tied to their own history and developments that occurred in pre-reservation times. The confluence was once considered a boundary of Blackfoot Confederacy territory, which extended from the Saskatchewan/Manitoba border to Wyoming and from the Rocky
Mountains to North Dakota. These were floating boundaries that overlapped and conflicted with other tribes, notably the Crow and Assiniboine.

![Image](image_url)

Figure 4.17 Blood elders at FOUS

The Blackfoot-speaking tribes have a very distinct memory of the arrival of American traders to their lands; one consultant commented that,

The traders came to us, we did not seek them, we were trading with the Hudson’s Bay Company and the Northwest Company, but the Americans wanted to have exclusive trade with us. They built one of the first forts east of us. The Blackfoot played the French, English, and American traders against one another to get ahead. Lewis and Clark were repeatedly told to be leery of the [Montana] Blackfeet, but the Blackfeet did not see any threat in them and let them through. Had they only known what would come after this meeting their attitude would have been very different. Afterwards, the stories mostly deal with how the Blackfeet went to trade at Fort Union.

One of the most conspicuous events associated with this trade, according to the consultants, is the 1832 shooting of a Blackfoot man by a Cree right in the fort’s courtyard. The Cree was outside and shot the man through the cracks in the wall. George Catlin witnessed this shooting and drew a sketch showing how the Blackfoot medicine man, wearing a bear robe, came in to doctor the wounded man. There are many other stories of travel that are told by different families in Alberta and Montana regarding their relatives who traveled in the Upper Missouri Outfit’s steamboats to and from Fort Union and Fort Clark.

Place and Resources

The consultants noted that the Blackfoot-speaking tribes, as many other Northern Plains tribes, suffered the consequences of the depletion of wildlife due to the fur trade. For
example, the Cree had to keep moving west as the beaver were being depleted. Similarly, hunters from the east pushed toward the Rocky Mountains when the buffalo herds dwindled. In 1874 the American surveyors found piles of buffalo bone all over the area and the first live herd they witnessed was in the Sweetgrass Hills. The last stand of the buffalo was in [Siksika] Blackfoot territory in 1877, and the last hunt in 1883, which was also a starvation year.

The Blood people use resources that are available in the vicinity of Fort Union, including the cottonwood, willow, serviceberry or Saskatoon, wild turnips and other roots and tubers, sage, eagle, elk, deer, antelope, birds, and many paints and minerals. The old people hunted and collected resources they needed while they were visiting Fort Union.

Family Connections

Many contemporary Montana Blackfeet and Blood families are interested in retracing their ancestral history. We interviewed two representatives of the Blackfeet Tribe of Montana who had family ties with people at Fort Union.

Descendants of Natuitsa Culbertson

Members of the Tatsey family (originally Utatsi) are descendants of Natuitsa or Medicine Snake Woman, who was Alexander Culbertson’s wife. The relationship is as follows. The consultant’s grandfather was John Tatsey or Weasel Necklace. His Father, Joe Tatsey, was the interpreter for professor Ulenbeck in 1909-1911. Joe Tatsey was born in 1865 and his mother was Annie Langley, from the Peigan tribe, and adoptive daughter of a French man whose surname was Langley. Annie Langley’s husband’s and Joe’s father’s name was Not Real Good or Man of Massacre. Not Real Good was the brother of the Blood chief Red Crow, as noted by historian Hugh Dempsey. The consultant’s historical searches recently uncovered papers that indicate that Natuitsa Culbertson and Red Crow were also siblings.

The consultant stated that Ulenbeck’s wife recorded the family history of the Tatseys: Man of Massacre took the name “Not Real Good” when he became a chief. His clan was the Ikskanaiks or Horn People. Joe Tatsey’s paternal grandfather was Spotted Calf. When he became a Chief he also took the name “Not Real Good” (senior). Spotted Calf had two brothers, Red Crow and Glass Eyes, both later known as “Chief Red Crow.” This is where their exact relationship to Natuitsa Culbertson becomes unclear, in terms of which “Not Real Good” was her brother versus her uncle; the blood relationship is nonetheless a recorded fact. Joe Tatsey and his wife, Annie Langley, chose to live in the United States when the border with Canada was established.

Another relation of Natuitsa Culbertson is Seen from Afar, who was a famous Blood warrior. Mink Woman, who was 72 years old in 1908, was the daughter and granddaughter of Seen from Afar—there were two of them. Her aunt and the sister of the
young Seen from Afar, was Antelope Woman, who was Not Real Good’s mother. She also had a daughter, who was Medicine Snake Woman. The consultant mentioned that the Good Striker family descends from Seen from Afar.

**Relations with Sitting Bull**

The Tatsey family is also related to Sitting Bull, and that is an additional connection with the confluence. The consultant’s paternal grandmother (Peter Tatsey’s mother) was Belle Alvarez, from Fort Peck. She was the daughter of Philip Alvarez, and her mother was the sister of Sitting Bull from his mother’s side. At the age of six, Belle Alvarez was taken from Fort Peck to Fort Shaw. She went to school and then came to the Blackfeet Reservation when she was 14. She then met and married John Tatsey. The consultant’s aunts from this side of the family are at a nursing home and their names are Josephine Boyd and Irene Deveraux. The Red Elk family and the Egermont family from Fort Peck are also related to Belle Alvarez. The consultant also noted that when Sitting Bull went to Canada many of his followers stayed there. Plenty Horses, who is a relation of the Tatseys, was one of them.

**Descendants of George Whippert**

Members of Whitford family are the descendants of George Whippert, who was born in Quebec in 1820 and worked at Fort Union for 27 years. Specifically, the consultant’s uncle and grandfather, both named George Whippert, and her great grandfather, Isaac, are direct descendants of the trader—Isaac was his son. The family history is as follows. Young George Whippert began his career in the fur trade at a St Louis trading house, where he worked as a clerk until 1839, when he moved to Fort Union and remained there until 1866. He was at every fort of the Upper Missouri Outfit as the traders moved upriver toward the headwaters. George Whippert was present at the burning of Fort McKenzie. His partner, Charles Mercer, moved to old Fort McKenzie (or Fort Brule) until it was burned and abandoned. George Whippert accompanied Chardon to the Judith River. He sometimes worked as a cook. He was also at Fort Louis where he was baptized by Jesuit Father Nicholas Point. He took part in the dismantling of Fort Louis and the building of Fort Benton.

The Dawson Census of 1870 placed George Whippert at Fort Benton. He married twice. His second wife was a Blackfeet named Mary and her children were Weasel Head, Isaac, Mary, and Mary Annette. One of his daughters took care of him in his old age; they lived near Haywood. He died there and is buried by the river near Fort Benton. Isaac Whippert grew up in an orphanage by St. Ignatius. He married Maggie, who was half-Shoshone and a quarter Cree. They had six children, the oldest being the consultant’s grandfather, George. He married Henrietta Racine, a daughter of Frank and Mettie Shultz. Henrietta was raised by Maggie. Henrietta’s was a large family associated with Heart Butte in the Blackfeet Indian Reservation. One of her daughters, Shirley Whippert, married Jerrold Guardipee from Two Medicine. Many of her relatives went to Canada.
Recommendations

Recommendations offered by the Blood consultants who visited FOUS and looked at the exhibits in detail echoed those by the other tribal consultants regarding the need to update and expand the interpretive materials to include more Native American history and cultural resources that exist around Fort Union. One aspect of the interpretive program that they enjoyed very much was Ranger Loren Yellowbird's presentation about the relationship between Native Americans and Fort Union in the past, and between Native Americans—himself included—and non-Indian visitors in the present. After hearing Yellowbird's presentation, which made a big impression upon the consultant's children, they concluded that existing cultural differences, stereotypes, and misunderstandings could be smoothed out or even erased with an interpretive framework that focuses more directly on the significance of the park history and landscape for Native Americans.

In terms of the genealogy and history of families related to Fort Union, one consultant asked that the archives be made available for historical research.

Theodore Roosevelt National Park

Consultants from all ethnic groups unanimously focused on THRO’s stunning landscape and wealth of natural resources that have great cultural significance for all tribes, and were likely used since time immemorial, as suggested by the park’s cultural history. Notably, consultants spoke of the ideal conditions of the physiography of THRO for undertaking vision quests; the abundance and diversity of large and small game and buffalo, in particular; the presence of eagle nests; and the existence of sources of various colors of paints. In addition, plant communities were discussed in some detail. The paleontological exhibits, too, made an impression as many tribes have origin stories surrounding the role of fossils or “dinos” on earth and the reasons for their disappearance. Resources were thus central to the consultants’ explanations of the nature of their ancestral connections with this park, as it is within the Hidatsa-Mandan-Arikara territory.

Three Affiliated Tribes

UA ethnographers visited the north unit of the park with three TAT consultants; unfortunately, they were not able to visit the south unit because they were uneasy about impinging upon other individuals’ rights to eagle trapping knowledge. The visit to the north unit concentrated on the eagle trapping lodges; the consultant who went there has eagle rights, therefore he could approach these lodges without a conflict. The other two consultants stayed above on the canyon rim.

Ancestral Connections

Consultants explained that the Little Missouri River is within the traditional Hidatsa territory. One consultant referred the ethnographers to Bear Arm’s map of the territory.
(see Figure 3.4), which has place names for buttes and promontories from the mouth of the Little Missouri River to the location of modern Dickinson. These landmarks are also connected to numerous war parties and stories associated with warfare; one consultant noted that "Geography of a War Party", recorded by Beckwith (1938) from Crow's Heart in the early twentieth century explicitly connects warriors to the park area. Importantly, warfare was also closely associated with two other culturally significant park resources: eagle feathers and paints.

The Little Missouri River was closely associated with the people who lived at Nightwalker Village. The river was also an important feature of the Hidatsa and Mandan hunting grounds. People would hunt along the river year round, and this area increased in importance in historic times, when the buffalo began to move west and eventually disappeared. Hunters would camp by the water and collect water to carry with them on their journey. They would stop many times on the way, to drink and then go. There are trails, such as the modern Maah Daah Hey Trail, that parallel the river or follow the contour of the valley bottom. Traditional trails stayed on the canyon rim and close to the upland springs (see also Simon 1982:55-61). When traveling overland, the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara used certain landmarks and moved from butte to butte. There were ceremonies held at some of these buttes, for example, Blue Butte. The Crow and the Cheyenne would follow these trails as well, and the trails were further used during the Indian wars of the 1860s.

### Place, Rituals, and Resources

According to the consultants, many buttes along the river and in its vicinity are the houses of different animals and beings. The badlands, in particular, are inhabited by spirits and therefore people seek visions in this area.

*There are stories and songs about the badlands. There are certain spirits that they say are in each place [in the badlands]. Individuals would go there to get help from the particular spirit that could help; that spirit's place might be used by a society. There were places for rites of passage; the Hidatsa would stake [young] people out, or tie them to a tree, and pierce them. They'd leave them until they had a vision, then come back for them. It would be sacred ground after that. Women had their ceremonies; they had other places. Their fasting places were usually way out where nobody would go, where nobody would walk; like this place. They were very isolated but not necessarily on high spots.*

Consultants also explained that another critical ceremonial resource that abounds at the park is the pure water from springs and seeps. Although water could be drunk from every source, only certain springs could be used for ceremonies or medicines. There are characteristics that identify those springs but not everyone knows that information. There would be special springs for fasting, purification, and many other doings.
Another very significant activity that Hidatsa and Mandan people conducted here was eagle trapping. One consultant visited four lodges located at the base of the canyon on the north unit (Figures 4.18 and 4.19). He explained that the conical lodge locations were based on visions or feelings. Eagle trapping here would usually have been in the fall when the eagles migrated. These lodges were probably winter lodges and used after the eagles molted in November. This is a very good place and probably was along a regular route.

Both golden and bald eagles would be trapped; also hawks. The consultant explained that immature golden eagles have white feathers with a black tip whereas the old ones have white strips on them, and they are dark. The young bald eagles are speckled, particularly the tail feathers, but they become white as they age.

There are different uses for different feathers; for some things you use the tail feathers, other things just the center feather, the straightest one. Fans from the wings, too. All feathers have a spiritual reverence about them, each feather whether it is young or old, even if it is a little tiny feather or a plume. The women mostly use the plumes, they are all fluffed out and under the tail feathers. They used them for naming ceremonies, all different things. First of all they had to have the right to wear the feather. That depends on what kind of lifestyle you lived, if you are a leader of your people, if you are good at war; many years ago, it was usually war. Or, if you did something really good for your tribe or in the tribe, they would bestow an eagle feather upon you. But nowadays it is not like that, they just buy the rights for it and then they just put it on these little, even little kids. The ladies don't have the eagle feather right, just the men. Women do not have the
right to eagle feathers; they do not have rights to smoke a pipe, the men would do that—that was it.

Some of the preparations associated with eagle trapping would include:

- The aspiring trapper would first acquire eagle rights and songs that go with eagle trapping, by transfer or by visions.
- The trapper had fast in an area with stone circles or rock alignments, also called “prayer lines” which would, in turn, be correlated with the stars and the moon.
- The person to trap the eagles would fast and pierce the night before; the lodges were probably used for these ceremonies.
- He would select the special place where the lodge would be placed—an individual selection rather than a convention.
- A pit would be built below the ridge and would be covered with branches; a carcass placed above the branches attracted the eagle.
- A trapper had to learn astrological connections to medicines, because that is where some medicines originate.
- Women would follow along but stay at a distance from the lodges, preparing food and taking care of the main camp.

There are many other preparations for this very holy religious activity that cannot be shared with anyone who does not have the rights to that knowledge. There were also different ways of trapping, but the most common was to hide in a covered hole and jump to grab their feet when they approached the carcass. The consultant pointed out that knowledge of astrological connections to medicines is essential in the performance of ceremonies because some of the most powerful medicines do come from the stars. By the same token, some minerals go together with plants because they make each other more powerful. According to this consultant, there was once a group of people that began seeking visions very early in their lives and acquired so much power that they became too holy to stay on the earth and thus they went to the heavens where they became stars. These were the people who left their medicines behind for humans to use them.

Paint Collecting

Consultants explained that the rights to paint one’s body came from the animals; the buffalo and the bear, for example, “make medicine” by painting their faces with mud. This is also the origin of war paint:

There were two warriors out hunting along the river, scouting, when they saw a bear painting his face, he would grab clay from the river with his paw and spread the mud across his face. The hunters kept watching the bear, going toward the river and pretty soon a buffalo appeared. The bear attacked the buffalo to see who had stronger medicine, but the bear was rebuffed. He came at it again and again and each time the buffalo threw him up in the air. Finally the buffalo hit him again and the bear split in two. In another version of the story, the bear gave up and then the hunters saw him spit something. When
they went to see what it was they realized it was his lungs. But bear medicine is strong; the bear gave us eagle trapping medicine.

Traditionally, the Little Missouri River was visited by those with rights to collect red, yellow, black, and white paints as well as the light- and dark-colored “slippery” clays. These are used as medicine: they are eaten to alleviate stomach illnesses and applied to heal burns. The body paints, on the other hand, had a different significance. They were applied to the body to portray different identities. Certain clays were used together with plants in the Sun Dance. Other clays, particularly a light gray clay, was collected for making pottery and for strengthening the lodge walls on the outside.

**Arrow Making**

Although the consultants do not have the rights to share knowledge on arrow making, they pointed out that this is an area where arrow makers would come to search for raw materials for making arrows and for shafts. They would also use willow and rosebush of the “thorny kind” as arrow straighteners.

**Recommendations**

The TAT consultants noted that the tribe has had regular contact with THRO regarding many issues, including bison and elk management, but that the cultural issues have not been the focus of interaction or consultation. In fact, the THPO and two other consultants said they had not visited the park in many years, if at all. They examined the exhibits and recommended that input from the tribe be solicited to incorporate the cultural history of the Little Missouri River and badlands into the interpretive program. They also suggested that members of the TAT be hired as rangers to give tours and other information.

In terms of developing interpretive materials that tell about the tribal history of the park area, the consultants suggested that a programmatic agreement be written up so that the tribe can formally consult with the park regarding exhibits and other management issues. Permits to access certain park areas, particularly in the north unit, and also permits to collect medicinal plants and minerals (e.g., crystals, clays) should be discussed in this agreement.

**Crow Tribe**

Three consultants from the Crow Tribe visited the north and south units of THRO. They are all elders in the Sacred Tobacco Society. The consultants visited the Buffalo Jump site and the Wind Canyon loop in the south unit, and the Big Bend and Oxbow Overlooks in the north unit.
Ancestral Connections

The Crow have ancient connections to the park area that antecede their separation from the Hidatsa in the prehistoric period, and that continue well into the historic period (see Chapter Three for an overview). The consultants told that there are many sacred landmarks in and around the park that have origin stories attached to them. These landmarks are connected to the Badlands, which one consultant described as looking like chicken feet, the Little Missouri River, and many other topographic features to the south and east of the park. The consultants stressed many times that Rainy Buttes, located 38 miles southeast of Medora, North Dakota, are some of the most sacred landmarks for the Hidatsa and Crow and that are connected to the Little Missouri River. The Rainy Buttes have fossil beds as well as white paint sources that stand out among the resources characteristic of the park area.

The buttes around the park are the houses of the original animals, which were much larger than they are today. Elk, eagle, and black bear, who taught people who to trap eagles, live there. One of the consultants pointed out an article published by M. J. Connolly in the Rainy Butte Sentinel (June 15, 2000:2-4) that is a source of general information about the buttes. Connolly describes the wealth of archaeological evidence of use dating from the Paleoindian period to the Historic period, as shown by numerous artifacts that are diagnostic of the ancestral Mandan and Hidatsa cultures. The Rainy Buttes are also mentioned by Crow's Breast in his narrative of a war party that traveled along the Little Missouri River (Beckwith 1937). Detailed ethnographic accounts relating the origin myths for this landmark are also found in Bowers (1992, 2004).

The consultants noted that, after their migration, the Crow continued to cross the Little Missouri River, traverse the Badlands, and visit Rainy Buttes. As part of their pilgrimage to sacred buttes and during their annual cycle, the Crow have used the Little Missouri River and the Badlands for hunting and camping, sometime camping in cold weather in the more sheltered areas.

Buffalo Jump Site

The Crow elders emphasized the significance of the buffalo for the Plains people since the beginning of times.

In the origin stories the buffalo jump was given to people by Old Man Coyote, who lured the buffalo over the cliff. Old Man Coyote challenged the buffalo to a race. He said: we'll close our eyes and run. That's how he made the buffalo jump. Buffalo jump sites are mystic sites and have a lot of power in them because of all the ceremonies that were conducted before the hunt. All the buffalo jumps are connected with one another. Among the Crow there is a clan, its name is, "Uu saa waa chi" which means "clan who brings home game without shooting". That clan is connected to the buffalo jumps, too.
According to the consultants, the rocks used to build the drive lines were smudged and incense was burned while the buffalo were being driven over the cliffs. Offerings were made and the pipe was smoked. Hunters would have camped just below the cliff, where it is warmer and water is available in the springs. They would have come here in the winter. During buffalo drives, women and children would have come along with the hunters to help with the butchering and processing of meat and hides.

The consultants observed that the abundance of wallows and salt plants indicates that this was an ideal place for the herds. The buffalo come to the wallows to make medicine during their rutting and to trap females. From the buffalo we also learned how to have dreams. In full moon the buffalo would come to high places, like knolls, and fast to cleanse their system.

Wind Canyon

Several characteristics of the Wind Canyon loop drew the attention of the Crow consultants. The silent and secluded feeling of the canyon, with its narrow walls that produce echoes, made the place attractive for vision quests and fasts.

When you go fast all you take is a blanket or shawl and the pipe while you fast. Otherwise you can’t get what you pray for. If you take stuff to be comfortable, you won’t get what you pray for. It’s a sacred way, you go out and you fast. It lets the spirits know you are sincere. You got to have a reason. Maybe you have a dream, maybe a spirit gives you a dream and wants you to go out and fast so they can give you something. Or maybe you have a thought, “I should go out and fast”.

Women fast too. They go under a tree or a rock ledge if it rains. You can recognize the fasting places by the fireplace—big enough to get light but not as big as a campfire. If they got no sleep they would keep the fire going. Smudge in the morning and evening.

Sites such as this were also visited by those who were sad or in mourning. Mourners would practice scarification and cut their hair, then take to high ground, sometimes have visions and they were given things to use as guidelines for prosperity. There is a story about Medicine Crow’s mother, she was a neglected spouse and she suffered very much but she did not have children. So one time she went to fast to a high place like this place. She picked a rock, “baa sho li chi che”, that had mystic power. After that she could have babies.

The river valley below the canyon was also used for camping. Bands would come to visit their relatives and camp around this area in makeshift shelters, caves, or lean-tos. Sometimes they built lodges or wikiups. Abundant wood and water, as well as edible plants and animals, made this valley a very good place for camping.
North Unit Overlooks

The visit to the north unit overlooks concentrated on the interpretation of the conical lodges, as well as on the significance of the landscape and resources below the lookouts (Figure 4.20). The consultants noted that the canyon in the north unit would have been used very much like the south unit, except that it is higher in elevation. This was most certainly a powerful place, a place to fast and pray.

![Crow and Chippewa representatives at the north unit](image)

Figure 4.20 Crow and Chippewa representatives at the north unit

Regarding the interpretation of the lodges, or Ash da che, the Crow consultants suggested that the lodges themselves may or may not have been ceremonial or connected to eagle trapping, but certainly were used by men seeking shelter, for example, hunters and warriors. The lodge with the buffalo skull, on the other hand, is certainly ceremonial, as the skull would be used to hold the charcoal from the fire to do smudging. Also, animals would be scared of the fire so they would stay away. At sunrise the person would smudge and smoke the pipe. A consultant explained that,

People made a vow, they call, that a certain day they would go fast. They would stay there for three days, and come back on the fourth day. Sometimes the spirits told them that they had to come back to fast again, other times, one man was sent back home by the spirits. While you are fasting you only collect plants or anything when and if you are told by the spirits. Then you go barefoot—mostly in the summer, then sometimes in the winter. Sometimes you had to use red paint, “uwwa”.

In terms of choosing a place to go, the consultants said,

If the spirits ask you then you go there. You find out in a dream where to go, the place. Sometimes you select the place you want to go. It would be hard in the park, you could,
with all this high points and mesas, but there are too many people who come around—only in a place closed to public access.

They also noted that, among the Crow, eagle trapping was done by building a pit and covering it with branches. There would be a skinned rabbit tied to a stake outside the blind, and the trapper would be in the pit disguised by the branches. When the eagle came the trapper would grab him by the feet and pluck the feathers he needed, for a war bonnet, medicine, or dance. He would get wing or tail feathers, sometimes one wing feather for medicine or several tail feathers for fans and bonnets. They are used in several ways.

Place, Power, and Resources

The Crow consultants mentioned a number of resources that have traditional uses. The park area would have been the kind of place where males would have picked berries, hunted, and dug for tubers and roots while traveling on war journeys. There are many springs here and some of them, the purest ones, were only used for medicine. There are springs that are so special they are only used for the Sun Dance.

At the Buffalo Jump site, the consultants identified several useful plants. A lichen or moss that grows on the plateau above the site is boiled as a tea for sore throat. Rosehips are collected and pulverized to make rosehip pemmican. Bergamot is used to make a crown that people would place on the heads of returning heroes or warriors, who would then go through the camp singing victory songs. The consultants said that there are Crow songs about bergamot. The glossy leaves of bearberry or kinnickinnick and bearroot are mixed into tobacco. This mix is called “crazy bottom.” Creeping juniper is used as incense also in different ceremonies, including the adoption into the Sacred Tobacco Society, where willow and cottonwood are also used to make an altar. Greasewood makes good pipe tampers. Wood of the mountain birch was once used to make arrowshafts and sweat lodge poles.

Women make feminine hygiene products of matted buffalo hair mixed with juniper. Mud from the buffalo wallows is a good love medicine that men use to attract women. Silver sage has many spiritual and practical uses; it wards off evil spirits and averts harm, so it is burned at certain times and with certain rituals. Those who have the right to use silver sage for medicinal purposes make a tea for purification and for clearing the throat and respiratory system. Men who are fasting keep it in the mouth and swallow the saliva. Prairie sage is also used as medicine. Snakebrush and skunkbrush or sumac have pungent smells that repel insects. Milkweed is edible, and so are wild potato, carrot, turnip, bitterroot, and onion. The flower of the curlycup gumweed is used to cure diarrhea.

At Wind Canyon the consultants noted that prairie dogs are culturally significant and are mentioned in Crow songs. Moles and prairie falcons are also medicine. There are also
ties with coyote, magpie, raven, owl, bear and cougar, the latter two being represented in the outside door poles of the tipi. In terms of plants, the consultants mentioned various sages, yarrow, yucca, and rabbitbrush that are used as medicines.

During her visit to the south unit, one consultant, who has rights to paint, observed that there is a wealth of paint sources in the park. The right to paint often comes in a dream; the person is shown how to use the paints in terms of color, design, and placement in the body; horses also get painted for safety. The consultant and her husband obtained the right to paint from a man who had it and when he was about to die he transferred the right to them. The female elder also has the right to sing along with men and be the head dancer among the women. She uses yellow and red paint. Her brother transferred the designs to her and taught her how to use these paints. Body paints include bright red, pink, blue, yellow, and white pigments. Red paint was first used by the Creator to line the eyes of the prairie chicken—in turn the totem of one of the original Hidatsa-Crow clans. Red and blue are used for medicine on the arms and face; bows and arrows are also painted in red and blue. White paint is medicine. Chokecherry and buffalo berry can be used to make vegetable dyes. Ashes or coals from wood fires are used to make black paint.

The visit of the Crow consultants to the north unit lookout coincided with an incident where two rutting male buffaloes were bucking each other by the river bank. This scene prompted two consultants to take turns sharing the following stories about the power of resources.

I guess they [buffalo] want to find out who’s got the strongest medicine. The most powerful medicine. The buffalo got the medicine. A bull buffalo was once drinking water, went in, drunk water, and the snapping turtle grabbed him by the nose. That snapping turtle pulled the buffalo into the deeper water, but he made medicine, they said that he could see yellow paint, made medicine and pulled out, not all the way out but half way, but the snapping turtle also made medicine and dragged him back into the water. He made medicine again and pulled out, but the snapping turtle dragged him back in, so they went back and forth, four times. Until another bull came along and the first one said, “help me brother”, The second bull went into the water with his horns, made medicine. The first bull got out, sat back and from his place he could see the blood of the snapping turtle. That is why I said they got powerful medicine, they talk to each other and that’s one of the true stories. I guess the people who watched them were Crow warriors. These animals, they got medicine. Eagles too, eagles the same way. And coyotes. If they adopt you, you’re lucky you got medicine. Elk, they got the medicine too. A lot of guys use it to be strong.

When asked how people get power, the consultants answered,

Some people got deer medicine. Like when they fast, that’s when they get it. They get the medicine from them, from these animals. They don’t just inherit it, they got to earn it.
Earn the medicine. You can’t buy it from other people. Either they give it to you or they show you, they teach you how to use it. They pass it on to you; we always say they pass it on to us. That’s why they got to teach you; there’s certain things that they’re scared of like the women’s periods, and so forth; certain foods that you are not supposed to eat. There’s a lot of things to these medicines. My grandfather, he got snake medicine; his medicine was the snake. My grandfather got that medicine, he wrapped black cloth around a little fur, deer; he wrapped it around with a black cloth and put on the forehead [or] where you are sick and that thing moved like a snake; that’s how he got his medicine too. But you got to have faith to get them; you got to be a man to get medicine.

My medicine is the squirrel; I had this vision that there were squirrels jumping all in front of my eyes I could see them. They gave me paint, white and black, for my face. I use the skin of a squirrel on my back, you know, for ceremonies. There’s big animal medicine, hooves, horns, hide. And then there are the small animals, like the chickadee, which is chief medicine—Plenty Coups had it.

Women, they have medicine for colic, spinal meningitis, they have a way to massage that away. I remember some stories, this one woman, her child had spinal meningitis. She saw a way of helping her child, maybe in a dream, she saw how to push her. They don’t get their medicine from an animal but maybe, something might turn her mind, or maybe a dream. Or somebody talked to her, told her what to do so she can get well. She showed her daughter when she got older how to help others.

Women get their medicine in a different way from men, and pass it on in a different way too. I learned a lot from my mom. We used the chokecherry trees for diarrhea too. Whatever is available. Don’t have to use them fresh. I’d rather use the chokecherry first, then the chokecherry stem, not the leaves. We pick it in summer and dry it and use it in winter. We use the flower part of the curlycup gumweed. I sometimes fast too, not for three days. For a day. I spend the day praying and fasting.

Consultants also identified many of the plants here that were first mentioned at the Buffalo Jump and Wind Canyon sites.

**Recommendations**

Consultants observed that THRO is one of the last “pure” places left in the region. For that very reason, the park would be an ideal place for bringing children and teaching them their traditions. The female elder indicated that she tells many stories about this place and its connections to the ancestors, the interactions with other tribes, and relations with the Hidatsa. She also tells stories about their historic enemies, the Sioux, who also traversed the Little Missouri River. These are the kinds of stories that would resonate with children when visiting the park. Another Crow consultant asked that the park bring more Crow elders that will remember more cultural information as they see the landscape and the resources, which are very important to the Indian people, Crow and other ethnic groups. There are things, rights, knowledge, that need to be passed on or it [the knowledge] will go away.
In terms of the exhibits and interpretive programs, the Crow consultants would like to see more Crow and Hidatsa history as it relates to the park. For example, the origin of the pipe, the sweat lodge, the tipi, and the clan system are the foundation of these societies; therefore, learning more about these _celestial gifts_ would teach the public to respect the park and its resources. It is important that the cultural information be presented to the public in appropriate ways; to illustrate, tipis, which symbolize the Sacred Mother, should not be pitched for recreational purposes or without a serious reason, as having an empty tipi is a bad omen and invites death. Its origin, meaning, and significance should be thoroughly explained whenever it is used for exhibits or interpretive programs, as well as the fact that the tipi continues to be revered and there are many taboos about it. This is the kind of information that children and adults need to be taught when they come to parks.

In terms of access permits, the consultants stated that there are certain plants and minerals in the park that are no longer available in other places or in reservations; therefore, they would support the issue of access permits for religious purposes. Collection of resources, however, should be carefully monitored so that _people do not go overboard or desecrate yet unknown sacred sites while they are collecting._

**Standing Rock Sioux Tribe**

One consultant from the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, who is a religious leader holding several priesthoods, visited the Buffalo Jump Site (Figure 4.21) and the Oxbow Overlook. He noted that this is a very spiritual area, with spirit homes, such as homes of the Little People, all over the north and south units. These homes are located in holes and crevices visible on the slopes of the canyon. _All the high places around here are connected to Thunder and this is a very powerful connection. All the places have songs associated with them; when you sing the Creator hear your prayers faster._

**Buffalo Jump**

The consultant noted that the characteristics that stand out about the landscape, when looking at the site from the plateau, is the way in which the land slopes toward the river, the natural springs, the rocks, and the horseshoe shape of the canyon below that would have facilitated hunting. He explained that this type of place would have been used by people in the pre-horse era to camp. This did not appear as a man-driven buffalo jump but, rather, a place where a natural phenomenon or some other thing would have spooked the buffalo and may have brought them into the canyon. While camping in the vicinity, probably during spring and fall or as needed, people would have had opportunities to hunt other animals. Camps would have been light, with just enough equipment to not get bogged down. The pipe, pemmican, and tools needed to process the meat and tan hides would have been brought in. The lack of obvious rings may indicate that the camps here were ephemeral. Women would have taken care of the processing tasks after the hunt.
In terms of who used this site and area in general, the consultant explained that boundaries were flexible and fluid, so this place would be connected with other living areas and territories. It would have been used by different people for different things. Many other activities, including dog ceremonies, eagle trapping, and vision questing, would have connected this place with others along the canyon rim. He added, on the basis of his knowledge as a Ghost Priest, that there is a possible burial in the vicinity of the site but he could not determine exactly where it is located because of the many people that were surrounding him at the time.

The presence of springs adds to the spiritual character of the site, as many of the springs in the Badlands have healing properties. For example, a Sun Dance Lodge was located next to a healing spring where people would bring the sick, particularly those who had been overcome by the enemy. That spring also had burials of people whose skulls have been painted red. *This is why people like me, when healing the sick, have to be prepared all the time, with the pipe, medicine bag, and also spiritually, which includes [sexual] abstinence. One has to know how to make tobacco ties [offerings], what to feed the spirits.*

**Oxbow Overlook**

At the north unit, the consultant noted that the forest is a standout. *The deciduous trees, with their cycle, give the leaves to Mother Earth, they get stark naked and then start over.* Other outstanding features of the north unit are the springs, marked by the white trees that have sap, like box elder, the slopes of the canyon, and the river.
The river is like a mother. It can give you water of life, water to cleanse you. The little critters are for food. The river brings nutrients to the trees, to plants growing on sandbars, the river gives instant energy. There is a lot of food here, wild turnips and fresh clams, you can even eat small birds. In spring when the flood comes it takes the ice away. By looking at the river you can tell when the last rain was. Muddiness is good because then the catfish can hide in it. The draws have certain features, two. You had to cross the river somewhere, perhaps come here looking for inspiration, to see what the future held.

The old timers used to study everything. All of these things have meanings, there is a purpose for everything, it is not a coincidence that whatever it is you need you can find here, plants, foods, medicine, paints... This place has strong connections, connections with surface and subsurface features, physical and spiritual, [that exist] in the Killdeer Mountains, in the Black Hills, too.

The consultant suggested many uses for the north unit, such as vision questing, ceremonies, teaching apprentices, traveling, and camping. This place would have been used in the summer and winter, by men and women. Women also had dreams, they had to carry out that dream. They didn’t have to do this and that, but they went out and fasted, too.

In regard to eagle trapping, the consultant explained that in the old days you had to earn your feathers. Each tribe had a person with rights to trap eagles for its feathers. He also offered the following origin story.

The eagle is a human transformed into an eagle. The eagle was once a twin, not created like others. He saw that people were selfish so he left. The people went looking for him and sent his twin to find him. He did, but he could not convince the eagle to come back because he didn’t like the way people lived. People went to the sweat lodge and asked him why and then prayed until he went soaring and said, “from now on I will be a messenger for people”. He stood on the sweat lodge and brought medicine.

When asked about the possible uses of the conical lodges, the consultant suggested that lodges have different uses depending on their location relative to the bluffs. If high on a cliff and close to a spring, they are used for something sacred. Individuals would have camped in the lower ledges with some tree shade and close to water. The position of the lodge would have been against the weather and for use during the cold seasons. The Mandan used to come to the lodges to put on blackroot medicine and then they would set the eagle trap. They would pierce and prepare medicine food as well as bait. The lodges would also be used for ceremonies in preparation for gathering paints.

**Place, Power, and Resources**

Many resources were identified by the consultant in both the north and the south units. Among the plants, the following were mentioned: bearberry and bearroot are mixed with
tobacco for ceremonial purposes. All sages are ceremonial and medicinal and thus they have to be prayed upon and given offerings of tobacco. In the south there are seven types of sage, one of them is used as horse medicine. The wood of the silver sage is used to fill and tamper the pipe, because when it burns it adds aroma. Echinacea is a toothache medicine; in a dream, the consultant saw that this plant, when mixed with dandelion, would make a diabetes medicine. The flower of the rosehip is a tonic and its root is a diarrhea medicine.

The leaf of the cottonwood tree was given to the people as a model for the tipi. The cottonwood is also used for the Sun Dance. The wood of the ash tree is sought because it burns without ashes even when green; oak has the same burning properties as ash. The oak wood was once used to make wooden pipes while the acorns would be eaten by people who had emphysema. More generally, all fruit-bearing trees have medicine. Trees chewed by the beaver are also good medicine. Trees that have been chewed but not felled will be taken down without letting the tree touch the ground, using shawls and blankets to catch it. Medicine is placed beside the tree before taking it down. Pregnant women carry sticks trimmed from this tree for an easy pregnancy and delivery. The tea made of juniper heals stomach illnesses. Offerings and prayers must be made before cutting trees.

All rocks have powerful spirits and need to be fed: stones are medicine and they will ask to make a sacrifice if you pray for it. The red pipe bowl represents the female heart and the stem the male messenger. The joint is where the mystery resides and where prayers bring blessings. The Yuwipi Priests, who are among the most mystical and powerful of men, use these small rocks that are shiny like crystals. Sandstone is a curing rock. Granite is a thunderstone. The park is also a good source of sweat rocks.

Among the park’s most outstanding resources are the paints. When paint sources are located high on the bluffs they are very sacred. There has to be a reason for collecting these paints, and they require preparation and ceremonies before and after collecting the paints. Crystals can be baked and ground, then mixed with water and grease to make white paint. Crystals have many more meanings. My grandma used to say that crystals could control the dinosaurs. Here are both crystals and dinosaurs. The story goes that a woman started an evil cycle by marrying a dinosaur. She also had relations with her son from the dinosaur and had an evil spirit as a child. But something happened [associated with the crystals] and they all got wiped out.

Many animals were also noted for their special properties. The buffalo is a powerful spirit, and so is the golden eagle. Rattlesnakes are medicine. The rattle is love medicine; also, the rattle is used wrapped around the bow of the Wolf Dreamers. Sometimes someone throws a bullsnake to another person for bad medicine. The antelope are female custodians; their ears are used to make medicine pouches. Different species of deer have different medicine; for example, the mule deer is a mystical animal and has a lot of power and protective medicine; he can move a rock with his antler. There is a very rare type of deer that has a black stripe around or across the eyes; it is better not to look at it. Rabbit
has truth medicine. *Prairie dogs* are both food and medicine. *Catfish* from the river may be speared and eaten. Even the freshwater *clamshells* have uses, for example, to scrape the buffalo hides.

The consultant routinely makes many personal offerings to sacred objects and beings that must be fed always to garner their blessings. *Squash* is for Turtle, cherries for Bear, beef for ghosts, raw kidney for Eagle, and corn pemmican for Buffalo spirits. To feed an eagle you must have a red cloth and make tobacco ties in the corners. Put some raw kidney in a wooden bowl; first you eat it and then leave the rest to him. And he always feeds the stones.

**Recommendations**

The consultant offered recommendations regarding preservation and access. First, he noted that the park was beautiful and the buffalo herds looked healthy. However, he also said that keeping buffalo in a closed environment was “good and bad” and a little paternalistic. It would be good if the herds ate good healthy grass without pesticides. The consultant recommended that prescribed fires be implemented to improve the buffalo feed, as the tribes did it the past. He also suggested *to take down the old bulls so that they do not gore others in the herd*. Concern was expressed regarding the negative effects of water and grass pollution, power lines, and gas wells on the well-being of plants and animals.

Regarding the archaeological sites and associated features, the consultant thought that there should not be public access to the sites, nor further development or interpretation. The springs used to attract and feed the wildlife, however, should be maintained and improved to keep them flowing.

In terms of access, the consultant observed that those who may want access to the park to perform ceremonies would need to put up sweat lodges, and that would imply building a perishable structure, making a small fire, and collecting rocks (up to 120 rocks depending on the purpose and animal association of the lodge), that would be put back in place and buried after the ceremony is completed. He also noted that Indian people may want to have access to collect paints and that would also require some ceremonial activity. He, personally, would like to return to the more silent and secluded portions of the park to teach cultural issues to the younger people and to his apprentices.

**Turtle Mountain Chippewa Cree Tribe**

One consultant from the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians visited THRO along with the representatives of the Crow Tribe (see Figure 4.20). Additional comments about regional use history were elicited from two consultants during a visit to the tribal headquarters.
Ancestral Connections

According to the consultants, the Little Missouri River area, from the Killdeer Mountains to the Yellowstone River, was Chippewa hunting ground since early historic times. Chippewa bands would travel far and wide, and ventured as far south as the Cannonball River, however, their territory was on the north and east banks of the Missouri River. Hunting and warpaths took the Chippewa from Turtle Mountain all the way to the earth lodge villages to trade and winter there, and after leaving their women and children under the protection of the Hidatsa and Mandan, the men would advance south and west all the way to Wyoming and Colorado. The Little Missouri River, from its confluence with the Missouri River to its origin, presented excellent conditions for travel and trade, and also for hunting, scouting, and warfare.

The park landscape, somewhat resembling the deeper bluffs of the Missouri River, would have been used differentially, depending on the elevation of each of its features. All task camps dedicated to hunting would have been on the plateau, whereas larger band camps would have been set up in the lower elevations, near the river. The bluffs and buttes would have been used for vision questing and fasting. Buffalo, eagle feathers, pigments, roots and herbs would have been collected while on the path.

Place, Power, and Resources

According to the consultant, the north and south units contain many mystical places that would have been used in the old days to acquire power and knowledge. Additionally, buffalo, eagles, sages, roots and tubers, and minerals were probably the main reason why people would come here to camp.

Recommendations

The consultant who visited the park observed that there are too many important cultural resources here to ignore. He made strong emphasis on the need to integrate the natural and cultural history of the national parks and monuments in the curricula of tribal, state, and private school systems in North Dakota. He envisions a system where travel and teaching at the parks would be mandatory for K-12 children and where the federal government and the National Park Service would devote personnel and funding to help the schools bring the children to the park and instruct them in various important themes.

In terms of preservation, the consultant suggested that serious and interested public, particularly educators, be invited to tour some of the park sites for educational purposes and only under the direction of park rangers. Sites should be left alone and not developed or otherwise marked to attract undesirable attention.

The consultant further suggested to continue inviting elders from the regional tribes to interpret the resources and to provide additional knowledge about the landscape and its
history. This information could, in turn, be used for developing exhibits and interpretive materials. Elders from all the culturally affiliated tribes should be consulted to ensure accuracy of history and interpretation. Perhaps the park could host an intertribal event, a social melting pot that would allow Indian elders and youth to interact and talk about the park’s history and resources. The consultant emphasized the need to engage elders soon, as they are passing away fast.

**Fort Belknap Tribe**

Two consultants from the Fort Belknap Tribe of Montana visited the north and south units of THRO. One of the consultants is Assiniboine and the other one is Gros Ventre. The consultants visited the Petrified Forest (Figure 4.22), the Buffalo Jump site (Figure 4.23), and Wind Canyon (Figure 4.24) in the south unit, and the Big Bend and Oxbow overlooks in the north unit.

**Petrified Forest Trail**

The consultants noted that the most salient feature of the park is its dramatic topography, which allowed for many kinds of traditional activities. For example, hunting would have taken place on the canyon rim whereas camping and collecting occurred on the terraces above the river or on higher ground, depending on the season. The petrified forest area, with its high cliffs and ledges, would have constituted a natural buffalo hunting area; in fact, the park’s buffalo herd was roaming all through this area while we were touring it. Uses for the cliffs and ledges ranged from camping, scouting, and hunting to vision questing. Burials, too, would have been placed on ledges. Ceremonial uses of ledges also included the placement of offerings before the beginning of a buffalo hunt. _Burials were placed on a buffalo hide and left there; later on rough [burial] boxes were left on top of a blanket. This is a feel-good place, good fasting place too, has good spirits._

*Figure 4.22 Fort Belknap representatives at the Petrified Forest Trail*
In terms of the hunting procedures, the consultants described that,

Assiniboine medicine men used to sleep on the pictured rocks to find out where the herds were and which direction to follow; they were very good at it, too. One time the Sioux couldn’t find the herds and they were hungry. So they asked the Assiniboine if they could borrow their medicine man to help them find the buffalo. In the old days, all you had to do is come and lay around and wait—panic them and make them run down the hill. Out of a herd of 300 you could get two or three with broken legs; they would go down and then you would finish them. If the men were running the buffalo, they would shoot them from behind, under the rib cage to penetrate all the way to the lungs. Buffalo traps were made of boulders placed alongside the natural run, to make them jump the cliff.

In the old days, people traveled and hunted all the time. Hunting then was opportunistic and places were used sequentially throughout the year. Camps included an entire band and all had roles and chores assigned to them.

Hunting camps, as opposed to other camps, were placed on high points for survival. Women would come here too, to butcher the animals, break the bones, and tan the hides. They would bring the tipi poles to stretch the hide and use the brain to break down the fiber in the hide. Children came along and helped. These places were secure. In the spring and fall they would camp up here where the air was nice and warm, as the cold air would be in the lowest point. It gets buggy down by the river. But there would be camps near water if you needed to haul water for certain chores. The buffalo, too, escaped from the bugs by making a wallow, a hole in the mud where they would roll.

All parts of the buffalo were used, meat, bones, hide, and other things. For example, the Assiniboine used heart arteries to make arrows. They would put it on an arrow shaft and leave it to dry until hardened. It would get hard enough to penetrate the skin of deer and other animals. Buffalo horns are used to water the rocks in the sweat lodge. Sinew, membranes, bladder, and dried blood are all good medicine. The archaeological remains left by the ancient hunters are still visible at the Petrified Forest site. When consultants were taken to this area they commented that the old people did not just throw away their hunting tools, particularly the spent arrowheads and bows, but that they ceremonially disposed of them, often placing the bows on ledges to disintegrate along with a tobacco prayer. Bows are made of wood, and there are lots of ceremonies performed to keep them alive, flexible; they have to be disposed of in the same way as other living beings.

Buffalo Jump Site

Consultants noted that this is a culturally significant place not only because of its ancient uses—buffalo hunting and butchering—but also because the spring and surrounding forest at the bottom of the jump are preferred home places for the Little People. As one consultant said, they live in the cutbanks, they love it here. The presence of wallows just above the site indicates that there is plenty of food for the buffalo; also it indicates that
the buffalo come here to make medicine. There are, too, saline soils and salt bushes to quench the buffalo's salt crave.

The plateau and bottomlands would have been used year round, opportunistically, and depending on game abundance. Camping, scouting, and driving buffalo would have taken place on the plateau, as well as the buffalo hunt ceremony; first cut at butchering would have occurred near the spring where the buffalo fell and got entrapped. Other activities carried out near the kill site were meat drying and hide cleaning. Camping definitely did not occur near this spring, as the bugs would have been unbearable there. *Hunters and scouts always camped at points where they had good visibility, too, for protection.*

*Figure 4.23 Fort Belknap representative at the Buffalo Jump site*

In terms of the archaeological remains found at the natural spring, it is clear that the bones were cracked to extract the marrow. A stone hammer would have been used to do this task. Scrapers and pieces of gypsum crystals would have been used to clean and lighten the color of the hide.

**Wind Canyon**

Consultants observed that the terraces above the river, some distance from the water, would have been used for generalized camping, likely in the cool seasons. Most chores were carried out at these camps: craft making, plant and wood gathering, cooking, and hunting of small game and water fowl. Women and children would have been the main occupants of these larger camps.
Place and Resources

Consultants pointed out a variety of resources found on THRO. Along the Petrified Forest Trail, for example, they identified buffalo grass, sunflower, yellowcone, wild plum, and various berries, including the serviceberry or “washna,” which is the Assiniboin name for this berry and means “spirit food.” Wild plum and buffalo berries were also eaten after the first frost, when they get the birds drunk. Plant medicines included Echinacea or blackroot for heart disease and toothache, and the berries of the creeping juniper to cure some venereal diseases. Sumac is used for thickening the blood, and yucca root for promoting hair growth. A particularity of some medicines, such as the yucca root, is that males must collect them for women who wish to use them. Puffball mushrooms are known as ghost chasers. Buckbrush was also identified here.

Minerals and rocks mentioned at this place were fossils, crystals, sandstone, various clays, and scoria. Crystals were traditionally used for lightening the deer hides because of their scouring properties. Clay was baked, powdered, and mixed with water and grease to make paint. Scoria was also ground to make paint. Buffalo pies were used to make fire for certain smudges.

During the visit to the Wind Canyon loop, the consultants talked about the significance of cottonwoods and their use to build the Sun Dance lodge. Other resources mentioned here were the edible turnip, wild plum, and juneberries. Small and large game and water fowl would have been trapped here a, for example, rabbit, grouse, partridge, sage hen, and prairie chicken.

Around the Buffalo Jump site elk tracks, wild turkey, and golden eagles were observed. Above the site, the consultants identified rosehips, wild bergamot, chokecherries, and a willow that is used to make grooves on stone axes and hammers; the willow is wrapped
around the stone and, as it rots, it produces an acid that softens the stone enough to carve the groove.

On the north unit the consultants observed that the abundant ash trees indicate the presence of springs just below the surface. Ash is used to make bows and pipestems, and also to lighten the ceremonial fire. Prayers and offerings must be given to the tree before its wood is cut. Another significant resource noted there were the ants; people put tobacco offerings in the anthills so that the ants may dig up the small quartz stones to use inside rattles. These are special stones that glow in the dark.

Recommendations

The consultants from the Fort Belknap Tribe were impressed with the park and particularly with the healthy appearance and good looks of the buffalo herd. The Assiniboine consultant, who is a religious leader and elder of the Buffalo Chasers Society, reaffirmed how important it is to care for the buffalo herds. The consultants explained that,

Modern herds continue to have a central place in Native American religion. There is an annual ceremonial buffalo killing at Fort Belknap. The gun that will be used to kill the buffalo is smudged, and an offering is wrapped in red cloth and placed on a sandstone ledge. The color red means the western direction, which is powerful as it is connected to the thunderbird. The buffalo life parallels human life, so we sing a buffalo song to the Creator. The offering will have tobacco, sweetgrass, and stick matches for the spirits. After the pipe is smoked the hunter and the warden will jump in and chase the herd. One young buffalo will stand alone and it will be shot.

In terms of management and preservation, they were concerned about the impacts of gas wells and traffic noise on the wildlife. They recommended slowing down on water pumping and keeping tourists and archaeologists away from the archaeological sites. However, they asked that tribal members who need to conduct spiritual doings be allowed to visit sacred sites. They commented that, although the park has numerous traditionally used resources, Fort Belknap people would not need access permits as they have similar resources in or near the reservation.

Blood Tribe

Three Blackfoot-speaking consultants from the Blood Reserve, Canada participated in the site visits. The consultants were taken to the Petrified Forest trail (Figure 4.25), the Buffalo Jump site (Figure 4.26), the Wind Canyon loop, and the north unit (Figure 4.27). They brought along their children to teach them about the THRO landscape.
Ancestral Connections

Overall, the Blood consultants, all of whom are elders in religious societies, focused on landscape and resources as topics of interpretation. They stated that all Blackfoot bands have strong connections with the Missouri River area through travel, trade, and marriage networks. They observed that, when their ancestors visited other tribes, they would be asked to join and help local hunting parties. Individuals from the Blood Band are known to have visited the Missouri River villages and environs in historic times. Their connections to the general area may be traced through the presence of Knife River flint in Alberta sites such as the Dlox-5 Fincastle, which dates to the Archaic period (Narcisse Blood, personal communication 2005). Connections specific to the Little Missouri River come from the meaning and use of a wide variety of resources, in particular buffalo, eagles, pigments, and berries, as well as landscape features.

Petrified Forest Trail

Given that a buffalo herd was in the immediacy of the site during the visit, the consultants could readily map in their minds and explain to the ethnographers how the topography would have interplayed with human use of the area. The consultants noted that the Petrified Forest loop and archaeological site could have been used as a vantage point or lookout and also as a task camp for tool making in hunting expeditions. This interpretation is based on the location of the site as well as the height of the bluff—a short cliff that would have offered protection to hunters on the watch. On the other hand, this site did not seem appropriate for setting up processing camps as it is upwind from the buffalo. It is unlikely that hunters would have chased buffalo to stampede them since the slopes are gentle and not very high.

Knowledge of distant water sources as well as herds was critical for hunting or any other activities that required long-term travel, from visiting to warfare. The concept of time was very different back then and a trip of a few months or even a year was commonplace.

Figure 4.25 Interview underway
People would not go on long trips without knowing where they were going, they had an awareness of the environment, the landscape, and the river system. They traveled along rivers or across the terrain but always had to have a water supply. People's language has been evolving for thousands of years, and the same could be said for their knowledge of the landscape.

There are many springs in the vicinity of the site, but in the old days when rivers were pristine the river would have been preferred for domestic uses of water as well as for drinking. Springs were used when travel required overland trips away from the main water sources. In these trips the traveling parties would camp in the coulees. Offerings and burials were once left on ledges on the side of a cliff, such as those in the park. For this reason, children were never allowed to go near a cliff. Certain rocky places, particularly those with petroglyphs or pictographs, are sought for vision quests because the rock art magnifies the power of the place.

In the early days the hunters would have worn disguises made of wolf hide and crawled and sneaked up to the buffalo, to single out and surprise one of them. This was the type of place that would have allowed for this hunting strategy. In the pre-horse era buffalo hunting required a lot of preparation and constant scouting. Important ceremonies were carried out as well. The buffalo hunt was associated with sacred bundles, notably, the Beaver Bundle. Inside the Beaver Bundle were the buffalo stones or iniskim, which are fossils that resemble the shape of a buffalo. The story of these fossils says that,

A woman went to get wood and water. She heard a baby cry and looked in a tree. In a nest was a buffalo stone. They range in size and are still used today. You call upon it to feed us. You feed them too, berries and pemmican. Sometimes they find you but they can be found too. Iniskim are alive and have spirit. In Algonquian, there are very few words that are inanimate.

Iniskim are cured by polishing them with grease and red paint. They are kept in a pouch inside the Beaver Bundle and when the bundle is opened ceremonially and they are taken from the pouch they are very hot to the touch. They also grow and reproduce inside the bundle.

**Buffalo Jump Site**

One consultant noted that this buffalo jump site or piskaan has all of the characteristics that one would expect for this hunting strategy: the shape of the “shute,” the height and angle of the cliff, and the muddy bottom of the spring where they would get stuck if they broke their legs. Ceremonies were carried out in preparation for the communal hunts. A corral or drive line would be built with rocks or with tall branches, whatever was available, and the herd would be chased into the shute. At the bottom of the cliff, where the animals fell, there would be a wooden fork. Hunters would be waiting for the animals to finish off those that got trapped but did not die. Women aided in butchering and
processing. The camps would be far away from the kill site because of the flies. Camping may have taken place farther down the hill and closer to the river.

Another consultant noted that, if in the past the spring was clear, it may have attracted buffalo that could be ambushed and hunted there without need for stampeding. Emphasis was again placed on the fact that Blackfoot people traditionally avoided stampeding animals unless there was a great need, for example, a starvation year, or when herds needed thinning; \textit{jumps were used by opportunity, as you don't chase herds over long distances.} This was, too, part of their practicing animal husbandry. They acknowledge the antiquity of this hunting strategy as the famous site named “Head-Smashed-In” is in their traditional territory.

\textbf{Figure 4.26 Blood representatives and ethnographer at the Buffalo Jump site}

On the occasion of this visit the consultants told that the Blackfoot word for death is rooted in the word for bison, or \textit{iniwaa}. \textit{A long time ago the bison, which was a giant, used to hunt humans.} The creator/trickster Napi said: “\textit{this is not how I planned or meant it to be}”. So he wanted to stop him from harming humans. But before the rules changed, \textit{the chief of the bison wanted to eat one more human so he hid him under his front arm. Hence, the word for this part of the body means “person.”}

Another story involving the creation of the land by the culture hero and Napi counterpart named “Blood Clot,” tells how Blood Clot caused the buffalo to explode and parts to go all over; these are now places known as Belly Buttes and Heart Bluff; the ribs are the ridge lines. The Sun Dance grounds are near Belly Buttes.

The consultants noted that all the resources needed for buffalo hunting were present in the area: springs, wood, and ceremonial resources; \textit{there is very little here that isn’t [used in a] ceremony, and very few times that do not call for ceremony.} The presence of two \textit{golden eagles} near the site also contributed to their interpretations of the great
significance of buffalo jump sites in general and this site in particular. They stated, too, that the buffalo jump is representative of a hunting tradition practiced by all of the Plains tribes.

**Wind Canyon**

The topography of the wind canyon loop, with the river in the background, prompted the Blood consultants to reaffirm their interpretations of uses of different features for different purposes, for example, the use of high points for fasting, ledges for offerings and burials, and the dry banks of the river for camping and plant collecting. Women would also fast to suffer and be ready to receive bundles through transfer or to join a religious society.

On the occasion of the visit to Wind Canyon one consultant, who is a member of the Buffalo Woman Society or Matoki, told that the origin of this society is with a group of women that had broken away from the main camp, long ago, and they began their own society. The Matoki Society figures prominently in the Sun Dance, having its own lodge and initiating the actual ceremony. The consultant emphasized that the Blackfoot Sun Dance does not include self-mutilation or blood-letting. Blood-letting is used only for medicinal purposes.

Currently, the Matoki Society has repatriated five bundles. Although in some cases daughters take care of bundles when a bundle holder dies, the rights are not inheritable. The consultant would prefer that her daughters go through the initiation and suffer for it than to simply inherit the bundles. She cannot speak of the contents of the bundles but affirms that there are many elements in the bundle, particularly the pigments for body paint, that are closely associated with the park.

**North Unit**

The Blood consultants visited the Oxbow Overlook on the north unit and commented on the conical lodge uses. Consultants noted that timber lodges were used by war parties that would travel at night and hide in the lodges during the day. While in the lodges the warriors would send a scout to find the enemy. War parties were usually small and went out looking for revenge or to embarrass the enemy. They also went trophy hunting. War and buffalo hunting often went hand in hand, as hunters sometimes met with enemy parties and got drawn to scuffles.

There is a story of a notorious Blackfoot man known by the name "Charcoal," who was persecuted by the Canadian Mounted Police. It is said that he built timber lodges to hide from the Mounties, where he used magic to make himself invisible or to disguise himself from them. This, said the consultants, would be yet another use for this type of structure. The consultants also observed that eagle trapping was also practiced by them, by digging the pit and hiding inside the pit. A carcass would be placed near the pit to attract the
eagle, while the trapper would disguise his smell by rubbing sweetpine on his body. The consultants did not see a direct relationship between the lodges and eagle trapping.

Figure 4.27 Blood elders at the north unit

**Place, Power, and Resources**

According to the consultants, THRO has some of the most culturally sensitive resources for Blackfoot-speaking people: bison, golden eagles, serviceberry or Saskatoon, pigments, and beaver. A small beaver lodge was observed near the beginning of the loop. There are also numerous important ceremonial and medicinal plants in the park.

The consultants mentioned a number of uses of the buffalo parts. For example, the elders in the Matoki Society own their own robes. The consultant who belongs to this society has her own robe. This robe has special meaning for her as it was the first she used and it parallels her history of participation in the society. In this and other society’s ceremonies, a robe is also laid inside the lodge, with the tail pointing in the direction of the rising sun. She has had it for 14 years, and some other members borrow it for ceremonial purposes. Women’s headdresses were originally made of buffalo hide; women may acquire power from buffalo. All parts are used, particularly in ceremonies, and that includes dung for fuel.

Associated with buffalo and with all the religious societies are the pigments for body paint and for staining sacred items. In the opinion of the consultants, this is the most significant resource found in the park. Red paint or red ochre, which they found in abundance in both park units, is used for healing and for protection. For example, when religious elders are holding bundles in their homes, all of the family members must have their face painted so that the bundle power will not harm the uninitiated. Red paint is used to stain the iniskim, the pipe stems, and the forked sticks used to pull charcoal out of the ceremonial fire. The Dove Society is connected with the red paint. Yellow paint,
found in the north unit, is associated with the Horn and the Matoki Societies. White paint, which is very rare, is used by the elders of the Matoki Society. The most sacred and rare of all paints is the blue paint. This is a bright blue paint. Each of the paints has its own origin stories, as well as society and bundle connections. Paint collecting is opportunistic; anyone can collect paint but only those with the rights to it can use it for ceremonial purposes or can paint faces. Before collecting paint one must pray and make an offering. This would be true for all resource collecting.

Animals, animal power, and ways to approach them are all learned in vision quests, dreams, and through initiation in the bundle groups and religious societies. Significant animals mentioned by the consultants, in addition to bison, golden eagle, and beaver, are wolf, rabbit, kit fox, crow, dove, raven, rattle snake, and lizard. These animals may give power to people and also have many songs, stories, meanings and associations. For example, male children are associated with lizards and female children with turtle; these animals are represented in the pouches the children carry with their umbilical cord until they come of age and give it as an offer to the Creator. The pouch represents the mother. Lizard and rattler designs are present in a leather pouch inside the Beaver Bundle. Bear is also very powerful and many religious people have taboos about him so they cannot even say his name. Society members also have taboos about certain animals and cannot go near them or consume them.

Plants identified by the consultants at the park include male and female sages, cactus berry, kinnickinnick, buckbrush, bullberry, chokecherry, serviceberry, gooseberry, and mint. Of these, serviceberry is used ceremonially, and so is the kinnickinnick, as a tobacco mixture. Mint is consumed in quantities and for different purposes. Male sage, or white sage, is used for ceremonies and purification. Traditionally people earned the right to collect and use ceremonial and medicinal plants. Today, herbalists no longer gather but may show someone what to look for, what to pick for them. Herbalists have plant areas and like to protect them; areas are protected through mutual respect.

**Recommendations**

Recommendations offered by the Blood consultants focused on preservation, education, interpretation, and access. In terms of preservation, the consultants suggested to continue with the measures implemented to preserve fragile resources as for example, the conical lodges and buffalo jump site, and keep site appearance inconspicuous. Archaeological sites could be researched, but items should not be removed from the sites. Isolated artifacts may represent burial items and offerings and those, too, should not be removed. Removed artifacts should be returned to sites if at all possible.

Exhibits and interpretive materials may be updated by adding cultural and historical information to them to increase public awareness of the importance of park resources and the need to respect and protect them. Certain historical information, regarding historic and contemporary tribes with ties to the park, is missing from the current exhibits and this
information is important because it will only add to the attraction of the park. Exhibits should also inform people about what has already been disturbed or destroyed so that they can assess the need to protect the remaining resources even further.

Finally, Blood consultants would like the park to grant access permits to collect pigments for ceremonial body paint and other ceremonial resources. Also, they would like to have more information about the thinning of the buffalo herd.

Summary of Recommendations by Park

For ease of reading, we have compiled the recommendations from each participating tribe in this final section. It must be stressed that the tribal representatives unanimously praised the labor of park personnel who take care of natural and cultural resources. The representatives had many ideas about expanding the interpretive materials for all parks as well as participation of tribal youth and adults in park activities. Issues raised also concern management of certain resources, access permits, and data needs.

Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site

Study participants enjoyed the park enormously and were particularly impressed with the reconstructed lodge. The following recommendations were offered for KNRI:

- **Education**: Both the historical centrality and the features of this park make it an ideal setting for teaching children about native history and cultures. The park could be more proactive at organizing activities for children from Indian schools so that both teachers and children learn about traditions. The agency should work with the state to make park visits a requisite for K-12 schools.

- **Exhibit and Interpretation Update**: Some tribal representatives would like exhibit and interpretive materials expanded to incorporate more information on each of the tribes that had relations with the villages in the past. More emphasis should be made on the significance of the villages for the macroregion. Other representatives were concerned at the succinctness of certain interpretations, especially around the garden and wild plant stands. They would like to see native names written alongside with English or scientific names for species.

- **Dissemination**: Tribal elders as well as Tribal Historic Preservation Officers are concerned with the rise of “false prophets” or “Hollywood Indians”, who self-describe as traditional Native Americans and religious practitioners, but who spread information that is inappropriate or inaccurate. The park needs to double-check credentials of those whom they invite beforehand.

- **Tribal Employees**: Tribes would like to see more native interpretive rangers that would help the park develop materials and disseminate accurate information.

- **Public Uses**: Tribal representatives are somewhat concerned about the dissemination of information on the location of medicinal plants found in the stand of native prairie and would like these to be kept from public knowledge.
• **Management:** Representatives were concerned by the lack of flooding in the stand of northern forest and suggested that the park works at keeping the spring that feeds the forest uncapped. Opinions were divided as whether to let the grass grow back on the sites or to continuing mowing the sites. They were very impressed with the stabilization efforts along the river bank.

• **Prescribed Fires:** Representatives were generally in favor of prescribed fires as a means for managing the native species, as this practice is most definitely a traditional Native American activity.

• **Use Permits:** Representatives would like to access the park to use it for ceremonial purposes, which sometime include making a small fire for smudging. This would take place away from areas of high traffic.

• **Collection Permits:** There are native plants in the park that do not grow elsewhere so representatives would like the park to issue permits to gather ceremonial plants.

**Data Needs**

One of the biggest gaps in data is the lack of a Hidatsa and Mandan ethnobotany. The TAT representatives would like to pursue this line of research by doing a systematic inventory of plants in the stands of native vegetation that the park currently preserves. The significance of these stands is huge, as only few of them were left standing after the construction of the Garrison Dam. The representatives think that many plants currently found in ancient ceremonial bundles grew in such habitats and would like to identify the plants so that the bundles may be replenished as needed in the future.

**Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site**

Representatives were enthralled by Fort Union and spent numerous hours examining the trading house, the exhibits, and the books. Practically each representative had a family story to tell in regards to the fort. Recommendations were:

• **Education:** Representatives would like to see the park involved more directly in the education of native children and, even more specifically, be proactive in working with the state to include park visits and materials in the K-12 curriculum.

• **Interpretation Update:** Tribes have the highest regard for Fort Union but especially for the place where it was erected. Although there are some limited materials already in the exhibit of the State Historical Society’s Interpretive Center, they think that much more should be said about the significance of the area for tribal activities since time immemorial, the sacredness of sites in its surroundings, and the actual stories that tribes have regarding the Fort Union. In other words, the exhibit and interpretive materials are one-sided in the portrayal of the park and do not show the tribal views of it. They would like these to be incorporated in updated materials. Also part of the interpretive update should be a
more thorough explanation of the cultural and natural resources at the fort, for
e.g., the tipis and the native plants. One consultant stated that this knowledge
is valuable not only to tourists but to Indian children and adults because it helps
heal people and increase their self-esteem. Garden Coulee, specifically, needs to
be better interpreted as there are numerous families with ancestral connections to
this site.

• **Dissemination:** Some tribal representatives are concerned with the participation
  of individuals self-described as Native American traditionalists, who portray a
  pan-Indian view of native culture and thus contribute to the destruction of ethnic
diversity and uniqueness. Credentials should be double-checked with the tribes to
ensure that those individuals do represent the tribes they say to represent and in
what capacity.

• **Management:** One comment was made by a consultant about the management of
  the fort’s surroundings and it concerns the presence of numerous access roads that
crisscross the original trail. Representatives also suggested that horses could mow
the grass naturally and bring some more authenticity to the exhibits.

• **Tribal Employees:** Representatives were impressed with the presentation offered
  by Interpretive Ranger Loren Yellowbird and his balanced view of the park’s
history and contemporary significance. They cited it as an example for why it is
important to employ more native interpreters.

**Data Needs**

Overwhelmingly, Tribal representatives recommended to undertake research that may
document tribal views of FOUS and its place in Native American history so that the
public may gain a more balanced perspective on the park.

**Theodore Roosevelt National Park**

Overall, the Tribal representatives praised the quality of the views and the well-being of
the natural resources in the park. The good-looking bison herds were a special source of
excitement, as not all the tribes represented in the park visits actually own a herd.
Presence of eaglets around the Buffalo Jump site and of an active beaver community
were also noted. The following recommendations were offered:

• **Education:** THRO is a place where native youth must come to learn about natural
  resources as well as the traditional stories associated with them. The park should
explicitly incorporate tribal school teachers in the development of educational
programs for the K-12 curriculum.

• **Interpretation and Exhibit Update:** Representatives unanimously noted the lack
  of ethnographic materials in the exhibits and interpretive signs and noted that the
park has much more resources than those favored by President Roosevelt. For
example, the geology of the park is outstanding but interpretive signs could be
updated with information on native views of the significance of geological
resources, such as minerals and paints. Paleontology and ecology are other aspects that could benefit from a broader interpretation that presents cultural aspects side-by-side with scientific ones.

- **Management**: Resources appeared to representatives as well-cared for. One representative suggested taking down the old buffalo bulls so that they leave room for the young ones. They were very impressed with the wealth of plants and animals as well as with the abundance of ceremonial paint types at the park. Archaeological sites should be kept closed to the public.

- **Use Permits**: The park could issue use permits for those tribal individuals who may require a visit to the park in order to fast or pray.

- **Access to Collect**: The park has ceremonial resources that may be rare or nonexistent in tribal lands. Chief of all are the paint minerals, which normally are gathered by people who have rights to gather and use them. Judicious issue of such permits could benefit the tribes without destroying or desecrating the resource.

**Data Needs**

The tribes, particularly the Crow and the TAT, could benefit from a detailed ethnobotanical study of plant communities that exist in THRO. This is probably the biggest gap encountered during the study. Furthermore, the park has numerous conspicuous landforms that were used for navigation and that may have origin stories associated with them. An ethnogeographical study would enhance the park’s best features and thus expand the materials for use in exhibits and interpretive signs.
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Selected Bibliographic Annotations

[NOTE: many complementary pieces by a single author are annotated together]

Abel, A. H., ed.

Tabeau’s narrative of Loisel’s turn of the nineteenth century journey to the upper Missouri is rich in detail of intertribal interactions, as seen from his prolonged stay at one Arikara village. In addition to ethnographic information on subsistence, arts and crafts, architecture, ceremonies, and interaction with Europeans, this narrative contains brief but significant descriptions of intertribal trade.

Abel, A. H., ed.

This journal provides detailed observations of life in the upper Missouri before the smallpox epidemic of 1837, with reference to daily occurrences in the Mandan and Hidatsa villages as well as intertribal relationships between the village tribes and the Plains tribes, including the Siouan bands, Blackfeet, Crow, Gros Ventre, Pawnee, Cree, Assiniboine, and Arikara.

Adams, A. T., ed.

This early and invaluable journal of six voyages of French traders Radisson and Les Groselliers across the Great Lakes contains information on the location of Dakota Siouan tribes at the time of first contact, or in the late seventeenth century, with a description of the Feast of the Dead in 1661, organized by the Dakota tribes of Minnesota and attended by broadly dispersed ethnic groups.

Ahler, S. A.

2003a Archaeology at Menoken Village, A Fortified Late Plains Woodland Community in Central North Dakota. Flagstaff: PaleoCultural Research Group.


Ahler, S. A., C. R. Falk, and P. R. Picha


The numerous reports and chapters by Ahler are the definitive archaeological resource for the Knife-Heart region of the Northern Plains. Ahler's research has covered the Paleoindian, Archaic, Woodland, Plains Village, and historic periods and is essential to understanding cultural development among the Hidatsa, Mandan, and later Arikara Indians. In addition, Ahler's contributions to the four volumes detailing the multidisciplinary studies conducted on the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site throughout the decade of the 1980s are integral to understanding both the prehistory of the park and the history of archaeological research at KNRI. The interpretive volume of this series is particularly informative in that it integrates conventional culture historical phases and archaeological sites with historic and ethnographic information on the Mandan and Hidatsa villages.

Albers, P. C.

Albers' early history of the Pembina Ojibwa is invaluable in that it provides detailed accounts of intertribal relations and particularly the relationship between this group and the upper Missouri River tribes and landscape.

Albers, Patricia C.

This contribution summarizes ethnographic, historic, archeological, social, and political information for the Santee cultural group. It reflects on the history of contact with
European and American government, and people, the advent of treaty negotiations, and history through the reservation period to the present day.

Allen, W. E.


Allen's two articles on eagle trapping in the Little Missouri Badlands incorporate archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic information about eagle trapping in western North Dakota. Both articles stem from Allen's Masters' thesis research at Wichita State University and are a useful introduction to eagle trapping. Additionally useful are the citations provided by Allen. These articles should be read in conjunction with Wilson (1928).

Anderson, G. C.

Anderson's central and compelling contribution to Dakota and American history is noting that initial relations between Dakota and Europeans and Americans continued in the tradition of establishing "fictive kinship" relationships between the Dakota and their white visitors. Without the establishment of kinship and true human relationships, the Dakota, and many other indigenous groups of the time period, would not have traded or allowed other forms of intercourse to proceed. Furthermore, alliances were made, broken or betrayed through these kin ties. The social ramifications of these kin ties influences the decisions and actions of Dakota groups vis-à-vis their relatives indigenous or white.

Audubon, M., ed.

The journals of John J. Audubon, a naturalist of the nineteenth century, are informative on a number of levels. First the journals, as well as Audubon's paintings, provide insight into the flora and the fauna of the Missouri River in the 1840s. In addition, Audubon and his sons spent two months at Fort Union with many observations about the area. Lastly, Audubon's experiences traveling the Missouri by steamship in the mid-1840s paint a colorful picture of the fur trade in the Northern Plains.

Barbour, B. H.
Barbour’s book provides a comprehensive history and overview of Fort Union and its role in the fur trade of the region. The book begins with the construction of the fort in 1829 and continues to its destruction after the Civil War. A main focus of Barbour’s work is the political, economic, and cultural role of the fort in the region. He focuses both on the “upper class” of the fort society as well as the everyday worker. An interesting aspect of the book is its focus on the coming together of different ethnic groups (e.g., Blackfeet, Hispanics, mixed-bloods, and Euroamericans) to form a unique culturally-plural community in the Northern Plains.

Bauermeister, A. C.

Bauermeister’s Master’s thesis explores the time depth of site use in the vicinity of Fort Union, as well as potential shifts in stone working technologies from pre-fort (prior to 1828) and fort era (A.D. 1828-1867) periods. Her study analyzes stone tools and debris recovered via excavation from the 1986-1988 field seasons at Fort Union. She discovers little variation in chipped stone tools assemblages from pre-fort and fort components. She does, however, find differences in the analysis of tool types—with fort era materials having both a greater frequency and diversity of tool types. Bauermeister proposes that observed differences are the result of a shift in economic strategy by indigenous groups at the fort and that specifically the native wives of fur traders may have intensified activities such as the processing of game and hides at the fort.

Beckes, M. R., and J. D. Keyser

This report by Beckes and Keyser synthesizes what is known about the archaeology of the Custer National Forest. Of interest are the sections on the Sioux Ranger District in southeastern Montana and northwestern South Dakota. The archaeology of this portion of the forest is similar to archaeology found elsewhere in the Badlands and aids in the understanding of prehistoric and protohistoric land use of both the general region and the Theodore Roosevelt National Park.

Beckwith, M. W.


Beckwith’s monograph materials, which include dozens of origin and other traditional stories as told by Mandan and Hidatsa informants and translated into English, are
presented in these two works. The significance of these references lies in the fact that the stories are presented as told by informants and not altered. In addition, Beckwith includes alternative versions of the narratives when they are presented to her.

Birk, D., and E. Johnson

One of the few comprehensive articles summarizing the contact period ethnohistory of the Minnesota Sioux tribes, and it is particularly useful for pinpointing the location of Mdewakanton Dakota bands in Minnesota before the eighteenth century. This article should be read in conjunction with some of the original historical sources that have been translated and edited by various authors.

Blakeslee, D. J.

General summary of localized versus regional developments of prehistoric cultures in the northern and central Plains. An excellent overview for those who are engaged in comparative archaeological studies.

Bowers, A. W.


Bowers’ lifetime work among the village tribes of the upper Missouri is unique for its time in that it fully integrates the prehistory, history, and ethnography of the tribes and attempts to make sense of their tremendously complex developmental trajectories. These works, in particular, contain significant information regarding the mythical and archaeological origin of the Mandan and Hidatsa tribes, their oral traditions, migration stories, as well as discussing daily and ritual life among these two tribes. Bowers’ work is the definitive ethnographic reference for both the Hidatsa and Mandan tribes and is still heavily cited today.
Brown, J. E.

Brown recounts according to the famous Lakota medicine man Black Elk, the place of the sacred pipe in the major rituals and religious ceremonies of traditional Lakota spirituality including the Sacred Sweat Lodge, Crying for a Vision (Vision Quest), and the Sun Dance. Black Elk retells the origin of the pipe, its sanctity, its place in Lakota history, and its necessity in the survival of traditional Lakota spirituality.

Brown, J. S., and R. A. Brightman

A fascinating and unique view of the Plains Chippewa-Cree along the Canadian border, George Nelson's edited journal provides previously unknown details of these people's worldviews and how their worldviews contributed to help them adapt successfully to the prairies. Of particular note are Nelson's descriptions of people-nature relations.

Burpee, L. J., ed.

La Verendrye and his sons provide the first written accounts of the Upper Missouri region in A.D. 1738. They traveled overland from Canada in search of the Mandan Indians providing written accounts of groups they encountered and their travels. Although La Verendrye and his sons failed to reach the Hidatsa villages, their accounts provide the first written descriptions of Plains Village life in the Knife-Heart region. From these records it can be determined that at this time the historic period Hidatsa and Mandan were culturally independent groups.

Carver, Jonathan
1956 Travels through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768. Minneapolis: Ross and Haines.

Carver's travelogue is a tour-de-force across the upper Midwest and contains extraordinary observations on the native tribes. Particularly useful for this report are the demographic notes of Dakota bands along the forest-prairie ecotone.

Catlin, George
Catlin carefully records accounts of native life in the Northern Plains, complete with wonderful sketches and paintings. His writings, sketches, and paintings not only record details of his experiences among the Mandan, Hidatsa, Sioux, Crow, Assiniboine, and others, but also observations about the natural and cultural landscape. Caitlin’s writings yield insights into life both at the Knife River Indian villages and at Fort Union. The most valuable contribution of Catlin’s journal to this report is that he took great pains at collecting oral accounts from different cultural and ethnic groups, so that many of the cultural nuances and various origin traditions were recorded before the smallpox epidemic.

Champe, L.

This is a descriptive piece that reconstructs in detail the chronology of land use of the Yankton Sioux as it pertains to the region surrounding the pipestone quarry. This is an expert witness document prepared for the Claims Court.

Chittenden, H. M.

An early history of the fur trade, Chittenden’s book is a useful introduction to the history of Fort Union. Some of Chittenden’s assertions, for example that Fort Union developed out of Fort Floyd in 1828, have since been dismissed. This reference, however, remains useful for offering alternative perspectives on the development of the fur trade.

Chomko, S. A., and W. R. Wood

In this article Chomko and Wood report on linear earth mounds located in North Dakota, with specific attention to sites located in the Missouri River trench. The article is important because it addresses a Woodland site in the western portion of North Dakota. This article should be read in conjunction with Johnson and Johnson (1998), Neuman (1975), and Reeves (1983).

Dawson, K. C. A.

Dawson’s is the most comprehensive overview of prehistory and protohistory of the Lake Winnipeg area which is, in turn, extremely critical for unveiling the ethnogenesis of northern Ojibwa, Assiniboine, and Cree groups who inhabited the lower Red River basin and beyond. His review of ceramic distributions also helps to place material and
demographic boundaries between Siouan and non-Siouan populations in this area. He uses the Jesuit Relations judiciously to illustrate his archaeological points.

DeMallie, J.


DeMallie is one of the foremost contemporary academic authorities on Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota history, culture and society. His contributions to the Handbook of North American Indians are foundational and fundamental pieces to acquaint readers with the people commonly known as the Sioux. DeMallie covers broadly the major categories of academic study of the Sioux including history, ethnography, religion, language, geography, and culture.

Denig, E. T.

1961 Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.


Denig’s detailed ethnography of upper Missouri River tribes during his tenure at Fort Union Trading post (1824-1856) draws upon his intimate knowledge of Indian history and culture. Descriptions of the Crow, Sioux, Assiniboine, Arikara, and Cree provide details about subsistence

Dill, C. L.
1975a Hidatsa Culture History: An Identification of Problems. Department of Anthropology. Lawrence, University of Kansas.

Dill's work represents the only systematic excavation and reporting of archaeological research at the Amahami site which was mostly destroyed by the construction of the Stanton court house and its parking lot. The site lies partially within the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site boundaries and mostly outside of the southern boundary. The Awaxawi, a group of Hidatsa who traditionally lived further to the south of the Knife River villages, created Amahami Village ca. 1797. In 1834, the Amahami (Awaxawi) village was burned after a Sioux attack. Dill's work is important because it documents a significant portion of the Awaxawi's experiences at Knife River.

Dorsey, J. O.

Dorsey's extensive work on Siouan culture, language, and society, laid the ground for reconstructing the origins, migration, and linguistic differentiation processes among all of the Siouan-speaking groups in the United States. His careful fieldwork, observation, and description of customs and ceremonial activities, as well as his textual recording of oral historical accounts of migration and movement have no parallel among his contemporaries and few of his hypothesis about the origin and spread of the Siouan dialects have actually been challenged or superceded by modern researchers.

Dusenberry, V.
1962 The Montana Cree; a study in religious persistence. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

A detailed ethnography of the Montana Chippewa-Cree populations with invaluable insights into their social and ceremonial organization, as well as their degree of change and persistence. It complements Mandelbaum's Canadian Cree ethnography and Peers' history of the Western Ojibwa of Canada.

Ewers, J. C.


Ewers' reconstruction of the prehistoric trade across the Plains remains untouched by time and current research, in particular, the role of rendezvous as opposed to a central place is critical in modeling long distance movement of raw materials such as catlinite as well as finished products without the need of a society acting as central control. Contemporary researchers still use his work as the model for Plains interaction in prehistory and history.
Ewers, J. C., ed.
1967 O-Kee-Pa: A Religious Ceremony and Other Customs of the Mandan, by

This particular monograph contains detailed historical information about the ritual versus
social contexts of use of red pipes among the Mandan, as, for example, the Okipa
ceremony. This information is important in the context of catlinite trade across the
Northern Plains as many groups, including the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Blackfeet, used
catlinite pipes in social contexts exclusively, and black soapstone (or blackened red
stone) pipes ceremonial contexts.

Ewers, J. C.
1958 The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains. Norman: University of
Oklahoma Press

A classic ethnography and post-reservation history of the Montana Blackfeet, with
emphasis on changes introduced by the reservation and school systems, and with details
on the ways in which the Blackfeet managed to survive the demise of the bison herds.

Fox, G. L.
1988 A Late Nineteenth Century Village of a Band of Dissident Hidatsa: The
Garden Coulee Site (32WI18). Lincoln: Reprints in Anthropology 37.

Originally Fox’s Master’s thesis, this report examines archaeological, cartographic,
documentary, and ethnographic evidence to argue that the Garden Coulee Site (32WI18)
was one of the Crow Flies High band’s villages during the 1870s and 1880s. The Crow
Flies High band was a group of “dissident” Hidatsa and Mandan who broke away from
the main tribes at Like-A-Fishhook village on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation in the
late 1860s and early 1870s. The report is interesting because it explores Mandan and
Hidatsa ties to the area around the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers.
Additionally, this report is significant because it yields insights into the indigenous use of
the area after the abandonment of Fort Union.

Frison, G. C.
Archaeology in Montana 203: 3-16.

One in a collection of symposium papers on the Hidatsa-Crow split, Frison’s is unique in
that he uses his intimate knowledge of the archaeology of Crow country to provide a
thoughtful reconstruction of their arrival into the Upper Yellowstone and their uses of
that landscape that does not depend heavily on ethnohistory, as Wood and Downer (1977)
do.
Frison, G. C.

A synthetic overview of northwest Plains prehistory, Frison's book provides a clear and concise summary of Plains archaeology and subsistence strategies of indigenous groups from the Paleoindian through the protohistoric period. Especially useful for interpreting archaeology in or near FOUS, KNRI, and THRO are the sections on the Paleoindian and Archaic periods.

Gibbon, G.

An overview and source book for Siouan origins and trajectories, it contains previously unpublished archaeological information as well as a thoughtful reconstruction of Dakota prehistory and its links to various archaeological phases and cultures in Minnesota.

Gilmore, M.
1924a Arikara Fish-Trap. Indian Notes 13:120-134.
1924b Glass Bead Making by the Arikara. Indian Notes 1:20-22.
1925c Arikara Uses of Clay and Other Earth Products. Indian Notes 1:20-21.
1925d Arikara Household shrine to Mother Corn. Indian Notes 2:31-34.
1926b Buffalo-skull from the Arikara. Indian Notes 3:75-79.
1926c Indian Custom of “Carrying the Pipe”. Indian Notes 3:89-95.
Outrageous at it may seem, little has been written about the Arikara after Gilmore published his series of articles on Arikara ethnobotany and other matters. These are precious in that they reflect a time when the Arikara were distinctly “central Plains” in behavior and culture, even though they had spent centuries interacting with the earth lodge tribes.

Glassner, M. I.


This article contain unique information about the prehistory and history of the Mandan, and in particular, the only map known to identify a Mandan migration site in the border of Minnesota and South Dakota, as well as its possible archaeological identity as a Chamberlain Focus site.

Gregg, M. L.


Gregg develops an excellent overview and summary of the culture history of western and central North Dakota in these two chapters providing a useful tool for the interpretation of archaeology in and around the three North Dakota national parks.

Hennepin, L.


Father Louis Hennepin traveled to the region of the headwaters of the Mississippi and the Great Lakes region in the late seventeenth century. Of remarkable account is the fact that Father Hennepin was captured by the Dakota and held for several months beginning in April of 1680 With his Dakota captors, he traveled in the areas of the St. Croix River, the Mississippi River, and he traveled to the Minnesota River where he became the first European to see and describe the Falls of Saint Anthony on the Minnesota (St. Pierre) River. He recorded information on the manners and customs of various tribes including the Dakota, albeit with many of the Eurocentric judgments so fashionable of the time.
Hickerson, H.

This valuable report is an excellent summary of Dakota history and geography for the Mdewakanton Band of Dakota regarding their late pre-historic and historic range and use area throughout present day Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa.

Hollow, R. C., and D. R. Parks

A classic article summarizing the historical linguistics of the Plains groups with specific reference to Siouan languages and their timing of split. Useful as a complement to the reconstruction of ethnogenetic trajectories of Siouan-speaking groups.

Hoover, H. T., and L. Bruguier

This is a short tribal history of the Yankton with an emphasis on recent and current history of the late twentieth century. Useful as a piece that contextualizes modern claims of affiliation and religious significance.

Howard, J. H.


Howard’s research among the Dakota, Yankton and Yanktonai Sioux are rare in that he succeeds at integrating documentary history and oral tradition. Ethnogeography of the Yankton is one of the few ethnogeographies published for tribes in the United States; well before “landscape” and “place” came into legal and intellectual consideration.

Hurt, W. R.
This is a report establishing Dakota land claims by looking at Dakota history and the geography of their cultural use area. Hurt also records valuable information about Dakota land use.

Jackson, J. C.

An updated ethnohistory of the Montana Blackfeet with a broader view of land use and ranges than that provided by John Ewers's (1974) expert witness report. This is a book written for nonspecialists but is nonetheless very well researched and annotated.

Jantz, R. L.


Jantz, R. L., D. W. Owsley, and P. Willey

Along with Glenn's work, this series of articles by Jantz and colleagues contributes rare physical anthropological evidence of cultural affiliation for the Dhegiha Siouan groups. Critics of Jantz work argue that his very small samples are not diagnostic; however, they do show reconstructible and interpretable trends.

Johnson, Alfred E.

Essential general reference for establishing a prehistoric Woodland-period context of use in western and central North Dakota, as well as timing for introduction of ceramic technology and earth mound architecture in the region.

Johnson, A. E., and W. R. Wood

An excellent overview of the culture history of the Great Plains, as well as the history of archaeological research in the region. Although the chapter is brief and somewhat dated, it provides useful information, especially when read in conjunction with DeMallie (2001) and Wood (1998).
Kuehn, D. D.


1995 The Geoarchaeology of the Little Missouri Badlands: The Late Quaternary Stratigraphic and Paleoenvironmental Context of the Archaeological Record. College Station: Department of Anthropology, Texas A & M University.

Kuehn's reports and dissertation research discuss native use of the Little Missouri Badlands from the Paleoindian period through the historic period. Kuehn discusses the results of his archaeological survey, including detailed descriptions of archaeological sites and their surrounding location. Two valuable contributions within his writings are that he provides excellent summaries of previous archaeological research in the Theodore Roosevelt National Park (e.g., Sperry 1981) and he discusses where sites are likely to be found within the park (e.g., three paleosols dating to the Paleoindian period) based on his geoarchaeological investigations.

Larpenteur, C.
1989 Forty Years a Fur Trader. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Many journals have described Indian life and interaction around Fort Union during the years of 1830-1860, but none with the detail of Larpenteur's journal (see also Coues 1898). Larpenteur recorded all details of daily transactions and incidents, large and small. Among those recorded is the disastrous winter of 1837-1838, when a severe smallpox epidemic swept through the region. The journal also continues after the epidemic when the operations of the trading post resumed with renowned vitality for the next 20 years.

Lehmer, D. J.

Lehmer's archaeological tour-de-force constitutes the first synthesis of culture history from the Paleoindian period to historic times of the ancestral and historical groups that inhabited the Missouri River area of North and South Dakota. This foundational work contains detailed information on diagnostic material culture as well as continuity and change in the many archaeological manifestations that eventually led to the (alleged and debated) ethnogenesis of the Mandan and Hidatsa. Although data collected more recently by Stanley Ahler and colleagues has rendered some of Lehmer's views outdated, this book stands as a classic in archaeology and is still heavily cited today.
1978 The Knife River Phase. Columbia: Dana College and University of Missouri.

This report discusses the period after the introduction of European trade goods into the Upper Missouri region and ends with the movement of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara to Like-a-Fishhook village. Lehmer et al. discuss significant changes in the lifeways of the native groups in the region and how these are reflected in the material culture. The report contains detailed information about diagnostic material culture. In addition Lehmer and others illustrate cultural continuity in the region despite dramatic changes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At present, some of the conclusions reached by Lehmer et al. have been contested by Toom (2004).

Long, J. L.

Long’s early twenty century ethnography of the Assiniboine is perhaps one of the few of its kind, and particularly relevant in that the Assiniboine have been hopelessly forgotten by anthropologists of that century, as Dusenberry notes. It focuses on subsistence and economy but has limited information on ritual life, which is not surprising given the time period (1920s-1930s) that it covers.

Lovick, S. K., and S. A. Ahler

This extensive report on the prehistory and ethnohistory of the Mandan and Hidatsa ancestors, as seen from the perspective of the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, contains lengthy information (an update from that of Lehmer) regarding the ethnogenesis of these groups, as well as a good discussion of traditional and current debates regarding origin, migration, and affiliation with known archaeological sites.

McClintock, W.

McClintock’s classic account of his life among the Montana Blackfeet is unique in its detail of land and resource uses in association with religion and ritual, but it also contains important narratives of life in and out of camp, personal experiences of his Indian friends, and inventories of plant uses. His description of the Beaver bundle and associated rituals, for example, is regarded by contemporary Blackfeet people as the most accurate rendition.
McLaughlin, M. L.
1990 Myths and Legends of the Sioux. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

This is an excellent collection of stories of the Dakota. To understand many of the religious ideas and social customs of the Dakota it is necessary to be familiar with the myths and legends of Dakota people. This gives a broader context for understanding the importance and sanctity of the relationships of Dakota people with their place, the environment, and their ritual traditions.

Matthews, W.

His is an account of life among the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara in the 1870s during his Fort Berthold tenure as an Army doctor. It contains ethnographic overviews of traditional activities. Most of his notes are about Hidatsa language and history and ethnography.

Munson, P. J.

An excellent compilation of Lakota and Osage plant uses, mostly gathered from earlier writers such as Frances Densmore, and her musical studies among the Teton, as well as from Fletcher’s and LaFlesche’s Omaha ethnography.

Neuman, R. W.

In this book, Neuman defines and summarizes the Sonota Complex which is part of the Plains Woodland Tradition (100 B.C. to A.D. 100-800) of the Northern Plains. This complex is thought to be technologically similar to the Besant (see Reeves 1970) in that in both there is evidence for ceramic manufacture and use, as well as burial mound ceremonialism. Neuman postulates based on the presence of burial mound architecture that during “the Sonota time period” native inhabitants were more sedentary than they had been in previous periods, but that they still relied on the procurement of wild resources for survival.

Norall, F.
Norall presents a biography of Bourgmont, a seeker of fortune and eighteenth century explorer of the Missouri River. Bourgmont had sought land and a title from the French Crown by serving as bureaucrat in the Louisiana Territory. Late in life, he finally gained his title, which he could not pass on, as he produced no male heir. He records also his recollections of various native people he encountered in his travels.

Owsley, D. W., D. F. Morey, and W. B. Turner

This article should be studied in conjunction with those by Jantz and colleagues, as they, together, paint a detailed picture of human variation and its possible geographical implications in the central Plains as well as the Middle Missouri River.

Peers, L.
1994 The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780 to 1870 St Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

An excellent and rare compilation of historical materials regarding the ethnogenesis of the Plains Chippewa-Cree-Metis bands of today, it presents a balanced view of their adaptation to the plains and to the reservation life.

Pond, S. W.
1986 The Dakota or Sioux in Minnesota as They Were in 1834. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

This is a classic ethnography of Minnesota Dakota people in the early nineteenth century. Pond records information about Dakota religion, resource use, cultural geography, ritual, and language that are unequaled in the later literature. Most significant of all is that his notes predate the Treaty of 1837 and thus refer to those years before the upper Mississippi area was devastated by the logging industry, forcing many communities to abandon their traditional uses of forested lands.

Powers, W. K.

This excellent monograph gives the reader practical heuristics for beginning to understand the ontological and epistemological grounds of Lakota traditional religion, beliefs, and practice. Powers translates some of the most essential concepts in Oglala religious thought and philosophy, illustrating vast cultural differences between Judeo-Christian beliefs and illustrating some of the similarities. Powers also shows that these religious ideas live in the people and in their ceremonies.
In these works, Reeves summarizes the Besant complex which is part of the Plains Woodland Tradition (100B.C. to A.D. 100-800) in the Northern Plains. This complex is technologically similar to the Sonota complex (see Neuman 1975) in that in both there is evidence for ceramic manufacture and use, as well as burial mound ceremonialism. The Besant adaptation is thought to be more mobile than the Sonota complex, however, due to numerous similarities, many archaeologists assign Woodland materials from these two complexes to a single Besant/Sonota complex. Reeves should be read in conjunction with Neuman (1975), Johnson and Johnson (1998), and Chomko and Wood (1973).

Reid, R., ed.

Reid edited the Lewis and Clark journals of the expedition of the Corp of Discovery pertaining to their time in what are now the geographic boundaries of the State of North Dakota. Reid redacts the original journal text and compares it to the Biddle redaction. The footnotes fill in crucial gaps in historic knowledge as well as corrections of geography. The notes are also useful in understanding the historic context of the journals.

Robinson, D.

This is one of the classic works on the history of the Dakota, quite indispensable for students of the Dakota and Lakota people. Robinson narrates the history from the time of first recorded European contact with the Dakota from explorers and fur traders to the time of the first Wounded Knee massacre. Particularly interesting are the accounts of the Dakota and Lakota chiefs during their resistance to American settlement and the treaty period that established the beginning of the reservation period.

Root, Matthew J.

Root's research at the Knife River Flint quarries provides many insights into native uses of both the stones and the quarry area from the Paleoindian period (e.g., Folsom) to the contact period. Root hypothesizes that during different periods throughout prehistory native users of the quarries were producing quantities of stone which exceeded their personal needs and were intended for trade. Given the high densities of Knife River Flint at the Knife River villages, Fort Union, and in the Little Missouri Badlands, understanding how different prehistoric groups acquired and used this resource is essential. In addition, Root's work at the Bobtail Wolf Site provides a discussion of the most securely studies Folsom quarry site in North Dakota.


This work edits and compiles the exploration narratives of these European explorers who had made some form of contact with various Native American groups of North America including the Great Lakes region and the Mississippi River valley up to its headwaters. Hennepin's account comes from being held captive by Dakota for several months.


This is perhaps one of the most important first-hand narratives of the upper Missouri River tribes after La Verendrye's as it details the life and interethic relationships of Plains groups at the turn of the nineteenth century. Thompson's and Henry's demographic, political and social commentaries about the tribes they visited, particularly the village tribes, are from the perspective of fur traders but read like a good ethnography. The annotations by Coues are also fantastic and as useful as the original journals.


Maximilian's journal contains important ethnographic descriptions of the manners and customs of tribes that inhabited the upper Missouri River, specifically observations of the
Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara, Assiniboine, and Blackfeet. His descriptions, paired with Karl Bodmer’s paintings, of travel along the Missouri River, the fur trade, and life at Fort Clark and Fort Union are valuable records of a time in the region’s history when much was changing. Especially useful are Maximilian’s descriptions of the physical appearance of individuals, as well as other manners and customs, such as the O-kee-pa ceremony.

Toom, D. L.


Toom, D. L., and M. L Gregg

Toom’s publications offer an excellent introduction to, and summary of, archaeological research conducted in the Middle Missouri subarea of the Northern Great Plains, as well as the culture history of North Dakota. Especially useful are Toom’s reports on the Flaming Arrow site and the Mondrian Tree site which both yield insights into the antiquity of native use of the areas around the Knife River Indian villages and Fort Union. Flaming Arrow is likely an early ancestral Hidatsa site located to the south of KNRI and Mondrian Tree has components from the Plains Archaic through the contact period just to the east of FOUS.

Trimble, Michael K.

In this work, Trimble examines the social processes of disease transmission and its cultural effects in the Northern Plains using ideas from epidemiology, ecology, and
anthropology. He focuses specifically on the smallpox epidemics of 1837-1838 through the use of ethnohistorical documents concerning Fort Clark. This piece is significant because it shows how devastating these epidemics were to the tribes in the area and how the epidemics served to forever alter the cultures and balance of power among tribes in the Dakotas.

Tucker, S. J.

An extraordinary compendium of historic maps of the mid-continent, dating as early as Spanish contact. Of particular significance are Tucker’s annotations for each map, which give the reader a context from which to frame the relative merit and value of the mapped data.

Warhus, M.

This is an extensively annotated compilation of historic maps made by Native Americans. Notably, it includes the Blackfoot map of the upper Missouri River watershed from the Rockies to the Yellowstone River, which was made by Old Swan for Hudson’s Bay Company trader Peter Fidler in 1801. This detailed map, along with White Coyote’s map of the same region, was the basis for planning the expedition of the Corps of Discovery.

Wescott, D., and R. Jantz

This extensive paleoanthropological analysis of Sioux and Assiniboine remains to identify and refine similarities and differences among these populations provides independent evidence for the split of the Assiniboine from the Sioux, placing it much earlier than previously thought. It contributes to clarify many debates, summarized by DeMallie in many chapters of the Handbook of North American Indians (2001) regarding this split. It also places linguistic evidence at odds with ethnohistory and physical anthropology, indicating that populations may continue to speak mutually intelligible languages long after they had separated geographically and genetically.

White, R.

This excellent article looks at Yankton, Yanktonai and Lakota westward expansion and migration of the nineteenth century. Forces pushing the Western Dakota included tribal
warfare with various Ojibwa bands, American settlement, and aggression. Forces pulling Western Dakota to the west included the retreat of the bison herds westward and their eventual near extermination, successful military campaigns against the Missouri River tribes, and the opening of lands due to the tragedy of epidemic diseases that killed many native people along the upper Missouri River.

Will, G. F., and H. J. Spinden

Will, G. F., and T. C. Hecker
1944 The Upper Missouri River Valley Aboriginal Culture in North Dakota. North Dakota Historical Quarterly 2(1-2):5-126.

Work by Will and colleagues is pioneering in that they make great attempts at integrating tribal elders in their archaeological work. As a result, many of their site interpretations, and particularly the identification of archaeological artifacts and their cultural meaning and use, remain current and useful.

Wilson, Gilbert L.


The works of Gilbert Wilson contain a wealth of information on traditional Mandan and Hidatsa lifeways—from the spatial layout of an earthlodge to how to construct an eagle trapping pit. Especially useful are the stories told by Hidatsa and Mandan informants about travel and movement across the landscape which yield insights into Mandan and Hidatsa landscape use and conceptions of territory. Wilson’s descriptions and drawings of traditional technology (e.g., rafts, pipes, pottery) are also invaluable for understanding
and interpreting prehistoric, protohistoric, and contact period archaeological assemblages in the region (e.g., conical timber lodges in THRO, shrines near FOUS, much of the archaeology at KNRI).

1994 Village Sites of the Middle Missouri Subarea A.D. 1000-A.D.1887. Sioux Falls, SD: Archeology Laboratory, Augustana College.

Winham, R. P., and E. J. Lueck

Winham, R. Peter and F. A. Calabrese

Winham’s research, along with his colleagues’ provides a broad regional perspective from which to reconstruct the extent and content of a presence of Middle Missouri Tradition groups in and around KNRI, FOUS, and THRO.

Wood, R. W.


Raymond Wood's outstanding historical and archaeological research in the Northern Plains contains a wealth of information on numerous aspects of the ancestors of historic groups that used the Knife River Indian villages, Fort Union, Little Missouri Badlands and vicinity. Of particular use are his works on the upper Missouri trade system, including discussion of a prehistoric pan-American trade network, the reconstruction of ancestral ties between archaeological manifestations and the historic Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara, Sioux, etc., as well as the detailed study of the Northern Plains fur trade. Many other historical pieces add context and demographic detail to the overall cultural affiliation arguments made in the report.


This volume discusses general cultural patterns throughout the entire Great Plains and summarizes important archaeological sites as well as provides an extensive bibliography. Principally helpful are the chapters on the Northwestern Plains Archaic (Frison 1998), the Plains Woodland (Johnson and Johnson 1998), the Middle Missouri Tradition (Winham and Calabrese 1998), and the Coalescent Tradition (Johnson 1998). This text, along with DeMallie's (2001) edited volume, is the most up to date general syntheses of archaeology for the region.


This volume contains papers that report on archaeological investigations at three sites in the upper Knife-Heart region of North Dakota: the Greenshield site, Ice Glider site, and Washburn Ferry. The Greenshield site is a historic village site used by the Mandan and Arikara. Ice Glider represents a habitation site. Washburn Ferry is a cemetery site with probable Yankton Dakota cultural affiliation that dates to the mid-1800s. The volume is useful because it provides detailed information on artifacts recovered from the area, as well as broader information on cultural trends of the region—with specific discussion of how materials from Greenshield, Ice Glider, and Washburn Ferry may relate to materials at the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site.
Woolworth, A. R.


This report joined with Hickerson and with Hurt contributes to an excellent overview of Dakota and Lakota culture and history. This report specifically deals with the Yankton as Hickerson focuses on the Eastern Dakota. This report is indispensable. In particular, the land of the pipestone quarry is included in this study.
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APPENDIX A
NATIVE AMERICAN ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES
University of Arizona Site Interview Form

***NOTE: You must record a response for every question asked in order for data to be correctly coded – blank spaces are not responses; use NR***

Interview Number: ______________

1. Date: ______________

2. Respondent’s Name: __________________________________________________________


4. Gender: Male Female

5. Date of Birth: ___ / ___ / ___ 5a. Age ___

6. Place of Birth (Town, Reservation): ____________________________ 6a. U.S. State of Birth ____________

7. What is the name of this place in English? 8a. What is the name of this place in your native language?

_____________________________________________________________________________

9. Please describe this area or elements which stand out.

10. Would Indian people have used this area?  1= YES  2= NO  8= Don’t Know  9= No Response
10a. (IF YES) Why or for what purpose would Indian people have used this area?

1 = [permanent] LIVING  2 = HUNTING  3 = [seasonal] CAMPING  4 = CEREMONY/POWER  5 = GATHERING FOOD
6 = WATCHING STARS
7 = OTHER  8 = Don’t Know  9 = No Response

10b. Comments on 10a: (be sure to inquire about each use details)

10c. PERIODICITY: during what season of the year would this area be used?

10d. How often would people come to use this area during the season?

10e. GENDER: Was this area used by all people regardless of gender?
11. Is this place part of a group of connected places (Is this place connected to others?)  
   1=YES  2= NO  8= Don’t Know  
   9= No Response

11a. (IF YES) What kinds of other places might this place be connected with and where are they?  
   1= Comment given  
   8= Don’t Know  9= No Response

11aa. Are there other caves connected to this place?  
   1= YES  2= NO  8= Don’t Know  9= No Response

11aa. (IF ANSWERED 1 to 11a. or aa.) Comments given:

11b. (IF COMMENT GIVEN) How is this place connected to the others you mentioned?  
   1= Comment given  8= Don’t Know  9= No Response

11bb. (IF ANSWERED 1 TO 11b) Comments given:
PLACE FEATURES (Explain you will now begin asking questions about the physical features of the place)

Which, if any, of the following features is an important part of why this place is significant to Indian people?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature Type</th>
<th>1= YES</th>
<th>2= NO</th>
<th>List and Describe each specific feature, like Waterfall, Mormon Tea Plant, Mt. Sheep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12a. Source for Water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12aa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12b. Source for Plants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12bb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12c. Source for Animals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12cc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12d. Evidence of Previous Indian Use</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12dd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.- rock rings, historic structures</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12e. Geological Features</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12ee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.- mountain, spring, landmarks, caves, cones, lava fields</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FOR EACH FEATURE PLEASE FILL OUT APPROPRIATE FEATURE PAGE
FEATURE TYPE A: WATER SOURCE  (List specific feature from table on page 3)

13. Would Indian people have used this _ (Name the feature) _?  1= YES  2= NO  8= Don’t Know  9= No Response

14. (IF YES) Why or for what purpose would Indian people have used this _Feature(s)_?  
   1= FOOD/DRINK  2= MEDICINE  3= CEREMONY  4= OTHER  8= Don’t Know  9= No Response
   14a. Comments:

14b. Do/did the person using this water source have to prepare him/herself in any particular way before or during use?

15. How would you evaluate the condition of the _Feature(s)_?  1= EXCELLENT  2= GOOD  3= FAIR  4=
   POOR  9=No Response

16. Is there anything affecting the condition of the _Feature(s)_?  1= YES  2= NO  8= Don’t Know  9= No Response

16a. (IF YES) What in your opinion, is affecting the condition of __________?
FEATURE TYPE B: PLANT SOURCE (List features from table on page 3)

17. Would Indian people have used the plants at this particular site?  
   1 = YES  2 = NO  8 = Don't Know  9 = No Response

18. (IF YES), Why or for what purpose would Indian people have used these plants?
   1 = FOOD  2 = MEDICINE  3 = CEREMONY  4 = MAKING THINGS  8 = Don't Know  9 = No Response

18a. Comments (if given):

18b. Did/docs the plant have to be prepared in any special way before using it?

18c. Do/did the person using this plant have to prepare him/herself in any particular way before or during use?

19. How would you evaluate the condition of these plants?  
   1 = EXCELLENT  2 = GOOD  3 = FAIR  4 = POOR  9 = No Response

20. Is there anything affecting the condition of these plants?  
   1 = YES  2 = NO  8 = Don't Know  9 = No Response

20a. (IF YES) What in your opinion, is affecting the condition of the plants?
FEATURE TYPE C: ANIMAL/fish  SOURCE (List features from table on page 3)

21. Would Indian people have used the animals at this place?  1 = YES   2 = NO   8 = Don’t Know   9 = No Response

22. Why or for what purpose would Indian people have used the animals in this site?
   1 = FOOD   2 = MEDICINE   3 = CEREMONY   4 = CLOTHING   5 = TOOLS   6 = OTHER   8 = Don’t Know   9 = No Response

22a. Comments:

22b. Did/does the animal/fish have to be prepared in any special way before using it?

22c. Do/did the person using this animal/fish have to prepare him/herself in any particular way before or during use?

23. How would you evaluate the condition of these animals/habitat?  1 = EXCELLENT   2 = GOOD   3 = FAIR   4 = POOR   9 = No Response

24. Is there anything affecting the condition of the animals/habitat?  1 = YES   2 = NO   8 = Don’t Know   9 = No Response

24a. (IF YES) What in your opinion, is affecting the condition of the animals/habitat?
FEATURE TYPE D: EVIDENCE OF PREVIOUS OCCUPATION OR USE (Specifically)

25. Would Indian people have used this site and/or artifacts? 1= YES  2= NO  8= Don’t Know  9= No Response

26. Why or for what purpose would Indian people have used this site and/or artifacts?
   1= LIVING   2= HUNTING   3= GATHERING   4= CAMPING   5= CEREMONY/POWER   6= OTHER   8= Don’t Know   9= No Response

26a. Comments:

26b. Did/does the site/object have to be prepared in any special way before using it?

26c. Do/did the person using this site/artifact have to prepare him/herself in any particular way before or during use?

26d. When artifacts were no longer needed, how were they disposed of?

27. How would you evaluate the condition of this site? 1= EXCELLENT  2= GOOD  3= FAIR  4= POOR  9= No Response

28. Is there anything affecting the condition of this site? 1= YES  2= NO  8= Don’t Know  9= No Response

28a. (IF YES) What in your opinion, is affecting the condition of this site?
FEATURE TYPE E: GEOLOGIC FEATURES  (specifically ____________________________)

29. Would Indian people have visited or used this ____(Feature)__?  
   1 = YES       2 = NO       8 = Don’t Know       9 = No Response

30. Why or for what purpose would Indian people have used this ____(Feature)__?  
   1 = SEEK KNOWLEDGE/POWER       2 = COMMUNICATE WITH OTHER INDIANS       3 = CEREMONY       4 = COMMUNICATE WITH SPIRITUAL BEINGS       5 = TEACHING OTHER INDIANS       6 = TERRITORIAL MARKER       7 = OTHER       8 = Don’t Know       9 = No Response

30a. Comments:

30b. Do/did the person using this site/artifact have to prepare him/herself in any particular way before or during use?

31. How would you evaluate the condition of the ____(Feature)__?  
   1 = EXCELLENT       2 = GOOD       3 = FAIR       4 = POOR       9 = No Response

32. Is there anything affecting the condition of the ____(Feature)__?  
   1 = YES       2 = NO       8 = Don’t Know       9 = No Response

32a. (IF YES) What in your opinion, is affecting the condition of ____(Feature)__?  

   LEARNING / TEACHING

   How did Indian people traditionally learn about places and resources?
How do Indian people learn about places and resources today?

**MANAGEMENT AND ACCESS RECOMMENDATIONS**

33. How would you evaluate the condition of this place?  
   1 = EXCELLENT  2 = GOOD  3 = FAIR  4 = POOR  9 = No Response

34. Is there anything affecting the condition of this place?  
   1 = YES  2 = NO  8 = Don’t Know  9 = No Response

34a. (IF YES) What in your opinion is affecting the condition of this place?

Above you identified specific features at this site. What would be your recommendation for protecting each specific feature?

35. Water Source:

36. Plant Source:

37. Animal Source:

38. Traditional Use Feature:

39. Geological Feature:

40. What would be your recommendation for protecting this place?

41. Do you think Indian people would want to have access to this place?  
   1 = YES  2 = NO  8 = Don’t Know  9 = No Response

41a. (IF YES) Why would Indian people want to come to this place?
42. Are there any special conditions that must be met for Indian people to use this place?  
1 = YES   2 = NO   8 = Don’t Know   9 = No Response

42a. (IF YES) What special conditions are needed for Indian people who want to come to this place?

43. Are there any traditional management practices that would help the animals or plants?  
1 = YES   2 = NO   8 = DK   9 = NR

43a. (IF YES) what would those practices be?

Additional Comments:
LANDSCAPE QUESTIONS – use along with map so people can point at places they talk about

**NOTE: You must record a response for every question asked in order for data to be correctly coded- blank spaces are not responses***

Interview Number: ___________ Tape Number ____________

Date: ___________ Respondent’s Name: __________________________

Tribe/Organization: __________________________ Ethnic Group: __________________________

Gender: Male  Female

Date of Birth: __/__/____  Age ___

Place of Birth (Town, Reservation): __________________________ U.S. State of Birth __________

Study Area / place of interview (ethnographer fill this in): __________________________

(1) Were there Indian villages in relation to this area?

1 =Yes,  2 = No,  8 = Don’t Know,  9= No Response.
(2) If yes, were the area villages connected with villages elsewhere in the Region?
1 = Yes, 2 = No, 8 = Don’t Know, 9 = No Response.

(3) If yes, how were these connected? (KINSHIP, POLITICS, TRADE, ETC)

(4) Do you know what the Indian people did when they were here in the area?
1 = Yes, 2 = No, 8 = Don’t Know, 9 = No Response.

(5) If yes, what kinds of activities -
* farming
* gathering plants
* gambling
* ceremonies
* political meetings
* others (specify)

(6) Do you know of Indian trails that were connected with this area?

1 = Yes, 2 = No, 8 = Don’t Know, 9 = No Response.

(7) If yes, can you tell me something about those trails - like
* where did they go,
* why did your people travel the trails, and
* were these trails somehow special to your people? How?

(8) Do you know of any songs associated with the area?

1 = Yes, 2 = No, 8 = Don’t Know, 9 = No Response.

(9) If yes, can you tell me something about the songs – were they
* traveling songs
ceremony songs, or
* other-purpose songs

(10) Do you know of any ceremonies that were conducted at or near the area?
1 = Yes, 2 = No, 8 = Don't Know, 9 = No Response.

(11) If yes, can you tell me something about these ceremonies?
* Ceremony #1 - place ________________, when ________________, why ____________
* Ceremony #2 - place ________________, when ________________, why ____________
* Ceremony #3 - place ________________, when ________________, why ____________

(12) Is this area near the place where your people were created?
1 = Yes, 2 = No, 8 = Don't Know, 9 = No Response.

(13) If yes, where is the Creation place?
(14) Do you know if there are other places in the Region that are also connected with the Creation of your people?
1 = Yes, 2 = No, 8 = Don’t Know, 9 = No Response.

(15) If yes, what and where are those places?

(16) Do you recall or have you heard about events in history that occurred at or near this area?
1 = Yes, 2 = No, 8 = Don’t Know, 9 = No Response.

(17) Will you tell me something about those events?

* Event #1 - date ________, place ________, what happened?

* Event #2 - date ________, place ________, what happened?

* Event #3 - date ________, place ________, what happened?
(18) Is there a connection between the Missouri/Little Missouri and mountains/other landmarks you can see from here?
1 = Yes, 2 = No, 8 = Don’t Know, 9 = No Response.

(19) If yes, what mountains and how are they connected to rivers?
* Mt. #1: name in English ____________, name in native language ____________, how connected?
* Mt. #2: name in English ____________, name in native language ____________, how connected?
* Mt. #3: name in English ____________, name in native language ____________, how connected?

(20) What particular sections of the Missouri or the Little Missouri are most significant to your people?

* River Section #1: name in English ____________, name in native language ____________, how connected?
* River Section #2: name in English ____________, name in native language ____________, how connected?
* River Section #3: name in English ____________, name in native language ____________, how connected?
(22) Is there any additional connection between this area and other places in the region that we have not already talked about?

1 = Yes, 2 = No, 8 = Don’t Know, 9 = No Response.

(23) If yes, what other connections would you like to talk about?

* Connection #1 - place ________, event ________, connection ________
* Connection #1 - place ________, event ________, connection ________
* Connection #1 - place ________, event ________, connection ________
* Connection #1 - place ________, event ________, connection ________

(24) Is there any other historical event connected to this area that we have not already talked about?

1 = Yes, 2 = No, 8 = Don’t Know, 9 = No Response.

(25) If yes, what other connections would you like to talk about?

* Connection #1 - place ________, event ________, connection ________
* Connection #1 - place ________, event ________, connection ________
* Connection #1 - place ________, event ________, connection ________
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLANTS Common Name</th>
<th>PLANTS Scientific Name</th>
<th>TAT</th>
<th>CROW</th>
<th>ASSINIBOINE</th>
<th>SIOUX</th>
<th>BLACKFOOT</th>
<th>KNRI</th>
<th>FOUS</th>
<th>THRO</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bearberry</td>
<td>Arctostaphylos uva-ursi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bearroot</td>
<td>Hedysarum alpinum</td>
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<td>Bergamot/Beebalm</td>
<td>Monarda fistulosa</td>
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<td>Bitterroot (MT State Flower)</td>
<td>Lewisia rediviva</td>
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<td>Black potato</td>
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<td>Black root</td>
<td>Calix eliocharis</td>
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<td>Buckbrush/Wolfberry</td>
<td>Symphoricarpos occidentalis</td>
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<td>Buffalo berry/Bullberry</td>
<td>Shepherdia argentea</td>
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<td>Buffalo grass</td>
<td>Buchloe dactyloides</td>
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<td>Cactus berry</td>
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<td>Cedar</td>
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<td>Common juniper</td>
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<td>PLANTS Common Name</td>
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<td>Curlycup gumweed</td>
<td>Grindelia squarrosa</td>
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<td>Dandelion</td>
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<td>Green ash</td>
<td>Fraxinus pennsylvanica</td>
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<td>Pinus contorta</td>
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<td>Ponderosa pine</td>
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<td>Populus sp.</td>
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<td>Prairie coneflower</td>
<td>Ratibida columnifera</td>
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<td>Prairie sage</td>
<td>Artemisia ludoviciana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prairie turnip</td>
<td>Psoralea esculenta</td>
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APPENDIX B – ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCE INVENTORY TABLES
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLANTS Common Name</th>
<th>PLANTS Scientific Name</th>
<th>TAT</th>
<th>CROW</th>
<th>ASSINIBOINE</th>
<th>SIOUX</th>
<th>BLACKFOOT</th>
<th>KNRI</th>
<th>FOUS</th>
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<tr>
<td>Puffball mushroom</td>
<td>Lycoperdum gemmatum</td>
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<td>Purple coneflower</td>
<td>Echinacea angustifolia</td>
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<td>Rabbitbrush</td>
<td>Chrysothamnus nauseosus</td>
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<td>Rosehip</td>
<td>Rosa arkansana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rough false pennyroyal</td>
<td>Hedeoma hispida</td>
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<td>Sacred tobacco</td>
<td>Nicotiana sp.</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>Sage</td>
<td>Artemisia sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Skeletonweed</td>
<td>Lygodesmia juncea</td>
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<td>Skunkbush/Fragant sumac</td>
<td>Rhus aromatica</td>
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<td>Snowberry</td>
<td>Symphoricarpus albus</td>
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<td>Spiny saltbush</td>
<td>Atriplex confertiflora</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stiff sunflower</td>
<td>Helianthus rigidus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subalpine fir/Sweet pine</td>
<td>Abies lasiocarpa</td>
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## APPENDIX B – ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCE INVENTORY TABLES

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<td>KNRI</td>
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<td>Scoria</td>
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APPENDIX C – TRADITIONAL RESOURCE USES BY TRIBE
Arikara – Traditional Animal Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>Food Uses</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
<th>FOUS</th>
<th>THRO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American bison (Buffalo) - reintroduced</td>
<td>Bison bison</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Antelope (Pronghorn)</td>
<td>Antilocapra americana</td>
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<td>Catfish</td>
<td>Ictaluridae</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deer (Mule, Black-tailed, White-tailed)</td>
<td>Odocoileus sp.</td>
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<td>Golden eagle</td>
<td>Aquila chrysaetos</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hawk (Various)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Horse (Feral) - introduced</td>
<td>Equus caballus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owl (Great horned)</td>
<td>Bubo virginianus</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owl (Snowy)</td>
<td>Bubo scandiacus</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>Prairie falcon</td>
<td>Falco mexicanus</td>
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* Other uses include: adornments and decorations (clothing, basketry, fletching, etc.), implements for games and amusement, used as payment for trade, water transportation, among others.
# Arikara – Traditional Plant Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
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<th>Food Uses</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
<th>KNRI</th>
<th>FOUS</th>
<th>THRO</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Ash (Green)</td>
<td>Fraxinus pennsylvanica</td>
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<td>Baneberry (red)</td>
<td>Actaea rubra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bearberry (kinnickinnick)</td>
<td>Arctostaphylos uva-ursi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black willow</td>
<td>Salix nigra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Box elder</td>
<td>Acer negundo</td>
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<td>Buffalo berry/Bullberry</td>
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<td>Elm (American)</td>
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<td>Juneberry/Saskatoon/Service berry</td>
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<td>Pine (Lodge pole pine, etc)</td>
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<td>Redosher dogwood/Red willow</td>
<td>Cornus serececa</td>
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<td>Other Uses*</td>
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<td>Rosehip</td>
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<td>grape/Riverbank grape</td>
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<td>Summer pear blossoms</td>
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<td>Sunflower (common, stiff)</td>
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<td>Wild onion/Prairie onion</td>
<td>Allium textile</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wild plum</td>
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* Other uses include: adornments and decorations (clothing, basketry, fletching, etc.), implements for games and amusement, used as payment for trade, water transportation, among others.
## Arikara - Traditional Mineral Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses*</th>
<th>Other Uses**</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Pigments (near Knife River and Fort Stevenson)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black Stone/Soapstone</td>
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<td>Catlinite (Pipestone from Minnesota)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Blue/Gray</td>
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<td>Clay - Green</td>
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<td>Clay - White</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escoria (vulcanic ash)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fossils (ammonites, baculites)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gastrolites</td>
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<tr>
<td>Granite (also used pulverized to harden pottery)</td>
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<td>Gypsum crystals</td>
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<td>Knife River flint</td>
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<td>Lignite Spring Mud</td>
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<td>Pigments - White</td>
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<td>Red Ochre (Badlands)/Vermillion</td>
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<td>Selenite crystals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Steatite (soapstone family)</td>
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* Includes face and body painting for sacred ceremonies, war, doctoring, sacred bundles, sacred pipes

** Decorative uses for pottery, clothing, sun protection, hair products, etc.
# Assiniboine – Traditional Animal Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>Food Uses</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
<th>FOU3</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American bison (Buffalo) - reintroduced</td>
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<td>Antelope (Pronghorn)</td>
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<td>Hares (Prairie, Snowshoe, Jackrabbit)</td>
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<td>Porcupine</td>
<td>Erethizon dorsatum</td>
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<td>Ribes americanum</td>
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<td>Buffalo berry/Bullberry</td>
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<td>Burr oak/Scrub oak</td>
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<td>Pine (Lodge pole pine, etc)</td>
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<td>Redosher dogwood/Red willow</td>
<td>Cornus sericea</td>
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<td>Sour grape/Wild grape/Riverbank grape</td>
<td>Vitis riparia</td>
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<td>Squash (&amp; Pumpkin)</td>
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<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>Nicotiana sp.</td>
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<td>Wild hop</td>
<td>Humulus lupulus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wild plum</td>
<td>Prunus americana</td>
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<td>Wild rhubarb/Common burdock</td>
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</table>

* Other uses include: adornments and decorations (clothing, basketry, fletching, etc.), implements for games and amusement, used as payment for trade, water transportation, among others.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses*</th>
<th>Other Uses**</th>
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<td>Black Pigments (near Knife River and Fort Stevenson)</td>
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<td>Black Stone/Soapstone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catlinite (Pipestone from Minnesota)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Blue/Gray</td>
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<td>Clay - Green</td>
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<td>Clay - Red</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Yellow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - White</td>
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<td>Escoria (vulcanic ash)</td>
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<td>Fossils (ammonites, baculites)</td>
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<td>Gasterolites</td>
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<td>Granite (also used pulverized to harden pottery)</td>
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<td>Gypsum crystals</td>
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<td>Knife River flint</td>
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<td>Lignite Spring Mud</td>
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<td>Potting clay</td>
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<td>Quartz</td>
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<td>Red Ochre (Badlands)/Vermilion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Selenite crystals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Steatite (soapstone family)</td>
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* Includes face and body painting for sacred ceremonies, war, doctoring, sacred bundles, sacred pipes
** Decorative uses for pottery, clothing, sun protection, hair products, etc.
# Blackfeet – Traditional Animal Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>Food Uses</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
<th>FOUS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American bison (Buffalo) - reintroduced</td>
<td>Bison bison</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Antelope (Pronghorn)</td>
<td>Antilocapra americana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Badger</td>
<td>Taxidea taxus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beaver</td>
<td>Castor canadensis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blackbird (Yellow-headed)</td>
<td>Xanthocephalus xanthocephalus</td>
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<td>Coyote</td>
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<td>Crow</td>
<td>Corvus brachyrhynchos</td>
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<td>Duck (Mallards, Various)</td>
<td>Anas sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elk (Wapiti) - reintroduced</td>
<td>Cervus elaphus</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fox (Sweet, Red)</td>
<td>Vulpes sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frogs &amp; Toads</td>
<td>Bufo, Rana, Scaphiopus sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Golden eagle</td>
<td>Aquila chrysaetos</td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goose</td>
<td>Anatidae</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Grizzly bear</td>
<td>Ursus horribilis</td>
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<td>Hawk (Various)</td>
<td>Accipitridae</td>
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<td>Horse (Feral) - introduced</td>
<td>Equus caballus</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Loon</td>
<td>Gavia immer</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lynx</td>
<td>Lynx canadensis</td>
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<td>Magpie (Black-billed)</td>
<td>Pica hudsonia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Meadowlark</td>
<td>Sturnella neglecta</td>
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<td>Moose</td>
<td>Alces alces</td>
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<td>Mountain sheep (Big horn sheep)</td>
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<td>Medicinal Uses</td>
<td>Sacred Uses</td>
<td>Other Uses*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muskrat</td>
<td>Ondatra zibethicus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Otter (River)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Canis lupus</td>
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<td>Wolverine</td>
<td>Gulo gulo</td>
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<td>Woodpecker</td>
<td>Picidae</td>
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* Other uses include: adornments and decorations (clothing, basketry, fletching, etc.), implements for games and amusement, used as payment for trade, water transportation, among others.
## Blackfeet – Traditional Plant Uses

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>Food Uses</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
<th>KNRI</th>
<th>FOU5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ash (Green)</td>
<td>Fraxinus pennsylvanica</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bearberry (kinnickinnick)</td>
<td>Arctostaphylos uva-ursi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buffalo berry/Bullberry</td>
<td>Shepherdia argentea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Choke cherry</td>
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<td>Common juniper</td>
<td>Juniperus communis</td>
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<td>Cottonwood</td>
<td>Populus deltoides</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prairie turnip/Indian breadroot/Tipsin</td>
<td>Psoralea esculenta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puffball mushroom</td>
<td>Lycoperdon gemmatum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Redosher dogwood/Red willow</td>
<td>Cornus sericea</td>
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<td>Rosehip</td>
<td>Rosa arkansana</td>
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<td>Sage</td>
<td>Artemisia sp.</td>
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<td>Sweetgrass</td>
<td>Savastana odorata</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whorled milkweed</td>
<td>Asclepias verticillata</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wild bergamot/Beebalm</td>
<td>Monarda fistulosa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wild carrot</td>
<td>Daucus carota</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wild mint</td>
<td>Mentha arvensis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wild onion/Prairie onion</td>
<td>Allium textile</td>
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<tr>
<td>Willow</td>
<td>Salix sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yarrow</td>
<td>Achillea millefolium</td>
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* Other uses include: adornments and decorations (clothing, basketry, fletching, etc.), implements for games and amusement, used as payment for trade, water transportation, among others.
# Blackfeet – Traditional Mineral Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses*</th>
<th>Other Uses**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Pigments (near Knife River and Fort Stevenson)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Black Stone/Soapstone</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Catlinite (Pipestone from Minnesota)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Blue/Gray</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Green</td>
<td></td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay - Red</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay - Yellow</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay - White</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Escoria (vulcanic ash)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fossils (ammonites, baculites)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gastrolites</td>
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<tr>
<td>Granite (also used pulverized to harden pottery)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gypsum crystals (White)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knife River flint</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lignite Spring Mud</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pigments - Red</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pigments - White</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pigments - Yellow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Potting clay</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pumice</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quartz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Red Ochre (Badlands)/Vermillion</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Selenite crystals</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Steatite (soapstone family)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Includes face and body painting for sacred ceremonies, war, doctoring, sacred bundles, sacred pipes  
** Decorative uses for pottery, clothing, sun protection, hair products, etc.
## Crow – Traditional Animal Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>Food Uses</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
<th>FOUS</th>
<th>THRO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American bison (Buffalo) - reintroduced</td>
<td>Bison bison</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antelope (Pronghorn)</td>
<td>Antilocapra americana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Badger</td>
<td>Taxidea taxus</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coyote</td>
<td>Canis latrans</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Deer (Mule, Black-tailed, White-tailed)</td>
<td>Odocoileus sp.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>Canis familiaris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duck (Mallards, Various)</td>
<td>Anas sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elk (Wapiti) - reintroduced</td>
<td>Cervus elaphus</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Golden eagle</td>
<td>Aquila chrysaetos</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hares (Prairie, Snowshoe, Jackrabbit)</td>
<td>Lepus sp.</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hawk (Various)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Horse (Feral) - introduced</td>
<td>Equus caballus</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mountain sheep (Big horn sheep)</td>
<td>Ovis canadensis californiana</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Otter (River)</td>
<td>Lutra canadensis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owl (Great horned)</td>
<td>Bubo virginianus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rabbit (Cottontail)</td>
<td>Sylvilagus sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Skunk</td>
<td>Mephitis mephitis</td>
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<td>Snakes (Bullsnake, Western Plains, etc)</td>
<td>Colubridae</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swallow</td>
<td>Hirundinidae</td>
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<td>Weasel (Long, Least)</td>
<td>Mustela sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Canis lupus</td>
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<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
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<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
<th>KNRU</th>
<th>FOLS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Fraxinus pennsylvanica</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Box elder</td>
<td>Acer negundo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cedar</td>
<td>Juniperus scopulorum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Choke cherry</td>
<td>Prunus virginiana</td>
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<td>Corn</td>
<td>Zea mays</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hickory</td>
<td>Carya sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Juneberry/Saskatoon/Service berry</td>
<td>Amelanchier alnifolia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pine (Lodge pole pine, etc)</td>
<td>Pinus sp.</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prairie turnip/Indian breadroot/Tipis</td>
<td>Psoralea esculenta</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sage</td>
<td>Artemisia sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sour grape/Wild grape/Riverbank grape</td>
<td>Vitis riparia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Squash (&amp; Pumpkin)</td>
<td>Cucurbita sp.</td>
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<td>Strawberry</td>
<td>Fragaria virginiana</td>
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<td>Sweetgrass</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
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<td>Wild carrot</td>
<td>Daucus carota</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wild plum</td>
<td>Prunus americana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wild rhubarb/Common burdock</td>
<td>Arctium minus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Willow</td>
<td>Salix sp.</td>
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* Other uses include: adornments and decorations (clothing, basketry, fletching, etc.), implements for games and amusement, used as payment for trade, water transportation, among others.
Crow – Traditional Mineral Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses*</th>
<th>Other Uses**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Pigments (near Knife River and Fort Stevenson)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Black Stone/Soapstone</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Catlinite (Pipestone from Minnesota)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Blue/Gray</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Green</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay - Red</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Yellow</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - White</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Escoria (vulcanic ash)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fossils (ammonites, baculites)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gastroites</td>
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<tr>
<td>Granite (also used pulverized to harden pottery)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gypsum crystals (White)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knife River flint</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lignite Spring Mud</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pigments - Red</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pigments - White</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pigments - Yellow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Potting clay</td>
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<td>Pumice</td>
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<td>Quartz</td>
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<tr>
<td>Red Ochre (Badlands)/Vermillion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Selenite crystals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Steatite (soapstone family)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Includes face and body painting for sacred ceremonies, war, doctoring, sacred bundles, sacred pipes
** Decorative uses for pottery, clothing, sun protection, hair products, etc.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>Food Uses</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
<th>FOUS</th>
<th>THRO</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American bison (Buffalo) - reintroduced</td>
<td>Bison bison</td>
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<tr>
<td>Antelope (Pronghorn)</td>
<td>Antilocapra americana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Badger</td>
<td>Taxidea taxus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bald eagle</td>
<td>Haliaeetus leucocephalus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beaver</td>
<td>Castor canadensis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black bear</td>
<td>Ursus americanus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blackbird (Yellow-headed)</td>
<td>Xanthocephalus xanthocephalus</td>
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<td>Catfish</td>
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<td>Coyote</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deer (Mule, Black-tailed, White-tailed)</td>
<td>Odocoileus sp.</td>
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<td>Dog</td>
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<td>Duck (Mallards, Various)</td>
<td>Anas sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elk (Wapiti) - reintroduced</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ferret (Black-footed) - extirpated</td>
<td>Mustela nigripes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fox (Sweet, Red)</td>
<td>Vulpes sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frogs &amp; Toads</td>
<td>Bufo, Rana, Scaphiopus sp.</td>
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<td>Golden eagle</td>
<td>Aquila chrysaetos</td>
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<td>Hawk (Various)</td>
<td>Accipitridae</td>
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<tr>
<td>Horse (Feral) - introduced</td>
<td>Equus caballus</td>
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<td>Magpie (Black-billed)</td>
<td>Pica hudsonia</td>
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<td>Meadowlark</td>
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<td>Mink</td>
<td>Mustela vison</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mountain sheep (Big horn sheep)</td>
<td>Ovis canadensis californiana</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMMON NAME</td>
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<td>Utilitarian Uses</td>
<td>Medicinal Uses</td>
<td>Sacred Uses</td>
<td>Other Uses*</td>
<td>FOURS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mouse &amp; Rats</td>
<td>Peromyscus, Mus,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nootoma sp.</td>
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<td>Otter (River)</td>
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<td>Owl (Great horned)</td>
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<td>Owl (Snowy)</td>
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<td>Rattlesnake (Prairie)</td>
<td>Crotalus viridis</td>
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<td>Raven</td>
<td>Corvus corax</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>Snakes (Bullsnake, Western Plains, etc)</td>
<td>Colubridae</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>Swallow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turtle (Snapping)</td>
<td>Chelydra serpentina</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turtle (Western painted)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weasel (Long, Least)</td>
<td>Mustela sp.</td>
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<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Canis lupus</td>
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<td>Woodpecker</td>
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</table>

* Other uses include: adornments and decorations (clothing, basketry, fletching, etc.), implements for games and amusement, used as payment for trade, water transportation, among others.
### Hidatsa – Traditional Plant Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>Food Uses</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses*</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
<th>KNRI</th>
<th>FOUS</th>
<th>THRO</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ash (Green)</td>
<td>Fraxinus pennsylvanica</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baneberry (red)</td>
<td>Actaea rubra</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buckbrush/Wolfberry</td>
<td>Symphoricarpos occidentalis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cedar</td>
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<td>Choke cherry</td>
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<td>Common juniper</td>
<td>Juniperus communis</td>
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<td>Corn</td>
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<td>Cottonwood</td>
<td>Populus deltoids</td>
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<td>Elm (American)</td>
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<td>Juneberry/Saskatoon/Serviceberry</td>
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<td>Little bluestem</td>
<td>Andropogon scoparius</td>
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<td>Purple coneflower</td>
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<td>Rosehip</td>
<td>Rosa arkansana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sage</td>
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<td>Sandbar willow</td>
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<td>Snakeweed</td>
<td>Gutierrezia sarothrae</td>
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<tr>
<td>Squash (&amp; Pumpkin)</td>
<td>Cucurbita sp.</td>
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<td>Sunflower (common, stiff)</td>
<td>Helianthus annuus, ridigus</td>
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<td>Sweetgrass</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wild mint</td>
<td>Mentha arvensis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wild plum</td>
<td>Prunus americana</td>
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# Hidatsa – Traditional Mineral Uses

<table>
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<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses*</th>
<th>Other Uses**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Pigments (near Knife River and Fort Stevenson)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Black Stone/Soapstone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catlinite (Pipestone from Minnesota)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Blue/Gray</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Green</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Red</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Yellow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - White</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Escoria (vulcanic ash)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fossils (ammonites, baculites)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gastrolites</td>
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<tr>
<td>Granite (also used pulverized to harden pottery)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gypsum crystals (White)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knife River flint</td>
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<td>Lignite Spring Mud</td>
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<td>Pigments - Red</td>
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<td>Pigments - White</td>
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<td>Pigments - Yellow</td>
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<td>Potting clay</td>
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<td>Pumice</td>
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<td>Quartz</td>
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<tr>
<td>Red Ochre (Badlands)/Vermilion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Selenite crystals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Steatite (soapstone family)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Includes face and body painting for sacred ceremonies, war, doctoring, sacred bundles, sacred pipes

** Decorative uses for pottery, clothing, sun protection, hair products, etc.
## Mandan - Traditional Animal Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>Food Uses</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
<th>FOUS</th>
<th>THRO</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American bison (Buffalo) - reintroduced</td>
<td>Bison bison</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Badger</td>
<td>Taxidea taxus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bald eagle</td>
<td>Haliaeetus leucocephalus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>Ursus sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black bear</td>
<td>Ursus americanus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blackbird (Yellow-headed)</td>
<td>Xanthocephalus xanthocephalus</td>
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<td>Bobcat</td>
<td>Lynx rufus</td>
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<td>Crane (Sandhill)</td>
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<td>Coyote</td>
<td>Canis latrans</td>
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<td>Deer (Mule, Black-tailed, White-tailed)</td>
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<td>Dentalium (Mollusk)</td>
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<td>Duck (Mallards, Various)</td>
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<td>Eagle</td>
<td>Buteoninae</td>
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<td>Elk (Wapiti) - reintroduced</td>
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<td>Elk</td>
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<td>Ferret (Black-footed) - extirpated</td>
<td>Mustela nigripes</td>
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<td>Fox (Sweet, Red)</td>
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<td>Golden eagle</td>
<td>Aquila chrysaetos</td>
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<td>Grizzly bear</td>
<td>Ursus horribilis</td>
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<td>Gulf (Ring-billed, Franklin, California)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hares (Prairie, Snowshoe, Jackrabbit)</td>
<td>Lepus sp.</td>
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<td>Sacred Uses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hawk (Various)</td>
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<td>Horse (Feral) - introduced</td>
<td>Equus caballus</td>
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<td>Magpie (Black-billed)</td>
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<td>Marten</td>
<td>Martes americana</td>
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<td>Meadowlark</td>
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<td>Mink</td>
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<td>Otter (River)</td>
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<td>Owl (Great horned)</td>
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<td>Owl (Snowy)</td>
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<td>Rabbit (Cottontail)</td>
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<td>Skunk</td>
<td>Mephitis mephitis</td>
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<td>Snakes (Bullsnake, Western Plains, etc)</td>
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<td>Swan (Whistling)</td>
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<td>Teal (Blue-winged)</td>
<td>Anas discors</td>
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<td>Turtle (Western painted)</td>
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<td>Wolf</td>
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</table>

* Other uses include: adornments and decorations (clothing, basketry, fletching, etc.), implements for games and amusement, used as payment for trade, water transportation, among others.
# Mandan – Traditional Plant Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>Food Uses</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Buffalo berry/Bullberry</td>
<td>Shepherdia argentea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Choke cherry</td>
<td>Prunus virginiana</td>
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<td>Corn</td>
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<td>Dotted blazing star</td>
<td>Liatris punctata</td>
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<td>Dotted gayfeather</td>
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<td>Elm (American)</td>
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<td>Fringed sage</td>
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<td>Goldenrod</td>
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<td>Juneberry/Saskatoon/Service berry</td>
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<td>Kentucky bluegrass</td>
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<td>Lamb’s quarter</td>
<td>Chenopodium album</td>
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<td>Long-fruitied anemone/Cottonweed</td>
<td>Anemone cylindrica</td>
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<td>Mare’s tail</td>
<td>Hippuns vulgaris</td>
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<td>Marsh Elder</td>
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<td>Mescal beans</td>
<td>Sophora secundiflora</td>
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<td>Pine (Lodge pole pine, etc)</td>
<td>Pinus sp.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Mertensia lanceolata</td>
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<td>Prairie sage</td>
<td>Artemisia ludoviciana</td>
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<td>Puffball mushroom</td>
<td>Lycoperdon gemmatum</td>
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<td>Medicinal Uses</td>
<td>Sacred Uses</td>
<td>Other Uses*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Skeletonweed</td>
<td>Lygodesmia juncea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Squash (&amp; Pumpkin)</td>
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<td>Sweet flag</td>
<td>Acorus americanus</td>
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<td>Savastana odorata</td>
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<td>Western wheatgrass</td>
<td>Agropyron smithii</td>
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<td>Wild bergamot/Beebalm</td>
<td>Monarda fistulosa</td>
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<td>Wild licorice</td>
<td>Glycyrrhiza lepidota</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wild prairie aster</td>
<td>Aster erioides</td>
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<td>Wild prairie rose</td>
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<td>Willow</td>
<td>Salix sp.</td>
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* Other uses include: adornments and decorations (clothing, basketry, fletching, etc.), implements for games and amusement, used as payment for trade, water transportation, among others.
## Mandan – Traditional Mineral Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses*</th>
<th>Other Uses**</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Pigments (near Knife River and Fort Stevenson)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Black Stone/Soapstone</td>
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<td>Catlinite (Pipestone from Minnesota)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Blue/Gray</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Green</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Red</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - Yellow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay - White</td>
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<tr>
<td>Escoria (vulcanic ash)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fossils (ammonites, baculites)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gastrolites</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Granite (also used pulverized to harden pottery)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gypsum crystals (White)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knife River flint</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lignite Spring Mud</td>
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<td>Pigments - Red</td>
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<td>Potting clay</td>
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<td>Pumice</td>
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<td>Quartz</td>
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<td>Red Ochre (Badlands)/Vermilion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Selenite crystals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Steatite (soapstone family)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Includes face and body painting for sacred ceremonies, war, doctoring, sacred bundles, sacred pipes

** Decorative uses for pottery, clothing, sun protection, hair products, etc.
# Plains Chippewa – Traditional Animal Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>Food Uses</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
<th>FOUS</th>
<th>THRO</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American bison (Buffalo) - reintroduced</td>
<td>Bison bison</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black bear</td>
<td>Ursus americanus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bobcat</td>
<td>Lynx rufus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coyote</td>
<td>Canis latrans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crow</td>
<td>Corvus brachyrhynchos</td>
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<tr>
<td>Golden eagle</td>
<td>Aquila chrysaetos</td>
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<tr>
<td>Horse (Feral) - introduced</td>
<td>Equus caballus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loon</td>
<td>Gavia immer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lynx</td>
<td>Lynx canadensis</td>
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<td>Moose</td>
<td>Alces alces</td>
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<td>Prairie chicken</td>
<td>Tympanuchus cupido</td>
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<tr>
<td>Raven</td>
<td>Corvus corax</td>
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<td>Squirrel (Northern flying)</td>
<td>Glaucomys sabrinus</td>
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<td>Turtle (Snapping)</td>
<td>Chelydra serpentina</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turtle (Western painted)</td>
<td>Chrysemys pida</td>
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<td>Wolf</td>
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<td>Gulo gulo</td>
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* Other uses include: adornments and decorations (clothing, basketry, fletching, etc.), implements for games and amusement, used as payment for trade, water transportation, among others.
## Plains Chippewa – Traditional Plant Uses

<table>
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<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
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<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
<th>KNRI</th>
<th>FOUS</th>
<th>THRO</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ash (Green)</td>
<td>Fraxinus pennsylvanica</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bearberry (kinnickinrick)</td>
<td>Arctostaphylos uva-ursi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Box elder</td>
<td>Acer negundo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burr oak/Scrub oak</td>
<td>Quercus macrocarpa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Choke cherry</td>
<td>Prunus virginiana</td>
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<td>Common juniper</td>
<td>Juniperus communis</td>
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<td>Cottonwood</td>
<td>Populus deltoides</td>
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<td>Dandelion</td>
<td>Taraxacum officinale</td>
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<td>Elm (American)</td>
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<td>False Solomon's seal</td>
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<td>Indian paintbrush</td>
<td>Castilleja sessiliflora</td>
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<tr>
<td>Juneberry/Saskatoon/Service berry</td>
<td>Amelanchier alnifolia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pine (Lodge pole pine, etc)</td>
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<td>Prairie turnip/Indian breadroot/Tipsin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Red haw</td>
<td>Crataegus sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Redosher dogwood/Red willow</td>
<td>Cornus serecca</td>
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<td>Sage</td>
<td>Artemisia sp.</td>
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<td>Sandbar willow</td>
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<td>Spreading dogbane</td>
<td>Apocynum undrosaemifolium</td>
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<td>Sweetgrass</td>
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<td>Wild carrot</td>
<td>Daucus carota</td>
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<td>Wild onion/Prairie onion</td>
<td>Allium textile</td>
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<td>Wild plum</td>
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<td>Wild prairie rose</td>
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<td>Wild rhubarb/Common burdock</td>
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<td>Achillea millefolium</td>
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* Other uses include: adornments and decorations (clothing, basketry, fletching, etc.), implements for games and amusement, used as payment for trade, water transportation, among others.
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<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
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<th>Food Uses</th>
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<th>Sacred Uses</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
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* Other uses include: adornments and decorations (clothing, basketry, fletching, etc.), implements for games and amusement, used as payment for trade, water transportation, among others.
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small redroot</td>
<td>Ceanothus ovata</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smooth sumac</td>
<td>Rhus glabra</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snakeweed/Broomweed</td>
<td>Gutierrezia sarothrae</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMMON NAME</td>
<td>SCIENTIFIC NAME</td>
<td>Food Uses</td>
<td>Utilitarian Uses</td>
<td>Medicinal Uses</td>
<td>Sacred Uses</td>
<td>Other Uses*</td>
<td>KNRI</td>
<td>FOUS</td>
<td>THRO</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snow-on-the-mountain</td>
<td>Euphorbia marginata</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stinging nettle</td>
<td>Urtica dioica</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strawberry</td>
<td>Fragaria virginiana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet flag</td>
<td>Acorus calamus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweetgrass</td>
<td>Savastana odorata</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>Nicotiana sp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia mountain mint</td>
<td>Pycnanthemum virginianum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water dock</td>
<td>Rumex altissimus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water lily</td>
<td>Nymphaea ca</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water parsnip</td>
<td>Sium sauve</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western false gromwell</td>
<td>Onosmodium occidentale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western virgin's bower</td>
<td>Clematis ligusticifolia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western wallflower</td>
<td>Erysimum asperum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild bergamot/Beebalm</td>
<td>Monarda fistulosa</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild cherry</td>
<td>Prunus besseyi</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild four-o'clock</td>
<td>Mirabilis nyctaginea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild licorice</td>
<td>Glycyrrhiza lepidota</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild mint</td>
<td>Mentha arvensis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild parsley</td>
<td>Lomatium orientale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild plum</td>
<td>Prunus americana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild prairie rose</td>
<td>Rosa arkansana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild rice</td>
<td>Zizania aquatica</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willow</td>
<td>Salix sp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Other Uses: 'X' indicates a use described in the text.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>Food Uses</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses</th>
<th>Other Uses*</th>
<th>KNRI</th>
<th>FOUS</th>
<th>THRO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wooly white hymenopappus</td>
<td>Hymenopappus tenuifolius</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wormwood</td>
<td>Artemisia sp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yarrow</td>
<td>Achillea millefolium</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yucca</td>
<td>Yucca glauca</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Other uses include: adornments and decorations (clothing, basketry, fletching, etc.), implements for games and amusement, used as payment for trade, water transportation, among others.
Sioux – Traditional Mineral Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>Utilitarian Uses</th>
<th>Medicinal Uses</th>
<th>Sacred Uses*</th>
<th>Other Uses**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Pigments (near Knife River and Fort Stevenson)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Stone/Soapstone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catlinite (Pipestone from Minnesota)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay - Blue/Gray</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay - Green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay - Red</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay - Yellow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay - White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escoria (vulcanic ash)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fossils (ammonites, baculites)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gastrolites</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granite (also used pulverized to harden pottery)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gypsum crystals (White)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knife River flint</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lignite Spring Mud</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigments - Red</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigments - White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigments - Yellow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potting clay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pumice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Ochre (Badlands)/Vermilion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selenite crystals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes face and body painting for sacred ceremonies, war, doctoring, sacred bundles, sacred pipes

** Decorative uses for pottery, clothing, sun protection, hair products, etc.
Location of park units (pink circles) in relationship to the treaty of Ft. Laramie
TREATY OF FORT LARAMIE WITH SIOUX, ETC., 1851.
Sept. 17, 1851. | 11 Stats., p. 749.

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Fort Laramie, in the Indian Territory, between D. D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs, and Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian agent, commissioners specially appointed and authorized by the President of the United States, of the first part, and the chiefs, headmen, and braves of the following Indian nations, residing south of the Missouri River, east of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the lines of Texas and New Mexico, viz, the Sioux or Dahcotahs, Cheyennes, Arrapahoes, Crows, Assinaboines, Gros-Ventre Mandans, and Arrickaras, parties of the second part, on the seventeenth day of September, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.

ARTICLE 1.

The aforesaid nations, parties to this treaty, having assembled for the purpose of establishing and confirming peaceful relations amongst themselves, do hereby covenant and agree to abstain in future from all hostilities whatever against each other, to maintain good faith and friendship in all their mutual intercourse, and to make an effective and lasting peace.

ARTICLE 2.

The aforesaid nations do hereby recognize the right of the United States Government to establish roads, military and other posts, within their respective territories.

ARTICLE 3.

In consideration of the rights and privileges acknowledged in the preceding article, the United States bind themselves to protect the aforesaid Indian nations against the commission of all depredations by the people of the said United States, after the ratification of this treaty.

ARTICLE 4.

The aforesaid Indian nations do hereby agree and bind themselves to make restitution or satisfaction for any wrongs committed, after the ratification of this treaty, by any band or individual of their people, on the people of the United States, whilst lawfully residing in or passing through their respective territories.

ARTICLE 5.

The aforesaid Indian nations do hereby recognize and acknowledge the following tracts of country, included within the metes and boundaries hereinafter designated, as their respective territories, viz:

The territory of the Sioux or Dahcotah Nation, commencing the mouth of the White Earth River, on the Missouri River: thence in a southwesterly direction to the forks of the Platte River: thence up the north fork of the Platte River to a point known as the Red Bute, or where the road leaves the river; thence along the range of mountains known as the Black Hills, to the head-waters of Heart River; thence down Heart River to its mouth; and thence down the Missouri River to the place of beginning.

The territory of the Gros Ventre, Mandans, and Arrickaras Nations, commencing at the mouth of Heart River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Yellowstone River; thence up the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Powder River in a southeasterly direction,
to the head-waters of the Little Missouri River; thence along the Black Hills to the head of Heart River, and thence down Heart River to the place of beginning.
The territory of the Assinaboin Nation, commencing at the mouth of Yellowstone River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Muscle-shell River; thence from the mouth of the Muscle-shell River in a southeasterly direction until it strikes the head-waters of

*This treaty as signed was ratified by the Senate with an amendment changing the annuity in Article 7 from fifty to ten years, subject to acceptance by the tribes. Assent of all tribes except the Crows was procured (see Upper Platte C., 570, 1853, Indian Office) and in subsequent agreements this treaty has been recognized as in force (see post p. 776).*

Big Dry Creek; thence down that creek to where it empties into the Yellowstone River, nearly opposite the mouth of Powder River, and thence down the Yellowstone River to the place of beginning.
The territory of the Blackfoot Nation, commencing at the mouth of Muscle-shell River; thence up the Missouri River to its source; thence along the main range of the Rocky Mountains, in a southerly direction, to the head-waters of the northern source of the Yellowstone River; thence down the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Twenty-five Yard Creek; thence across to the head-waters of the Muscle-shell River, and thence down the Muscle-shell River to the place of beginning.
The territory of the Crow Nation, commencing at the mouth of Powder River on the Yellowstone; thence up Powder River to its source; thence along the main range of the Black Hills and Wind River Mountains to the head-waters of the Yellowstone River; thence down the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Twenty-five Yard Creek; thence to the head-waters of the Muscle-shell River; thence down the Muscle-shell River to its mouth; thence to the head-waters of Big Dry Creek, and thence to its mouth.
The territory of the Cheyennes and Arrapahoes, commencing at the Red Bute, or the place where the road leaves the north fork of the Platte River; thence up the north fork of the Platte River to its source; thence along the main range of the Rocky Mountains to the head-waters of the Arkansas River; thence down the Arkansas River to the crossing of the Santa Fé road; thence in a northwesterly direction to the forks of the Platte River, and thence up the Platte River to the place of beginning.

*It is, however, understood that, in making this recognition and acknowledgement, the aforesaid Indian nations do not hereby abandon or prejudice any rights or claims they may have to other lands; and further, that they do not surrender the privilege of hunting, fishing, or passing over any of the tracts of country heretofore described.*

**ARTICLE 6.**

The parties to the second part of this treaty having selected principals or head-chiefs for their respective nations, through whom all national business will hereafter be conducted, do hereby bind themselves to sustain said chiefs and their successors during good behavior.

**ARTICLE 7.**

In consideration of the treaty stipulations, and for the damages which have or may occur by reason thereof to the Indian nations, parties hereto, and for their maintenance and the improvement of their moral and social customs, the United States bind themselves to deliver to the said Indian nations the sum of fifty thousand dollars per annum for the term of ten
years, with the right to continue the same at the discretion of the President of the United States for a period not exceeding five years thereafter, in provisions, merchandise, domestic animals, and agricultural implements, in such proportions as may be deemed best adapted to their condition by the President of the United States, to be distributed in proportion to the population of the aforesaid Indian nations.

ARTICLE 8.

It is understood and agreed that should any of the Indian nations, parties to this treaty, violate any of the provisions thereof, the United States may withhold the whole or a portion of the annuities mentioned in the preceding article from the nation so offending, until, in the opinion of the President of the United States, proper satisfaction shall have been made.

In testimony whereof the said D. D. Mitchell and Thomas Fitzpatrick commissioners as aforesaid, and the chiefs, headmen, and braves, parties hereto, have set their hands and affixed their marks, on the day and at the place first above written.

D. D. Mitchell
Thomas Fitzpatrick
Commissioners.

Sioux:
Mah-toe-wha-you-whey, his x mark.
Mah-kah-toe-zah-zah, his x mark.
Bel-o-ton-kah-tan-ga, his x mark.
Nah-ka-poh-gi-gi, his x mark.
Mak-toe-sah-bi-chis, his x mark.
Meh-wha-tah-ni-hans-kah, his x mark.

Cheyennes:
Wah-ha-nis-satta, his x mark.
Voist-ti-toe-vetz, his x mark.
Nahk-ko-me-i-en, his x mark.
Koh-kah-y-wh-cum-est, his x mark.

Arrapahoes:
Be-ah-te-a-qui-sah, his x mark.
Neb-ni-bah-seh-it, his x mark.
Beh-kah-jay-beth-sah-es, his x mark.

Crows:
Arra-tu-ri-sash, his x mark.
Doh-chepit-seh-chi-es, his x mark.

Assinaboines:
Mah-toe-wit-ko, his x mark.
Toe-tah-ki-eh-nan, his x mark.

Mandans and Gros Ventres:
Nochk-pit-shi-toe-pish, his x mark.
She-oh-mant-ho, his x mark.
Arickarees:
Koun-hei-ti-shan, his x mark.
Bi-atch-tah-wetch, his x mark.

In the presence of—
A. B. Chambers, secretary.
S. Cooper, colonel, U. S. Army.
R. H. Chilton, captain, First Drags.
Thomas Duncan, captain, Mounted Riflemen.
Thos. G. Rhett, brevet captain R. M. R.
W. L. Elliott, first lieutenant R. M. R.
C. Campbell, interpreter for Sioux.
John S. Smith, interpreter for Cheyennes.
Robert Meldrum, interpreter for the Crows.
H. Culbertson, interpreter for Assiniboines and Gros Ventres.
Francois L'Etalie, interpreter for Arickarees.
John Pizelle, interpreter for the Arrapahoes.
B. Gratz Brown.
Robert Campbell.
Edmond F. Chouteau
TREATY WITH THE ARIKARA TRIBE, 1825.
July 18, 1825. | 7 Stat., 259. | Proclamation, Feb. 6, 1826.

To put an end to an unprovoked hostility on the part of the Ricara Tribe of Indians against the United States, and to restore harmony between the parties, the President of the United States, by Brigadier-general Henry Atkinson, of the United States' Army, and Major Benjamin O'Fallon, Indian Agent, Commissioners duly appointed and commissioned to treat with the Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi river, give peace to the said Ricara Tribe; the Chiefs and Warriors thereof having first made suitable concessions for the offence. And, for the purpose of removing all further or future cause of misunderstanding as respects trade and friendly intercourse between the parties, the above named Commissioners on the part of the United States, and the undersigned Chiefs and Warriors of the Ricara Tribe of Indians on the part of said Tribe, have made and entered into the following articles and conditions, which, when ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall be binding on both parties, to wit:

ARTICLE 1.

Henceforth there shall be a firm and lasting peace between the United States and the Ricara tribe of Indians; and a friendly intercourse shall immediately take place between the parties.

ARTICLE 2.

It is admitted by the Ricara tribe of Indians, that they reside within the territorial limits of the United States, acknowledge their supremacy, and claim their protection. The said tribe also admit the right of the United States to regulate all trade and intercourse with them.

ARTICLE 3.

The United States agree to receive the Ricara tribe of Indians into their friendship, and under their protection, and to extend to them, from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient and seem just and proper to the President of the United States.

ARTICLE 4.

All trade and intercourse with the Ricara tribe shall be transacted at such place or places as may be designated and pointed out by the President of the United States, through his agents; and none but American citizens, duly authorized by the United States, shall be admitted to trade or hold intercourse with said tribe of Indians.

ARTICLE 5.

That the Ricara tribe may be accommodated with such articles of merchandise, &c. as their necessities may demand, the United States agree to admit and license traders to hold intercourse with said tribe, under mild and equitable regulations: in consideration of which, the Ricara tribe bind themselves to extend protection to the persons and the property of the traders, and the persons legally employed under them, while they remain within the limits of their district of country. And the said Ricara tribe further agree, that if any foreigner or other person, not legally authorized by the United States, shall come into their district of country for the purposes of trade or other views, they will apprehend such person or persons, and
deliver him or them to some United States' superintendent or agent of Indian Affairs, or to the
commandant of the nearest military post, to be dealt with according to law. And they further
agree to give safe conduct to all persons who may be legally authorized by the United States
to pass through their country, and to protect in their persons and property all agents or other
persons sent by the United States to reside temporarily among them.

ARTICLE 6.

That the friendship which is now established between the United States and the Ricara tribe,
shall not be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, it is hereby agreed, that for injuries
done by individuals, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place, but instead thereof,
complaints shall be made, by the party injured, to the superintendent or agent of Indian
affairs or other person appointed by the President; and it shall be the duty of the said Chiefs,
upon complaint being made as aforesaid, to deliver up the person or persons against whom
the complaint is made, to the end that he or they may be punished, agreeably to the laws of
the United States. And, in like manner, if any robbery, violence, or murder, shall be
committed on any Indian or Indians belonging to said tribe, the person or persons so
offending shall be tried, and, if found guilty, shall be punished in like manner as if the injury
had been done to a white man. And it is agreed, that the Chiefs of the said Ricara tribe shall,
to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to recover horses or other property, which
may be stolen or taken from any citizen or citizens of the United States, by any individual or
individuals of said tribe; and the property so recovered shall be forthwith delivered to the
agents or other person authorized to receive it, that it may be restored to the proper owner.
And the United States hereby guaranty to any Indian or Indians of said tribe, a full
indemnification for any horses or other property which may be stolen from them by any of
their citizens: Provided, That the property so stolen cannot be recovered, and that sufficient
proof is produced that it was actually stolen by a citizen of the United States. And the said
Ricara tribe engage, on the requisition or demand of the President of the United States, or of
the agents, to deliver up any white man resident among them.

ARTICLE 7.

And the Chiefs and Warriors, as aforesaid, promise and engage that their tribe will never, by
sale, exchange, or as presents, supply any nation, tribe, or bands of Indians, not in amity
with the United States, with guns, ammunition, or other implements of war.

Done at the Ricara village, this eighteenth day of July, A. D. 1825, and of the independence
of the United States the fiftieth.
In testimony whereof, the said commissioners, Henry Atkinson and Benjamin O'Fallon, and
the chiefs, head men, and warriors of the Ricara tribe of Indians, have hereunto set their
hands and affixed their seals.

H. Atkinson, brigadier-general U. S. Army, [L. S.]

Benj. O'Fallon, United States agent Indian affairs, [L. S.]

Chiefs:
Stan-au-pat, the bloody hand, his x mark, [L. S.]

Ca-car-we-ta, the little bear, his x mark, [L. S.]

Scar-e-naus, the skunk, his x mark, [L. S.]

Chan-son-nah, the fool chief, his x mark, [L. S.]

Chan-no-te-ne-na, the chief that is afraid, his x mark, [L. S.]

Coon-ca-ne-nos-see, the bad bear, his x mark, [L. S.]

**Warriors:**

En-hah-pe-tar, the two nights, his x mark, [L. S.]

Ca-ca-ne-show, the crow chief, his x mark, [L. S.]

Pah-can-wah, the old head, his x mark, [L. S.]

Wah-ta-an, the light in the night, his x mark, [L. S.]

Hon-eh-cooh, the buffalo that urinates and smells it, his x mark, [L. S.]

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Ta-hah-son, the lip of the old buffalo, his x mark, [L. S.]

Coo-wooh-war-e-scoon-hoon, the long haired bear, his x mark, [L. S.]

Ne-sha-non-nack, the chief by himself, his x mark, [L. S.]

Ah-ree-squish, the buffalo that has horns, his x mark, [L. S.]

 Ou-cous-non-nair, the good buffalo, his x mark, [L. S.]

Nack-sa-nou-wees, the dead heart, his x mark, [L. S.]

Pah-too-car-rah, the man that strikes, his x mark, [L. S.]

Toon-high-ouh, the man that runs, his x mark, [L. S.]

Car-car-wee-as, the heart of the crow, his x mark, [L. S.]

**In the presence of—**

A. L. Langham, secretary to the commission,
H. Leavenworth, colonel U. S. Army,

S. W. Kearny, brevet major First Infantry,

D. Ketchum, major U. S. Army,

Wm. Armstrong, captain Sixth Regiment Infantry,

B. Riley, captain Sixth Infantry,

John Gantt, captain Sixth Infantry,

G. C. Spencer, captain First Infantry,

R. B. Mason, captain First Infantry,

W. S. Harney, lieutenant First Infantry,

John Gale, surgeon U. S. Army,

R. M. Coleman, U. S. Army,

S. Wragg, adjutant First Regiment Infantry,

S. Mac Ree, lieutenant aid de camp,

R. Holmes, lieutenant Sixth Infantry,

R. H. Stuart, lieutenant First Infantry,

Jas. W. Kingsbury, lieutenant First Regiment Infantry,

Levi Nute, lieutenant U. S. Army,

W. L. Harris, lieutenant First Infantry,

G. H. Kennerly, U. S. special Indian agent,

P. Wilson, U. S. special Indian agent,

Antoine Garreau, his x mark, interpreter,

Joseph Garreau, his x mark, interpreter,

Pierre Garreau, his x mark.
TREATY WITH THE CROWS, 1868.

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Fort Laramie, Dakota Territory, on the seventh day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, by and between the undersigned commissioners on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs and head-men of and representing the Crow Indians, they being duly authorized to act in the premises.

ARTICLE 1.

From this day forward peace between the parties to this treaty shall forever continue. The Government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they hereby pledge their honor to maintain it. If bad men among the whites or among other people, subject to the authority of the United States, shall commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians, the United States will, upon proof made to the agent and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington City, proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States, and also re-imburse the injured person for the loss sustained.

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of any one, white, black, or Indian, subject to the authority of the United States and at peace therewith, the Indians herein named solemnly agree that they will, on proof made to their agent and notice by him, deliver up the wrong-doer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to its laws; and in case they refuse willfully so to do the person injured shall be re-imburse for his loss from the annuities or other moneys due or to become due to them under this or other treaties made with the United States. And the President, on advising with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shall prescribe such rules and regulations for ascertaining damages under the provisions of this article as in his judgment may be proper. But no such damages shall be adjusted and paid until thoroughly examined and passed upon by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and no one sustaining loss while violating, or because of his violating, the provisions of this treaty or the laws of the United States shall be re-imburse therefor.

ARTICLE 2.

The United States agrees that the following district of country, to wit: commencing where the 107th degree of longitude west of Greenwich crosses the south boundary of Montana Territory; thence north along said 107th meridian to the mid-channel of the Yellowstone River; thence up said mid-channel of the Yellowstone to the point where it crosses the said southern boundary of Montana, being the 45th degree of north latitude; and thence east along said parallel of latitude to the place of beginning, shall be, and the same is, set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit amongst them; and the United States now solemnly agrees that no persons, except those herein designated and authorized so to do, and except such officers, agents, and employees of the Government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article for the use of said Indians, and henceforth they will, and do hereby, relinquish all title, claims, or rights in and to any
portion of the territory of the United States, except such as is embraced within the limits aforesaid.

ARTICLE 3.

The United States agrees, at its own proper expense, to construct on the south side of the Yellowstone, near Otter Creek,

a warehouse or store-room for the use of the agent in storing goods belonging to the Indians, to cost not exceeding twenty-five hundred dollars; an agency-building for the residence of the agent, to cost not exceeding three thousand dollars; a residence for the physician, to cost not more than three thousand dollars; and five other buildings, for a carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, Miller, and engineer, each to cost not exceeding two thousand dollars; also a school-house or mission-building, so soon as a sufficient number of children can be induced by the agent to attend school, which shall not cost exceeding twenty-five hundred dollars.

The United States agrees further to cause to be erected on said reservation, near the other buildings herein authorized, a good steam circular saw-mill, with a grist-mill and shingle-machine attached, the same to cost not exceeding eight thousand dollars.

ARTICLE 4.

The Indians herein named agree, when the agency-house and other buildings shall be constructed on the reservation named, they will make said reservation their permanent home, and they will make no permanent settlement elsewhere, but they shall have the right to hunt on the unoccupied lands of the United States so long as game may be found thereon, and as long as peace subsists among the whites and Indians on the borders of the hunting districts.

ARTICLE 5.

The United States agrees that the agent for said Indians shall in the future make his home at the agency-building; that he shall reside among them, and keep an office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent inquiry into such matters of complaint, by and against the Indians, as may be presented for investigation under the provisions of their treaty stipulations, as also for the faithful discharge of other duties enjoined on him by law. In all cases of depredation on person or property, he shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded, together with his finding, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose decision shall be binding on the parties to this treaty.

ARTICLE 6.

If any individual belonging to said tribes of Indians, or legally incorporated with them, being the head of a family, shall desire to commence farming, he shall have the privilege to select, in the presence and with the assistance of the agent then in charge, a tract of land within said reservation, not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres in extent, which tract, when so selected, certified, and recorded in the "land book," as herein directed, shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive possession of the person selecting it, and of his family, so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it.
Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family, may in like manner select and cause to be certified to him or her, for purposes of cultivation, a quantity of land not exceeding eighty acres in extent, and thereupon be entitled to the exclusive possession of the same as above directed.

For each tract of land so selected a certificate, containing a description thereof and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate endorsed thereon that the same has been recorded, shall be delivered to the party entitled to it by the agent, after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his office, subject to inspection, which said book shall be known as the "Crow land book."

The President may at any time order a survey of the reservation, and, when so surveyed, Congress shall provide for protecting the rights of settlers in their improvements, and may fix the character of the title held by each. The United States may pass such laws on the subject of alienation and descent of property as between Indians, and on all subjects connected with the government of the Indians on said reservations and the internal police thereof, as may be thought proper.

ARTICLE 7.

In order to insure the civilization of the tribe entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially by such of them as are, or may be, settled on said agricultural reservation; and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every thirty children, between said ages, who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher, competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education, shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for twenty years.

ARTICLE 8.

When the head of a family or lodge shall have selected lands and received his certificate as above directed, and the agent shall be satisfied that he intends in good faith to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be entitled to receive seed and agricultural implements for the first year in value one hundred dollars, and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for a period of three years more, he shall be entitled to receive seed and implements as aforesaid in value twenty-five dollars per annum.

And it is further stipulated that such persons as commence farming shall receive instructions from the farmer herein provided for, and whenever more than one hundred persons shall enter upon the cultivation of the soil, a second blacksmith shall be provided, with such iron, steel, and other material as may be required.

ARTICLE 9.

In lieu of all sums of money or other annuities provided to be paid to the Indians herein named, under any and all treaties heretofore made with them, the United States agrees to deliver at the agency house, on the reservation herein provided for, on the first day of September of each year for thirty years, the following articles, to wit:
For each male person, over fourteen years of age, a suit of good substantial woolen clothing, consisting of coat, hat, pantaloons, flannel shirt, and a pair of woolen socks.

For each female, over twelve years of age, a flannel skirt, or the goods necessary to make it, a pair of woolen hose, twelve yards of calico, and twelve yards of cotton domestics.

For the boys and girls under the ages named, such flannel and cotton goods as may be needed to make each a suit as aforesaid, together with a pair of woollen hose for each.

And in order that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may be able to estimate properly for the articles herein named, it shall be the duty of the agent, each year, to forward to him a full and exact census of the Indians, on which the estimate from year to year can be based.

And, in addition to the clothing herein named, the sum of ten dollars shall be annually appropriated for each Indian roaming, and twenty dollars for each Indian engaged in agriculture, for a period of ten years, to be used by the Secretary of the Interior in the purchase of such articles as, from time to time, the condition and necessities of the Indians may indicate to be proper. And if, at any time within the ten years, it shall appear that the amount of money needed for clothing, under this article, can be appropriated to better uses for the tribe herein named, Congress may, by law, change the appropriation to other purposes; but in no event shall the amount of this appropriation be withdrawn or discontinued for the period named. And the President shall annually detail an officer of the Army to be present and attest the delivery of all the goods herein named to the Indians, and he shall inspect and report on the quantity and quality of the goods and the manner of their delivery; and it is expressly stipulated that

each Indian over the age of four years, who shall have removed to and settled permanently upon said reservation, and complied with the stipulations of this treaty, shall be entitled to receive from the United States, for the period of four years after he shall have settled upon said reservation, one pound of meat and one pound of flour per day, provided the Indians cannot furnish their own subsistence at an earlier date. And it is further stipulated that the United States will furnish and deliver to each lodge of Indians, or family of persons legally incorporated with them, who shall remove to the reservation herein described, and commence farming, one good American cow and one good, well-broken pair of American oxen, within sixty days after such lodge or family shall have so settled upon said reservation.

ARTICLE 10.

The United States hereby agrees to furnish annually to the Indians the physician, teachers, carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer, and blacksmiths as herein contemplated, and that such appropriations shall be made from time to time, on the estimates of the Secretary of the Interior, as will be sufficient to employ such persons.

ARTICLE 11.

No treaty for the cession of any portion of the reservation herein described, which may be held in common, shall be of any force or validity as against the said Indians unless executed and signed by, at least, a majority of all the adult male Indians occupying or interested in the same, and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such a manner as to deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his right to any tract of land selected by him as provided in Article 6 of this treaty.

ARTICLE 12.

It is agreed that the sum of five hundred dollars annually, for three years from the date when they commence to cultivate a farm, shall be expended in presents to the ten persons of said
tribe who, in the judgment of the agent, may grow the most valuable crops for the respective year.

W. T. Sherman,
   Lieutenant-General.

Wm. S. Harney,
   Brevet Major-General and Peace Commissioner.

Alfred H. Terry,
   Brevet Major-General.

C. C. Augur,
   Brevet Major-General.

John B. Sanborn.

S. F. Tappan.

Ashton S. H. White, Secretary.

Che-ra-pee-ish-ka-te, Pretty Bull, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Chat-sta-he, Wolf Bow, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Ah-be-che-se, Mountain Tail, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Kam-ne-but-sa, Black Foot, his x mark. [SEAL.]

De-sal-ze-cho-se, White Horse, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Chin-ka-she-arache, Poor Elk, his x mark. [SEAL.]

E-sa-woor, Shot in the Jaw, his x mark. [SEAL.]

E-sha-chose, White Forehead, his x mark. [SEAL.]

—-Roo-ka, Pounded Meat, his x mark. [SEAL.]

De-ka-ke-up-se, Bird in the Neck, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Me-na-che, The Swan, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Attest:

George B. Wills, phonographer.

John D. Howland.
Alex. Gardner.

David Knox.

Chas. Freeman.

Jas. C. O'Connor.
TREATY WITH THE SIOUX—BRULÉ, OGLALA, MINICONJOU, YANKTONAI, HUNKPAPA, BLACKFEET, CUTHEAD, TWO KETTLE, SANS ARCS, AND SANTEE—
AND ARAPAHO, 1868.

Articles of a treaty made and concluded by and between Lieutenant-General William T. Sherman, General William S. Harney, General Alfred H. Terry, General C. C. Augur, J. B. Henderson, Nathaniel G. Taylor, John B. Sanborn, and Samuel F. Tappan, duly appointed commissioners on the part of the United States, and the different bands of the Sioux Nation of Indians, by their chiefs and head-men, whose names are hereto subscribed, they being duly authorized to act in the premises.

ARTICLE 1.

From this day forward all war between the parties to this agreement shall forever cease. The Government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they now pledge their honor to maintain it. If bad men among the whites, or among other people subject to the authority of the United States, shall commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians, the United States will, upon proof made to the agent and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington City, proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States, and also re-imburse the injured person for the loss sustained.

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of any one, white, black, or Indians, subject to the authority of the United States, and at peace therewith, the Indians herein named solemnly agree that they will, upon proof made to their agent and notice by him, deliver up the wrong-doer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to its laws; and in case they willfully refuse so to do, the person injured shall be re-imbursed for his loss from the annuities or other moneys due or to become due to them under this or other treaties made with the United States. And the President, on advising with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shall prescribe such rules and regulations for ascertaining damages under the provisions of this article as in his judgment may be proper. But no one sustaining loss while violating the provisions of this treaty or the laws of the United States shall be re-imbursed therefor.

ARTICLE 2.

The United States agrees that the following district of country, to wit, viz: commencing on the east bank of the Missouri River where the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude crosses the same, thence along low-water mark down said east bank to a point opposite where the northern line of the State of Nebraska strikes the river, thence west across said river, and along the northern line of Nebraska to the one hundred and fourth degree of longitude west from Greenwich, thence north on said meridian to a point where the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude intercepts the same, thence due east along said parallel to the place of beginning; and in addition thereto, all existing reservations on the east bank of said river shall be, and the same is, set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit amongst them; and the United States now solemnly agrees that no persons except those herein designated and authorized so to do, and except such officers, agents, and employés of the Government as
may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article, or in such territory as may be added to this reservation for the use of said Indians, and henceforth they will and do hereby relinquish all claims or right in and to any portion of the United States or Territories, except such as is embraced within the limits aforesaid, and except as hereinafter provided.

ARTICLE 3.

If it should appear from actual survey or other satisfactory examination of said tract of land that it contains less than one hundred and sixty acres of tillable land for each person who, at the time, may be authorized to reside on it under the provisions of this treaty, and a very considerable number of such persons shall be disposed to commence cultivating the soil as farmers, the United States agrees to set apart, for the use of said Indians, as herein provided, such additional quantity of arable land, adjoining to said reservation, as near to the same as it can be obtained, as may be required to provide the necessary amount.

ARTICLE 4.

The United States agrees, at its own proper expense, to construct at some place on the Missouri River, near the center of said reservation, where timber and water may be convenient, the following buildings, to wit: a warehouse, a store-room for the use of the agent in storing goods belonging to the Indians, to cost not less than twenty-five hundred dollars; an agency-building for the residence of the agent, to cost not exceeding three thousand dollars; a residence for the physician, to cost not more than three thousand dollars; and five other buildings, for a carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, miller, and engineer, each to cost not exceeding two thousand dollars; also a school-house or mission-building, so soon as a sufficient number of children can be induced by the agent to attend school, which shall not cost exceeding five thousand dollars.

The United States agrees further to cause to be erected on said reservation, near the other buildings herein authorized, a good steam circular-saw mill, with a grist-mill and shingle-machine attached to the same, to cost not exceeding eight thousand dollars.

ARTICLE 5.

The United States agrees that the agent for said Indians shall in the future make his home at the agency-building; that he shall reside among them, and keep an office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent inquiry into such matters of complaint by and against the Indians as may be presented for investigation under the provisions of their treaty stipulations, as also for the faithful discharge of other duties enjoined on him by law. In all cases of depredation on person or property he shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded, together with his findings, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose decision, subject to the revision of the Secretary of the Interior, shall be binding on the parties to this treaty.

ARTICLE 6.

If any individual belonging to said tribes of Indians, or legally incorporated with them, being the head of a family, shall desire to commence farming, he shall have the privilege to select, in the presence and with the assistance of the agent then in charge, a tract of land within said
reservation, not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres in extent, which tract, when so selected, certified, and recorded in the "land-book," as herein directed, shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive possession of the person selecting it, and of his family, so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it. Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family, may in like manner select and cause to be certified to him or her, for purposes of cultivation, a quantity of land not exceeding eighty acres in extent, and thereupon be entitled to the exclusive possession of the same as above directed.

For each tract of land so selected a certificate, containing a description thereof and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate endorsed thereon that the same has been recorded, shall be delivered to the party entitled to it, by the agent, after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his office, subject to inspection, which said book shall be known as the "Sioux Land-Book."

The President may, at any time, order a survey of the reservation, and, when so surveyed, Congress shall provide for protecting the rights of said settlers in their improvements, and may fix the character of the title held by each. The United States may pass such laws on the subject of alienation and descent of property between the Indians and their descendants as may be thought proper. And it is further stipulated that any male Indians, over eighteen years of age, of any band or tribe that is or shall hereafter become a party to this treaty, who now is or who shall hereafter become a resident or occupant of any reservation or Territory not included in the tract of country designated and described in this treaty for the permanent home of the Indians, which is not mineral land, nor reserved by the United States for special purposes other than Indian occupation, and who shall have made improvements thereon of the value of two hundred dollars or more, and continuously occupied the same as a homestead for the term of three years, shall be entitled to receive from the United States a patent for one hundred and sixty acres of land including his said improvements, the same to be in the form of the legal subdivisions of the surveys of the public lands. Upon application in writing, sustained by the proof of two disinterested witnesses, made to the register of the local land-office when the land sought to be entered is within a land district, and when the tract sought to be entered is not in any land district, then upon said application and proof being made to the Commissioner of the General Land-Office, and the right of such Indian or Indians to enter such tract or tracts of land shall accrue and be perfect from the date of his first improvements thereon, and shall continue as long as he continues his residence and improvements, and no longer. And any Indian or Indians receiving a patent for land under the foregoing provisions, shall thereby and from thenceforth become and be a citizen of the United States, and be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of such citizens, and shall, at the same time, retain all his rights to benefits accruing to Indians under this treaty.

ARTICLE 7.

In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as are or may be settled on said agricultural reservations, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for not less than twenty years.
ARTICLE 8.

When the head of a family or lodge shall have selected lands and received his certificate as above directed, and the agent shall be satisfied that he intends in good faith to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and agricultural implements for the first year, not exceeding in value one hundred dollars, and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for a period of three years more, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and implements as aforesaid, not exceeding in value twenty-five dollars.

And it is further stipulated that such persons as commence farming shall receive instruction from the farmer herein provided for, and whenever more than one hundred persons shall enter upon the cultivation of the soil, a second blacksmith shall be provided, with such iron, steel, and other material as may be needed.

ARTICLE 9.

At any time after ten years from the making of this treaty, the United States shall have the privilege of withdrawing the physician, farmer, blacksmith, carpenter, engineer, and miller herein provided for, but in case of such withdrawal, an additional sum thereafter of ten thousand dollars per annum shall be devoted to the education of said Indians, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall, upon careful inquiry into their condition, make such rules and regulations for the expenditure of said sum as will best promote the educational and moral improvement of said tribes.

ARTICLE 10.

In lieu of all sums of money or other annuities provided to be paid to the Indians herein named, under any treaty or treaties heretofore made, the United States agrees to deliver at the agency-house on the reservation herein named, on or before the first day of August of each year, for thirty years, the following articles, to wit:

For each male person over fourteen years of age, a suit of good substantial woolen clothing, consisting of coat, pantaloons, flannel shirt, hat, and a pair of home-made socks.

For each female over twelve years of age, a flannel skirt, or the goods necessary to make it, a pair of woolen hose, twelve yards of calico, and twelve yards of cotton domestics.

For the boys and girls under the ages named, such flannel and cotton goods as may be needed to make each a suit as aforesaid, together with a pair of woolen hose for each.

And in order that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may be able to estimate properly for the articles herein named, it shall be the duty of the agent each year to forward to him a full and exact census of the Indians, on which the estimate from year to year can be based.

And in addition to the clothing herein named, the sum of ten dollars for each person entitled to the beneficial effects of this treaty shall be annually appropriated for a period of thirty years, while such persons roam and hunt, and twenty dollars for each person who engages in farming, to be used by the Secretary of the Interior in the purchase of such articles as from time to time the condition and necessities of the Indians may indicate to be proper. And if within the thirty years, at any time, it shall appear that the amount of money needed for clothing under this article can be appropriated to better uses for the Indians named herein, Congress may, by law, change the appropriation to other purposes; but in no event shall the amount of this appropriation be withdrawn or discontinued for the period named. And the President shall annually detail an officer of the Army to be present and attest the delivery of all the goods herein named to the Indians, and he shall inspect and report on the quantity and
quality of the goods and the manner of their delivery. And it is hereby expressly stipulated
that each Indian over the age of four years, who shall have removed to and settled
permanently upon said reservation and complied with the stipulations of this treaty, shall be
entitled to receive from the United States, for the period of four years after he shall have
settled upon said reservation, one pound of meat and one pound of flour per day, provided
the Indians cannot furnish their own subsistence at an earlier date. And it is further
stipulated that the United States will furnish and deliver to each lodge of Indians or family
of persons legally incorporated with them, who shall remove to the reservation herein
described and commence farming, one good American cow, and one good well-broken pair
of American oxen within sixty days after such lodge or family shall have so settled upon
said reservation.

ARTICLE 11.

In consideration of the advantages and benefits conferred by this treaty, and the many
pledges of friendship by the

United States, the tribes who are parties to this agreement hereby stipulate that they will
relinquish all right to occupy permanently the territory outside their reservation as herein
defined, but yet reserve the right to hunt on any lands north of North Platte, and on the
Republican Fork of the Smoky Hill River, so long as the buffalo may range thereon in such
numbers as to justify the chase. And they, the said Indians, further expressly agree:
1st. That they will withdraw all opposition to the construction of the railroads now being
built on the plains.
2d. That they will permit the peaceful construction of any railroad not passing over their
reservation as herein defined.
3d. That they will not attack any persons at home, or travelling, nor molest or disturb any
wagon-trains, coaches, mules, or cattle belonging to the people of the United States, or to
persons friendly therewith.
4th. They will never capture, or carry off from the settlements, white women or children.
5th. They will never kill or scalp white men, nor attempt to do them harm.
6th. They withdraw all pretence of opposition to the construction of the railroad now being
built along the Platte River and westward to the Pacific Ocean, and they will not in future
object to the construction of railroads, wagon-roads, mail-stations, or other works of utility
or necessity, which may be ordered or permitted by the laws of the United States. But should
such roads or other works be constructed on the lands of their reservation, the Government
will pay the tribe whatever amount of damage may be assessed by three disinterested
commissioners to be appointed by the President for that purpose, one of said commissioners
to be a chief or head-man of the tribe.
7th. They agree to withdraw all opposition to the military posts or roads now established
south of the North Platte River, or that may be established, not in violation of treaties
heretofore made or hereafter to be made with any of the Indian tribes.

ARTICLE 12.

No treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described which
may be held in common shall be of any validity or force as against the said Indians, unless
executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians, occupying or
interested in the same; and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such
manner as to deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his rights to
any tract of land selected by him, as provided in article 6 of this treaty.
ARTICLE 13.

The United States hereby agrees to furnish annually to the Indians the physician, teacher, carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer, and blacksmiths as herein contemplated, and that such appropriations shall be made from time to time, on the estimates of the Secretary of the Interior, as will be sufficient to employ such persons.

ARTICLE 14.

It is agreed that the sum of five hundred dollars annually, for three years from date, shall be expended in presents to the ten persons of said tribe who in the judgment of the agent may grow the most valuable crops for the respective year.

ARTICLE 15.

The Indians herein named agree that when the agency-house or other buildings shall be constructed on the reservation named, they will regard said reservation their permanent home, and they will make no permanent settlement elsewhere; but they shall have the right, subject to the conditions and modifications of this treaty, to hunt, as stipulated in Article 11 hereof.

ARTICLE 16.

The United States hereby agrees and stipulates that the country north of the North Platte River and east of the summits of the Big Horn Mountains shall be held and considered to be unceded Indian territory, and also stipulates and agrees that no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the same; or without the consent of the Indians first had and obtained, to pass through the same; and it is further agreed by the United States that within ninety days after the conclusion of peace with all the bands of the Sioux Nation, the military posts now established in the territory in this article named shall be abandoned, and that the road leading to them and by them to the settlements in the Territory of Montana shall be closed.

ARTICLE 17.

It is hereby expressly understood and agreed by and between the respective parties to this treaty that the execution of this treaty and its ratification by the United States Senate shall have the effect, and shall be construed as abrogating and annulling all treaties and agreements heretofore entered into between the respective parties hereto, so far as such treaties and agreements obligate the United States to furnish and provide money, clothing, or other articles of property to such Indians and bands of Indians as become parties to this treaty, but no further.

In testimony of all which, we, the said commissioners, and we, the chiefs and headmen of the Brulé band of the Sioux nation, have hereunto set our hands and seals at Fort Laramie, Dakota Territory, this twenty-ninth day of April, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight.

N. G. Taylor, [SEAL.]
W. T. Sherman, [SEAL.]
Lieutenant-General.

Wm. S. Harney, [SEAL.]
Brevet Major-General U. S. Army.

John B. Sanborn, [SEAL.]

S. F. Tappan, [SEAL.]

C. C. Augur, [SEAL.]
Brevet Major-General.

Alfred H. Terry, [SEAL.]
Brevet Major-General U. S. Army.

Attest:

A. S. H. White, Secretary.

Executed on the part of the Brulé band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto annexed, they being thereunto duly authorized, at Fort Laramie, D. T., the twenty-ninth day of April, in the year A. D. 1868.

Ma-za-pon-kaska, his x mark, Iron Shell. [SEAL.]

Wah-pat-shah, his x mark, Red Leaf. [SEAL.]

Hah-sah-pah, his x mark, Black Horn. [SEAL.]

Zin-tah-gah-lat-skah, his x mark, Spotted Tail. [SEAL.]

Zin-tah-skah, his x mark, White Tail. [SEAL.]

Me-wah-tah-ne-ho-skah, his x mark, Tall Mandas. [SEAL.]

She-cha-chat-kah, his x mark, Bad Left Hand. [SEAL.]

No-mah-no-pah, his x mark, Two and Two. [SEAL.]

Tah-tonka-skah, his x mark, White Bull. [SEAL.]

Con-ra-washta, his x mark, Pretty Coon. [SEAL.]
Ha-cah-cah-she-chah, his x mark, Bad Elk. [SEAL.]
Wa-ha-ka-zah-ish-tah, his x mark, Eye Lance. [SEAL.]
Ma-to-ha-ke-tah, his x mark, Bear that looks behind. [SEAL.]
Bella-tonka-tonka, his x mark, Big Partisan. [SEAL.]
Mah-to-ho-honka, his x mark, Swift Bear. [SEAL.]
To-wis-ne, his x mark, Cold Place. [SEAL.]
Ish-tah-skah, his x mark, White Eyes. [SEAL.]
Ma-to-loo-zah, his x mark, Fast Bear. [SEAL.]
As-hah-kah-nah-zhe, his x mark, Standing Elk. [SEAL.]
Can-te-te-ki-ya, his x mark, The Brave Heart. [SEAL.]
Shunka-shaton, his x mark, Day Hawk. [SEAL.]
Tatanka-wakon, his x mark, Sacred Bull. [SEAL.]
Mapia shaton, his x mark, Hawk Cloud. [SEAL.]
Ma-sha-a-ow, his x mark, Stands and Comes. [SEAL.]
Shon-ka-ton-ka, his x mark, Big Dog. [SEAL.]

Attest:

Ashton S. H. White, secretary of commission.
George B. Withs, phonographer to commission.
Geo. H. Holtzman.
John D. Howlano.
James C. O'Connor.
Chas. E. Guern, interpreter.
Leon F. Pallardy, interpreter.
Nicholas Janis, interpreter.
Executed on the part of the Ogallalah band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized, at Fort Laramie, the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year A. D. 1868.

Tah-shun-ka-co-qui-pah, his x mark, Man-afraid-of-his-horses. [SEAL.]

Sha-ton-skah, his x mark, White Hawk. [SEAL.]

Sha-ton-sapah, his x mark, Black Hawk. [SEAL.]

E-ga-mon-ton-ka-sapah, his x mark, Black Tiger. [SEAL.]

Oh-wah-she-cha, his x mark, Bad Wound. [SEAL.]

Pah-ggee, his x mark, Grass. [SEAL.] Wah-non-reh-che-geh, his x mark, Ghost Heart. [SEAL.] Con-reeh, his x mark, Crow. [SEAL.]

Oh-he-te-kah, his x mark, The Brave. [SEAL.]

Tah-ton-kah-he-yo-ta-kah, his x mark, Sitting Bull. [SEAL.]

Shon-ka-oh-wah-mon-ye, his x mark, Whirlwind Dog. [SEAL.]

Ha-hah-kah-tah-miech, his x mark, Poor Elk. [SEAL.]

Wam-bu-lee-wah-kon, his x mark, Medicine Eagle. [SEAL.]

Chon-gah-ma-he-to-hans-ka, his x mark, High Wolf. [SEAL.]

Wah-se-chun-ta-shun-kah, his x mark, American Horse. [SEAL.]

Mah-hah-mah-ha-mak-near, his x mark, Man that walks under the ground. [SEAL.]

Mah-to-tow-pah, his x mark, Four Bears. [SEAL.]

Ma-to-wee-sha-kta, his x mark, One that kills the bear. [SEAL.]

Oh-tah-kee-toka-wee-chakta, his x mark, One that kills in a hard place. [SEAL.]

Tah-ton-kah-ta-miech, his x mark, The poor Bull. [SEAL.]

Oh-huns-ee-ga-non-sken, his x mark, Mad Shade. [SEAL.]

Shah-ton-oh-nah-om-minne-ne-oh-minne, his x mark, Whirling Hawk. [SEAL.]

Mah-to-chun-ka-oh, his x mark, Bear's Back. [SEAL.]
Che-ton-wee-koh, his x mark, Fool Hawk. [SEAL.]

Wah-hoh-ke-za-ah-hah, his x mark, One that has the lance. [SEAL.]

Shon-gah-manni-toh-tan-ka-seh, his x mark, Big Wolf Foot. [SEAL.]

Eh-ton-kah, his x mark, Big Mouth. [SEAL.]

Ma-pah-che-tah, his x mark, Bad Hand. [SEAL.]

Wah-ke-yun-shah, his x mark, Red Thunder. [SEAL.]

Wak-sah, his x mark, One that Cuts Off. [SEAL.]

Cham-nom-qui-yah, his x mark, One that Presents the Pipe. [SEAL.]

Wah-ke-ke-yun-pah-toh, his x mark, Fire Thunder. [SEAL.]

Mah-to-nonk-pah-ze, his x mark, Bear with Yellow Ears. [SEAL.]

Con-ree-teh-ka, his x mark, The Little Crow. [SEAL.]

He-hup-pah-toh, his x mark, The Blue War Club. [SEAL.]

Shon-kee-toh, his x mark, The Blue Horse. [SEAL.]

Wam-Balla-oh-con-quo, his x mark, Quick Eagle. [SEAL.]

Ta-tonka-suppa, his x mark, Black Bull. [SEAL.]

Moh-to-ha-sha-na, his x mark, The Bear Hide. [SEAL.]

Attest:

S. E. Ward.

Jas. C. O'Connor.

J. M. Sherwood.

W. C. Slicer.

Sam Deon.

H. M. Matthews.

Joseph Bissonette, interpreter.
Nicholas Janis, interpreter.

Lefroy Jott, interpreter.

Antoine Janis, interpreter.

Executed on the part of the Minneconjon band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereunto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

At Fort Laramie, D. T., May 26, '68, 13 names.

Heh-won-ge-chat, his x mark, One Horn. [SEAL.]

Oh-pon-ah-tah-e-manne, his x mark, The Elk that bellows Walking. [SEAL.]

At Fort Laramie, D. T., May 25, '68, 2 names.

Heh-ho-lah-reh-cha-skah, his x mark, Young White Bull. [SEAL.]

Wah-chah-chum-kah-coh-kee-pah, his x mark, One that is afraid of Shield. [SEAL.]

He-hon-ne-shakta, his x mark, The Old Owl. [SEAL.]

Moc-pe-a-toh, his x mark, Blue Cloud. [SEAL.]

Oh-pong-ge-le-skah, his x mark, Spotted Elk. [SEAL.]

Tah-tonk-ka-hon-ke-schne, his x mark, Slow Bull. [SEAL.]

Shonk-a-nee-shah-shah-a-tah-pe, his x mark, The Dog Chief. [SEAL.]

Ma-to-tah-ta-tonk-ka, his x mark, Bull Bear. [SEAL.]

Wom-beh-le-ton-kah, his x mark, The Big Eagle. [SEAL.]

Ma-toh-eh-schne-lah, his x mark, The Lone Bear. [SEAL.]

Mah-toh-ke-su-yah, his x mark, The One who Remembers the Bear. [SEAL.]

Ma-toh-oh-he-to-keh, his x mark, The Brave Bear. [SEAL.]

Eh-che-ma-heh, his x mark, The Runner. [SEAL.]

Ti-ki-ya, his x mark, The Hard. [SEAL.]

He-ma-za, his x mark, Iron Horn. [SEAL.]

Attest:
Jas. C. O'Connor.

Wm. H. Brown.

Nicholas Janis, interpreter.

Antoine Janis, interpreter.

Executed on the part of the Yanktonais band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereunto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

Mah-to-non-pah, his x mark, Two Bears. [SEAL.]

Ma-to-hna-skin-ya, his x mark, Mad Bear. [SEAL.]

He-o-pu-za, his x mark, Louzy. [SEAL.]

Ah-ke-che-tah-che-ca-dan, his x mark, Little Soldier. [SEAL.]

Mah-to-e-tan-chan, his x mark, Chief Bear. [SEAL.]

Cu-wi-h-win, his x mark, Rotten Stomach. [SEAL.]

Skun-ka-wei-tko, his x mark, Fool Dog. [SEAL.]

Ish-ta-sap-pah, his x mark, Black Eye. [SEAL.]

Ih-tan-chan, his x mark, The Chief. [SEAL.]

I-a-wi-ca-ka, his x mark, The one who Tells the Truth. [SEAL.]

Ah-ke-che-tah, his x mark, The Soldier. [SEAL.]

Ta-shi-na-gi, his x mark, Yellow Robe. [SEAL.]

Nah-pe-ton-ka, his x mark, Big Hand. [SEAL.]

Chan-tee-we-ktot, his x mark, Fool Heart. [SEAL.]

Hoh-gan-sah-pa, his x mark, Black Catfish. [SEAL.]

Mah-to-wah-kan, his x mark, Medicine Bear. [SEAL.]

Shun-ka-kan-sha, his x mark, Red Horse. [SEAL.]

Wan-rode, his x mark, The Eagle. [SEAL.]

Can-hpi-sa-pa, his x mark, Black Tomahawk. [SEAL.]
War-he-le-re, his x mark, Yellow Eagle. [SEAL.]
Cha-ton-che-ca, his x mark, Small Hawk, or Long Fare. [SEAL.]
Shu-ger-mon-e-too-ha-ska, his x mark, Tall Wolf. [SEAL.]
Ma-to-u-tah-kah, his x mark, Sitting Bear. [SEAL.]
Hi-ha-cah-ge-na-skene, his x mark, Mad Elk. [SEAL.]

Arapahoes:
Little Chief, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Tall Bear, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Top Man, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Neva, his x mark. [SEAL.]
The Wounded Bear, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Thirlwind, his x mark. [SEAL.]
The Fox, his x mark. [SEAL.]
The Dog Big Mouth, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Spotted Wolf, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Sorrel Horse, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Black Coal, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Big Wolf, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Knock-knee, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Black Crow, his x mark. [SEAL.]
The Lone Old Man, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Paul, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Black Bull, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Big Track, his x mark. [SEAL.]
The Foot, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Black White, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Yellow Hair, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Little Shield, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Black Bear, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Wolf Mocassin, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Big Robe, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Wolf Chief, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Witnesses:


Wm. H. Powell, brevet major, captain, Fourth Infantry.

Henry W. Patterson, captain, Fourth Infantry.

Theo. E. True, second lieutenant, Fourth Infantry.

W. G. Bullock.

Chas. E. Guern, special Indian interpreter for the peace commission.

Makh-pi-ah-lu-tah, his x mark, Red Cloud. [SEAL.]

Wa-ki-ah-we-cha-shah, his x mark, Thunder Man. [SEAL.]

Ma-zah-zah-geh, his x mark, Iron Cane. [SEAL.]

FORT LARAMIE, W. T.,
Nov. 6, 1868.

Wa-umble-why-wa-ka-tuyah, his x mark, High Eagle. [SEAL.]

Ko-ke-pah, his x mark, Man Afraid. [SEAL.]

Wa-ki-ah-wa-kou-ah, his x mark, Thunder Flying Running. [SEAL.]

Witnesses:
W. McE. Dye, brevet colonel, U. S. Army, commanding.

A. B. Cain, captain, Fourth Infantry, brevet major, U. S. Army.


Jno. Miller, captain, Fourth Infantry.

G. L. Luhn, first lieutenant, Fourth Infantry, brevet captain, U. S. Army.

H. C. Sloan, second lieutenant, Fourth Infantry.

Whittingham Cox, first lieutenant, Fourth Infantry.

A. W. Vogdes, first lieutenant, Fourth Infantry.

Butler D. Price, second lieutenant, Fourth Infantry.

HEADQUARTERS, FORT LARAMIE,
Novr. 6, 68.

Executed by the above on this date.

All of the Indians are Ogallalahs excepting Thunder Man and Thunder Flying Running, who are Brulés.

Wm. McE. Dye,

Major Fourth Infantry, and Brevet-Colonel U. S. Army, Commanding.

Attest:

Jas. C. O'Connor.

Nicholas Janis, interpreter.

Franc. La Framboise, interpreter.

P. J. De Smet, S. J., missionary among the Indians.

Saml. D. Hinman, B. D., missionary.

Executed on the part of the Uncpapa band of Sioux, by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

Co-kam-i-ya-ya, his x mark, The Man that Goes in the Middle. [SEAL.]

Ma-to-ca-wa-weksa, his x mark, Bear Rib. [SEAL.]
Ta-to-ka-in-yan-ke, his x mark, Running Antelope. [SEAL.]

Kan-gi-wa-ki-ta, his x mark, Looking Crow. [SEAL.]

A-ki-ci-ta-han-ska, his x mark, Long Soldier. [SEAL.]

Wa-ku-te-ma-ni, his x mark, The One who Shoots Walking. [SEAL.]

Un-kca-ki-ka, his x mark, The Magpie. [SEAL.]

Kan-gi-o-ta, his x mark, Plenty Crow. [SEAL.]

He-ma-za, his x mark, Iron Horn. [SEAL.]

Shun-ka-i-na-pin, his x mark, Wolf Necklace. [SEAL.]

I-we-hi-yu, his x mark, The Man who Bleeds from the Mouth. [SEAL.]

He-ha-ka-pa, his x mark, Elk Head. [SEAL.]

I-zu-za, his x mark, Grind Stone. [SEAL.]

Shun-ka-wi-tko, his x mark, Fool Dog. [SEAL.]

Ma-kpi-ya-po, his x mark, Blue Cloud. [SEAL.]

Wa-mln-pi-lu-ta, his x mark, Red Eagle. [SEAL.]

Ma-to-can-te, his x mark, Bear’s Heart. [SEAL.]

A-ki-ci-ta-i-tau-can, his x mark, Chief Soldier. [SEAL.]

Attest:

Jas. C. O’Connor.

Nicholas Janis, interpreter.

Franc. La Framboise, interpreter.

P. J. De Smet, S. J., missionary among the Indians.

Saml. D. Hinman, missionary.

Executed on the part of the Blackfeet band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

Can-te-pe-ta, his x mark, Fire Heart. [SEAL.]
Wan-mdi-kte, his x mark, The One who kills Eagle. [SEAL.]

Sho-ta, his x mark, Smoke. [SEAL.]

Wan-mdi-ma-ni, his x mark, Walking Eagle. [SEAL.]

Wa-shi-cun-ya-ta-pi, his x mark, Chief White Man. [SEAL.]

Kan-gi-i-yo-tan-ke, his x mark, Sitting Crow. [SEAL.]

Pe-ji, his x mark, The Grass. [SEAL.]

Kda-ma-ni, his x mark, The One that Rattles as he Walks. [SEAL.]

Wah-han-ka-sa-pa, his x mark, Black Shield. [SEAL.]

Can-te-non-pa, his x mark, Two Hearts. [SEAL.]

Attest:

Jas. C. O'Connor.

Nicholas Janis, interpreter.

Franc. La Framboise, interpreter.

P. J. De Smet, S. J., missionary among the Indians.

Saml. D. Hinman, missionary.

Executed on the part of the Cutheads band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

To-ka-in-yan-ka, his x mark, The One who Goes Ahead Running. [SEAL.]

Ta-tan-ka-wa-kin-yan, his x mark, Thunder Bull. [SEAL.]

Sin-to-min-sa-pa, his x mark, All over Black. [SEAL.]

Can-i-ca, his x mark, The One who Took the Stick. [SEAL.]

Pa-tan-ka, his x mark, Big Head. [SEAL.]

Attest:

Jas. C. O'Connor.

Nicholas Janis, interpreter.
Franc. La Framboise[e], interpreter.

P. J. De Smet, S. J., missionary among the Indians.

Saml. D. Hinman, missionary.

Executed on the part of the Two Kettle band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

Ma-wa-tan-ni-han-ska, his x mark, Long Mandan. [SEAL.]

Can-kpe-du-ta, his x mark, Red War Club. [SEAL.]

Can-ka-ga, his x mark, The Log. [SEAL.]

Attest:

Jas. C. O'Connor.

Nicholas Janis, interpreter.

Franc. La Framboise, interpreter.

P. J. De Smet, S. J., missionary among the Indians.

Saml. D. Hinman, missionary to the Dakotas.

Executed on the part of the Sans Arch band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto annexed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

He-na-pin-wa-ni-ca, his x mark, The One that has Neither Horn. [SEAL.]

Wa-inlu-pi-lu-ta, his x mark, Red Plume. [SEAL.]

Ci-tan-gi, his x mark, Yellow Hawk. [SEAL.]

He-na-pin-wa-ni-ca, his x mark, No Horn. [SEAL.]

Attest:

Jas. C. O'Connor.

Nicholas Janis, interpreter.

Franc. La Framboise[e], interpreter.

P. J. De Smet, S. J., missionary among the Indians.
Saml. D. Hinman, missionary.

Executed on the part of the Santee band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being therunto duly authorized.

Wa-pah-shaw, his x mark, Red Ensign. [SEAL.]

Wah-koo-tay, his x mark, Shooter. [SEAL.]

Hoo-sha-sha, his x mark, Red Legs. [SEAL.]

O-wan-cha-du-ta, his x mark, Scarlet all over. [SEAL.]

Wau-mace-tan-ka, his x mark, Big Eagle. [SEAL.]

Cho-tan-ka-e-na-pe, his x mark, Flute-player. [SEAL.]

Ta-shun-ke-mo-za, his x mark, His Iron Dog. [SEAL.]

Attest:

Saml. D. Hinman, B. D., missionary.

J. N. Chickering,

Second lieutenant, Twenty-second Infantry, brevet captain, U. S. Army.

P. J. De Smet, S. J.

Nicholas Janis, interpreter.

Franc. La Framboise, interpreter.
The following agreement, entered into on behalf of the United States, by John V. Wright, Jared W. Daniels, and Charles F. Larrabee, Commissioners, on December fourteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-six, with the Indians of the Fort Berthold Agency, North Dakota, and now on file in the Interior Department, signed by said Commissioners on the part of the United States and by Pa-des-a-hish and others on the part of the Gros Ventres; and by Wo-ka-se and others for the Mandans and Kun-nukh-to-wite and others on the part of the Arickarees, and is in the following words, to wit:

“This agreement made pursuant to an item in the act of Congress entitled “An act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and eighty-seven, and for other purposes,” approved May fifteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-six, by John V. Wright, Jared W. Daniels, and Charles F. Larrabee, duly appointed commissioners on the part of the United States, and the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan tribes of Indians, now residing on the Fort Berthold Reservation, in the Territory of Dakota, by the chiefs, headmen, and principal men, embracing a majority of all the adult male members of said tribes, Witnesseth that whereas it is the policy of the Government to reduce to proper size existing reservations when entirely out of proportion to the number of Indians existing thereon, with the consent of the Indians, and upon just and fair terms; and whereas the Indians of the several tribes, parties hereto, have vastly more land in their present reservation than they need or will ever make use of, and are desirous of disposing of a portion thereof in order to obtain the means necessary to enable them to become wholly self-supporting by the cultivation of the soil and other pursuits of husbandry:

Therefore, it is hereby agreed and covenanted by the parties to this instrument, as follows:

ARTICLE I.

The Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan tribes of Indians, parties hereto, hereby cede, sell, and relinquish to the United States all their right, title, and interest in and to all that portion of the Fort Berthold Reservation, as laid down upon the official map of the Territory of Dakota, published by the General Land Office in the year eighteen hundred and eighty-five, lying north of the forty-eighth parallel of north latitude, and also all that portion lying west of a north and south line six miles west of the most westerly point of the big bend of the Missouri River, south of the forty-eighth parallel of north latitude.

ARTICLE II.

In consideration of the foregoing cession and relinquishment the United States shall advance and expend, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, the sum of eighty thousand dollars ($80,000), annually, for the period of ten (10) years from and after the ratification of this agreement, for such purposes and in such manner as shall best promote the civilization and well-being of said Indians, and as hereinafter provided.

ARTICLE III.
It is further agreed that the Secretary of the Interior shall cause the lands embraced within the diminished reservation, or such portion thereof as may be necessary, to be surveyed and, either through the agent, or such other person as he may designate, allot the same in severality to the Indians of the several tribes, parties hereto, in quantity as follows:

To each head of a family, one hundred and sixty acres.

To each single person over eighteen years of age, eighty acres.

To each orphan child under eighteen years of age, eighty acres.

To each other person under eighteen years of age, forty acres.

Provided, That all allotments made under the provisions of this agreement shall be selected by the Indians, heads of families selecting for their minor children, and the agent shall select for each orphan child, and in such manner as to embrace the improvements of the Indians making the selections, if they so desire.

ARTICLE IV.

That upon the approval of the allotments provided for in the foregoing article by the Secretary of the Interior, he shall cause patents to issue therefor, in the name of the allottees, which patents shall be of the legal effect and declare that the United States does and will hold the land thus allotted, for the period of twenty-five years in trust for the sole use and benefit of the Indian to whom such allotment shall have been made, or, in case of his decease, of his heirs, according to the laws of the Territory of Dakota, and that at the expiration of said period the United States will convey the same by patent to said Indian or his heirs as aforesaid in fee, discharged of said trust and free of all charge or incumbrance whatsoever. And if any conveyance shall be made of the lands set apart and allotted as herein provided, or any contract made touching the same before the expiration of the time above mentioned, such conveyance or contract shall be absolutely null and void.

Provided, That the laws of descent and partition in force in said Territory shall apply thereto after the first patents therefor have been executed and delivered.

ARTICLE V.

That upon the completion of said allotments and the patenting of the lands to said allottees, each and every member of said tribes to whom allotments have been made shall have the benefit of and be subject to the laws of the Territory of Dakota in all offenses the penalty of which is death or imprisonment in the penitentiary; and said Territory shall not pass or enforce any law denying any such Indian the equal protection of the law.

ARTICLE VI.

That the residue of lands within said diminished reservation, after all allotments have been made as provided in Article III of this agreement, shall be held by the United States for the...
period of twenty-five (25) years, in trust, for the sole use and benefit of said tribes of Indians, and at the expiration of said period the United States will convey the same by patent to said tribes in common, in fee, discharged of said trust and free of all charge or incumbrances whatever. Provided, That from the residue of said lands thus held in trust allotments shall be made and patented to each child of said tribes who may be born prior to the expiration of the time during which it is provided that said lands shall be held in trust by the United States, in quantity and upon the same conditions, restrictions, and limitations as provided in Article IV touching patents to allottees therein mentioned; but such conditions, restrictions, and limitations shall not extend beyond the expiration of the period during which the lands owned by the Indians in common are held in trust by the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

It is further agreed that the sum of twelve thousand dollars ($12,000), or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the first installment of eighty thousand dollars provided for in Article II of this agreement, shall be expended in the removal of the agency buildings and property to a more suitable locality, in needed repairs, and in the erection of such new buildings as may be required. Provided, That in the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior the removal of the agency from its present site is desirable. And the balance of said installment, and each subsequent annual installment, shall be expended, except as hereinafter provided, in the purchase of goods, provisions, agricultural and mechanical implements, in providing employees, in the education of Indian children, procuring medicine and medical attendance, in the care and support of the aged, sick, and infirm, and helpless orphans of said Indians, and in any other respect to promote their civilization, comfort, and improvement; and the wishes of said Indians shall be consulted, and govern, so far as practicable, in the expenditure of said money. And in the employment of farmers, artisans, and laborers preference shall in all cases be given to the Indians residing on the reservation who are properly qualified for such positions.

In order to assist the Indians in settling upon their individual allotments, and encourage them in their efforts at self-support, it is further agreed that each family and male Indian over eighteen years of age, when he shall in good faith commence the cultivation of his individual allotment with the intention of residing permanently thereon, shall be assisted in the erection of a comfortable house, and be provided with one cook-stove, one yoke of work oxen, one breaking plow, one stirring plow, one cow, one wagon, one axe, one hoe, one spade, one hand rake, one scythe, and one pitch-fork; or, in lieu of any of said articles, such other useful and proper articles as they may require, in the discretion of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the cost thereof to be paid out of the funds advanced as per Article II of this agreement: Provided further, That whenever in the opinion of the President the annual installment of eighty thousand dollars provided for in the first article of this agreement shall be found to be in excess of the amount required to be expended in any one year in carrying out the provisions of this agreement so much thereof as may be in excess of such requirement shall be placed to the credit of said Indians in the Treasury of the United States and expended in continuing the benefits herein provided for when said annual installments shall have expired.

ARTICLE VIII.

Hereafter no subsistence shall be furnished any adult male Indian (the aged, sick, and infirm excepted) who does not endeavor by honest labor to support himself, nor to children
between the ages of eight and fifteen years (the sick and infirm excepted), unless such children shall regularly attend school.

ARTICLE IX.

The outboundories of the diminished reservation shall be surveyed and marked in a plain and substantial manner, the cost thereof to be paid out of the first annual installment provided for in Article II of this agreement.

ARTICLE X.

This agreement shall not be binding on either party until ratified by Congress.

Dated and signed in open council at Fort Berthold Agency, in the Territory of Dakota, December fourteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-six;"

Be, and the same is hereby, accepted, ratified, and confirmed except as to article six thereof, which is modified and changed on the part of the United States so as to read as follows: "That the residue of lands within said diminished reservation, after all allotments have been made as provided in article three of this agreement, shall be held by the said tribes of Indians as a reservation;" and as so modified said agreement is accepted and confirmed: Provided, That this act shall take effect only upon the acceptance of the modification and changes made by the United States as to article six of the said agreement by the said tribes of Indians in manner and form as said agreement was assented to, which said acceptance and consent shall be made known by proclamation by the President of the United States upon satisfactory proof presented to him that the said acceptance and consent have been obtained in such manner and form.

SEC. 24

That for the purpose of carrying out the terms of said agreement the sum of eighty thousand dollars is hereby appropriated, to be immediately available.

SEC. 25

That whenever any of the lands acquired by this agreement hereby ratified and confirmed shall, by operation of law or proclamation of the President of the United States, be open to settlement, they shall be disposed of to actual settlers only under the provisions of the homestead laws, except section twenty-three hundred and one of the Revised Statutes of the United States, which shall not apply: Provided, however, That each settler on said lands shall, before making final proof and receiving a certificate of entry pay to the United States for the land so taken by him, in addition to the fees provided by law, and within five years from the date of the first original entry the sum of one dollar and fifty cents for each acre thereof, one-half of which shall be paid within two years; but the rights of honorably discharged Union soldiers and sailors as defined and described in sections twenty-three hundred and four and twenty-three hundred and five of the Revised Statutes shall not be abridged except as to the sum to be paid as aforesaid.
AGREEMENT AT FORT BERTHOLD, 1866.

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at Fort Berthold in the Territory of Dakota, on the twenty-seventh day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, by and between Newton Edmunds, governor and ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs of Dakota Territory; Major General S. R. Curtis, Orrin Guernsey and Henry W. Reed, commissioners appointed on the part of the United States to make treaties with the Indians of the Upper Missouri; and the chiefs and headmen of the Arickaree tribe of Indians, Witnesseth as follows:

ARTICLE 1.

Perpetual peace, friendship, and amity shall hereafter exist between the United States and the said Arickaree Indians.

ARTICLE 2.

The said Arickaree tribe of Indians promise and agree that they will maintain peaceful and friendly relations toward the whites; that they will in future, abstain from all hostilities against each other, and cultivate mutual good will and friendship, not only among themselves, but toward all other friendly tribes of Indians.

ARTICLE 3.

The chiefs and headmen aforesaid acting as the representatives of the tribe aforesaid and being duly authorized and hereunto directed, in consideration of the payments and privileges hereinafter stated, do hereby grant and convey to the United States the right to lay out and construct roads, highways, and telegraphs through their country, and to use their efforts to prevent them from annoyance or interruption by their own or other tribes of Indians.

ARTICLE 4.

No white person, unless in the employ of the United States, or duly licensed to trade with said Indians, or members of the families of such persons shall be permitted to reside or make settlement upon any part of the country belonging to said Indians, not included or described herein; nor shall said Indians sell, alienate, or in any manner dispose of any portion thereof, except to the United States.

ARTICLE 5.

The said Aricara tribe of Indians hereby acknowledge their dependence on the United States and their obligation to obey the laws thereof; and they further agree and obligate themselves to submit to and obey such laws as may be made by Congress for their government and the punishment of offenders; and they agree to exert themselves to the utmost of their ability in enforcing all the laws under the superintendent of Indian affairs, or agent; and they pledge and bind themselves to preserve friendly relations with the citizens of the United States, and commit no injuries to, or depredations upon, their persons or property. They also agree to
deliver to the proper officer of officers of the United States, all offenders against the treaties, laws, or regulations of the United States, and to assist in discovering, pursuing and capturing all such offenders who may be within the limits of the country claimed by them, whenever required so to do by such officer or officers. And the said Aricara tribe of Indians further agree that they will not make war upon any other tribe or band of Indians, except in self-defence, but will submit all matters of difference between themselves and other Indians to the Government of the United States for adjustment, and will abide thereby; and if any of the Indians, party to this treaty, commit depredations upon any other Indians within the jurisdiction of the United States, the same rule shall prevail with regard to compensation and punishment as in cases of depredations against citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE 6.

In consideration of the great evil of intemperance among some of the Indian tribes, and in order to prevent such consequences among ourselves, we, the said Aricara tribe of Indians agree to do all in our power to prevent the introduction or use of spirituous liquors among our people, and to this end we agree that should any of the members of our tribe encourage the use of spirituous liquors, either by using it themselves, or buying and selling it, whosoever shall do so shall forfeit his claim to any annuities paid by the Government for the current year; or should they be aware of such use or sale or introduction of liquor into their country, either by whites or by persons of Indian blood and not aid by all proper means to effect its extermination and the prosecution of offenders, shall be liable to the forfeiture above mentioned.

ARTICLE 7.

In consideration of the foregoing agreements, stipulations, cessions, and undertakings and of their faithful observance by the said Aricara tribe of Indians, the United States agree to expend for the said Indians, in addition to the goods and provisions distributed at the time of signing this treaty, the sum of ten thousand dollars annually for twenty years, after the ratification of this treaty by the President and Senate of the United States, to be expended in such goods, provisions, and other articles as the President may in his discretion, from time to time determine; provided, and it is hereby agreed that the President may, at his discretion, annually expend so much of the sum of three thousand dollars as he shall deem proper, in the purchase of stock, animals, agricultural implements, in establishing and instructing in agricultural and mechanical pursuits, such of said Indians as shall be disposed thereto; and in the employment of mechanics for them, in educating their children, in providing necessary and proper medicines, medical attendance, care for the support of the aged, sick, and infirm of their number, for the helpless orphans of said Indians, and in any other respect promoting their civilization, comfort, and improvement; provided further, that the President of the United States may, at his discretion determine in what proportion the said annuities shall be distributed among said Indians; and the United States further agree that out of the sum above stipulated to be paid to said Indians, there shall be set apart and paid to the head-chief, the sum of two hundred dollars annually, and to the soldier-chiefs, fifty dollars annually in money or supplies, so long as they and their bands remain faithful to their treaty obligations; and for and in consideration of the long continued and faithful services of Pierre Garreau to the Indians of the aforesaid tribe, and his efforts for their benefit, the United States agree to give him, out of the annuities to said tribe, the sum of two hundred dollars annually, being the same amount as is paid the head chiefs as aforesaid; and
also to the eight leading men presented by the said tribe as the headmen and advisers of the
principal chiefs, and to their successors in office, the sum of fifty dollars per annum, so long
as they remain faithful to their treaty obligations; and provided that the President may, at
this discretion, vary the amount paid to the chiefs, if in his judgment there may be either by
the fidelity or efficiency of any of said chiefs sufficient cause; yet not so as to change the
aggregate amount.

ARTICLE 8.

It is understood and agreed by the parties to this treaty, that if any of the bands of Indians,
parties hereto, shall violate any of the agreements, stipulations, or obligations herein
contained, the United States may withhold, for such length of time as the President may
determine, any portion or all the annuities agreed to be paid to said Indians under the
provisions of this treaty.

ARTICLE 9.

The annuities of the aforesaid Indians shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals, but
satisfaction for depredations committed by them shall be made in such manner as the
President may direct.

ARTICLE 10.

This treaty shall be obligatory upon the aforesaid tribe of Indians from the date hereof, and
upon the United States so soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate.

ARTICLE 11.

Any amendment or modification of this treaty by the Senate of the United States, not
materially changing the nature or obligation of the same, shall be considered final and
binding on said bands the same as if it had been subsequently presented and agreed to by the
said chiefs and headmen, in open council.

In testimony whereof the aforesaid commissioners on the part of the United States, and the
chiefs and headmen of the aforementioned tribe of Indians, have hereunto set their hands
this twenty-seventh day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and
sixty-six, after the contents thereof had been previously read, interpreted, and explained.

NEWTON EDMUNDS.

S. R. CURTIS.

ORRIN GUERNSEY.

HENRY W. REED.

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White Shield, his x mark.
Iron Bear, his x mark.

The Son of the Star, or Rushing Bear, his x mark.

The Black Trail, his x mark.

The Wolf Necklace, his x mark.

The one that comes out first, his x mark.

The Whistling Bear, his x mark.

The Yellow Knife, his x mark.

The Bear of the Woods, his x mark.

The Dog Chief, his x mark.

Headmen:

White Cow Chief, his x mark.

The Walking Wolf, his x mark.

The White Bear, his x mark.

The Bully Head, his x mark.

The Young Wolf, his x mark.

The Short Tail Bull, his x mark.

The Lone Horse, his x mark.

The War Eagle Cap, his x mark.

The Sitting Night, his x mark.

The Yellow Wolf, his x mark.

The Old Bear, his x mark.

The Brave, his x mark.

The Big Head, his x mark.

The Elk River, his x mark.
Mahlon Wilkinson, agent.
Reuben S. Pike.
Jos. La Burg. jr.
Charles Reader.
Chas. F. Picotte.

U. S. Interpreters:
Pierre Garreau, his x mark.
Charles Papin.
Charles Larpenteur.

Signed by the commissioners on the part of the United States, and by the chiefs and headmen, after the treaty had been fully read, interpreted, and explained in our presence.

Chas. A. Reed, Secy. of Commission.


ADDENDA.

The chiefs and headmen of the Gros Ventres and Mandan tribes, heretofore long associated with the Arickarees named in the foregoing treaty, and anxious to continue their residence in the same community and perpetuate their friendly relations with the Arickarees and the United States, do concur in, and become parties and participants in and to all the stipulations of the foregoing treaty.

And it being made known to all the tribes thus associated that the United States may desire to connect a line of stages with the river, at the salient angle thereof about thirty miles below this point, and may desire to establish settlements and convenient supplies and mechanical structures to accommodate the growing commerce and travel, by land and river, the chiefs and headmen of the Arickarees, Gros Ventres, and Mandans, acting and uniting also with the commissioners of the United States aforesaid, do hereby convey to the United States all their right and title to the following lands, situated on the northeast side of the Missouri River, to wit: Beginning on the Missouri River at the mouth of Snake River, about thirty miles below Ft. Berthold; thence up Snake River and in a northeast direction twenty-five miles; thence southwardly parallel to the Missouri River to a point opposite and twenty-five miles east of old Ft. Clarke; thence west to a point on the Missouri River opposite to old Ft. Clarke; thence up the Missouri River to the Place of beginning: Provided, That the premises here named shall not be a harbor for Sioux or other Indians when they are hostile to the tribes, parties to this treaty; but it shall be the duty of the United States to protect and defend these tribes in the lawful occupation of their homes, and in the enjoyment of their civil rights, as the white people are protected in theirs.

ARTICLE 2.
It is also agreed by the three tribes aforesaid, now united in this treaty as aforesaid, that in consideration of the premises named in the aforesaid treaty, and the further consideration of the cession of lands at Snake River, in addition to the payments by the United States of annuities there named to the Arickarees, there shall be paid five thousand dollars to the Gros Ventres, and five thousand dollars to the Mandans, annually, in goods, at the discretion of the President. And for the Gros Ventres and Mandan tribes twenty per cent of their annuity may be expended for agricultural, mechanical, and other purposes as specified in the latter clause of Article Seven of the aforesaid treaty.

And also out of the aforesaid annuity to the Gros Ventres there shall be paid to the first, or principal chief, the sum of two hundred dollars each, annually, and to the six soldier chiefs, the sum of fifty dollars each, annually.

There shall also be paid to the head, or principal chief, of the Mandans, out of the annuities of said tribe, the sum of two hundred dollars, annually, and to each of the nine soldier chiefs, the sum of fifty dollars, annually.

In testimony whereof the aforesaid commissioners on the part of the United States, and the chiefs and headmen of the aforementioned tribes of Indians, have hereunto set their hands this twenty-seventh day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, after the contents thereof had been previously read, interpreted, and explained to the chiefs and headmen of the aforementioned tribes.

NEWTON EDMUNDS. [SEAL.]
S. R. CURTIS. [SEAL.]
ORRIN GUERNSEY. [SEAL.]
HERNY W. REED. [SEAL.]

Signatures of Arickarees:

White Shield, Head Chief, his x mark.
Rushing Bear, Second Chief, his x mark.
Wolf Necklace, Chief, his x mark.
Bear of the woods, Chief, his x mark.
Whistling Bear, Chief, his x mark.
Iron Bear, Soldier C., his x mark.
Black trail, Second Chief, his x mark.
The Two Bears, Chief, his x mark.

The Yellow Knife, Chief, his x mark.

The Crow Chief, Chief, his x mark.

Gros Ventres Chiefs:

Crow Breast, Head Chief, his x mark.

Poor Wolf, Second Chief, his x mark.

Red Tail, his x mark.

The War Chief, his x mark.

Short Tail Bull, his x mark.

One whose mouth rubbed with cherries, his x mark.

The Yellow Shirt, his x mark.

Chief Soldiers;

The Flying Crow, his x mark.

The Many Antelope, his x mark.

One who eats no marrow, his x mark.

Mandan Chiefs:

The Red Cow, his x mark.

The Running Eagle, his x mark.

The Big Turtle, his x mark.

The Scabby Wolf, his x mark.

The Crazy Chief, his x mark.

The Crow Chief, his x mark.

Chief Soldiers:

One who strikes in the back, his x mark.
Signed by the commissioners on the part of the United States, and by the Chiefs and headmen after the treaty had been fully read, interpreted and explained in our presence.

Witnesses to the above signatures:

*Chas. A. Reed, Secty. of Commission.*

*Mahlon Wilkinson, Agent.*

*M. K. Armstrong, Asst. Secy.*

*Reuben S. Pike.*

U. S. interpreters:

*Charles Reader.*

*C. F. Picotte.*

*Charles Larpenteur.*

*Pierre Garreau, his x mark.*

*Charles Papin.*
SIR: I have the honor to report that I have consulted the best guides and obtained all available information in addition to my own examination, as far as it was practicable, in regard to a reservation for the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan Indians.

I had an interview with the chiefs of the three tribes, and read the communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, forwarded to me from the commanding general of the department, with which they seemed much pleased. I proposed to them the following reservation, with which they seemed much pleased. I proposed to them the following reservation, with which they were satisfied: From a point on the Missouri River 4 miles below the Indian village (Berthold), in a northeast direction 3 miles (so as to include the wood and grazing around the village); from this point a line running so as to strike the Missouri River at the junction of Little Knife River with it; thence along the left bank of the Missouri River to the mouth of the Yellowstone River, along the south bank of the Yellowstone River to the Powder River, up the Powder River to where the Little Powder River unites with it; thence in a direct line across to the starting point 4 miles below Berthold. The Indians desired that the reservation should extend to the Mouse River, but in view of a railroad passing over that country I did not accede to their wish. They seemed to comprehend my reason for not doing so, and were satisfied. I have endeavored in this proposed reservation to give them land enough to cultivate and for hunting and grazing purposes. I inclose a sketch of the proposed reservation.

Very respectfully, sir,

S. A. WAINWRIGHT,
Captain Twenty-second Infantry, Commanding Post.

Bvt. Brig. Gen. O. D. GREENE,
SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a letter of Capt. S. A. Wainwright, Twenty-second United States Infantry, commanding post at Fort Stevenson, Dak., dated September 25 last, indorsed respectively by the commanding officer of the Department of Dakota and by the assistant adjutant-general of the Military Division of the Missouri, and forwarded by the Adjutant-General of the United States Army to this office, relative to setting apart of a reservation for the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan Indians.

This has been the subject of correspondence before between Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock, commanding Department of Dakota, and this office.

General Hancock, in a letter dated near Fort Rice, Dak., July 21, 1869, addressed to Bvt. Maj. Gen. George L. Hartsuff, assistant adjutant-general, Military Division of the Missouri (copy of which has been furnished by direction of Lieutenant-General Sheridan to this office), states that the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan Indians, among others, complain “that whites came on their land at Berthold and cut wood for sale to steam-boats. They want this stopped. They are willing that boats should go and cut all they want, but do not want strangers to come and sell their wood while they are starving; they want to cut and sell it themselves.”

General Hancock further states, in the letter above referred to, that he did not know whether those Indians had a reservation or not, and that he has instructed the commanding officer at Fort Stevenson to examine the country about Berthold and to recommend what portions should be set off for them.

By letter dated August 16 last General Hancock was informed by this office that by the treaty concluded at Fort Laramie October 17, 1851, which was not ratified, but was amended by the Senate, and the stipulations as amended fulfilled by the Government, the following are given as the boundaries of a reservation for the Gros Ventres, Arickarees, and Mandans, viz: Commencing at the mouth of Heart River; thence up the Missouri to the mouth of Yellowstone River; thence up the Yellowstone to the mouth of Powder River; thence southeast to the headwaters of the Little Missouri River; thence along the Black Hills to the head of Heart River, and down said river to the place of beginning.

A subsequent treaty was concluded with these Indians at Fort Berthold July 27, 1866. This makes no provision in regard to a reservation. The Indians, parties to the same, grant to the United States the right to lay out and construct roads, highways, and telegraph lines through their country, and they cede to the United States “their right and title to the following lands, situated on the northeast side of the Missouri River, to wit: Beginning on the Missouri River, at the mouth of Snake River, about 30 miles below Fort Berthold; thence up Snake River in a northeast direction 25 miles; thence southwardly, parallel to the Missouri River, to a point opposite and 25 miles east of old Fort Clarke; thence west to a point on the Missouri River opposite the old Fort Clarke; thence up the Missouri River to the place of beginning.”

This treaty has never been ratified, but appropriations have been made by Congress in accordance with its provisions. There are no treaty stipulations with these Indians relative to a reservation for them which have been ratified.
It is proper here to state that the reservation as proposed by Captain Wainwright is a part of the country belonging to the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan Indians, according to the agreement of Fort Laramie, with the addition of a strip of land east of the Missouri River from Fort Berthold Indian village to the mouth of Little Knife River, as shown by the inclosed diagram; and I therefore respectfully recommend that an order of the Executive may be invoked, directing the setting apart of a reservation for said Indians as proposed.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. S. PARKER, Commissioner.

Hon. J. D. COX,
Secretary of the Interior.
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
Washington, D. C., April 12, 1870.

SIR: I have the honor herewith to lay before you a communication dated the 2d instant, from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, together with the accompanying papers, reporting the selection by Captain Wainwright, Twenty-second Infantry, of a reservation for the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan Indians, and respectfully recommend that the lands included within the boundary lines of said reserve be set apart for those Indians by Executive order, as indicated in the inclosed diagram of the same.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

J. D. COX, Secretary.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 12, 1870.

Let the lands indicated in the accompanying diagram be set apart as a reservation for the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan Indians, as recommended in the letter of Secretary of the Interior of the 12th instant.

U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 13, 1880.

It is hereby ordered that all that portion of the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan Reservations set aside by Executive order dated April 12, 1870, and known as the Fort Berthold Reservation, and situated in the Territories of Dakota and Montana, respectively, lying within the following boundaries, viz, beginning at a point where the northern forty-mile limit of the grant to the Northern Pacific Railroad intersects the present southeast boundary of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation; thence westerly with the line of said forty-mile limit to its intersection with range line, between ranges 92 and 93 west of the fifth principal meridian; thence north along said range line to its intersection with the south bank of the Little Missouri River; thence northwesterly along and up the south bank of said Little Missouri River, with the meanders thereof to its intersection with the range line between ranges 96 and 97 west of the fifth principal meridian; thence westerly in a straight line to the southeast corner of the Fort Buford Military Reservation; thence west along the south boundary of said military reservation and the south bank of the Yellowstone River to the Powder River; thence up the Powder River to where the Little Powder River unites with it; thence northeasterly in a direct line to the point of beginning, be and the same hereby is, restored to the public domain.

And it is further ordered that the tract of country in the Territory of Dakota, lying within the following-described boundaries, viz, beginning on the most easterly point of the present Fort Berthold Indian Reservation (on the Missouri River); thence north to the township line between townships 158 and 159 north; thence west along said township line to its intersection with the White Earth River; thence down the said White Earth River to its junction with the Missouri River; thence along the present boundary of the Fort Berthold
Indian Reservation and the left bank of the Missouri River to the mouth of the Little Knife
River; thence southeasterly in a direct line to the point of beginning, be, and the same hereby
is, withdrawn from sale and set apart for the use of the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan
Indians, as an addition to the present reservation in said Territory.

R. B. HAYES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 17, 1892.

It is hereby ordered that the following-described lands, situated and lying in the State of
North Dakota, namely, all that portion of township 147 north, range 87 west, lying north of
the Missouri River, in the State of North Dakota, not included within the Fort Stevenson
military reservation, said State, be, and the same is hereby, withdrawn from sale and
settlement, and added to the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation: Provided, however, That any
tract or tracts, if any, the title to which has passed out of the United States, or to which valid
legal rights have attached under the existing laws of the United States providing for the
disposition of the public domain, are hereby excepted and excluded from the addition hereby
made to the said Fort Berthold Indian Reservation.

BENJ. HARRISON.
Sioux (Standing Rock) Reserve.
[Occupied by Blackfeet, Hunkpapa, Lower and Upper Yanktonai Sioux; area, 4,176 square miles; established by treaty April 29, 1868, and act of February 28, 1877 (19 Stat., 254).]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 16, 1875.

It is hereby ordered that the tract of country in the Territory of Dakota lying within the following-described boundaries, viz: Commencing at a point where the one hundred and second degree of west longitude intersects the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude; thence north on said one hundred and second degree of longitude to the south bank of the Cannon Ball River; thence down and with the south bank of said river to a point on the east side of the Missouri River opposite the mouth of said Cannon Ball River; thence down and with the east bank of the Missouri River to the mouth of Beaver River; thence up and with the south bank of Beaver River to the one hundredth degree of west longitude; thence south with said one hundredth degree of longitude to the forty-sixth parallel of latitude; thence west with said parallel of latitude to the place of beginning, be, and the same hereby is, withdrawn from sale and set apart for the use of the several tribes of Sioux Indians, as an addition to their present reservation in said Territory.

U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 28, 1876.

It is hereby ordered that the tract of the country in the Territory of Dakota on the east side of the Missouri River, lying within the following boundaries, viz: Commencing at a point on the south bank of Beaver River, intersected by the one hundredth degree of west longitude; thence in a direct line to the east corner of the Fort Rice Military Reservation; thence in a southwestern direction along the said military reservation to the east bank of the Missouri River; thence with the east bank of the Missouri to the mouth of Beaver River; thence up and with the south bank of Beaver River to the place of beginning, be, and the same hereby is, withdrawn from sale and set apart for the use of the several tribes of Sioux Indians as an addition to their present reservation in said Territory.

U. S. GRANT.

(See South Dakota for executive order of August 9, 1879, post page 898.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 20, 1884.

It is hereby ordered that the lands embraced within the three existing Executive additions to the Great Sioux Reservation, in Dakota, east of the Missouri River, viz, the one opposite the Standing Rock Agency, the one opposite the mouth of Grand River and the site of the old Grand River Agency, and the one opposite the mouth of Big Cheyenne River and the Cheyenne River Agency, be, and the same are hereby, restored to the mass of the public domain, the same being no longer needed for the purpose for which they were withdrawn from sale and settlement.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.
Turtle Mountain Reserve.
EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 21, 1882.

It is hereby ordered that the following-described country in the Territory of Dakota, viz:
Beginning at a point on the international boundary where the tenth guide meridian west of
the fifth principal meridian (being the range line between ranges 73 and 74 west of the fifth
principal meridian) will, when extended, intersect said international boundary; thence south
on the tenth guide meridian to the southeast corner of township 161 north, range 74 west;
thence east on the fifteenth standard parallel north, to the northeast corner of township 160
north, range 74 west; thence south on the tenth guide meridian west to the southeast corner
of township 159 north, range 74 west; thence east on the line between townships 158 and
159 north to the southeast corner of township 159 north, range 70 west; thence north with
the line between ranges 69 and 70 west to the northeast corner of township 160 north, range
70 west; thence west on the fifteenth standard parallel north to the southeast corner of
township 161 north, range 70 west; thence north on the line between ranges 69 and 70 west
to the international boundary; thence west on the international boundary to the place of
beginning, be, and the same is hereby, withdrawn from sale and settlement and set apart for
the use and occupancy of the Turtle Mountain band of Chippewas and such other Indians of
the Chippewa tribe as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle thereon.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 29, 1884.

It is hereby ordered that the tract of country in the Territory of Dakota withdrawn from sale
and settlement and set apart for the use and occupancy of the Turtle Mountain band of
Chippewa Indians by Executive order dated December 21, 1882, except townships 162 and
163 north, range 71 west, be, and the same is hereby, restored to the mass of the public
domain.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 3, 1884.

The Executive order dated March 29, 1884, whereby certain lands in the Territory of Dakota
previously set apart for the use and occupancy of the Turtle Mountain band of Chippewa
Indians were, with the exception of townships 162 and 163 north, range 71 west, restored to
the mass of the public domain, is hereby amended so as to substitute township 162 north,
range 70 west, for township 163 north, range 71 west, the purpose and effect of such
amendment being to withdraw from sale and settlement and set apart for the use and
occupancy of said Indians said township 162 north, range 70 west, in lieu of township 163
north, range 71 west, which last-mentioned township is thereby restored to the mass of the
public domain.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.
EXTENSION OF TRUST PERIOD ON CERTAIN ALLOTMENTS MADE TO INDIANS OF
THE DEVILS LAKE RESERVATION, NORTH DAKOTA

It is hereby ordered, under authority contained in section 5 of the act of February 8, 1887 (24 Stat. 388-389), that the trust period on allotments on the Devils Lake Reservation, North Dakota, which trust expires during the calendar year 1930, be, and is hereby extended for a period of ten years from date of expiration, with the exception of the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ALLOTMENT NUMBER</th>
<th>NAME OF ALLOTTEE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1188</td>
<td>Makana (deceased)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HERBERT HOOVER.

THE WHITE HOUSE, March 12, 1930.
[No. 5303]
PART
IMPORTANT COURT DECISIONS ON INDIAN TRIBAL RIGHTS AND PROPERTY
December 1, 1930 | 71 Ct. Cls., 308

VALIDITY OF THE FORT LARAMIE TREATY OF
SEPTEMBER 17, 1851
COURT OF CLAIMS OF THE UNITED STATES
(Decided Dec. 1, 1930—71 Ct. Cls., 308.)

Section

THE INDIANS OF THE FORT BERTHOLD INDIAN RESERVATION IN THE STATE
OF NORTH DAKOTA, COMPRISING THE TRIBES KNOWN AS THE ARICKAREES,
THE GROS VENTRES, AND THE MANDANS, AND THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS
THEREOF, V. THE UNITED STATES. NO. B-449

Mr. Charles H. Merillat for the plaintiffs. Mr. Charles J. Kappler was on the briefs.
Mr. George T. Stormont, with whom was Mr. Assistant Attorney General Herman J.
Galloway, for the defendant.
This cause having been heard by the Court of Claims on the evidence adduced, the court
makes the following

SPECIAL FINDINGS OF FACT

Section 2 | 2

This suit is brought under a special jurisdictional act, approved February 11, 1920 (41 Stat.
404), which provides as follows:

Whereas the Indians of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation in the State of North Dakota,
including the tribes known as the Arickarees, the Gros Ventres, and the Mandans, and the
individual members of such tribes, make claim against the United States on account of
various treaty provisions, which, it is alleged, have not been complied with, and on account
of various encroachments upon the appropriation by said Government of territory of said
tribes and Indians: Therefore

1See United States v. Northern Pacific Railway Co., decided by Supreme Court
December 16, 1940, 311 U.S.

2Covering subjects of Value; Just Compensation including interest; Ownership of
natural resources on treaty reservations; Interpretation of treaties; Validity of
unproclaimed Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851; Creation of Indian reservations;
Jurisdiction over New York Indians; Indian rights under foreign treaties; Powers of
Indian Tribes; Nature of Set-offs and gratuities allowed against Indian claims, etc.
Be it enacted, [&c.] That all claims of whatsoever nature which any or all of the tribes of Indians of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota, may have against the United States, which have not heretofore been determined by the Court of Claims, may be submitted to the Court of Claims, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States by either party, for determination of the amount, if any, due said tribes from the United States under any treaties, agreements, or laws of Congress, or for the misappropriation of any of the funds of said tribes, or for the failure of the United States to pay said tribe any money or other property due; and jurisdiction is hereby conferred upon the Court of Claims, with the right of either party to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, to hear and determine all legal and equitable claims, if any, of said tribe against the United States, and to enter judgment thereon.

SEC. 2

That if any claim or claims be submitted to said courts, they shall settle the rights therein, both legal and equitable, of each and all the parties thereto, notwithstanding lapse of time or statutes of limitation, and any payment which may have been made upon any claim so submitted shall not be pleaded as an estoppel, but may be pleaded as an offset in such suits or actions, and the United States shall be allowed credit for all sums heretofore paid or expended for the benefit of said tribe or any band thereof. The claim or claims of the said tribes or band or bands thereof may be presented separately or jointly by petition, subject, however, to amendment, suit to be filed within five years after the passage of this Act; and such action shall make the petitioner or petitioners party plaintiff of [sic] plaintiff[s] and the United States party defendant, and any band or bands of said tribe the court may deem necessary to a final determination of such suit or suits may be joined therein as the court may order. Such petition, which shall be verified by a petitioner or an attorney employed by said petitioner, tribes of any bands thereof, shall set forth all the facts on which the claims for recovery are based, and said petition shall be signed by the attorney or attorneys employed, and no other verifications shall be necessary. Official letters, papers, documents, and public records, or certified copies thereof, may be used in evidence, and the departments of the Government shall give access to the attorney or attorneys of said tribe or bands thereof to such treaties, papers, correspondence, or records as may be needed by the attorney or attorneys for said tribes or bands of Indians.

SEC. 3

That upon the final determination of such suit, cause, or action the Court of Claims shall decree such fees as it shall find reasonable to be paid the attorney or attorneys employed therein by said tribe or bands of Indians, under contracts negotiated and approved as provided by existing law, and in no case shall the fee decreed by said Court of Claims be in excess of the amounts stipulated in the contracts approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior, and no attorney shall have a right to represent the said tribe or any band thereof in any suit, cause, or action under the provisions of this act until his contract shall have been approved as herein provided. The fees decreed by the court to the attorney or attorneys of record shall be paid out of any sum or sums recovered in such suits or actions, and no part of such fee shall be taken from any money in the Treasury of the United States belonging to such tribes or bands of Indians in whose behalf the suit is brought unless specifically authorized in the contract approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Secretary of the Interior as herein provided: Provided, That in no case shall the
fees decreed by said court amount to more than 10 per centum of the amount of the judgment recovered in such case.

II

A petition under the provisions of the foregoing act was filed in this court July 31, 1924.

III

The plaintiff tribes during the period hereinafter referred to were blanket Indians, illiterate, unskilled, and not advanced in civilization; few, if any, could speak or understand the English language. They were uninformed and had no knowledge of the units of measure of land, or understanding of the technical description of a tract of land except in terms of natural boundaries.

IV

Following the discovery of gold on the Pacific coast, travel across the plains and through the country exclusively occupied by the plaintiff tribes increased greatly and caused great destruction of the buffalo and game, the chief means of livelihood of the plains and mountain Indians, and the grass and timber in the region traversed, occasioned serious resentment among the Indians in occupancy of the land, who considered themselves entitled to compensation for the right of way, through the territory claimed by them, and also for the destruction of the buffalo, game, etc.

Prior to the year 1851 costly Indian wars had been experienced. The defendant was desirous of promoting peace among the various tribes and securing their friendship and the safe transit of emigrants over the plains.

To this end, an appropriation was made by Congress February 27, 1851 (9 Stat. 572), to defray "the expenses of holding treaties with the wild tribes of the prairie, and for bringing delegates on to the seat of Government." In compliance with the provisions of the said act the President appointed D.D. Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian agent, as commissioners to conduct the authorized negotiations. The commissioners were instructed that the Indians with whom the negotiations were to be held were "entirely ignorant of their position and relation to the Government," and should be made to understand the policy to be pursued by the Government towards them; that—

A paramount objective will be...to define by treaty stipulations what is and will be the reciprocal obligations existing between them and the Government and our citizens.

It was further stated:

A portion of the tribes own or claim the country through which the inland routes pass to Oregon, California, Utah, and New Mexico. Our emigrants make free use of the grass and timber on the routes, and not only destroy much game but disturb and scatter it so as materially to interfere with the success of the Indians in their hunting expeditions, by which
they procure their only means of subsistence. For the unrestricted right of way through the country and for the other advantages enjoyed and the injuries committed by the emigrants the Indians consider themselves entitled to a reasonable compensation, and have for some time been led to expect it by the promises which have been made on the authority of the Government. *** Justice and good policy, therefore, alike require that such compensation be made to the Indians as will satisfy their reasonable expectations and conciliate their good will.

It was added:

It is important, if practicable, to establish for each tribe some fixed boundaries within which they should stipulate generally to reside, and each should agree not to intrude within the limits assigned to another tribe without its consent. If in arranging such boundaries there should be a portion of country not included where it has been their habit to go periodically in pursuit of game, it should be recognized as a neutral ground, where all will enjoy equal privileges and have no right to molest or interfere with one another.

In due course the following tribes of Indians assembled at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, to negotiate with the commissioners of the United States, the Sioux of the Missour, River country, the Assinaboin, Gros Ventres, Mandans, Arickarees, Crows, Shoshonesi Cheyennes, and Arapahoes, comprising all the important tribes of the Great Plains and eastern Rocky Mountains. A peace treaty was signed September 17, 1851 (11 Stat. 749), to which the United States was party of the first part and the assembled Indian tribes parties of the second part, except the Shoshones, whom the commissioners did not consider were embraced within the terms of their authority. In the report by the defendant's commissioners dated November 11, 1851, it was stated that "the most important provisions" in the treaty were—

1. The right *** granted *** to the United States to establish roads, military and other posts through the Indian country, so far as they claim or exercise ownership over it.

2. The solemn obligation *** to maintain peaceful relations among themselves and to abstain from all depredations upon whites passing through the country, and to make restitution for any damage or loss that a white man shall sustain by the acts of their people.

3. The settling up of all former complaints *** for the destruction of their buffalo, timber, grass, caused in passing of the whites through their country;

4. The promise of annuity of $50,000 for 50 years ***.

And further, that—

The laying off of the country into geographical, or rather national domains, I regard as a very important measure, inasmuch as it will take away a great cause of quarrel among themselves, and at the same time enable the Government to ascertain who are the depredators, should depredations hereafter be committed. The accompanying map, from which these national boundaries are clearly marked and defined, was made in the presence of the Indians, fully approved and sanctioned by all *** having the treaty in all its provisions, I am clearly of the opinion that it is the best that could have been made for both parties. I am moreover of the opinion that it will be observed and carried out in as good faith on the part of the Indians as it will on the part of the United States and the white people
thereof. There was an earnest solemnity and deep conviction of the necessity of adopting some such measures evident in the conduct and manners of the Indians throughout the whole council.

V

Article 1

The treaty of Fort Laramie, dated September 17, 1851 (11 Stat. 749), is as follows:

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Fort Laramie, in the Indian Territory, between D.D. Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian agent, commissioners specially appointed and authorized by the President of the United States, of the first part, and the chiefs, headmen, and braves of the following Indian nations, residing south of the Missouri River, east of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the lines of Texas and New Mexico, viz., the Sioux or Dahcotahs, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Crows, Assinaboines, Gros Ventres, Mandans, and Arickarees,

parties of the second part, on the seventeenth day of September, A.D., one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.

ARTICLE 1.

The aforesaid nations, parties to this treaty, having assembled for the purpose of establishing and confirming peaceful relations amongst themselves, do hereby covenant and agree to abstain in future from all hostilities whatever against each other, to maintain good faith and friendship in all their mutual intercourse, and to make an effective and lasting peace.

ARTICLE 2.

The aforesaid nations do hereby recognize the right of the United States Government to establish roads, military and other posts, within their respective territories.

ARTICLE 3.

In consideration of the rights and privileges acknowledged in the preceding article, the United States bind themselves to protect the aforesaid Indian nations against the commission of all depredations by the people of the said United States, after the ratification of this treaty.

ARTICLE 4.

The aforesaid Indian nations do hereby agree and bind themselves to make restitution or satisfaction for any wrongs committed, after the ratification of this treaty, by any band or individual of their people, on the people of the United States, whilst lawfully residing in or passing through their respective territories.
ARTICLE 5.

The aforesaid Indian nations do hereby recognize and acknowledge the following tracts of country, included within the metes and boundaries hereinafter designated, as their respective territories, viz:

The territory of the Sioux or Dahcotah Nation, ***

The territory of the Gros Ventre, Mandan, and Arickaree Nations, commencing at the mouth of the Heart River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Yellowstone River; thence up the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Powder River in a southeasterly direction to the headwaters of the Little Missouri River; thence along the Black Hills to the head of Heart River; and thence down Heart River to the place of beginning.

The territory of the Assinaboin Nation. ***

The territory of the Blackfoot Nation. ***

The territory of the Crow Nation. ***

The territory of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. ***

It is, however, understood that, in making this recognition and acknowledgment, the aforesaid Indian nations do not hereby abandon or prejudice any rights or claims they may have to other lands; and further, that they do not surrender the privilege of hunting, fishing, or passing over any of the tracts of country heretofore described.

ARTICLE 6.

The parties to the second part of this treaty having selected principals or head chiefs for their respective nations, through whom all national business will hereafter be conducted, do hereby bind themselves to sustain said chiefs and their successors during good behavior.

ARTICLE 7.

In consideration of the treaty stipulations, and for the damages which have or may occur by reason thereof to the Indian nations, parties hereto, and for their maintenance and the improvement of their moral and social customs, the United States bind themselves to deliver to the said Indian nations the sum of fifty thousand dollars per annum for the term of ten years, with the right to continue the same at the discretion of the President of the United States for a period not exceeding five years thereafter, in provisions, merchandise, domestic animals, and agricultural implements, in such proportions as may be deemed best adapted to their condition by the President of the United States, to be distributed in proportion to the population of the aforesaid Indian nations.

ARTICLE 8.

It is understood and agreed that should any of the Indian nations, parties to this treaty, violate any of the provisions thereof, the United States may withhold the whole or a portion
of the annuities mentioned in the preceding article from the nation so offending, until, in the opinion of the President of the United States, proper satisfaction shall have been made.

The Blackfoot Nation did not reach Fort Laramie in time to take part in the treaty negotiations nor to execute the treaty. They subsequently made a separate treaty in harmony with the foregoing.

VI

The treaty of Fort Laramie of September 17, 1851, was approved by the Senate May 24, 1852, after amending article 7, as provided above, by reducing the period of annual payments from 50 to 10 years with authority, in the discretion of the Executive, to extend its terms for an additional period of 5 years.

The treaty as modified was returned to the tribes concerned and the assent of all was in due course secured. Due to an administrative oversight the treaty was never formally proclaimed. However, Congress thereafter made annual appropriations to carry its terms into effect.

VII

Owing to the failure of the formality of proclaiming and establishing the treat of Fort Laramie, the defendant's administrative officials erroneously assumed that it had not been ratified; that its provisions were not binding upon the defendant Government and that the plaintiffs were not possessed of any property or reservation rights. Instructions to this effect were given, by defendant's officials in answer to inquiries relative to the administration of plaintiff's affairs and in connection with the disposition of plaintiffs' appeals and complaints concerning encroachments and depredations on their land.

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VIII

Following the outbreak of the War of Rebellion of 1862, many of the tribes west of the Mississippi, but not including the plaintiffs, resumed their hostilities. Frontier settlements were attacked, communications between the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific coast were interrupted and emigrant trains were attacked and destroyed. In 1865 military operations against the offending tribes were pushed with vigor, with the result that the warring tribes sued for peace. A commission was in due course appointed by the President and proceeded to the regions of the upper Arkansas and upper Missouri to negotiate treaties of peace.

Under date of July 12, 1866, a treaty was negotiated with the plaintiffs, but never ratified by Congress by the terms of which the plaintiffs stipulated to grant defendant the right to lay out and construct roads, highways and telegraphs through "their country" and to cede to the defendant certain lands situated on the northeast side of the Missouri River. In consideration of the foregoing, the provisions contemplated a payment by the defendant of $20,000 annually for twenty years to the plaintiff tribes.
IX

Under the provisions of an Executive order dated August 18, 1868, there was established, within the boundaries of the plaintiffs' territory as described in the treaty of Fort Laramie, the Fort Buford Reservation, comprising 98,645.67 acres.

X

Owing to the uncertainty in the minds of the defendant's officers of the validity and effect of the Treaty of Fort Laramie and of the existence of reservation rights in the plaintiff tribes, the major general commanding the military department of Dakota, under date of July 21, 1869, reported to his superior that he had visited the Indians at Fort Berthold; had had a council with them and had received complaints from them that white men were coming on their land at Berthold and cutting the wood for sale to the steamboats; that he had told the Indians that he did not know whether they had a reservation or not; that if they had, they should be protected in their rights; that he had promised to report the matter; and that he had instructed the commanding officer at Fort Stevenson to examine the country around Berthold and to recommend what portion should be set off for them. This report was forwarded through official channels to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The commissioner in reply, under date of August 16, 1869, advised the military commander of the department of Dakota of the "boundaries of the reservation for the Gros Ventres, Arickarees, and Mandans," as set out in the treaty of Fort Laramie of September 17, 1851; and of the provisions of the unratified treaty of July 27, 1866, and added that "there are no treaty stipulations with these Indians relative to a reservation for them, which have been ratified."

On September 25, 1869, the commanding officer at Fort Stevenson, in compliance with orders duly given, reported that he had consulted the best guides and had obtained all available information, in addition to his own examination as far as it was practicable in regard to a reservation for the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan Indians; that he had had an interview with the chiefs of the three tribes; had read to them the communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, forwarded by the commanding general of the department, and had "proposed to them the following reservation, ***."

From a point on the Missouri River four miles above [below] the Indian village of Berthold in a NE. direction three miles (so as to include the wood and grazing around the village), from this point a line to run so as to strike the Missouri River at the junction of Little Knife River with it, thence along the left bank of the Missouri River, to the mouth of the Yellowstone River along the south bank of the Yellowstone River to the Powder River, up the Powder River to where the Little Powder River unites with it, thence in a direct line across to the starting point four miles above [below] Berthold.

He further reported that the Indians desired that the reservation should extend to Mouse River, 75 or 100 miles north of the Missouri River, but that he explained to the Indians why this could not be done, which explanation satisfied them; and that in

the proposed reservation he had endeavored to give them land enough to cultivate and for hunting and grazing purposes.
This report was forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and by him to the Secretary of the Interior, with a recommendation that the reservation as proposed be set apart by Executive order. The recommendation was laid before the President on April 12, 1870, with a recommendation of adoption, and on the same date the President issued the following order:

WASHINGTON, D.C., April 12, 1870.

Let the lands indicated in the accompanying diagram be set apart as a reservation for the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan Indians, as recommended in the letter of Secretary of the Interior of the 12th instant.

U.S. GRANT.

The reservation thus established formed part of the territory claimed by the plaintiff Indians in the Fort Laramie treaty, with the addition of a strip of land on the east (or north) bank of the Missouri River from the Indian village to the mouth of Little Knife River.

XI

Under the provisions of an act of July 2, 1864 (13 Stat. 365), amended by joint resolution of May 31, 1870 (16 Stat. 378), the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. was incorporated and authorized to build a railroad from St. Paul, Minnesota, to the Pacific coast, and in aid of construction the defendant granted to the railroad company every alternate section of public land along the line of its road. Section 2 of the same act made provision for the extinguishment of Indian title to whatever lands were held by Indians in the said grant. The line of the Northern Pacific Railroad ran through the lands of the plaintiff as described by the treaty of Fort Laramie.

XII

On June 23, 1878, the officials of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company formally advised the Commission of Indian Affairs that the Missouri division of the railroad, then under construction, ran through the reservation of the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan Indians, as established by the Executive order of April 12, 1870; that the lands granted by Congress in aid of construction of the railroad, to a considerable extent, embraced the reservation of the said tribes and requested that the plaintiff's reservation be so altered by Executive order and the Indian title extinguished as soon as possible so as to free the grant to the railroad company from any claim of title.

XIII

On July 9, 1879, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported to the Secretary of the Interior, with reference to the request of the officials of the Northern Pacific Railroad Co.:

In view of the fact that the existence, in their present form, of these reservations is a bar to the settlement and development of a large portion of two of our most important territories and it appearing upon investigation that outside of hunting purposes the Indians have no particular use for the same, and considering also the opinions advanced by military officers upon the subject, I am of the opinion that a reduction of both reservations, to the extent
hereinafter suggested, may be made without detriment to the service and with material advantage to the country locally and at large.

It was recommended that the reservation be reduced by the boundaries therein suggested and as described in the next finding, and that in lieu of the Indian lands thus restored to the public domain there be added to the Fort Berthold Reservation by Executive order certain described lands bordering on the north bank of the Missouri River.

**XIV**

In compliance with the foregoing recommendations, under date of July 13, 1880, the President by Executive order directed that a portion of the reservation set up in the Executive order of April 12, 1870, "be restored to the public domain", to wit:

Beginning at a point where the northern forty-mile limit of the grant to the Northern Pacific Railroad intersects the present southeast boundary of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation; thence

westerly with range line of said forty-mile limit to its intersection with range line, between ranges 92 and 93, west of the fifth principal meridian; thence north along said range line to its intersection with the south bank of the Little Missouri River; thence northwesterly along and up the south bank of the said Little Missouri River, with the meanders thereof to its intersection with the range line between ranges 96 and 97 west of the fifth principal meridian; thence westerly in a straight line to the southeast corner of the Fort Buford military reservation; thence west along the south boundary of said military reservation to the south bank of the Yellowstone River, the present northwest boundary of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation; thence along the present boundary of said reservation to the south bank of the Yellowstone River to the Powder River; thence up the Powder River to where the Little Powder River unites with it; thence northeasterly in a direct line to the point of beginning.

It was also ordered that further described territory "should be withdrawn from sale and set apart for the use of the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan Indians as an addition to their present reservation," to wit:

Beginning on the most northeasterly point of the present Fort Berthold Indian Reservation (on the Missouri River); thence North to the township line between townships 58 and 59 N.; thence West along said township lines to its intersection with the white Earth River; thence down the said White Earth River to its junction with the Missouri River; thence along the present boundary of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation and the left bank of the Missouri River to the mouth of the Little Knife River; thence southeasterly in a direct line to the point of beginning.

**XV**

Under date of December 14, 1886, a treaty was entered into on the part of the plaintiff tribes and the defendant, under the provisions of which the plaintiffs ceded to the defendant
All their right, title, and interest in and to the land north of the 48 parallel N. latitude and west of a north and south line six miles W. of the most westerly point of the big bend in the Missouri River, south of the 48 north latitude, in consideration of the payment of $80,000 for ten years and the allotment to the members of the plaintiff tribes from the diminished reservation of the following parcels of land, to wit:

160 acres to each head of family.
80 acres to each single person over 18.
80 acres to each orphan under 18.
40 acres to each person under 18.

Other provisions were incorporated relative to the creation of a trust for a period of 25 years and otherwise safeguarding the property rights of the members of the plaintiff tribes.

The foregoing treaty was duly ratified March 3, 1891 (26 Stat. 1032), and its provisions were in due course carried into effect.

XVI

Under date of June 17, 1892, the President, by Executive order withdrew from sale and settlement and set apart as an addition to the reservation all that portion of township 147 N., range 87 west, lying north of the Missouri River in the State of North Dakota, not included in the Fort Stevenson Military Reservation.

XVII

Following the execution of the Treaty of Fort Laramie the plaintiff tribes faithfully observed its provisions, committed no depredations and took no part in tribal wars; they permitted the whites to travel through their country without molestation, and submitted all complaints of violation by others of their treaty rights to the Indian agents and other officials of the defendant.

On numerous occasions, prior to the execution of the treaty of September 14, 1886, authorized spokesmen of the plaintiff tribes reiterated the complaint that since the making of the Treaty of Fort Laramie they had done nothing wrong; that their enemies, disregarding the provisions of the treaty, had made war upon them, in some instances killing their young men and stealing their horses, and that, in accord with the provisions of the treaty, appeals had been made to the defendant's representatives to effect redress, but that nothing had ever been done.

In numerous instances, in the annual reports of Indian agents in charge of the plaintiff tribes, and of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs it was stated, in substance,

that the plaintiff tribes were peaceable, reliable, and honest; that they had many complaints of depredations suffered by them at the hands of other tribes, parties to the treaty of Fort Laramie; that these marauding parties had invaded plaintiffs' territory, destroyed their crops, had stolen their horses and that they demanded that they be accorded their treaty rights at the hands of the defendant Government, or that they be supplied with more ammunition, rather than so many blankets, etc.; rifles rather than shot guns, so that they would be able to repel
the invading marauders and could hunt the buffalo, the elk and deer; that they had complained that the annuities provided for under the treaty of Fort Laramie were irregularly sent to them, were uncertain in quantity, varying in amount from year to year; that they had not received all that was sent to them; that greater quantities of food and ammunition were supplied to the Sioux and other marauding tribes who had thereafter been allowed to invade the plaintiffs' territory to rob and kill; and that such treatment was unjust and not in accord with the provisions of the treaty of Fort Laramie.

On many occasions the defendant's officials, in charge of the administration of the plaintiffs' affairs, expressed their doubt as to the validity and effect of the provisions of the treaty of 1851, and their doubt of any recognition by the defendant of the existence of a reservation or property right in the plaintiff tribes, to the territory described in the treaty of 1851, and on occasions advised the members of the plaintiff tribes of such opinion. In this circumstance "White Shield," chief of the Arickarees, stated to the defendant's agents in a council held on July 2, 1864

"We own the country from the Heart River to the Black Hills, from there to the Yellowstone River, north to the Mouse River ***. Our Great Father has promised us soldiers to help us keep the Dakotas out of our country. No help has come yet ***. We want to live in our country or have pay for it, as our Great Father used to do with his other red children ***.

XVIII

Under date of November 15, 1864, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported the foregoing to the Department of the Interior and added that the plaintiffs were anxious that new treaties should be made with them; that they "own large tracts of land South of the Missouri River which they would cede to the United States and go upon a reservation."

Under date of October 29, 1870, the Governor of the Dakota Territory, ex officio Supt. Ind. Affrs., in a report to the commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, referred to the efforts then being made by the chief engineer of the Dakota division of the Northern Pacific Railroad to effect "the location of that road through the lands which have been regarded by the Indians" of the Fort Berthold Reservation Agency "as belonging to them," and added that under date of September 29, 1869, the chiefs of the three tribes had addressed a letter to General Hancock, in which they stated "that this reservation was agreed upon 'many years ago' between them and 'commissioners * * *' and that

Since the signing of the treaty we have faithfully performed our part of the stipulation, and our Great Father at Washington must have been satisfied with our reservation within the limits mentioned, when in 1865 commissioners were sent to treat with us for a portion of the said reservation on which to erect military posts,...at the same time commissioners asked us for the right of way for soldiers as well as citizens to travel through our country to the Yellowstone and in the opposite direction, all of which we carefully granted. Had the country not been ours our Great Father, through his commissioners, would not, we think, have treated with us for the occupation or use of any portion of it, nor would we have the right to grant any such privilege.

Continuing, the same official states:

Whatever may have been the extent of the authority vested in the first commissioners referred to by these chiefs, and whatever may have been the purpose of the Government at that time it is very evident that this arrangement, as understood by the Indians, has not been
carried out to such an extent as to give them any vested right in the lands claimed by them. It is equally clear that no special pains has been taken to acquaint them with the true situation of affairs, and that they have been allowed to infer from the subsequent action of the representatives of the Government when treating with them, that their claim was a valid one. For this it is probable that no one has been especially to blame. Up to this time, the land has not been wanted for any other purpose, and it has been easier to give a tacit recognition of their claim than to incur their displeasure in denying it.

In 1874, when an effort was made to transfer them to a reservation in the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, it was reported that the plaintiffs had refused and had stated "they love their own country; their dead are buried there; the Government probably would not redeem its promises better there than here"; and that they did not care "to incur the risk of moving from the country they had so long called their home."

Following the execution of the Executive order of July 13, 1880, to free the "forty-mile limit" grant to the railroad of Indian titles, it was reported by the defendant's officials that the Indians complained that such action was arbitrarily done without their knowledge and consent and that such action had been the subject of severe complaint; that the property taken consisted of more than half their entire reservation; that their injured feelings were not satisfied by the addition which had been made to the north, which was rough land and undesirable, and that had they been consulted they never would have consented to the transfer. It was also reported that the plaintiff tribes were aware that the right of way for railroads through other Indian reservations had been secured by treaty for which those tribes now receive greater annuities and larger quantities of supplies than were received by the Fort Berthold Indians; that they often assert that the defendant Government did not treat the more powerful and war-like tribes in such manner and that they are now informed that because there was no treaty stipulation to fulfill with them, they can no longer be provided with certain supplies which they formerly enjoyed.

Prior to the issuance of the Executive orders of 1870 and 1880 the plaintiff Indians utilized practically the entire reservation for hunting. The trips were made annually and extended to the headwaters of the Knife River, near the southern boundary of the territory described in the Fort Laramie treaty, in the country surrounding the Little Missouri River, the center of the same territory, their chief hunting grounds, and extended northward to the Yellowstone River, the northwestern boundary of the reservation.

Under date of February 2, 1880, the commanding officer of Fort Stevenson, in answer to a direct inquiry from the headquarters of the Department of the Dakota, stated that practically the whole of the plaintiffs' reservation lying west of the Missouri River, so far as he could ascertain "is frequently visited by these Indians in pursuit of game, and I am informed by the agent of these Indians that the reservation is habitually used by them as contemplated by the Executive order of April 12, 1870 ***." Under date of January 26, 1880, the Indian agent at Fort Berthold reported to the commanding officer at Fort Stevenson, in answer to a direct inquiry, "you are respectfully informed that practically the entire reservation lies west of the Missouri River, and the greater portion of the same, if not the whole, is frequently visited by agency Indians in pursuing the chase; and I might say the same is habitually used by them as contemplated in Executive order of April 12, 1870."

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Under date of April 13, 1880, Indian agent at Fort Berthold reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the "Indians of this agency habitually make use of the entire reservation for hunting, trapping and other purposes and unquestionably habitually use the portion of the reservation which is embraced in the land grant to the Northern Pacific Railroad ***," and that "the character of the reservation outside the grant to the railroad company is not so well adapted to farming, raising, fishing, and hunting and the other necessities of the Indians ***. In my judgment, any alteration or change in the present reservation would greatly militate against the interest of the Indians.

"To diminish the reservation of these Indians west of the Missouri River would deprive them of nearly all their good farming lands and timber.

"No compensation for this loss could be given them by increasing the reservation east of the Missouri River, for the land is poor and barren and without water or timber, especially the latter."

It is clearly shown that the members of the plaintiff tribes were at all times entirely familiar with the history of the treaty of Fort Laramie and the later occurrences; that the treaty was made "to form peace between themselves and other tribes" in consideration for which the Government had agreed to give them rations for fifty years; that the Government began to issue rations and that they were making use of the land, but in the course of time they found out that the Government "that swore the oath that we should use these lands just simply took part of the lands without our consent and knowledge."

It is equally apparent that when the railroad reached Bismarck the members of the plaintiff tribes thought that it was not going any further; that when it was built through their territory and they saw the white settlers coming in they realized that the Government had taken their land away from them without their consent and they thought that some day the Government might recompense them for the same, but nothing was ever done and they said "we are like prisoners," and could do nothing. This land was valuable to them because it contained their livelihood; their wants were supplied from their gardens which they planted and the hunting of buffalo and deer supplied them with meat and clothing. They had never given their consent to the action taken under the authority of the Executive orders of 1870 and 1880 and noted their objection when the facts became known to them, for "the Indian knows the difference between an open deal and no deal at all." When the military reservations were established the plaintiffs were told that it was done to enable the Government's troops to protect them from their enemies; that the reservations belonged to the plaintiffs and that the Government desired only to occupy them; subsequently, after the defendant's troops had left, when the plaintiffs learned that the reservations had been sold, they protested, stating that the land belonged to them and that they were entitled to the proceeds.

The members of the plaintiff tribes at no time had any appreciation of the value of their property and even in the negotiations of the treaty of 1886 were entirely dependent upon and required the protection of the Government. They had, however, heard of the negotiations and cession treaties made with other tribes of Indians and had been informed of the rate of payment agreed upon as compensation for the land relinquished to the Government.
Before the entry of the railroad the country west of Bismarck was unsettled and used only by
the Indians. It was always good grazing land, and in the '70s it was free range. Stock was
introduced into the country in the middle '70s. In the '80s hundreds of thousands of head of
cattle and sheep were on the range.

In 1874 there were approximately 15,000 whites living within the old Fort Berthold
Reservation, engaged in transportation, Government work, steamboat work, railroad
construction and the ordinary business of a typical frontier country. After the railroad was
completed a large number remained and settled down to farming.

Coal was first discovered and mined in the Fort Stevenson Reservation in 1874. Wheat was
introduced in 1879. The deposits of lignite and coal were extensive and extremely valuable.
The land as a whole "had a very good value, growing every day." Full returns to an owner
were "a mere question of wait. ***." In the '70s, with the stockmen enjoying free range in
the territory subsequently comprising the railroad right of way, not even the oldest
inhabitant, a member of the territorial legislature, and the surveyor general, and who was
familiar with the land west of Bismarck and in a general way with the plaintiffs' territory, as
described in the Laramie treaty, could estimate the value of the property as a whole.

Its value was entirely dependent upon the period of valuation, the quantity of acreage to be
valued, and its locality.

No individual could secure a title until approximately 1877 when they had proved up. In the
late '70s there were quite a number of mortgage loans on homestead titles and a settler could
secure on mortgage approximately $2.60 per acre.

In the late '80s there were a number of sales of land between individuals. In some instances
parcels were sold at $5.00 per acre. Land inside of the forty-mile grant to the railroad was
sold at $2.50 per acre. In the '90s and early 1900 large tracts ranging from 60,000 acres to
300,000 acres were sold at prices ranging from $1.70 to $1.35 per acre. The purchase of a
tract of 1,000,000 acres was negotiated on a basis of $1.05 per acre.

The territory deducted from the plaintiffs' reservation, as described in the treaty of Fort
Laramie, for the establishment of the military reservation at Fort Buford under the
provisions of the Executive order of August 18, 1868, was 98,645.67 acres; under the
Executive order of April 12, 1870, was 4,686,612.43 acres; and under the Executive order of
July 17, 1880, was 6,639,254.66 acres.

There was added to the plaintiffs' reservation under the provisions of the Executive orders of
April 12, 1870, July 13, 1880, and July 17, 1892, 1,578,325.83 acres which, in major part,
were thereafter duly ceded to the defendant and for which the plaintiffs received payment.

The total net deduction from the plaintiffs' original reservation, as described in the treaty of
Fort Laramie of 1851, and for which no compensation was received, was 9,846,186.93
acres.
The value of the territory deducted from the plaintiffs' reservation, and for which no compensation was paid, was $4,923,093.47.

Subsequent to the execution of the treaty of Fort Laramie of September 17, 1851, to and including the 24th day of January, 1923, but excepting the period from March 3, 1891, to May 31, 1900, during which time the plaintiffs were receiving payment under the provisions of the treaty of 1886, the defendant expended on behalf of and for the benefit of the plaintiff tribes the sum of $2,753,924.89.

CONCLUSION OF LAW

Upon the foregoing special findings of fact, which are made part of the judgment herein, the court decides as a conclusion of law that the plaintiffs are entitled to recover $2,169,168.58.

It is therefore adjudged and ordered that the plaintiffs recover of and from the United States the sum of $2,169,168.58.

OPINION

BOOTH, Chief Justice, delivered the opinion of the court:

The Congress enacted the special jurisdictional act set forth in full in Finding I. The obvious purpose of the act is the adjudication of plaintiffs' rights accruing legally or equitably in virtue of any treaties, agreements, laws of Congress, or misappropriation of funds. The controversy is by the record narrowed to three claims, viz, the alleged taking by the Government of lands embraced within the Indians' reservation without their consent and without compensation; second, a claim for $50,000 for the value of timber alleged to have been cut and taken from their reservation by white trespassers; and, third, the cost of surveying the inner lines of their reservation in December, 1886, it being charged that the expense incident thereto was by express agreement chargeable to the United States and not the Indians.

The first issue raises the important question as to when the reservation claimed in the petition was fixed and set aside by treaty stipulations between the Indians and the United States, and whether the treaty relied upon did in fact create the reservation claimed. The plaintiffs, composing a confederated tribe of Indians made up of three bands—the Arickarees, Gros Ventres, and Mandans—constituted a portion of the vast Indian population which inhabited the great western plains east of the Rocky Mountains and west and south of the Missouri River and its tributaries. Prior to 1851 the Indian tribes had repeatedly engaged in costly internecine warfare, and the plaintiff Indians had suffered from such strifes, not alone from a natural indisposition towards such hostilities but from apparent inability, because of lack of numbers, to cope with their more numerous and more savage neighbors. As a matter of fact, plaintiff Indians had been driven by repeated assaults upon them by the Teton Sioux, a warlike and seemingly irrepressible tribe who had consolidated its large numbers to the south and west of the Missouri River, in territory not only adjacent to the plaintiffs' ancient habitat, but in proximity to the various other Indian tribes living within the
Indian area involved in this case, to Fort Berthold, North Dakota. The one event which evoked immediate governmental action and negotiations with all the "wild Indian tribes of the prairies" was the discovery of gold in California. The abnormal increase in travel across the plains, following the discovery of gold in California, provoked the Indian tribes into the commission of violent depredations against the travellers, alleged to be due to the destruction of timber upon Indian lands and the tribal fear of ultimate extinction of the buffalo and other game upon which they relied for food. In fact, the Indians resented the invasion of their domains. To pacify the Indians and to secure the right of free passage through the territory, as well as protect them in the future and reimburse them for losses sustained or to be sustained, the Congress on February 27, 1851 (9 Stat. 572), appropriated $100,000.00 to defray the expenses incident to "holding treaties with the wild tribes of the prairie, and for bringing delegates on to the seat of government." The President appointed the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, D.D. Mitchell, and Indian Agent Thomas Fitzpatrick, as commissioners to conduct the negotiations. The commissioners were instructed as to their duties, and in addition to express instructions as to the procurement of free and unhampered passage through their territory, it was stated to them that "It is important, if practicable, to establish for each tribe some fixed boundaries, within which they should stipulate generally to reside, and each should agree, not to intrude within the limits assigned to another tribe without its consent."

On September 1, 1851, the commissioners met eight Indian tribes at Fort Laramie, viz, the Sioux or Dah-co-tahs of the Missouri, Assinaboins, Gros Ventres, Arickarces, Crows, Shoshones or Snakes, Cheyennes and Arapahoes. Following sixteen days of negotiations a treaty was finally consummated with the tribes on September 17, 1851, known as the Fort Laramie treaty. It was signed by the chiefs, headmen, and braves of all of the foregoing Indian tribes except the Shoshones, the commissioners believing that this tribe did not fall within their instructions, and in addition bore the signature of the Mandans. The treaty in haec verba appears in Finding V. The commissioners unquestionably followed their instructions; the stipulations of the treaty so attest. The important provision herein involved pertains to the description of the tract of land set forth in article 5, and the one issue vital to the plaintiff Indians' right of recovery is whether this article did or did not create an Indian reservation.

We have adverted to some extent upon contemporaneous conditions. The Government was chiefly concerned with the procurement of a peaceable right of passage through the Indian country for its citizens, and the prevention of Indian warfare. Manifestly, those in charge of Indian affairs, as well as Congress, were looking towards the establishment of an agricultural policy for the Indians, a policy which must eventually curtail their nomadic habits, due, as was then seen, to the encroachments of the whites upon lands the Indians had long claimed, and from which they derived their living. We need do more than assert that invasion of lands claimed by Indian tribes by either other Indian tribes or white men at once provoked hostilities. In what other way and for what other consideration could the commissioners have successfully accomplished their designed purpose than a governmental recognition of certain well-described lands as territory belonging to the Indians by right of occupancy? It is true the treaty abounds in other considerations for its execution, but the one involved here, i.e., distinct reservations, is not only specific in its terms, obligating the parties to irrevocable observance of the limits of lands set forth, but reserves in express words the claims of the Indians to other lands. The defendant says the territorial provisions
were simply mutual recognition by the Indians of their claims to territory and its segregation by them, without positive governmental recognition or verification of the same. This contention, as we view it, concedes that when the commissioners approached the Indians their title by right of occupancy to all the territory embraced within the treaty was recognized by the commissioners representing the Government, and that what the treaty did was to segregate the same into individual tribal allotments. In other words, the Government not only recognized the Indian title, never at any time disputing it, but by solemn treaty, following negotiations, expressly agreed that each tribe was to be assured title to the territory set aside for it. Surely it was not essential to procure by treaty the grant of a perpetual right of way through Indian lands if the Indians did not own the same by right of occupancy. It is true the lands set aside to each tribe embraced a vast domain. To the plaintiff Indians the treaty segregated a territory of about 21,000 square miles and embracing close to 13,000,000 acres of land. With this vast estate, however, the treaty deals, and whether the Government in ratifying the treaty was moved by the then nominal value of somewhat of a wilderness, or concerned in Indian peace at present costs, the fact is the treaty was ratified in the manner provided by law and no unusual circumstance attended its negotiations, and no challenge is now made to its validity, despite the existence of an unusual situation as to its proclamation. Commissioner Mitchell in reporting upon the treaty used this language:

The laying off of the country into geographical or rather national domains I regard as a very important measure, inasmuch as it will take away a great cause of quarrel among themselves, and at the same time enable the Government to ascertain who are the depredators, should depredations hereafter be committed. The accompanying map, upon which these national boundaries are clearly marked and defined, was made in the presence of the Indians, and fully approved and sanctioned by all.

The language of the treaty, while not in all respects the technical wording used in other Indian treaties is, we think, sufficient when considered in connection with the instrument as a whole and the purpose and intent of the parties thereto, to clearly indicate that the territory of the Indians was to be delimited in accord with their claims and protection assured them within its bounds, in consideration of the rights and privileges secured to the United States and its citizens.

The long-existing cause of Indian wars which had excluded the whites from this section of the country arose in large part over intertribal disputations as to tribal territory, and it is difficult to perceive in what way and under what circumstances it may be held that the provisions of the treaty did not assure to the plaintiff Indians a governmental concession that the territory mentioned in the treaty was to be held by them as Indian country was held by Indians. Beyond doubt, the Indians so understood the treaty, and the Congress legislated in accord with its amended terms, to which the Indians agreed. The law, for which we need not cite familiar precedents, is that in controversies between the Indians and the Government arising out of doubtful and ambiguous provisions of treaties or contracts they are to be taken most strongly against the Government. The Indians' rights are not to be prejudiced by technical construction or words of doubtful import. The Government's policy of recognizing Indian title to lands over which the tribes ranged in hunting for game necessarily involved large areas, and the early Indian treaties exemplify this fact. Lands were not then cultivated to any extent and acreage value was exceedingly nominal, so that it is impossible for the court to construe treaty stipulations as intending a mutual arrangement between the Indian
parties, rather than the delimiting of claimed Indian reservations upon the single fact of large areas and extensive habitats. We are considering a transaction completed almost eighty years ago, a period of time when the wild Indians of the prairies were occupying and in possession of the lands involved in the treaty of Fort Laramie, and the problem to be solved related exclusively to the adoption of policies and measures calculated to insure the safety of the white emigrant in Indian country and tribal peace between the tribes themselves. The quantity of land involved was not a serious factor; the perplexing question was the division of the domain among the tribes in such a way as to assure tribal peace. This, we think, the treaty accomplished to a large extent, and from that day to this the tribes have continuously insisted upon their title to the lands described in the treaty.

The Supreme Court has repeatedly held that the Indians' claim of right of occupancy of lands is dependent upon actual and not constructive possession. Mitchel v. United States, 9 Pet. 711; Williams v. Chicago, 242 U.S. 434; Choctaw Nation v. United States, 34 C. Cis. 17. Beyond doubt, abandonment of claimed Indian territory by the Indians will extinguish Indian title. In this case the Government interposes the defense of abandonment, asserting that the facts sustain the contention. It is of course conceded that the issue of abandonment is one of intention to relinquish, surrender, and unreservedly give up all claims to title to the lands described in the treaty, and the source from which to arrive at such an intention is the facts and circumstances of the transaction involved. Forcible ejection from the premises, or non-user under certain circumstances, as well as lapse of time, are not standing alone sufficient to warrant an abandonment. Welsh v. Taylor, 18 L.R.A. 535; Gassert v. Noyes, 44 Pacific 959; Mitchell v. Corder, 21 W. Va. 277.

The Government cites the history of the plaintiff Indians and their successive migrations until their final habitat at Fort Berthold. Much reliance is placed upon their comparatively small population and the fact that Sioux wars repeatedly forced them into small villages from which they dared not venture for fear of extinction by that savage tribe. It is argued that the very vastness of the area involved, in comparison with the Indian population, precluded the possibility of occupancy of the same. It is impossible from the record to fix with accuracy the population of the plaintiff Indian tribes during the period of this controversy; that they were not an unusually large tribe seems evident. Unquestionably their numbers were reduced at times by disease and warfare. However, it is established that a sufficient population continuously prevailed to establish their autonomy and maintain their tribal existence. In 1804, according to the Government's citation, their population was sufficiently large to occupy the lands and we find no evidence in the record of sufficient probative value to sustain us in deciding that their number so materially decreased as to render it impossible to range over the territory claimed. In 1869 their population was near to 2,800. It is admitted without any reservations that the plaintiff Indians not only observed the treaty stipulations as they appear in the treaty of 1851, but were by nature and disposition a peaceable, quiet tribe engaging in agricultural pursuits in the summer season and hunting game in the winter. That they ranged over the entire country involved is established by numerous reports, and that they claimed it as their own is firmly proven. The neighboring Sioux were the plaintiffs' inveterate enemies. This hostile tribe forced the plaintiff Indians to relocate their villages more than once along the Missouri River, and unquestionably the continuing menace of Sioux hostilities precluded at times extensive hunting excursions into the claimed territory; but assuredly armed intervention, forcible ejection from lands, and fear of death and tribal destruction do not indicate abandonment. For some few years following the treaty of 1851 the Sioux observed its stipulations, and the record seems to establish that the later outbreaks of the Sioux were not occasioned so much over territorial disputes as
over the alleged invasion and depredations of white emigrants in or passing through the territory.

In July, 1866, a treaty was negotiated with the plaintiffs. This treaty ceded certain described lands to the plaintiffs. The plaintiffs signed it, but it failed of ratification by Congress. In August, 1868, by Executive order the Government established Fort Buford Reservation, a reservation comprising 98,645.67 acres of land, all within the boundaries of the lands described in the treaty of 1851.

In July, 1869, in response to complaints from the plaintiffs of serious depredations upon their timber lands, the major general in command of the Military Department of Dakota reported to his superior officer that he had visited the plaintiff Indians and had a council with them. One question which disturbed the council was whether the plaintiffs legally possessed a reservation or whether one had ever been allotted to them. The major instructed the commanding officer at Fort Stevenson to survey the country and recommend the setting aside of a reservation for the Indians. This was done and a report thereof forwarded to Washington. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in August, 1869, advised the commanding officer of the existence of the treaty of 1851 providing a reservation, and of the unratified treaty of 1866, concluding with the statement that "there are no treaty stipulations with these Indians relative to a reservation for them, which have been ratified." Acting upon this erroneous information—a fact which the Government now concedes—a delimited reservation described in Finding X was by the Executive order of April 12, 1870, set aside to the plaintiff Indians. The lands embraced within the 1870 reservation were part of the precise lands, with an unimportant exception, described in the treaty of 1851. The establishment of this reservation reduced the territory described in the treaty of 1851 to the extent of 4,686,612.43 acres of land, and the Indians occupied the reduced reservation. The treaty of Fort Laramie of 1851 was ratified by the Senate on May 24, 1852, after amending article 7 of the same. The amended treaty was returned to the tribes for their assent to the modification of the same. All tribes assented thereto, and due to an administrative error and oversight the treaty was never proclaimed; hence, the Indian Office and other delegated officials concerned in negotiations with the Indians proceeded upon the erroneous conviction that the Fort Laramie treaty was never ratified. Congress, however, recognized its terms and appropriated the sums mentioned in the treaty to meet the Government's annual obligations under it to the Indians. There can be no doubt that the failure of governmental officials and others dealing with the Indians at this time to recognize the treaty of 1851 was due exclusively to a belief that the treaty of 1851 was never ratified by the Senate. The plaintiff Indians were at the time an ignorant and unlettered people, forced by their status and situation to rely implicitly upon the representatives of the Government, and while they laid claim to a much larger territory than the 1870 reservation, they were in no position to controvert an alleged existing condition, which was represented to them by those in authority as leaving them without any landed reservation whatever. As we look at it, it was the Government's error and unintended misrepresentation which resulted in procuring a settlement with the Indians in 1870 which did not equitably compensate them for rights granted under the Fort Laramie treaty of 1851. The various special jurisdictional acts conferring jurisdiction upon this court to adjudicate Indian controversies, the decisions of the Supreme and this court, the policy of the Government from time immemorial, attest the indisputable rule that tribal Indians were not to be divested of ceded reservations, ceded under treaties and acts of Congress, without compensating them for the lands taken from them in diminishing their holdings. We think it
nonessential to encumber this opinion with the innumerable cases demonstrating the rule. If we are correct in our analysis of the record, the plaintiffs are entitled to recover, under the treaty of 1851, the difference in value between the reservation allotted under that treaty and the reservation established by the Executive order of 1870.

The construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad, with the aid of grants of land through which the line passed, again diminished the plaintiffs' reservation. This railroad ran through the Indians' reservation as fixed by the Fort Laramie treaty of 1851. Section 2 of the land grant provided for the extinguishment of Indian titles. On June 23, 1878, the officials of the railroad notified the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the line of the road ran through the lands ceded to the Indians as a reservation in 1870, and inasmuch as the grant to the railroad covered every alternate section of land along its right of way, it was essential in order to expedite building that the Indians' reservation be altered and Indian title extinguished so that progress might attain, and railroad lands be freed from Indian claims of title. In July, 1879, the commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended the withdrawal from the reservation of a large acreage of lands, ceding the Indian lieu lands on the north bank of the Missouri River. On July 13, 1880, by Executive order the recommendations of the commissioner were made effective. (Finding XIV.) As a result of the foregoing order, in connection with additional landed transactions described in Findings XV and XVI, the plaintiffs' reservation as set out in the Fort Laramie treaty was again diminished to the extent of 6,639,254.66 acres, leaving the remaining area of the territory described in the treaty of 1851, with the additions made thereto in 1870 and 1880 as the plaintiffs' reservation, the major portion of which was duly ceded by them subsequent to the treaty of 1886. Thus it is shown that through governmental action the plaintiffs' reservation as described in the treaty of 1851 was diminished by successive takings to the following extent, viz, 11,424,512.76 acres, itemized as follows: 98,645.67 set aside for Fort Buford Military reservation, 4,686,612.43 acres taken under the Executive order of 1870, and 6,639,254.66 taken under the Executive order of 1880. However, the Executive orders of 1870, 1880, and 1892 added to the plaintiffs' landed estate 1,578,325.83 acres, no portion of which was included in the lands described in the treaty of 1851 and the major portion of which was thereafter ceded to the Government and for which the plaintiffs received payment, thereby reducing the number of acres finally taken by the Government, for which no compensation has been paid, to 9,846,186.93 acres. (Finding XXI.)

It is an essential function of the court to reconcile the record as to the amount of compensation to which the Indians are entitled, predicated upon the value of the lands. The plaintiffs seek to fix an acreage market value of $1.25 per acre, the price for which much of the territory was offered by the Government to settlers. The contention we believe is untenable. The acreage price offered to settlers was adjusted on a basis of limited allotments, the entire consideration to be paid in stated installments. The judgment we are to render is to be based on takings embracing large areas of land, totaling in two instances millions of acres and in the other close to a hundred thousand acres. When these large tracts were acquired it is apparent that enormous expense is involved in the future segregation of the tracts into marketable units and their sale upon installment payments. The Government's overhead in the maintenance of a department to accomplish their disposition and the incidental expense accompanying the transaction indisputably establishes that the $1.25 per acre was not all profit, if, in fact, profit accrued at all. The Indians could not have disposed of the lands in the way and manner the Government did, 'and while the homestead laws valued the lands at $1.25 per acre, the return to the
Government was not a net but a gross price. We give the Indians a judgment in this case for the value of the lands free from all the expense of sale or segregation for sale. To claim a uniform price of $1.25 per acre, free from the character of expense enumerated would, in our judgment, award the plaintiffs a sum much beyond any price they could have obtained had they offered the tracts for sale.

The plaintiffs are entitled to just compensation to be fixed upon the basis of the amount they might have obtained for the large areas taken at the time they were taken. It is conceded in the briefs of both parties that in 1851 the Indian country involved possessed little, if any, market value. It is, of course, obvious that the Indians could not have sold it or transferred a title in fee. The discovery of gold in California did not appreciably affect the value of the domain. It was not until 1870 that activities concentrated upon the domain and civilization began to push itself into that section of the country. The Civil War had intervened in this period and during the war several Indian hostilities prevailed. The building of the railroad was among, if not, the first event which tended to give a market value of any consequence to the land, and it is inconceivable that 4,686,612.43 acres of land of varying quality and location could possibly have been disposed of in excess of fifty cents per acre. This, we think, represents the maximum of value, a sum deduced from a conflicting record and in harmony with the price fixed by the Government for lands acquired about the same period of time from other Indian tribes in the same locality in cessions to the Government of their reservations in many treaties. The record discloses but a single instance wherein the various tribes of Indians occupying adjacent territory ever asserted a claim for as much as $1.25 per acre for lands in this section ceded to the Government by treaty stipulations, and in addition to this fact the plaintiffs in December, 1886, sold to the Government 1,782,831.64 acres of their then reservation for a little less than 45 cents per acre. Almost 779,000 acres of the total amount sold in 1886 were within the boundaries of the lands described in the treaty of 1851. The record convinces us that the Indians themselves did not and would not have valued their lands at the time they were taken at a greater average value than fifty cents per acre. This acreage value is not, of course, the highest claimed, nor does it represent the price, much lower, contended for by the Government. It is the acreage value which we believe the lands might have brought if offered for sale, considering the title of the Indians and the circumstances surrounding a transfer of the magnitude and importance involved. On this basis we award total value of $4,923,093.47.

The jurisdictional act charges the Indians with "all sums heretofore paid or expended for the benefit of said tribe or any band thereof." The Government under the foregoing provision of the jurisdictional act charges the Indians with $290,827.25, alleged to be pro rata cost of educating individual children of the bands at various nonagency Indian schools. The amount charged is arrived at by ascertaining the per capita cost of maintaining the schools and charging the same to the Indian tribe as the number of children attending appears. The Government during the period maintained at its expense Indian schools at Carlisle, Pa., Chilocco, Okla., Lawrence, Kans., Pipestone, Minn., and Pierre, S.D. Congress appropriated from the Treasury in accord with a governmental policy to extend the privileges of education to Indian children for the express intent of eventually changing the hereditary habits and customs of the tribes. The motive involved was more directly beneficial, from a governmental standpoint, to the Government than to the tribe. Of course, educational facilities were of prime necessity and imperative, and eventually resulted in benefit to the tribe, but the immediate beneficial results were individual and not tribal.
We do not believe that the jurisdictional act comprehends a set-off against the claim of the Indians for this item of expenditure in behalf of children of Indian tribes indiscriminately. To so hold might result in sustaining an obvious injustice, for the bands involved in this litigation would be held to contributing a sum towards the maintenance of the schools, while other tribes with much larger attendance would escape payment for benefits of equal value. The sums chargeable, we think, must be restricted to the usually recognized and customary distributions made to the Indians as tribes and bands, unless a contrary purpose is expressed in the act. Public institutions established for the Indian race were maintained from public funds as an adopted public policy, in the nature of gratuity. The Government, we think, did not expend and is not entitled to a counterclaim of more than $2,753,924.89, leaving a judgment in favor of the Indians in the amount of $2,169,168.58. Judgment for this amount is awarded the plaintiffs. It is so ordered.

WILLIAMS, Judge; LITTLETON, Judge; and GREEN, Judge, concur. WHALEY, Judge, did not hear this case and took no part in its decision.
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:
A PROCLAMATION.
May 20, 1891. | 27 Stat., 979.

Whereas, pursuant to an act of Congress approved May fifteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-six, entitled “An Act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various tribes for the year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and eighty-seven, and for other purposes,” an agreement was entered into on the fourteenth day of December, eighteen hundred and eighty-six, by John V. Wright, Jared W. Daniels, and Charles F. Larrabee, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and Mandan tribes of Indians, residing on the Fort Berthold reservation, in the then Territory of Dakota, now State of North Dakota, embracing a majority of all the male adult members of said tribes; and

Whereas, by an act of Congress, approved March third, eighteen hundred and ninety-one, entitled “An Act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and ninety-two, and for other purposes,” the aforesaid agreement of December fourteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-six, was accepted, ratified, and confirmed, except as to article six thereof, which was modified and changed on the part of the United States so as to read as follows:

That the residue of lands within said diminished reservation, after all allotments have been made as provided in article three of this agreement, shall be held by the said tribes of Indians as a reservation;

and

Whereas, it is provided in said last above-mentioned act

That this act shall take effect only upon the acceptance of the modification and changes made by the United States as to article six of the said agreement by the said tribes of Indians in manner and form as said agreement was assented to, which said acceptance and consent shall be made known by proclamation by the President of the United States, upon satisfactory proof presented to him that the said acceptance and consent have been obtained in such manner and form;

and

Whereas, satisfactory proof has been presented to me that the acceptance of, and consent to, the provisions of the act last named by the different bands of Indians residing on said reservation, have been obtained in manner and form as said agreement of December fourteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-six, was assented to:

Now, therefore, I, Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested, do hereby make known and proclaim the acceptance of, and consent to, the modification and changes made by the United States as to Article six of said agreement, by said tribe of Indians as required by the Act, and said Act is hereby declared to be in full force and effect, subject to all provisions, conditions, limitations, and restrictions therein contained.

All persons will take notice of the provisions of said Act, and of the conditions and restrictions therein contained, and be governed accordingly.
I furthermore notify all persons to particularly observe that a certain portion of the said Fort Berthold reservation not ceded and relinquished by said agreement, is reserved for allotment to, and also as a reservation for, the said tribes of Indians; and all persons are, therefore, hereby warned not to go upon any of the lands so reserved, for any purpose or with any intent whatsoever, as no settlement or other right can be secured upon said lands, and all persons found unlawfully thereon will be dealt with as trespassers and intruders; and I hereby declare all the lands sold, ceded, and relinquished to the United States under said agreement, namely:

“All that portion of the Fort Berthold reservation, as laid down upon the official map of the” (then) “Territory of Dakota, published by the General Land Office in the year eighteen hundred and eighty-five, lying north of the forty-eighth parallel of north latitude, and also all that portion lying west of a north and south line six miles west of the most westerly point of the big bend of the Missouri River, south of the forty-eighth parallel of north latitude,” open to settlement, and subject to disposal as provided in Section twenty-five of the Act of March third, eighteen hundred and ninety-one aforesaid. (26 Stats., p. 1035.)

In witness thereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this twentieth (20th) day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and fifteenth.

BENJ HARRISON

Countersigned:

WILLIAM F. WHARTON
   Acting Secretary of State.
AGREEMENT WITH THE CROW TRIBE OF INDIANS, 1873.
August 16, 1873. | Unratified.

Articles of convention made and concluded on the sixteenth day of August, in the year of
our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three, at the Crow Agency, in the
Territory of Montana, by and between Felix R. Brunot, E. Whittlesey, and James Wright,
commissioners in behalf of the United States, and the chiefs, head-men, and men
representing the tribe of Crow Indians, and constituting a majority of the adult male Indians
belonging to said tribe.

Whereas a treaty was made and concluded at Fort Laramie, Dakota Territory, on the seventh
day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, by and
between commissioners on the part of the United States and the chiefs and head-men of and
representing the Crow Indians, they being duly authorized to act in the premises;

And whereas by an act of Congress, approved March 3, 1873, it is provided, "That the
Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to negotiate with the chiefs and
head-men of the Crow tribe of Indians in the Territory of Montana for the surrender of their
reservation in said Territory, or of such part thereof as may be consistent with the welfare of
said Indians: provided, that any such negotiation shall leave the remainder of said
reservation in compact form, and in good locality for farming purposes, having within it a
sufficiency of good land for farming, and a sufficiency for water and timber; and if there is
upon said reservation a locality where fishing could be valuable to the Indians, to include the
same if practicable;

and the Secretary shall report his action, in pursuance of this act, to Congress at the next
session thereof, for its confirmation or rejection."

And whereas in pursuance of said act of Congress commissioners were appointed by the
Secretary of the Interior to conduct the negotiation therein contemplated:

The said commissioners on the part of the United States, and the chiefs, headmen, and men,
constituting a majority of the adult males of the Crow tribe of Indians, in behalf of their
tribe, do solemnly make and enter into the following agreement, subject to the confirmation
or rejection of the Congress of the United States, at the next session thereof:

ARTICLE I.

The United States agrees that the following district of country, to wit, commencing at a point
on the Missouri River opposite to the mouth of Shankin Creek; thence up said creek to its
head, and thence along the summit of the divide between the waters of Arrow and Judith
Rivers and the waters entering the Missouri River, to a point opposite to the divide between
the head-waters of the Judith River and the waters of the Muscle-Shell River; thence along
said divide to the Snowy Mountains, and along the summit of said Snowy Mountains, in a
northeasterly direction, to a point nearest to the divide between the waters which run easterly
to the Muscle-Shell River and the waters running to the Judith River; thence northwardly
along said divide to the divide between the head-waters of Arnell's Creek and the
headwaters of Dog River, and along said divide to the Missouri River; thence up the middle
of said river to the place of beginning, (the said boundaries being intended to include all the
country drained by the Judith River, Arrow River, and Dog River,) shall be, and the same is,
set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named,
and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as, from time to time, they may be
willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit among them. And the United States
now solemnly agrees that no person except those herein designated and authorized so to do,
and except such officers, agents, and employes of the Government as may be authorized to
enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be
permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article for the
use of said Indians; and the United States agrees to erect the agency and other buildings, and
execute all the stipulations of the treaty of Fort Laramie, (the said stipulations being hereby re-affirmed,) within the limits herein described, in lieu of upon the south side of the
Yellowstone River.

ARTICLE II.

The United States agrees to set apart the sum of one million of dollars, and to hold the same
in trust for the sole use and benefit of the Crow tribe of Indians, the principal to be held in
perpetuity, and the interest thereof to be expended, or reinvested at the discretion of the
President of the United States, annually, for the benefit of said tribe.

ARTICLE III.

It is mutually agreed between the United States and the Crow Indians that the second article
of the treaty made at Fort Laramie, between the commissioners of the United States and the
Crow tribe of Indians be, and the same is, abrogated by this agreement; and the said Indians
hereby cede to the United States all their right, title, and claim to the tract of country
described in the said second article, to wit: "Commencing where the 107th degree of
longitude west of Greenwich crosses the south boundary of Montana Territory; thence north
along said 107th meridian to the mid-channel of the Yellowstone River; thence up said mid-
channel of the Yellowstone to the point where it crosses the said southern boundary of
Montana, being the 45th degree of north latitude; and thence east along said parallel of
latitude to the place of beginning," and which is conveyed to them therein, except the right
to hunt upon said lands so long as they may remain unoccupied, and as game may be found
thereon and peace continues between the whites and Indians.

ARTICLE IV.

The United States agrees to suppress, so far as possible, by the imposition of pains and
penalties, the practice of wolfing, or killing game by means of poison, within the limits of
the following district of country, viz.: Beginning at the mouth of the Muscle-Shell River;
thence up the said river to the North Fork, and up the North Fork to its source; thence
northward along the summit of the Little Belt and Highwood Mountains to the head of Deep
Creek; thence down said creek to the Missouri River, and along the margin of said river to
the place of beginning.

It is expressly understood between the commissioners and the Indians, parties hereto, that
this agreement is subject to the ratification or rejection of the Congress of the United States
at its next session, and that, pending the action of Congress, the United States shall prevent
all further encroachments upon the present reservation of the Crow tribe.

FELIX R. BRUNOT,
E. WHITTLESEY,
JAMES S. WRIGHT,
Commissioners in behalf of the United States
IRON BULL, Che-ve-te-pu-ma-ta.
BLACK FOOT, Kam-ne-but-se.
LONG HORSE, E-che-te-hats-ke.
SHOW-HIS-FACE, In-tec-us.
BEAR WOLF, Isa-auchbe-te-se.
THIN BELLY, Ella-causs-se.
GOOD HEART, Uss-pit-ta-watse.
OLD ONION, Mit-hu-a.
RED SIDES, Si-ta-pa-ru-se.
CRAZY HEAD, A-su-ma-ratz.
BULL CHIEF, Ise-la-mats-ets.
SHOT-IN-THE-JAW, Esa-woor.
LONE TREE, Money-a-mut-eats.
BOY-THAT-GRABS, Seeatcots.
WHITE FOREHEAD, E-seha-chire.
SMALL WAIST, E-hene-pea-carts.
FLAT SIDE, Oos-tsoo-ch-seots.
OLD DOG, Bis-ca-carriers.
CRAZY-SISTER-IN-LAW, Ou-at-ma-ra-sach.
CRAZY PON DE ORAL, Minne-hu-ma-ra-chac.
COON-ELK, Chin-ka-sha-arache.
THE OLD CROW, Perits-har-sts.
WHITE OTTER, Ma-pu-khe-te-te-suish.
LONG-SNAKE, Bi-ka-che-hats-ki.
WHITE MOUTH, Te-de-sil-se.
POCK MARK, Te-spu-ke-he-te.
THE WHITE BULL, Te-shu-net.
THE NO HAND, Te-si-closst-so ish.
THE LITTLE ATELOPE, Uk-ha-nak-ish.
CURLEY, Ash-ish-ish-e.
BIG HORSE, Te-le-si-cle-is-ash.
CALF IN THE MOUTH, Nak-pak-a-e.
OLD MOUNTAIN TAIL, A-mak-ha-vissish.
BEAR IN THE WATER, Me-mum-ak-hiss-is-e-ish.
ONE FEATHER, Mash-u-a-mo-te.
THE MIX, Ma-ish-ish.
BELL ROCK, Mit-a-wosh.
NEW LODGE, As-hi-hash.
THE RINGS, She-da-nat-sik.
WELL BULL, Te-si-do-po mo.
THE SHAVEN, Bish-i-ish.
THE ONE WHO HUNTS HIS DEBT, Ash-e-te-si-Oish.
ONE WHO HEARS GOOD, Ma-in-ke-ku-te-sit sine.
THE BURNT, Osh-Nish.
BEAR ROBE, Ach-je-it-se-is.
THE RIVER, A-ash-ish.
BIG FOREHEAD, Ak-hi-es-ash.
BIG KETTLE, Bi-re-ke-hi-tash.
CHIEF WOLF, No-it-a-ma-te-sets.
THE LEG, Te-tu-se-pe.
BLINKEY, Bish-te-ha-mo-te-te.
BULL ALL THE TIME, Te-si-doss-ko-te-so-te.
PLENTY OF BEAR, A-che-pil-se-a-hush.
RIDES BEHIND A MAN ON HORSEBACK, Ma-me-ri-ke-ish.
BIRD OF THE GROUND, Ma-pe-she-ri.
CHARGE THROUGH THE CAMP, Ash-e-ri-i-a-was-sash.
THE OLD BEAR, Ak-hi-pit-se-u-ke-hi-ke-ish.
CRAZY WOLF, Te-se-te-man-ache.
THE PLUME, Te-se-do-pie-shu-she-ish.
OLD ALLIGATOR, Bo-ru-ke-he-sa-cha-ri-ish.
BOB-TAIL BEAR, Ak-hi-pilse-u-ke-hi-ke-ish.
POLE CAT LOOK BEHIND, Te-spit-te-sash.
WOLF BOW, Te-sets-sha-tak-he.
TIE SIOUX THAT RUNS FAST, Ak-man-ash-u-pe-yeu-hu-she.
LITTLE SOLDIER.
BULL ROCK.
THREE WOLF.
THE ONE WHO HUNTS HIS ENEMY.
PRETTY LODGE.
STRAZY HORSE.
HERD THE HORSES.

We, the undersigned, were present at and witnessed the assent of the Crow chiefs, head men, and men of the Crow tribe of Indians, whose names are attached thereto.

THOMAS K. CREE,
Secretary Special Crow Commission.

C. W. HOFFMAN,
R. W. CROSS,
I. M. CASTNER,
F. GIESDORF,
F. D. PEASE,
Agent for Crow Indians.

The undersigned were present at the council with the Crow Indians, and witnessed the proceedings. The agreement was carefully explained and was fully understood and assented to by the Indians.
We, the undersigned members of the Crow tribe of Indians, were not at the agency at the time of the council, but after having the articles of convention fully explained to us, do hereby give our assent to the same:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THE DEAF.</th>
<th>BOY CHIEF, TABOO.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CROOKED FACE.</td>
<td>THE BUFFALO.</td>
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<td>OLD CLOUD.</td>
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<td>CHIEF BULL.</td>
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<td>BEAR FROM BELOW.</td>
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<td>THE WEASEL.</td>
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<td>ARM IN HIS NECK.</td>
<td>TWO TAILS.</td>
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<td>POUNDED MEAT.</td>
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<td>BULL ON TOP OF THE MOUNTAIN.</td>
<td>YELLOW HORSE.</td>
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<td>TIGER WOMAN.</td>
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<td>English</td>
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<td>YOUNG ONE IN THE MOUTH.</td>
<td>THE RIVER BULL WOMAN.</td>
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<td>SITTING WEASEL.</td>
<td>SHELL-IN-THE-YEAR.</td>
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<td>PRETTY ROBE.</td>
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<td>FOUR CHIEFS.</td>
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<td>SHARP BLADE SWORD.</td>
<td>OTTER THAT KNOWS.</td>
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<td>THE DEER.</td>
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<td>PRETTY PRISONER.</td>
<td>BROWN BEAVER.</td>
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<td>KILL THE CHIEF.</td>
<td>SMALL PONY.</td>
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<td>PLENTY ELKHORSES.</td>
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<td>IRON NECKLACE.</td>
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<td>PRETTY EAGLE.</td>
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<td>THE TWIN.</td>
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<td>YELLOW TOP.</td>
<td>RED BEARD.</td>
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<td>RAW-HIDE.</td>
<td>BLUE MOCCASIN.</td>
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<td>PLENTY HEAD.</td>
<td>YOUNG WOLF.</td>
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<td>LITTLE WOLF.</td>
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<td>THE OTTER.</td>
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We, the undersigned members of the Crow Tribe of Indians, who were at the agency during the sitting of the council, but were not present when the articles of convention were assented to, hereby give our assent to them.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>OLD CLOUD.</th>
<th>KILLS QUICK.</th>
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<td>OLD KETTLE.</td>
<td>SMART BOY, GREAT HUNTER.</td>
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Witness:
PIERRE (his + mark) SHANE, Interpreter.
AMENDED AGREEMENT WITH CERTAIN SIOUX
INDIANS, 1873.

WHEREAS, the Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians, on the 20th day of September A. D. 1872 made and entered into an agreement in writing, signed on one part by the Chiefs and headmen of said bands, with the assent and approval of the members of [said] bands, and upon the other part by Moses N. Adams, James Smith, jr., and William H. Forbes, commissioners on the part of the United States; which said agreement is as follows, to wit:

"Whereas, the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians made and concluded a treaty with the United States, at the city

of Washington, D. C., on the 19th day of February, A. D. 1867, which was ratified, with certain amendments, by the Senate of the United States on the 15th day of April, 1867, and finally promulgated by the President of the United States on the 2d day of May, in the year aforesaid, by which the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of Sioux Indians ceded to the United States certain privileges and rights supposed to belong to said bands in the territory described in article II of said treaty, and

"Whereas, it is desirable that all said territory, except the portion thereof comprised in what is termed the permanent reservations, particularly described in articles III and IV of said treaty, shall be ceded absolutely to the United States, upon such consideration as in justice and equity should be paid therefor by the United States; and

"Whereas, said territory, now proposed to be ceded, is no longer available to said Indians for the purposes of the chase, and such value or consideration is essentially necessary in order to enable said bands interested therein to cultivate portions of said permanent reservations, and become wholly self-supporting by the cultivation of the soil and other pursuits of husbandry; therefore, the said bands, represented in said treaty, and parties thereto, by their chiefs and head-men, now assembled in council, do propose to M. N. Adams, William H. Forbes, and James Smith, jr., commissioners on behalf of the United States, as follows:

"First. To cede, sell, and relinquish to the United States all their right, title, and interest in and to all lands and territory, particularly described in article II of said treaty, as well as all lands in the Territory of Dakota to which they have title or interest, excepting the said tracts particularly described and bounded in articles III and IV of said treaty, which last named tracts and territory are expressly reserved as permanent reservations for occupancy and cultivation, as contemplated by articles VIII, IX, and X of said treaty.

"Second. That, in consideration of said cession and relinquishment, the United States shall advance and pay, annually, for the term of ten years from and after the acceptance by the United States of the proposition herein submitted, eighty thousand (80,000) dollars, to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, on the plan and in accordance with the provisions of the treaty aforesaid, dated February 19, 1867, for goods and provisions, for the erection of manual-labor and public school-houses, and for the support of manual-labor and public schools, and in the erection of mills, blacksmith-shops, and other work-shops, and to aid in opening farms, breaking land, and fencing the same, and in furnishing agricultural implements, oxen, and milch-cows, and such other beneficial objects as may be deemed most conducive to the prosperity and happiness of the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians entitled thereto according to the said treaty of February 19, 1867. Such annual appropriation or consideration to be apportioned to the Sisseton and Devil's Lake agencies, in proportion to the number of Indians of the said bands located upon the Lake Traverse and Devil's Lake reservations respectively. Such apportionment to be made upon the basis of the annual reports or returns of the agents in
charge. Said consideration, amounting, in the aggregate, to eight hundred thousand dollars, payable as aforesaid, without interest.

"Third. As soon as may be, the said territory embraced within said reservation described in article IV, (Devil's Lake reservation,) shall be surveyed, as Government lands are surveyed, for the purpose of enabling the Indians entitled to acquire permanent rights in the soil, as contemplated by article V of said treaty.

"Fourth. We respectfully request that, in case the foregoing propositions are favorably entertained by the United States, the sale of spirituous liquors upon the territory ceded may be wholly prohibited by the United States Government.

"Fifth. The provisions of article V of the treaty of February 19, 1867, to be modified as follows: An occupancy and cultivation of five acres, upon any particular location, for a term of five consecutive years, shall entitle the party to a patent for forty acres; a like occupancy and cultivation of ten acres, to entitle the party to eighty acres; and a like occupancy and cultivation of any tract, to the extent of twenty acres, shall entitle the party so occupying and cultivating to a patent for 160 acres of land. Parties who have already selected farms and cultivated the same, may be entitled to the benefit of this modification. Patents so issued, (as hereinafore set forth) shall authorize a transfer or alienation of such lands situate within the Sisseton agency, after the expiration of ten years from this date, and within the Devil's Lake reservation after the expiration of fifteen years, but not sooner.

"Fifth (sixth). The consideration to be paid, as hereinafore proposed, is in addition to the provisions of Article VI of the treaty of February 19, 1867, under which Congress shall appropriate from time to time, such an amount as may be required to meet the necessities of said Indians to enable them to become civilized.

"Sixth (seventh). Sections sixteen and thirty-six within the reservations shall be set apart for educational purposes, and all children of a suitable age within either reservation shall be compelled to attend school at the discretion of the agents.

"Seventh (eighth). At the expiration of ten years from this date, all members of said bands, under the age of twenty-one years shall receive forty acres of land from said permanent reservations in fee simple.

"Eighth (ninth). At the expiration of ten years, the President of the United States shall sell or dispose of all the remaining or unoccupied lands in the Lake Traverse reservation, (excepting that which may hereafter be set apart for school purposes;) the proceeds of the sale of such lands to be expended for the benefit of the members of said bands located on said Lake Traverse; and, at the expiration of fifteen years, the President shall sell or dispose of all the remaining unoccupied lands (excepting that which may hereafter be set apart for school purposes) in the Devil's Lake reservation; the proceeds of the sales of such lands shall be expended for the benefit of all members of said bands who may be located on the said Devil's Lake reservation.

"Executed at Sisseton Agency, Dakota Territory, Lake Traverse reservation, this 20th day of September, A. D. 1872.

And whereas, the Congress of the United States, upon consideration of the provisions of said agreement hereinafore recited, did, by the act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian department, and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, for the year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and seventy-four, and for other purposes, approved February 14th, 1873, provide as follows, to wit: "For this amount, being the first of ten installments of the sum of eight hundred thousand dollars named in a certain agreement made by the commissioners appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, under the provisions of the act of June seventh, eighteen hundred and seventy-two, with the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of Sioux Indians for the relinquishment by said
Indians of their claim to, or interest in, the lands described in the second article of the treaty made with them February nineteenth, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven: the same to be expended under the direction of the President, for the benefit of said Indians, in the manner prescribed in said treaty of eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, as amended by the Senate, eighty thousand dollars. And the said agreement is hereby confirmed, excepting so much thereof as is included in paragraphs numbered respectively, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eight, and ninth: Provided, That no part of this amount shall be expended until after the ratification, by said Indians, of said agreement as hereby amended."

And whereas, the said Bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians have been duly assembled in council, and therein represented by the chiefs and head-men, and the provisions of said act of Congress, and amendments thereby made to the said above recited agreement, having been fully explained by the commissioners on the part of the United States, and the said agreement as amended having been fully interpreted, and now being understood, we the said chiefs and head-men of the said Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands, duly authorized by our people so to do, do hereby accept, assent to, confirm, ratify and agree to the said amendments, and to the said agreement as amended, and declare that the same is, and shall hereafter be binding upon us and the members of said Bands.

Witness our hands and seals at the Lac Traverse agency, Dakota Territory, this second day of May, A. D. 1873.

Gabriell Renville.
Wamdienduta, his x mark.
Tacandupahotanka, his x mark.
Wicanispipuma.
Eutinkiya.
Hokxidannaxte, his x mark.
Wakanto, his x mark.
Wamdiduta, his x mark.
Wxicumnumza, his x mark.
Wasukiyi, his x mark.
Tacaurpipeta, his x mark.
Akicitanajin, his x mark.
Xupehiyu, his x mark.
Magatiyaha, his x mark.
Peter Tapetatonka.
Tamniyage, his x mark.
Itojanjan, his x mark.
Nihan, his x mark.
Michel Renvill.
Izakiye, his x mark.
Paoal Mazawakutemani, his x mark.
Elias Oramwayakapi.
Kampeska, his x mark.
Simon Anawagmani, his x mark.
John R. Renville.
Daniel Renville.
Taokiyeota, his x mark.
Mechael Paul.
John Waniyarpeya, his x mark.
Robert Hopkins.
Alex. La Framboise.

We certify, on honor, that we were present and witnessed the signatures of the Indians as above.

G. H. HAWES.
H. T. LOVETT.
JNO. L. HODGMAN.
CHARLES P. LA GRANGE.

I hereby certify, on honor, that I have fully explained to the Indians in council, the above instrument, and that the Indians acknowledged the same to be well understood by them.

THOS. A. ROBERTSON,
Interpreter.

Executed at Sisseton agency, Lake Traverse Reservation, D. T., this second day of May, 1873.

MOSES N. ADAMS,
JAMES SMITH, JR.,
Commissioners.

Devil's Lake Reservation, Fort Totten agency, D. T., May 19, 1873.

Wah-na-ta, his x mark.
Tee-oh-wash-tag, his x mark.
Mah-pee-ah-keo-den, his x mark.
E-chah-na-gee-kah, his x mark.
Mat-te-o-he-chat-kah, his x mark.
Ou-s(e)-pe-ka-ge, his x mark.
Chan-te-ma-za, his x mark.
Ma-ka-nu-hu-hu-za.
Ma-ka-i-de-yá, his x mark.
Xip-to, his x mark.
Wa-ka-no-ki-ta, his x mark.
Ta-te-o-pax-im-a-ni, his x mark.
Ru-pahn-wa-kam-a, his x mark.
A-ki-ci-ta-du-ta, his x mark.
Ta-wa-cin-ha, his x mark.
Ru-pahu-wax-te, his x mark.
Ri-o-in-yan-i-yan-ke, his x mark.
Run-in-wan-ke, his x mark.
A-ki-ci-tam-a-ne, his x mark.
Maza-ka-hom-ni.
Wam-di-hi-ye-ya, his x mark.
Wi-cker-pi-wa-kan-na, his x mark.
Wax-i-em-u-nape-wu-az-u-za, his x mark.
Ca-do-zé, his x mark.
Wa-kin-yan-ro-ta, his x mark.
I-car-ta-ke, his x mark.
In-im-u-sa-pa, his x mark.
Mu-i-ya-to-ho-nax-te, his x mark.
Ton-wau-non-pa, his x mark.
We-i-za-ka-ma-za.
Ha-oih-da, his x mark.
Wam-di-o-ki-ga, his x mark.
Wa-kan-hoi-ma-za, his x mark.
He-wa-kan-na, his x mark.
I-han-gi, his x mark.
Ma-koi-ya-te, his x mark.
Ta-rin-ca-sin-te, his x mark.
Na-gi-wa-kan, his x mark.
We-ci-ni-han, his x mark.
Ca-je-wan-i-ca, his x mark.
Wan-di-cax-kpi, his x mark.
Tate, his x mark.
U-jin-pi, his x mark.
Hint-ka-ro-ta, his x mark.
Hin-han-xo-na, his x mark.

Witnesses to signatures of above chiefs and soldiers,

LEWIS CASS HUNT,
Lieut. Col. 20th Infantry.

JAMES B. FERGUSON,
Act. Asst. Surgeon, U. S. A.

I hereby certify, upon honor, that I have fully explained to the Indians the above instrument and that the Indians acknowledge the same to be well understood by them.

GEORGE H. FARIBAULT,
Interpreter.

Executed at the Fort Totten agency, "Devil's Lake"reservation, this 19th day of May, 1873, in open council, by the Sisseton and Wahpeton and "Cut-Head"bands of Sioux not included in the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of Sioux of "Lac Travers"reservation, who signed this, on the 2nd of May, 1873, as above written.

JAMES SMITH, JR.,
WM. H. FORBES,
MOSES N. ADAMS,
Commissioners.
APPENDIX E – HISTORIC PHOTOGRAPHS

Mandan Indians building lodge at Fort Union Trading Post, North Dakota
MHS Collection, ca. 1925
Location no. E95 p12

Indian travois at Mandan, North Dakota
MHS Collection, ca. 1905
Location no. E95 r84
Crow Indians and teepees, Fort Union Trading Post, Montana.
Columbia River Historical Expedition
MHS Collection 7/1926
Location no. E125 p1

Fort Assiniboine, Montana
Photographer: Goff
MHS Collection ca. 1880
Location no. FM9.7 p1