1. INTRODUCTION

Devils Tower is located in a bend of the Belle Fourche River in the northeastern corner of Wyoming. The National Monument, which occupies 1,347 acres, is situated in a transitional environment between the rolling plains of the Powder River Basin to the west and the forested slopes of the Black Hills to the east. The Tower was the first National Monument in the United States. It was designated by President Theodore Roosevelt on September 24, 1906, under the provisions of the Antiquities Act (16 USC 431-433), which was enacted in June of the same year.

The Tower, which rises approximately 1,200 feet above the Belle Fourche River floodplain, is composed of phonolite porphyry, characterized by large feldspar crystals embedded in a matrix of smaller crystals. This mineralogy tends to form the monolithic columns for which the Tower is so well known. The geological origin of Devils Tower has been variously interpreted. The earliest theory was that Devils Tower was the throat of a volcano. More recently, geologists have suggested that the Tower is the uneroded remains of a laccolith, which is a lens-shaped igneous rock intrusion that causes a dome-shaped uplift. Another hypothesis is that Devils Tower is a plutonic plug, another variety of igneous intrusion, that failed to reach the surface. Current research supports the latter two interpretations, and also suggests that the geological events that produced Devils Tower began about 60 million years ago.

The National Park Service is responsible for managing all national monuments. Cultural resources – which include historic sites, prehistoric sites, and Native American ethnographic landscapes – are managed in compliance with a host of federal laws, including the National

Historic Preservation Act, the National Environmental Policy Act, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, the Archaeological Resource Protection Act, the 1999 presidential memorandum entitled *Government-to-Government Relations with Native American Tribal Governments*, Executive Order 13175 entitled *Consultation and Coordination with Indian Tribal Governments*, and Executive Order 13007 entitled *Indian Sacred Sites*.

To address their statutory and regulatory responsibilities to identify, assess, manage, and protect cultural resources, the Park Service funded a Native American ethnographic survey in 1991. During the survey, University of Texas (Arlington) anthropologists systematically interviewed traditional practitioners representing six American Indian tribes. The resulting report, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Devils Tower National Monument* (Hanson and Chirinos 1997), provided a narrative summary of tribal ethnohistory and the interview transcriptions. The Archaeology Laboratory of the University of South Dakota conducted a field survey and National Register evaluation of all historic and prehistoric cultural resources at Devils Tower in 1997 and 1998 (Molyneaux et al. 2000). Park Service personnel assembled historic documentation for Devils Tower, which resulted in a National Register of Historic Places listing in July 2000. This listing deals specifically with historic period features. A place-name study was conducted in 2001 (Spence 2002). Taken together, these interrelated studies resulted in documentation that traced the prehistory, history, and contemporary use of Devils Tower by Native Americans, as well as the Euroamerican history of the area.

Over the past 15 years, the National Park Service has consulted with representatives from 23 Indian tribes concerning the management of Devils Tower. The current study is intended to supplement the original 1997 ethnographic survey report by expanding the scope of

investigations to include all 23 tribes. The project has been divided into two phases. Phase I is intended to identify possible tribal affiliations to Devils Tower by means of a review of the professional literature. This report addresses Phase I requirements. It includes 1) a general examination of regional Indian treaties and the establishment of territorial boundaries beginning in the first half of the 19th century, and 2) narrative ethnohistoric and ethnological overviews drawn from the archaeological and anthropological literature, with special attention to documentation that links individual tribes to the Devils Tower study area. Phase II will involve field interviews with tribal representatives, conducted in order to learn more about the cultural significance of Devils Tower to regional Indian tribes. The Park Service will use this information to manage cultural resources within the monument in a way that is sensitive to Native American perspectives, and responsive to the legal mandates (listed in the first paragraph) with which the Park Service must comply. Phase II will endeavor to document Native American connections to Devils Tower through tribal oral traditions, so that the Park Service can manage the collective cultural resources not only from the standpoint of regulatory requirements, but also from the perspective of native traditional practitioners whose oral traditions can be traced back hundreds of years.

We would like to offer the following summary of the Phase I literature review. Although in many cases the professional literature does not mention particular tribes or bands in association with the Tower, there is ample documentary evidence that the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Kiowa, Eastern Shoshone, and Teton Sioux were resident to the study area at different times over the past 400 years and were likely familiar with Devils Tower. However, it is also possible that the Comanche, who ranged widely throughout the Plains region, and who are known to have camped in south-central and southeastern Wyoming in the early 19th century, were also familiar

with Devils Tower. The archaeological record suggests that the Crow briefly expanded into the northern and central Powder River Basin during the late 17th century, and they may have encountered Devils Tower at that time. Although northeastern Nebraska is generally regarded as the historic homeland of the Ponca, the tribe resided briefly in the Black Hills (Swanton 1952:291, Howard 1965:15, also see Dorsey 1884) and ventured deep into the Rocky Mountains in order to hunt bison (Howard 1965:18). The Plains Apache, known principally in the archaeological record as the Dismal River Apache, occupied the eastern border of Wyoming during the early 1700s (Gunnerson 1968). Blackfeet oral traditions include mention of the "Seventh Paint," a variety of micaceous red ocher unique to the Sunrise Mine area of east-central Wyoming (Murray 2005). These are more than anomalous and tantalizing archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic details. They show that the professional literature is likely deficient with regard to the true story of Native American connections to Devils Tower, a story that the Park Service hopes to elaborate in the course of this study and with the assistance of tribal consultants.

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2. FEDERAL LAWS AND TREATIES

Three important episodes of treaties between the United States government and American Indian tribes relate to the northern and northwestern Plains. These occurred in the years 1825, 1851, and 1868. The treaties of 1825 were mainly intended to create peace among the tribes in the study area, and to establish formal relationships between the federal government and the resident tribes. The 1851 and 1868 treaties tended to reiterate prescriptively the practice of peaceful relations, but also assigned specific territories to the tribes in ways that were intended to encourage Indian people to adopt a more sedentary lifestyle, in which agricultural initiatives and enterprise were emphasized.

In 1825, a number of treaties were negotiated with various tribes on the High Plains, although none dealt explicitly with the Devils Tower area. These treaties did not establish territorial boundaries for the tribes, but rather loosely articulated the government's expectations of peaceful interaction with and between Indian tribes in the region. For the next 25 years, no significant treaties were negotiated with tribes in the western United States.

In 1851, the Treaty of Fort Laramie was signed by federal officials and a host of tribal leaders, many of whom did not realize that the federal government considered them representatives for their entire tribe. Often referred to as "The Great Treaty" because of the number of American Indian tribes involved, the large gathering that accompanied the negotiations, and the considerable historical significance of the event, this treaty designated the eastern Wyoming area as the territory of the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho nations. Sioux

residency of the area north of the North Platte River was acknowledged, and the Cheyenne and Arapaho were assigned to the area south of the river. The Crow Indians were allotted territory to the northwest of the study area, which covered much of northwestern Wyoming. The other tribes that participated in the Fort Laramie negotiations were given land much farther to the north, in what is now Montana and North Dakota. Because provisions in the treaty allowed tribes to cross boundaries for the purpose of hunting, any of the signatory tribes may have spent time in territory assigned to their neighbors. It is important to note that among the Sioux, only the Lakota of the Platte River country (the southern and northern Sicangu, and the southern Oglala) accepted and signed the treaty. The northernmost Sioux tribes, such as the Hunkpapa, did not sign the treaty.

The treaty of 1851 aspired to create a lasting peace among the participating tribes, and between the tribes and the U.S. government. Government officials also hoped that the Fort Laramie Treaty would encourage the American Indians to adopt Euroamerican agricultural practices, by giving them distinct but expansive territories and providing them with annual funding in the way of farming equipment and subsistence provisions.

The third and final phase of treaty making that relates to eastern Wyoming occurred in spring 1868, when the Crow, Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho met individually with U.S. government representatives at Fort Laramie to negotiate their future. These treaties created tribal reservations and formalized the effort to induce the signatory tribes to adopt a more Euroamerican style of living, with the expectation that the tribes would practice agriculture and give up their nomadic, hunting lifestyle. In the view of the U.S. government, the treaties of 1868 removed all Native American claims to the Devils Tower area, even though many of the Sioux divisions did not sign the treaty. Of the several tribes that had inhabited the area, only the Sioux

was allowed into the area for hunting, and even this right was forfeited by an agreement with the federal government in 1876.

In summary, the treaties of 1825 were the first to recognize the tribes of the region formally, and also established federal jurisdiction within the region principally inhabited by the Plains Indian tribes. In 1851, the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho were given formal claim to the entire study area, but were forced out of the area by the treaties of 1868. The Sioux retained hunting privileges for the next decade, but lost those privileges in 1876.

1825: Treaties of Trade and Friendship

Here, as throughout, the dates and years are when the tribes actually signed the treaties, as referenced in both the professional literature and government documents. However, ratification by the U.S. Congress often didn't follow until several months later. Treaties were struck in 1825 with the Crow, Cheyenne, Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara, and various Sioux divisions such as the Teton, Yankton, Yanktonais, Saone, Oglala, and Hunkpapa bands. These treaties were all nearly identical in both character and syntax. They were brokered within a two-month period by Brigadier General Henry Atkinson of the U.S. Army and Major Benjamin O'Fallon, an agent of the Indian Affairs Department. These two ambassadors for the United States government made a journey along much of the Missouri River, chartering agreements with the tribes they met. The purpose of these treaties was to perpetuate "the friendship which has heretofore existed, as also to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension, as it respects trade and friendship between the United States and their citizens" and the respective Indian tribes (Kappler 1904:232). No specific tribal boundaries were mentioned, but private journals and government documents clearly indicate that some federal authorities were well aware of certain

traditional tribal boundaries. For instance, the Arapaho seem to have maintained their home between the North Fork and South Fork of the Platte River in alliance with the Cheyenne and Oglala Sioux as early as 1804 (Webber 1989:33). While no recorded treaties recognize their status in the area, maps from this era unequivocally show the Arapaho were present in this part of the Front Range.

Many of the articles in the treaties were vague and contained terminology familiar to government bureaucrats but not necessarily to the native signatories. In signing the treaties, the tribes first and foremost recognized that they resided within the territorial limits of the United States, recognized the supremacy of the U.S. government, and agreed that the federal government would regulate all of their trade. The tribes were expected to extended goodwill and protection to U.S. citizens and traders traveling through their lands, but were also expected to apprehend and deliver to the nearest military authority any unauthorized "foreigner or other person." Additionally, instances of misconduct or crimes by individuals, whether Indian or white, would be dealt with by means of U.S. law rather than revenge or retaliation by the affected tribes. Finally, the tribes agreed not to furnish weapons, guns, or ammunition to any nation or tribe that wasn't on friendly terms with the United States (Kappler 1904:232).

The bulk of the responsibilities of the 1825 treaties rested with the American Indian tribes. The United States was authorized to enforce the treaty stipulations. The only article relating directly to the responsibilities of the United States was quite vague, stating that the United States agreed to take the tribes under their protection and to extend to them "from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient" (ibid.:232). This provision was an early harbinger of the federal trust responsibilities that today govern relationships between the U.S. government and federally recognized American Indian tribes.

These treaties served well enough until Euroamerican settlement in the area became more widespread. As more emigrants settled in or traveled through the study area, the government increased its influence in the area by establishing formal relations and boundaries with the tribes. On June 26, 1849, in a move intended to establish a presence in the study area, the U.S. Army purchased Fort Laramie (located in what is now Goshen County) from the American Fur Company for $4,000. An old adobe structure that had once served as a main marketplace for the central Rockies was transformed over the next year into a military fort in the heart of western Indian country. The Indian tribes were told that the soldiers were there to protect the "red men against the depredations of bad whites" (Nadeau 1967:64-65).

1851: The Great Treaty of Fort Laramie

The Fort Laramie Treaty of September 1, 1851, was the first major treaty to establish territorial boundaries for the various tribes of the region and to define in some detail their relationship to the federal government. The treaty negotiations, held a short distance from the fort, were arguably the largest gathering of American Indians ever held for the purpose of finding a peaceful resolution to their disagreements and conflicts with the federal government. More than 10,000 American Indians and about 300 whites occupied the encampment on Horse Creek, 35 miles southeast of Fort Laramie (ibid. 1967:80). The two principal representatives for the U.S. government were Thomas Fitzpatrick and Colonel David D. Mitchell.

Fitzpatrick met with Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche in the vicinity of Fort Mann (in what is now southwestern Kansas) a few months before the September meeting at Fort Laramie. Known as "Broken Hand" to the Indians because an exploding rifle had removed three of his fingers, Fitzpatrick was well regarded throughout the West for his

wilderness skills, his depth of character, and his knowledge of Indians (Utley 1984:60). He had been appointed U.S. Indian Agent for the Upper Platte and Arkansas Agency in 1846. At Fort Mann, he tried to rally support for the meeting at Fort Laramie and recruit for the upcoming negotiations as many as possible of the western tribes under his jurisdiction. [1] The Cheyenne and Arapaho were willing to meet for the council at Fort Laramie, but the Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche refused to attend. They claimed that such a long journey with many horses and mules would be too risky, especially as the Sioux and Crow, whom they distrusted as notorious horse thieves, would be there (Hill 1966:48).

While many tribes participated in the Fort Laramie negotiations and subsequent treaty, the most significant tribes in the Fort Laramie region were the Crow, Sioux, Arapaho, and Cheyenne. The Assiniboine, Gros Ventre, Mandan, Arikara, and Blackfeet were present at the negotiations and signed the treaty, but their allotted territories were farther north, located in what is now Montana, North Dakota, and the southern Prairie Provinces of Canada. The Shoshone were there as well, but, as will be explained later, were not permitted to sign the treaty.

The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 defined particular territories for the tribes, and also contained stipulations regarding relations between the tribes and the federal government. The tribes were to maintain peace with each other and the U.S. government. The federal government assumed the right to establish roads, military outposts, and other posts within the tribes' territories. The federal government also bound itself to protect the tribes, while requiring that the individual tribes would make restitution for any wrongs committed by any tribal members

[1] Victor Douville, tribal historian for the Sicangu (Rosebud) Sioux and instructor at Sinte Gleska College, regards Fitzpatrick as the driving force behind the 1851 treaty. Intimately familiar with and respected by the Plains Indian tribes, Fitzpatrick continually warned the U.S. government administration that the Lakota and allied tribal factions were planning to wage war against the Overland Trail emigrants. He did all he could to placate the tribes and influence the provisions of the treaty, but many of his ideas were rejected. If he had been given full authority with regard to the administration of the 1851 treaty, perhaps less conflict with the Lakota would have been the result (Douville 2005).

against people of the United States who were lawfully residing in or passing through Indian territories.

Colonel Mitchell explained during the gathering that the white men did not come as traders. He claimed that they had nothing to sell to the Indians and did not want to buy anything from the Indians. He also made clear that the United States did not want their lands, horses, or any other possessions, but only wanted to advise them and make peace for the good of everyone (ibid. 1966:57). Whether Mitchell was sincere in this claim is debatable, particularly in view of the fact that American citizens were already encroaching on Indian land, and would continue to do so in ever-increasing numbers over the next few decades.

Mitchell told the Indian nations that to help prevent war, they must agree upon boundaries for their respective territories. Within these boundaries, each tribe would be responsible for maintaining order and peace. Ultimately, the treaty of 1851 enjoined the signatory tribes to trust the good intentions of whites and the federal government, which could punish offenders at its discretion (Nadeau 1967:75-6). Hill (1966:59) has suggested that the reason for the Indians' passive acceptance of the treaty and the U.S. government's terms may have involved the fact that many of the tribes were living in poverty. Nearly every Indian spokesman at the council acknowledged this truth, echoing the Arikara chief who, in response to Mitchell's speech, said, "We came hungry for we are very poor and could find no buffalo" (Nadeau 1967:77).

Each of the tribes selected a head chief to be responsible for enforcing the treaty. The Sioux, however, had difficulties with this task. They were by far the largest tribe on the Plains and were split into several bands, which had never collectively recognized a head chief. The Sioux protested the necessity of having a head chief for all the bands, but Mitchell pressed on

and nominated a chief of the Wazhazha branch of the Brule band, named Brave Bear. Because of differences in translation, he was often referred to as Brave Bear, though he was also known as "the bear who is so formidable that his enemies scatter before him," "Conquering Bear," "Scattering Bear," or sometimes simply "The Bear." [2] The Sioux, after prayer and deliberation, accepted Brave Bear as their head chief. In reality, however, they knew that he was simply a figurehead, a formal voice for dealing with the whites (ibid. 1967:79-80); this event thus, in many ways, prefigures the subsequent imposition of an elective form of tribal government by federal authorities.

Under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, roughly the eastern half of Wyoming was divided between the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Sioux. All of what is now Platte and Goshen counties that was south of the North Fork of the Platte River was ceded to the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Their territory extended south through much of modern-day Colorado to the Arkansas River, and east into western portions of Nebraska and Kansas. The land to the north of the river (including the Devils Tower area) was Sioux territory. It extended to the northern Wyoming border, and east through approximately half of South Dakota, and covered smaller portions of the adjacent states of Nebraska and North Dakota (Fowler 1982).

Black Hawk, an Oglala Sioux, opposed this division of the land. He stated that his tribe, along with the Arapaho and Cheyenne, had claim to the entire area. According to Black Hawk, his tribe "did what the white men do when they want the lands of Indians. We met the Kiowas and the Crows and whipped them" (Fowler 1982:32). He claimed that the Oglala Sioux had fought alongside the Cheyenne and Arapaho to force out other tribes, and hence deserved a

[2] Victor Douville reports that the Lakota name for "Conquering Bear" is "Mato Oyuhė," which translates literally to "Bear Scattering" (Douville 2005). He confirms that "Conquering Bear" is the accepted translation.

portion of that hard-won area. [3]

Despite Black Hawk's objections, the Arapaho and Cheyenne retained rights to, although not exclusive use of, the area between the North Platte and the Arkansas rivers. In spite of the imposition of specific boundaries, the tribes were permitted to enter one another's territories if they were pursuing bison or other game. The treaty was organized around eight articles. These outlined the rights and obligations of those signing the treaty.

The following is a summary of each article of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 (see Kappler 1904):

> **Article 1:** The nations party to the treaty agreed to abstain from any future hostilities against each other, maintain good faith and friendship, and make an effective and lasting peace.
>
> **Article 2:** The United States had the right to build roads, military posts, and other posts within the American Indian territories.
>
> **Article 3:** The United States bound itself to protect the Indian nations against the aggressions and depredations by the people of the United States.
>
> **Article 4:** The Indian nations agreed to make restitution for any wrongs committed by any band or individual against the people of the United States who were lawfully residing in or passing through their territories.

[3] According to Victor Douville, at the time of the 1851 treaty, the land south of the North Platte River was substantially occupied by the Sioux chief Conquering Bear and his followers, as well as other Sioux bands. The U.S. government intentionally assigned the area to the Arapaho and Cheyenne in order to check the rising power of the Lakota groups to the north (Douville 2005).

Article 5: This established territories for the individual Indian nations. After describing each nation's territory, there was the caveat that in accepting these territorial boundaries, the tribes did not abandon any rights or claims they may have had to other lands, and further, that they did not surrender the privilege of hunting, fishing, or passing over any of the tracts of land described in the treaty.

Article 6: The tribes had selected head chiefs for their nations, and all national business would be conducted through these chiefs.

Article 7: For damages that may have occurred to the Indian nations, and also to improve and maintain the moral and social customs of the tribes, the United States would deliver to the said Indian nations an annuity of $50,000 for ten years, with the addition of five more years should the President deem it necessary. This annuity would be given in provisions, merchandise, domestic animals, and agricultural implements.

Article 8: If any of the Indian nations should violate any of the provisions of this treaty, the United States was entitled to withhold a portion or all of the annuities from the offending Indian nation until the President thought that proper restitution had been made.

Only one section of the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie was changed before ratification by

the U.S. Senate. The Senate was unhappy with Article 7, which stipulated that the United States would supply $50,000 worth of provisions, merchandise, domestic animals, and agricultural implements for 50 years. The senators changed it from 50 years to ten years, with another five years allowable if the President recommended it. With the exception of the Crow, all the tribes agreed to the terms of the ratified treaty.

Because the Shoshone tribe lay outside his jurisdiction, Colonel Mitchell refused to let them sign the treaty. Mitchell was the superintendent of all of the western Indian country, but this didn't include the Utah Agency, with which the Shoshone were affiliated (Kappler 1904). This decision embarrassed John H. Holeman, the newly appointed Indian agent for the Utah Agency, who had invited the Shoshone to attend the Fort Laramie gathering (Nadeau 1967). Mitchell's decision may have been intended as punishment for Holeman, who had taken it upon himself to invite the Shoshone without consulting Mitchell. However, the Shoshone tribe apparently did not object to the decision and waited with the rest of the tribes for their share of the gifts that were coming on the supply train (Nadeau 1967).

To the chagrin of Mitchell, the presents he had intended to deliver as a sign of goodwill before the treaty negotiations didn't arrive until the evening of September 20, three days after the treaty was signed. The gifts were distributed the next day, with the whole process lasting more than two days. Each chief received a general's uniform, complete with epaulets and a saber, and a medal commemorating the event. The lesser tribal leaders were given the uniforms of colonels, lieutenants, and the like (Nadeau 1967), as befitted their tribal rank and status.

After the formal gifts, other goods were given to the tribes, including tobacco, cloth, beads, knives, kettles, paints, blankets, and various foodstuffs. These gifts were given to the braves of the many tribes, who subsequently distributed them among their people. All parties

involved understood that these presents were to compensate for the loss of game and grass suffered by the Indians up to that time (Nadeau 1967). When the Indians broke camp after the 1851 treaty, they left the ground strewn with flour and soda given as gifts by the negotiators. All that they wanted or knew how to use were the containers. Cotton cloth, thread, and copper kettles were left behind, too, either because they were of no understandable use or because they were too heavy to carry (Nadeau 1967).

As a gesture of goodwill toward the Indian nations at the close of the treaty of 1851, Agent Fitzpatrick took a delegation of 11 chiefs and headmen to Washington, DC. Accompanying him on the journey were three Cheyenne, three Arapaho, and five Sioux Indians. In Washington, the American Indian representatives were taken to the White House to meet President Millard Fillmore, who addressed them briefly and presented them with medals and flags. In January 1852, the delegation left for the Plains of the West to enjoy the camaraderie and peace promised by the treaty (Hill 1966b).

There was much optimism regarding the apparent success of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851. The peaceful gathering of so many different tribes and their agreement with the government's requests left many hopeful that American Indians and Euroamericans could coexist in relative peace. Mitchell hoped that the treaty would "save the country from the ruinous and useless expenses of a war against the prairie tribes [by] gradually turning their attention to agricultural pursuits" (Nadeau 1967:82).

Father De Smet, a respected Catholic missionary to the Indians of the upper Missouri and northern Rockies, who also attended the Fort. Laramie negotiations, wrote that it would be "the commencement of a new era for the Indians – an era of peace. In [the] future, peaceable citizens may cross the desert unmolested, and the Indian will have little to dread from the bad white man,

for justice will be rendered to him" (Nadeau 1967:82). In view of all of the conflict that was soon to erupt, one can only marvel at his naiveté.

1851–68: "Bad Management and Untoward Misfortune"

Between 1851 and 1868, the study area was formally the domain of the Sioux, with the Cheyenne and Arapaho to the south. However, because of a number of conflicts with Euroamerican settlers and emigrants traveling through the study area, the lawful tribal residents were soon forced from the area.

After the treaty of 1851 was signed, Colonel Mitchell wrote to the Indian Commissioner that "...fifty years it was thought would be time sufficient to give the experiment a fair trial… and solve the great problem of whether or not an Indian can be made a civilized man." Because the American Indians had shown such goodwill at the council, "nothing but bad management, or some untoward misfortune, can ever break it" (Nadeau 1967:82).

Both the federal government and the Indian tribes quickly broke the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851. With the opening of the Southwest in 1848, as well as the California gold rush of 1849, the number of emigrants traveling through the study area increased dramatically (Fowler 1982). In 1847, only about 5,000 Euroamericans traveled through the region. By 1849, that number had risen to more than 20,000, and in 1852, the total number of emigrants traveling through the study area was estimated at 40,000 (Scott 1959). These travelers drove off bison and forced tribes to compete for a dwindling supply of game. As early as 1853, Agent Fitzpatrick warned that many Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Sioux were in a state of starvation, in need of food at least half of the year (Fowler 1982). By 1859, whites had already begun to settle permanently on Cheyenne and Arapaho lands, driving off or killing many of the remaining bison.

In 1853, it seemed that nearly every white man coveted Indian Territory. Lobbyists for a railroad to the Pacific Ocean were demanding rights of way through the heart of buffalo country, and a government surveying crew was in the field exploring possible routes. A bill to create a huge Nebraska territory, stretching from the Missouri River to the Rockies, was introduced in Congress. Some 3,000 prospective settlers gathered in Iowa along the east bank of the Missouri River, waiting for legal permission to cross the water. In 1854, the Nebraska bill was altered to create two new territories, Kansas and Nebraska, and when the bill passed Congress, thousands of settlers streamed across the water to reside in the new land. Many of these travelers went straight into Indian country and established permanent settlements. Indian agents tried to persuade them to leave, but the agents were often ignored. When Colonel George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, appealed to the military to throw out the settlers, the military did nothing (Nadeau 1967). This was an obvious breach of Article 3 of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851.

All the tribes of the region desperately needed the annuities (blankets, tools, guns, clothing, and more) granted by the 1851 treaty, particularly during seasons when there was little game to be had. After Fitzpatrick's death in 1854, subsequent Indian agents distributed provisions from a few central points, rather than bringing them to the tribes directly as Fitzpatrick had done. This created a great hardship for many American Indians, as the distance to travel for the goods was often too far to warrant the trip. Additionally, throughout the 1850s and 1860s, many corrupt agents appropriated a large portion of these goods for their own use. Many stories circulated about Indian agents coming to the West as paupers and leaving a few years later as rich men after hoarding and stealing goods meant for the Indians. A particular agent by the name of Thomas Twiss replaced Fitzpatrick, and served from 1855–61 in the Fort

Laramie region. Twiss had married a Sioux woman, and the Arapaho accused him of diverting their provisions to his wife's people (Fowler 1982).

Many conflicts arose among the American Indians, settlers, and emigrants, and the U.S. Army. The Grattan Massacre of 1854 and the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 typify the contention between these parties during the mid–19th century. Discussed in greater detail below, both of these incidents were essentially the result of poor communication and profound mistrust between the Indians, settlers, and federal troops. The Grattan Massacre resulted in the unnecessary death of many soldiers, and at Sand Creek numerous Cheyenne (and some Arapaho) Indians were slaughtered, sometimes barbarically.

In early August 1854, a group of Sioux gathered along the North Platte River below Fort Laramie to collect the annuities promised by the treaty of 1851. The goods had arrived and were in a trading post five miles below Fort Laramie, but the new Indian agent had not arrived to distribute them. As the Sioux waited, impatient and hungry from lack of game, their warriors went out to hunt for bison.

On August 18, a cow belonging to a group of Mormons traveling through the area was killed by a Miniconjou Sioux, one of the many hunting near the fort. The cow had been sick and trailing behind the caravan. According to accounts of both the Mormons and American Indians, it had run into a Sioux encampment and been abandoned by the Mormons. The Indians, hungry and waiting for their supplies, slaughtered the cow, and devoured it on the spot. Although Chief Brave Bear of the Brule Sioux reported the incident the same day, offered restitution for the cow, and even expressed a willingness to give up the offender, Second Lieutenant John L. Grattan insisted on going out to teach the Indians a lesson. Because of his brashness, his inability to compromise, and the incompetent assistance of a scared and drunken interpreter, he and all 29 of

his men were killed and mutilated by the Sioux. This event became known thereafter as the Grattan Massacre. Chief Brave Bear of the Sioux was also fatally wounded during this encounter (Hill 1967; Nadeau 1967).

After killing all of the U.S. soldiers, albeit in self-defense, the Sioux understood that they had broken the treaty of 1851. Realizing that they would no longer receive the annuities for which they had been waiting, they traveled to the storehouse where these supplies were kept, broke in, and took all that they needed. This event further troubled the relations between the American Indians and Euroamericans in the region.

With the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1859, and the subsequent influx of fortune seekers traveling and settling throughout the southern part of the Arapaho and Cheyenne territory, these tribes effectively lost all of their hunting grounds. During the 1860s, professional buffalo hunters often killed the few bison that were left. With white settlers' constant encroachment upon their land, hostile Indian nations surrounding them, and no steady supply of food, the Arapaho and Cheyenne often resorted to stealing and butchering stock that belonged to emigrants and settlers. They attacked whites who tried to settle permanently on lands granted to the tribes by the 1851 treaty. Eventually, these attacks grew into a series of running gun battles in which the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and many Sioux united against the whites (Fowler 1982).

Seeing the problems and violence caused by interactions between American Indians and Euroamericans, Agent Twiss proposed a treaty on September 18, 1859, with the Sioux, Northern Cheyenne, and Northern Arapaho. Twiss presented the facts of the situation in a bleak manner:

> My children, your Great Father directs me to say to you that as the buffalo and small game also are rapidly diminishing what do you propose to do to gain subsistence, when there is no longer any game for food, and prevent your old

> people and little children from dying by starvation? Will you labor like the white man, plant, hoe, and raise corn for food? Or will you die with hunger? (Nadeau 1967:144)

After a conference among the tribal leaders, an Arapaho chief named Medicine Man was elected to respond for the assembled Indians. He listed in detail the many woes of the tribes, elaborated on some of their causes, and then responded to Twiss' admonition by stating, "We wish to live" (Nadeau 1967:144). The tribal representatives then proposed a treaty that would have established acceptable reservations for each of the represented tribes. Twiss incorporated their reasonable requests into a treaty, including a stipulation for an annuity of $115,000 in provisions and assistance for a period of time to be determined by the President. The tribes saw these reservations as the only way to prevent the extinction of their people. Medicine Man conceded that nearly all of the game on which they depended had been exterminated, and said that they were willing to change their way of life and "settle on small farms and live in cabins" (Nadeau 1967:144).

This treaty seemed to seal the fate of the "wild tribes" of the Plains, who had seen the downfall of neighboring nations and were ready to give up their traditional way of life in order to ensure their survival. Despite the apparent sensibleness of this treaty, and its benefits to the burgeoning Euroamerican immigration into the region, it was rejected by the U.S. Senate. The rejection of this treaty left the American Indians with little ground on which to stand. Euroamericans continued to settle on their land and kill much of the game. With most of their annuities stolen, tribes were often left with little choice but to attack settlers and take their supplies. These attacks inflamed the U.S. Army and the settlers, and led to conflicts such as the

Sand Creek Massacre.

At Sand Creek in northeastern Colorado, on November 29, 1864, Colonel J. M. Chivington and his troops killed, scalped, and mutilated at least 130 Cheyenne men, women, and children who were patiently waiting to engage in a peace council with the U.S. government. The Cheyenne had requested peace talks with the commander of Fort Lyon in what is now southern Colorado, but he told them that he didn't have the authority to conclude a treaty, adding that he would send for someone who did. The Cheyenne were instructed to wait at Sand Creek for the appropriate authorities to arrive. However, before U.S. negotiators could arrive, Chivington appeared with 1,000 troops and attacked the Cheyenne (Nadeau 1967). Chivington thought that it was his duty to kill as many Indians as possible to make the Plains safe for white settlers. The surviving Cheyenne subsequently told the Arapaho and some Sioux tribes of the atrocity, and the tribes banded together to fight the white man as fiercely as they could (Nadeau 1967).

In 1865 at Fort Sully, near Pierre, South Dakota, a number of minor treaties were negotiated with various bands of Sioux in an attempt to reestablish peaceful relations. While these treaties do not directly affect the study area, Fort Sully was on the far eastern side of Sioux territory, while Fort Laramie and the study area were on the far western side. Hence, many of the same bands of Sioux and tribal leaders undoubtedly attended treaty negotiations at both sites.

From the terms of the 1865 treaties, it is possible to forecast what would occur in 1868. There were minor differences between each treaty, but the message was the same throughout: The Sioux needed to stop all warfare, withdraw from the established overland routes and trails, and pursue a permanent location for the purpose of a settled and agricultural life (Kappler 1904).

Colonel William Hoffman, a soldier whose duty at frontier posts ranged from Florida to California for more than 30 years during the mid-1800s, wrote that he "was unable to say what

proportion of annuities actually reaches the hands of the Indians, but [he had] no doubt that they have little or no benefit from it" (Nadeau 1967). Between the theft of their promised annuities and the ongoing conflicts with settlers and the army, the Indian tribes were quickly embroiled in a desperate situation. Their lands were being stolen, their goods appropriated, and their people massacred – and if they acted to retaliate, the army responded in force to punish them.

1868: Reservations, Agriculture, and Assimilation

In 1868, a new set of treaties was negotiated with the American Indians in the region. The Indian Peace Commission had been established in 1867, and its task was to relocate Indian tribes into areas where their existence would not interfere with westward expansion and settlement by the now-dominant Euroamerican populace. The commission also wanted to obtain tribal consent with regard to the federal program of "civilization," which focused on the replacement of hunting with agriculture in the livelihood of Indian people. The Indians of the region struggled to secure a home for themselves in Wyoming and western South Dakota, but their efforts were in vain. Federal officials had made clear the repercussions if an Indian nation failed to sign one of the new treaties – provisions would be cut off (Fowler 1982). When the tribes met with the peace commissioners at Fort Laramie to negotiate treaties in spring 1868, they had little choice but to accept the government's terms and move onto the reservations proposed in the treaties.

In late April and early May of 1868, the tribes of the region met with Indian agents and military leaders at Fort Laramie and created three separate treaties that effectively replaced the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie. One treaty was negotiated with the Crow, one with the Sioux and Arapaho, and one with the Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho. All three treaties were

similar in form, syntax, and purpose. A summary of one of the treaties follows:

Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 with the Sioux and Arapaho (see Kappler 1904)

Article 1: There would be peace between the tribes and the United States. The American Indians would deliver any wrongdoer to the United States to be dealt with by U.S. law.

Article 2: This established a reservation, located mostly in western South Dakota and a bit of northern Nebraska. The Indians ceded claim to any land not described in the treaty.

Article 3: If, after a survey of the reservation, 160 acres of tillable land were not available for each person who was authorized to reside on it, more adjoining land would be appropriated to make up the difference.

Article 4: The United States would erect, at its own expense, buildings for varied purposes. Some examples were a schoolhouse or mission; a storehouse; a sawmill; and buildings for a carpenter, blacksmith, miller, engineer, and farmer.

Article 5: An Indian agent would live on the reservation and always be available to serve the needs of the Indians.

Article 6: Any head of a family, if he desired to start farming, could select a

parcel of land inside the reservation, not to exceed 320 acres. This land would then be removed from the common and would be the property of the individual and his family as long as they cultivated it. There was also a stipulation that any male Indian over 18 years old could homestead; that is, if he lived on a tract of land for more than three years and made improvements on the land for a value of more than $200, he could be given that parcel of land, up to 160 acres, and become a U.S. citizen.

Article 7: All Indian children between the ages of six and 16 years would be compelled to attend school. For every 30 children, the government would supply a schoolhouse and a teacher.

Article 8: Any head of a family who selected and cultivated land (as mentioned in Article 6) would be given seeds and agricultural instruments for the first year, not exceeding $100 in value. If he continued to farm, he would be given $25 worth of seeds and tools for the next three years.

Article 9: Ten years after the ratification of this treaty, the United States could withdraw any of its doctors, farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters, engineers, or millers. However, if the United States should do that, it would supply an additional $10,000 per year for the education of the American Indians.

Article 10: All other annuities made under previous treaties were void, but for 30

years the United States would annually supply clothes for each individual on the reservation. Also, for the next 30 years money would be appropriated and spent by the Secretary of the Interior on the behalf of the tribe. This appropriation was based on $10 for each person who roamed and hunted, and $20 for each person who farmed. Also, the United States would provide any farming family with one good American cow and one good well-broken pair of American oxen.

Article 11: The Indians, while not able to settle permanently outside the reservation, could still hunt on any lands north of the North Platte River. They also agreed to the following stipulations:

- They would withdraw all opposition to the construction of railroads then being built on the Great Plains.
- They would permit the peaceful construction of any railroads not passing over their reservation.
- They would not attack any American citizens, either at home or traveling, nor would they molest their animals.
- They would never capture or abduct white women or children.
- They would never kill, scalp, or attempt to harm white men.
- They would withdraw all opposition to the construction of the railroad being built along the Platte River and, in the future, they would not object to the construction of other works of utility or necessity built by the United States. If one of these works was built on the reservation, they

would be compensated for damages.

- They would withdraw all opposition to existing military posts and roads, as well as those that might be constructed.

Article 12: No land cession could be made by the tribe without the assent of three-fourths of all adult male Indians. No cessions of land could be construed so as to deprive an individual member of the tribe of any tract of land selected by him, as provided in Article 6.

Article 13: The United States would supply the physician, teachers, carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer, and blacksmith for the facilities listed in Article 4.

Article 14: A prize of $500 annually, for three years, would be awarded to the ten persons who, according to the judgment of the agent, grew the most valuable crops.

Article 15: The reservation would be the American Indians' permanent home, and they could make no settlement elsewhere.

Article 16: Within 90 days after the conclusion of this treaty, the military posts within the bounds of the reservation would be abandoned, and the through roads associated with these posts would be closed.

Article 17: This treaty nullified the annuities that were promised in previous treaties (Kappler 1904:998).

The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 with the Sioux and Arapaho, outlined above, was similar to the treaties negotiated that year with the Crow, the Northern Cheyenne, and the Northern Arapaho. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 with the Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho was nearly the same as the treaty with the Sioux and Arapaho, but notably failed to include the stipulations in Article 11 regarding interactions with Euroamericans. Additionally, the Northern Arapaho and Cheyenne weren't given reservations, but rather had to choose between moving onto the Sioux reservation in South Dakota, or the Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne reservation in Oklahoma. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 with the Crow was nearly identical to the other two Fort Laramie treaties of that year, except that the Crow Indians were assigned a reservation in the Montana Territory (Kappler 1904).

The movement of these tribes onto reservations after numerous years of warfare confirmed what Thomas Fitzpatrick had warned of during the 1850s: Indians could not be convinced to stay on reservations until they had been thoroughly defeated, either by the army or by invading settlers. In the study area, as elsewhere, American Indians had accepted reservations only after "heavy-handed violence" (Utley 1984:63). Fitzpatrick believed that successful negotiation with the Indians could be successfully negotiated with after only after they had been dealt numerous defeats, but he still bemoaned the reservation system, calling it "the legalized murder of a whole nation...[:] expensive, vicious, inhumane" (Utley 1984:63).

These treaties were obviously favorable to the government, but as was noted earlier, the tribes had little leverage in negotiating the treaties. The 1868 treaties were

intended to force the Indians to give up their nomadic ways, settle permanently in one location, and take up a Euroamerican lifestyle, notably including the practice of agriculture. Seven of the 17 articles of the Sioux treaty reinforced, at least in part, the importance of farming. Article 14 is particularly interesting in that it provided for monetary reward to those Indians who best adapted to the government program of agriculture and assimilation.

The treaties promulgated in 1868 contained very specific details as to the appropriations to be made by the U.S. government on behalf of the tribes. Articles 4, 7, 10, and 13 in particular were hard to quantify in monetary terms by the government agents. This led to problems when funding was requested from Congress for the appropriations. One Indian agent commented that "the peculiar provisions of this treaty [with the Cheyenne and Arapaho] render it almost impossible to make a proper estimate under it. Every effort has been made, however, to make an estimate as near right as it can be made under the circumstances" (United States Senate 1869). In this final era of treaties with the Sioux, Crow, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, the tribes were expected to embrace (even if by force) common Euroamerican attributes of civilization and culture, such as permanent settlements, homesteads, and traditional European agricultural practices. The Great Plains were quickly filling with Euroamerican settlers who were forcing American Indians from their traditional hunting grounds, and killing or scattering the few remaining bison. The reservations established by the 1868 treaties were designed to move American Indians out of the way so that Euroamericans' settlement and pacification of the Great Plains could continue uninterrupted.

1871: An End to Indian Treaties

As was demonstrated by the U.S. government's reduction of funding during the

ratification of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, Congress was hesitant to promise money for future annuities to Indians. Treaties were negotiated by agents of the President, and Congress often had little choice but to appropriate the money that the executive branch had promised. This often led to problems, as noted by John B. Sanborn, commissioner and disbursing agent of the Indian Peace Commission. In a letter referring to the debt incurred from the Fort Laramie Treaties of 1868, he wrote that "the money that has been appropriated by Congress to pay such accounts has all been expended in subsisting and clothing Indians, and I know of no appropriation at the disposal of the department now out of which this account can be paid" (United States House of Representatives 1894:7).

In 1871, to combat spending and appropriations over which it had no control, Congress forbade the recognition of Indian tribes for future treaty making. Under the original system of treaty negotiations, the President often committed Congress to substantial appropriations over long periods of time. Different congresses expressed doubts about the propriety of allowing the executive branch so much leeway in treaty negotiation. The legislative initiatives of 1871 can be seen as an effort by Congress to determine which tribes would be legally recognized and which would not. Some form of treaty making could be accomplished, provided it was authorized by Congress. [4] After 1871, there were no more treaties, only "agreements" between the U.S. government and individual tribes (Deloria and DeMallie 1999). These political developments can be viewed as an outgrowth of larger issues involving conflicts between presidential and congressional authorities, conflicts that continue even today.

[4] According to Victor Douville, the issue of providing funds for signatory tribes pursuant to the 1851 treaty was complicated by heated debates between the House and the Senate. Congressmen could not agree on what constituted adequate funding for the tribes, or even how to appropriate the funds legally. At that time, the Senate ratified treaty provisions and the House was responsible for appropriating funds in support of the treaty provisions. The legislative initiatives of 1871 were effectively an abrogation of tribal sovereignty and federal trust responsibilities (Douville 2005).

The most important of these legal instruments for American Indians in the study area was passed in 1876. The Agreement of August 15, 1876, contained 11 articles, several of which redefined the terms of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. For instance, Article 1 of the agreement defined the Sioux reservation to exclude the land between the South Fork and the North Fork of the Cheyenne River. Between these waterways lay the entire Black Hills. Article 1 also eliminated all hunting privileges outside the reservation, terminating Article 11 of the 1868 treaty, which had specifically allowed hunting on traditional lands to the west and south (Hedren 1988). These hunting grounds had previously been defined as any lands north of the North Platte River and on the Republican Fork of the Smoky Hill River, as long as the bison there were in sufficient number to justify hunting them. The Sioux had retained hunting rights north of the North Platte River, and roamed and hunted in the study area up until 1876.

The Agreement of August 15, 1876, not only altered the relationship between the tribes and the government, it also transgressed some previous treaty stipulations. For example, Article 12 of the 1868 treaty with the Sioux, requiring the approval of three-fourths of adult male Sioux to cede any reservation land, was ignored when this new agreement was struck. Some of the chiefs and representatives were allowed to sign for all of their people, and the question of the Sioux relinquishing ownership of the Black Hills, and their right to occupy the study area, was settled, at least on paper (Hedren 1988).

Conclusion

The process of removing Indians from the study area revolved around the theme of assimilation and incremental deculturation. Also at play was the belief that the only proper use of land by Indians was agricultural. The regional Indian tribes were seen as ignorant of proper

land use and management, and thus they needed to be cleared out of the area so that Euroamerican "civilization" and economic practice could be deployed to make use of and improve the land. This attitude can be seen in treaties between the tribes and the government, as well as in official correspondence of the time. One government official claimed that "the Indians have no knowledge of their own needs, or the slightest idea of what is required of them…. [T]he Department [of the Interior should] thoroughly investigate and determine the best methods, and then dictate to the Indians what they shall do and how they shall do it" (United State House of Representatives 1894).

There was a certain insensitivity to the Native American lifestyle, and even when Indians were confined to reservations, many American citizens and politicians felt that the tribes were given more land than they would ever use. In 1893, several U.S. Commissioners of Indian Affairs, frustrated at their inability to purchase land from the Shoshone and Arapaho reservation, wrote that "there is no question but what these Indians have much more land than they can possibly use or control at present or in the future, and could they be induced to reduce their reservation to a minimum it would be vastly to their benefit, inasmuch as the money received for it would give them an income" (ibid. 1894:11).

While many historians recognize that cultural differences were a factor in U.S. and American Indian relations, they more often than not fail to draw upon the issues of agriculture as the root cause of many conflicts. Both historians and correspondents of the era cite the need for an end to warfare as the impetus for these treaties, without fully explaining the land-use habits and ethics of the conflicting cultures, and how these ethics affected perceptions and attitudes toward Indians. In large part, the Indian's failure to adapt to a settled lifestyle that included agriculture, along with Euroamerican insistence that they do so, was what caused, directly or

indirectly, many of the conflicts between the two cultures in the study area. As mentioned earlier, nearly half the articles of the 1868 treaties dealt at least partially with encouraging and rewarding agricultural enterprise. Even before that, in 1851, Colonel Mitchell had cited the need to encourage agricultural pursuits for the tribes of the region as an essential means of halting warfare (Nadeau 1967).

In 1825, treaties recognized the relationship among the Indian nations and the U.S. government. In 1851, the Great Treaty of Fort Laramie delineated boundaries for tribal territories, but all the Indians involved were allowed to travel outside these boundaries in order to hunt and fish, as their traditional lifestyles required. With the treaties of 1868, the tribes were severely limited in mobility by the boundaries of their reservations because the government was attempting to force them to shift to a more sedentary, agriculture-based lifestyle. The subsequent agreement of 1876 formally completed the bureaucratic components of the assimilation process, leaving almost no open territory in which to hunt. Even if the tribes had retained the right to hunt outside their reservations, most of the game they depended upon was no longer present. Still, many American Indians either could not or would not surrender their traditional lifestyles.

Over time, the nature and wording of the treaties with Indian tribes became more complex, prescriptive, and peremptory. As Euroamericans settled in the area in increasing numbers, the government needed more and more control over the Indians and their land. The treaties that were negotiated with the tribes eventually evolved into a program of reservations, which by 1860 was the foundation of federal Indian policy. The U.S. government saw reservations as places where Indians could be "kept from bothering whites, taught to support themselves by farming, insulated from white vices, and uplifted by white virtues" (Utley 1984:63).

Intentional or not, the result of the various treaties with American Indians in Platte and Goshen counties was to push the tribes, especially the Crow, Sioux, Northern Cheyenne, and Northern Arapaho, out of the path of white settlement and into smaller and smaller areas of tribal dominion. Within approximately 50 years of the first formal treaties, which recognized the right of regional tribes to coexist peacefully, the U.S. government had forced the Indians onto reservations where they were expected to emulate a Euroamerican lifestyle that prominently featured agriculture.

In 1910, Francis E. Leupp, a former U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, summed up the attitude of the U.S. government toward American Indians when he wrote:

> Where the idea of using individual land-ownership for a lever in civilization entered into consideration at all, it took some shape as this: The Indians' land lies in the open country; civilized people utilize their country land for farming; therefore, every Indian should be a farmer. It is but a short step from such a conclusion to its corollary, that what it is an Indian's duty to be, it is the Government's duty to make him. (Leupp 1910:25)

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3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Northern Arapaho

Synonymy

"Arapaho" is an Arapaho word. The Arapaho perceive it as a name the Euroamericans gave them. However, the name may have originated with the Crow and means "lots of tattoos" (Scott 1907:556). The Arapaho call themselves Hinanaè'ina (Kroeber 1983:5). The Southern Arapaho call the Northern Arapaho Sage Brush Men or Red Eye, while the Northern Arapaho call the Southern Arapaho South Men (Scott 1907:558). There is no official name other than "Arapaho."

Location

Today the Northern Arapaho live on the Wind River Indian Reservation in Wyoming. The reservation is located in west-central Wyoming between the Wind River Range and the Owl Creek Mountains. The Northern Arapaho and the Eastern Shoshone live together on the reservation and have done so since 1878, when the military escorted the Northern Arapaho from the Pine Ridge Reservation, where the Oglala Sioux live, and placed them on the Wind River Reservation (Curtis 1970:140). The arrival of the Northern Arapaho on the reservation was a violation of the 1868 Fort Bridger Treaty, as well as an affront to Eastern Shoshone sovereignty.

There is very little evidence about the prehistoric migrations of the Arapaho. As Hanson

and Chirinos state in their ethnographic overview and assessment of Devils Tower, it is as if the Arapaho are "archeologically invisible" (Hanson and Chirinos 1997:12). In contrast, there is ample evidence of the Sioux and Cheyenne in the Late Prehistoric archaeological record. The Arapaho and Cheyenne were closely affiliated tribes from early times, and the archaeological sites probably attributable to the Cheyenne may also have included Arapaho inhabitants. Many Plains Indian specialists have suggested that the Arapaho occupied portions of Minnesota in the 1600s, and some sources place them as far north as the Canadian border (Flynn 1998:11).

Flynn (1998:11) has suggested that the Arapaho started to migrate south and west onto the Plains during the 1600s. They later roamed the Lake Michigan area, then crossed the Missouri River and entered the Black Hills. Around 1826 the Arapaho left the Black Hills area and migrated south to the region between the Arkansas and Platte rivers (Gunderson 1988:35). In 1835, the Arapaho tribe separated into northern and southern divisions (Confederation of American Indians 1986:216, Flynn 1998:11).

Following the Fort Laramie Treaty in 1851, the Arapaho and their Cheyenne allies obtained rights to the same territory. The land on which they resided covered most of Colorado west of the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, the northwestern part of Kansas, the southwest corner of Nebraska, and the southeast corner of Wyoming. The Sioux gradually occupied large portions of this area, and by the time the Shoshone Reservation was established as a result of the 1868 Fort Bridger Treaty, the Arapaho were left without a permanent homeland. Following military hostilities and several half-hearted attempts by the federal government to settle the Arapaho on a permanent reservation, the northern division of the tribe was placed on the Shoshone Reservation in 1878.

While the Arapaho likely would have encountered Devils Tower during their residence in

the Black Hills, the professional literature makes no mention of Arapaho ties to Devils Tower. This is consistent with Hanson and Chirinos' findings in their *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Devils Tower National Monument* (1997). However, credible references to Devils Tower can be found in Arapaho oral history (See "Religion" section).

Ethnographic Overview

Ever since the Northern Arapaho moved onto the Plains, they have embraced the-hunting-and-gathering culture, which was key to their existence. They were nomadic people and their movement was determined by the season and the potential for a successful bison hunt (Fowler 1982:14). The Arapaho hunted in bands and groups throughout the fall and the winter, and the larger part of the spring. These bands were made up of both unrelated individuals and kinsmen. However, throughout the summer the bands came together to take part in communal hunts and tribal ceremonies (Fowler 1982:14).

The Northern Arapaho belong to the large family of Algonquian-speaking tribes. The Arapaho language is mutually intelligible, in dialect, with that of their affiliated band the Gros Ventre (Hanson and Chirinos 1997:12). There are three main divisions/bands of the Arapaho today. These are the Northern Arapaho, the Southern Arapaho, and the Gros Ventre or Atsina (Scott 1907:545). The Northern Arapaho is the main division; the Southern Arapaho and the Gros Ventre were derived from the Northern Arapaho (Flynn 1998:11).

The Arapaho have been closely associated with the Cheyenne for more than a century. Evidence shows that the two tribes often accompanied each other during migrations, and shared common residential locations. Moreover, when necessary, the two tribes often allied themselves to fight against enemy tribes. It is, however, important to note that even though the two tribes

were associated, they always maintained and valued their individuality (Confederation of American Indians 1986:216).

Ethnoecology

The Arapaho lived in tipis, as did many of the tribes living on the Plains. They were constructed in a way that made them easy to transport from one camp to the next. In general, a camp could be packed up and ready to move on in about an hour (Wikipedia 2006).

The Northern Arapaho relied heavily on the bison, not only as a source of food, but also for shelter, clothing, and material for numerous other purposes (Fowler 1982:13-14). In terms of clothing, Arapaho men often wore a shirt, leggings, a breechcloth, a pair of moccasins, and a blanket made from bison skin. The women generally wore an open-sleeved dress, a pair of moccasins, a pair of leggings, and a blanket (Kroeber 1983:28).

In the construction of weapons, for example arrow points, the Arapaho originally used flint. As they started to trade with Mexicans, however, they shifted from flint to iron (Kroeber 1983:24).

Implements used in the domestic sphere were constructed from different materials. Pots were made with mud and/or clay mixed with sand and baked in the fire. Sometimes ground stone was also mixed into the clay/mud matrix. Plates were, for the most part, made out of rawhide. Bowls and containers of that sort were made from knots of cottonwood trees, and spoons and cups were made from mountain sheep horns (Kroeber 1983:25).

Before the Arapaho acquired horses, they used dogs and the dog travois to transport their possessions, but the dogs were never used for hunting (Kroeber 1983:23-24). When they are asked how the Arapaho acquired the horse, they have different answers. Some believe that they

got horses from the white man, while others believe they captured wild horses and tamed them (Kroeber 1983:24). It is likely the Arapaho also received horses from their Cheyenne affiliates, who probably first acquired them sometime around 1800 from Kiowa traders at an intertribal gathering at Horse Creek, east of Fort Laramie near the Wyoming-Nebraska border (see Powell 1981:28).

Social Organization

Religion and spirituality were often highly integrated with tribal government and politics among the Northern Arapaho. This is evident in the fact that priests and spiritual elders in most cases made the decisions and carried out many of the tribe's different activities (Flynn 1998:10). Moreover, the opinion of the tribal elders bore heavy weight when decisions were to be made that might affect the entire tribe. In contrast, contemporary tribal government on the Wind River Indian Reservation in many ways resembles the U.S. government. After Euroamericans arrived in the region beginning in the mid 1800s, it did not take many generations before Arapaho politics were influenced by U.S. politics. However, the Arapaho succeeded in maintaining a great deal of political independence for a long time following the arrival of Euroamericans (Fowler 1982:6). In the course of treaty negotiations, beginning with the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1951, the Arapaho often appointed chiefs to deal with government diplomats and army officials (Flynn 1998:14). Later, the tribe was represented by elected councilmen (Fowler 1982:6).

Behavior among the Arapaho was guided by the tribe's strong belief in good relations – within the tribe in general, and within the family in particular. Furthermore, there was a strong emphasis on tribal harmony with the outside world. These norms of proper and harmonious behavior and harmony can still be seen today in the way tribal government is conducted (Flynn

1998:10).

The Arapaho have an age-grading system, which is highly valued and respected. Throughout their life they go through four age-graded categories (four hills of life), and in contrast to the western world, they embrace old age. They believed that old age is a blessing and the tribe's elders are very highly respected. The four age-graded stages are child – from birth to approximately 20 years of age; youth – from 20 to 40 years of age; mature adult – from 40 to the age of 60; and elder – from 60 till the end of life (Fowler 1982:7-8).

In terms of gender roles, men were expected to hunt and make war when necessary. Only men could hold titles such as "chief" and "medicine man." Women were and are highly respected. They were/are wives and the bearers of children, and they took care of domestic affairs. There were also women priests, such as the female priests of the seven women's medicine bags. (For more about the seven medicine bags, see "Southern Arapaho" section.)

An Arapaho man could decide to have more than one wife, for example the sister of his wife (Kroeber 1983:14). Just as the man had a right to want more than one wife, it was the woman's right to object.

Religion

The Northern Arapaho believe in the powers of the supernatural. They believe that the Creator gave life and power to all beings, the forces of nature, and minerals. Furthermore, traditional practitioners seek help within the spiritual world. The creation story of the Arapaho states that in the beginning of time there was only the Keeper of the Flat Pipe. He floated in endless waters. During his journey on the endless waters he prayed to the Creator, who answered his prayers and told him to send a duck to the bottom of the water. The duck returned

with dirt from the bottom and the Keeper put the dirt on the Pipe. The Creator then told him to send down a turtle and the turtle also returned with dirt. This dirt was also placed on the Pipe and the Keeper blew dirt in the direction of the four corners of the world. This was how earth was created. Following the creation of earth, the Pipe Keeper created the sun, moon, man, woman, vegetables, animals, day, night, and the four seasons. He taught the first humans about religion and placed the duck, the turtle, and the Pipe in a bundle, which he placed in the protection of the Arapaho. Ever since that time, descendants of the first people (families of the Big Lodge People) have had the responsibility of protecting the bundle (Fowler 2006:1; 2001:843).

The Arapaho, and Native Americans in general, believe very strongly that everything living is created by earth and in harmony with nature and the spiritual world. Native Americans greatly value nature and the spiritual world because they believe these forces gave life to human beings and all living creatures. This is why most tribes go out into nature to pray and celebrate their religious rituals. They view nature as their "church" and their sacred place to pray. This is why locations such as Devils Tower have become sacred to many tribes. It is an extraordinary place in nature to celebrate life and tribal rituals.

As is common for most Native American tribes, the Arapaho have divulged very little about their sacred places with the outside world. We do, however, know a little about some of the Arapaho sacred sites through their oral traditions. In the summer of 1932, Sherman Sage, a revered Northern Arapaho elder, shared a tribal story about Devils Tower (which the Arapaho call Bear's Tipi) with Dick Stone. Sage also revealed that his grandfather was buried very close to Devils Tower (Gunderson 1988:36). Sage told Stone that his grandfather had once set up a trap close to Devils Tower. After setting up the trap, Sage's grandfather sang to the antelope,

deer, and buffalo four times. Every time he started to sing the song he would sing in a higher key than before. The first song made the animals stop eating, the second song made them raise their heads and look up, the third song made them move in the direction of the traps, and by the time his grandfather had finished the fourth song the animals had been caught in the trap (Gunderson 1988:36).

In Sage's narrative about Devils Tower (see Stone 1982:7), he stated that a long time ago an Arapaho lodge (family) camped at Bear's Tipi.

> The father of this lodge was a head lodge and had seven children, five boys and two girls. The two girls had made an arrangement between themselves that the one who found the bone (end rib) of a buffalo should receive the most favors from the brothers. The boys often made trips to other tribes. After a long search one of the girls found an end bone of a buffalo and on picking it up she turned into a bear and made some big scratches on her sister's back. The "Bear-girl" told her sister, "If you tell the dogs will howl and this will be a signal so I will know that you have told." The sister did tell her brothers and when they heard the dogs howl and give the signal they were scared and started to run.
>
> The Bear-girl heard the signal and ran after them. The girl who had told was carrying a ball in her hand which she dropped and accidentally kicked. The ball bounded up on the big, high rock. The Bear-girl reached over her sister's shoulder to grab the ball, slipped and made very big scratches on the big rock and fell on her sister and broke her sister's chest. The Bear-girl climbed to the top of

the big, high rock and told her family that there would be seven stars in the shape of a diamond appear in the east and the first star out would be off to one side and would be brighter than the other stars. The first star would be called "Broken Chest Star."

Since the 1880s, some Northern Arapaho have also embraced Catholicism. However, most tribal members still maintain their traditional religious practices. As Anderson (2001) has emphasized, Arapaho Catholics translated and converted religious text in a way that suited their theories and way of practicing rituals. They took control of the boundaries between cultures and they did so through a very special type of religious pluralism in which Christian teachings and traditional Arapaho spirituality were syncretically fused.

Pre-Contact History

As stated previously, the archaeological record of Arapaho occupation in the region is difficult to trace in comparison with the record of other regional tribes. By 1400 A.D. the Arapaho-Atsina, as well as the Cheyenne-Sutaio, appear to have been located in the Red River Valley area in what is today northwestern Minnesota and eastern North Dakota. The Arapaho-Atsina inhabited the northern part of this area and the Cheyenne-Sutaio the south (Hewes 1961:51). By 1580 A.D., the Arapaho-Atsina began to move west, but were still primarily centered in the Red River Valley.

Collectively, these affiliated tribes are generally assumed to have been horticulturalists who moved onto the Plains in the 1600s and 1700s. Over time, and beginning in the Late Prehistoric period, the Atsina aligned themselves with the Blackfoot, and together these two

tribes came to dominate the northern Plains of Montana. The Arapaho, on the other hand, episodically aligned themselves with the Cheyenne. At this time, the latter two tribes were residents of southwestern North Dakota, western South Dakota, and southeastern Montana.

Voget (1984:4-9) suggests that the Arapaho and Atsina divided into two distinct tribes sometime shortly after 1650 A.D. However, Hewes (1961:52) reports that by 1700 A.D., the affiliated Arapaho-Atsina moved via Devils Lake to the area around the mouth of the Little Missouri River in western North Dakota. The Atsina subsequently moved in a northwesterly direction, and by 1750 became allied with the Blackfoot. Between 1720 and 1730 A.D., the Arapaho moved southward from North Dakota and Eastern Montana and became allied with some of the most westerly Cheyenne. Together, the Arapaho and Cheyenne pushed other tribes out of the headwaters of the Cheyenne River, and by 1795 A.D. the Arapaho were noted on the Cheyenne River (Fowler 1982:15-17). By this time, the Yankton and Yanktonai Sioux had moved into what had been Arapaho-Atsina and Cheyenne-Sutaio territory in the Red River Valley (Hewes 1961:51). By the end of the 18th century, the Arapaho were located in eastern Wyoming, central Montana, and western South Dakota (Deaver 1986:16; Fowler 1982:1517).

Beginning in the 1700s and continuing through the 1800s, the Arapaho and Cheyenne were in conflict with the Crow and Shoshone. In the 1800s, the Arapaho and Cheyenne succeeded, for the most part, in driving the Crow off the Plains and into the Bighorns, and pushed the Shoshone west of the Continental Divide (Larson 1941:5). The Arapaho also fought with the Utes over the mountains and foothills of southern and southeastern Wyoming (Mullison and Lovejoy 1909).

During the 1800s, the Arapaho gradually migrated farther south to occupy southeast Wyoming to the Arkansas River in south-central Colorado. According to early maps, in 1805

there were two Arapaho camps on the tributaries of the North Platte or at its head, and a camp of Kiowas was to the south of them (Grinnell 1923:31). Early traders located Arapaho camps at the sources of the Platte and Cheyenne rivers at the turn of the 19th century (Trenholm 1970:30). By 1812, the Arapaho were firmly established high on the North Platte and were the northern neighbors of the Kiowa, but shortly after 1812 they moved to the Arkansas River (Berthrong l963:19). Groups of Gros Ventres came for extended visits to Arapaho camps on the North Platte in the 1820s (Trenholm 1970:88).

An unequivocal date is not known for the separation of the Southern Arapaho from the Northern Arapaho. Tribal oral histories relate the event to an attempted crossing of the Missouri River by the consolidated tribe, at which time the ice-covered river began to break up, thus stranding tribal members on either side of the river (Trenholm 1970:15-16). It is likely that people from both major divisions of the tribe intermingled freely after the split occurred. Even today, the Northern Arapaho Sun Dance, held annually at Ethete, Wyoming, is well attended by members of the Southern Arapaho tribe.

Pre-Reservation History

Prior to 1841, the Northern Arapaho had hostile relationships with the Shoshone, Ute, Comanche, Kiowa, Pawnee, Absaroke, and Sioux. However, in 1841 the Northern Arapaho made peace with the Sioux, Kiowa, and Comanche (Curtis 1970:139).

Specific mention of the Arapaho by European and Euroamerican sources increases after about 1800. French trapper Jacques La Ramie disappeared at this time while trapping on a tributary of the North Platte, and some time later Arapahos are said to have admitted killing him near the mouth of Sybille Creek (Trenholm 1970:46). In 1812, a party of Arapahos met Robert

Stuart at the north end of the Laramie Range, where they built two "breastworks of logs" in which to camp. Fremont encountered two Arapaho villages on Lodgepole Creek (in southeastern Wyoming) on July 8, 1843. One of the major buffalo runs used by the Platte River tribes, including the Arapaho, was on the bluffs near Chimney Rock close to Chugwater, Wyoming (Trenholm 1970:66). Trenholm further reports that Chief Medicine Man wanted a reservation at the headwaters of Chugwater Creek, but the location was not approved (1970:203).

In 1851, the first Treaty of Fort Laramie was signed. Signatories included the Brule and Oglala Sioux, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Crow, Assiniboine, Atsina (Gros Ventre), Mandan, and Arikara. For the purposes of the treaty council, the Arapaho chose Little Owl as the head chief (Fowler 1982:32), who negotiated for annuities on behalf of his tribe. The formal boundaries of Arapaho and Cheyenne territory were defined by the 1851 treaty; the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, which consigned regional tribes to reservations; and, in the 1970s, by the U.S. Indian Claims Commission and the U.S. Court of Claims. In 1854, the Arapaho, along with their Cheyenne allies, traveled to Fort Laramie to wait for their annuities, which had been plundered by the Sioux in the aftermath of the Grattan Massacre.

Due to violations of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, many of the tribes on the northern and central Plains became increasingly agitated. The Fort Laramie Treaty was a peace treaty established between the federal government and tribes on the northern and central Plains. In accordance with treaty provisions, the Arapaho and Cheyenne were granted land stretching throughout most of Colorado west to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, the northwest part of Kansas, the southwest corner of Nebraska, and the southeast corner of Wyoming (Fowler 2001:842). However, immigrants constantly entered this territory to mine gold and homestead, in clear violation of the treaty. Moreover, the hunting was greatly disrupted because of

immigrant travel and settlements, which ultimately caused game animals to disperse. As more and more tribes were affected by Euroamerican immigration, hostilities grew and escalated. The result was the Indian Wars of 1865–68 between numerous Plains tribes and the U.S. military (Hoxie 1996:32).

Historic documentation indicates that the Northern Arapaho refused an 1868 offer to settle with their southern relatives in the Indian territory to the south (later known as Oklahoma). Instead, they traveled every year from the Bighorn Mountains to the foothills of the Rockies (Elkin 1940:229). In 1877, about 1,000 Arapahos were "temporarily" placed on the Wind River Reservation, home to their traditional enemies the Shoshone (Larson 1941:106). However, the continuing importance of the eastern foothills of the Bighorns and the Tongue River basin in Wyoming as a land of plenty for the Arapaho is illustrated by the fact that, from 1877–90, the Northern Arapaho petitioned for lands along the Tongue River in the area of Sheridan, Wyoming. The Northern Arapaho chief, Goes In Lodge, stated that the region was the "land that we like best," and the Arapaho hoped that General Crook's promise of a reservation in the Tongue River country, in return for their service as army scouts, would become a reality (Fowler 1982:63,74,92).

Post-Reservation History

The Northern Arapaho faced many new challenges and struggles after being placed on the Wind River Indian Reservation (which was at the time called Shoshone Reservation). Because game animals were scarce and only limited food rations were supplied by the U.S. government, tribal members faced a daily struggle to get enough food for their families. Moreover, because the tribe did not have any legal rights to the land, they experienced

difficulties in protecting their rights as a tribal entity separate from the Eastern Shoshone (Fowler 2006:53). It was not until 1937 that the Northern Arapaho were legally acknowledged as joint owners of the Wind River Indian Reservation.

Reservation life produced many challenges to the effective maintenance of Arapaho traditions and culture (Fowler 2006:53). The U.S. government's attempt to "civilize" the Arapaho by forcing tribal members to adopt an agricultural lifestyle, confining Indian children to boarding schools, discouraging the use of the native language in favor of English, and enforcing bans on certain ceremonial activities (see Trenholm 1986:282), as well as the imposition of Catholicism, presented significant obstacles to the preservation of Northern Arapaho cultural integrity. As Trenholm (1986:266) suggests, the Northern Arapaho were in many ways in a state of captivity and it was difficult for them to keep Euroamerican influences from infiltrating their lifestyle, culture, beliefs, and traditions.

Contemporary Culture

The Northern Arapaho of today face many challenges that affect the present and future. Poor education is an enduring problem, and lack of parental guidance, substance abuse, teen pregnancy, and high suicide rates also affect the prospects of Arapaho youth. In many cases the high schools do not sufficiently prepare Native American youth for college. Many young Arapaho students never attend college, and many who do attend end up dropping out.

In spite of many of their problems, the Northern Arapaho have managed to maintain many of their traditions and customs. They host a tribal Sun Dance in the summer, and they conduct other traditional ceremonies throughout the year. Some of their ceremonies, such as the Sun Dance, are open to respectful public visitation, but many are intended only for tribal

members (Kroeber 1983:151). Further, the Northern Arapaho have maintained their association with their sacred sites and other traditional use areas such as the Bighorn Medicine Wheel and Devils Tower.

Like the Eastern Shoshone, the Northern Arapaho were never organized under the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. Consequently, they have retained their sovereignty and independence (Confederation of American Indians 1986:309).

Today the Northern Arapaho have a general council, which is the most important democratic institution, and a business council. The business council takes care of the day-to-day tribal business, and is expected to represent tribal interests in meetings and negotiations with Euroamerican government officials. The six members of the Arapaho Business Council meet once a week and occasionally also meet with the Eastern Shoshone usiness Council – in what is called the Shoshone and Arapaho Joint Business Council -– to discuss and take care of matters of concern to both tribes.

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Southern Arapaho

Synonymy

See chapter on Northern Arapaho.

Location

The Northern and Southern Arapaho once migrated and lived together, but around 1835, a faction of the Arapaho broke off from the main group. Some sources claim that the Arapaho did not truly separate until the 1940s–50s. Evidence shows that the Northern Arapaho tribe is the main division of the Arapaho (Confederation of American Indians 1986:212). One of the reasons the Arapaho divided was the disruption of game and the subsequent changes in the tribe's seasonal migration patterns in response to the dramatically increasing numbers of Euroamerican immigrants, as well as the permanent settlement of Euroamericans on tribal territory. All of these factors pushed the Arapaho in northern and southern directions (Fowler

2001:842). The division into Northern and Southern Arapaho created many differences in lifestyle, culture, and social relations and conditions (Fowler 2001:840).

In 1869, the President of the United States, Ulysses S. Grant, issued an executive order stipulating that the Southern Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne should be placed on land covering approximately five million acres in present-day Oklahoma – south of the Cherokee Outlet; east of the Texas Panhandle; north of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache Reservation; and west of the 98th meridian and the Cimarron River. The land on which the Southern Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne were placed became known as the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation. The land they were required to occupy was reduced by 760,000 acres after three years. The government had entered into an agreement with the Wichita and needed land from the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation to fulfill the terms of the agreement (Berthrong 1976:viii).

Ethnographic Overview

The Arapaho belong to the huge family of Algonquian-speaking tribes (Hanson and Chirinos 1997:12). Their traditions state that there were originally five primary divisions of their tribe: the Gros Ventre (or "Begging People"), Besawunena ("Big Lodge People"), Hinanaeina, Ha'anahawunena, and Nawathinehena ("South People"). All of these divisions had their own distinctive dialect (Fowler 2001:840).

Ethnoecology

See chapter on Northern Arapaho.

Social Organization

See chapter on Northern Arapaho.

Religion

As mentioned in connection with the Northern Arapaho, the Flat Pipe bundle was the most sacred religious object to all tribal members. It was kept in the Keeper's tipi. The Keeper's tipi was located in the inner part of the camp's circle and was always the first tipi to be taken down when the tribe was getting ready to move (Fowler 2001:843).

Another very important religious/sacred object of the Arapaho was the medicine bags of the seven men and seven women. As with the Flat Pipe bundle, the whole tribe owned the seven men's and the seven women's medicine bags. The seven men's medicine bags were used in sweat lodge ceremonies executed by priests (medicine men). These sweat lodge ceremonies were initiated and completed on behalf of all the Arapaho. The seven men's medicine bags were made of bison skin, and inside were objects used during the sweat lodge ceremonies (Fowler 2001:843). Inside the seven women's medicine bags was material used to make paint, quill-embroidered tipi covers, cradles, and robes. Only when the priests (who were women) of the medicine bags were present could the contents of the bags be used (Fowler 2001:843).

The Arapaho had "Sacred Wheels (feathered hoops) in the keeping of a priest" (Fowler 2001:843). These Sacred Wheels were tribal medicine and jointly owned by all the Arapaho. After the Arapaho broke off into two divisions, the Flat Pipe bundle stayed with the Northern Arapaho and the Sacred Wheels became more important to the religious expression of the Southern Arapaho (Fowler 2001:844).

It was common among the Arapaho to have visions – either through dreams, through fasting, or by going on vision quests. During the 19th century, Estes Park (Colorado) was a

particularly popular place to conduct vision quests through fasting (Fowler 2001:844). The visions most often related to cures for sickness, success in warfare, and prognostication. Women seldom fasted, but they sometimes had visions through their dreams or absorbed powers from their husbands. Most of the visions or powers that women experienced had to do with curing the sick (Fowler 2001:844).

Among the Southern Arapaho during the late 19th century, the visions and powers relating particularly to cures grew very strong. The cures of the tribe were divided into societies. The spirit helper of the cure determined in which society the cure was to be placed. The spirit helpers were bears, beavers, buffalo, foxes, horses, and, lizards (Fowler 2001:844).

Pre-Contact History

(See also the chapter on the Northern Arapaho.)

The Arapaho originally may have lived in Northern Minnesota close to the Canadian border, where they lived in houses constructed of bark. They were sedentary farmers with a strong agricultural tradition (McLain 1993:107). They grew corn and made different kinds of pottery (Confederation of American Indians 1986:216).

The Arapaho migrated onto the Plains during the 18th century, and with the introduction of the horse into the region by the Shoshone, became equestrian bison hunters by about 1760 (Trenholm 1970:19). The Arapaho probably did not completely abandon their agricultural communities in Minnesota all at once to embrace the more nomadic hunting lifestyle for which we know them. Instead, the tribe probably populated the Plains in an incremental fashion, moving west from their homeland in small family groups and bands.

Pre-Reservation History

The Arapaho appear to have been widespread during the second half of the 18th century. In 1772, Mathew Cocking, a York Factory officer, encountered one of the Arapaho divisions in present-day Saskatchewan. He witnessed the Arapaho trying to drive bison into a "buffalo pound" enclosure, and also noted that the natives grew small plots of tobacco (Cocking 1908, Trenholm 1970:19-20). The first known trade between the Arapaho and non-natives was in 1795, when they met and traded with the Spaniards in present-day New Mexico (Fowler 2001:840).

The Arapaho tried to coexist peacefully with Euroamericans until about the mid-1800s, when increasing immigration created an atmosphere of tension and mistrust as the natural resources on which many tribes depended were progressively depleted. As mentioned previously, the disruption of game migration patterns may have contributed to the split that divided the tribe into northern and southern branches. Euroamerican settlers' and immigrants' successive violations of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 intensified the problems. During this period, the Southern Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne became very closely affiliated.

As a result of pressure from the federal government, the Southern Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne signed the Fort Wise Treaty of 1861. The treaty stipulated that the tribes were to give up the land they were assigned in accordance with the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851. The reward for doing so was a small reservation on Sand Creek in northeastern Colorado. The Arapaho and Cheyenne never settled down on the Sand Creek reservation because game was scarce and the bison herds on which they depended were too far away (Fowler 2001:842).

Post-Reservation History

In the 1860s, the Southern Arapaho migrated to the North Canadian River (present-day northeastern Oklahoma) in order to avoid the fighting between the U.S. Army and the tribes of the northern and central Plains. It was customary for the tribe to disperse into bands of 25–70 lodges during the spring and summer. These smaller bands hunted in the areas of Beaver Creek, Buffalo Creek, and the Cimmaron River. The Treaty of the Little Arkansas (1865), which was intended to compensate the Southern Arapaho and the Cheyenne for the Sand Creek Massacre, provided the combined tribes with a reservation along the Arkansas River in south-central Kansas. The reservation was extended into northern Oklahoma in 1867. In 1869, they were placed on the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation in present-day western Oklahoma. The Southern Arapaho's last bison hunt was in 1878 (Fowler 2001:849).

Shortly after the establishment of the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation in western Oklahoma, the federal government yielded to pressure to create a "civilization program." Tribal headmen were expected to build up cattle herds and adopt a more Euroamerican lifestyle (Hoxie 1996:32). In 1891, the combined tribes agreed to cede most of their reservation in exchange for an allotment system in which each tribal member was given 160 acres of land to cultivate, while the rest of the land was opened to Euroamerican settlement (Hoxie 1996:32).

Contemporary Culture

The Cheyenne-Arapaho Business Committee governs the Southern Arapaho and the Southern Cheyenne in Oklahoma. Tribal government operates in accordance with bylaws and resolutions that were promulgated in 1937 and amended in 1975. The committee consists of a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary, a treasurer, a sergeant-at-arms, a business manager, and two additional representatives who are elected to the business committee. The chairman, vice-

chairman, secretary, and treasurer of the committee are elected for a period of two years at a time, while the sergeant-at-arms, the business manager, and the two elected representatives are elected for a period of four years at a time (Confederation of American Indians 1986:216).

The Southern Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne cultures have been greatly influenced by each other, and many of the original Arapaho traditions have disappeared from the life of the Southern Arapaho. Moreover, in the 1890s both the Southern Arapaho and the Cheyenne came under the influence of tribes farther to the south, and many of the Southern Arapaho's elders did not succeed in passing on the Arapaho traditions (Hoxie 1996:32). However, following World War II, the Southern Arapaho started to send apprentices up to Wind River to have Northern Arapaho traditional elders teach them about the old tribal traditions of the Arapaho (Hoxie 1996:32-33).

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Blackfeet

Synonymy

The Blackfoot Nation is a confederation of three distinct tribes who speak the same language and practice the same culture. The three tribes of the Blackfoot Confederation are the Pikuni or Piegan, the Kainah or Blood, and the Siksika or Blackfoot (Dempsey 2001:605). There are two native self-designated names for the Blackfoot Nation, recorded in the 19th century. One is saoki.tapi.ksi, "Prairie People," and a less commo is ni.tsipoyiwa, "People Who Speak One Language." The native self-designation for the Blackfoot tribe is siksikawa "(Person Having) Black Feet," and probably refers to the color of their moccasins, although the origin of the ethnonym is obscure (Dempsey 2001:605). The Blackfoot name for the Blood tribe is

"ka.ina.wa," "Many Chiefs." The Blackfoot name for the Piegan tribe was "pi.kaniwa," from which the English designation "Piegan" derives (Malinowski et al. 1998:211).

Location

The three tribes occupied the northern portion of the Plains from the northern reaches of the Saskatchewan River in Alberta, Canada, to the southernmost headwaters of the Missouri River in Montana (Dempsey 2001:608). The Blackfoot lived farthest north, the Blood in the middle, and the Piegan farthest south, along the eastern edge of the Rocky Mountains. Today 15,000 Blackfoot live on two reserves in Canada, while 10,000 live on one reservation in the United States (Malinowski et al. 1998:212). The Blackfoot probably migrated onto the Plains from the eastern Woodlands before contact with whites. Once there, they followed the enormous herds of bison. In early summer the bison migrated to the open Plains, and at this time the Blackfoot occupied the eastern range of their hunting grounds, particularly the area near the Cypress Hills.

Ethnographic Overview

The Blackfoot are of Algonquian linguistic stock, and they have been divided into three tribes: Blackfoot, Blood, and Piegan. As a member of the Algonquian language family, the Blackfoot are related to the other Algonquian-speaking tribes. Blackfoot is a Plains culture, revolving around warfare, the bison, and the horse (Malinowski et al. 1998:210).

Ethnoecology

The Blackfoot relied primarily on the bison for food, clothing, and shelter, and for much

of their domestic and military equipment. The most successful hunting method was probably "buffalo jump" (Dempsey 2001:608). The area was a favorite wintering ground for bison, and steep cliffs provided ideal jump sites. They also picked wild serviceberries, chokecherries, and buffalo berries, and gathered the bark of the cottonwood tree. Fish, reptiles, and grizzly bears were, with a few exceptions, considered taboo and therefore unfit for consumption (Malinowski et al. 1998:211).

Blackfoot clothing was similar to that of the other northern Plains tribes. The Blackfoot made their clothing from bison, deer, elk, and antelope skins. Women wore sweetgrass and bracelets of elk or deer teeth, and men wore necklaces made from bear claws and teeth and from braided sweet grass. "Citizen's dress," i.e., Euroamerican-style clothing, became more popular around the last decade of the 19th century because of the missionaries and the disappearance of the bison (Dempsey 2001:610). The primary building of the Blackfoot was a tipi that generally housed one family consisting of two grown men, three women, and three children. The tipi was made of 19 pine poles covered with between six and 20 bison skins. Tipi covers were decorated with pictures of animals and geometric designs. The exterior of the tipi was painted with symbols for mountains, foothills, prairies, the night sky, stars, sun, and moon. After the disappearance of the bison, the Blackfoot replaced the tipi with the log cabin, a symbol of the new sedentary lifestyle (Dempsey 2001:608). On the open prairie, there are still thousands of stone rings marking the encampments throughout the Blackfoot hunting grounds.

Tools and weapons were made primarily of bone, wood, and stone. Scrapers, fleshers, and beamers were made from bone, with the scrapers having flaked stone blades. Blackfoot made vessels of clay, wood burls, and animal paunches (Dempsey 2001:614).

Social Organization

The government of each Blackfoot tribe centered upon the band, with a recognized leader, a position that was not hereditary and was retained as long as the man was able to offer effective leadership (Dempsey 2001:620). The band leader's main function was to keep social order and peace within the bands. Larger bands had subchiefs, who were honored men and who formed a council presided over by the band leader (Malinowski et al. 1998:211). In time of war, a war chief assumed the leadership of a band, but during peaceful times, the civil chief returned to his normal leadership role. The leading warriors had lodges made of 30 bison skins, an ostentatious symbol for outstanding warrior achievements.

Women owned the tipis and the furnishings. They were in charge of cleaning, packing, cooking, manufacturing and decorating the clothing, and caring for infants and children. Women helped the men in butchering during hunts. The men provided food and protected the camp (Malinowski et al. 1998:211). They were also in charge of manufacturing and painting of religious and war objects, and trained boys for manhood. Variant sexual behavior was culturally accepted, although it was not common.

Religion

Blackfoot religion was based upon the belief that the Sun was the major deity, the Moon was the wife, and the Morning Star was the sun. In general, any inanimate or animate object could have powers. The Blackfoot sought these powers (Malinowski et al. 1998:210). Usually an animal would appear in human form in dreams, and would provide the Blackfoot with a list of the objects, songs, and rituals necessary to use the power. The most powerful medicine bundle was the beaver, and it was used to charm the bison and to assist in the planting of the sacred

tobacco used in the medicine pipe (Samek 1987:34).

The Sun Dance was one of the most important communal rituals in Blackfoot religious life. The dance was held in the late summer; its success depended on the medicine woman's virtue, preparations, and vow. An important archaeological site in southern Alberta, the Old Woman's Buffalo Jump, was identified in Blackfoot mythology as the place where the first marriage of men and women took place (Dempsey 2001:622).

Pre-Contact History

There is a range of opinions on how long the Blackfoot have been Plains dwellers. Some anthropologists rejected the idea that the Blackfoot were Woodland dwellers who came onto the Plains from the region of the Eagle Hills in Saskatchewan in the immediate pre-contact period. Another hypothesis is that Blackfoot lived between the North Saskatchewan and Bow rivers for a long period prior to the contact. There was little or no discernible influence from Woodland cultures of the Subarctic (Dempsey 2001:606).

Pre-Reservation History

The Blackfoot once followed the big herds of bison, using domesticated dogs to transport belongings and move around. After acquiring horses and firearms by the middle of the 18th century, the Blackfoot became the most powerful tribe of the northern Plains. By the middle of the 19th century, the Blackfoot pushed their enemies west, across the Rocky Mountains (Samek 1987:12). In 1855, the Lame Bull Treaty was signed. It limited the Blackfeet territory and restricted the Blackfeet Indians' use of it (Malinowski et al. 1998:215). Between 1883 and 1884, the bison herds disappeared from the Plains. In the same period, a severe famine struck the

Blackfeet.

Post-Reservation History

After the disappearance of bison in 1883, several cultural changes occurred. There are two distinct periods divided by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1935. The first period was between 1884 and 1935, and was characterized by the Blackfoot Indians' dependency on the reservation agent for food. Cultural change occurred due to the transition to a sedentary, agricultural lifestyle. The second period, from 1935–60, was characterized by self-sufficiency and self-government encouraged by the Indian Reorganization Act. Ranching, industry, and oil and natural gases are important sources of subsistence for contemporary Blackfoot Indians (Dempsey 2001:608).

Contemporary Culture

The Blackfoot are concerned with their land as they consider it sacred and important to their survival. This constitutes a priority in the fight for rights over water resources and to certain natural resources within the boundaries of Glacier National Park. Between 1980 and 1990, the Blackfoot tribes were still practicing religious and ceremonial activities. The Medicine Lodge ceremony held on Blood Reserve was reintroduced to the Blackfoot (Malinowski et al. 1998:217). The Horn Society and women's society were also practiced by the Blood and reintroduced to the Blackfoot. The Blackfoot tribes developed programs to teach language, dance, and history, relying on the elders' knowledge (Dempsey 2001:627). The Blackfoot Indians' Algonquian language and traditional cultural values are taught through head-start programs in primary and secondary schools on the reservations. Alcoholism, poverty, drug use,

and domestic violence are the main social problems, and modern rehabilitation centers have been created. In these centers, appreciation and understanding of the native culture are part of the treatment (Malinowski et al. 1998:217).

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Blood

Synonymy

The Blood are one of the three tribes that form the Blackfoot Confederacy. The Blood, or Kainah, might have received their name from the Cree because the members used to paint their faces and robes with red earth. The red earth is still considered sacred paint among all Blackfoot

(Dempsey 2001:610). Another interpretation was offered by Prince Maximilian of Weid, who was told that the members got this name when they came back from the massacre of a small camp of Kutenai Indians with faces and hands covered with blood (Maximilian 1906). The Blood tribe members prefer to call themselves Kainah, meaning "Many Chiefs" (Dempsey 2001:624).

Location

The Blood lived on the northern Plains prior to European exploration, and today they live on reservations in Alberta, Canada, and Montana (Malinowski et al. 1998:218). The Blood tribe, together with the other two Blackfoot tribes, occupied the northern Plains from the Upper Missouri River to the North Saskatchewan, and from the Yellowstone River to the Rocky Mountains (Dempsey 2001:624).

Ethnographic Overview

The Blood Indians belong to the Blackfoot Confederacy. As a member of the Algonquian language family, the Blood are related to the other Algonquian-speaking tribes. Blood, as part of Blackfoot culture, is a Plains culture, revolving around warfare, the bison, and the horse (Dempsey 2001:625).

Ethnoecology

Before European contact, women grew small crops of beans, squash, corn, and tobacco. Crops were harvested in the fall at the time when the Blood were settling the winter camps. Men hunted deer, elk, and bison (Dempsey 2001:624). During the winter, the Blood lived in villages

consisting earth lodges made of log frames covered with brush and dirt. During the summer, the Blood lived in tipis made of animal hide as they were moving around, following the big game. Blood clothing was similar to that of the other Blackfoot tribes. The Blood made their clothing from bison, deer, elk, and antelope skins (Malinowski et al. 1998:219). Women wore sweetgrass and bracelets of elk or deer teeth, and men wore necklaces made from bear claws and teeth and from braided sweetgrass. "Citizen's dress," i.e., Euroamerican clothing styles, became more popular around the last decade of the 19th century, because of the missionaries and disappearance of the bison (Malinowski et al. 1998:220).

Social Organization

Hunting bands of Blood moved around, but they also gathered together during the summer for ceremonial purposes. During these meetings, the headmen of each band would meet for political purposes (Malinowski et al. 1998:218). The tribe's chief had more formalized duties than the headman. If the people of one band no longer agreed with a headman's decisions, considering them unfair, they would leave their band and join another one (Dempsey 2001:620). Women were responsible for packing and setting up the camp, while men were responsible for hunting. Women also made the clothing and manufactured other necessary items out of bison or deer skin (Ewers 1958:15).

Religion

The life of a Blood was very much governed by religious beliefs. The Sun was the all-powerful spirit and dreams were the means of gaining influence and power. The great leaders attributed their success to supernatural influences. The Blood painted lodge indicated a rich or

powerful person, and the painting was connected with the sacred songs or rituals bought from the previous owner, obtained through bravery in battle, or given in a sacred dream (Dempsey 2001:615). Another important feature in Blood religion was the bundles and the ritual associated with them. An individual, a religious society, or the entire band had the right to own a bundle. Men were usually involved in dangerous activities such as hunting and warfare, so they sought the blessing of the spirits to enhance their luck and success (Malinowski et al. 1998:219). In order to obtain a spirit's benevolence, the Blood used personal charms, medicines, and bundles containing special sacred objects. Usually the small bundles were made of the skin of a bird wrapped in a cloth, and the men would take them on a dangerous expedition or journey, or while hunting or in battle.

Probably the most ancient bundle, and the most important, was the Beaver Bundle (Dempsey 2001:616). The Blood version of the Beaver Bundle myth states that a man and his wife were camping on a lakeshore. The man was out hunting for long periods of time, so one day a beaver came out of the lake and made love to the hunter's wife. One day the wife got pregnant and gave birth to a beaver, but instead of getting angry, the man became fond of the little beaver and treated him as his son. The beaver-father was happy with this, so he decided to share his power with the hunter. After purification, the beaver taught the man all Beaver Medicine songs and showed him certain animal and bird skins, which the man put into a bundle (Harrod 1971:16).

Pre-Contact History

In pre-contact times, the Blood lived in numerous villages on the eastern Plains. After they reached the Plains, they became more isolated from the majority of forest-dwelling

Algonquian tribes in the Midwest (Dempsey 2001:624). The tribes named the Blackfoot today appear to have pioneered a migration of a number of Algonquian tribes out of timber onto the open grassland, a migration that began in prehistoric times and ended in the 19th century. There are two possible explanations for this migration: following the big game in the open country or that the Blackfoot were pushed westward by expanding Algonquian tribes. The elders refer to the pre-horse period as "the dog days," when they used only dogs to move the camps (Ewers 1958:8).

Pre-Reservation History

After contact with the Europeans, the Blood culture changed in a dramatic way. Horses and guns made hunting easier, and so subsistence influenced the rest of the culture. The Blood abandoned their winter villages and became fully nomadic (Malinowski et al. 1998:219). Bison became the main source of food; women grew only tobacco, and gathered wild vegetation. Rituals became more centered on bison to ensure large supplies of the animal. Along with hunting, warfare was a primary activity for the Blood. They attacked their neighbors, the Cree and the Crow, stealing horses, women, and food. Smallpox ravished the Blood population around 1837, killing the chiefs of both the Blood and the Piegan (Dempsey 2001:624).

Furs and horses were traded away for whisky, but in 1874 a Crowfoot chief worked with the North-West Mounted Police in Canada to terminate liquor trading. Blood and other Blackfoot tribes retreated to Canada, where they enjoyed a new existence for five years. In 1878, the Blackfoot signed Canadian Treaty No. 7, which placed the Blood, the Piegan, and the Blackfoot on reserved land in Alberta. Shortly after that, the Blood asked for their own reserve on the Belly River, thus increasing the number of Blackfoot Confederacy reserves in Canada. The Blackfoot,

the Piegan, and the Blood returned to the new reserves, but in a very short time the bison disappeared, causing the collapse of the Blackfoot world. They were forced to become dependent on Canadian or American governments (Samek 1987:15).

Post-Reservation History

The Blood faced the same problems as most Indians on reservations. When the bison disappeared, the Blood were completely dependent on the Canadian government (Malinowski et al. 1998:219). Alcoholism, unemployment, and poverty were a few of the social problems. The cause of these might have been the frustration of losing the traditional culture and being unable to find a meaningful relationship with the surrounding society. In addition to poverty, the Blood also suffered prejudice and discrimination (Harrod 1971:157). In contrast to the U.S. government, the Canadian government did not subscribe to the concept of tribal sovereignty. It thus faced no legal barriers to the imposition of Canadian law upon Indians living on reserves (Samek 1987:150).

Contemporary Culture

The Blood are striving to recover the traditional language, craft, and rituals. Today, the traditional Plains culture is no longer present, but certain aspects are obvious, especially in children's education. Material achievement is highly desirable, but there is intense social pressure for sharing with the rest of the community. Sharing of labor and child rearing among the members of extended families are values embedded in traditional Plains culture (Malinowski et al. 1998:219). Parents have the choice of educating their children in integrated schools in neighboring communities but they prefer the federal schools located on the reserve, where Native

American values are integrated in class curricula.

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Cheyenne

Ethnographic Overview, History, and Location

The Cheyennes (Tse-tsehese-staestses) were originally located at the mouth of the Wisconsin River in the area between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay. Before 1700 an unknown disease greatly reduced their numbers. They were forced to migrate from the Great Lakes region to the Plains to escape assault by Chippewa groups and various environmental pressures. First they migrated to present-day eastern Northern Dakota, where they practiced agriculture and lived in earthen lodges (Sherow and Hart 2006).

The generally southwestward migration of the Cheyenne is supported by archaeological evidence. Presumed post-contact Cheyenne earthlodge villages are in close proximity to the present-day border between North Dakota and South Dakota. Earthlodge sites have also been found on Porcupine Creek near present-day Fort Yates in south-central North Dakota, with a somewhat later village located on the Grand River in northern South Dakota (Weist 1977:20-24). The Biesterfeldt Site, a Cheyenne village in southeast North Dakota along the Sheyenne River, has been dated to 1740–90 A.D. This site was burned by Chippewas between 1770 and 1790, and some of the inhabitants subsequently moved to the Fort Yates area (see Gregg and Hanson 1983:31; Weist 1977:20; and Hewes 1961:52). Moore (1996:146) has suggested that some of the Southern Cheyenne bands may be the descendants of the people who occupied the Biesterfeldt Site. Despite the prevalence of Cheyenne villages along the Missouri River during

this period, as late as 1766 A.D. some Cheyennes were still living as far east as Mankato along the Minnesota River, and there may also have been villages near Lake Traverse (Hewes 1961:52).

By the mid 1750s, migrating Sioux pressured the numerically inferior Tse-tsehese-staestses, who headed farther west where they encountered the Suhtais. "The two groups [Tse-tsehese-staestses and Suhtais] had been enemies until each recognized a common identity in their similar languages" (Sherow and Hart 2006). The Tse-tsehese-staestses incorporated the already present Suhtais into their tribe. The Suhtais shared their knowledge of the High Plains and the Tse-tsehese-staestses adapted to the short-grass Plains and bison hunting, taking refuge near the Black Hills. In addition, Cheyennes report watching how Crows used buffalo jumps around the turn of the 19th century; they used the same locations after that (Medicine Crow 1978).

Sundstrom (1996:179) places the Suhtais in the area as early as 1670. With the Suhtais, the Tse-tsehese-staestses were established around the Black Hills as a single tribe by 1730. Cheyennes were in the western regions of the Dakotas and eastern Wyoming before the Lakotas and slightly after the Arapahos (Powers 1986:50; Sundstrom 1996:179). The Tse-tsehese-staestses, Suhtais, and Arapahos all speak separate Algonquian languages (Sundstrom 1996:182). Cheyennes frequently allied with the Arapahos. By the 1800s, Cheyennes had migrated to the North Platte River region of Wyoming (Svingen 1993). The movement of Cheyennes from the northern Woodlands to the Plains should be understood as a gradual process that took several decades. By 1840, the division of Northern and Southern Cheyennes was well underway. Between 1810 and 1830, the Hevatanui band left the Black Hills and relocated in the Arkansas River valley, while the Omisi band and the Suhtais remained north of the Platte River (Sherow and Hart 2006).

During the first half of the 19th century, Cheyennes engaged in frequent struggles with Kiowas and many other Plains tribes over hunting lands and access to the Black Hills region. For Northern Cheyennes, all neighboring tribes were enemies at some point. At other times they were allies, depending on mutual interests and threats. Cheyennes and Arapahos first worked together in order to expel the Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches from the Black Hills and Powder River region. Not until the middle of the century did the low-level warfare between Northern Cheyennes and Kiowas begin to ease, as Kiowas started their move to the southern Plains (Harkin et al. 2003). It is not clear whether the Cheyennes engaged in an active alliance with the Teton Sioux at this time; however, it is clear that the Tetons were instrumental in expelling Kiowas from the region. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches were removed by 1814 (Axelrod 1993:224; Weist 1984:27).

In 1825, four Cheyenne chiefs (representing only one of the ten Cheyenne bands) and 15 warriors signed the Friendship Treaty at Fort Pierre. The Friendship Treaty stated that the Cheyennes recognized the sovereignty of the United States and its right to regulate all trade (Weist 1984:39). The gradual bifurcation of Cheyennes into northern and southern groups also began during this time. This differentiation proved confusing for government officials, who often treated the two Cheyenne bands as a single unit (Svingen 1993).

By 1829, William Clark of the U.S. government's Indian office reported 2,000 Cheyennes living in eastern Wyoming and western South Dakota (Fowler 1982). As the number of Euroamericans in Cheyenne territories increased, conflicts began to escalate. The Cheyennes' war with the United States began in 1856, when a Cheyenne war party accidentally encountered a mail coach while searching for Pawnee enemies. The coach driver fired his rifle and the warriors retaliated by wounding the driver with an arrow. A cavalry troop was immediately

dispatched from Fort Phil Kearny. The soldiers attacked in the vicinity of the mail coach skirmish and killed or injured 18 Cheyenne Indians. Cheyennes then retaliated and attacked a wagon train, killing eight men, women, and children. From then on, the United States considered the Cheyennes "hostiles" (Hoebel 1960:109-110).

In 1858, an impressive number of gold-seeking miners and other Euroamericans disturbed Indian hunting grounds as they began crossing Indian land, as well as settling on it. Cheyenne elders were often unsuccessful as they tried to keep young warriors from raiding and attacking settlements, soldiers, and trails. Tensions increased. In spring 1864, Black Kettle and Lean Bear moved their bands near Ash Creek, where they set up camp. The United States Cavalry sent soldiers to battle the camp, and several soldiers, as well as Lean Bear and a few of his warriors, were killed (Brown 1970:68-72). Throughout the summer, United States soldiers and a handful of Cheyenne warriors engaged in retaliatory hostilities (Brown 1970:74).

Persons such as Colonel Chivington decided to take matters into their own hands. At dawn on November 29, 1864, while flying the American flag, Black Kettle's Cheyenne camp and Left Hand's Southern Arapaho camp were attacked by Colorado volunteer militia (Andrist 1964:89-91; Debo 1970:196). Chivington's troops were instructed to "kill and scalp all, big and little; nits make lice" (Andrist 1964:89). The survivors sent out a "war pipe" (Hyde 1968; Debo 1970:194-197) to their more northerly relatives and allies. In December, 800 lodges gathered, of which 320 were Cheyennes (Debo 1970:196). Allied in mutual defense against the whites, several Sioux bands, Northern and Southern Arapahos, and Northern and portions of Southern Cheyennes sought revenge by exacting brutalities on non-Indians throughout northern Colorado and Wyoming (Hyde 1968; Andrist 1964:92,101-104; Murphy 1969; Debo 1970; Lowe 1999).

By the 1800s, the Teton Sioux acquired the territory from the Bighorn Mountains to the Missouri River (Utley 1993:4-5). The Teton division is composed of seven tribes: the Oglala, Brule, Minicojou, Two Kettle, Sans Arc, Hunkpapa, and Sihasapa (Utley 1993:4). Cheyennes were closely allied with the Oglala during the 1860s, and combined their efforts in opposition to the Bozeman Trail (Hoig 1993:41). The trail disturbed tribal hunting grounds (Svingen 1993). As a result of the continued Indian hostilities in the region, negotiations with all Plains tribes were conducted at Fort Laramie, the southwestern flank of Indian hunting grounds. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 gave the southeastern portion of the Powder River Basin to the Arapaho and Cheyenne tribes. Unfortunately, the treaty did not distinguish between the Northern and Southern Cheyenne bands, which caused great confusion. Cheyenne leaders did not understand the terms of the treaty, and were unaware that the tribal divisions had been ignored (Svingen 1993). As with so many treaties, the Fort Laramie Treaty was broken by both sides. In an effort to achieve lasting peace, the United States Government and Southern Cheyennes met in Kansas in 1867 for the purpose of signing the Medicine Lodge Treaty. "This treaty was signed by fourteen Cheyenne Chiefs, both Peace Chiefs and War Chiefs. The treaty did not forbid Cheyennes from making war on other tribes" (Hoebel 1960:116).

As a result of continued hostilities between whites and Cheyennes and Sioux, another meeting was held at Fort Laramie in 1868 and resulted in the second Fort Laramie Treaty. This treaty was much more explicit. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 moved the Cheyennes north of the Platte River, although some Northern Cheyennes traveled south into Colorado and Kansas. The 1868 treaty reinforced the separation of the Cheyennes into northern and southern bands. The movement of Northern Cheyennes northward in the late 1870s, and the virtual internment of Southern Cheyennes in Oklahoma further fortified this division (Harkin et al. 2003).

However, the treaty did not prevent continued hostilities. The Dull Knife Battle between the United States military and a Cheyenne group is a case in point. In November 1876, United States Cavalry Commander Mackenzie and his troops surprised a Cheyenne village of 200 lodges led by Dull Knife and Little Wolf. The entire Cheyenne village, including their horses and provisions, was destroyed. Approximately "forty Cheyenne were killed in the battle" while, bereft of provisions, countless others endured extreme hardship (Axelrod 1993:227).

Hostilities continued well into 1877, as Cheyenne warriors planned attacks and ambushes on United States Cavalry. Sioux alliances changed quickly, depending on the circumstances. For instance, one of the primary reasons for the 1876 Great Sioux War was the exploration of the Black Hills by George Armstrong Custer. When Custer's expedition discovered gold in the Black Hills, many gold miners entered the area illegally (Utley 1984:181). In response to the influx of miners in the Black Hills, the Sioux allied with Cheyennes. During this yearlong war (1876–77), Sioux and Cheyennes attacked gold miners, settlers, and any Indian tribes attempting friendly terms with the United States government. Another case of coordinated effort is the Battle of Wolf Mountain, where approximately 200 Cheyenne warriors joined about 300 Sioux (led by Crazy Horse) to attack General Miles' camp (Axelrod 1993:228).

Cheyennes and Sioux were also allied in the historic Battle of the Little Bighorn or "Greasy Grass," as the Sioux call it. While camped on Greasy Grass, Colonel George Custer and his troops engaged approximately 2,500 Sioux and Cheyenne Indians in battle. The combined Indian forces won a "complete and resounding victory" at Greasy Grass – one that "raised the confidence of the Lakota-Cheyenne union and demoralized the army" (Greene 1994:xvi-xvii). However, by the end of 1877, conditions for Indian groups who resisted reservation life and skirmished with United States troops had worsened. As a result, the bands of Sioux led by Crazy

Horse and the “various bands of Cheyenne” led by Dull Knife and Little Wolf surrendered in 1877 at Fort Robinson in Nebraska (Brown 1970:332).

In 1884, after the end of the United States-Indian Wars, Northern Cheyennes were settled on a reservation at the extreme northern edge of the Powder River Basin. The Northern Cheyennes' reservation is located adjacent to Crow lands in Montana, while the Southern Cheyennes were placed on a reservation in Oklahoma. During the early Reservation Period, the American government expected Northern Cheyennes to attempt farming, but the land was not suited to agriculture (Campbell 1987).

Social Organization

Cheyennes were more centrally organized than many northern Plains Indian groups. The larger group consisted of ten major divisions, each with its own leaders. Each of the ten major divisions sent four representatives; “old man chiefs,” to summer meetings. Each representative served for ten years, after which he would select a different man to take his place. The “old man chiefs” worked closely with the men’s societies, as it was the men’s societies that carried out the recommendations of the council of 44. Although the council of 44 made important decisions, it did not have more power than members of the various societies. Cheyenne tribes were organized into six men’s societies, which acted as lifelong fraternities with their own songs, dances, and regalia. Originally the men’s societies were warrior societies, but over time they became associated with governing the tribe (Petersen 1964). These societies emphasized personal actions and deeds. Membership in warrior societies was vital to one’s status. When a young man came of age, he normally joined the society in which his father was a member (Weist 1984:38).

Women also had societies. Cheyennes "have always formed gender-specific societies" (Sherow and Hart 2006). Women's societies were similar to "guilds," and membership reflected an individual's skill in and affinity for various material items and manufacture. As such, women were members of societies oriented around quills, beads, and other material items, as well as the manufacturing of items for tribal use and trade. Although the Quilling Society was the most highly regarded, all of the women's societies played an important role. Unlike the men's societies, membership in the women's organizations was not tied to kinship (Mooreet al. 2001).

As mentioned, Northern Cheyennes were at some points in time both enemy and ally to virtually every tribal neighbor. In fact, Northern Cheyennes were heavily intermarried with many of their intransigent enemies. Intermarriage was most prominent with Blackfeet, Pawnees, and Crows (Moore 1996:87).

Material Culture and Ethnoecology

Historic Northern Cheyennes focused on the seasonal hunting of bison. They supplemented their diet with antelope, deer, tubers such as bread root (*Psoralea esculenta*), Jerusalem artichokes (*Helianthus tuberosus*), and Indian potatoes (*Apios tuberosa*). Seasonal fruits and berries, particularly buffalo berries (*Shepherdia argentea*), elderberries (*Sambucus racemosa*), and chokecherries (*Prunus virginiana*) were also highly utilized (Moore 1996:50-59).

Before they were divided into the northern and southern bands and during the earlier portion of their migrations west, Cheyennes lived in earth lodges (Sherow and Hart 2006). The Cheyenne tipi, described below, represents the housing used once they were established as buffalo hunters of the Plains. "Transitional" Cheyenne lodging may have differed in form. Cheyenne camps were usually located near water sources (Grinnell 1918). Normally, the

Cheyenne tipi was constructed with a three-pole base. The rest of the poles were arranged around this base in a specific order that allowed the tipi cover to fit snuggly while drafting smoke from the lodge fire up and out of the smoke flaps. The cover consisted of up to 21 bison hides intricately sewn together. The interior of the tipi was lined with decorated skins and contained rush or willow backrests, mattresses, bedding, and storage containers (Moore et al. 2001). Tipi flaps were long and narrow, creating the characteristic long smoke hole of the Cheyennes (Campbell 1927). The Cheyennes developed a special tanning process, which caused their bison hides to become white. As a result, Cheyenne tipis and campsites were easily identifiable because other Indian tribes did not use white skins on their tipis (Moore 1996:33-35).

Cheyennes constructed an array of items from a vast assortment of materials. For instance, Cheyennes manufactured a variety of furnishings for their tipis. Items such as saddles, bridles, lariats, and the travois were constructed for daily use. “Pipes for smoking were made from bone and from stone (usually red catlinite)” (Moore et al. 2001:868). They used a limited number of ceramic items. Awls and scrapers were often made of bone or antler. Cheyennes used these items for sewing hides into clothing and tipi covers (Hoebel 1978:68). They also made toys. Play equipment included baskets, small plum stones, netted wheels, balls, dolls, sleds, and tops (Moore et al. 2001:868-869).

Religion

Cheyennes see the universe as animate. Springs are seen as homes of the spirits, and people often leave offerings at springs today (Deaver 1988). Cheyennes use plants extensively for both medicinal and spiritual purposes. Land is a living thing, and economic development could turn it into dead earth (Campbell 1987). This anti-development position has hindered

economic growth for Northern Cheyennes. Their reservation is not suited to agriculture, and large-scale coal and energy exploration seems the only alternative. This development has not taken place on the Cheyenne reservation, in contrast to the development on the neighboring Crow reservation (Deaver 1988).

Both the circle and binary opposites are essential concepts in Cheyenne ideology. Cheyennes understand the universe as generated by pairs of forces (male and female, life and death, light and darkness, hot and cold) moving in seasonal cycles. Cheyennes believe that they can control their own destiny through proper conduct (Campbell 1987). Healing is considered an important personal responsibility that promotes proper behavior; the ultimate factor in a person's health and well-being. Sweat lodges, made with willow or dogbane branches and covered with sod, are used for purification and cleansing. In these sweat lodges, participants dig a ceremonial hole and fill it with hot coals (Grinnell 1919). Such ceremonies are used throughout the northern Plains and are common elements in present-day religious life.

For Cheyennes, death is not a single event, but part of a process in the life cycle of an individual (Deaver 1988). This means that relatives mourn or interact with the dead following precisely prescribed procedures. Men usually undo their plaited hair while women cut their hair short and jagged to declare their loss. Historically, both men and women tended to cut themselves, often removing portions of a finger as a sign of respect and remembrance for a loved one (Harkin et al. 2003; Marquis 1978:221-224). Bedding was used to cover the dead, and once wrapped in it, the dead were placed in a coffin and a wagon for the funeral procession before burial (Voth 1893). The physical remains and burials are respected because of their spiritual qualities (Deaver 1988). As humans are interred in the earth, any disturbance of the ground could endanger the rest of the dead (Weist 1984:39). In short, the dead become part of the greater

living earth, and therefore the treatment of burial remains takes on special meaning. Personal effects used in life may be buried with the deceased. Historically, belongings not buried with the deceased were given away. This giveaway often left the deceased's relatives impoverished. After approximately one year, the family of the deceased received gifts of necessary items from other tribal members (Moore et al. 2001).

The Cheyenne relationship with the physical world is one of reciprocity (Campbell 1987). Taking something from the earth requires an expressed and intended return of something to the earth. This emphasis on reciprocity entered into hunting practices: Spirits of slain animals needed to be shown respect. In addition, reciprocity is an important aspect in ritual cycles to ensure harmony (Harrod 2001). All people were supposed to live with respect for and in harmony with nature, which the medicine men and women helped to ensure through properly conducted ceremonies and rituals. Proper respect included no undue disturbance of the earth, which is a living and breathing part of all things (Weist 1984:39). Medicine men and women held important and powerful positions in Cheyenne society. They were highly respected and relied upon for help with spiritual matters and vision quests (Weist 1984:39).

Although the Sun Dance was of prime importance, three other major ceremonies also contributed to the annual liturgical calendar. These ceremonies included the Sacred Arrow Renewal, the Animal Dance, and the Sacred Hat Dance. The most important of these is the Sacred Arrow Renewal ceremony. When the Cheyennes were pushed west and attempting to adopt a more nomadic, bison-hunting adaptation, Maheo (Sweet Medicine) climbed Nowah'wus (Bear Butte) where a powerful spirit (Maiyun) presented him with the sacred arrows and supernatural instruction. The Sacred Arrows consisted of two war arrows and two hunting arrows. Cheyennes consider Nowah'wus the center of their universe and the most sacred of sites

in the Black Hills (Monnett 2001:13; Powell 1960; Sherow and Hart 2006; Sundstrom 1996:182).

For Cheyennes, the Sacred Arrow Renewal ceremony cleanses and revitalizes the Sacred Arrows. Historically, this cleansing was particularly necessary after intertribal violence had occurred. Failure to renew the Sacred Arrows created great risk to the welfare of the entire tribe. Polluted arrows could drive game away (Moore et al. 2001). The ceremony also acted as a source of moral regeneration. The Sacred Arrows Renewal ceremony reaffirms the social bonds between all members of the Cheyenne tribe, and the promotion of a stronger sense of group solidarity (Harrod 1997:94-107).

The Sun Dance was and continues to be an important religious ceremony for Cheyennes. As with many of the northern Plains Indian groups, the Cheyenne Sun Dance exhibits regional similarities. However, the Cheyenne Sun Dance performance renews "the barren earth." This ritual reconstructs the world and nature. Also key is that a Cheyenne individual can obtain a spiritual vision through the Sun Dance (Harrod 1997:146-147).

The Great Race is another important story in Cheyenne theology, and significant in relation to both the Sun Dance and Devils Tower. Cheyennes credit the Suhtais for the Great Race tradition. The Suhtai may have adopted the legend from the Kiowa. Although less is known about Kiowa traditions in relation to Devils Tower, The Race, run on the Race Track, which passes Devils Tower, and an associated Sun Dance performance were originally part of Kiowa tradition. Cheyennes associate the Sun Dance ceremony with the Great Race, an association that would support this historic borrowing from the Kiowa (Sundstrom 1996:186). The Cheyenne/Suhtai oral narrative includes the performance of the first Sun Dance as a re-enactment of the Great Race and subsequent events. According to the story, the Sun Dance must

be held at Devils Tower (Powell 1960:477). “Nakœvë” or “Bear Peak” is the Cheyenne term for Devils Tower. It is honored not only as the place of the first Great Race/Sun Dance, but also for its own origin as a unique spot on the landscape. Nakœvë is the place where a girl was saved from the “giant bear spirit.” The event created the constellations of Pleiades and the Big Dipper (Schlesier 1987:50-51).

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Turtle Mountain Chippewa

Synonymy

The Turtle Mountain Chippewa are a part of the Chippewa or Ojibwa tribes. The ethnonyms "Chippewa" and "Ojibwa" are corruptions of "Anishinaabeg," "Anishinabek," or "Anishinabeg" by Europeans (these three representing dialect variants of the plural form of "Anishinabe"). The ethnonym is often taken to mean "Original People," but may in fact be derived from an expression meaning "puckered up." One possible explanation derives from the fact that their moccasins were sewn in such a way that the skin gathered at the top. The Anishinaabeg bands that moved west out of the Great Lakes onto the Plains are known as Plains Ojibwa or Bungi. The Turtle Mountain Chippewa group got its name from Turtle Mountain in North Dakota, where it settled after the migration (Albers 2001: 652).

Location

The Turtle Mountain Reservation is located in northern North Dakota. Before 1780, the Anishinaabeg were reported to be among the groups trading at the Mandan villages. As they migrated west, the Anishinaabeg became more diversified and remained in the prairie year-round. After 1820, a truly distinctive mounted and bison-dependent Anishinaabeg emerged on the Plains. They became a Plains-oriented population occupying and traveling the area across the prairies from the Turtle Mountains to the eastern edge of the Cypress Hills (Albers 2001:654).

Ethnographic Overview

The Plains Ojibwa are a newly emergent population, adopting a way of life different from their ancestors' and having composite ethnic origins, such as Saulteaux of Ontario, Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Huron (Malinowski et al. 1998:188). The Plains Ojibwa are an Algonquian-speaking community. They live on five reservations in North Dakota and Montana: the Turtle Mountain, Spirit Lake, Ft. Peck, Ft. Belknap, and Rocky Boy reservations. They evolved a unique cultural identity based on equestrian, bison-hunting lifeways (Albers 2001: 654).

Ethnoecology

The Turtle Mountain tribe was truly an established and distinctive population of bison-dependent Ojibwa only after 1830. Originally, Anishinaabeg hunted bison during the fall and winter in small groups, using impounding techniques (Malinowski et al. 1998:190). They would drive the bison into deep snowbanks or into ice, where they could easily kill the animals. At a later stage, bison were hunted in two large mounted hunts in summer and fall. In addition to

bison, the Plains Ojibwa hunted moose, elk, deer, and bears (Howard 1977:28). Their diet was supplemented with corn and potatoes.

Andrew Standing Chief, of the Turtle Mountain band, was observed digging a five-foot pit for an unidentified root. The Plains Ojibwa used this root for many things, including improving the voice at Indian sings, and treating colds or sore throats or diabetes.

The predominant dwelling type was the bison-hide tipi with a four-pole foundation. Women made the tipi covers, and men were in charge of the pole cutting. Tipis were the women's property, but this changed through time because of European influence. Basketry was well developed and characterized by the alternating use of brown and white willow withes (Albers 2001: 652). Plains Ojibwa used special tobacco boards in cutting and mixing tobacco. The boards were also used as a part of the altar arrangement at a Sun Dance. Tobacco was usually mixed with dried bearberry leaves (Howard 1977:44).

Social Organization

The Turtle Mountain Chippewa, like other Plains Ojibwa, were associated with territorial grouping and village settlement. Village and band groups were under the authority of a head chief with limited powers, and a series of secondary chiefs who earned their positions through generosity, diplomacy, and war skills (Albers 2001:655). The Plains Ojibwa had a Dakota-type kinship, a patrilineal system characterized by parent-in-law and sibling avoidance. Ojibwa families traditionally identify themselves by their patriclan. Clans were organized within a totemic system (Howard 1977:77). Like the other Plains tribes, Turtle Mountain women were in charge of tipi building and transportation, as well as corn and potato cultivation. Men were in charge of hunting.

Religion

The Plains Ojibwa occupied a transitional cultural position, in terms of religion and ceremonial life, situated between Woodlands and Plains cultural traditions. After moving onto the Plains, they adopted the Grass Dance, Sun Dance, and Clown Society (Albers 2001:655). There were several men's warrior-dancing societies. These were a combination of military-social-religious sodalities, corresponding to the well-known warrior societies of other prairie and Plains tribes. Considering their relatively recent origin, these societies were not as highly developed as the other tribes'. The known societies were Grass Dance, Buffalo, Prairie Chicken, Wihtigokanak, and Big Dogs. Plains Ojibwa women had their own society, Round Dance. The Turtle Mountain band had a distinctive dancing society. This was Tea Dance or Kiwaskwe ("Acting as if Drunk"). Women belonging to this society wore yellow dresses with fur-wrapped lances, two with crooked ends and two straight (Howard 1977:80).

Pre-Contact History

The Plains Ojibwa are a newly emergent population with different ethnic origins, descending from the Salteaux of Ontario; Ojibwa; Ottawa; and Huron communities of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan (Malinowski et al. 1998:195). Before 1750, the westernmost Ojibwa were trading with Mandan villages and fighting with Hidatsa and Cheyenne (Albers 2001:652). Because it is a relatively new tribe, the Turtle Mountain band per se does not possess a distinctive period called "prehistory" by archaeologists.

Pre-Reservation History

About 1800 at Pembina, North Dakota, the Anishinabeg formed a permanent band around Alexander Henry's trading post. This band became the nucleus of the Pembina band, the predecessor to the Turtle Mountain Chippewa (Howard 1977:20). After 1863, the date of the second Pembina Treaty, the Plains Ojibwa were forced to cede their easternmost territory to the United States. However, lands in the Turtle Mountains and other areas remained; in the 1870s, much of this land was taken as well. By the 1880s and 1890s, the Plains Ojibwa were referred to as "landless" (Albers 2001:657). Groups of various sizes split off, migrating west and northwest of the Turtle Mountains, trying to survive. These included groups such as the Little Shell Chippewa of Montana. Most of the Plains Ojibwa were excluded in the treaties that covered the western Plains of North Dakota (Albers 2001:657).

Post-Reservation History

The Plains Ojibwa were not recognized by the Canadian or the U.S. government. Many years were required to gain legal recognition from the two federal governments. In 1892, under an executive order, 22 townships formed the Turtle Mountain Reservation for the Plains Ojibwa. Because of the small size of the reservation, many Ojibwas moved farther west. Those left on the reservation adapted in different ways. Most of their political and economic aspects have disappeared, but cultural aspects such as language, the kinship system, and religion persisted until the 1900s (Malinowski et al. 1998:195). The Plains Ojibwa were encouraged to farm. However, at Turtle Mountain, as in many other indigenous communities in the United States, the allotment provisions of the Dawes Act were detrimental as applied to Turtle Mountain. Many tribal members were allotted federal trust land off the reservation, and thus much of the

population was scattered. In addition, much of the allotted land was leased or sold to Euroamericans. Some Chippewa turned to cash-based commodity production such as trapping and handicrafts, as well as to seasonal work in construction trades (Albers 2001:658).

Contemporary Culture

In the present day, the trust relationship with the U.S. government remains the determining factor of political life. On the Turtle Mountain reservation, "full-blood" Plains Ojibwa made up a small segment of the populace, largely marginalized by the elected chair and council. However, cultural traditionalists from the Turtle Mountain band held important leadership roles in Plains Ojibwa ceremonial affairs (Howard 1977:658). The present population of Turtle Mountain is around 5,000, with another 3,000 members living off the reservation. They have been actively involved in retention and revival of the traditional culture. The Sun Dance and Grass Dance are being revived in the context of the modern powwow. Language education and the revival of traditional and historic handicrafts are community priorities (Albers 2001: 659).

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CROW

Ethnographic Overview, History, and Location

The Crows are recognized as "classic" representatives of Plains Indian culture (Frey 1986; Frison 1978; Harkin et al. 2003; Hoxie 1997). They were called Apsáalooke, which means “Children of the Large-Beaked Bird”; white men later misinterpreted the word as "crow." The historic Crows consisted of three groups: the River Crows (from the Hidatsa), the Mountain Crows (from the Awatixa Hidatsa), and the Kicked-in-the-Bellies Crows who separated from the Mountain Crows during the historic era (Davis 1979; Larocque 1910; Lowie 1912, 1935; Voget 2001). Ahler, Thiessen, and Trimble (1991) suggest a 125-year interval between Mountain and River Crows exodus. Today, about 75% of the tribe's 10,000 or more enrolled members live on or near the Crow Reservation in south-central Montana. The Crow Reservation covers about 3,565 square miles and borders Wyoming on the south, with its northwestern boundary about ten miles from Billings. Tribal headquarters are located at Crow Agency, Big Horn County,

Montana. Although the preferred title is “Apsáalooke,” considering the three branches, the term “Crow” will be used here.

Lewis and Clark expedition members of 1804 met Crows along the Bighorn River. Other explorers and traders reported camps on the Yellowstone River and the east side of the Rocky Mountains. Hayden (1862) described the Rocky Mountains, and along the Powder, Wind, and Bighorn rivers as “Crow country.” Hayden (1862) also found them on the south side of the Yellowstone River as far as the Laramie Fork of the Platte River, as well as on the west and north sides of the Platte River to the source of the Musselshell and the mouth of the Yellowstone River. Maximilian, Prince of Weid, (1843) described their tipis, and included descriptions of wolf-like dogs and numerous horses as permanent characteristics of the Crows' domestic scene. He described the Crows as wanderers who also grew small patches of tobacco. Crows acquired the horse early in the 18th century (Hoxie 1997).

Today, 85% speak Crow as their first language. Crows speak a Siouan language closely related to Hidatsa. Crows and Hidatsas were once a single group, separating in the protohistoric period (Hoxie 1997:36; Lowie 1918). Numerous archaeological sites and components in southern Montana suggest shared heritage with Mandan-Hidatsa. Included in the Pictograph Cave site area are ceramics, hard-packed earthen floors, and other features suggesting Missouri Basin-like earthen houses (Mulloy 1958:79-81; Nabokov and Loendorf 1994:33). The sites are considered Crow, and Mulloy (1958:79-81) assigns the ceramics to the Mandan-Hidatsa tradition. A number of elements excavated during the Smithsonian Institution River Basin Surveys indicate deep Hidatsa association. Some consider this indicative of the "Absaroka

Phase" and a shift in dependence from horticulture to more nomadic, hunter/gatherer Plains lifestyle (Brown 1969). [5]

According to oral tradition, the Crows were formed when two Hidatsa chiefs quarreled, with one taking his people west (Hoxie 1997:40; Lowie 1918:272-75). Although Hidatsas farmed the Missouri River Basin, Missouri River Basin peoples did not subsist on crops alone. Certain Hidatsa "guilds" (possibly matrilineal clans) are believed to have been assigned to provide game from the neighboring Plains to the otherwise sedentary farming community. Whole family groups would set out to the buffalo plains for an entire season, while other family groups tended and harvested crops (Hoxie 1997; Frey 1986). Life and survival on the Plains would not have been a completely foreign thing to the Hidatsas, or at least not to certain lineages.

Ahler et al. (1991) developed a population model to describe a "Scattered Village phase" indicating expansion between A.D. 1300 and A.D. 1450. This expansion correlates with a period of milder climate (Ahler et al. 1991:40). After A.D. 1450, possibly motivated by the colder climate of the Little Ice Age, many villages along the Missouri River were abandoned (Ahler et al. 1991; Nabokov and Loendorf 1994). Era climate change meant greater seasonal temperature differences, an overall colder climate, and insufficient frost-free days to support agriculture. Short-term survival needs would push greater dependence on hunting and gathering. Around A.D. 1450, an estimated 50% reduction in Hidatsa population occurred (Ahler et al. 1991:40). Villages on the periphery of the river basin were abandoned. Spacing between houses in the remaining villages decreased.

[5] Numerous sites in Big Horn and Carbon counties believed to represent Crow habitation and use include Bull Elk (24 BH212), Black Canyon (24BH215), Dry Head (24CB203), Crooked Creek (48BH210), and Unnamed (48BH7).

Brown (1969) and Husted (1969) contend a transitional phase began around A.D. 1800. However, for earlier presence, Frison (1978:238; 1979:5) points to ceramic evidence in tipi rings sites associated with bison kill sites on the eastern slopes of the Bighorn Mountains. Consensus among archaeologists tends toward presence in Wyoming/Montana as early as A.D. 1500 (Frison 1978:3-16, 1979; Nabokov and Loendorf 1994:35). Mulloy (1958:178) excavated Arrow Rock or, as the Crows call it, "Home of the Little People," and found pottery that represents both Shoshone and Crow ceramic traditions. “Mandan tradition” ceramics, prevalent throughout northern Wyoming, are associated with the Mountain Crows. The Kicked-in-the-Bellies and Mountain Crows ranged throughout northern Wyoming, while the River Crows tended to remain within the Yellowstone drainage (Frison 1976, 1978, 1979; Mulloy 1942; Voget 2001).

Crow stories indicate famine and food shortages as some of the motivation for transition from full-time village and part-time hunter life to a more permanently mobile hunter/gatherer faction (Nabokov and Loendorf 1994). However, connections with Hidatsa kin remained strong, as is evident in the continued exchange of bison products for agricultural products at trade fairs involving Crows, Hidatsas, and Mandans (Frey 1986). Crows traded with both eastern and western neighbors, and secured a tenuous trade/raid relationship with their Shoshone neighbors to the south and east (Teit 1930:113-14). Following Nabokov and Loendorf (1994), the Absaroka Phase begins circa A.D. 1500 and is considered completed by A.D. 1850. By the 1800s, Crows had fully adapted to an equestrian lifestyle, secured the greater wealth of European trade goods, produced a courageous warrior society, and employed larger domiciles often supporting several wives. Crows presented the classic Plains Indian lifestyle (Hoxie 1997).

When European and Angloamerican goods were introduced, Crows already had a strong trading tradition in place. The Crows were involved early and extensively in the beaver trade

(Hoxie 1997:55,61-65). In 1795, Trudeau (1921) reports in his journal that the Crows he met had already adapted a number of European trade goods. The role of Crows as middlemen in trade (often translating into violent confrontations with competing tribes), their policy of diplomacy, and their place as cultural mediators evolved into an alliance with Euroamericans. Although by 1805 the Crows had secured a productive relationship with Euroamerican traders, their position and wealth exposed them to European diseases and also made them attractive targets (Hoxie 1997:56). By 1805, Larocque (1910) reported that the Crow population was cut by two-thirds as a result of a horrible smallpox epidemic. The two decades after 1851 were particularly difficult for the Crows. They suffered a series of defeats at the hands of other tribes. Further epidemics also resulted in thousands of deaths during this period.

Partly because of their numerical inferiority, their overall influence and strength in the region were low and their position was vulnerable (Hoxie 1997; Linderman 1972:43). This surely influenced their readiness to establish friendly relations with Angloamericans. After 1832, the Crows dealt extensively with the American Fur Company trading posts (Algier 1993:87). By the end of the 18th century, the Crow had endured severe social and demographic disruption. Plenty-Coups claimed the decision to side with the Angloamericans was not a trivial one, but, rather, couched most centrally in issues of survival – both corporal and cultural. The consensus was that such an alliance was in the best interests of the larger community.

The Crow constituted the main native allies of the U.S. Army, fighting against their traditional enemies (Algier 1993:364-68). The figure of the Crow scout is a familiar one in Plains history. The Crow viewed Euroamerican cultural achievement with admiration, and wished to acquire what seemed to them powerful medicine (Hoxie 1997). Significantly, the U.S. government was known as “great father.” In the Crow kinship system, the term “father”

(“axéekaate”) was extended to most male members of one’s father’s clan. This kinship bond to a reciprocal relationship tied these individuals with all children in his father's paternal line (Lowie 1935; Nabokov and Loendorf 1994). This alignment tended to heighten already aggravated relations with other tribes. Raiding and warfare with Cheyennes, Dakotas, and Lakotas shifted the eastern boundary of Crow country. In the second half of the 19th century, "safe" Crow territory (as well as Crow numbers) shrank considerably. For much of this time, the whole eastern portion of what later became the state of Wyoming was contested. The Powder River Basin was often the de facto boundary between Crow and enemy territory (Harkin et al. 2003).

Direct diplomatic relations with the U.S. government began in 1851, with the Fort Laramie Treaty. The Crow ceded land east of the Powder River to the Black Hills, with an eye to reducing intertribal warfare in the region. However, the treaty allowed continued hunting in all the areas, by all the signatory tribes, which was to prove a recipe for continued warfare in the region (Algier 1993:138-39). The treaty also provided for annuity payments of $50,000 in kind for a period of 50 years. This became a source of considerable conflict as the Crows, on several occasions, refused to receive annuities because they were less than had been promised (Algier 1993:141-42).

When Fort Sarpy closed in 1860, the Crows were blocked from access to trade goods. During the 1860s, Crow land was threatened by an influx of whites looking to settle and not interested in trading or extracting resources. The Crows repositioned themselves and occasionally attacked settlers and fur traders, while continuing to cooperate in other realms (Algier 1993:186-92). Furthermore, hostile tribes surrounded the Crows. This, and various factors contributing to severe game depletion, meant that procuring sufficient food became a

major concern (Algier 1993:169-71; Hoxie 1997; Linderman 1972). By 1862, they lost control of all lands south of the Yellowstone River and east of the Bighorn River (Algier 1993:180-81).

After the Civil War, Crow and white interests found common ground again. At this time, the Sioux were considered the most significant obstacle to expansion. In 1865, Brigadier General Connor was sent to the Powder River Basin to remove the Dakota (Algier 1993:200). During the Sioux Wars of 1862–68, Crow warriors and scouts sided with the United States. At the conclusion of this period of conflict, the Crow Treaty was signed. This treaty established the present reservation in southeastern Montana, effectively removing the Crow from Wyoming. However, they were allowed an extended hunting range that included these areas (Harkin et al. 2003).

Despite various treaties, “non-treaty” Sioux roamed outside reservation boundaries. In 1870, Dakota attacked a settlement of Crow on the Little Bighorn River. This was inside the Crow reservation boundaries and considered an outrage by both the Crow and the U.S. government. Over the next five years, the army pursued the “renegade” Sioux with the active aid of Crow scouts and warriors. In 1876, the Sioux assembled again within the Crow reservation territory to defeat General George Armstrong Custer. Upon hearing news of the defeat, the Crows wept for the loss of their own men, and perhaps more pointedly in fear of retaliation by the Sioux. However, the Battle of the Little Bighorn represented the beginning of the end for "renegade" Indians of all bands, as it marked the end of the frontier period of the Plains (Utley 1984:184-89, 253-72).

Social Organization

Crow society was organized into territorial bands and matrilineal clans. Matrilineal clans were exogamous and marriage within the clan was forbidden. Clans were the focus of an elaborate system of reciprocity that formed the fabric of social life (Lowie 1935:18-19; Voget 2001:702). Born into the mother's clan, an individual, even as an adult, remained a "child of" the father's clan. This fostered lifelong reciprocal obligations with the father clan (Lowie 1935:18-19). Typically "children" supported their "fathers" with food and material wealth, while "fathers" gave supernatural protection (Voget 1987:207-16). Morgan (1881) termed this type of kinship system "Crow," although the Hidatsas are more "pure" examples of the type (Lowie 1912:207-212). Eggan (1955) speculates that Crow kinship moved to a transitional form of social organization characterized by an emphasis on generation, highlighting mobility and war honors. Traditional matrilineal clans remain very important.

Crow men were kept quite occupied with war, caring for horses, raiding, hunting, and politics, while Crow women provided for the domestic scene by caring for children; preparing food, clothing, and lodges; decorating clothing; and gathering roots and berries. Women, however, did not paint lodges as these were the property of "wise medicine men" and the decorations reflected their visions (Linderman 1972:134-137).

Crow chiefs were powerful and influential. Such office was earned and was never hereditary. Crow society was pervasively egalitarian. Generally, all members had equal access to all resources. Prestige derived from two sources: supernatural power and war honors. Supernatural power could be obtained in several ways, most usually through the vision quest.

Appearing pitiful to spiritual beings was central to obtaining their favors. If the sufferer was sufficiently pitiful, spiritual beings would agree to provide assistance. Coup honors were especially important to adolescents and young men, who were entitled to marry after attaining their first honors (Linderman 1972:133). Additional honors allowed one to rise up the ranks, eventually to chief (Voget 2001:704-06).

In general, Crow politics functioned by consensus and group discussion, at least among men with honors. Chiefs were appointed by consensus of the council of elders. Selection was based on war honors and vision experiences. A chief needed to be well protected by supernatural guardians. This sacred protection extended to the group. Chiefs determined collective actions. Together with the aid of the band warrior society, a chief held a judiciary-political position in the community. Chief Plenty Coups was the last chief to gain that status in the traditional manner. He lived until 1932.

Crows "valued military leaders whose bravery was unquestioned and whose exploits would stir and mobilize community support" (Hoxie 1997:48). Warrior societies were made up of young men, eager to attain honors. They handled issues such as punishing poachers, protecting the camp from enemies, and defusing feuds among camp residents. However, the clans handled certain matters, such as murder and the payment of blood money (Voget 2001:704-06).

Ethnoecology

Bison, deer, and elk were hunted using group techniques, including surrounds and jumps. Numerous bison jump and kill sites in northern Wyoming are associated with the Crow (Frey 1986:12; Frison 1979:3-16). Bow-and-arrow technology was used to procure other animals.

Bows were made from elk or sheep horn, cedar, ash, and hickory (Lowie 1922:230-232; Voget 2001:699). The Crow diet centered on meat sources, but was supplemented with seasonally available roots, shoots, and berries. Knowledge of medicinal herbs was extensive. Plants were collected for their curative and spiritual powers. Minerals, clays, and berries were used to make paints and dyes (Linderman 1972:134-136). The Crows were well known for their quillwork and their painted designs. Generally, the Crow employed geometric patterns, but representational motifs, especially animals, are present as well (Lowie 1935:77-81).

Religion

The Crow call Devils Tower "Bear's House" and "Bear's Lair." The Crow have a sacred narrative on the origin of Bear's House that describes the creation of the tower as a safe escape for two young girls who were attacked by a bear. [6] The Crow believe Devils Tower was "put there by the Great Spirit for a special reason, because it was different from other rocks." [7] It is looked upon as a holy place.

The Crows are known to fast and pray at Devils Tower. Historically, they built small stone "dream houses" at the site as part of vision quests. An individual seeking a vision would then recline inside this dream house with his head to the east and feet to the west, "like the rising and setting sun." [8]

"Little People" are quite prevalent in Crow stories and play a significant role as spirit helpers in Crow cosmology. Little People stories are also associated with Devils Tower. The importance of Little People to Crow history is further evidence of early

[6] http://www.nps.gov/deto/#1
[7] http://www.nps.gov/deto/#2
[8] http://www.nps.gov/deto/#2

association with the Shoshones. The Shoshones (and related Uto-Aztecan speakers) have a strong and apparently ancient Little People tradition, while the Hidatsas have no such tradition (Nabokov and Loendorf 1994:36-37).

The sweat lodge, the Sun Dance, and the vision quest were/are three distinct contexts in which spiritual power and the quest for spiritual power were/are focused. Communal ceremonies, including the Cooked Meat Singing, Bear Song performance, Tobacco Planting, and Full Moon ceremony constitute a liturgical calendar. Of these commemorative ceremonies, the Tobacco Planting was the most significant. This ceremony comes from a vision of the Crow cultural hero No Intestines or No Vitals. No Vitals experienced a vision, which presented the tobacco seed to the Crows as a spiritual gift. This seed (*Nicotiana multivalvis*) is planted annually, and this ritual presents a "unified dramatization of Crow historical origins and territorial claims" (Nabokov 1988:395).

The sweat lodge was/is included in many ceremonies and functions alone as a primary context for spiritual practice, as well. The sweat lodge prepares and purifies the initiate. This process is required for an individual to attain spiritual power and to be able to participate in other rituals, such as the vision quest and Sun Dance. Various tribes across the northern Plains shared many characteristics of the Sun Dance. For the Crows, elements of the Hidatsas' Hide Beating ceremony persist and are incorporated in their Sun Dance (Spier 1921, 1925; Voget 2001:707). Whereas the vision quest speaks to personal power and spirit guardians, the Sun Dance was and continues to serve as a means of focusing the spiritual power of the entire tribe. Held in early summer, it involves young men who “pledge” themselves in order to obtain a power. This spiritual energy is considered essentially destructive, and once attained, is focused upon enemies.

Crow vision quests were/are conducted individually in an effort to obtain spiritual power. These are carried out in special places. Fasting, going without sleep, and bodily mutilation might be used to force potential spiritual donors to take pity upon the seeker. Guardian spirits were/are usually supernatural manifestations of animal species, but can also be other sorts of beings. Most common of these were Little People, the belief in which remains pervasive among the Crows (Frey 1986:68). Little People were considered a particularly powerful and practical donor. Upon obtaining such a power, one entered into a lifelong relationship with the donor, which entailed obligations as well as benefits. The spiritual power derived in such cases assisted the recipient in dangerous activities. However, such medicine did not guarantee success. This contributed to a sense of fatalism in combat.

During the reservation period, the Crow were encouraged to assimilate to white culture and become farmers and tradesmen. A Catholic mission and a government boarding school were established on the reservation. Many Crow children were taken to places such as Carlisle Indian School for education. Military police were stationed to keep people on the reservation. This policy put an end to intertribal warfare and to "the Buffalo Days" (Frey 1986:34-35). Allotment in 1905 resulted in the loss of significant tracts of reservation land, while what remained in their hands became individual property (Frey 1986:32). Other aspects of culture began to change. Originally, the object of the Crow Sun Dance ceremony was to obtain power against enemies; with the loss of so much of the material culture, the Crow also lost their Sun Dance (until its modern-day revival). With the two main sources of virtue – warfare and bison hunting – defunct, the system of honors supporting the social structure disintegrated.

However, during assimilation, important elements of Crow culture and beliefs persisted (Hoxie 1997). Substitutes were found for traditional honorable activities. Crow men joined the

U.S. military as soldiers and have fought in all the major wars of the 20th century. Rodeo and basketball play a similar role. The belief in guardian spirits and the obligation of reciprocity with paternal kin continue as strong elements of Crow life (Hoxie 1997).

Traditional practices saw significant revival beginning in the 1940s (Frey 1986:35). Crow Fair, an annual combined powwow, rodeo, and fair, has provided Crows with outlets for traditional and quasi-traditional activities. Recent incorporation of culture and language curricula in the public schools, the founding of Little Big Horn College in 1980, and the work of anthropologists and linguists have assisted in the revival of traditional culture. Present-day Crows continue to rely on a detailed knowledge of and use of land, both within the reservation and in traditional Crow territories lying outside it. The Crows have a strong claim to the Bighorn, Devils Tower, and Powder River Basin areas. Some of these areas were explicitly marked as Crow territory on the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty map. Crows are fairly amenable to discussing traditional cultural properties and territories within Wyoming, particularly regarding cultural association with areas and resources.

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Kiowa (Cauigu)

Synonymy

The name "Kiowa" is a corruption of their name for themselves, "Cauigu," which is a derivative of "qocauigu," the triplural form for "elks." They have also referred to themselves as Komfaubidau ("Large Tipi Flaps"), Kutjau ("Coming Out Rapidly," "Pop Out"), and Tepjau ("Coming Out or Emerging Slowly"). Today they are called the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma.

Location

There are two theories of Kiowa origins. According to the first one, the Kiowas were hunter-gatherers from the Northwest who migrated to the Plains (Mooney 1898, Mayhall 1962; Boyd 1981). The second theory develops the idea that the Kiowa came north to the Wyoming

and Montana area from the Southwest, and then descended southeast to the Plains (Hickerson 1994; Meadows 1995).

Hickerson (1994:208) hypothesizes that the Jumano people, who lived in the Southwest and were related to the Puebloans, might be the ancestors of the Kiowa. According to this theory, after the collapse of the trade network and revolts against the Spanish, a group of Jumano became attracted by the hunting opportunities and started moving north to the Plains. The hypothesis is supported by Meadows, who recently did fieldwork among the Kiowa, although he does not elaborate (Meadows 1995:34).

The second theory places Kiowa origins in western Montana, near the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers (Mooney 1898:153; Boyd 1981:6). They lived in the "Caui Qop," or Kiowa Mountains (Mooney 1898:153). As the Kiowa descended onto the Plains, they made an alliance with the Crow and settled in the vicinity of the Black Hills (Mooney 1898:153; Meadows 1999:33). At the turn of the 19th century, the Kiowa reportedly lived north of Devils Tower and in the area along and north of the Yellowstone (Nye 1962:vii; Boyd 1981:10). The Sioux and Cheyenne drove the Kiowa south of the Black Hills between 1775 and 1805 (Mooney 1898:157). At the turn of the 19th century, the Kiowa allied with the Comanche (Meadows 1999:34) and started sharing common territory. They eventually came to control the territory from the Arkansas River to the headwaters of the Red River.

In the 19th century, the Kiowa were assigned a reservation to be shared with the Comanche, and with the Plains (Kiowa) Apache in southwestern Oklahoma. The reservation was disbanded in 1901. Today, most Kiowas live in the Anadarko-Carnegie area of southwestern Oklahoma.

Ethnographic Overview

Kiowa language belongs to the Kiowa-Tanoan language family, which includes many of the languages spoken today by the Eastern Pueblo Indians of central and north-central New Mexico.

Ethnoecology

Kiowa subsistence was based on bison hunting. In the summer, the bands came together for communal hunts and ceremonies. Hunting activity intensified in the fall to prepare a food supply for the winter. In late winter or early spring, the Kiowa scattered into small bands to search for game. The Kiowa lodge was the tipi, sometimes decorated with paintings. The Kiowa owned many horses, which were mostly obtained during raids into Mexico.

The material culture relied on bison, antelope, and elk for clothing, lodge covers, and equipment. Horns and antlers were used to make ladles, awls, and knife handles. The Kiowa also used carved stone pipes and made feathered bonnets.

Men's clothing consisted of two-piece moccasins with rawhide soles, and shirts, leggings, breechcloth, and belts made from tanned bison calfskin. In the winter, men also wore bison robes, the tanned side often decorated with painted featherlike designs. Women wore high moccasin leggings, and a skirt and attached poncho-style shirt made from pronghorn or deer skins. A knife and scabbard, an awl, and other small bags containing sewing materials and face paint were typically suspended from a wide rawhide belt. Women's robes were painted in the border-and-box design.

There is no evidence that the Kiowa used porcupine quillwork decoration. Instead, they painted buckskin yellow, blue, or green and decorated it with fine, long, and sometimes twisted fringes. They did not make heavy use of beadwork; instead, the women preferred a delicate, light beaded trim around the edges of clothing.

The Kiowa used a variety of plants for construction, food, medicine, ceremonies, etc. Cottonwood (*Populus balsamifera*) was used for the construction of summer arbors and as fuel (Vestal and Schultes 1939:19-20). Giant ragweed (*Ambrosia trifida*) was used in making an arbor shelter or as a covering for the sweat lodge (Vestal and Schultes 1939:73, 55).

According to Vestal and Schultes (1939), the Kiowa used a variety of roots for food, such as the bush morning glory (*Ipomoea leptophylla*), slender white prairie clover (*Petalostemon oligophyllum*), and blazing star (*Liatris punctata*). They also ate fruits and berries such as the American plum (*Prunus americana*), chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana* var. *melanocarpa*), and three-lobed sumac (*Rhus trilobata*), as well as nuts and acorns such as black walnut (*Juglans nigra*) and water oak (*Quercus nigra*). The milky latex of Indian hemp, or dogbane (*Apocynum cannabinum*), and the leaves of the upright yellow wood sorrel (*Oxalis stricta*) were chewed to relieve thirst.

The narrow-leaved purple coneflower (*Brauneria angustifolia*) served as cough medicine, while poison ivy (*Rhus radicans*) was used to treat boils and running sores (Vestal and Schultes 1939:71). As the Kiowa moved east into the Black Hills region and onto the Plains, they incorporated the local plants into their life. The inside of the fruits of the buckeye (*Aesculus arguta*) was brewed into a drink, which was used as an emetic, taken only when other medicines failed (Vestal and Schultes 1939:74, 41). A decoction of the root-bark of the pecan tree (*Carya pecan*) was used to treat tuberculosis (Vestal and Schultes 1939:75).

Sweetgrass (*Hierochloe odorata*) and red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*) were used in ceremonies and as perfume (Vestal and Schultes 1939:72). Peyote or the mescal button (*Lophophora williamsii*) is used in the ceremonies of the Native American Church. Peyote appeared on the Plains between 1880 and 1885, brought by the Kiowa and Comanche from Mexico, and slowly diffused northward. Mooney (1898:239) noticed its use by the Kiowa because of its "medical properties" and its "wonderful effect upon imagination." The plant contains physiologically active alkaloids that induce visual and auditory hallucinations. Peyote has also become one of the most important medicines among the Kiowa, and replaced many other plant remedies. It is used to cure colds, fever, grippe, tuberculosis, pneumonia, intestinal ills, venereal diseases, and scarlet fever. It is applied externally for rheumatic pains, cuts, bruises, and aching teeth (Vestal and Schultes 1939:43-45). The wood of water oak (*Quercus nigra*) is burned in the home and in the peyote ceremony, and its leaves are used as rolling paper for cigarettes (Vestal and Schultes 1939:75, 23-24).

Soap weed (*Yucca glauca*) was used as soap, and the fruit of the Missouri gourd or fetid wild pumpkin (*Cucurbita foetidissima*) was rubbed into hides and clothes before washing to remove stains (Vestal and Schultes 1939:73, 54).

Social Organization

The smallest recognized unit of Kiowa society was the nuclear family, consisting of parents and their unmarried children. Related families came together into an extended family, which usually consisted of the families of several brothers and sisters. The oldest brother was the recognized leader. In the case of a brother's death, the leader was responsible to provide for

his brother's family. The extended families were generally organized around adult men who performed the tasks of hunting and raiding.

The Kiowa counted their descent bilaterally. Residence after marriage was bilocal, as men of lesser rank could join the wife's band. Kiowa kinship terminology was generational (Levy 2001:910). All children of the parents' siblings were called brothers and sisters. Bifurcate merging terminology was applied to the parents' generation. The "mother" term was used for the mother and mother's sisters, and the "father" term was used for the father and father's brothers. The father's sisters and mother's brothers were called aunts and uncles.

The basic political unit was the band, headed by a band leader. Band size varied, depending on the wealth and prestige of the leader and the season. The Kiowa may have had as many as 40 bands, each averaging about 35 people. The band leader was the oldest brother of the core extended family. The leader's responsibilities were to maintain law and order without using force, direct the movements of the band, and plan for defense against enemy attack. Command authority was not inherited, and leadership ability had to be demonstrated. Tribal affairs were conducted by the council of band leaders, the ranking leaders of each division, and war leaders.

There were seven autonomous Kiowa divisions: Cauigu (Kiowa proper); Kiet ("Big Shields"); Kotalyop ("Black Boys"), also known as Sendeiyoi ("Sende's Children"); Quatjau ("Biters," or "Arikara," who had a trading relationship with the Arikara); Qogui ("Elks"); Kutjau ("Emerging/Coming Out Rapidly," who were exterminated by the Sioux in the Black Hills around 1780); and Semhat (meaning "Thieves"), a band of Athapaskan-speaking Kiowa (or Plains) Apache, who were part of the Kiowa tribal circle (Meadows 1999:35). Each division was composed of a number of bands.

Kiowa society had a formal status hierarchy (Mishkin 1940:35; Meadows 1999:43-44). To the first rank, Ogop, belonged wealthy and distinguished people, leaders, owners of the ten medicine bundles, and distinguished warriors. The second rank, Odegufa, consisted of lesser leaders, medicine men, and younger warriors. The third, Kauaun, included commoners and the poor who owned few horses, including captives. The last rank, Daufo, consisted of beggars, outcasts, and the criminal element of the tribe. A person's rank mostly depended on war record and wealth in horses.

There were two societies for young men and six for adult men. Polahyop ("Rabbits") was the young boys' society, and Aljoygau ("Wild Mountain Sheep") was the youth society. Adult men's societies were Chejanmau ("Horse Headdresses"), a young men's society; Tokogaut ("the Black Leggings"), which consisted of experienced but usually younger warriors; Jaifegau ("Unafraid of Death" or "Skunkberries"), the Gourd Dance society whose members were of higher rank and which demanded brave conduct in warfare; Qoichegau ("Sentinel Horses"), the society of the highest-ranking war leaders; Cauitemgop ("Kiowa Bone Strikers"), a military society that was annihilated in battle after refusing to retreat; and Ohomogau ("Omaha or War Dance" Society), introduced in 1884 as a result of the spreading Omaha dance style (Meadows 1995:39-41). Each adult male society had 50 members on average, with the exception of Qoichegau, which had ten full members. Wealth was required to join each society, and members were expected to validate their war honors.

The women had two societies. Setchohyop (the "Bear Old Women" Society) was a secret society that controlled bear power. Xalichohyop (the "Calf Old Women" Society) was equal in rank to Gourd Dancers, had war medicine, and was associated with the Sun Dance (Meadows 1995:36).

Religion

Daudau, an all-pervasive spirit power, was central to the Kiowa universe. The Kiowa believed that this spirit power was present in all things, whether animate or inanimate. Natural phenomena such as lightning or the winds, as well as animals and birds, were the manifestations of the power. The spirit power could help or harm. The medicine man was a specialist who knew how to control the power. Men could attain individual power through a vision quest. They prayed, fasted, and smoked on isolated hilltops; if they were successful, a spirit helper would appear in a vision.

The Kiowa had ten medicine bundles, referred to as Ten Grandmothers (Marriott 1945). The origins of these medicine bundles are explained in the story of Split Boys. In this story, a woman married Sun Boy and gave birth to his son. After his mother's death, the boy was raised by Spider Grandmother. A wheel split the boy in two, and the resulting twins participated in a series of adventures. Finally, one of the brothers disappeared into the water and the other transformed himself into medicine that became divided and preserved in the ten bundles. The ten medicine bundles were the most revered powers in the tribe, and were used to settle disputes and cure the sick. Their presence helped maintain social harmony.

The Sun Dance was the major communal ceremony. The Kiowa had Sun Dance medicine in the form of Taime, a human figure representing a deity that assured a plentiful supply of bison and the tribe's well-being. The Kiowa did not practice piercing, and any blood shed at the Sun Dance was believed to bring misfortune (Mooney 1898:242-243).

Most Kiowa stories fall into two groups, Spider Woman stories or Sende (trickster) stories. The following is a story that explains the origins of the geological structure in Wyoming

known to the Kiowa as Xoai ("the rock tree"), popularly known as Devils Tower (Momaday 1969:8; Boyd 1981:10-11).

> Eight children were there at play, seven sisters and their brother. Suddenly the boy was struck dumb; he trembled and began to run upon his hands and feet. His fingers became claws, and his body was covered with fur. Directly there was a bear where the boy had been. The sisters were terrified; they ran and the bear after them. They came to the stump of a great tree, and the tree spoke to them. It bade them climb upon it, and as they did so it began to rise into the air. The bear came to kill them, but they were just beyond its reach. It reared against the tree and scored the bark all around with its claws. The seven sisters were borne into the sky, and they became the stars of the Big Dipper. (Momaday 1969:8)

Pre-Contact History

The recorded Kiowa oral tradition places the earliest Kiowa homeland in western Montana, near the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers (Mooney 1898:153; Boyd 1981:6). The Kiowa were neighbors of the Flatheads. They also knew the Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, and Shoshones. Boyd (1981:6) reported that the Kiowa lived or hunted in the vicinity of the Sarsi tribe of the Canadian Rockies on the headwaters of the North Saskatchewan River, and intermarried with them (Boyd 1981:6).

After a hunting-related incident, the Kiowas split, and one chief with his supporters subsequently traveled to the northwest. This band was referred to as Auzathauhop, or "Those Who Went Away Disgruntled Because of/on Account of Udder" (Meadows 1999:33), and was never heard from again. The other group went southeast and became the modern Kiowa.

As the Kiowa migrated southeast to the Plains, they made an alliance with the Crow and settled in the vicinity of the Black Hills (Mooney 1898:153; Meadows 1999:33). Boyd (1981:13-14) mentions that they might have used the Medicine Wheel in the Bighorn Mountains for Sun Dances. In the Black Hills, the Kiowa lived with a small tribe of Athapaskans known as Kiowa-Apaches or Plains Apaches, whom they were thought to have brought with them from the mountains (Mayhall 1962:12).

In the Black Hills region, the Kiowa were at war with the Sioux and Cheyenne, who forced them out of the area between 1775 and 1805 (Mooney 1898:157). There are reports of Sioux slaughtering an entire band of Kiowas, except for one woman, in the Black Hills area around 1770 (Mooney 1898:157); there is also a place marker at the site.

According to Moulton (1987: 422), Lewis and Clark reported that in 1804–05 the Kiowa lived "on the Paducar fork of the river platte on the Wolf or Loup river a NW branch of the Platte to the SW. of the Black hills or Cout niree a litte to the S. of West from the mouth of the Chien or Sharha River"; the settlement numbered 70 lodges, 200 warriors, and 700–1,000 souls. In 1814–15, the tribal calendars report that the Kiowa visited the Sioux on Horse Creek to council for peace, but the efforts were destroyed by a quarrel between a Sioux and a Kiowa, in which the former smashed the Kiowa's head with a tomahawk (Mooney 1898:167-168).

In 1833, the Kiowa endured the Cutthroat Massacre. The Osage massacred one of the Kiowa bands while their own warriors were gone on a raid against the Ute (Mooney 1898:258-259). The Osage cut off their victims' heads and put them in brass buckets. They also captured the Taime medicine.

Pre-Reservation History

The Spanish noticed the Kiowa on the Plains in 1732. According to French accounts, in 1682 the Kiowa-Apache, and possibly Kiowa, had plenty of horses, which they acquired in New Mexico (Mooney 1898:161). Spanish accounts confirm that the Kiowa were mounted in 1748 (Mooney 1898:161). While living in the Black Hills area, the Kiowa traded horses to the Arikara.

The acquisition of the horse reshaped Kiowa culture. They became a mounted, bison-hunting tribe. At this time, Kiowa society became stratified into ranks, and the horse became a major factor in determining an individual's wealth and status (Mishkin 1940).

As the Kiowa migrated south to the southern Plains, they traded with the Rio Grande Pueblos and New Mexicans, and went on raids to Mexico to obtain horses and captives.

Post-Reservation History

In accordance with the terms of the Little Arkansas Treaty of 1865, the Kiowa agreed to accept a reservation in western Oklahoma and Texas jointly with the Comanche. Annuities were granted by the 1867 Treaty of Medicine Lodge. When the government rations failed to arrive in 1868, the Kiowa resumed raiding into Texas and Mexico. Inadequate rations caused the people to starve in the winter of 1873–74. About half the tribe remained with Chief Kicking Bird at Fort Sill, while others left the reservation. After a military defeat in December 1874, the hostile factions were returned to the reservation and 26 Kiowas were sent to prison at Fort Marion in Florida.

Episcopalian missionaries started working among the Kiowa in 1882. They were followed by Methodists in 1887 and later by Presbyterians, Baptists, and Roman Catholics. Kiowa ceremonies were outlawed, and the last Sun Dance was held in 1887. Kiowa involvement in the Ghost Dance movement of 1890 was short-lived. Peyotism was well established among the Kiowa by the 1880s.

During the last decades of the 19th century, boarding schools were opened at Rainy Mountain, Fort Sill, Anadarko, and Riverside (Ellis 1996:8). Missionaries started running day schools in the 1880s, but these enrolled smaller numbers of students and had brief life spans.

The Jerome Agreement, which was ratified by the U.S. Congress in 1900, allotted all Kiowa, Comanche, and Plains Apache tribal members 160 acres of land. The federal government could then sell unallotted land to anyone. By 1906, the tribes held in their possession only 17% of their original reservation. The Kiowa never became incorporated under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936. The tribe is governed by a tribal business committee, according to a constitution and bylaws accepted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1970.

Contemporary Culture

A revival of Kiowa military societies started in the mid–20th century. The Gourd Dance society was organized in 1956 by the descendants of Chief White Bear, and sponsored its first Fourth of July dance the following year. Subsequently, the Black Leggings, Ohomo, and Rabbits societies were revived. Today they serve to preserve and reinforce Kiowa martial and cultural heritage (Meadows 1999:173).

The Kiowa language has receded, and today only a small number of elders speak it. Professor Gus Palmer, Jr., of the University of Oklahoma, heads language revitalization efforts.

Kiowa language classes are taught and teaching materials are being developed. Parker McKenzie's orthography has been accepted as a standard for written Kiowa.

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Kootenai and Salish

Synonymy

The Salish and Kootenai constitute a confederated tribe sharing the Flathead Indian Reservation in northwestern Montana. As in many such cases, the two groups are culturally and linguistically distinct, but have adapted to similar circumstances in historic times, most obviously the sharing of a single reservation. The term "Salish" is preferred to the older ethnonym "Flathead," which came to be considered derogatory. Many Salish families practiced the flattening of infants' heads, a cultural trait practiced broadly in the Plateau and Northwest Coast. Cedar planks were used to deform the shape of infants' growing skulls, a trait that would persist into adulthood. The term "Salish," while preferable, remains somewhat confusing. It is more frequently employed by linguists and anthropologists to refer to the gross-level cultural-linguistic category pertaining to numerous tribes and bands of the southern Northwest Coast and Plateau. This large grouping of tribes is extremely significant in the culture and history of the region. A high degree of linguistic and cultural similarity transcended geographic divisions. A second Salish group, called Pend d'Oreille (in reference to the practice of wearing ear pendants), contributed population to the present community. (A portion of this group amalgamated with the Kalispel.)

The term "Kootenai" refers to the component group of the Flathead Indian Reservation, as well as to the culturally related group residing on the Kootenai Indian Reservation in northern

Idaho. Additional affiliated groups include the Shushwap and several other bands living in southeastern British Columbia, all of whom may be called, under certain circumstances, Kootenai. The language affiliation is uncertain, and it is usually considered an isolate, although attempts have been made to connect it with language families of the Subarctic and Northwest Coast, viz, Wakashan, Salishan, and Algonquian. Alternate spellings include "Kutenai," "Kootenay," and, in self-reference, "Ktunaxa." Turney-High (1941) identified the preferred self-designation to be "Sán'ka," as "Ktunaxa" was a Blackfoot word for their enemies. However, this ethnonym has not been mentioned in more recent literature. The designation "Salish and Kootenai" refers uniquely to the confederated tribe.

Location

The confederated tribe of Salish and Kootenai resides on the Flathead Reservation north of Missoula, Montana. Centered on the Bitterroot Valley, it is rich in resources. Whites employed quasi-legal means to take prime agricultural land. Located between the ethnogeographical regions of Plateau and Plains, the two groups were oriented primarily to the west and north, although increasingly, after the advent of the horse, to the east as well. The homeland of the Salish is the lands surrounding Puget Sound and the Gulf of Georgia Straits. However, residence in the resource-rich lands east of the divide was established long before the arrival of Europeans.

The Kootenai are generally believed to have migrated from the Subarctic, via the Rocky Mountain trench, the southern portion of which constitutes the Kootenai River valley. This is reflected in their historic pattern of winter hunting using snowshoes. They are thought to have migrated south in pursuit of game, eventually establishing permanent residence along the river

bearing their name. Contemporary Kootenai prefer to think of themselves, as do many Native Americans, as having inhabited the current territories forever. However, some traditions exist of migration from the east, from a Plains ancestral group known as the Ktunaxa. Certainly, the Kootenai of the Flathead Reservation have a strong orientation to the northern Plains, although it is widely assumed to be a relatively recent orientation. No oral traditions have been found suggesting links with the study area.

Ethnographic Overview

The Salish and Kootenai have different origins and cultural affiliations. However, the shared territory and historical influences have worked to minimize these. Broadly, both groups display a culture recognizable as containing elements of both Plains and Plateau patterns. Religious beliefs, for example, demonstrate elements of both regions in the guardian spirit practices and sodalities. Subsistence likewise involves both Plains-style big-game hunting and riverine adaptations more typical of the Plateau.

Ethnoecology

The Salish practiced a mixed hunting, fishing, and gathering economy. As with their brethren to the west, river fishing was extremely important to them, both economically and culturally. Line and net fishing was performed from both shore and canoe. In addition, weirs and traps were used. Hunting was more central to the eastern Salish, however. Deer provided a continuous source of protein. Smaller game, such as antelope, rabbits, and groundhogs, was hunted as well. Some birds were hunted, using the common Plateau technique of nets hung in trees, and bison were pursued. Before the arrival of the horse, bison were killed by being

stampeded over cliffs. With the horse, mounted hunting techniques were employed. Plant foods were also significant, especially bitterroot, camas, and berries. Bitterroot was welcomed with a "first-fruits" ritual in spring, and other plant species were honored to a lesser degree. Plants were also used as medicine and dye. Tobacco was used ritually.

The Kootenai were likewise a riparian people. Fishing was conducted using weirs and traps. Birds were somewhat more important to them than to the Salish, but otherwise a similar mix of resources was pursued. A distinctive feature of the Kootenai was their winter bison hunt, performed on foot using snowshoes. Plant foods were equally important, and were recognized with first-fruits ceremonies. Both Salish and Kootenai had predictable seasonal rounds based on resource availability. With the notable exception of the Kootenai winter hunt, winter tended to be a time of greater sedentism and population density in established winter villages.

Social Organization

Traditionally, the Kootenai were a relatively egalitarian and acephalous society. The basic social unit was the household, which was organized around the most economically productive adult generation, with grandparents available for child care and household tasks. Kinship was bilateral, with no permanent lineage or clan organization. Political leadership was minimal, and appears to have been limited to task-specific leadership. However, there was some degree of wealth and prestige inequality, due to the superior resources of senior men who were successful at hunting, gambling, and other culturally important activities. The advent of general (i.e., not task-specific) leadership roles appears to have been a post-contact adaptation. Even so, the role of village leader was informal and did not translate into permanent divisions of society. To the degree that the society could be said to be stratified, stratification was based primarily on

access to supernatural power. The large group of men who had access to guardian spirit power (which enabled them to succeed in everyday activities) constituted a broad "middle class." A few who had unfortunately failed to obtain such spirit power were generally looked down upon and pitied. A small "upper class" of village leaders appears in the post-contact era, in response to influences from the Plains, as well as from Euroamerican society. Some degree of gender stratification existed, as females were not generally thought to have obtained such important spiritual powers. However, women had considerable autonomy relative to Euroamerican women of the post-contact era.

The Salish possessed a more robust political system, including a band organization with hereditary chiefs. Additionally, a council of chiefs existed to manage affairs among bands. However, permanent differences in wealth among families were minimal. As with the Kootenai, status was primarily achieved, not ascribed. Success at hunting, warfare, gambling, and other important activities was attributed to the supernatural powers granted by guardian spirits. Kinship was bilateral; the primary unit, as with the Kootenai, was the household, which was multigenerational.

Religion

For the Kootenai, the vision quest was the underlying ground of religious belief and practice. Humans were believed to be partly physical and partly spiritual in nature. Only when fulfilled through contact with a spiritual guardian could the spiritual side be activated, in turn allowing the person to be effective in physical activities. Children between age seven and adolescence undertook the vision quest. It was conducted at night after a purification ritual. It was thought that if a child failed to obtain a power by the time of adolescence, he or she would

be doomed to an unfortunate life. The Kootenai also had several distinctive collective rituals. The Conjuring or Blanket ceremony involved the calling of spirits into an enclosed space, similar to the Algonquian Shaking Tent. The ritual was conducted by shamans, who offered tobacco to the spirits. The spirits, in gratitude, would answer questions posed by community members. It has more recently been replaced by a ceremony called Medicine Doings. A version of the Sun Dance was practiced, as was a sweat lodge: Both evidently are borrowings from the Plains. A shamanistic Blue Jay Dance was held in mid-winter. Finally, the Jump Dance was a New Year ritual of renewal.

The Salish similarly believed in the importance of a guardian spirit, which was actively sought only by boys at puberty. Impersonation of a person's guardian spirit in fact constituted the essential element of the Winter Dance. Led by shamans (i.e., those having especially potent spirit powers), this dance was an opportunity to demonstrate the power of one's guardian, and indeed to strengthen the ties between spirit and person. The Salish also held a Blue Jay Dance, which emphasized the transformation of the person holding power. Like the Winter Ceremonial of the Northwest Coast, it entailed the "death" and "rebirth" of initiates. The Weather Dance was similar to both of these but involved only those holding weather power. Some giving away of property accompanied these ceremonies, similar to what occurred at Northwest Coast potlatches, but on a smaller scale. The sweat lodge was practiced among the Salish, although the Sun Dance was not.

Pre-Contact History

Habitation in the eastern Plateau dates to approximately 10,000 BP, although early evidence is sketchy and tends to suggest affiliation with the Plains. By the Middle Prehistoric

Period (7,000–1,500 BP), climate changes and cultural developments suggest a distinctive regional culture linked to the Plateau, although connections with historic cultures are tenuous. Of particular interest is the Bitterroot complex, which some archaeologists have tied to the historic Shoshone culture. In the Kootenai-Pend Oreille region, of interest to the current study, a distinctive type of corner-notched point has been documented. By the Late Prehistoric Period (1,500–250 BP), ample evidence of bow-and-arrow hunting exists. Deer were the primary game species, but increasing evidence exists of bison hunts, including communal ones. The archaeological record certainly suggests cultural continuity, although specific ethnic affiliation of prehistoric materials remains problematic. It is safe to say that by the late pre-contact period, however, the Salish and Kootenai were well settled in the eastern Plateau, engaged in trade with kinsmen to the north and west, and venturing out onto the Plains to hunt bison.

Pre-Reservation History

Before direct contact with Euroamericans, the Salish and Kootenai experienced the effects of European presence. Epidemic and pandemic disease decimated them. The smallpox epidemic of the 1770s was the first of several waves of disease, dominated by smallpox. Population figures for the Salish suggest a decline of 60–85% in the 30 years following the first wave; the Plains Salish were annihilated (Malouf 1998:305). At approximately the same time, horses and firearms were introduced. This allowed greater mobility, and more efficient bison hunting. However, it also led to conflict with established Plains tribes, who generally had earlier and better sources of these commodities. The Blackfoot, reliably supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company, pushed the Kootenai off the Plains. The Salish fought with the Blackfoot as well, and other Plains groups, such as the Crow and Cheyenne, were sometime enemies.

The first contact with Europeans was between the Kootenai and the explorer Peter Fidler in 1792. Lewis and Clark explored this region of northwestern Montana and came into contact with Salish at the Bitterroot River in 1805. Two years later, the fur trader David Thompson, who worked for the North West Company, appeared east of the Rockies; he established trading posts in 1809.

In the 1820s, a group of Christian Iroquois who had worked in the fur trade settled among the Flathead. This facilitated the establishment of Christianity in the area. In 1840, the great Jesuit missionary Pierre Jean de Smet arrived and established St Mary's Mission among the Flatheads. In 1854, St. Ignatius Mission was established for the Pend d'Oreille and Kootenai. These two missions had a strong influence on the Salish and Kootenai, who were enduring other changes, particularly the continuation of disease pandemics, the increased presence of whites in their territory, and the establishment of the Flathead Reservation.

The reservation was established in 1855 by the Hell Gate Treaty, negotiated with Governor Isaac Stevens. It also made provisions for peace with the Blackfoot. However, as with many such treaties, the degree to which the native signatories understood it is highly debatable; clearly, the question of land cessions was never adequately explained and translated (Bigart and Woodcock 1995).

Post-Reservation History

In the 1860s, particularly after the U.S. Civil War, waves of white immigrants moved into Salish and Kootenai territory. The move was facilitated by new roads and spurred by gold and silver rushes in Montana. Although native culture persisted on the reservation, it was increasingly circumscribed. Farming replaced other types of activity, such as bison hunting.

However, fishing, deer hunting, and procurement of plant resources continued to be an important part of the reservation culture. The 1880s saw further incursions, with the building of a railroad through the Bitterroot Valley; the rapid expansion of Butte, Montana, as a mining hub; and the first iteration of allotment with the Dawes Act. Many native people allowed their allotments to be bought by whites and by the railroad. Tribal leaders, including the Flathead chief Charlo, fought off further attempts to reduce the reservation, but in 1904 a special congressional allotment act was passed, directed specifically at the Salish and Kootenai. This led to massive land loss: almost a half million acres of prime agricultural land. Land was also lost to the National Bison Refuge, and rights to hunt on traditional lands were curtailed. In addition, the culture itself was the object of outside interference. In the 1890s, the Jesuits made a strong effort to eliminate important aspects of native culture, including all religious observances and gambling. This was not completely successful, and the Kootenai in particular developed a culturally conservative resistance to outside interference.

The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) allowed the Salish and Kootenai the opportunity to reestablish some degree of autonomy. Although problems with the act became evident later, the Salish and Kootenai were the first entity to be recognized under it. They established an elected tribal council that nominated officers – a system that has remained in place to this day.

Contemporary Culture

The contemporary community is known for maintaining a high degree of cultural knowledge, and for its successful tribal college, Salish Kootenai College. Under the aegis of the tribal government, two cultural committees of the Salish (formerly Flathead) and Kootenai have

carried out and published a large body of traditional texts and historical research. Divisions exist within the community, many dating from the 1934 IRA constitution, which has been seen as unfairly excluding full-bloods and traditionals, as well as the Pend d'Oreille, from full participation. Nevertheless, the tribe has been highly effective as an advocate for tribal treaty rights, as seen in the renegotiated Kerr Dam agreement, as well as more broadly for aboriginal rights and environmental interests. The tribe established a tribal wilderness area in the 1970s, and has joined with environmental organizations in issues affecting natural resources in the region. The tribe maintains an informative and professional website (http://www.ctsk.org); of particular interest are statements on contemporary political and legal issues.

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Eastern Shoshone

Synonymy

Where the actual name "Shoshone" originated is uncertain, but the name is known not to be a Shoshone word. The word is, however, recognizable to the Shoshone and they do recognize and accept that it applies to them. The name "Shoshone" has become the common term of address and is also the word we use today when addressing the tribe (McLain 1991:112). The name is spelled in two different ways: "Shoshone" and "Shoshoni" (Hoxie 1996:586). The Shoshone have also been called "the Snake" or "Snakes." This name has been used by a number of other tribes and some of the first Euroamericans to address the Shoshone in general. The term "Snake" is also said to bear reference to the sign language symbol used among many of the Plains tribes to signify the Shoshone. The name was used primarily in the early 19th century (Stamm 1999:9; Hoxie 1996:586).

Location

As mentioned in connection with the Northern Arapaho, the Eastern Shoshone and the Northern Arapaho live together on the Wind River Indian Reservation. It is, however, important to note that even though the two tribes have joint rights to the reservation and live there together, they each have their own distinctive cultures, languages, and ways of life (McLain 1991:111). Moreover, the two tribes are historically rival and enemy tribes, but have lived peacefully together for more than a century.

The presence of the Northern Arapaho on the reservation in 1878 was, however, a violation of the 1863 and 1868 Fort Bridger Treaties. The treaties were established between the Eastern Shoshone and the federal government, and stated that the Eastern Shoshone were to be the sole residents of Wind River. By placing the Northern Arapaho on the reservation, the federal government violated treaty rights and Eastern Shoshone sovereignty. Originally the Shoshone were upset about having to share the reservation with their former enemy tribe. The Arapaho were placed on the eastern part of the reservation (Shimkin 1942:454), while the Shoshone resided in the western half, a pattern of occupation that still exists today.

As is common for many tribes on the Plains, much uncertainty surrounds the location of the Shoshone's prehistoric ancestors. However, anthropologists, ethnologists, and historians generally believe that the Shoshone originated in the Great Basin region of southwestern Nevada, and that from there they spread out north and northeast in the basin area over a very long period (Stamm 1999:3). Evidence shows that by 3500 BP, the Shoshone lived in the upper Snake River Valley, and that approximately 2,000 years ago, they had moved so far east that they had crossed the Wind River Mountains (Stamm 1999:3). A Shoshone presence in west-central Wyoming may actually be much older. Francis and Loendorf (2002) have presented convincing evidence,

based on the analysis and dating of a local rock art style, that the Numic-speaking ancestors of the Shoshone have been resident to the Wind River and Bighorn basins for nearly 6,000 years.

The Shoshone then migrated west onto the northwestern Plains about 500 years ago, in response to climate changes that affected the pattern and geographical location of game (Stamm 1999:4). Archaeological evidence suggests that the Shoshone lived in the Bighorn and Powder River basins during this period (Hanson and Chirinos 1997:7).

In about 1700, the Shoshone acquired horses from the Comanche of the southern Plains (Hoxie 1996:586). The hunting territory of the Shoshone expanded greatly after they obtained horses, and stretched from the north Texas Plains to the Saskatchewan Plains of Canada. At this time, the Shoshone lived along the Green, Sweetwater, Wind, and Popo Aggie rivers, and in the Wind River Mountains in central Wyoming (Hoxie 1996:586).

During the 1790s, the Eastern Shoshone territory stretched from the upper Green River Valley in western Wyoming to the southwest around Bear Lake in southeastern Idaho and Salt Lake in northern Utah (Stamm 1999:9). However, in the 1830s, the Shoshone were forced to stay in the area of the Green River Valley because of hostile Crows who dominated the territory. However, following a peaceful agreement with the Crow in the 1840s or 1850s (different sources give different decades), the Shoshone returned to the Powder River Basin area and the Bighorn Mountains (Hanson and Chirinos 1997:8).

To tie the Eastern Shoshone to the Devils Tower area by examining their historic range, migration, and ethnohistory is difficult because no actual proof exists that the Shoshone lived in the area of or around Devils Tower. However, as Hanson and Chirinos state in their *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Devils Tower National Monument* from 1997, the fact that the Shoshone did live in the Powder River area for periods at a time makes plausible the

likelihood that they embraced Devils Tower as part of their spirituality and religion (Hanson and Chirinos 1997:9; Hoxie 1996:587).

Ethnographic Overview

The Eastern Shoshone are a division of the Shoshone. The two largest groups among the Shoshone are the Eastern Shoshone and the Shoshone-Bannocks and Lemhis, who live on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation on the Snake River in southern Idaho. The Shoshone belong to the Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family (Hoxie 1996:586). Most of the Eastern Shoshone originated from a people called the "Kutsindüka" (or "Buffalo Eaters") (Stamm 1999:9). During the mid–19th century, Euroamericans referred to the Buffalo Eaters as Plains Indians, Washaki Shoshones, and Wind River Shoshones. Originally the Eastern Shoshone consisted of members from different branches of Shoshone: the Salmon Eaters, the Sheep Eaters, Bannocks, Paiutes, and Western Shoshone (Stamm 1999:9). In other words, the Eastern Shoshone tribe is actually an amalgam of several branches of related Numic-speaking tribes.

The Shoshone, together with the Comanche, were among the first bison-hunting nomadic people on the Plains. The Comanche, to whom the Shoshone are related through language and intermarriage (Hoxie 1996:586), were among the very first tribes to acquire horses.

Ethnoecology

The bison was truly the Shoshone's biggest provider of food and material after they entered the Plains. Bison not only provided food, but also supplied the Shoshone with material for clothing, shelter, tools, and weapons.

Social Organization

During the early days of Plains life, social organization among the Eastern Shoshone began with the nuclear family. The family bands consisted of related extended families, and they traveled together under the general leadership of a headman. The members of the local bands were also members of the bison-hunting groups. Moreover, the local bands functioned as the tribe's major defense system. The bands did not meet very often, but when they did meet it was to execute a communal bison hunt, engage in warfare, and/or conduct communal ceremonies (Stamm 1999:5).

The present-day tribal government of Wind River was established in 1901 (Hoxie 1996:588). The Eastern Shoshone government is modeled after Euroamerican democracy. Prior to Euroamerican interference and influence, the Shoshone tribe had a much less structured sociopolitical organization. This was primarily because they consisted of many different bands that operated relatively autonomously from one another (Flynn 1998:10).

The most important component of the Eastern Shoshone government is the general council. Only adult members of the Eastern Shoshone tribe can be enrolled in the general council. In addition to the general council, there is the Shoshone Business Council. The business council takes care of the daily interests of the tribe, which includes articulating with the dominant Euroamerican culture and bureaucracy. The business council has six members. One is chosen (by the other council members) to be the chairman. The council meets every week and meets less frequently with the Northern Arapaho's business council in what is called the Joint

Business Council of Wind River (Hoxie 1996:588). Here the two tribes meet and deal with issues and matters that affect and concern both tribes.

Religion

The basis of Shoshone religion is a belief in dreams, visions, and a Creator. As Hoxie has pointed out, "Shoshone religious belief fostered individual self-reliance, courage, and a wisdom to meet life's problems in a difficult environment" (1996:587).

The Sun Dance is one of the most important religious ceremonies among the Eastern Shoshone. The Sun Dance came to be part of Shoshone ceremonial culture in the 1800s. The man who is said to have brought the Sun Dance to the Shoshone was called Ohamagwaya. Sometime during the 1800s, Ohamagwaya had a vision in which he was told that prayer by the faithful and visions given to dancers would guarantee long life, good luck, success in war, and healing for the community, as well as for the individual tribal member. Out of Ohamagwaya's vision grew the Shoshone Sun Dance (Stamm 1999:11). The Sun Dance is held during the summer. At one time it was typically held in June, but today it occurs in July or August.

As Euroamerican influence grew in the Plains area and as the Shoshone interacted more and more with white settlers, they were gradually influenced by Euroamerican religion. The first Euroamerican religious influence was Mormon. Later came the Episcopal and Catholic influence, and an Episcopal mission was founded in 1883 (Shimkin 1942:456). Even though the Shoshone embraced Euroamerican religion, they never abandoned their own traditions, spirituality, and culture. Like many native cultures in the United States and elsewhere, the Shoshone managed to integrate Euroamerican religion syncretically with their own sacred traditions. Contemporary peyote religion and Ghost Dance ritualism (reintroduced by the Wind

River Shoshone, Nevada Paiute, and Fort Hall Bannock) exhibit numerous references to Christianity by means of song and iconography.

There is a great deal of information about Eastern Shoshone sacred sites that tribal members are simply not allowed to reveal or share with the outside world . Most of their sacred sites, such as Devils Tower and the Bighorn Medicine Wheel, are closely tied to the tribe's oral traditions and ethnohistory. In the interviews conducted by Jeffrey R. Hanson and Sally Chirinos in 1991, members of the Eastern Shoshone tribe disclosed their strong traditional association with Devils Tower (Hanson and Chirinos 1997:9). The researchers' tribal consultants stated that, even though the Eastern Shoshone do have sacred ties to Devils Tower, most of the information on how and in what ways they are affiliated with the tower is confidential (Hanson and Chirinos 1997:19). No documentation in the professional literature substantiates Shoshone connections to the tower.

In addition to telling Hanson and Chirinos that the Eastern Shoshone have sacred affiliations with Devils Tower, the tribal consultants informed the researchers that the Shoshone believe Devils Tower is a sacred area, and, moreover, that it is located in a powerful region. They also informed Hanson and Chirinos that this was not only a Shoshone belief, but something most other Native American tribes believed as well. The Shoshone believe that Devils Tower is so powerful, it must be respected in order to keep its powers from turning dangerous (Hanson and Chirinos 1997:57). Furthermore, Hanson and Chirinos' tribal consultants told them that many petroglyphs (considered sacred by the Eastern Shoshone and most other Native American tribes) located throughout Wyoming consist of symbols and patterns that represent Devils Tower (Hanson and Chirinos 1997:57).

Pre-Contact History

The ancestors of the tribe we know today as the Eastern Shoshone ranged over a wide area that included eastern Wyoming. The period during which Shoshonean peoples came to Wyoming is the subject of continuing scientific debate. One school of thought suggests that Shoshonean peoples moved into the area relatively late (circa 100 A.D. or later), and the other suggests that they have been in the area for at least 7,000 years. The evidence supporting a late arrival is primarily based on the association of Shoshonean speakers with particular projectile point styles and Intermountain ceramics, which place Shoshonean peoples in western Wyoming from about 100 A.D. to 1650 A.D. (see Madsen 1975, Wright 1978, and Young and Bettinger 1992). Stamm (1999:3-4) places the migration of the Eastern Shoshone onto the Plains about 500 years ago, during a geophysical event known as the "Little Ice Age," a time when cooler temperatures over much of North America favored the expansion of bison across the Plains.

Archaeological evidence for an earlier arrival may be present at Mummy Cave in northwestern Wyoming, where there is an uninterrupted stratigraphic sequence beginning about 9,000 years ago and ending during the early historic period (Francis and Frison 1994). Husted (1969) suggests that Shoshonean speakers were the original indigenous inhabitants of the Bighorn Basin. Some researchers believe that Shoshonean speakers have been present in nearby Idaho for at least 7,000 years, although others (Gruhn 1961; Madsen 1975) place the initial Shoshonean occupation of southern Idaho between 1300 and 1400 A.D. There is also a growing body of evidence involving recent rock art investigations in the Wind River and Bighorn basins that suggests Shoshonean people have been residents of Wyoming for millennia (Francis and Loendorf 2000).

After about 1400 A.D., the archaeological and linguistic presence of the ancestors of the present-day Shoshone becomes somewhat easier to track. In the 1400s, the Shoshone moved east from southern Idaho into the Rocky Mountains of Wyoming (Kehoe 1981:287; Wright 1978:113), displacing the Athapaskan (possibly the Apache) residents of Wyoming to the south and east (Wright 1978:113). By about 1500 A.D., the Shoshone moved out of Bighorn Basin onto the northwestern Plains (Trenholm and Carley 1964:17; Shimkin 1947; Stamm 1999). By 1550, the tribe also occupied areas south and west of the Wind River Range in Wyoming (Hewes 1961;54). As early as 1600 A.D., the Shoshone in Wyoming split into a northern group that occupied Wyoming and Montana, while the Comanche moved south and east to Colorado (Stamm 1999;4; see also Kehoe 1981:287).

The Shoshone were one of the first tribes on the Plains to have horses, which they acquired at the turn of the 18th century from southward-ranging bands of the Comanche. As a result, between 1730 and 1750 A.D., the Shoshone came to dominate the High Plains north into Saskatchewan and as far east as South Dakota (Shimkin 1947:245). This brief florescence was ended by the middle of the 18th century by a significant Blackfoot expansion into roughly the same territory. Possession of the gun gave the Blackfoot and the Crow advantage against the Shoshone, whom they drove to the Bighorn Mountains and Wind River Range.

After 1750, the Shoshone made episodic use of the Plains of eastern Montana for bison hunting, but no longer controlled this territory entirely. By 1780 in western Montana, the Blackfoot and their allies the Atsina severely limited the Kootenai, Salish, and Shoshone from using the area east of the Rockies. Even though the Blackfoot Confederacy can be said to have dominated the area at this time, the Wyoming Shoshone were still occasionally present east of the Rockies in Montana.

Pre-Reservation History

The first contact Eastern Shoshone had with Euroamericans was in 1801, when they met some French fur trappers, and by 1825 a trading relationship had been established between the Eastern Shoshone and fur trappers in the Rocky Mountain region. They traded fur for European goods such as muskets, gunpowder, and cloth. Very friendly relationships grew between the Euroamerican fur traders and the Eastern Shoshone, and intermarriage was not uncommon. The Eastern Shoshone had many enemy tribes on the Plains, as did the trappers and settlers, so by entering into a cooperative, although unwritten, alliance they helped protect each other from hostile enemies (Shimkin 1942:451). The Eastern Shoshone later allied with the U.S. military and, among other reasons, this resulted in the establishment of Wind River Indian Reservation.

Euroamericans brought with them many diseases that the Eastern Shoshone had never been exposed to previously. When the Shoshone eventually encountered these diseases, the results were often disastrous. For example, in 1781, the Eastern Shoshone suffered great losses due to a smallpox epidemic (Stamm 1999:7). Other Indian tribes were similarly affected by infectious diseases, and in some cases entire bands were nearly wiped out.

Post-Reservation History

The Eastern Shoshone have never organized themselves under the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (Confederation of American Indians 1986:309), and have therefore been able to maintain their tribal sovereignty.

As mentioned earlier, the federal government violated the Fort Bridger Treaty when it placed the Northern Arapaho on Wind River Indian Reservation in 1878. Finally, in 1937, this violation was acknowledged, and the Supreme Court ruled that the federal government was to

pay compensation in the amount of $4.5 million to the Eastern Shoshone. Following the Supreme Court ruling the reservation was renamed. In 1939 the name of the reservation changed from the "Shoshone Reservation" to the "Wind River Indian Reservation" (Flynn 1998:50-51). Furthermore, as a result of the Supreme Court's ruling, the Northern Arapaho were officially made joint owners of the reservation.

Contemporary Culture

The Wind River Indian Reservation today covers an area of 2,268,008 acres, or around 3,500 square miles (Hoxie 1996:587). This is a huge reduction of the original reservation, which in 1868 was nearly five times as large. The land reduction has been steady and gradual. For example, in the late 1800s land was allotted to non-native people, and in 1906 part of the reservation was ceded to white settlers. Riverton, Wyoming, was originally located on tribal land, but was ceded by the Eastern Shoshone.

The Eastern Shoshone have successfully maintained most of their cultural and ceremonial traditions. Eastern Shoshone traditional practitioners have maintained their connection to sacred sites, such as Devils Tower and the Bighorn Medicine Wheel. One or more Sun Dances are held every summer, sweat lodge ceremonies are conducted throughout the year, and the Shoshone annually host a regionally prominent powwow. One event that is not really part of Shoshone tradition, but which has gained great popularity, is the rodeo, which has also become an annual event (Hoxie 1996:588).

One of the biggest contemporary challenges to Eastern Shoshone culture and sovereignty is unemployment. Many Eastern Shoshone tribal members try to achieve employment within the

tribal government, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Indian Health Service, and the local school system. Today, agriculture is the largest employer of Eastern Shoshone tribal members, and these jobs typically pay low wages. Another challenge the Eastern Shoshone face involves problems with education – both the quality of education that the younger generation receives and the low number of young tribal members graduating from either high school or college.

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Assiniboine Sioux

Synonymy

The name "Assiniboine" comes from an Algonquian word that refers to the fact that they cooked with stones. The people refer to themselves as "Nakoda." The Sioux call them "Hohe," meaning "Fish Eaters" (Denig 1930:396).

Location

Recorded oral traditions suggest that the Assiniboine separated from the larger body of Sioux while they still lived in the Minnesota area. During the fur trade era, the Assiniboine expanded west into eastern Alberta and south toward the Missouri River. Historic documents lead Russell (1991:214) to conclude that the Assiniboine were established west into Saskatchewan before 1700. Ray (1974:12) has suggested that during the late 17th century, Assiniboine territory reached from the vicinity of Rainy Lake (Minnesota) on the southeast to central Saskatchewan on the northwest. James Larpenteur Long described the Assiniboine territory in the United States before the treaty of 1851 as the area between the Little Rocky Mountains in the west and the White Earth River in the east, and between the Canadian border in the north to the Yellowstone River in the south (Kennedy 1961:16).

Today the Assiniboine live on two reservations in Montana. They share the Fort Belknap Reservation with the Gros Ventres and the Fort Peck Reservation with the Sioux. In Canada the Assiniboines live on a number of reserves in southern Saskatchewan.

Ethnographic Overview

The Assiniboine are a Siouan-speaking people most closely related linguistically to the Sioux divisions of Yankton/Yanktonai. During the fur trade era, the Assiniboine intermarried with the Cree and one mixed Cree-Assiniboine band formed as a result (Rodnick 1938:34). The Stoney broke off from the Assiniboine to form a separate tribe in the 18th century, and today they are the only Siouan-speaking group who live entirely in Canada (Getty and Gooding 2001:596).

Ethnoecology

On the Plains, Assiniboine subsistence was based on bison hunting. The Assiniboine used three hunting methods: the surround, when the herd was surrounded by hunters armed with bows and arrows; the buffalo pound, when the animals were driven over the edge of a bluff or cliff; and the individual approach method, when single hunters armed with guns stalked bison. The Assiniboine also hunted elk; deer; bighorn sheep; antelope; and fur-bearing animals such as wolves, foxes, and an occasional grizzly bear. The diet was supplemented by wild plants such as prairie turnips, wild rhubarb, artichokes, and a variety of fruits and berries (Denig 1930:408, 499, 536-538, 544, 583). They obtained corn from the Mandan (Ray 1974:46-47).

The Assiniboine lived in tipis constructed on a three-pole foundation and covered with bison hides (Lowie 1909:14-15). For transportation, the Assiniboine utilized the dog travois

more than did other tribes; this was because they had relatively few horses. Bull boats were used for water transportation.

Most clothing was made of tanned hide. Men wore shirts and leggings made of antelope or deer hide. After European contact, trade blankets were used for breechcloths and hooded coats. Women wore dresses of bison cow hide and short leggings of elk skin. Moccasins had rawhide soles and were covered with buckskin. Clothing was decorated with quillwork or beadwork, dentalium shells, and small brass hawk bells. Assiniboine beadwork was similar to that of the Plains Cree, and was characterized by geometric designs with some floral motifs. Both men and women wore tattoos. Girls were tattooed at the age of 12–14, while men might be tattooed only after having struck an enemy (Denig 1930:522,592; Lowie 1909:17).

The Assiniboine used the black root, called the comb root, for treatment of rattlesnake bites, frostbite, and inflammatory wounds. It was chewed and the decoction applied with a bandage to the affected body part (Denig 1930:425-426). A decoction made of cattail root was applied to wounds, sprains, and pains of all kinds to reduce inflammation, and administered internally to produce perspiration (Denig 1930:426). Cobwebs, dried pulpy fungus, and the inner bark of trees were used to stop bleeding (Denig 1930:427).

Social Organization

The core social unit was the extended family or a group of related families. Descent was bilateral, while residence tended to be patrilocal. The extended family, sometimes called a band, was headed by a chief ("hunka"). The position of the chief was based on merit. The chief made decisions about camp movement, war parties, and when to call a council meeting (Rodnick

1937:413). The bands were autonomous, but they came together for ceremonies or bison hunts, or to plan war expeditions (Rodnick 1938:33).

The council made decisions on other important matters. The council members were all men who had distinguished themselves in war or hunting. The council met at the Warriors' Lodge in the center of the camp circle, which also served as a men's social center. Women did not participate in councils (Rodnick 1937:416). The Akicita ("Warrior") society served as police whose responsibilities were to maintain order in the camp and during the bison hunts, and to carry out the council's decisions (Denig 1930:436).

The kinship terminology was generational. All children of the parents' siblings were called brothers and sisters. Bifurcate merging terminology was used in the parents' generation. The father and the father's brothers were addressed as "Father," and the mother and the mother's sisters were grouped together as mothers (Rodnick 1938:37). Men's responsibility was to protect and provide for their families. They hunted and went to war, but tended to focus more on hunting after marriage. Men made tools and cared for horses. Women dressed the skins, made clothing, prepared the meat and cooked it, hauled wood and water, cared for children, and were responsible for handling the lodges and belongings when the camp moved.

Religion

Assiniboine religious thought and practice were centered around the concept of wakan, the spirit power, which is omnipresent and manifests itself in the elements of the physical world. The Creator was called Wakan Tanka ("the Great Power"). Men practiced vision questing to obtain help from the spirits. If the vision quest was successful, a medicine bundle was

constructed. The supplicant wore this, and ultimately it was buried with him (Denig 1930:483-484, 486-489, 498).

The ceremonial leaders were wicasta wakan, the specialists who had the power to doctor or cause disease, interpret dreams, and find lost objects. Pejuta wicasta were specialists who used plant medicines to heal the sick. Women doctors, as a result of a vision, could serve as midwives. The patients were treated in ceremonies accompanied by singing and drumming. The ceremonies were followed by a feast. The methods the doctors used included suction, operation, and administering herbal medicines (Denig 1930:422-428, 492-494). Two societies were known for their healing powers. The members of the Horse Society had powers to cure horses as well as people. The Fool Society was a men's society whose members had medicine for war and hunting, as well as the power to doctor eyes (DeMallie and Miller 2001:579).

Men had a series of societies, which were mostly associated with warfare: Napes Owaci ("No Flight Dance"), Tatanka Wacipi ("Buffalo Dance"), Kangi Okonakiciye ("Crow Society"), Paguta Wacipi ("Duck Dance"), Tokana Owaci ("Kit Fox Dance"), Sunkcica ("Pup"), Pehan gi ("Brown Crane"), Inskan Wacipi ("Lustful Dance"), and Peji Owaci ("Grass Dance") (DeMallie and Miller 2001:580). Information about women's societies is very limited. It is known that the Assiniboine had a Tanco Waci ("Unclothed Dance") society whose members were older women, and the Female Elk Society, which held dances to promote fertility (DeMallie and Miller 2001:579).

The most important communal ceremony was the Sun Dance ("ticag wacipi," or "lodge-building dance") held each June. Because of the large territory, more than one Sun Dance might be held for practicality (Rodnick 1937:408). Men practiced piercing, and women dancers made offerings of small pieces of skin cut from their arms or legs.

Lowie (1909) recorded a body of Assiniboine stories, including the trickster cycle and miscellaneous stories about camp life and interactions with animals. The vulgar language in most of the stories, however, makes the intentions of Lowie's sources questionable.

Pre-Contact History

Assiniboine origins remain a subject of debates. One of the most popular assertions is that the Assiniboine are an offshoot of the Yanktonais Dakota and became an independent tribe in the 17th century (DeMallie and Miller 2001:572).

The earliest historical references present the Assiniboine as having a distinct identity from the Sioux (Ray 1974:6). Linguistic evidence suggests that the Assiniboine may have separated from the Sioux at the same time that the other Sioux dialects were diverging from one another (Parks and DeMallie 1992:247-248; Kennedy 1961:xxvii). Early records also indicate that the Assiniboine had separated from the Sioux before the fur trade was established with the French and the English.

Pre-Reservation History

The early accounts and the archaeological evidence suggest Assiniboine presence west of Lake Winnipeg into central Saskatchewan as early as the 17th century. The Assiniboine visited the Lake Superior and Lake Nipigon areas and northeastern Manitoba, where they traded at York Factory after 1670 (Ray 1974:12). They allied themselves with the Cree, and the two tribes began to play the role of middlemen between trading posts and inland tribes with regard to the gun trade.

Horses were introduced to the Assiniboine territory in the 1760s. Because of limited direct access to the southern sources, the Assiniboine had relatively few horses and mainly acquired them through trade from the Missouri River tribes. By the 1790s, the Assiniboine fully participated in the Plains horse-raiding networks (DeMallie and Miller 2001:574).

During the fur trade era, Assiniboine life developed according to the following pattern. In the spring they set up fishing weirs to obtain sturgeon, and trapped beaver. Summer was the time for communal bison hunts and trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. In the fall they undertook trading expeditions to the Missouri River to obtain corn from the Mandan, and in winter they hunted bison (by means of the buffalo pound), and trapped wolves and foxes (Ray 1974:46-47).

Post-Reservation History

In 1851 the Assiniboine attended the Fort Laramie Treaty gathering, but not as signatories. The Blackfoot Treaty of 1855 defined their territory as the lands west of the mouth of Milk River. In 1869, the Lower Assiniboine were assigned to the Milk River Agency at Fort Browning, where bands of Santee, Yankton/Yanktonai, and Teton also came to draw their rations. The agency was moved to Fort Peck in 1873. The same year, a subagency at Fort Belknap was established for the Upper Assiniboine, Gros Ventre, and River Crow, who later joined the Mountain Crow at their agency on the Yellowstone. DeMallie and Miller reported that the Assiniboine settled on the Fort Peck Reservation with the various bands of Sioux and landless Plains Cree (2001: 586).

In 1873, wolf trappers attacked a camp of Assiniboine under Little Soldier in the Cypress Hills and killed 16 people. The attackers escaped justice while the event became known as the Cypress Hills Massacre (DeMallie and Miller 2001:585).

Government rations were inadequate, and in the 1880s many people at the agencies died of starvation. Beginning in 1902, the reservation land was leased to Euroamerican cattle companies. By 1917, the land was allotted to tribal members, and unallotted land on the reservation was opened to general homesteading.

Fort Peck adopted a constitution in 1927, but rejected the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. In 1960, a new constitution was adopted under which the tribal executive board was established as a governing body on the reservation. The constitution also has provisions for a general council, the traditional form of government among the Assiniboine.

The government boarding school program on the Fort Peck Reservation was begun in 1877, but dwindled by the 1920s. Mormons and Presbyterians ran mission schools, but with minimal success.

Contemporary Culture

The reservation has oil and gas reserves and some deposits of coal. Agricultural production includes wheat, barley, flax, and corn. Fort Peck Dam is the third-largest hydraulic/earth-filled reservoir in the world (Shields 1998:8). The Assiniboine and Sioux Tribal Industries, established to foster tribally owned industrial and mineral development, is the largest private employer in Montana.

Education is one of the tribe's highest priorities. The Fort Peck Community College was accredited in 1991. Today it offers two- and four-year degrees in general studies, business

management, elementary education, and information technology, and a master's degree in education.

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Devils Lake, Flandreau Santee, and Sisseton-Wahpeton Lakota

Synonymy

The names the people we call Sioux have for themselves are the “Lakota,” “Nakota,” or “Dakota,” meaning "friends . . . allies . . . to be friendly” (Malinowski et al. 1998:244). Wahpeton is one of the four Dakota subdivisions. The Sioux recognize as ancestral political units the seven principal Sioux (Santee) subdivisions, Wahpeton being one of them. “Wahpeton” probably means “the Dwellers Among Leaves” (Malinowski et al. 1998:244). Wahpeton live today at Devils Lake Reservation; the name of the reservation designates a geographical feature rather than an ethnonym.

Location

The Dakota or eastern Sioux are also called Santee; the Sisseton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, and Mdewakanton tribes occupied the territory that later became Minnesota and Iowa (Anderson 2007:6). Europeans first encountered the Dakota in the 17th century in the mixed hardwood forests of central Minnesota and northwestern Wisconsin (Gibbon 2003:3). In the mid–17th century, the Dakota began moving westward and southward because of the pressure of other tribes. By the first half of the 19th century, Euroamerican westward expansion became the main pressure on the Dakota tribes that established the boundaries of their territory (Gibbon 2003:5).

Ethnographic Overview

To a certain degree, the seven tribes – Lakota, Yankton, Yankton, Sisseton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, and Mdewakanton – made up a nation of people with similar language, religion, and folklore (Anderson 2006:6). The three linguistic divisions Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota are distinguished by their use of different dialects of the same Siouan language. All three groups lived as Woodland farmers along the upper Mississippi River until the mid-1700s. As considerable intermarriage and collaboration in subsistence, warfare, and ceremony existed, these linguistic divisions did not constitute exclusive social or cultural groupings in the pre-contact period. However, historical processes have created greater distinctiveness among them. For instance, in contrast to their cousins who adopted some version of a Great Plains or prairie lifestyle, the Dakota settled along the Minnesota River and maintained their traditional Woodland adaptation. The Sisseton and Wahpeton occupied overlapping territories on the source of the Minnesota River (Albers 2001:761).

Ethnoecology

Like the Sisseton to the west, the Wahpeton had large encampments along the lakes formed by a broadening of the Minnesota River. Generally, the Dakota employed a mixed subsistence of hunting, gathering, and farming, and moved to different food sites according to the season. Men and women collected wild rice using technology similar to that of their Woodland neighbors, and also hunted bison like other western Plains societies. The Dakota were concerned with the natural resources and assured that a certain area was not overused. This

concern might be imbedded in their belief that every animal, plant, or object contains spiritual powers (Malinowski et al. 1998:248).

Before contact with Europeans, clothing was based on bison skin. After the contact with French and British traders, women started to make clothing from trade cloth. Most of the clothing was decorated with bead- and quillwork. While hunting, men also carried a bag that served as a pocket for tobacco, flint, and kindling.

"Wahpeton" probably means "the Dwellers Among Leaves." They lived in two types of dwellings, depending on the season. During the summer the Dakota lived in semi-permanent villages with wood and bark homes. The women were in charge of building them by setting wooden posts for the frame, which would be covered with elm bark. During the winter, they used tipis so they could easily move and follow game. Women were also responsible for building and carrying the tipis (Malinowski et al. 1998:248).

Social Organization

In prehistory, the seven tribes were possibly separate groups associated with the assembly known as the Seven Council Fires. While independent, the seven tribes joined others and new groupings appeared while others were breaking down. Generally all the tribes met once a year in early summer to hold council and to give the Sun Dance. Although four paramount chiefs governed the Sioux Nation, in practical terms each division was autonomous, and capable of functioning independently (Hassrick 1964:8).

Women and men contributed equally to the survival of the village. Women made maple sugar, farmed, gathered food, and helped collect rice. Men hunted and helped with farming, collected wild rice, and fished. In the spring the men and women went separate ways. The

women, young children, and elders camped near maple trees. The men divided into smaller hunting groups. In the late spring, families reunited in the summer villages, where women planted corn, pumpkins, and squash. After that, women gathered ripe vegetables and fruits while men left for short hunting trips. In the fall, both men and women harvested corn and vegetables. In the winter, the community broke down again as small groups were formed for deer or bison hunting (Malinowski et al. 1998:250).

Religion

Ritual gift-giving and sharing were a common practice among the Dakota tribes, and they were part of celebration rituals and feasts. Men would share the game and women would share the vegetables they harvested. This helped to ensure survival of all group members. At the same time, it was considered a sign of respect for the spirits that allowed them to obtain food and shelter (Anderson 2006:10). In case of illness, medicine men and sometimes women would perform chants and dances to bring back the harmony of the sick person. Medicine men or women were initiated into the Medicine Lodge, a secret order that would accept members who earned their honor. After initiation, they served a period of probation to prove themselves. According to Charles Eastman, the famous Dakota physician and writer, the Medicine Lodge was originally an Algonquian order that spread out to the Dakota (Anderson 2006:11).

The Dakota people believed that there was a pervasive life-giving power, and that all things and happenings were potential carries of it. The people received power and guidance for the well-being of society through ritual acts. Visions of spirits appeared in isolation or in ceremony, and both men and women received power in visions. Those with the strongest powers would eventually become shamans or medicine people (Anderson 2006:12).

Pre-Contact History

The prehistory of Dakota is poorly documented. The archaeological record suggests that they emerged relatively suddenly as an alliance of tribal groups in the late 13th century A.D. Scattered family groups lived beside larger lakes or rivers in the region. They harvested rice, made maple sugar, and hunted deer. Once or twice a year they entered the prairies to the west to hunt bison. (Gibbon 2003:3).

Pre-Reservation History

At the time of contact with French traders in the mid–17th century, the Dakota expressed wonder at the power of the French and French technology. They tried to incorporate these powerful spirits into their social world and the technology into their cultural practices. Guns, iron, and other trade goods became more available. The magical aura surrounding the French diminished as they assumed more regular roles as traders and community members. As people interacted more and more, many French traders married Dakota women and received Dakota names (Gibbon 2003:15).

Dakota tribes did not play a major part in the French and Indian War. They did earn praise from the British for their part in war along the central Mississippi. Even after their loss in the American Revolution, the British still controlled the fur trade from Canada. In 1819, the American government built a military fort in the area. Originally called Fort Saint Anthony and renamed Fort Snelling, it was to serve as a meeting place for the Dakota and American soldiers and officials. In 1851, all four tribes of the Dakota ceded their lands in Minnesota. Altogether the Dakota yielded control of more than 24 million acres in return for cash, food, and other supplies.

In 1858, the Dakota received a permanent reservation, half the size promised in the earlier treaties (Malinowski et al. 1998:251).

Post-Reservation History

During the mid-1800s, the Santee moved from self-sufficiency to destitution and dependence. In 1830, they signed the Treaty of Prairie du Chien. The lands between the Des Moines and Missouri rivers were ceded to the United States. After the treaty was signed, white settlement approached Santee borders. During the same period, game depletion became a serious problem and hunger and starvation increased dramatically (Malinowski et al. 1998:250). Between 1837 and 1853, most of the treaty funds were paid to the traders instead of to the Santee. During the years of treaty negotiation, government agents, together with traders and missionaries, introduced farming to the Santee. At the same time, they introduced Christian evangelism, although with little success in the first decades. In 1860, the Congress approved a Santee reservation title for the land on the upper Minnesota River. Most of the Santee living on the reservation could not survive with agriculture alone, and in desperation turned to Christianity and adopted a Euroamerican style of dress (Albers 2001:771). In 1867, some Sisseton and Wahpeton signed a treaty with the United States. This led to the formation of the Devils Lake Reservation in North Dakota and the Lake Traverse Reservation in South Dakota.

Contemporary Culture

During the 20th century, the Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, and Wahpeton became indistinguishable from their relatives (Albers 2001:772). The Santee started to withdraw from

agriculture and return to hunting, fishing, and gathering, as well as trapping, woodcutting, and craftwork. Certain key features of Santee social organization persist. Current religious practice is syncretic, with Christian tenets, symbolism, and ceremony combined with traditional religion. There is some persistence of vision quests and collective ceremonies. However, fewer ritual specialists are to be found (Albers 2001:774). The Flandreau Santee Lakota tribe currently has a website that promotes the tribe's culture and presents the main community activities, such as powwows and council meetings. Like many other tribal governments, they support language maintenance and a revival of traditional handicrafts. A casino is maintained, and tourism is aggressively courted (http://www.fsst.org/).

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Teton Sioux

Synonymy

Teton (Titunwan, "People of the Prairie") were the western division of the Sioux who spoke the l-dialect, or Lakota. They call themselves Lakota, meaning "Allies." The Teton consist of seven by the division name.

"Oglala" ("Scatter One's Own") is the accepted term for the westernmost Teton division, both in their own language and in English. Today they live on the Pine Ridge Reservation in western South Dakota and are known as the Oglala Sioux tribe.

Sicangu ("Burnt Thigh"), their eastern neighbors, are usually referred to by a French translation, the "Brule." Today they live on the Rosebud Reservation in south-central South Dakota and are known as the Rosebud Sioux tribe. The Lower Brule, who live on the Lower Brule Reservation in central South Dakota, are known by the Teton as Kulwicasa ("Below Man"), which refers to the fact that they lived on the Missouri River downstream from several other Sioux divisions.

Hunkpapa ("Those Who Camp at the End") is the most scattered western division. Today their descendants live on the Fort Peck Reservation in Montana, which they share with Yanktonai and Santee families as well as with the Assiniboine tribe. The Hunkpapa are part of the Sioux tribes of Fort Peck. Some Hunkpapa live on the Standing Rock Reservation in South Dakota, which they share with the Yanktonai. More Hunkpapa live on the Canadian tribal reserves of southeastern Saskatchewan, where they migrated with Chief Sitting Bull as a result of the Plains wars of the mid–19th century.

Four Teton divisions live on the Cheyenne River Reservation and are referred to as the Cheyenne River Sioux tribe. The Mnikowoju ("Those Who Plant by the Water") or Minneconjou, the Sihasapa ("Black Feet"), and the Oohenupa ("Two Kettles") are better known by the English translations of their names. The Itazipco ("No Bows") are known by the French translation of their name, "Sans Arc."

Location

In the mid–17th century, Sioux territory stretched from Mille Lacs (in present-day Minnesota) on the east to the Missouri River on the west. The Lakota crossed the Missouri in the middle of the 18th century. Decimation of the Arikara villages by a series of smallpox epidemics from 1771–81 opened the way west for the Lakota. They reached the Black Hills area in 1775, and with the help of the Cheyenne drove the Kiowa and Comanche south by 1805 (Mooney 1898:157).

In the 1820s, the Sicangu were living and hunting in the White River area, but by the 1840s, they reached the Republican Fork to the south and Laramie Plains (Hyde 1961:20) to the west. The Rocky Mountain Fur Company built a small trading post on Laramie Fork (Fort

William on the site of later Fort Laramie) in 1834. Shortly thereafter, Chief Bull Bear took 100 lodges of Oglalas to trade at the fort, and the Oglala came into full possession of the territory between the forks of the Platte (Hyde 1937:46). By the mid–19th century, the Teton Sioux hunted west of the Laramie Mountains (Hyde 1937:58-59). As a result of drunken brawls in 1841, the Oglala under Smoke shifted northward from Fort Laramie to the Powder River country of northern Wyoming (Hyde 1937:55). The treaty of 1868 established the Great Sioux Reservation, which was the territory of South Dakota west of the Missouri, and acknowledged the area of Nebraska north of North Platte and the eastern portions of Wyoming and Montana as "unceded Indian territory" (DeMallie 2001b:796).

Ethnographic Overview

The Teton are one of the seven Sioux tribes, and a member of the Oceti Sakowin ("Seven Council Fires") alliance. The Teton were subdivided into seven divisions, and were the westernmost of the Sioux. They were the speakers of the l-dialect, or Lakota.

The seven Sioux tribes spoke three mutually intelligible dialects of the Sioux language, called "Dakota" in the middle and eastern dialect, and "Lakota" in the western dialect. The dialects are distinguished on the basis of consistently alternating consonants d-n-l, as well as other consonant clusters (Parks and DeMallie 1992). The dialects also had vocabulary differences, which reflected the group's adaptation to the environment. For example, the names for the months in the western dialect were associated with bison hunting and plant-gathering seasons, while the calendar of the eastern dialect reflected fishing and wild-rice-gathering seasons. The Sioux language belongs to a larger Siouan language family, along with the

Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow, Oto, Missouri, Iowa, Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kaw, Assiniboine, and several extinct languages.

Ethnoecology

Teton subsistence was based on bison hunting. Elk, deer, antelope, bighorn sheep, and smaller animals such as wolves, fox, beaver, otter, muskrats, badgers, and rabbits were hunted for both food and furs. The diet was supplemented by wild foods, such as turnips, artichokes, wild plums, chokecherries, and buffalo berries (DeMallie 2001b:803-804). Horticultural produce, including corn, squash, and melons, were obtained through trade with the Arikara.

Teton lodges were conical tipis built on a three-pole foundation covered with bison hides (Hassrick 1964:211). A horse travois was used to move belongings. For water travel and transportation, the Teton built bull boats made by stretching a bison hide over a willow frame.

Men wore shirts of mountain sheep or antelope hides, breechcloths, leggings that reached from the ankles to the belt, two-piece rawhide moccasins decorated with porcupine quills or beadwork, and a bison robe dressed with the hair on. Women wore long dresses made of deer, antelope, or elk skins, knee-high leggings, and moccasins. Dresses for special occasions had yokes decorated with dentalia or glass beads. Both men and women grew their hair long and braided it on either side.

Social Organization

The tiyospaye, or extended family, was the basic unit of social organization. It was the group that stayed together throughout the year. Membership in a tiyospaye was bilateral and determined by blood, marriage, or adoption. A young couple usually established their own

residence near one of the parents-in-laws' lodges, both to show respect to the in-laws and to rely on their help in case of need (Hassrick 1964:108).

Bands were composed of one or several extended families. Each band had a leader ("itancan"). Respected adult men sat on the council, which made community decisions ranging from moving the camp to international relations. Consensus had to be reached to make a decision. The Akicita Society, the village police, was responsible for maintaining order and reinforcing the council's decisions.

Men's societies were grouped into civil and warrior societies. The most important civil society was the Naca Omniciya, called the "Big Belly" society in reference to the wisdom and achievements of its members. The society included traditional respected leaders, former headmen, accomplished hunters and warriors, and distinguished religious specialists. Warrior societies included the Tokala or "Kit Foxes," Sotka Yuha or "Plain Lance Owners," Iguka or "Badgers," Cante Tinza or "Brave Hearts," Kangi Yuha or "Crow Owners," and Wicinska or "White-Marked Ones" (Hassrick 1964:16-17). These societies could be assigned the akicita duties.

Men's responsibilities were to protect and provide for their families, which included hunting, warfare, and taking care of the tools associated with these activities. The women took care of the home and family, processed the hides and meat, cooked, and made clothes.

Religion

Lakota philosophy is centered on the concept of wakan, translated as "power" or "energy." According to White Hat (1999:98), the syllable "-kan" refers to the veins in the body, and "wa-" translates to "something that is" ("kan"). Specialists called wicasa wakan ("men who

have power") worked with this spirit power. Another group of specialists, pejuta wicasa, were healers who used plants to cure ailments.

The pipe ("canupa"), filled with tobacco mixed with the inner bark of red willow, was the means of prayer. Lakota had a complex of seven ceremonies that were brought by the White Buffalo Calf Woman: keeping of the soul, sweat lodge, the Sun Dance, the making of relatives, womanhood, and the throwing of the ball (Brown 1953).

The Teton had a society of heyoka, sometimes called clowns, who were the individuals who dreamed of thunder spirits and exhibited contrary behavior, including backward speech (Howard 1954:257, Walker 1980:155). The Bear society of specialists had powerful doctoring abilities (Walker 1980:157-159).

The Lakota had a belief in the Little People. These had mischievous powers, but could also be asked to help humans (Howard 1955).

The Black Hills, associated with creation, are the ultimate sacred place for the Lakota. According to oral tradition, the sacred pipe was brought to the Lakota in the Black Hills. The Black Hills are also the place where a race between the two-leggeds and the four-leggeds took place. The red-clay valley that encircles the Black Hills is interpreted as "the Race Track," ki iyanka ocanku, where this event took place (Goodman 1992:7).

According to Lakota philosophy, the structures on earth mirror the constellations in the sky (Goodman 1992:1). As the sun moved into a particular constellation, the Lakota traveled to a site correlated with the constellation to conduct their ceremonies. Devils Tower is considered an integral part of the Black Hills. In Lakota, it is called Mato Tipila, "Bear Lodge." A story tells that while the Lakota were camped at that site, a brother and a sister were chased by bears. Fallen Star, the son of an earthly mother and a star, commanded the earth to rise out of the bear's

reach, who clawed at the growing hill. The hill became the Bear Lodge (Goodman 1992:4). At midsummer or summer solstice, the sun entered the constellation representing the Bear Lodge, and thus the people arrived at the site to hold their annual Sun Dance (Goodman 1992:2). Calculations based on the precession of the equinoxes and the movement of the sun suggest that the Sun Dance at the Bear Lodge first took place approximately 2,000–3,000 years ago (Goodman 1992:12, 46).

Pre-Contact History

According to linguistic reconstructions and historical documents, the earliest homeland of the Sioux is in the area west of Lake Michigan (DeMallie 2001a:718). Archaeology does not help explain the origins of the Sioux tribes. Lakota oral tradition, however, suggests that the Black Hills were a place of creation, from where the Lakota started their migrations to the four directions, and eventually came back to the Black Hills. According to oral tradition, the White Buffalo Calf Woman brought the sacred pipe to the Lakota in the Black Hills 19 generations ago. The pipe is still cared for today by the Itazipco keeper on the Cheyenne River Reservation. As mentioned above, the Lakota may have been in the Black Hills (to conduct the Sun Dance at Devils Tower) between 2,000 and 3,000 years ago (Goodman 1992:12, 46).

In the beginning of the 18th century, the Lakota are documented as a nomadic bison-hunting tribe living between the upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers. At that time, they did not have horses (DeMallie 2001a:725). In contrast to their Chippewa and Cree enemies to the east and north, the Teton Sioux had limited direct access to European goods.

Pre-Reservation History

Trade opportunities increased after 1763 as English and French traders advanced into the area. The Sioux are reported to have had many horses by 1774 (DeMallie 2001a:727). They acquired horses from the Arikara and raids on the Crow and Cheyenne.

In 1815, the Sioux made their first appearance on the Upper Platte, brought to a horse fair by the Cheyenne. A Sicangu man quarreled with a Kiowa and killed him with a club. The Sioux then attacked the Kiowa and drove them into the mountains at the head of the North Platte (Hyde 1937:33). Hassrick (1964:9) mentions the conflict between a Sioux and a Kiowa near Horse Creek (located in present-day southeastern Wyoming), noting that at that time the Kiowas lived in the Black Hills region, but were expelled shortly thereafter.

Lakota protests concerning settlers passing through the land on the Oregon Trail and disrupting the movements of bison herds resulted in a series of skirmishes with the army, and in 1868, a treaty was signed and closed the Bozeman Trail (DeMallie 1986:25). The explorations of the Black Hills, which started in 1874, resulted in another war that lasted from 1876-1877. The war culminated in the Battle of Little Bighorn, where Lt. Col. George A. Custer's 7th Cavalry was annihilated by Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho confederates (DeMallie 1986:37-38).

Post-Reservation History

With the establishment of the reservations, the men's roles as warriors and hunters ceased abruptly. They tried to seek the prestige that once was gained in war by joining the Indian police or the army during the times of World War I and World War II. Ceremonies and dances were prohibited by law. The Agreement of 1889 broke up the Great Sioux Reservation and

established five smaller ones: Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Cheyenne River, Standing Rock, and Lower Brule.

In 1889–90, the Ghost Dance spread among the Teton. Their traditional ceremonies outlawed, facing hunger and diseases on the reservation, the people were susceptible to new religious movements. On the Plains, the Ghost Dance acquired an apocalyptic angle and its doctrines claimed that dancing would bring their relatives back from the spirit world and make the Euroamericans disappear. The Ghost Dance culminated in the massacre of Chief Big Foot's Minneconjou band at Wounded Knee Creek on the Pine Ridge Reservation on December 29, 1890.

Pine Ridge Reservation (Oglala Sioux) Contemporary Culture

At Pine Ridge, the land was allotted to individuals by 1911. Stock raising became the emphasis of government policies on the reservation, and the people developed an orientation toward a cowboy lifestyle. The tribal councils controlled by the traditional chiefs were dissolved by 1918. Then the leaders established a treaty council, to pursue their claims against the government. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 opened up more opportunities for the mixed-bloods to get involved in tribal politics. Under the provisions of the act, the tribe is governed by an elected body consisting of a five-member executive committee and a 16-member tribal council; all members serve a four-year term.

The Roman Catholic, Episcopal, and Congregational Churches had missions in Pine Ridge, and membership in these churches was mostly determined by community. Aspects of traditional religion continued to be practiced. For example, the healing ceremonies were held in

darkened rooms late at night to escape public attention. Native American Church and peyote ceremonies were introduced in Pine Ridge in the 1920s, and were accepted by some families.

The death of Oglala Raymond Yellow Thunder in Gordon, Nebraska, and the political conflict between traditionals and mixed-bloods culminated in a widely publicized stand for Native American civil rights at Wounded Knee. In 1973, the activists of the American Indian Movement and their supporters occupied the church building at Wounded Knee and resisted federal agents for 71 days.

As the Oglala had the responsibility of being the keepers of the Black Hills on behalf of all the Sioux, they were the leaders in the Black Hills Claim Case. Compensation of $17,553,484, the value of the land in 1877 when the Black Hills were appropriated, was awarded to the Sioux by the United States Supreme Court in 1980. The Sioux refused to accept the payment and wanted the Black Hills returned to them instead. The cash award remains in the United States Treasury and is earning interest.

The Oglala own and operate KILI Radio, which broadcasts in English and Lakota 22 hours a day. Since 1994, they have also owned and operated the Prairie Winds Casino, which features slot machines, blackjack, and poker. The Oglala Lakota College is a tribally controlled higher education institution, which offers master's degree programs. In 1972, it became one of the founders of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium.

In March 2006, Oglala tribal president Cecilia Fire Thunder challenged the newly passed abortion ban law of South Dakota by announcing her intentions to establish a clinic that would provide abortions on the reservation. Three months later, Fire Thunder was impeached and removed from her duties as tribal president.

Rosebud Reservation (Sicangu) Contemporary Culture

Significant political changes came about in 1910, when the tribal business committee was created. In 1916, the committee was replaced by the tribal council organized under a constitution and bylaws. The council included 26 members who represented each reservation community (Anderson 2004:70). In 1935, the Rosebud Lakota accepted the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act, under which the tribe was governed by the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council, consisting of officers elected every two years. The traditional form of government, however, still exists in the form of grassroots civil rights organizations and treaty councils.

Missionary and educational work was carried out by three religious denominations: the Roman Catholics, who established St. Francis Mission in 1885; the Episcopalians, who established their mission near the present town of Mission in the same year; and the American Missionary Society, an affiliate of the Congregational Church, which began its work on the reservation in 1888. The Catholics and the Episcopalians operated boarding schools (Anderson 2004:74).

Land allotment began in 1889, but was resisted by traditional leaders, some of whom did not accept their allotments until 1910 (Anderson 2004:78). The reservation was opened for homesteading and reduced to less than one-third of its original size by 1916.

The agent and the missionaries attempted to prohibit Lakota dances and other practices, but the photographs taken in the 1890s show that Sun Dances were still held, and the Omaha dances, which were a form of social dancing, and giveaways still took place (Anderson 2004). Although western medical care was available on the reservation, people still relied on the

medicine men for doctoring, especially for common infirmities and diseases such as stomach pains, headaches, eye troubles, and wounds (Anderson 2004:72).

Sinte Gleska College (named after Chief Spotted Tail) was chartered by the Rosebud Sioux tribe to provide higher education opportunities to reservation residents. The first students were admitted in 1971. It received accreditation from the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools in 1983. In 1992, it became the Sinte Gleska University, and today it has two-year and four-year degree programs, as well as a master's degree program in education. The university and its instructors provide leadership in education on Lakota culture by, for example, public lectures outside the reservation and annual student trips to Harney Peak in the Black Hills on the spring equinox.

Social activities such as powwows, rodeos, and races are celebrated in the summer. On the Fourth of July an annual powwow, complete with fireworks, is held at the Rosebud Casino, and an annual Rosebud Fair completes the summer powwow season on the last weekend of August. Numerous Sun Dances are held on the reservation throughout the summer. Since the 1990s, they have attracted many visitors from other parts of the country and Europe.

Cheyenne River Reservation Contemporary Culture

The Cheyenne River Reservation is home to four Teton groups: the Mnikowoju, Sihasapa, Oohenupa, and Itazipco.

The land allotment was completed and the reservation opened for settlement by the Surplus Lands Act of 1908 and 1910. The Cheyenne River Sioux tribe is incorporated under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and is governed by an elected tribal council of 15 community representatives and a chairman, a secretary, and a treasurer.

The Buffalo Calf Pipe bundle was taken to Cheyenne River and Arvol Looking Horse is serving as its keeper. Mr. Looking Horse is the 19th-generation pipe keeper and is the direct descendant of the first keeper, Tatanka Wasla Najin ("Buffalo Standing Upright"). The pipe keeper provides leadership in the public practice of Lakota spirituality and travels internationally to promote Lakota culture.

The Lakota on the Cheyenne River Reservation have maintained many aspects of their traditional social organization and leadership, foods, visual arts, and the usage of Lakota language (Mizrach 1999:244-245). The reservation youth, as on other Lakota reservations, look up to those of the black urban hip-hop subculture as role models.

Standing Rock Reservation Contemporary Culture

The Standing Rock Sioux tribe, which consists of Hunkpapa and Yanktonai Sioux, accepted the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and adopted a constitution under the auspices of the act in 1959. The tribal government consists of a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary, and 14 council members elected every four years.

The predominant occupations on the reservation are cattle ranching and farming. The tribe operates the Prairie Knights Casino and Resort and convenience store, the Grand River Casino, Standing Rock Farms, and Standing Rock Sand and Gravel enterprises.

Sitting Bull College began as Standing Rock Community College in 1973. In 1984, it received full accreditation from the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools. In 1996, the name of the college was changed to Sitting Bull College. Currently the college offers a variety of two-year programs, vocational training, and bachelor of science programs in business administration, interdisciplinary environmental science, and elementary education. Sitting Bull

College is a member of the North Dakota Association of Tribal Colleges and the American Indian Higher Education Consortium.

Lower Brule Reservation Contemporary Culture

The Kulwicasa Oyate or Lower Brule Sioux tribe is a division of the Sicangu people. The Homestead Acts reduced the reservation defined in 1889 by half, to its present size. The Lower Brule Sioux tribe operates under a constitution and a federal corporate charter consistent with the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The reservation is governed by the tribal council, which consists of a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary/treasurer, and three additional community representatives.

The reservation was affected by the construction of the Big Bend Dam and Fort Randall Dam on the Missouri River. This forced many families and one entire community to relocate to higher ground.

The Lower Brule Sioux tribe has major economic interests in cattle ranching and farming. The tribe operates two large irrigated farms (5,900 acres under the Lower Brule Farm Corporation), a tribal construction enterprise, guided hunting for various game animals, and a goose camp operation. The tribe also operates the Golden Buffalo Casino and Motel with a convention center established in 1992, an RV park, and a gas station. The Lower Brule Sioux tribe sponsors two annual powwows: one for youth in early June, and the Lower Brule Fair and Powwow the second week in August. The latter event also includes a rodeo, horse racing, and a softball tournament.

Fort Peck Reservation Contemporary Culture

Attempts by the U.S. government to obtain the Black Hills, which were within the territory of the Great Sioux Reservation, resulted in warfare in 1876–77. This culminated in the Battle of the Little Bighorn, where Lt. Col. George A. Custer's 7th Cavalry was annihilated by the Sioux and their allies (DeMallie 1986:37-38). Pursued by the army, the Sioux groups dispersed. Hunkpapa Chief Sitting Bull led his followers to Canada in 1877. Lacking supplies, Sitting Bull and his band of 187 people came back to the United States and surrendered at Fort Bufford in 1881. They were sent to Fort Randall as prisoners of war, but returned to Standing Rock in 1883 (DeMallie 1986:45-54). Some of Sitting Bull's Hunkpapas intermarried at Fort Peck and resided in the Chelsea community. In the early 20th century, the population at Fort Peck consisted of Santee (Sisseton, Wahpeton, and Wahpekute bands), Yanktonai, and Teton (mostly Hunkpapa).

Government rations were inadequate, and in the 1880s many people at the agencies died of starvation. Beginning in 1902, reservation land was leased to Euroamerican cattle companies. By 1917, the land was allotted and the reservation was opened to homesteading.

Fort Peck adopted a constitution in 1927, but rejected the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. In 1960, a new constitution was adopted, under which a tribal executive board was established as a governing body on the reservation. The constitution also has provisions for a general council, which is the traditional type of government among the Fort Peck Sioux.

A government boarding school program on the Fort Peck reservation was begun in 1877, but dwindled by the 1920s. Mormons and Presbyterians ran mission schools, but with minimal success.

The reservation has oil and gas reserves and some coal deposits. Agricultural production includes wheat, barley, flax, and corn. Fort Peck Dam is the third-largest hydraulic/earth-filled reservoir in the world (Shields 1998:8). The Assiniboine and Sioux Tribal Industries, established to foster tribally owned industrial and mineral development, is the largest private employer in Montana.

Education is one of the tribe's highest priorities. The Fort Peck Community College was accredited in 1991. Today it offers two- and four-year degrees in general studies, business management, elementary education, and information technology, as well as a master's degree in education.

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Yankton Sioux

Synonymy

The name "Yankton" is a simplified version of "Ihanktonwan," in their language meaning "the end village." Sioux is a general name that is used to refer to all three linguistic divisions. Yet because of its origin from an Algonquian word that is said to mean "snake," scholars have sometimes replaced it with "Dakota"; this causes confusion, especially when one is talking about the western populations who are the speakers of the "l" dialect and call themselves Lakota. Because their dialect is designated as the "n" dialect, the Yankton are sometimes referred to as "Nakota." However, they call themselves "Dakota," meaning "Allies." Today, because it confers federal legal status, the Ihanktonwan refer to themselves as the Yankton Sioux tribe.

Location

The earliest historical documentation places the Yankton in the area east of the Mississippi in Minnesota (Nicollet in DeMallie 1976:253-254). During the mid–18th century, the Yankton lived on the Coteau de Prairies between the Minnesota and James Rivers, and west to the Missouri (DeMallie 2001a:731).

Establishment of trading posts on the Missouri influenced the movements of the Siouan bands. Explorer Nicollet states that the migrations west took place in the early 19th century at the time of Lewis and Clark's travels (1804). At this time, trader Loisel, who had a trading post on a large island in the Missouri above the Great Bend and below the mouth of the Bad River, invited the Sioux to hunt and trade (Nicollet in DeMallie 1976:254). In the mid–19th century,

the Yankton shared the prairies east of the Missouri River with the Yanktonai. The Yankton camped south of East Medicine Knoll Creek, a tributary of the Missouri downstream from Fort Pierre (DeMallie 2001b:777). Today the Yankton Reservation is located in South Dakota, east of the Missouri River and immediately north of the Nebraska border.

Ethnographic Overview

The Yankton are one of the seven Sioux tribes and a member of the Oceti Sakowin ("Seven Council Fires") alliance. The Yankton ("End Village"), together with the Yanktonai ("Little End Village"), composed the middle, or wiciyena, division between the western Teton ("Dwellers on the Prairies") and the four eastern Santee divisions: the Mdewakanton ("Spirit Lake Village"), the Wahpekute ("Shooters in the Leaves"), the Wahpeton ("Dwellers Among the Leaves"), and Sisseton ("Lake or Fishscale Village") (Woolworth 1974:7).

The seven Sioux tribes spoke three mutually intelligible dialects of the Sioux language, called "Dakota" in the middle and eastern dialect, and "Lakota" in the western dialect. The Yankton Sioux speak the Dakota dialect. The dialects are distinguished on the basis of consistently alternating consonants d-n-l, as well as other consonant clusters (Parks and DeMallie 1992). The dialects also had vocabulary differences, which reflected the group's adaptation to the environment. For example, the names for the months in the western dialect were associated with bison-hunting and plant-gathering seasons, while the calendar of the eastern dialect reflected the fishing and wild-rice-gathering seasons. The Sioux language belongs to a larger Siouan language family, along with the Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow, Oto, Missouri, Iowa, Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kaw, Assiniboine, and several extinct languages.

Ethnoecology

The mid–19th-century Yankton had permanent villages and depended on horticulture (planted gardens) and bison hunting. They grew at least three types of corn; at least three types of beans; two types of squash; and peas, turnips, potatoes, and tobacco. Wild foods, including wild rice, maple sugar, and turnips, were gathered (Woolworth 1974:10). Fishing was also an important part of Yankton economy. They used traps to dam the river in order to harvest fish.

Originally, the Yankton used three types of dwellings. The summer dwelling was a large gable-roofed house of bark. During the winter they lived in small hemispherical houses covered with cattail mats or birch bark (Woolworth 1974:10). While on hunting trips, the people used cone-shaped tipis built on a three-pole foundation covered with animal hides or bark. As the Yankton migrated to the grasslands, they started using the Plains Indian earthlodge. Birch-bark canoes or wooden dugouts were used for river travel, but were later replaced by the round bull boat, which was adopted from the Mandan.

Men's clothing consisted of buckskin shirts, breechcloths, leggings, and soft-soled moccasins, which were replaced by hard-soled moccasins as they moved to the Plains environment. Men wore their hair cut in bangs at the front, while the rest was braided at the crown. They often wore turbans of fur and woven sashes. Leggings had a beaded rosette near the bottom edge or were decorated with a box design (DeMallie 2001b:790). Women's dress consisted of a wraparound skirt and a loose blouse, but they switched to a one-piece dress as they migrated onto the Plains. They also wore leggings and moccasins. Clothing was decorated by quill and bead designs of both floral and geometrical patterns.

The Yankton made small clay pots, but bigger ones were obtained from the Arikara and Mandan. Corn was pounded in wooden mortars set into the earthlodge floors. Food was stored in up to six-foot-deep caches (DeMallie 2001b:789).

Social Organization

Up to 13 bands of Yankton have been reported (DeMallie 2001a:741). The bands were further divided into tiyospayes, or extended families, which were patrilineal and exogamous (Woolworth 1974:10).

Leaders were chosen on the basis of kinship, and the office of the leader was passed from a father to his eldest son; however, personal ability became more important as the Yanktons moved onto the Plains. The principal governing body was a council comprising representatives from the extended families (Woolworth 1974:10). Discipline and order in the village and during communal hunts, as well as council decisions, were enforced by the Akicita ("Warrior") society.

Yankton Sioux villages were small communities that traveled independently of one another. The groups came together during the summer bison hunts. The Yanktons also camped and wintered around trading posts.

Women owned the housing and household goods, and were responsible for maintaining the house and packing the belongings when the camp moved. They also prepared food, made and decorated clothes, and cared for children. Men's responsibilities included hunting, protecting their families, and making decisions in council. They made and maintained the tools associated with their duties.

Religion

Yankton religious beliefs and practices display the influences of both Woodland and Plains cultures. The Sun Dance was the most important communal ceremony, and resembled the Teton Sun Dance in form. A form of yuwipi ceremony was held to foretell the future. The Blue Bead ceremony, during which the child's forelock was decorated with a blue glass bead, was held to honor and protect the child. Tree Dwellers ("Caotina") were the spirits of the woods, which the specialists invoked for curing powers (DeMallie 2001b:790). The doctoring specialists used various plants, seeds, and roots for curing.

Pre-Contact History

According to oral traditions, the Sioux originated at their sacred places in the upper northern Plains, from where they started their migrations to the four directions. The Yankton still have a story of their encounter with the Spanish on the east coast, which supports the theory that the Sioux migrated west from the east coast (Bruguier 1993:22). Another Yankton account makes reference to Sioux living in the Oh Ha ("Ohio") country, where pipestone used by the Dakota to make pipe bowls occurs naturally in south-central Ohio (Bruguier 1993:24). According to one story, the Sioux split into different divisions in order to conduct trade (Bruguier 1993:25).

Archaeology does not help explain the origins of the Sioux tribes. According to DeMallie (2001b:789), the Late Prehistoric/Protohistoric archaeological record contains evidence of a Yankton presence on the north and east side of the Missouri, from the mouth of the

Big Sioux River (northeastern Iowa) to above the confluence of the Niobrara (southeastern South Dakota).

Pre-Reservation History

The Yankton regularly traded on the Des Moines River and also on the James River. Traders introduced alcohol, which had destructive effects on Yankton society (Bruguier 1993: 92-93). The leaders therefore were eager to relocate the villages away from the vicinity of trading posts.

The Yankton acquired the horse through trade with the Cheyenne. They were mounted by the mid–18th century.

As the Yankton moved from the Woodlands to the Plains environment, they adopted more Plains cultural traits. For example, their large skin-covered lodges were replaced by earthlodges, and the Mandan-style bull boat replaced the birch-bark canoe. DeMallie (2001b:790) reports that Yankton clothing displayed the influences of both sedentary village tribes (multi-strand necklaces of cut-bone beads) and the dress of the nomadic Tetons (geometric beadwork patterns).

Post-Reservation History

The Yankton signed the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851. In 1857, the Yankton signed a treaty ceding all their lands in exchange for a reservation on the Missouri and annuities for 50 years. Early reservation life was very difficult. The crops failed each year from 1868 through 1872, game was scarce, and agents stole the goods that were shipped to the Yankton. The cattle

sent to the Yankton, which were intended to help them begin ranching, ended up being eaten. To escape starvation, families went to other agencies to stay with their relatives.

The first school on the reservation was established in 1870, by Presbyterian minister John P. Williamson. The same year, an Episcopal school opened. From 1871–76, Williamson printed a newspaper in the Dakota language at the agency (DeMallie 2001b:780).

The lands on the Yankton reservation were allotted by 1890. In 1894, tribal authorities signed an agreement to surrender their unallotted lands (Sansom-Flood et al. 1989).

During the reservation years, the Yankton were not interested in the Ghost Dance of 1889–90. Peyote was introduced on the Yankton reservation in 1910. Meetings were held secretly until 1922, when the Native American Church of Charles Mix County was chartered by the state of South Dakota ((DeMallie 2001b:792).

The Yankton were the guardians of the pipestone quarry in Minnesota, where native people went to obtain catlinite for making pipe bowls. A one-mile-square reserve was established after the 1858 treaty, but settlers encroached on the area in the 1870s. In 1892, Pipestone Indian School was built on the reserve. In 1929, the Congress gave the Yankton $300,000 in compensation, which was distributed in per capita payments (Corbett 1978).

Contemporary Culture

The governing body of the Yankton Sioux tribe is the tribal business and claims committee. The Yankton accepted the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, but did not draw up a constitution under the act (O'Connor in Cash and Hoover 1995:142-143).

As a result of the Pick-Sloan project by the Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation, the Fort Randall Dam flooded 3,300 acres of mostly fertile bottomland on the

Yankton reservation. Entire communities were forced to relocate. Burials were flooded, and to this day river erosion exposes human remains.

The Ihanktonwan Community College in Marty, South Dakota, was established in 1992. In 1998, the college entered into a legal affiliation/accreditation agreement with Sinte Gleska University on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation in South Dakota. It is a two-year-degree-granting institution. Some students from the Yankton reservation commute as far as 100 miles one way to take courses at Sinte Gleska University in Mission, South Dakota.

The Yankton Sioux tribe's Fort Randall Casino is developing into a major tourism enterprise. The casino sponsors an annual powwow.

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Yanktonai

Synonymy

The Yanktonai are one of the seven Sioux tribes, and a member of Oceti Sakowin ("the Seven Council Fires") alliance. The seven tribes are grouped into three divisions based on the dialect they speak: the western, or the Teton (Lakota); the middle, the Yankton and Yanktonai (Dakota); and the eastern, or Santee (Dakota). Geographically, the Yanktonai (and Yankton) Sioux occupied a central position between the western Teton and the eastern Santee divisions.

Sioux is a general name that is used to refer to all three linguistic divisions. Yet because of its origin as an Algonquian word that is said to mean "snake," scholars have sometimes replaced it with "Dakota"; this causes confusion, especially when talking about the western populations who are the speakers of the "l" dialect and call themselves Lakota. The name "Yanktonai" is a simplified version of "Ihanktonwanna," the designation of their division in their language meaning "the little end village." Their western neighbors, the Lakota, referred to the Yankton and the Yanktonai together as "wiciyela," which appears to be a composite of "wica" ("man"), "iya" ("to speak"), and "na/la" (the diminutive form, which obviously refers to the intelligibility of their language) (cf. DeMallie 2001:753). Because their dialect is designated as the "n" dialect, the Yanktonai are sometimes referred to as "Nakota"; however, they call themselves "Dakota," which means "Allies."

Today the Yanktonai live on several different reservations in South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana, which they share with other tribes (Fort Peck) or with other Sioux divisions (Crow Creek, Standing Rock, and Spirit Lake). Their modern names reflect the reservation affiliation rather than the original Oceti Sakowin division: thus the names of the Crow Creek Sioux tribe, the Standing Rock Sioux tribe, and the Fort Peck Assiniboine and Sioux tribes.

Location

In early records the Yanktonai are not always clearly distinguished, and therefore tracing their exact locations and migration routes from early historical documents is difficult. It is known, however, that they associated and moved with the Yanktons.

The earliest historical records place the Yankton and the Yanktonai in the area east of the Mississippi in Minnesota (Nicollet in DeMallie 1976:253-254). During the mid–18th century, both divisions shared the Coteau des Prairies between the Minnesota and James Rivers, west to the Missouri. The Yanktonai territory extended from Big Stone Lake and Lake Traverse to the Missouri (Lewis and Clark in Moulton 1987:413-414). In the mid–19th century the Yanktonai shared the prairies east of the Missouri River with the Yankton. The Yanktonai inhabited the territory north of East Medicine Knoll Creek, which stretches into present-day North Dakota (DeMallie 2001a:777).

Today the Yanktonai principally live on four reservations: the Fort Peck Reservation in Montana, the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota and South Dakota, the Spirit Lake Reservation (formerly Devils Lake Reservation) in North Dakota, and the Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota. Some Yanktonai families moved to Canada with the Santee and settled on reserves in southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The Yanktonai are widely dispersed and may be found on other reservations, as well.

Ethnographic Overview

The Yanktonai are one of the seven Sioux tribes and a member of the Oceti Sakowin alliance. The alliance consists of the Teton ("Dwellers on the Prairies"), the Yankton ("End Village"), the Yanktonai ("Little End Village"), the Sisseton ("Lake or Fishscale Village"), the Wahpeton ("Dwellers Among the Leaves"), the Wahpekute ("Shooters in the Leaves"), and the Mdewakanton ("Spirit Lake Village") (Woolworth 1974:7,11).

All the Sioux divisions speak the same language, but three dialects are distinguished on the basis of consistently alternating consonants d-n-l, as well as other consonant clusters (Parks

and DeMallie 1992). The Teton, or the western division, spoke the l-dialect called "Lakota"; the eastern divisions (the Sisseton, the Wahpeton, the Wahpekute, and the Mdewakanton), also known as the Santee, spoke the d-dialect or "Dakota"; and the middle Yankton and Yanktonai divisions spoke the n-dialect, "Dakota" in their language, but sometimes mistakenly referred to as "Nakota." The dialects also had vocabulary differences, which reflected the group's adaptation to the environment. For example, the names for the months of the western dialect were associated with bison-hunt and plant-gathering seasons, while the calendar of the eastern dialects reflected fishing and wild-rice-gathering seasons. The Sioux language belongs to a larger Siouan language family, along with the Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow, Oto, Missouri, Iowa, Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kaw, Assiniboine, and several extinct languages.

Ethnoecology

The Yanktonai subsisted largely on bison. As in the American Southwest, they used a rabbit stick to kill small game. Fishing was an important economic activity. The Upper Yanktonai used Mandan-style weirs, while the Lower Yanktonai made seines of interlaced willows weighted with rocks. "Fish crowding" was another technique. Fish were driven into narrow inlets, where they were caught by hand. Yanktonai fishing techniques also included leisters made with bone points, hooks and lines, and bows and arrows (DeMallie 2001a:789).

Some of the Yanktonai groups practiced horticulture. They grew at least three types of corn; at least three types of beans; two types of squash; and peas, turnips, potatoes, and tobacco. They lived in earthlodge villages along the Missouri River, but also used conical tipis on hunting trips. Clothing was made of buckskin and resembled Yankton dress in style. The Yanktonai made small clay pots, and baskets of willow shoots in the manner of the Arikara and Mandan.

Social Organization

The Yanktonai are divided into the Upper Yanktonai, or "Cutheads," and the Lower Yanktonai, or Hunkpatina. Eleven bands were reported for the Upper Yanktonai, and nine for the Lower Yanktonai (DeMallie 1986:27).

The Yanktonai shared the same band structure as other Sioux groups. This was based on the tiyospaye, or extended family, system of social organization. The tiyospaye was the minimal social unit that stayed together during the year. Each band had a leader, "itancan," which translates to the word "chief" in English. The leaders tended to inherit their office patrilineally, but the position required both leadership ability and the consent of the council (DeMallie 2001:735). The kinship system was bilateral. Residence tended to be patrilocal, but the system was fluid and allowed families to join another band if they became dissatisfied with the leadership.

Religion

The Sun Dance was the most important communal ceremony among the Yanktonai. It may have been influenced by the Plains Ojibwa and Cree.

The Yanktonai had a Medicine Dance ("Wakan Wacipi") organization, which focused on the spirit power of the Unktegi, the underwater being. New members joined as a result of visions. The knowledge was transmitted in sweat lodge ceremonies. The members had war and curing powers. Society dances were conducted in lodges constructed of two facing tipis pitched several hundreds of feet apart, connected by walls of interlaced willows (DeMallie 2001a:790). The Yanktonai, as well as the other Sioux divisions, had a society of heyoka, sometimes called

clowns. These were the individuals who dreamed of thunder spirits and exhibited contrary behavior, including backward speech (Howard 1954a:257).

Howard (1955) reported the belief in forest spirits among the Yanktonai. The forest spirits, or Tree Dwellers, were perceived as little beings who had mischievous powers. For example, they could lead travelers astray in the woods, but their powers could also be invoked for help and healing. There were specialists who worked with the powers of Tree Dwellers, and they organized themselves into a society and held ceremonies.

To honor children, the Blue Bead ceremony was held. During the ceremony, the child's forelock was decorated with a blue glass bead.

Both Lower and Upper Yanktonai practiced ritualized eagle trapping. This involved sweat lodges and songs, similar to the practices of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara (Howard 1954b).

Pre-Contact History

According to oral traditions, the Sioux originated at sacred locales in the upper northern Plains, from where they started their migrations to the four directions. Archaeology is inconclusive with regard to Sioux origins. Probable Yanktonai earthlodge villages, built in the 19th century, are found near Fort Thompson and Redfield, South Dakota.

Pre-Reservation History

The Yanktonai were mounted by the mid–18th century. As a result of the development of horse culture and intensified raiding, weapons were modified so they could be easily carried on horseback. Men used small rawhide shields and wore shirts made of several layers for

protection (DeMallie 2001:731). They were at war with the tribes to the north – the Assiniboine, Cree, Plains Ojibwa, and Mandan – but traded with the Arikara (Moulton 1987:413-414). The Yanktonai did not participate in trade as regularly as the Yankton, but are known to have traded on the James River (DeMallie 2001:731).

As the Yanktonai moved from the Woodlands to the Plains, their culture displayed more influences from the Plains village tribes. They consequently adopted Mandan fishing techniques, basket making, and the bull boat.

Post-Reservation History

The Yanktonai were not parties to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, which defined tribal boundaries and promised annuities in exchange for surrendered lands. However, the Yanktonai claimed the treaty annuities, as did the treaty signatories. The treaty of 1868 established the Great Sioux Reservation, which was the territory of South Dakota west of the Missouri, and acknowledged the area of Nebraska north of North Platte and the eastern portions of Wyoming and Montana as "unceded Indian territory" (DeMallie 2001a:796). Agencies to administer the Sioux were established after the 1868 treaty, and one or more Sioux divisions were assigned to an agency. The Lower Yanktonai were assigned to the Crow Creek Reservation on the eastern bank of the Missouri, while bands of the Lower and Upper Yanktonai settled at the Grand River Agency, which later became the Standing Rock Reservation. A band of Cuthead Yanktonai eventually settled on the western part of the Devils Lake Reservation, which they shared with the Sisseton and Wahpeton. The remaining Upper and Lower Yanktonai went to Fort Peck.

At the agencies, many bands were transient (DeMallie 2001a:782). At the time the various Sioux reservations were established, there was much movement of families from agency

to agency because of insufficient rations, crop failure, or unsuccessful hunts. As the bison herds dwindled, the divisions that did not sign the treaties, such as the Yanktonai, frequently moved in with their relatives at the established agencies. The families used their kin affiliations to move around from agency to agency, in ways that ensured family survival.

In 1889, the Great Sioux Reservation, which comprised all of South Dakota west of Missouri, was reduced to six separate reservations. The reservation lands were further allotted to individual Sioux and then opened for Euroamerican settlement.

Fort Peck Post-Reservation History and Contemporary Culture

In early 1869, about 1,000 Yanktonai arrived at Fort Bufford and signed a petition for a reservation. These were the Cuthead band of Upper Yantonai, the Canona band of Upper Yanktonai, and a band of Sissetons. A week later, the Takini band of Upper Yanktonai joined their relatives. The list of tribal affiliations of people receiving supplies at Fort Peck Agency when it was established included Lower Assiniboines, Santee and Sisseton Sioux, Upper Yanktonai, Lower Yanktonai, Lower Yanktonai, and Hunkpapa Sioux (DeMallie 1986:35).

The Lower Yanktonai under Black Eye were camped at the mouth of Poplar River in 1870. The son of Yankton chief Struck by the Ree and 200 Yanktons came to Fort Bufford in 1871, in an attempt to escape the miserable conditions on their own reservation (DeMallie 1986:30). Visitations by non-agency groups kept it in constant turmoil. Teton bands (including the Hunkpapa, who retreated to Canada), unable to find bison and harassed by troops, went to Fort Peck to ask for rations. In 1881, Chief Sitting Bull surrendered at Fort Bufford. In the early 20th century, the population at Fort Peck consisted of Santee (Sisseton, Wahpeton, and Wahpekute bands), Yanktonai, and Teton (mostly Hunkpapa).

The Yanktonai at Fort Peck participated in the Ghost Dance of 1889–90 (DeMallie 2001a:792). Government rations were inadequate, and in the 1880s many people at the agencies died of starvation. Beginning in 1902, the reservation land was leased to Euroamerican cattle companies. By 1917, the lands were allotted and the reservation was opened to homesteading.

Fort Peck adopted a constitution in 1927, but rejected the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. In 1960, a new constitution was adopted, under which the tribal executive board was established as a governing body on the reservation. The constitution also has provisions for a general council, which is the traditional form of government among the Sioux.

The government boarding school program on the Fort Peck Reservation was instituted in 1877, but dwindled by the 1920s. Mormons and Presbyterians ran mission schools, but with minimal success. Today, the reservation has oil and gas reserves and some deposits of coal. Agricultural production includes wheat, barley, flax, and corn. Fort Peck Dam is the third-largest hydraulic/earth-filled reservoir in the world (Shields 1998:8). The Assiniboine and Sioux Tribal Industries, established to foster tribally owned industrial and mineral development, is the largest private employer in Montana.

Education is one of the tribe's highest priorities. The Fort Peck Community College was accredited in 1991. Today it offers two- and four-year degrees in general studies, business management, elementary education, and information technology, as well as a master's degree in education.

Crow Creek Post-Reservation History and Contemporary Culture

In 1863, Fort Thompson was built at the mouth of Crow Creek to oversee the Santee refugees from Minnesota. In 1866, the Santee moved to the reservation in Nebraska, and the

Crow Creek Agency was assigned to the Lower Yanktonai (on the east side of the river) and the Lower Brule (on the west side). In 1866, bands of Tetons, Yanktons, and Yanktonais were camped at the agency. By 1868, the Lower Yanktonai under Chief Two Bears settled at the Grand River Agency, and others, under Bone Necklace, settled at Crow Creek. Crops failed, and the people kept leaving the reservation to hunt on the James River.

In 1880, Lower Yanktonai under Drifting Goose, a non-treaty group, settled on Crow Creek. In 1880–81, an additional 140 people were transferred from other agencies, mostly from Standing Rock (DeMallie 2001a:782).

In 1872, an Episcopal mission was established and the first school was opened. In 1875, a girls' boarding school was built and two day schools operated in the camps (DeMallie 2001a:782). The chiefs did not support school activities; sometimes they sent their akicita ("warriors") to disrupt them (DeMallie 2001a:782). The schools closed in 1879, but the boarding school reopened in 1880 as a government school.

By 1874, there were 100 houses on the reservation, but the people still preferred tipis. Traditional dances were outlawed, but were later allowed on Saturday afternoons and evenings.

Today the Crow Creek Sioux tribe is organized into three districts. The Crow Creek Tribal Schools system includes an elementary school at Fort Thompson, and a K-12 boarding and day school at Stephan, approximately ten miles north of Fort Thompson. Most tribal land is leased to a few large ranching families, and unemployment is high. The tribe operates the Lode Star Casino and Hotel, which attracts many tourists to the reservation. The reservation is located southeast of Pierre, and north of Chamberlain. It can be reached via SD Route 47 or 50 off Interstate 90, or via SD Route 34 east from Pierre.

Standing Rock Post-Reservation History and Contemporary Culture

In 1869, the Lower Yanktonai under Two Bears and the Upper Yanktonai under All Over Black and Big Head (son of an older chief) settled at the Grand River Agency, together with the Hunkpapa and Sihasapa Teton (DeMallie 2001a:785). The populations were not static – people left to participate in the Indian wars of 1876–77, and to visit other agencies. In 1876, the Benedictine priest Martin Marty started a mission at Standing Rock, and the next year a boarding school was opened. The Yanktonai at Standing Rock participated in the Ghost Dance of 1889–90 (DeMallie 2001a:792).

The Standing Rock Sioux tribe accepted the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and adopted a constitution under the auspices of the act in 1959. The tribal government consists of a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary, and 14 council members elected every four years.

The predominant occupations on the reservation are cattle ranching and farming. The tribe operates the Prairie Knights Casino and Lodge and convenience store, the Grand River Casino, Standing Rock Farms, and Standing Rock Sand and Gravel enterprises.

Sitting Bull College began as Standing Rock Community College in 1973. In 1984, it received full accreditation from the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools. In 1996, the name of the college was changed to Sitting Bull College. Currently the college offers a variety of two-year programs, vocational training, and bachelor of science programs in business administration, interdisciplinary environmental science, and elementary education. Sitting Bull College is a member of the North Dakota Association of Tribal Colleges and the American Indian Higher Education Consortium.

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2004 The Early Era of the Rosebud Reservation. *In* Rosebud Sioux: A Lakota People in Transition. Claes H. Jacobson, ed. Pp. 45-80. Stockholm, Sweden: C-H Jacobson Production AB.

A review of the history and culture of the Rosebud Reservation from its creation in 1889 to 1920. The article discusses the policies to westernize the Lakota, but also shows the persistence of the native culture and the people's creativity in surviving in two worlds.

Anderson, Jeffrey

2001 The Four Hills of Life: Northern Arapaho Knowledge and Life Movement. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

A fine ethnography of 1980s–90s Northern Arapaho belief systems.

2001 Northern Arapaho Conversion of a Christian Text. Ethnohistory 48:689-712.

This article deals with the acceptance of Christianity by the Northern Arapaho. Anderson shows how the Northern Arapaho have managed to sustain many of their own traditional religious practices and also embrace many Christian beliefs.

2003 One Hundred Years of Old Man Sage: An Arapaho Life. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

A culturally sensitive biography of a remarkable Northern Arapaho religious leader, who died in 1943 at the age of 99. He was involved in the bringing the Ghost Dance to the Arapaho, and, later in life, in consultations with the federal government over sacred sites on public land.

Andrist, Ralph K.

1964 Long Death: The Last Days of the Plains Indian. New York: Macmillan.

A popular account of the "death" of the classic Plains horse culture, playing to certain stereotypes from the mid–20th century.

Assiniboine and Sioux Tribal Enterprise Community

2006 A Brief History of Fort Peck Tribes. Electronic document, http://www.fortpeck.org/tribal_history.htm, accessed December 15, 2006.

A useful Internet source published by the Assiniboine and Sioux Tribal Enterprise Community.

Axelrod, Alan

1993 Chronicle of the Indian Wars: From Colonial Times to Wounded Knee. New York: Konecky & Konecky.

A broad overview, written for a general audience but with scholarly rigor.

Beckwith, Martha W.

1938 Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies. Memoirs of the American Folklore Society, vol. 10.

Examines Mandan-Hidatsa religious beliefs and practices from the early reservation period.

Berthrong, Donald J.

1963 The Southern Cheyennes. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Ethnohistoric and sociopolitical overview of the Southern Cheyenne.

1976 The Cheyenne and Arapaho Ordeal. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

This book provides a thorough description of the complications that followed the establishment of the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation in Oklahoma. Berthrong describes how placing the two tribes on the reservation was an attempt by the U.S. government to control and "civilize" the tribes by encouraging tribal members to adopt a Euroamerican lifestyle, particularly farming. Berthrong also describes many of the conflicts that developed between the two tribes and the federal government, such as conflicts involving traditional tribal culture and practice, and the allotment of tribal land.

Bettelyoun, Susan B., and Josephine Waggoner

1999 With My Own Eyes: A Lakota Woman Tells Her People's Story. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

A memoir by a Lakota elder, dealing with the early reservation period.

Bigart, Robert, and Clarence Woodcock

1996 In the Name of the Salish and Kootenai Nation: The 1855 Hell Gate Treaty and the Origin of the Flathead Indian Reservation. Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press, dist. by University of Washington Press.

Primary historical documents with a short introduction.

Boas, Franz

1918 Kootenai Tales. Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 59. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Collection of texts in English, collected by Boas and Alexander F. Chamberlain.

Bowers, A. W.

1950 Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

An important ethnography of the Mandan, by an anthropologist interested in kinship and social structure.

Boyd, Maurice

1981 Kiowa Voices, 2 vols. Ft. Worth: Texas Christian University Press.

An extensive collection of Kiowa oral tradition. The volumes contain many stories that have been passed down by Kiowa elders, including the origin stories, the stories of warrior societies, Kiowa trickster Sende stories, etc.

Boyd, Robert

1998 Demographic History until 1900. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 12: The Plateau. Deward Walker, ed. Pp. 467-483. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

An excellent overview of methodological issues having to do with post-contact disease mortality in the Plateau.

Boye, A.

1998 Holding Stone Hands: On the Trail of the Cheyenne Exodus. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

A popular account of the 1878 Cheyenne journey from Indian Territory to their Montana homelands, told through the artificial device of retracing the journey in 1995.

Bradley, James H.

1923 Characteristics, Habits and Customs of the Blackfeet Indians. Historical Society of Montana 9:256-287.

An early ethnographic overview of the Blackfeet of Montana.

Brown, Joseph E.

1953 The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Sacred Rites of the Oglala Sioux. New York: Penguin Book. (Reprinted: University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1971.)

Description of the seven Lakota ceremonies by an Oglala elder. Explains the origins, the symbolism, and the performance of the rites.

Brown, Lionel A.

1969 Archaeology of the Lower Bighorn Canyon. Missoula: University of Montana Department of Anthropology.

A report on an archaeological survey of the Lower Bighorn Canyon.

Brown, Mark H.

1961 The Plainsmen of the Yellowstone: A History of the Yellowstone Basin. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

An account of early frontiersmen in the Yellowstone Basin, including George Armstrong Custer.

Brown, Robert Harold

1970 Wyoming Occupance Atlas. Cheyenne, WY: Wyoming Department of Economic Planning and Development.

Examines the demography and occupancy of Wyoming.

Bruguier, Leonard R.

1993 The Yankton Sioux Tribe: People of the Pipestone, 1634-1888. Ph.D. dissertation. Department of History, Oklahoma State University.

A study of the Yankton history and culture from the earliest remembered days in the tribal oral tradition to the late 19th century, from a native perspective.

Bruner, Edward M.

1955 Two Processes of Change in Mandan-Hidatsa Kinship Terminology. American Anthropologist 57:840-850.

A technical analysis of Mandan-Hidatsa nomenclature, reflecting other cultural changes.

Brunton, Bill B.

1998 Kootenai. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 12: The Plateau. Deward Walker, ed. Pp. 223-237. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

A brief overview of the Kootenai in the standard reference work on American Indians.

Burton, Lloyd

2002 Worship and Wilderness: Culture, Religion, and Law in Public Lands Management. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

A culturally sensitive overview of legal and policy issues concerning management of public lands. Chapter 6, co-authored with NPS ethnographer David Ruppert, deals with Devils Tower and the climbing controversy.

Burton, Lloyd, and David Ruppert

1999 Bear's Lodge or Devils Tower: Intercultural Relations, Legal Pluralism, and the Management of Sacred Sites on Public Lands. Cornell Journal of Law and Public Policy 8(2):201-247.

Highlights the concept of legal pluralism in the context of managing sacred sites.

Campbell, G. R.

1987 Northern Cheyenne Ethnicity, Religion, and Coal Energy Development. Plains Anthropologist 32(118):378-388.

Examines the pressures faced by the Northern Cheyenne in the face of massive energy development in the region.

Campbell, W.

1927 The Tipis of the Crow Indians. American Anthropologist 29:87-104.

An early ethnographic source on Crow tipi design and architecture.

Carson, Mary E.

1996 Black rRobe for the Yankton Sioux: Fr. Sylvester Eisenman, O.S.B. (1891-1948). Rapid City, SD: Dakota West Publishing.

A history of the Yankton Catholic mission in Marty, South Dakota, through the life and work of Father Eisenman. Contains descriptions of daily life and material culture of the Yankton.

Cash, Joseph H., and Herbert Hoover, eds.

1971 To Be An Indian: An Oral History. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. (Reprinted: Minnesota Historical Society Press, St. Paul, 1995).

A collection of interviews of native people from various tribes, including Yankton, Oglala, and Rosebud Lakota. The stories deal primarily with the issues of identity and reservation in the 20th century.

Catlin, George

1973 Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians: Written During Eight Years' Travel (1832-1839) Amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America, 2 vols. New York: Dover Publications.

The great painter's notebooks on his encounter with native groups of the northern Plains and Plateau, originally published in 1849.

Chalfant, William Y.

2002 Cheyennes and Horse Soldiers: The 1857 Expedition and the Battle of Solomon's Fork. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Historical account of the earliest conflicts between the Cheyenne and the U.S. Army, which substantially shaped the attitudes of Euroamericans regarding the need to neutralize the "Indian threat on the Western Frontier."

Champe, John L.

1974 Yankton Chronology. New York: Garland Publishing.

A concise history that details the Yankton contact with the Europeans, quoting early sources. Discusses the locations of the Yankton, population, etc.

Christafferson, Dennis M.

2001 Sioux, 1930-2000. In Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 13: Plains, pt. 2. Raymond J. DeMallie, vol. ed. Pp.821-839. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

An overview of the development of the history and culture of the Sioux tribes from World War II to the end of the 20th century. Includes discussions of the termination policy and its effects on the Sioux people, education, reservation life, the Wounded Knee takeover of 1973, and the Black Hills Claim Case.

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation

1997 Ktunaxa Legends. Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press, dist. by University of Washington Press.

Texts collected and transcribed by the Kootenai Culture Committee.

2005 The Salish People and the Lewis & Clark Expedition. Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press, dist. by University of Nebraska Press.

Texts, historical essays, place names, and other material selected by the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee.

Confederation of American Indians

1986 A State and Federal Handbook. London: Farland & Company Publishers.

A good reference source, offering a description of the location, dates of establishment, and inhabitants of Indian reservations in North America. Further, it summarizes the main historical and cultural aspects of reservation tribes during both the pre- and post-reservation periods.

Corbett, William P.

1978 The Red Pipestone Quarry: The Yanktons Defend a Sacred Tradition, 1859-1929. South Dakota History 8(1):99-116.

The article traces the history of the red pipestone quarry site in Minnesota and discusses the details of the Yankton claim case.

Cowell, Andrew, and Alonzo Moss, Sr., eds.

2005 Hinóno'éínoo3ítoon: Arapaho historical traditions told by Paul Moss. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Arapaho historical traditions, translated into English by the editors.

Cross, Raymond, and Elizabeth Brenneman

1997 Devils Tower at the Crossroads: The National Park Service and the Preservation of Native American Cultural Resources in the 21st Century. Public Land and Resources Law Review 18:5-45.

Examines Devils Tower in light of the climbing controversy.

Curtis, Edward S.

1970 The North American Indian, vol. 3. New York: Johnson Print Company.

Volume 3 of the classic reference work covers the Teton Sioux, Yanktonai, and Assiniboine.

1970 The North American Indian, vol. 4. New York: Johnson Print Company.

Volume 4 of the classic reference work covers the Crow and Hidatsa.

1970 The North American Indian, vol. 5. New York: Johnson Print Company.

Volume 5 of the classic reference work covers the Arikara, Mandan, and Atsina.

1970 The North American Indian, vol. 6. New York: Johnson Print Company.

Volume 6 of the classic reference work contains chapters dealing with the ethnohistory, traditions, culture, and religion of the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Piegan.

1970 The North American Indian, vol. 7. New York: Johnson Print Company.

Volume 7 of the classic reference work contains chapters on the interior Salish and Kootenai.

1970 The North American Indian, vol. 8. New York: Johnson Print Company.

Volume 8 of the classic reference work contains a chapter on the Nez Perce.

Darnell, Regna

1999 Plains Cree. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol 13: Plains, pt. 2.

Raymond J. DeMallie, vol. ed. Pp. 638-651. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Ethnographic and ethnohistorical overview in the standard reference work.

David, Robert Beebe

1937 Finn Burnett, Frontiersman: the Life and Adventures of an Indian fighter, Mail Coach Driver, Miner, Pioneer Cattleman, Participant in the Powder River Expedition, Survivor of the Hay Field Fight, Associate of Jim Bridger and Chief Washakie. Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clarke Co.

Useful primary source on the frontiersman, with some information on native people of the northwestern Plains.

Davis, Leslie, ed.

1979 Symposium on the Crow/Hidatsa separations. Special Issue, Archaeology in Montana 20(3).

Explores links between the two tribes and traditions related to the migration of the Crow.

Deaver, S.

1986 American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) Background Data. Report prepared by Ethnoscience for Bureau of Land Management, Montana State Office, Billings, MT.

Provides pertinent Native American ethnohistoric information relevant to the implementation of AIRFA by Indian tribes and federal agencies.

1988 Cultural Impacts to the Northern Cheyenne and Crow Tribes from Powder River Federal Coal Leasing. Ethnoscience, Billings, MT. Submitted to Bureau of Land Management, Montana State Office, Billings, MT.

Technical report on the impact of energy development in Powder River Basin.

Deloria, Vine, Jr.

1998 Kinds of Sacred Sites. *In* Native American Sacred Sites and the Department of Defense, V. Deloria, Jr., and R. W. Stoffle, eds. Submitted to United States Department of Defense, Washington. Available online at http://www.denix.osd/mil/denis/Public/ES-programs/Conservation/Legacy/Sacred.toc.html

Deloria's formulation of a typology of sacred sites; argues that sites can become sacred by various means.

Deloria, Vine, Jr., and Raymond J. DeMallie

1999 Documents of American Indian Diplomacy: Treaties, Agreements and Conventions, 1775-1979, vol. 1. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Detailed narrative history of treaties and agreements between Indian nations and the United States government. Includes irrigation and transportation network agreements, land grants, and unratified and rejected treaties. Very comprehensive. While Kappler's compilation (see below) tends to be a verbatim recounting of treaty provisions, Deloria and DeMallie provide analysis of treaty provisions as well as the historical events that shaped those provisions.

DeMallie, Raymond J.

1976 Nicollet's Notes on the Dakota. Appendix 3. Pp.250-281 in Joseph N. Nicolett on the Plains and Prairies: The Expeditions of 1838-39 With Journals, Letters, and Notes on the Dakota Indians. Edmund C. Bray and Martha Coleman Bray, trans. and eds. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

An edited version of a short 19th-century description of the Sioux history and culture, including their divisions, migrations, ceremonies, songs, and a limited vocabulary.

1986 The Sioux in Dakota and Montana Territories: Cultural and Historical Background of the Ogden B. Read Collection. Pp. 19-69 in Vestiges of a Proud

Nation: The Ogden B. Read Northern Plains Indian Collection. Glenn E. Markoe, ed. Burlington: Robert Hull Fleming Museum, University of Vermont.

The article traces the history of the Yanktonai in Montana from 1869–84, with the focus on the Fort Peck Reservation.

2001 Sioux Until 1850. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 13: Plains, pt. 2. Raymond J. DeMallie, vol. ed. Pp. 718-760. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

An overview of history and culture of the three divisions of the Sioux, the Teton, the Yankton/Yanktonai, and the Santee prior to 1850, based on historical documents.

2001 Teton. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 13: Plains, pt. 2. Raymond J. DeMallie, vol. ed. Pp. 794-820. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

An overview of history and culture of the Teton division of the Sioux from the 1850s to the 1930s.

2001 Yankton and Yanktonai. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 13: Plains, pt. 2. Raymond J. DeMallie, vol. ed. Pp. 777-793. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

An overview of history and culture of the Yankton and Yanktonai divisions of the Sioux from the 1850s to the 1930s. The article provides short descriptions of the establishment and early history of the Yankton, Crow Creek, Devils Lake, Standing Rock, and Fort Peck reservations.

DeMallie, Raymond, and Robert H. Lavenda

1977 Wakan: Plains Siouan Concepts of Power. *In* The Anthropology of Power. Raymond Fogelson and Richard Adams, eds. Pp. 153-165. New York: Academic Press.

An analysis of the notion of power in Siouan culture, which connects to the natural world, including landscape.

DeMallie, Raymond J., and David R. Miller, eds.

1987 Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation. Norman: University of

Oklahoma Press.

Collection of essays by Sioux leaders and scholars concerning the contemporary practice of Sioux religion.

2001 Assiniboine. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 13: Plains, pt. 2. Raymond J. DeMallie, vol. ed. Pp. 572-595. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

An overview of history and culture of the Asssiniboine, based on historic documents and ethnographic studies. The two-volume set is the best current reference work on Plains cultures.

Dempsey, Hugh A.

1972 Crowfoot, Chief of the Blackfeet. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Cultural biography of the important 19th-century Blackfoot chief.

2001 Blackfoot. Handbook of North American Indians, vol.13: Plains, pt. 1. Raymond J. DeMallie, vol. ed. Pp. 604-629. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Good overview of the Blackfoot in a standard reference work.

Denig, Edwin T.

1930 Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri. Edited with Notes and Biographical sketches by J. N. B. Hewitt. Pp. 375-628 in 46th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology [for] 1928-1929. Washington: Smithsonian Institution; U.S. Government Printing Office. (Reprinted: Shorey Book Store, Seattle, WA, 1967, 1973).

A detailed ethnography of the Assiniboine, based on life experiences among them. Discusses the origins, material culture, medicine, subsistence, entertainment, etc.

De Smet, Pierre Jean de

1865 New Indian Sketches. New York: D and J Sadler and Co.

Memoir by the great missionary, containing catechisms and word lists.

Dodge, Grenville Mellen

1905 Biographical Sketch of James Bridger, Mountaineer, Trapper, and Guide. New York: Unz and Company.

An early account of Bridger's life by an important figure in the U.S. Army and the Transcontinental Railroad.

1907 The Indian Campaign of Winter of 1864-65. Read to the Colorado Commandery of the Loyal Legion of the United States at Denver. Microfiche, Coe Library, University of Wyoming, Laramie, WY.

A clearly ethnocentric account of fighting against Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Sioux in the Black Hills.

Dodge, Richard Irving

1876 The Black Hills: A Minute Description of the Routes, Scenery, Soil, Climate, Timber, Gold, Geology, Zoology, etc. New York: J. Miller.

1877 The Plains of the Great West and Their Inhabitants. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

1882 Our Wild Indians: Thirty-Three Years' Personal Experience among the Red Men of the Great West. A.D. Hartford, CT: Worthington and Company; Chicago: A.G. Nettleton and Company.

These three books by Dodge (no relation to G. Dodge), a U.S. Army officer active in the "Indian Wars," provide an important early, if obviously biased, source on the native peoples of the northwestern Plains. He was especially familiar with the Black Hills and the Powder River Basin.

Dorsey, James O.

1884 Omaha Sociology. 3rd Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. Pp. 205-370. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

1894 Omaha and Ponka Letters. 11th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington: Government Printing Office.

1897 Siouan Sociology. 15th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Taken together, Dorsey's works on the Omaha and closely related Ponca constitute the best source we have on southern Siouan cultures of the 19th century.

Doyle, Susan Badger

1998 The Bozeman Trail, 1863-1868. The Annals of Wyoming 70(2):3-11.

2000 Journey to the Land of Gold: Emigrant Diaries from the Bozeman Trail, 1863-1866. Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press.

Two scholarly works on the Bozeman Trail, the site of numerous interactions between Euroamericans and native people.

Dusenberry, Verne

1962 The Montana Cree: A Study in Religious Persistence. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A scholarly account based on fieldwork on the Rocky Boy reservation in the 1950s and 1960s, arguing for the continuity of religious practices, especially those connected with shamanism.

Eggan, Fred, ed.

1955 The Cheyenne and Arapaho kinship system. *In* Social Anthropology of North American Tribes. Fred Eggan, ed. Pp. 35-98. n.s. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Eggan, the dean of kinship studies of North American Indian cultures, explores technical issues relating to the kinship system of the Cheyenne and Arapaho.

Elkin, Henry

1940 The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming. *In* Acculturation in Seven Indian Tribes. R. Linton, ed. Pp. 207-255. New York: Appleton-Century Co.

Ethnological study of the Northern Arapaho, with emphasis on the sociopolitical and changing religious institutions of the tribe subsequent to their arrival at the Wind River Indian Reservation.

Ellis, Clyde

1996 To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A study of education at the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache reservation in western Oklahoma during the period of late 19th and early 20th centuries, focusing on the Rainy Mountain Boarding School.

Ewers, John Canfield

1958 Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A classic overview of the Blackfoot/Blackfeet people.

1988 Indian Life on the Upper Missouri. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A sensitive portrayal of various native groups and their leaders in the transitional period of the late 19th century.

1997 Plains Indian History and Culture: Essays on Continuity and Change. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A broad-brushstroke picture of Plains Indian cultural persistence; a collection of the ethnohistorian's essays.

Flynn, Janet

1998 Tribal Government: Wind River Indian Reservation. Lander, WY: Mortimore Publishing. .

This book covers many of aspects of tribal government. It primarily focuses on the development

and nature of tribal government at the Wind River Indian Reservation among the Northern Arapaho and the Eastern Shoshone.

Fowler, Loretta

1982 Arapaho Politics, 1851-1978. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Fowler provides detailed explanations of the changes that have taken place within Arapaho politics, from before Euroamerican influence to the 1980s.

1987 Shared Symbols, Contested Meanings Gros Ventre Culture and History,

1778-1984. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

A fine ethnohistorical account of the Gros Ventre (A'aninin) of Fort Belknap, Montana.

2001 Arapaho. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 13: Plains, pt. 2.

Raymond J. DeMallie, vol. ed. Pp. 840-862. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Overview of the two branches of the Arapaho in the standard reference work.

Francis, Julie E., and George C. Frison

1994 Rock Art Traditions in Northwestern Wyoming: Chronology, Spatial Distribution,

and Implications for the Numic Spread. Paper presented at the 59th Annual

Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. April 1994, Anaheim, CA.

Examines the archaeological evidence of Shoshonean occupation of northwestern Wyoming, with emphasis on Mummy Cave and other sites of possible Shoshonean origin.

Francis, Julie E., and Lawrence L. Loendorf

1999 Ancient Visions: Petroglyphs and Pictographs of the Wind River and Bighorn

Country, Wyoming and Montana. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Relying on ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological sources, Francis and Loendorf interpret some of the rock art styles found on the northwestern Plains. Based on a careful analysis of the archaeological and ethnological record, the authors suggest that the rock art traditions found in and around the Wind River Indian Reservation show that the Shoshone and their ancestors inhabited the Central Rocky Mountain region for almost 7,000 years.

Frey, Rodney

1986 The World of the Crow Indians: As Driftwood Lodges. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A brief overview of the culture and history of the Crow.

Frison, George

1976 Crow Pottery in Northern Wyoming. Plains Anthropologist 21(71):29-44.

A technical article on Crow pottery, by the dean of northern Plains archaeologists.

1978 Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains. New York: Academic Press.

A good overview of the pre-horse hunting adaptation on the northwestern Plains.

1979 The Crow Indian Occupation of the High Plains: The Archaeological Evidence. Archaeology in Montana 20(3):3-16.

Argues for early Crow occupation of the High Plains.

1991 Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains. San Diego: Academic Press.

Frison's synthesis of archaeology of the High Plains.

Fuller, E. O.

1930 Report, Wind River Reservation, Wyoming. Hebard Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, WY.

1940-1965 Papers. American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, WY.

E. O. Fuller, an important figure in early 20th-century Wyoming, provided expert testimony on land claim cases before the U.S. Indian Claims Commission in the 1950s.

Garcia, Louis

1998 Hidatsa Place Names. Ms., Little Big Horn College, Crow Agency, MT.

List of place names.

Gebhard, David

1966 The Shield Motif in Plains Rock Art. American Antiquity 31(5):721-732.

Analyzes the common shield motif.

Gebhard, David, Fred Heaton, and Johnathan Laitone

1987 The Rock Drawings of Whoopup Canyon, Wyoming. Stanley Associates, Lafayette, CA. Submitted to the U.S. Bureau of Land Management, contract no. YA-512-CT9-283.

Analysis of rock art in Whoopup Canyon, east of Newcastle, Wyoming.

Gibbon, Guy

2003 The Sioux: the Dakota and Lakota Nations. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publications.

An ethnographic overview of these groups, by an archaeologist.

Goodman, Ronald

1992 Lakota Star Knowledge: Studies in Lakota Stellar Theology. Rosebud, SD: Sinte Gleska University.

The book synthesizes Lakota star knowledge drawn from interviews with elders. Includes stories about constellations and their movements, sacred places, and ceremonies conducted there.

Greene, Candace S.

2001 Silver Horn: Master Illustrator of the Kiowas. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A study of the Kiowa artist Silver Horn's (1860–1940) work. Greene traces the development of ledger art and places it in the cultural context.

Greene, Jerome A.

1994 Lakota and Cheyenne: Indian Views of the Great Sioux War, 1876-1877. Norman: University of Oklahoma.

Account of the war following the Battle of the Little Bighorn by a military historian. Attempts to tell the story from the native point of view.

Grinnell, George Bird

1901 The Lodges of the Blackfeet. American Anthropologist 3(4):650-662.

1902 Cheyenne Woman Customs. American Anthropologist 4(1):13-16.

1918 Early Cheyenne Villages. American Anthropologist 20:359-380.

1919 A Buffalo Sweat Lodge. American Anthropologist 21:361-375.

1923 The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Ways of Life, vol. 1. Bison Book, reprinted 1972. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Five works, by the great natural historian and ethnographer of the northern Plains, that document traditional Cheyenne and Blackfoot cultures.

Grobsmith, Elizabeth

1981 Lakota of the Rosebud: A Contemporary Ethnography. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

An ethnography of the life on the reservation in the 1970s. Grobsmith compares two reservation communities, Spring Creek, known for its traditionalism, and Antelope, an urban development, to show the diversity of reservation life and identities, as well as to illustrate culture change and persistence.

Gruhn, Ruth

1961 The Archaeology of Wilson Butte Cave, South Central Idaho. Occasional Papers of the Idaho State College Museum 6. Pocatello, ID.

Monograph documents the archaeological excavations at an important stratified site in the Snake River Valley of southern Idaho. Helped establish a prehistoric chronology for the human occupation of the Plateau (Intermountain) region.

Gulliford, Andrew

2000 Sacred Objects and Sacred Places: Preserving Tribal Traditions. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Book arguing for the preservation of Native American sacred sites. Contains chapters on Devils Tower and Medicine Wheel.

Gunderson, Mary Alice

1988 Devils Tower: Stories in Stone. Glendo, WY: High Plains Press.

Gunderson traces the history of Devils Tower and discusses tribal associations with the tower, including mention of tribal oral traditions concerning Devils Tower.

Gunnerson, James H.

1968 Plains Apache Archeology: A Review. Plains Anthropologist 13:167-189.

An overview of 1960s archaeology on Plains Apache.

Hanson, Jeffrey R.

1979 Ethnohistoric Problems in the Crow-Hidatsa Separation. Archaeology in Montana 20(3):73-85. Special Issue: Symposium on Crow-Hidatsa Separation, Leslie Davis, ed.

Examines ethnohistorical evidence relating to the separation and the Crow migration into Montana.

Hanson, Jeffrey R., and Sally Chirinos,

1997 Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Devils Tower National Monument. Denver: U.S. Department of the Interior and the National Park Service.

The first comprehensive ethnographic overview and assessment of Devils Tower, sponsored by the National Park Service. The study covers the ethnohistory and traditions of six North American tribes (Eastern Shoshone, Crow, Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Lakota). The primary goal of the study was to unveil and create an understanding of tribal associations with Devils Tower. The study was also intended to create a better understanding of Native American culture and traditions in general.

Hanson, M. B., ed.

1981 Powder River Country: The Papers of J. Elmer Brock. Cheyenne, WY: Frontier Printer, Inc.

A useful primary source on native people in the Powder River Basin in the late 1800s.

Harkin, Michael, Diana Harman, and Lin Poyer, eds.

2003 Ethnohistory of the Powder River Basin. Laramie, WY: The University of Wyoming Department of Anthropology. Report to the Wyoming Bureau of Land Management.

A technical report on cultural affiliations of the Powder River Basin, in the context of energy development.

Harrington, John Peabody

1939 Kiowa Memories of the Northland. *In* So Live The Works of Men, Seventieth Anniversary Volume, Honoring Edgar Lee Hewitt. Donald D. Brand and Fred E. Harvey, eds. Pp 159-176. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

The great BAE ethnographer retells Kiowa historical traditions, including those dealing with Devils Tower.

Harrod, Howard

1971 Mission Among the Blackfeet. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A historical study of Catholic and Protestant missions, and their role in historic Blackfoot culture.

1997 Renewing the World: Plains Indian Religion and Morality. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

An overview of Plains Indian concepts of spirituality, kinship with non-human beings, and time.

2001 The Animals Came Dancing: Native American Sacred Ecology and Animal Kinship. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

A masterly discussion of Plains ideas of sacred animal beings and their role in making the world habitable for humans. Focuses on the Blackfoot of the early reservation period.

Hart, Jeffrey A.

1981 Ethnobotany of the Northern Cheyenne Indians of Montana. Journal of Ethnopharmacology 4(1):1-55.

Plants used by the Northern Cheyenne for food, technology, medicine, and religion are described and discussed, particularly in relation to ceremonial and medicinal applications.

Hassrick, Royal B.

1964 The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A study of the classical period of Lakota culture, based on documents and some fieldwork. The book presents information on social and political organization, subsistence, family life, material culture, religion, etc.

Hayden, F.

1862 Contributions to the ethnography and philology of the Indian tribes of the Missouri Valley. Philadelphia: C. Sherman and Son.

An early overview of the eastern Plains, with some discussion of the western Plains.

Hebard, Grace Raymond

1922 The Bozeman Trail: Historical Accounts of the Blazing of the Overland Routes into the Northwest, and the Fights with Red Cloud's Warriors. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company.

An ethnocentric but important early account of the Bozeman Trail by an important Wyoming figure.

1930 Contested Territory Claimed in Accordance with Treaties Made by the U.S. Government and Various tribes of Indians: Data in part from U.S. War Department map of 1859-60-77, explorations of Capt. W.T. [i.e. W.F.] Raynolds and Major Gillespie. Hebard Map Library, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, WY.

Cartographic analysis of treaty maps.

Hedren, Paul L.

1988 Fort Laramie in 1876: Chronicle of a Frontier Post at War. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Examines the critical role of Fort Laramie with respect to the Sioux Indian War of 1876–77. Using primary materials from a variety of military archives, Hedren provides great narrative detail about the logistical contributions of Fort Laramie to the larger strategic effort to pacify the northern and northwestern Plains Indians in order to make the region more hospitable to Euroamerican settlement.

Hewes, Gordon

1961 Early Tribal Migrations in the Northern Great Plains. Plains Archaeological Conference News Letter 1:49-61.

Documentary review of the movement of Indian tribes in the upper Great Plains region during the Late Prehistoric period.

Hickerson, Nancy P.

1994 The Jumanos: Hunters and Traders of the South Plains. Austin: University of Texas Press.

An ethnohistorical study of a Native American group of the south Plains, based mostly on Spanish accounts. Hickerson hypothesizes that the Jumano might be the ancestors of modern Kiowa.

Hill, Burton S.

1966 The Great Indian Treaty Council of 1851. On the Platte and North: Four Selected Articles of Western History. Buffalo Bulletin, Buffalo, WY.

1967 Thomas S. Twiss, Indian Agent. On the Platte and North: Four Selected Articles of Western History. Buffalo Bulletin, Buffalo, WY.

Narrative vignettes of Western lore and history by a locally prominent lay author.

Hoebel, E. Adamson

1935 The Sundance of the Hekandika Shoshone. American Anthropologist 37:570-581.

An ethnographic description of the Sun Dance on the Fort Hall Reservation in the summer of 1934.

1960 The Cheyennes: Indians of the Great Plains. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

A classic overview of the Cheyenne; somewhat dated, but with good information.

Howard, James

1954 The Dakota Heyoka Cult. The Scientific Monthly 78(4):254-258.

An overview of heyoka, or contrary medicine, practices among the three Sioux divisions, from how an individual becomes a heyoka to their public performances.

1954 Yanktonai Dakota Eagle Trapping. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 10(1): 69-74.

The article discusses Yanktonai eagle trapping practices and the accompanying ceremonies.

1955 The Tree Dweller Cults of the Dakota. The Journal of American Folklore 68(268):169-174.

Discusses the Sioux belief in forest spirits, with examples and accounts from all the three Sioux divisions.

1965 The Ponca Tribe. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 195. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

An ethnographic overview of the Ponca in one of the last BAE reports.

1977 The Plains-Ojibwa or Bungi: Hunters and Warriors of the Northern Prairies with Special Reference to the Turtle Mountain Band. Lincoln, NE: J. & L. Reprint Co.

An ethnographic and historical overview of the Plains Ojibwa, by an important regional scholar.

Hoxie, Frederick E.

1996 Encyclopedia of North American Indians. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Examines the ethnohistory, traditions, politics, and religion of the North American tribes.

1997 Parading through history: The Making of the Crow Nation in America 1805-1935. New York: Cambridge University Press.

A work by a prominent historian, examining the Crow's strategic actions in the post-contact era.

Hurt, Wesley R.

1974 Dakota Sioux Indians. New York: Garland Publishing.

A detailed history from prehistory through 1869 of the central and northern Plains, prepared for the Indian Claims Commission. Discusses the culture and migrations of the Sioux and other tribes, based on historical documents and the archaeological record.

Husted, Wilfred

1969 Bighorn Canyon archeology. Publications in Salvage Archaeology, 12. River Basin Surveys, Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

An archaeological survey of Bighorn Canyon, Wyoming.

Hyde, George

1937 Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A detailed history of the Oglala Lakota, which focuses on the 19th-century wars, movements, and events.

1961 Spotted Tail's Folk: A History of the Brule Sioux. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A detailed history of the Sicangu Lakota; focuses on the 19th-century wars, movements, and events.

1968 Life of George Bent. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A biography of the half-Cheyenne son of William Bent and Owl Woman, who in his later years became an important culture broker.

Johnson, Olga

1969 Flathead and Kootenay: The Rivers, the Tribes, and the Region's Traders. Glendale, CA: A. H. Clark.

A historical overview of the culture and history of the Salish and Kootenai people.

Kappler, Charles J.

1904 Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, vol. 2. Washington: Government Printing Office.

A compendium of Indian laws and treaties. Volume 2 covers the period from 1778–1883. The first and most comprehensive federal government effort to compile laws and treaties relating to the Indian tribes of the United States.

Karner, Frank R., and Don L. Halvorson

1987 The Devils Tower, Bear Lodge Mountains, Cenozoic Igneous Complex, Northeastern Wyoming. *In* Rocky Mountain Section of the Geological Society of America Centennial Field Guide, vol. 2. S. S. Beus. Pp. 161-172. Boulder: Geological Society of America.

Geology of Devils Tower.

Kehoe, Alice B.

1981 Northern American Indians: A Comprehensive Account. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Popular account of the prehistoric inhabitants of North America, by a prominent archaeologist.

Kennedy, Michael S., ed.

1961 The Assiniboines: From the Accounts of the Old Ones Told to First Boy (James Larpenteur Long). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A collection of stories by the elders, which is rich in ethnographic detail. The chapters discuss the aspects of Assiniboine economic, social, and religious life of the old days.

Kornfeld, Marcel, and Alan J. Osborn, eds.

2003 Islands on the Plains: Ecological, Social, and Ritual Use of Landscape. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

A seminal collection of essays by archaeologists and other scholars, examining the unique mountain ecosystems in the Plains. Several essays, notably that by Linea Sundstrom, connect notions of sacredness with the ecological properties of mountains and their surrounding landscapes.

Kornfeld, Marcel, and Charles A. Reher

1990 12,000 Years of Hunting and Gathering: An Archaeological Overview of Crook, Niobrara, and Weston Counties, Wyoming. Report prepared for the Bureau of Land Management. Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming. Laramie, WY.

Archaeological overview of the region, including Devils Tower National Monument.

Kracht, Benjamin R.

1997 Kiowa Religion in Historical Perspective. American Indian Quarterly 21(1):15-33.

Examines key beliefs and practices, including the Sun Dance and peyotism, through time.

Kroeber, Alfred L.

1983 The Arapaho. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.

A seminal anthropological study of the Arapaho, in which Kroeber describes the material culture of the Arapaho (with many original illustrations). Republication of AMNH publications of 1902–-07.

Kroeber, Alfred, and George Dorsey

1997 Traditions of the Arapaho. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

New edition of the 1903 publication dealing with beliefs and religious practices of the Northern Arapaho.

Larocque, Francis

1910 Journal of Larocque from the Assiniboine to the Yellowstone, 1805. Publications in Canadian Archives 3.

A journal of an early trapper and trader.

Larson, T. A.

1941 History of Wyoming. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

The classic history of Wyoming, read by generations of Wyoming students.

Lassiter, Luke Eric

1998. The Power of Kiowa Song. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

An ethnographic study of Kiowa singing and songs conducted in Carnegie and Anadarko, Oklahoma, in the early 1980s.

Lehmer, D. J., and W. W. Caldwell.

1966 Horizon and Tradition in the Northern Plains. American Antiquity 31 (4):511-516.

A synthesis of archaeological sequences on the northern Plains.

Leupp, Francis E.

1910 The Indian and His Problem. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Published at a time when nostalgic Americans were becoming acutely aware of the disappearance of the western frontier and the Native American, Leupp's book accurately characterizes the increasingly practical and humanitarian thrust of U.S. administrative authority toward Indian people during the early 20th century. The author advocated that the American Indian needed to be understood in his (her) own cultural setting, but recommends solutions to the plight of Indian people that are purely Euroamerican in nature.

Linderman, Frank B.

1972 Pretty Shield: Medicine Woman of the Crows. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Originally published in 1932 as Red Mother. *A biography of an important Crow woman.*

Lowe, James A.

1999 The Bridger Trail: A Viable Alternative Route to the Gold Fields of Montana Territory in 1864. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company.

A history of the Bridger Trail.

Lowie, Robert H.

1909 The Assiniboine. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. IV, pt. 2. New York.

The book consists of two parts: a detailed Assiniboine ethnography and a collection of Stoney Assiniboine stories, including the trickster cycle, collected in the summer of 1907 at Morley, Alberta.

1912 Social life of the Crow Indians. American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers 16:179-248.

1918 Myths and traditions of the Crow Indians. American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers 25:1-308.

1922 The Religions of the Crow Indians. American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers 25:311-444.

1935 The Crow Indians. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc.

Lowie's Crow publications constitute one of the great bodies of ethnographic literature on Native Americans. Working with informants whose memories reached back into pre-reservation days, this provides one of the most rich and detailed pictures of the traditional culture of a northern Plains tribe.

Madsen, David B.

1975 Dating Paiute-Shoshoni Expansion in the Great Basin. American Antiquity 40(1):82.

The article traces the expansion of Shoshonean people by means of archaeological data and ethnohistorical accounts.

Malinowski, Sharon, Anna Sheets, Jeffery Lehman, and Melissa Walsh Doig, eds.

1998 Blackfoot. *In* Gale Encyclopedia of Native American Tribes, vol. III. Pp. 211-218, 187-199, 218-221. Detroit: Gale.

A standard reference work on the Blackfoot.

Malouf, Carling

1998 Flathead and Pend d'Oreille. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 12: The Plateau. Deward Walker, ed. Pp. 297-312. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

An excellent overview of the Salish component of the confederated tribes.

Mandelbaum, D. G.

1979 The Plains Cree. Canadian Plains Studies 9. Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina.

An ethnography on the Canadian Plains Cree, with a useful bibliography.

Markley, E., and Beatrice Crofts

1995 Walk Softly, This is God's Country: Sixty-Six Years on the Wind River Reservation: Compiled from the Letters and Journals of the Rev. John Roberts, 1883-1949. Lander, WY: Mortimore Publishing.

Primary documents from a missionary of the early reservation period.

Marquis, Thomas B.

1978 The Cheyennes of Montana. Algonac, MI: Reference Publications, Inc.

A standard reference work on the Cheyenne.

Marriott, Alice

1945 Ten Grandmothers. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A collection of oral histories/elders' stories that interpret the yearly events recorded in the Kiowa calendars from 1847–1944. Focuses on Kiowa life in Oklahoma.

Maximilian, Prinz von Weid

1906 Maximilian, Prince of Weid's Travels in the interior of North America, 1832-1834. Cleveland, Ohio, A.H. Clark.

Prince Maximilian was an early and observant European traveler, whose writings provide the best early portrait of the Mandan and Hidatsas.

Mayhall, Mildred P.

1962 The Kiowas. 2nd edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A well-researched history of the Kiowa tribe from the early days to the 1950s. The study synthesizes military accounts, Kiowa calendars, and traders' reports, as well as other published studies. The book traces the development of their pictographic calendars, and describes culture and military conflicts.

McCracken, Harold, and Paul Dyck

1972 A Heritage of the Blackfeet. Cody, WY: Buffalo Bill Historical Society.

Illustrated volume focusing on ceremonial life of the Blackfoot.

McDonald, J. Douglas, L. J. Zimmerman, A. L. McDonald, William Tall Bull, and Ted Rising Sun

1991 The Northern Cheyenne Outbreak of 1879: Using Oral History and Archaeology as Tools of Resistance. *In* The Archaeology of Inequality. Randall H. McGuire and Robert Paynter, eds. Pp. 64-78. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Native American oral traditions assist archaeologists in the material culture interpretation of the Northern Cheyenne escape from the Cheyenne reservation in Oklahoma. Chief Dull Knife and his people were intercepted and escorted to Ft. Robinson (Nebraska).

McGee, W. J.

1897 The Siouan Indians: A Preliminary Sketch. 15th Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution for 1893-94. Pp. 153-205. Washington: Government Printing Office.

A brief early ethnography focusing on the Southern Siouan tribes.

McLain, Gary

1991 Indian America: A Traveler's Companion. Santa Fe, NM: John Muir Publications.

Primarily a traveler's guide that also contains some good, general historical information concerning Indian reservations in North America.

McPherson, Robert S.

1992 Sacred Land, Sacred View: Navajo Perceptions of the Four Corners Region. Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, no. 19, Brigham Young University. Salt Lake City, UT: Signature.

A treatise on sacred sites and viewshed issues in the Southwest.

Meadows, William C.

1999 Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche Military Societies. Austin: University of Texas Press.

An in-depth ethnohistorical survey of Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche military societies drawn from interviews with tribal elders and members of military societies. The book examines the structure, functions, rituals, and martial symbols of the military societies, as well as their decline and revival today.

Medicine Crow, Joe

1978 Notes on Crow Indian Buffalo Jump Traditions. *In* Bison Procurement and Utilization. L. B. Davis and Michael Wilson, eds. Pp. 249-253. Plains Anthropologist Memoir 14.

A brief article by a distinguished Crow anthropologist.

Meyer, Roy W.

1977 The Village Indians of the Upper Missouri: The Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikaras. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Ethnohistorical portrait of the tribes of the upper Missouri.

1993 History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Revised edition of a 1968 classic on the treaty and policy history of the Santee Sioux.

Milloy, John S.

1988 The Plains Cree: Trade, Diplomacy and War, 1790 to 1870. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Good ethnohistorical overview of Canadian Plains Cree.

Mishkin, Bernard

1940 Rank and Warfare among the Plains Indians. Reprinted 1992. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

A study based on fieldwork among the Kiowa; examines the effects of the horse on social structure, economics, and military activities.

Mizrach, Steven E.

1999 Natives on the Electronic Frontier: Technology and Cultural Change on the Cheyenne River Reservation. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville. State University, Tallahassee.

An ethnographic study of contemporary life on the Cheyenne River Reservation. Focuses on the role of modern technology (Internet, television, radio, etc.) in facilitating cultural persistence and change.

Molyneaux, Brian L., Nancy J. Hodgson, and Rachel M. Hinton

2000 The Archaeological Survey and National Register Evaluation of Devils Tower National Monument, Crook County, Wyoming: 1997-1998. Report on file at Devils Tower National Monument, Wyoming.

Technical report of investigations concerning the survey and evaluation of historic and prehistoric cultural resources at Devils Tower National Monument.

Momaday, N. Scott

1969 The Way to Rainy Mountain. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Memoirs and a personal rendition of Kiowa stories by a Pulitzer Prize-winning Kiowa author. Contains the stories of Devils Tower, Spider Grandmother and the Split Boys, the coming of Taime, etc.

Monnett, J. H.

2001 Tell Them We Are Going Home: The Odyssey of the Northern Cheyennes. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

An excellent account of the Cheyenne trek back to their Powder River homeland in 1878.

Mooney, James

1896 The Ghost-dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Historical and anthropological study of the Lakota Sioux Ghost Dance and its role in the Wounded Knee Massacre.

1898 Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians. Extract from the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington: Government Printing Office.

An ethnographic account of the Kiowa people from their days in Wyoming up to 1898. The book is an extensive study of Kiowa culture and language up to the late 19th century.

1907 The Cheyenne Indians. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 1(6):357-442. Lancaster, PA. (Reprinted: Kraus Reprint Co., Millwood, NY, 1976.)

Early ethnological monograph includes sections on Cheyenne tribal history, social organization, and religion.

Moore, John H.

1974 Cheyenne Political History, 1820-1894. Ethnohistory 21(4):329-359.

Discusses the evolution of Cheyenne political structures in response to intratribal tensions between council chiefs and military society chiefs.

1996 The Cheyenne. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.

A thorough work of popular scholarship on the Cheyenne, covering prehistoric, historic, and contemporary periods.

Moore, John H., M. P. Liberty, and A. T. Straus

2000 Cheyenne. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 13: Plains, pt. 2. Raymond J. DeMallie, vol. ed. Pp. 863-885. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Basic reference work on the Cheyenne.

Morgan, L. H.

1881 Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines. Contributions to North American Ethnology IV. Washington: Government Printing Office.

A classic anthropological work that attempts to correlate house form and social organization among various Native American tribes.

Moulton, Gary E., ed.

1987 The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, vol. 3. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Journals of the travels of Lewis and Clark from St. Louis, Missouri, to the Northwest Coast. Contain descriptions of the indigenous groups they encountered on the way, including their customs, ceremonies, ways of life, etc.

Mullison, J. H., and P. S. Lovejoy

1909 History of the Cheyenne National Forest. Administrative Report for the Medicine Bow National Forest. Medicine Bow Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, WY.

Administrative history of the creation of the Cheyenne National Forest in 1908. The Cheyenne National Forest was subsequently renamed the Medicine Bow National Forest.

Mulloy, W.

1942 The Hagen Site: A Prehistoric Village on the Lower Yellowstone. Publications in the Social Sciences, vol. 1. Missoula: University of Montana Press.

Important archaeological site associated with the Crow and/or Mandan-Hidatsa.

1958 A Preliminary historical outline for the Northwestern Plains. University of Wyoming Publications 22(1 & 2). Laramie, WY: University of Wyoming.

An early attempt to synthesize the chronological sequence of Plains cultures.

Murphy, James

1969 The Place of the Northern Arapahos in the Relations between the United States and the Indians of the Plains 1851-1879. Annals of Wyoming 41:33-61,203-259.

Examines treaties, battles, and other aspects of Northern Arapaho attempts to survive.

Murray, Robert A.

1968 Military Posts in the Powder River Country of Wyoming, 1865-1894. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

A military historian's account of the forts of northeastern Wyoming.

1988 The Bozeman Trail: Highway of History. Boulder: Pruett Publishing Company.

A traditional take on the Bozeman Trail.

Nabokov, Peter

1988 Cultivating themselves: The Inter-play of Crow Indian religion and history. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

A sensitive and thorough ethnohistory of the Crow.

Nabokov, Peter, and Lawrence Loendorf

1994 Every Morning of the World: Ethnographic Resources Study Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area: Including Information on Adjacent Lands Managed by Custer National Forest and the Bureau of Land Management. USDI: Rocky Mountain Region.

A very fine example of public lands ethnohistory. A revised version was published as Restoring a Presence: American Indians and Yellowstone National Park *(University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).*

Nadeau, Remi A.

1967 Fort Laramie and the Sioux. Santa Barbara, CA: Crest Publishers.

Narrative history of conflicts between the U.S. military and Plains Indian tribes, and the role that the construction of Fort Laramie played in these conflicts.

Neihardt, John G.

1932 Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux. New York: W. Morrow and Company.

Highly personalized narrative of the life of Black Elk, a prominent Lakota Sioux medicine man, who witnessed the Battle of the Little Bighorn and the Wounded Knee Massacre. The account of his life was recorded and transcribed by John Neihardt. The publication of the book contributed to an increasingly sympathetic view of Native Americans by mainstream American culture.

Nye, Wilbur Sturtevant

1962 Bad Medicine and Good: Tales of the Kiowas. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A collection of Kiowa oral history. The stories were collected from Kiowa elders interviewed during the period 1933–37. The stories focus on the Kiowa life on the southern Plains in the 19th century, including the escape from the Hueco Mountains, the mystery of the red-haired captive Tehan, interactions with other tribes, etc.

Odell, Thomas

1942 Mato Paha: The Story of Bear Butte, Black Hills Landmark and Indian Shrine—Its Scenic, Historic, and Scientific Uniqueness. Spearfish, SD: Thomas E. Odell.

An early overview of Bear Butte by a local antiquarian.

Olson, James C.

1965 Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Impartial and rigorous historical account of relations between the U.S. government and the Sioux after 1875. Using the noted Oglala Sioux chief Red Cloud as the central figure of his narrative, Olson documents the tribe's transition from a Plains Indian warrior culture and subsequent adaptation to reservation life.

Ostler, Jeffrey

2004 The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Historical analysis of the social and political relationships during the 19th century between the U.S. government and the Sioux. Relies heavily on tribal ethnohistory as credible historical narratives.

Palmer, Gus, Jr.

2003 Telling Stories the Kiowa Way. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

An ethnography of Kiowa storytelling. The book contains Kiowa texts in the McKenzie Writing System.

Parker, Patricia L., and Thomas F. King

1990 Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties. National Register Bulletin 38, revised 1992; 1998. Washington: USDOI National Park Service.

Official guidelines for TCPs.

Parks, Douglas R., and Raymond J. DeMallie

1992 Sioux, Assiniboine and Stoney Dialects: A Classification. Anthropological Linguistics 34(1-4):233-255.

An overview of the historical development of the three dialects and their differences.

Patton, James I.

1926 Buffalo Hunting with the Shoshone, in 1874 in the Big Horn Basin, Wyoming. Annals of Wyoming October 296-303.

Paul, R. Eli

2004 Blue Water Creek and the First Sioux War, 1854-1856. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Detailed ethnohistorical monograph of the Indian wars and conflicts in the American West during the mid–19th century.

Pemberton, Richard, Jr.

1985 "I Saw It Was Holy:" the Black Hills Concept of Sacred Land. Law and Inequality 3:287-342.

Examines Teton Dakota concepts of sacred place in the context of legal definitions.

Petersen, K. D.

1964 Cheyenne Soldier Societies. Plains Anthropologist 9(25):146-172.

Ethnographic portrayal of the Cheyenne sodalities.

Peterson, Jacqueline, and Laura Peers

1993 Sacred Encounters: Father De Smet and the Indians of the Rocky Mountain West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Examines the symbolic and rhetorical aspects of De Smet's missionary work, with an emphasis on material artifacts.

Poole, DeWitt Clinton

1881 Among the Sioux of Dakota: Eighteen Months Experience as an Indian Agent. New York: D. Van Nostrand.

Autobiographical account of Captain Poole's assignment to the Dakota Territory as a federal Indian agent for the Brule and Oglala Sioux bands.

Powell, Peter John

1960 Sweet Medicine: The Continuing Role of the Sacred Arrows, the Sun Dance, and the Sacred Buffalo Hat in Northern Cheyenne History. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Argues for cultural continuity of key Cheyenne religious practices in the 1950s.

1981 People of the Sacred Mountain: A History of the Northern Cheyenne Chiefs and Warrior Societies 1830-1879. San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers.

An impressive ethnographic study of the pre-reservation Northern Cheyenne, consisting of detailed summaries of oral histories provided by noted Cheyenne chiefs, headmen, elders, and medicine men. Powell's tribal consultants, afraid that critical oral traditions would be lost forever if they weren't written down, provided him with information that was almost never divulged to anyone outside the tribe. One of the landmarks of Plains Indian ethnology.

Powers, M. N.

1986 Oglala Women: Myth, Ritual, and Reality. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Looks specifically at gender in the context of religious belief and social practice.

Price, Nicole

1994 Tourism and the Bighorn Medicine Wheel: How Multiple Use Does Not Work for Sacred Land Sites. *In* Sacred Sites, Sacred Places. D.L. Carmichael, J. Hubert, B. Reeves, and A. Schanche, eds. Pp. 259-264. One World Archaeology, vol. 23, P. J. Ucko, series ed. London: Routledge.

Examines the issues associated with managing sacred sites for multiple use. Analogous case to Devils Tower.

Ray, Arthur J.

1974 Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Hunters, Trappers, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

A regional study that focuses on the role of native people in the fur trade and on the effects of trade on their way of life. The tribes discussed at length are the Assiniboine, Cree, Blackfoot, and Ojibwa.

Ray, Verne

1939 Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America. F. W. Hodge Anniversary Fund, vol. 3. Los Angeles: Southwest Museum.

Synthesis of the ethnographic situation in the early post-contact era, by a prominent anthropologist.

Reher, Charles A.

1978 Adaptive Process on the Late Prehistoric Shortgrass Plains: Archaeological Study of the Vore Site, a Buffalo Jump in the Black Hills of Northeast Wyoming. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico.

1979 The Western Powder River Basin Survey, vol I: Survey Results; vol. II: Data

Appendices; vol. III: Consultant Reports. Report prepared for the Bureau of Land Management. Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming. Laramie, WY.

1994 Settlement and Subsistence in the Western Black Hills. Special Issue, Archaeology of the Black Hills, Journal of the North Dakota Archaeological Association 5:191-220.

Important work by a prominent regional archaeologist on the region surrounding Devils Tower.

Reher, Charles A., and George Frison

1980 The Vore Site, 48CK302, A Stratified Buffalo Jump in the Wyoming Black Hills. Plains Anthropologist Memoir 16.

Archaeological overview of the Vore Site, near Sundance, Wyoming.

Rodnick, David

1937 Political Structure and Status among the Assiniboine Indians. American Anthropologist, n.s. 39(4, pt. 1):408-416.

A study of political bodies and actors in the Assiniboine society including bands, leadership, councils, and their functions and responsibilities.

1938 The Fort Belknap Assiniboine of Montana: A Study in Culture change. New Haven, CT: privately printed.

An ethnography of the Fort Belknap Assiniboine, based on historical documents and fieldwork on the reservation. The first two parts of the book are dedicated to Assiniboine history and culture at the time of European contact, and the third part discusses culture change and adaptation to reservation life.

Roll, Tom E., and Steven Hackenberger

1998 Prehistory of the Eastern Plateau. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 12: The Plateau. Deward Walker, ed. Pp. 120-137. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Good general account of archaeological data on this subregion.

Rom, Lance, Tim Church, and Michele Church, eds.

1996 Black Hills National Forest Cultural Resources Overview, vols. 1 and 2, Synthetic and Management Summaries. Washington: USDA Forest Service.

Forest Service overview of the area adjacent to Devils Tower.

Ruppert, David

1994 Redefining Relationships: American Indians and National Parks. Practicing Anthropology 16(3):10-13. Reprinted in Classics of Practicing Anthropology, Patricia Higgins and Anthony Paredes, eds. Pp. 231-237. Oklahoma City: Society for Applied Anthropology.

A good critical account of the evolving relations between the NPS and tribes, with brief case studies, including Devils Tower National Monument.

Russell, Dale R.

1991 Eighteenth-Century Western Cree and their Neighbours. Canadian Museum of Civilization Mercury Series. Archaeological Survey Paper 143. Ottawa.

A study of territorial limits of Cree during the fur trade era, based on historic documents. Assiniboines are discussed in relation to the Cree.

Salzmann, Zdenek

n.d. Arapaho Indian Research Papers. American Heritage Center, Accession #10396. University of Wyoming. Laramie, WY.

1980 Arapaho Stories. Anchorage, AK: National Bilingual Materials Development Center.

1983 Analytical Bibliography of Sources Concerning the Arapaho Indians. Ethete, WY: Wind River Reservation.

1988 The Arapaho Indians: A Research Guide and Bibliography. New York: Greenwood Press.

Linguistic and language learning materials on the Arapaho, plus a comprehensive bibliography.

Samek, Hana

1987 The Blackfoot Confederacy, 1880-1920: A Comparative Study of Canadian and U.S. Indian Policy. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Looks at the Blackfoot/Blackfeet, and the different political and policy situations on either side of the "medicine line."

Sansom-Flood, Renee, Shirley A. Bernie, and Leonard R. Burguier

1989 Remember Your Relatives: Yankton Sioux Images, 1865 to 1915, vol. 2. Marty, SD: Yankton Sioux Elderly Advisory Board.

History of the early reservation years through the end of the 19th century. Discusses the reservation land sessions and appends the texts of the Dawes Act and the 1892 agreement. Contains numerous photographs of the Yankton.

Schlesier, K. H.

1987 The Wolves of Heaven: Cheyenne Shamanism, Ceremonies, and Prehistoric Origins. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Extended treatise on Cheyenne religion.

Scott, Hugh Lennox

1907 The Early History and the Names of the Arapaho. American Anthropologist 9: 545-560.

The primary focus of Scott's article is the language and surnames of the Arapaho. Scott also discusses tribes affiliated with the Arapaho, as well as Euroamericans who figured prominently in the early history of the Arapaho.

Scott, Mary Hurlburt

1958 The Oregon Trail Through Wyoming: A Century of History 1812-1912. Aurora, CO: Powder River Publishers.

Documents the incidence of emigrant traffic along the Oregon Trail and the reasons why it slowly fell into disuse after the mid-1800s.

Sherow, James E., and Sam Hart

2006 Cheyenne, Southern. Electronic document, http://users.multipro.com/whitedove/encyclopedia/cheyenne-southern.html.

A brief overview of the Southern Cheyenne in an online encyclopedia, written by scholars.

Shields, Kenneth, Jr.

1998 Images of America: Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Montana. San Francisco: Arcadia.

A collection of historic photographs of the early 1900s of the life and people on the Fort Peck Reservation.

Shimkin, Dimitri

1938 Wind River Shoshone Geography. American Anthropologist 40:413-415.

1942 Dynamics of Recent Wind River Shoshone History. American Anthropologist 44:451-462.

1947 Childhood and Development among the Wind River Shoshone. Anthropological Records 5(5):289-325.

1947 Wind River Shoshone Ethnogeography. University of California Anthropological Records 5(4). University of California, Berkeley.

1953 Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance. Anthropological Papers 41. Bureau of American Ethnology Report 151:397-484.

1993 Papers, Archival/Manuscript Material Accession # 9942. American Heritage Center. University of Wyoming, Laramie, WY.

Shimkin's body of work examines Eastern Shoshone culture in the context of interactions with Euroamerican and Northern Arapaho cultures, within an ethnohistorical framework. His papers stored at the AHC are a highly valuable source of material on mid–century Shoshone culture.

Simms, Stephen C

1903 Traditions of the Crows. Field Columbian Museum. Anthropological Series Publication 85 2(6).

An early ethnography of traditional Crow culture.

Sowers, Ted C.

1965 Petroglyphs of Northeast Wyoming. Wyoming Archaeologist 3(1):28-44.

An early overview of rock art in the area.

Spence, Mark

2002 Brief Naming Report for Devils Tower National Monument. Report on file at Devils Tower National Monument, Wyoming.

Discusses the historical context surrounding the naming of Devils Tower.

Spier, Leslie

1921 The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its development and diffusion. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 16(7).

An early discussion of the Sun Dance as an historical phenomenon, by a prominent anthropologist.

1925 The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Examines differences and similarities in kinship and marriage practices, primarily among tribes of the northwestern United States.

Stamm, Henry E.

1999 People of the Wind River: Eastern Shoshones, 1825-1900. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

This book, by an author with a University of Wyoming Ph.D., offers a comprehensive and thorough examination of the traditions, history, culture, religion, and government of the Eastern Shoshone.

Stands in Timber, John, and Margot Liberty

1967 Cheyenne Memories. New Haven: Yale University Press.

A classic work of oral history dealing with the early reservation period.

Stenberg, Molly Peacock

1946 The Peyote Culture among Wyoming Indians. University of Wyoming Publications12:90-156.

Looks at peyotism on the Wind River Reservation.

Stewart, F. H.

2001 Hidatsa. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 13, pt. 2: The Plains, Raymond J. DeMallie, ed. Pp. 329-348. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Reference work on the Hidatsa.

Stoffle, Richard W., and María Nieves Zedeño

2001 American Indian Worldviews 1: The Concept of "Power" and its Connection to People, Places, and Resources. *In* American Indians and the Nevada Test Site: A Model of Research and Consultation. R. Stoffle, M. Zedeño, and D. Halmo, eds. Pp. 58-76. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Stoffle, Richard W., María Nieves Zedeño, and David B. Halmo

2001 Introduction. *In* American Indians and the Nevada Test Site: A Model of Research and Consultation. R. Stoffle, M. Zedeño, and D. Halmo, eds. Pp. 3-9. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Anthropologist Richard Stoffle and his collaborators have looked at issues of policy and cultural geography in the Southwest, especially in the context of the Nevada Test Site.

Stone, Dick

1982 First Encounters: Indian Legends of Devils Tower. No publisher.

In this slim self-published volume, Stone recounts Indian oral traditions concerning Devils Tower.

Straus, Anne S.

1994 Northern Cheyenne Kinship Reconsidered. *In* North American Indian Anthropology: Essays on Society and Culture. Raymond J. DeMallie and Alfonso Ortiz, eds. Pp. 147-171. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Contemporary and revisionist view of Northern Cheyenne kinship systems.

Sundstrom, Linea

1996 Mirror of Heaven: Cross-Cultural Transference of the Sacred Geography of the Black Hills. World Archaeology: Sacred Geography 28(2):177-189.

An important article by a preeminent archaeologist of the region, arguing that Lakotas, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches shared a common ethnogeography of the Black Hills.

1996 Native American Mythology. *In* Black Hills Cultural Resource Overview, vol. 1. L. Rom, Tim Church, and Michele Church, eds. Pp. 3c1-3c19. USDA, Black Hills National Forest, Custer, SD.

1996 Native American Traditional Cultural Properties. *In* Management Summary. L. Rom, T. Church, and M. Church, eds. Pp. 3a.1-3a.16. Black Hills Cultural

Resources Overview, vol. 2, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Black Hills National Forest, Custer, SD.

1996 Protohistoric and Historic Native Americans. *In* Black Hills Cultural Resource Overview, vol. 1. L. Rom, and Tim Church, Michele Church, eds. Pp. 2f1-2f23. USDA, Black Hills National Forest, Custer, SD.

Sundstrom's work on the Black Hills overview is extremely relevant to Devils Tower.

1997 The Sacred Black Hills: An Ethnohistorical Review. Great Plains Quarterly 17(3/4):185-212.

An account of the Black Hills as a sacred site for Native Americans.

Sundstrom, Linea, Linda Olson, and Lawrence Loendorf

2001 Hulett South Site, 48CK1544. Loendorf and Associates. Submitted to the Wyoming Department of Transportation, Project #PREB-S-061-00(038).

Technical report on a site near Devils Tower, by prominent archaeologists.

Svingen, O. J.

1993 The Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation 1877-1900. Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado.

Historical study of the early reservation period of the Northern Cheyenne.

Swanton, John R.

1952 The Indian Tribes of North America. Bulletin 145, Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington: Government Printing Office.

An overview of the Indian tribes of the United States and Canada, by one of the BAE's most important ethnographers.

Teit, J. A.

1930 The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus. *In* 45th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Franz Boas, ed. Pp. 23-396. Washington: Government Printing Office.

A BAE volume examining Salish tribes of eastern Washington, Idaho, and British Columbia.

Tilley, Christopher

1994 A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

A theoretical treatise on the concept of cultural landscape, with some discussion of sacred sites.

Townsend, John Kirk

1839 Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains, to the Columbia River, and a Visit to the Sandwich Islands, Chili, &c. Philadelphia: Boston, Perkins and Marvin.

An early traveler's account, partly in the region.

Trenholm, Virginia Cole

1929-79 Papers Archival/Manuscript Material accession #3597. American Heritage Center. University of Wyoming. Laramie, WY.

1970 Arapahoes, Our People. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Along with Alfred Kroeber and Loretta Fowler, Trenholm is one of the seminal ethnohistorians of the Arapaho. Her book, which covers the period from about 1600 to the mid–20th century, is detailed and exhaustive. Her papers, stored at the AHC, are a valuable resource on Arapaho history and culture.

Trenholm, Virginia C., and M. Carley

1964 The Shoshonis: Sentinels of the Rockies. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Well-researched ethnohistoric account of the Eastern Shoshone tribe of the Wind River Indian Reservation.

Triggs, J. H.

1956 History of Cheyenne and Northern Wyoming: Embracing the Gold Fields of the Black Hills, Powder River and Big Horn Countries. Laramie, WY: Powder River Publishers & Booksellers.

Reprint of an 1876 book by a local booster of Wyoming settlement. Some biased information on Native Americans.

Trudeau, Jean-Baptiste (aka Truteau)

1921 Description of the Upper Missouri. Abel, ed. Mississippi Valley Historical Review 8(2 & 3):1-18.

Turney-High, Harry H.

1941 Ethnography of the Kutenai. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association no. 56.

An encyclopedic ethnography with an emphasis on material culture and cultural traits.

United States House of Representatives

1894 Negotiations with Shoshones and Arapahos. House Executive Document 51, 53-2, vol. 26, January 3.

Government record detailing the U.S. House considerations regarding the accounting difficulties of funding treaty appropriations for the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes pursuant to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868.

United States Senate

1869 Appropriations for the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians. Senate Executive Document 23, 40-3, vol. 1, January 19.

Government record detailing the U.S. Senate considerations and recommendations regarding treaty appropriations for the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes pursuant to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868.

Urbanek, Mae Bobb

1900-72 Papers Archival/Manuscript Material accession # 1459. American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming. Laramie, WY.

1968 Almost Up Devil's Tower: A Tourist Novel. Boulder: Johnson Publishing Company.

1971 Chief Washakie of the Shoshones. Boulder: Johnson Publishing Company.

1978 Ghost Trails of Wyoming. Boulder: Johnson Publishing Company.

1988 Wyoming Place Names. Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing Company.

Mae Urbanek was an important local writer in northeastern Wyoming. She wrote novels and poetry, as well as more scholarly works. She was interested in Native American legends and lore. She is the sort of regional artist who was very influential in developing a Euroamerican sense of place in newly settled regions.

Utley, Robert M.

1963 The Last Days of the Sioux Nation. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Detailed historical review of the events leading up to the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890.

1984 The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Classic overview of relations and military conflicts between Indian tribes and the U.S. government in the American West.

1993 The Lance and the Shield: the Life and Times of Sitting Bull. New York: Ballantine Books.

A popular biography of the great Hunkpapa Lakota leader.

Vanstone, James W.

1982 The Simms Collection of Plains Cree Material Culture From Southeastern

Saskatchewan. Fieldiana Anthropology. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, IL.

Catalogue by a prominent archaeologist of Plains Cree material culture.

Vaughn, Jesse W.

1961 The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Military history of the war against the Cheyenne in 1876.

Vestal, Paul A., and Richard E. Schultes

1939 The Economic Botany of the Kiowa Indians, As It Relates to the History of the Tribe. Cambridge, MA: Botanical Museum.

A well-documented survey of the plants used by the Kiowa. Information obtained from two older Kiowa women, as well as published sources. One section organizes the plants by species, and another by types of use, which is followed by grouping the plants by the geographical region and the stage in Kiowa history when they were used.

Voget, Fred

1950 A Shoshone Innovator. American Anthropologist 52:53-63.

Case study of the role of John Trujuho in transmitting the Shoshone Sun Dance to the Crow.

1984 The Shoshoni-Crow Sun Dance. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Expanded discussion of Sun Dance transmission.

1987 The Crow Indian Give-away: A Primary Instrument for Cultural Adaptation and Persistence. Anthropos 82:207-214.

Looks at the give-away as a social coping mechanism.

2001 Crow. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 13: Plains, Raymond J. DeMallie, ed., pt. 2. ed. Pp. 695-717. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

The standard current reference work on the Crow.

Voth, H. R.

1893 Funeral Customs among the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians. Folklorist 1:95-98.

An early discussion of this topic, with data from the pre-reservation period.

Walker, James R.

1980 Lakota Belief and Ritual. Raymond J. DeMallie and Elaine A. Jahner, eds. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

1982 Lakota Society. Raymond J. DeMallie, ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

1983 Lakota Myth. Elaine A. Jahner, ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

1984 Sons of the Wind: The Sacred Stories of the Lakota. Introduction by Vivian Arviso One Feather. D. M. Dooling, ed. New York: Parabola Books.

Walker, born in 1849, was a surprisingly keen and sympathetic observer of Lakota culture. His interest lay primarily in religion and myth. These four books provide an important source of information on Lakota culture of the early reservation period.

Webber, Bert

1989 Indians Along the Oregon Trail: The Tribes of Nebraska, Wyoming, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington Identified. Medford, OR: Webb Research Group.

Reference book of Indian tribes encountered by emigrants traveling along the Oregon Trail of the Northwestern Unites States during the mid-1800s.

Wedel, Waldo R.

1961 Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

1982 Essays in the History of Plains Archeology. Lincoln, NE : J & L Reprint.

Mid–century syntheses of archaeological knowledge about the Plains.

Weist, Thomas

1984 A History of the Cheyenne People. Billings: Montana Council for Indian Education.

A popular history of the Cheyenne.

White Hat, Albert, Sr.

1999 Reading and Writing the Lakota Language: Lakota Iyapi un Wowapi nahan yawapi. Jael Kampfe, ed. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

A textbook of Lakota language developed on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation. Presented the first Lakota orthography used by the Lakota people. The book is also rich in ethnographic material, discusses aspects of traditional culture as well as culture change on the reservation.

Wikipedia

2006 Arapaho. Electronic document, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arapaho.

The Arapaho entry contains basic information regarding Arapaho culture and ethnohistory.

Will, G. F., and H. J. Spinden

1906 The Mandans: A Study of Their Culture, Archaeology and Language. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Papers.

An early holistic ethnography of the Mandan.

Willey, P.

1990 Prehistoric Warfare on the Great Plains: Skeletal Analysis of the Crow Creek Massacre Victims. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

An osteological analysis and interpretation of the human remains recovered from the Crow Creek Village Site, thought to be a site of massacre of an Arikara village.

Wilson, Elijah Nicholas

1910 Among the Shoshones. Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing Company.

Memoir by a Euroamerican adopted by Shoshones.

Wood, Raymond W., and L. Irwin

2001 Mandan. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 13: Plains, Raymond J. DeMallie, ed., pt. 2. Pp. 349-364. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Standard reference on the Mandan.

Woolworth, Alan R.

1974 Ethnohistorical Report on the Yankton Sioux. New York: Garland Publishing.

A detailed history of the Yankton from their history to reservation times. Focuses on their contact with the Europeans. Traces the Yankton migrations based on their mentions in historical documents.

Wright, Gary A.

1978 The Shoshonean Migration Problem. Plains Anthropologist 23(80):113-137.

A critical examination of the archaeological evidence surrounding the question of Shoshonean migration from the Great Basin to adjoining regions to the north.

Young, D. A., and R. L. Bettinger

1992 The Numic Spread: A Computer Simulation. American Antiquity 57:85-99.

Computer modeling of the Numic expansion in the Great Basin, based on the archaeological record.

Zedeño, María Nieves

2000 On What People Make of Places: A Behavioral Cartography. *In* Social Theory in Archaeology. M. B. Schiffer, ed. Pp. 97-111. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

A theoretical discussion of place making by an archaeologist who worked on the Nevada Test Site project.

Zeimens, George M., and Danny Walker, eds.

1985 Archaeology of the Eastern Powder River Basin, Wyoming. Report prepared

for the Bureau of Land Management. Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming. Laramie, WY.

Overview of eastern Powder River Basin.