DRAFT
ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT FOR THE ROSS *IN-SITU* URANIUM RECOVERY PROJECT AREA, CROOK COUNTY, WYOMING

Prepared for the

U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Prepared by

SWCA Environmental Consultants
on behalf of
Attenuation Environmental Company

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Ethnographic Context for the Ross In-Situ Recovery Project Area, Crook County, Wyoming

Prepared for the

U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Rockville, Maryland

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INTRODUCTION

This document develops a context within which the significant patterns, events, persons and cultural values of ethnographic resources in the Ross *In-situ* Uranium Recovery (Ross) Project area may be considered. The U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), as the lead federal agency on the undertaking, is responsible for taking into account the effects of the Ross Project on historic properties (including significant ethnographic resources) in compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA).

'Ethnographic resource' as it is used here means any historic property of "traditional religious and cultural importance to an Indian tribe," pursuant to the Section 106 process (at *Code of Federal Regulations* Part 36 Section 800 [36 CFR 800]). The use of the term 'ethnographic resource' is also intended to distinguish those resources recognizable through ethnographic sources (such as by the people that hold the traditions and are of the culture from which importance is ascribed to the property). This differentiates ethnographic resources from other general cultural resources that tend to be archaeologically identified, in manners that may not well convey values of "traditional religious and cultural importance."

This context forms a background for the identification and evaluation process for ethnographic resources in the Ross Project area. It provides information that could be used by the NRC to support eligibility determinations of sites already identified by GCM Services (Ferguson 2010). In addition, it provides information that could complement a proposed traditional cultural property (TCP) survey that might be conducted by Native American tribes with traditional ties to the Project region. In relation to a TCP survey, the ethnographic context would serve to provide additional historical background to enhance understandings of the cultural importance of TCPs (TCPs being a type of ethnographic resource with a defined assessment approach, described in National Register Bulletin [NRB] 38 [Parker and King 1998]). The results of the ethnographic context would further support the TCP survey's evaluation of these resources as "historic properties" (as defined under 36 CFR 800.16) and, therefore, of their eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

TCP survey results could help to identify errors or clarify discrepancies in the ethnographic context, as well to be reinforced by the reliable factual data contained within this context. The ethnographic context will rely on existing documentary sources of information, while the TCP survey would ideally be informed by elders and other culturally knowledgeable individuals and information sources from each participating tribe. As such, the ethnographic context will provide an overview, and the TCP study would be expected to be the direct means for collecting Project area-specific data, on sites of traditional religious and cultural importance.

Context development follows the steps outlined in the Secretary of the Interior Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation (National Park Service [NPS] 2001):

1. Identifying the concept, time period and geographical limits for the historic context.
2. Assembling the existing information about the historic context.
3. Synthesizing information.
4. Defining property types.

5. Identifying information needs.

THE CONCEPT BEHIND THE CONTEXT

The basis of this ethnographic context is the need to establish a conceptual framework for properties of "traditional religious and cultural importance" as might be identified and evaluated primarily in the mode of TCPs, (as provided for in NRB 38 [Parker and King 1998]). In relation to TCP values, NRB 38 establishes that 'traditional' "refers to those beliefs, customs, and practices of a living community of people that have been passed down through the generations, usually orally or through practice," and goes on to say that, "The traditional cultural significance of a historic property, then, is significance derived from the role the property plays in a community's historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices" (Parker and King 1998).

TIME INTERVAL CONSIDERATIONS

The time periods being addressed for ethnographic resources within this context generally span all three major cultural periods recognized by the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO). These are the Prehistoric, Protohistoric, and Historic periods. Generally, it is expected that ethnographic resources could be associated with any Prehistoric property. Prehistoric properties on the Wyoming plains have been determined archaeologically to extend in time from at least the end of the Pleistocene geologic epoch (prior to 12,000 years before present) through the period when Europeans began to colonize North American, after A.D. 1492. The Protohistoric period generally describes the transition from Native Americans predominantly occupying the land to those settlers following European-based occupations dominating the land; in the case of the Ross Project region this occurred between the eighteenth century (1700s) with the arrival of European-style trade goods and the beginning of the nineteenth century (1800s) when the presence of colonial and nascent U.S. fur traders and other frontiersmen became pervasive in the region. While the Historic period is primarily considered by historians and archaeologists as the "Euro-American" era, it further demands the recognition of the persisting connections of Native Americans to the history and the archaeology of the region.

The Historic period begins approximate to the establishment of the reservation system in Wyoming in 1851 and the subsequent embattlement of all Native American tribal groups in the region in then maintaining their presence and their lifeways on these remaining lands when confronted with the threat of extirpation. While the physical battles and warfare were generally concluded in the region by the beginning of 1877, and tribal control over Project region lands by then eliminated, peoples from the tribes historically continued to visit traditional places and to travel the country upon occasion. Recorded instances are highlighted in northeastern Wyoming's history, such as gatherings for (apparently) the Ghost Dance (Watt et al. 1975), of Sioux hunting parties (*Wyoming Tribune* 1903), and ceremonially at Bear Lodge or Devils Tower (*Boston Daily Globe* 1911).

Consequently, the 'Ethnographic period' spans from time immemorial, when the first Native Americans appeared in the region, to within the past 50 years of Native American presence in the region—the minimum age delimited by the NRHP for evaluating historical significance (without special consideration). In a sense, because they connect age-old traditions with living communities, TCPs are made timeless; however, for the requirements of evaluating significance under Section 106,

the 50-year minimum age component will be the critical temporal factor for determining culturally important places connected with enduring traditions to be historic properties.

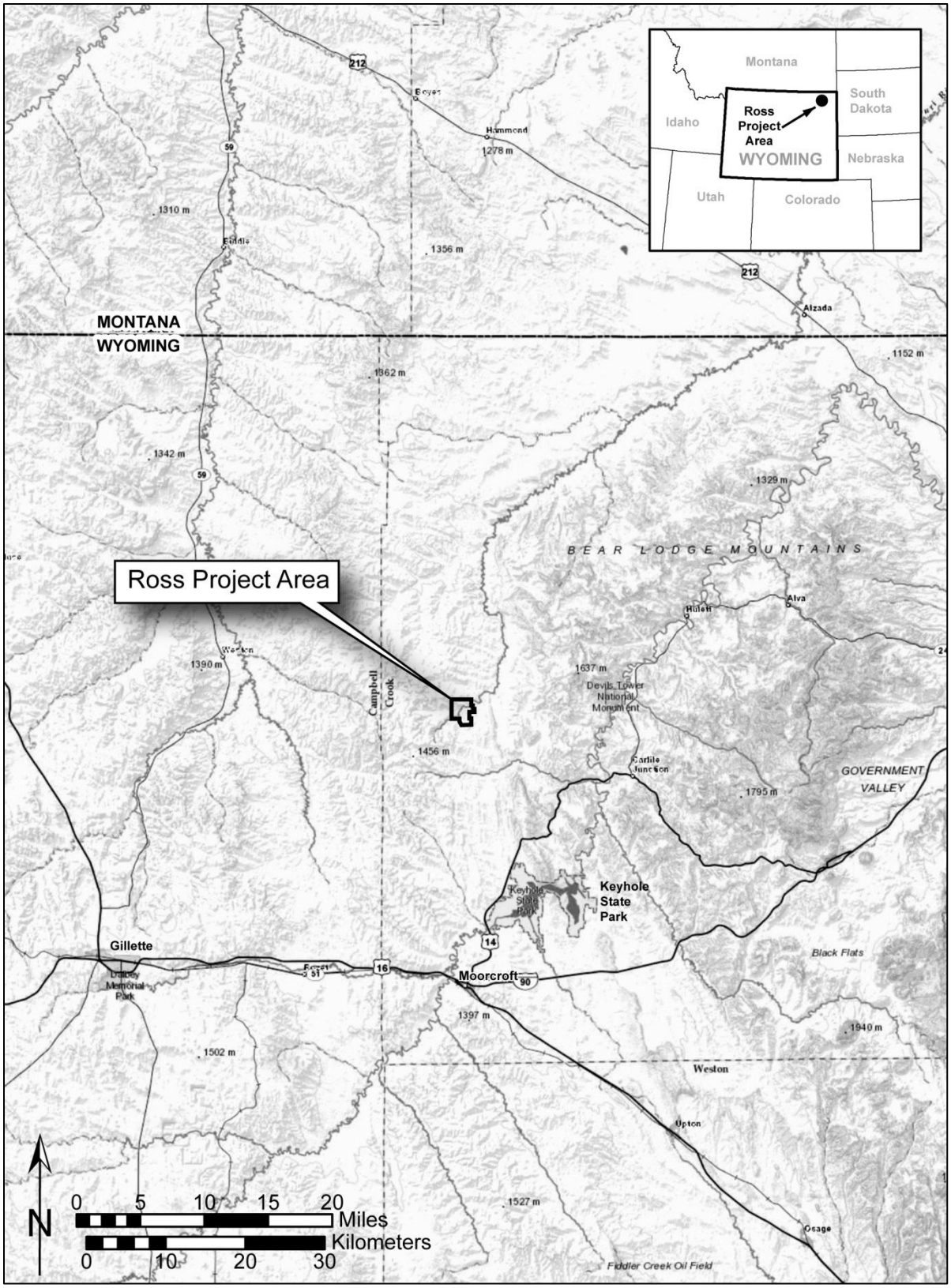

Figure 1. Location of the Ross Project Area.

GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT

The traditions potentially connected to places within the Ross Project area are associated with diverse tribes that include the Project region among the territory to which they have historical ties. For the current project, 23 Native American nations with peoples having historical ties to the area are consulting on the Project; these are listed alphabetically below.

- Blackfeet Nation
- Cheyenne & Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma
- Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe
- Chippewa Cree Tribe
- Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes
- Crow Nation
- Crow Creek Sioux Tribe
- Eastern Shoshone Tribe
- Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe
- Fort Belknap Indian Community
- Fort Peck Assiniboine & Sioux Tribes
- Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma
- Lower Brule Sioux Tribe
- Arikara, Hidatsa, & Mandan Nation
- Northern Arapaho Tribe
- Northern Cheyenne Nation
- Oglala Sioux Tribe
- Rosebud Sioux Tribe
- Santee Sioux Tribe
- Sisseton-Wahpeton Oyate
- Spirit Lake Tribe
- Standing Rock Sioux Tribe
- Yankton Sioux Tribe

The expanse of territories with which the Native American peoples represented in these nations are traditionally affiliated is illustrated in maps for each section. In ethnography and archaeology, the cultures of this region are described as being associated with traditions adapted to Northern Plains living. Geographically, this portion of the Wyoming plains is also within the upper Missouri River Basin. The Ross Project area, specifically, is situated on the Little Missouri River tributary of the Missouri River (Figure 1, on the previous page). This context generally considers the Northern Plains area where the traditional occupations of the various tribes involved may have intersected. The context is focused on the headwaters of the Little Missouri River and generally extends north across the Yellowstone River to the Missouri River; east across the Belle Fourche River and past Devils Tower to the Black Hills; west across the Powder River to the Rocky Mountain front at the Bighorn Mountains; and south to the divide between the Cheyenne, Powder, and Belle Fourche Rivers near Pumpkin Buttes.

THE ASSEMBLAGE OF EXISTING INFORMATION

For the development of this context, SWCA performed online searches of or telephone inquiries to various repositories (e.g., SHPO's online searchable database, "WYCRIS"), for the purposes of identifying available information, and conducting focused information gathering, on-site, at relevant repositories. Consequently, SWCA documented the repositories consulted and sources examined. For completion of this task, assigned SWCA project staff:

- reviewed SWCA in-house ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and historic materials for the upper Missouri River Basin in northeast Wyoming (the Project region), including the previous archaeological inventory report prepared for the Ross Project (which is also the primary project referenced by WYCRIS for the Project area);

- expanded upon previous references sources and materials through online research to identify additional material that may have become available since the previous data was compiled and to identify additional sources of Ross Project location-specific and/or location-proximate materials;
- reviewed repository and local archival sources and communicated with repository staff to assess which may have holdings relevant to the Project area and/or ethnographic or tribal themes in the Project region, not available from other general or digital collections;
- created an itinerary and dispatched a researcher to identified repositories and archives to collect materials for Project-relevant and Project area- or region-specific information; and
- organized information collected from local/regional repository in preparation for use in this ethnographic context development and to inform TCP studies.

Review of previous ethnographic materials for the Ross Project area and region informed concepts and themes for topical research during SWCA's information gathering at local and regional repositories.

REPOSITORIES

SWCA contacted the repositories, including federal resource management offices, in the table that follows to assess the existence of potentially relevant information at these facilities with collection managers or staff, prior to arranging visitation for research. The listings are in order of contact. It is assumed that tribal information sources could be covered during the course of a separate TCP survey.

Table of Repositories Contacted.

Repository/Agency	Point of Contact	Synopsis of Results
U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA)/U.S. Forest Service (USFS)– Thunder Basin National Grassland	Orrin Koenig, Archaeologist	SWCA made contact regarding potential resources housed at the USFS office associated with the Thunder Basin National Grassland. This USFS office indicated few resources of the type inquired about, referring SWCA to Cher Burgess at the Bear Lodge District Office.
Bureau of Land Management (BLM) – Buffalo Field Office	Seth Lambert, Archaeologist	SWCA was informed that this BLM office did not have substantial records on file that would be useful, except for ethnographic studies which SWCA had already accessed.
Crook County Museum and Art Gallery	Rocky Courchaine, Director	SWCA contacted the museum regarding resources that they might keep. The museum has few primary documents; although, the Director does collect oral histories and stories from the community.

Repository/Agency	Point of Contact	Synopsis of Results
Wyoming State Archives	Cindy Brown, Reference Archivist	SWCA confirmed that the State Archives contain military records, a large photo database, and Works Project Administration (WPA) subject files. The photo database is digitally searchable on site.
USDA/USFS – Bear Lodge District	Cher Burgess, Archaeologist	SWCA was informed that most of this office's records are housed at Black Hills State University in Spearfish, South Dakota. The name of the librarian for special collections, Bobbi Sago, was provided. It was recommended that SWCA additionally contact Mitch Mahoney at the Hulett Museum and Art Gallery in Hulett, Wyoming.
Hulett Museum and Art Gallery	Mitch Mahoney, Director	SWCA was informed that the museum does not have much in the way of records that would be of use in the current study. It was again recommended that SWCA check with Black Hills State University.
Black Hills State University	Roberta "Bobbi" Sago, Special Collections Archivist, Librarian, and Assistant Professor	SWCA confirmed that the USFS had records in the university collections. The collections also house other materials that may be of value to the current line of research. The archivist indicated that Jace Decory, a professor at the University, might be able to provide additional information, but that Decory was not available during the summer.
BLM – Newcastle Field Office	Alice Tratebas, Archaeologist	SWCA learned that the BLM has several ethnographies and Class III survey reports on file (generally those available from other sources), but no other relevant resources.

REPOSITORY RESEARCH

SWCA visited the following seven local and regional repositories that were identified or anticipated to contain information potentially relevant to the current research topics:

1. University of Wyoming (UW), Laramie, Wyoming.

   The University of Wyoming is the flagship research and higher educational institution for the state of Wyoming. The University is the home to several departments and archives that hold documents that are pertinent to the history of the state and the region.

   The William R. Coe Library is the principal library on the University of Wyoming campus, and has mainly secondary sources of information, as well as published accounts from early Euro-American travelers, settlers, and military personnel. SWCA identified a number of resources that provided contextual and background information for the region, period, and cultures of interest for ethnographic context development.

Chisum Reading Room, located in the Coe Library is a special collection for UW. This collection is comprised completely of published sources; although, many of those sources are extremely rare and had limited circulation at the time of publication. SWCA located monographs related directly to the earliest Euro-American travelers in the Black Hills region of the Dakota Territory.

The American Heritage Center (AHC), located on University of Wyoming campus, contains several collections that span a broad geographic and temporal period. For the current purposes the relevant collection was the Frederick Toppan collection, containing 50,000 items with emphasis on Wyoming and the American West. SWCA located historic Euro-American accounts about the U.S. frontier and the Dakota Territory, as well as the establishment of the State of Wyoming.

The Geology Library, in the S. H. Knight Building, has few items that pre-date the twentieth century. Most of the maps are focused on oil and mineral deposits. While SWCA was able to collect early images from 1905 and 1911 maps of the region, these items contained few cultural references and are of limited detail and relevance for the current project.

2. Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

   The State Archives in Cheyenne are the principal archives for primary documents for the State of Wyoming. The State Archives are a voluntary repository, relying upon the discretion of individual counties for depositing documents or copies of documents. This results in a high degree of variability in both the quality and quantity of information available for individual counties.

   Crook County has deposited relatively small amounts of historic documents at the State Archives. However, while there was minimal information for Crook County in general, the archives had a large amount of data for Devils Tower. Much of the information available for Devils Tower dated to the twentieth century and related to National Park Service public information and newspaper articles. There were virtual gems in the collection, such as the Native American interlocutor interviews conducted by Dick Stone in the 1930s. The archivist's knowledge and helpfulness are another resource at this repository, especially since the card-catalogue and the finding aids are in hard-copy format.

3. Wyoming State Library, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

   The Wyoming State Library is the flagship department of the State of Wyoming's public library system. While the State Library does contain some historic monographs, most of those are popular, main-stream works that are readily accessible from a multitude of sources. The library also lacks any primary, unpublished documents. The primary purpose of this library is to provide public access to contemporary government publications as well as popular works of fiction and non-fiction.

4. Campbell County Library, Gillette, Wyoming.

   The Campbell County Library is part of the state's public library system, and contains works of fiction and non-fiction. No new materials were located beyond those previously on file from past SWCA research in the region. However, the librarian was very helpful, as well as interested and knowledgeable of the topic and was able to direct SWCA to additional digital collections (i.e., Digital Collections, www.digitalcollections.uwyo.edu; Rocky Mountain On-line Archive, www.rmoa.unm.edu), which produced the 1867 Clarke Diary (Fort Reno Soldier).

5. Rockpile Museum, Gillette, Wyoming.

   The Rockpile Museum is a local museum that focuses primarily on the history of Gillette since the early twentieth century. No new materials were located beyond those previously on file from past SWCA research in the region. The museum houses a photo collection and a small quantity of primary documents.

6. Black Hills State University, Spearfish, South Dakota.

   Black Hills State University houses a variety of primary documents related to twentieth century USDA Forest Service activities in the Black Hills Region. This collection is broad and provides access to information on the development of the Forest Service and the management of the natural resources of the area. No database or finding aids exist for this collection, making it time consuming to sort through and identify any useful materials. Despite this search-ability issue, the collection is well organized.

7. Crook County Museum, Sundance, Wyoming.

   The Crook County Museum has an eclectic collection, primarily of artifacts, that relate to the history of Crook County with a special emphasis on the Town of Sundance, Wyoming. The museum has few primary documents, although the Director has an extensive private collection of Wyoming newspapers. The Director is actively involved in the community, and collects local oral histories and stories, best accessed through contact of the Director.

ANNOTATED SOURCES

An annotation of relevant information sources identified follows. These sources are from the main materials reviewed prior to and during information gathering at local and regional repositories and archives. This series is bibliographical, alphabetical by author or producer.

Blackmore, William (1869). The North-American Indians: A Sketch of Some of the Hostile Tribes, Together with a Brief Account of General Sheridan's Campaign of 1868 against the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Kiowa, and Comanche Indians. *The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* 1(3):287-320.

Blackmore discusses travels within the Western Territories of the U.S. and the various Native American tribes with which he comes into contact and with which the U.S. military has the most

interaction. While the focus of the book is geographically broad and emphasizes hostilities between the Native American groups and the various Euro-American parties, including military expeditions, Blackmore identifies regions where the tribes are located, demographic numbers, and briefly describes nineteenth century cultural characteristics from his perspective. In particular, the author locates the Cheyenne within the basin of the "Shyenne River," as well as their neighbors the Arapaho, "with whom they share the same hunting grounds," within the Black Hills (pp. 307-311).

Boston Daily Globe. DEVIL'S TOWER: Weird Sentinel of the Wyoming Plains—Gigantic Rock Now Belongs to the Government. October 15, 1911.

In describing the acquisition of Devils Tower by the U.S. government as a national monument, this article also discusses Native American history and use of the area. Specifically, the article mentions a "legend" concerning warring and pony-stealing at the base of Devils Tower between the Crow and Cheyenne tribes. The skirmish ended with members of both tribes attempting to climb the tower. The article further mentions that members of the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Crow tribes frequently visit the Tower because of its association with tribal mythology and medicine.

Chicago Tribune. The Black Hills: Return Journey of the Exploring Expedition, Inyan Kara and the Bear Lodge Range. September 21, 1875.

This article discusses the 1875 Scientific Expedition of Dodge-Jenny in the Black Hills, specifically to the Inyan Kara and Bear Butte range. While focusing on the mineral deposits and agricultural potential of the region, the article mentions that Native Americans were using Spearfish Creek for procuring fish, as well as meeting "a large number of Indians" between the Cheyenne River and the Badlands, including Tall Bull of the Minneconjue, Spotted Cloud of the Cheyenne-River Agency, and Fool Dog from near Fort Sully.

Clarke, Robert Dunlap (1867). *Fort Reno Soldier's Diary*.

This diary describes daily activities of Clarke, such as skirmishes with Native Americans, and includes drawings and sketches of the fort, other soldiers, and the surrounding country-side. Fort Reno was located in the upper Powder River Basin of Wyoming, well south of the current Project area.

Denig, Edwin (1961). *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Edwin Denig, a fur-trader for the American Fur Trade company for nearly two decades in the mid-nineteenth century, was active in chronicling his journey's and adventures as well as his interactions and observations of Native American Groups in the Upper Missouri River Basin. Denig left a descriptive manuscript of the Sioux, Arikara, Assiniboine, Cree, and Crow tribes with whom he traded from 1833-1855. Along with descriptions of territory boundaries and villages, the author also describes the individuals with whom he interacted and the daily practices and life of the Native Groups and the European interlopers who were beginning to make the American West their home.

DeSmet, Father Pierre-Jean (1851). Map of the Upper Great Plains and Rocky Mountains Region.

The DeSmet map illustrates general geographical locations of large Native American tribes in the American West, as of the time of the 1851 gathering for the Treaty of Fort Laramie.

Dodge, Richard Irving (1882). *Our Wild Indians*. Hartford: A. D. Worthington and Company.

Richard Dodge, a colonel in the U.S. Army, penned numerous monographs about the Native American groups with whom he came in contact. While emphasizing his personal exploits and adventures, Dodge's prolific writings on his years spent in "Indian Country" include mentions of the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Sioux in the Dakota Territory, including portions of northeastern Wyoming. While describing various anecdotes, encounters, and cultural traits of the Native American tribes, he briefly mentions having witnessed an Arapaho and Cheyenne "medicine dance" in the region in 1872 (pg. 40).

Dunn, J. P. (1886). *Massacres of the Mountains: A History of the Indian Wars of the Far West*. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Dunn's monograph describes the conflicts between various Native American tribal groups and the U.S. military in the early and mid-nineteenth century, between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. While the primary purpose of the book was to describe the violence of Native American groups toward Euro-Americans settling in the West, Dunn briefly identifies the Black Hills as the "medicine country" and hunting grounds of the Sioux Indians. He also recounts that the federal expedition led by Goveurnor Kemble Warren was turned away from the region around Inyan Kara in 1857 by a group of Sioux warriors claiming that the area was sacred ground.

Ferguson, David (2010). *A Class III Cultural Resource Inventory of Strata Energy's Proposed Ross ISR Uranium Project, Crook County, Wyoming*. Prepared by GCM Services, Inc.

Ferguson reports the results of a Class III cultural resources inventory of all archaeological resources 50 years or older with surface manifestation in the 1,710 acre area proposed for the Ross Project. Paleontological resources were also observed and recorded during the course of the survey. Twenty-four archaeological sites were recorded, 23 of which were prehistoric, and of those sites 15 were recommended as eligible for inclusion on the NRHP under criterion D. These prehistoric sites, consisting of stone circles, cairns, camp sites, and lithic scatters, were primarily undated, with the exception of one Middle Archaic period camp and one Late Archaic period camp. One historic site, a farmstead dating from the 1910s to the 1920s and 21 isolated resources, all consisting of lithic artifacts, were also identified during the course of the survey.

Ford, Wyman (1954). *The Legend of Devils Tower*.

This is a five-page pamphlet, self-published by Wyman Ford. In it, Ford recorded an oration by Dakota warriors Medicine Top, Spotted Blackbird, and Pine (interpreted by Willis Rowland) in the Large Council Tipi, July 21, 1933. This legend concerns the origin of Devils Tower and a fight between ancestors of the tribe and a supernatural bear. In this legend, Devils Tower was formed in part by the bear clawing at the rock.

Grinnell, George Bird (1874). Reconnaissance of the Black Hills of Dakota. *Paleontological and Zoological Reports*.

Grinnell, who was a scientist on the U.S. expedition led by George Armstrong Custer to the Black Hills, described the various species of flora and fauna that he encountered, as well as fossils collected in the Black Hills. Among the species he described was his sighting of a Golden Eagle, which Grinnell witnessed being shot by "Indian Guides" in the expedition. Grinnell described the significance of the bird as "highly valued by the Indians for his tail feathers which are used by them for plumes" (August 16, 1874).

Hanson, Jeffery and Sally Chirinos (1997). *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of the Devils Tower National Monument, Wyoming*. Department of the Interior, National Park Service (NPS), Intermountain Region, Denver, Colorado.

At the request of the NPS in the 1990s, Hanson and Moore conducted ethnographic interviews and archival research to ascertain the cultural significance of the Devils Tower National Monument as well as the surrounding area to various groups, including Native American groups who had traditionally occupied the region. Along with legends and mythos surrounding the monument, Hanson and Chirinos recorded oral histories of the area being used by the Arapaho in relation to funerary practices.

Hanson, Jeffery and David Moore (1999). Applied Anthropology at Devils Tower National Monument. *The Plains Anthropologist Memoir 31: Native Americans and Historic Preservation*. 44(170):53-60.

At the request of the NPS, Hanson and Moore specifically recorded reactions of interested Native American parties to the activities of Euro-American climbers of the Devils Tower National Monument, and the cultural significance of the monument for various Native American groups. The authors report that throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries peoples from the Eastern Shoshone, Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, Comanche, Crow, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Lakota tribes occupied the Black Hills, using the Belle Fourche River valley in support of subsistence, and Bear's Lodge as a significant ritual location. Throughout the twentieth century these various tribes have used Devils Tower to conduct ceremonies and leave physical offerings in sacred spaces.

Hedden, Roy (ND). *A Trip Through Bear Lodge*. WPA Subject #1270, Wyoming State Archives. Devil's Tower Long Folder.

In this unpublished manuscript, Hedden describes an early twentieth-century automobile tour through the Bear Lodge/Devils Tower region of northeastern Wyoming and southeastern South Dakota. While primarily a tourist account, Hedden briefly describes the party's uncontrolled excavation of an historic period Native American burial. The deceased had been interred with a blanket and metal artifacts.

Looking Horse, Arvol (1987). The Sacred Pipe in Modern Life. In *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation*. DeMallie, Raymond and Douglas Parks, eds. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Pgs. 67-73.

Sioux Indian Religion is a broad look at Sioux cultural practices and survivals in the twentieth century. Among them is a recounting of a sacred myth by Arvol Looking Horse of Sioux Nation in the 1980s, who describes the Devils Tower as the sacred origin point of the Sacred Pipe. Devils Tower held both the Sacred Pipe and Sacred Arrows; the Sacred Arrows being held by the Cheyenne. According to legend, the Sacred Pipe was brought to the Sioux at Cheyenne River. Every seven years a Sundance and other ceremonies are held with the Sacred Pipe as a central feature. Looking Horse specifically mentions ceremonies that occurred in 1974 and 1980.

Markoff and Zier (1981). *Cultural Resources of the Black Thunder Mine Permit Area*. Document prepared by Metcalf-Zier Archaeologists, Inc. and Western Heritage Conservation Inc.

This document includes a century-by-century description of Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric movements of Native American culture groups throughout the Northern Plains region. The report divides the movement of tribes through the Northern Plains region into general time periods, with specific culture groups correlated to each time period. The report states that between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries the Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, Crow, Comanche, and Shoshone represented the dominant culture groups in central and northern Wyoming. The second phase identified by the report is the post-1700 movement of more eastern and northern tribes into the region. These tribes include the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Blackfeet, and Sioux. The main focus of the report, however, is upon the historic development of Campbell County. The report covers the mid-1850s to the 1930s, highlighting the homesteading and related development of the eastern Powder River Basin.

Mattison, Ray (1956). *The First 50 Years: Devils Tower National Monument*. NPS.

This is a brief history of the monument written by Mattison to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the designation of Devils Tower National Monument (originally National Park). This historian discusses the presence of the Kiowa and Cheyenne Indians, providing origin stories from both groups for how the tower feature was created. Mattison also identifies the earliest known name of the geological feature as "Bad God's Tower," changed to "Devil's Tower" by Colonel Richard Dodge. Mattison further discusses the significance that the tower held for late-nineteenth century settlers of the area, how it has been the site of Anglo-American ceremonies and gatherings, and the history of climbing that has occurred over the last century.

Neihardt, John (1953). Why the Island Hill was Sacred. In *Eagle Voice: An Authentic Tale of the Sioux Indians*. Stratford Place: Andrew Melrose. Pp. 208-214.

In the 1950s Niehardt recorded oral traditions of the Sioux Indians. Among these was a recounting of conflict between the Sioux and the U.S. military over the Black Hills area. Eagle Voice, an elder of the tribe, describes legends of the Sioux coming into the Black Hills, as well as encountering groups who already occupied the area, including the Lakota and the eventual arrival of the Arapaho, as well as feasting with the Cheyenne. Eagle Voice ends the tale by stating that after the discovery of gold the tribes were driven from the area by Colonel Custer.

Peebles, T.C. ed. (1981). *Class II Cultural Resources Inventory of the Eastern Powder River Basin, Wyoming*. Prepared by Metcalf-Zier Archaeologists, Inc.

The report summarizes the inventory of sites surveyed on federal land in Campbell and Crook counties from the northern boundary of the Thunder Basin National Grassland to the Montana border. The report provides a comparably in-depth summary of the region's prehistoric culture history and an environmental overview of the eastern Powder River Basin. The report also provides in-depth descriptions of archaeological materials, especially lithic and ground stone technology, recorded during the course of the Project. The report contains several large sections concerning site location factors and formation process. The report avoids naming specific Native American cultures potentially affiliated with the area but does mention that the presence of trade ceramic ware is indicative of the presence of Shoshone and Crow groups in the area (Peebles et al. 1981:19).

Phillips, Scott C., Maxine Seletstewa, Paul Burnett, Joshua McNutt, and Scott Slessman (2006). *Pumpkin Buttes Cultural Resources: Ethnohistoric, Ethnographic, and Traditional Cultural Properties Investigations in Campbell and Johnson Counties, Wyoming*. Prepared by SWCA.

The ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and TCP survey of Pumpkin Buttes summarizes the results of archival, archaeological, and tribal consultation for the Pumpkin Buttes in the Powder River Basin and Belle Fourche River headwaters in northeastern Wyoming. A prominent geological feature, the buttes served as a culturally important site to Native American groups. The report includes an ethnographic overview for the Arapaho, Arikara, Assiniboine, Blackfeet, Cheyenne, Comanche, Crow, Gros Ventre, Hidatsa, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache, Mandan, Pawnee, Shoshone, and Sioux tribes; archaeological overviews of the site types identified in the Project area; a substantial chronological description of the prehistoric and historic trends of the study area; and an overview of cultural resource inventories that had been conducted in the region.

Reher, Charles (1979). *Western Powder River Basin Survey Report*. Prepared by the Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist (OWSA).

This report summarizes the results of the sample survey of cultural resources on BLM lands in southern Sheridan and western Johnson counties, Wyoming, as conducted by OWSA. The project area covered the eastern half of the Big Horn Mountains to the Johnson County line. The report consists of three volumes that covered the project survey and its results, a prehistoric cultural history review, a historical review, an ethnobotanical summary, and a review of rock art located in the survey area. The report provides prehistoric and historic timelines of the Powder River Basin area. The report avoids naming specific culturally affiliated tribes, but does suggest that Sioux and Cheyenne "great camps" are an excellent example of potential site types in the survey area (Reher 1979:127).

Reimer, Nora (1981). *Pioneers of Crook County*. Crook County Historical Society, Wyoming. (Pgs. 4-5).

In this general history of Crook County focusing on the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Euro-American occupation of the county, Reimer describes the Kiowa Legend of Devils Tower that was first recorded in 1897 by General H. L. Scott of Fort Sill, Oklahoma Territory. This legend was transmitted by *I-See-O*, a sergeant in the United States military and a Kiowa Army Scout. Reimer also provides the Cheyenne and Sioux legends regarding the tower formation; although, she does not specify the source(s) of that information.

Rom, L., T. Church, and M. Church, ed. (1996). *Black Hills National Forest Cultural Resources Overview Volume 1 – Synthetic Summary*.

This volume describes all archaeologically known phases of human occupation within the Black Hills from ancient ("Paleoindian") times to historic ranching and mining activities. The volume presents a description of representative archaeological sites within the boundary of the Black Hills National Forest, organized by the time period to which they are archaeologically affiliated. The volume also discusses prehistoric demography, mythology, resource procurement, common site types, and touches briefly on culturally affiliated tribes. These tribes include the Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Lakota Sioux (Rom et al. 1996).

Smith, Sherry (1983). The Bozeman: Trail to Death and Glory. *Annals of Wyoming* 55(1):32-50.

In this article, Smith discusses in detail the various Native American groups who lived and traveled through northeastern Wyoming historically, as well as the expeditions by various Euro-American groups, including missionaries, military, and explorers and their encounters with Native American groups. Specifically Smith identified the Powder River area as the "land of the Crows" during the 1820s and 1830s (pg. 32). According to the author, relying on ethnographic materials compiled by others, the Crow expanded into the area as early as A.D. 1400-1600, finding it already occupied by the Plains Apache and Kiowa. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Sioux and Cheyenne expanded into the region. The competition between these various groups over natural resources and space, as well as the increasing encroachment by Euro-Americans, resulted in conflicts and skirmishes between the Native American groups, ultimately leading into in the "Indian Wars" of the 1860s between intrusive Euro-American and Native American occupants.

Stone, Dick (n. d.). Excerpts from: *History of Devil's Tower and North Eastern Wyoming, Including a Number of Indian Legends: 1804-1934*. Microfilm, Wyoming State Archives.

In the 1930s, Dick Stone collected a number of Native American stories, legends, and historical recollections regarding the significance of the Devils Tower and Black Hills region. Stone mentions that men from the U.S. expedition of Goveurnor Kemble Warren met a large force of Dakotas (Sioux) in 1857, and were turned back from the Black Hills and away from Inyan Kara. He notes that the Black Hills expeditions of Colonel Custer and, earlier (in 1864), of Brigadier General Alfred Sully likewise encountered groups of Native Americans. The last group recognized by the U.S. government to occupy the area was the Sioux. Moreover, Stone was able to record recollections by various tribal elders about ceremonial and funerary practices at Devils Tower. Oscar One Bull and Luke Eagle Man stated to Stone in 1934 that Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, Red Cloud, Gall and Spotted Tail all made pilgrimages to "Bear Tipi" or Devils Tower to worship together. Sitting Bull also had a son born at Devils Tower. Also in 1934, Sioux Chief White Bull informed Stone that "honor men" of the tribe would pray at Devils Tower for three or four days at a time, fasting and sleeping on beds made of sagebrush. Chief White Bull also informed Stone that, historically, Sioux chiefs were interred near Devils Tower. In the summer when White Bull was ten years old, the Sioux held a Sundance at Quaking Asp Creek. In 1932 Sherman Sage, of the Arapaho Nation, informed Stone that his grandfather had been buried close to Devils Tower. A Crow woman, Kills-Coming-the-Birds, who was estimated to be 117 years old in 1932, informed Stone that when she was child she witnessed members of her tribe hunting

bears when they had traveled to Devils Tower to worship and fast. Crow men were reported to have built "houses" from stone, oriented east-west, in which they would lay while praying. Stone also collected legends about the creation and origin of the tower from Crow, Arapaho, Cheyenne and Sioux informants.

Sundstrom, Linea (1996). Mirror of Heaven: Cross-Cultural Transference of the Sacred Geography of the Black Hills. *World Archaeology* 28(2):177-189.

In this article, Sundstrom discusses how Native American groups within the Black Hills region—such as the Lakota, Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Apache—shared, exchanged and transferred conceptual ideas about the landscape and associated natural features through their interactions as these groups traveled throughout the region over a period of several centuries. For these groups, Devils Tower and Sun Dance Mountain are directly associated with the summer equinox, and the ceremonial Sundance. In turn, these features are related cosmologically to several constellations, including Big Dipper, which was recognized by Native Americans in the region as "Bears Lodge" and the ritual spoon. Inyan Kara was spiritually significant in the period of the year leading up to the summer equinox, and was a ritual location where the sacred stones for the Sundance were kept. The constellations linked the geographic features to specific myths, such as the Cheyenne myth of Devils Tower being the location where the girl was saved from the giant bear spirit (pg. 182). Sundstrom illustrates the variations and relations between historical Native American practices within the Black Hills through the 1890s, noting the continuity of the areas as sacred as Native American tribes were replaced by successive occupations.

Sundstrom, Linea (2000). Cheyenne Pronghorn Procurement and Ceremony. *The Plains Anthropologist*, Memoir 32: Pronghorn Past and Present: Archaeology, Ethnography and Biology. 45(174):119-132.

In this article, Sundstrom describes the significance of pronghorn hunting to the Cheyenne in the Black Hills region of north eastern Wyoming. She describes the actual practice of procuring pronghorn for subsistence, including the archaeological signatures that can be identified for prehistoric and historic hunting activities. According to this report, antelope pit sites have been identified by the BLM along the Little Missouri and antelope creeks and their branches. The author also discusses the cultural significance of antelope hunts in this region, noting that they included important religious ceremonies that were communally experienced by all members of the community, and were practiced into the nineteenth century.

Tallent, Annie (1899). *The Black Hills, or, The Last Hunting Grounds of the Dakotas*. St Louis: Nixon-Jones Printing Co.

Tallent's monograph focuses on the opening of the Black Hills to Euro-American settlers in the last nineteenth century, diminishing the extent to which Native American groups occupied the area. In fact, the author goes so far as to insist that "No evidence that Indians had at any time made the Black Hills their home was found by the first pioneers" (pg. 111). Despite this, Tallent does identify the presence of the Sioux (Dakotas) as early as 1855 when the first formal expeditions were made into the Black Hills. She also recounts the tale of the Thoen stone, discovered in 1887, which is dated to 1834 and bears an inscription claiming to have been written by a gold prospector who was robbed and killed by Indians near present-day Spearfish,

South Dakota. During her emigration across the Black Hills region, Tallent reports being constantly in fear of attack from "hostile Indians." Her party did have some interactions with Native Americans, such as a band of Cheyenne hunters entering their camp within sight of the Black Hills. She also reports on the Dakota identifying the Black Hills as the home of the Great Spirit.

United States Geological Survey (1905). USGS Topographic Map of Devils Tower Quadrangle.

This map illustrates specific geographical information for the area.

Vestal, Stanley (1948) [also known as Dr. Walter Stanley Campbell]. *War Path and Council Fire*. New York: Random House. Toppan Collection, American Heritage Center, UW.

Vestal's monograph is a history of the nineteenth century American West and the conflict between Native Americans and the Unites States government. He briefly describes the significance of the Black Hills to the Sioux, identifying the area as a sacred region used by "Seers and Shamans" for prayer, and believed to be the home of animal people.

Warren, Goveurnor Kemble (1859). Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean; ordered by Jeff'n Davis, Secretary of War to accompany the reports of the explorations for a railroad route.

A map of the territorial western United States from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. Includes general geographical information on Native American groups.

White, David (1998). *Naming Bear Lodge: Ethnoponymy and the Devils Tower National Monument, Wyoming*. Prepared by Applied Cultural Dynamics for the NPS, Denver, Colorado.

This table indicates the Native names for Devils Tower, the translations of the names, and tribal affiliations.

SOURCES REVIEWED AND NOT FOUND RELEVANT TO THE CURRENT STUDY

During the documentary research SWCA identified a number of sources that with the potential to have pertinent information, but on inspection were found to be peripheral to the current topic and region. These included monographs on the ecology of northeastern Wyoming and the Black Hills region, such as Gary Larson and James Johnson's (1999) *Plants of the Black Hills and Bear Lodge Mountains* (South Dakota State University, Brookings). These also included various ethnographic studies of Native American that lacked temporal or geographic information specific to the current study such as the following list of materials:

> Bullchild, Percy (1985). *The Sun Came Down: The History of the World as my Blackfeet Elders Told It*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
>
> Palmer, Jessica (2008). *The Dakota Peoples: A History of the Dakota, Lakota and Nakota through 1863*. McFarland & Co., Jefferson, North Carolina.

Rockwell, David (1991). *Giving Voice to Bear: North American Indian Rituals, Myths, and Images of the Bear*. Roberts Rinehart Publishing, Lanham, Maryland.

Roe, Melvin (1960). *Father DeSmet: Mountain Missionary*. Thesis. Roll # 0065-33-008, MA # 1086 B-37-02, Wyoming State Archives.

Stars, Ivan, Eugene Buechel, Peter Iron Shell, and Paul Manhart (1978). *Lakota Tales and Texts: Wisdom Stories, Customs, Lives, and Instruction of the Dakota People*. Red Cloud Lakota Language and Cultural Center, Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

Many U.S. military accounts also mentioned Native Americans; however, these were often so vague or so focused on skirmishes and conflicts around forts and Euro-American settlements that they conveyed no relevant information for the current research. Such works included:

Benjamin F. Fowler (1886). Letter to Governor John W. Hoyt, MSS 592,Wyoming State Archives.

Expeditions: Reynolds (1859). Roll #0059-77-0039, MA #845, B37-03, Wyoming State Archives.

Records of the War Department, U.S. Army Commands, Record Group #98: Fort Reno Dakota Territory. ID# 6453, Wyoming State Archives.

Fort Reno Wyoming: Post Returns. ID# 6958, Wyoming State Archives.

Appropriations and Agent for Kiowa, Apache and Comanche Indians, 38th Congress, First Session, Executive Document #73.

Similarly, while some early settlers' and travelers' accounts were helpful, many actually only mentioned the daily practices of Native Americans in regards to skirmishes or violent conflict. Some early adventurers who wrote popular accounts, such as Richard Dodge, recycled the same material in several books, making multiple citations redundant. Such works include:

Bowles, Samuel (1869). *Our New West: Records of Travel between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean*. Hartford Publ. Co., Hartford, Connecticut.

Ellet, Elizabeth (1853). *Summer Rambles in the West*. J. C. Riker, New York, New York.

Dodge, Richard (1877). *Hunting Grounds of the Great West*. Chatto & Windus, London, England.

Garrard, Lewis (1850). *Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail: Or, Prairie Travel and Scalp Dances, with a look at Los Ranchers from Muleback, and the Rocky Mountain Campfire*. W. H. Derby and Co., New York, New York.

Harrsion, Fred (ND). Terrifying Ordeal of Nancy Holoway. On file at the Crook County Museum, Sundance, Wyoming.

Perkins, James (1846). *Annals of the West: Embracing a Concise Account of Principal Events Which Have Occurred in the Western States and Territories, from the Discovery of the Mississippi Valley to the Year Eighteen Hundred and Forty-Five*. J. R. Albach, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Plattner, Carl (ND). *Early Cabins in Crook County*. WPA Subject 1265, Wyoming State Archives.

Remington, Frederic (1906). *The Way of an Indian*. Gay and Bird, London, England.

Peck, George (1860). *Wyoming: It's History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures*. Harper & Brothers, New York, New York.

Ricketts, Peter (ND). *Devil's Tower: The Winter of 1886—A Tough One*. WPA Subject 1194, Wyoming State Archives.

Sage, Rufus (1857). *Rocky Mountain Life: Or, Startling Scenes and Perilous Adventures in the Far West, During and Expedition of Three Years*. Wentworth & Co. , Boston, Massachusetts.

Additionally, SWCA researched a number of books about the general history of Wyoming. More often than not, these works focused on the Euro-American history, ignoring the culture and history of Native American inhabitants. Such works include:

Bartlett, Ichabod Sargent (1918). *History of Wyoming*. S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., Chicago, Illinois.

Dow, James, Roger Welsch, and Susan Dow (2010). *Wyoming Folklore: Reminiscences, Folktales, Beliefs, Customs, and Folk Speech*. Federal Writer's Project. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Strahorn, Robert (1877). *The Hand-Book of Wyoming and Guide to the Black Hills and Big Horn Region for Citizen, Emigrant, and Tourist*. Press of Knight & Leonard, Chicago, Illinois.

SWCA also reviewed several newspaper articles and informational pamphlets about the geographic location of the general Project regions, addressing contemporary themes and issues not directly relevant to the current study. These items include:

- contemporary stories of rock climbers or twentieth century newspaper and magazine accounts of Euro-American picnickers at Devils Tower or Inyan Kara Mountain;
- internal management reports from the U.S. Forest Service located at South Dakota State University; and
- tourist information for Devils Tower created by the NPS.

SYNTHESIS

Synthesis forms a context from the assembled existing information. Collection of existing information focused upon finding additional documentary sources that are ethnographically pertinent to the Ross Project region. This information is to be combined with information from the body of known existing literature arising in other ethnographic studies in the region (i.e., Phillips et al. 2006). The existing literature, whether in historical narratives or archaeological reports, is noticeably weighted toward Euro-American perspectives and presentations regarding Native American lifeways in the region, with few firsthand accounts from Native Americans themselves. This is one of the research gaps that a tribal TCP survey of the Project area could be expected to redress to a great degree. In sum, although Native American presence is described in the Project region in the existing literature, tribal traditions enacted on these landscapes is not well detailed. For this reason, ethnographic context development relies extensively on general tribal ethnographies and, like most cultural resource management studies, depends on field surveys to connect cultural resources found on the land to the context.

While tribal consultation has been intensifying in the region in response to increased federal mandates arising over the past few decades, in Wyoming this has resulted primarily in consultation on archaeologically identified cultural resources, or high-profile sites with unique concerns such as Devils Tower and the Bighorn Medicine Wheel. Even when consultation has occurred on TCP landscapes within Wyoming, such as at Pumpkin Buttes, Foote Creek Rim/Hanna Basin, and Cedar Ridge, this tribal consultation has largely been focused upon archaeological remains—overly reliant upon NRHP Criterion D considerations for resources as some tribal representatives have decried. Tribal consultants often request consideration for other connected resources, such as resource procurement areas (e.g., plant, animal, mineral), topographic features, and similar places where traditional practices and lifeways were enacted on the lands. Archaeologically identified sites and materials can provide one starting place from which to begin considering how traditional practices played out on the landscape. However, archaeologically identified resources are not the only tangible resources identifiable on the landscape. While "traditions" may largely express intangible aspects of culture, those persons knowledgeable in the traditions and from the Native American cultures from which the tradition originates may identify the types of places and resources (tangible locations and materials) required for conducting certain traditions.

After identification of a TCP, as with any other cultural resource, it is a matter of assessing:

- whether the property is historic (or protohistoric or prehistoric);
- whether the TCP can be considered significant in relation to important contexts and as evaluated under the criteria of the NRHP; and
- whether it retains the necessary characteristics to continue to convey its significance—or thereby has 'historical integrity.

In accordance with NRB 38, these matters are to be determined in consultation with those who have identified the TCP within their cultural traditions. The significance of a TCP may relate to events, people, or elements of design important in history (or protohistory or prehistory), in consideration of all NRHP criteria for significance, and not solely to further important research value (under Criterion D).

For this purpose, the Synthesis reviews the broad pattern of tribal culture and known association with the region through time. It proceeds with ethnographical synopses of the tribal groups with whom the peoples of the consulting tribes on the Ross Project are largely affiliated. These synopses, provided in alphabetical order include the following 15 tribal groups:

- Arapaho
- Arikara
- Assiniboine
- Blackfeet
- Cheyenne
- Cree
- Crow
- Gros Ventre
- Hidatsa
- Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache
- Kootenai
- Mandan
- Salish
- Shoshone
- Sioux

ARAPAHO

Language and Origin

The Arapaho are an Algonquian-speaking group; therefore from a greater language group that also includes the Cree, Blackfoot, Ojibwa, Chippewa, Cheyenne, and Gros Ventre tribes (Lowie 1954). The Arapaho have been recorded as having five divisions within their tribe: the *Hit'u-n'nno* (The Begging People), *Baasa w' une'nno* (The Big Lodge People or Shelter Man), *Hinan 'ina* (The Blood Pudding, Red Willow, and Sage People), *H'anaxaw'ne'na* (The Rock Men), and *N'wacinaha'ana* (The South People). The first three have been documented as having closely related dialects, while the latter two have a dialect that is divergent from the rest of the tribe (Fowler 2001). It is believed that the *Hit'u-n'nno* people became the Gros Ventre, who distinguished themselves from the Arapaho and moved northward. The two tribes speak mutually intelligible dialects (Kroeber 1983[1902]:6). The Cheyenne, with whom the Arapaho maintain close ties have distinct differences in dialect, the Arapaho having one of the most specialized dialects of any Algonquian speaking Great Plains group (Kroeber 1983[1902]).

History and Territory

It is believed that the Arapaho people abandoned a sedentary agricultural lifestyle in Minnesota and North Dakota for a more nomadic lifestyle. They are recorded as migrating westward into the Plains region, and to what is now eastern Wyoming and Kansas, before the eighteenth century (Hall 2001) (Figure 2). According to traditional accounts, the Arapaho lived in villages and raised corn crops before they began to migrate. As Hall (2001) documented from the accounts of Jean Baptiste Trudeau, a French explorer, the Arapaho were continually migrating west and south from Canada to southeastern Montana and eastern Wyoming. It was later documented around 1820 that the Arapaho made alliances with the Cheyenne and were fighting the Kiowa, Comanche, and Sioux for resources located within the Great Plains region (Hall 2001).

Prior to acquiring horses, the Arapaho used domesticated dogs for both food and travel and were referred to as the Arapaho, a Crow term meaning "many tattoo marks," a term also used by the Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa (with whom they traded) to describe the small tattoo marks placed on their bodies (Fowler 2001; Hall 2001). After acquiring horses around 1800, Truteau (1912) documented that the Arapaho were living between the Yellowstone and Platte rivers and trading horses and prairie turnip flour to the Arikara for corn. By that time, the Cheyenne and Arapaho were recorded as wintering together in Arapaho territory, possibly near the foot of the Rocky

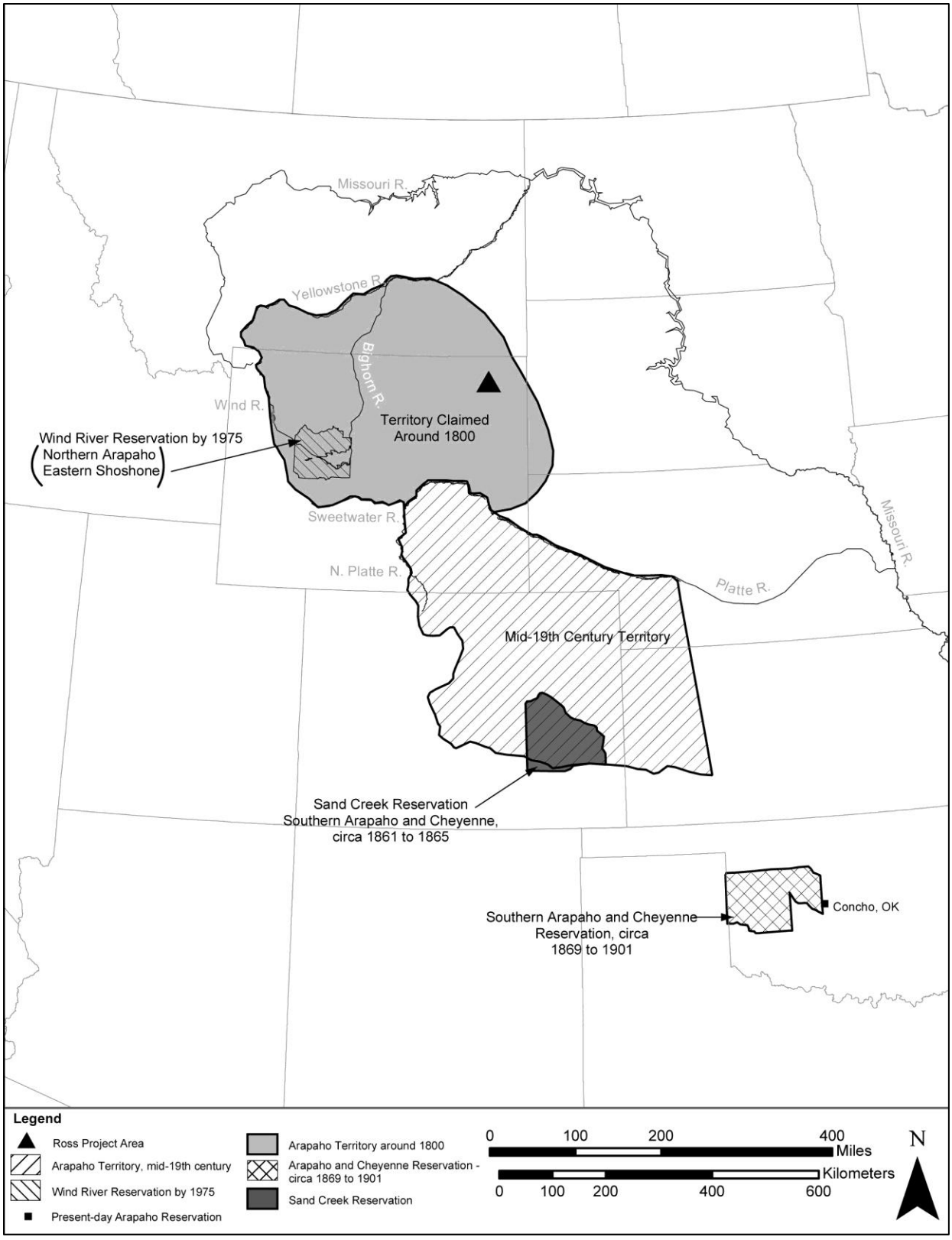

Figure 2. The territory of the Arapaho.

Mountains in Wyoming and Colorado and separating in the spring, as the Cheyenne migrated toward the Missouri River villages for trade (Coues 1897). Though linguistically related, the Cheyenne and Arapaho are considered two culturally distinct groups. However, both tribes have been suggested as being so intertwined that they are documented as emerging into the Plains region at the same time, and have been located in the same general vicinity. Intermarriage, trade, and co-habitation during winter months were common between the two tribes (Fowler 2001).

During the mid-1800s, Plains tribes struggled against one another to gain access to resources located along the waterways of northeastern Wyoming and the Black Hills. After being successfully pushed south of the North Platte River by the Sioux and Crow, the Arapaho and Cheyenne worked together to push the Comanche and Kiowa out of northeastern Colorado and south of the Arkansas River (UW 2003). Meanwhile, as a result of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, European settlers began to occupy new territories in the west. By that time, the Arapaho began to divide into two separate groups: Northern and Southern Arapaho. According to the Arapaho, most of the *H'anaxaw'ne'na* and *N'wacinaha'ana* people became known as the Southern Arapaho and the *Baasa w'une'nno*, *Hinana'ina,* and some of the *H'anaxaw'ne'na* and *N' wacinaha'ana* people became the Northern Arapaho (Fowler 2001). The Northern Arapaho began to settle territories north of the Platte River in Wyoming and in the Big Horn Mountain region in Montana, while the Southern Arapaho moved further east and south of the Rockies, relocating near the headwaters of the South Platte and along the tributaries of the Arkansas River (UW 2003). The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 also maintained territories for the Arapaho, 300 miles east into Kansas and Nebraska (UW 2003). Although these lands were to be shared with the Cheyenne, the Arapaho concentrated their habitations westward to the edge of the Rocky Mountain foothills and hunted extensively around Estes Park in present-day Colorado, as well as in southern Wyoming. Continuous outside pressure from European settlers eventually led them to ally with the Sioux and Northern Cheyenne, who were living in portions of Montana occupied by the U.S. military (Hall 2001), as the U.S. built forts along trail systems through the Powder River Basin and Big Horn Mountains (UW 2003).

By 1855, the Arapaho split led to two different tribes, which were politically independent of one another. The Treaty of 1861 at Fort Lyon assigned a reservation to the Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne along Sand Creek in Colorado, where they were unable to hunt or grow crops and began to starve (Debo 1970; Andrist 1964). Because the conditions were poor on the reserved land and relations with European settlers in the area worsened due to food and stock stealing—not to mention disease, both the Arapaho and Cheyenne relocated to an army camp near Fort Lyon on Sand Creek where they were guaranteed protection (Hall 2001). In 1864, however, Colonel John Chivington led his militia against both groups in an early morning raid killing at least 130 Arapaho and Cheyenne, mostly women, children, and the elderly (Hall 2001). Both divisions of Arapaho, and their new allies, the Cheyenne and the Sioux, retaliated; however, their actions were short-lived locally as many moved north and "joined their Oglala Sioux and Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho relatives in the Powder River country" (Lewis and Redish 2002; Debo 1970). Another U.S. treaty in 1867 established a small reservation in Kansas for the remaining Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne before they were relocated by executive order to a reservation in Oklahoma along the Canadian River, where the Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne reside today (Hall 2001).

By the 1860s, the Northern Arapaho were living with the Sioux and Northern Cheyenne in Montana, and began to meet with President Grant in 1986 to negotiate their own reservation (Hall 2001). After 1868, the Northern Arapaho served as scouts for the U.S. Army, and also established relations with their long-time enemies, the Shoshone (Hall 2001). As a result, the U.S. Army arranged for the Arapaho to live on the Shoshone's Wind River Reservation while working to locate a reserve for the Arapaho. By 1877, the Northern Arapaho simply requested they be placed on the Wind River Reservation with the Eastern Shoshone tribe (Lewis and Redish 2002). This request was granted in 1878 and that is where they reside today.

Subsistence

The Arapaho covered vast hunting territories originating near the headwaters of the Mississippi River, around western Lake Superior and later, along the Rocky Mountains and near Estes Park in present-day Colorado, as well as the adjacent Plains region to the east (Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes of Oklahoma 2003). Even before acquiring horses, the Arapaho practiced hunting methods that included trapping by surrounding the game on foot, driving game over cliffs, impounding the game, or encircling the game with fire.

In prehistoric and historic times, Arapaho bands practiced a method of trapping big game such as elk, deer or pronghorn, but preferred to trap buffalo as their primary food source (Beals 1935; Grinnell 1923; Kroeber 1902-1907; Lowie 1954; Toll 1962). Like their allies the Cheyenne, the Arapaho made use of the Little Missouri River valley for hunting, trapping and killing game. Game in general would be trapped in pits, natural enclosures, or enclosures formed of brush and would be killed using clubs (Sundstrom 2000). Additionally, large game, fish, and small game such as rabbits, comprised a lesser portion of the Arapaho diet (Lowie 1954). Many of these subsistence patterns for the Arapaho changed after 1857, when U.S. settlers began to utilize present-day locations of Rocky Mountain National Park and Estes Park in Colorado.

In addition to hunting game, the Arapaho also utilized a number of plant sources in ceremonies and for dietary purposes. Examples of food sources include wild plums, skunk brush, hawthorn, currants, chokecherries, and blueberries. Examples of plants used ceremonially include sage, sweet grass, yucca, and various trees and shrubs, such as ponderosa pines, spruces and firs, and birch trees, all used to construct features for ceremonies such as the Sun Dance (Cowell and Francis 2005).

Religion and Ritual

According to Arapaho tradition, a harmonious relationship must exist between the people and the universe. Thoughts, beliefs, and expressions were believed to have the power to influence the outcome of events (Fowler 2001). Visual art, storytelling, and singing were considered more powerful than prayer or ritual. The Arapaho belief focused on the story of the Flat Pipe, which said that before the Flat Pipe existed,

> …the earth was covered with water, on which floats a Pipe Person, 'the Creator,' 'thinking and planning' and praying 'to get an idea' for the good. The Pipe Person received 'power' (*béétee*) and was able by prayer to call for and send waterfowl and other animals below the surface of the water to look for land… the red-headed duck failed but the turtle succeeded in bringing up sufficient dirt on his feet. In 'deep thought,' Pipe Person sang four songs and spread the mud on

> the pipe, dried it, and blew it in four directions, thereby creating the earth. The Sun and Moon and a man and a woman were made from clay, and animal and plant life and the seasons were generated. At this time, Pipe Person instructed the Arapahos how to live. (Fowler 2001:843)

Only fragments of this Arapaho origin story have been recorded and there has been confusion about the name of the Arapaho creator (Dorsey 1903; Dorsey and Kroeber 1902-1907). The Pipe bundle story itself, however, has been well-documented among the Arapaho people, who believe they were entrusted to care for the Flat Pipe and to use its contents to help convey prayers to and to ask for assistance from the creator (Mooney 1896).

Among their many ceremonial and religious practices, the Arapaho were known to fast to experience supernatural power. This period of physical deprivation would send the individual into a trance for one to seven days. Once the individual awakened from trance, medicine men or women would interpret the vision. Based on the vision, the medicine man would procure various objects to be used for curing and healing ceremonies (Edward Sheriff Curtis Collection 1996). Arapaho individuals usually did not participate in these fasts until after puberty. Priests usually consisted of elderly Arapaho men who would perform the ceremonies in sweat lodges constructed in the center of the encampment. Some priests were considered instructors for ceremonies that took place for Arapaho societies and were regarded as highly important to the Sun Dance (Edward Sheriff Curtis Collection 1996).

Other types of ceremonies also figured prominently in Arapaho religious life. One example is the Offering Ceremony that lasted seven days and occurred in two phases. The first phase, the three-day Rabbit Lodge, was a secret rite involving a Lodge maker and his wife and several elderly men and women who performed certain ceremonies and prepared certain sacred cultural items that symbolized the Arapaho creation story (Fowler 2001). The second phase, the Offering Lodge, was a four-day ceremony where participants were painted and repainted by ceremonial grandfathers, who created designs that symbolized prayer and sacrifice, as well as oral traditions. According to Fowler (2001), the Arapaho still participate in these types of ceremonials on the peaks of Estes Park, or *tah-kâh'-āānon*, in Colorado.

The Arapaho hold several locations within northeastern Wyoming as sacred, including Devils Tower that, like other Plains groups, they refer to as "Bear's Lodge." Although there is little archaeological or historical evidence for the Arapaho making use of the area, stories handed down across the generations tell stories of Bear Lodge and its importance to the Arapaho (Hanson and Chirinos 1997; Stone n.d.).

Social and Political Organization

The most important political structure for the Arapaho was the age-graded Men's Lodges (Fowler 2001). Men progressed from lodge to lodge throughout their lives based on their age and knowledge of the lodge. Beginning in adolescence, a cohort of young men entered into their first Lodge. Older men would mentor the group until they had learned the songs, dances, symbols, and practices of their particular lodge. When the group was deemed to be ready, they then would progress to the next Lodge (Fowler 2001). By the time a man had reached old age, he was eligible to become a member of the oldest lodge. This lodge practiced their dances, songs, and rituals in secret and little is known of their practices (Fowler 2001).

The Arapaho recognized four chiefs, one from each of the major divisions of the tribe. The chiefs were not formally selected. Rather they were recognized informally based on their bravery and kind-hearted nature (Kroeber 1983 [1902:9]). Under each chief were the sub-chiefs of each band or residential group (Bass 1966). By the mid-1840s the role of the chief had evolved into a sort of liaison between the tribe and U.S. federal officials (Fowler 2001).

The Arapaho were matrilocal and polygynous. Upon marriage the man set up his tent next to the family of his wife (Lowie 1954). There were strict customs regarding communications between in-laws, however. It was taboo for a man to speak to or look at his mother-in-law, or for a woman to speak to or look at her father-in-law (Kroeber 1983 [1902]). The accidental death rate was high among the Arapaho, which led to a high female to male ratio. Reflecting this disproportionate ratio, men were permitted and even expected to marry their wives' sisters. This also included her cousins. If a husband died, his brother was expected to take in his brother's wife and children, often setting up a separate tent for them. It was not uncommon for the surviving brother to lay claim to whatever possessions remained with the surviving wife, particularly horses, as long as he still provided for her and her children (Kroeber 1983 [1902]).

Archaeology and Material Culture

During prehistoric times, the Arapaho constructed portable and semi-permanent tipis needed to support their high mobility. Winter tipis where constructed in sheltered areas, and were sometimes banked into a slope (Fowler 2001). According to oral tradition, "seven animals gave themselves to humankind. These animals included the turtle, the swift fox, the eagle, the garter snake, the badger, and the rabbit. The seventh of these animals was the White Buffalo who gave its whole body for the exploit of the Arapaho (Cowell and Francis 2005). To put this tradition into perspective, Gussow (1974) noted that hides were used to make winter robes, shirts, leggings, moccasins, tipi covers, and rope; buffalo hair was used to make pillows and in later times, was used for saddles, shields, and quivers; both thread and string were made from back sinew while horns were softened by boiling and shaped to make spoons and ladles. Moreover, shoulder blades and other bones were made into awls and other tools for sewing needs (Trenholm 1970). Hunting technology was often simple, making use of natural enclosures and drops to trap game and kill them using clubs or projectiles (Fowler 2001; Sundstrom 2000).

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming

The Arapaho used the northeastern Wyoming region extensively from the 1700s until being pushed further south by the Crow and Sioux during the middle of the nineteenth century and until their eventual relocation onto reservations in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Wyoming in the mid- to late-1800s. Truteau (1912) and Fowler (2001) document Arapaho activity in the basin in 1795 at the headwaters of the Cheyenne River in South Dakota and eastern Wyoming. Reports from fur trappers place a band of Arapaho with approximately 100 tipis in the Powder River basin by the early 1800s (Fowler 2001). By the 1850s, the basin was one of the last places on the Plains for the Arapaho and other tribes to move freely (Debo 1970). Although relocation to their reservations removed the Arapaho from direct access to northeastern Wyoming, the region remains prominent in the oral tradition of the tribe (UW 2003), particularly with regards to the hunting territory and their use of Bear Lodge (Stone n.d.). See Figure 2 for historic territories occupied by the Arapaho; note that these may not include all areas used by the tribe.

ARIKARA

Language and Origin

The Arikara are the northern-most Caddoan-speaking tribe, whose language is thought to be a dialect of Pawnee (Parks 2001). However, while many early travelers noted the distinct linguistic similarities between the various tribes of the historic Arikara and the Pawnee, the two tribe's languages are not mutually intelligible to modern speakers (Denig 1961; Parks 1979). Due to waves of smallpox epidemics and continuous conflict drastically reducing the Arikara population, by the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, each Arikara village had its own dialect. These dialects branched from two main groups, one closely resembling the Pawnee, and the other more closely resembling the modern Arikara language (Tabeau 1939). The Arikara refer to themselves as the *Sahnish*. Historically, the Arikara were also referred to as the Rees, particularly by French traders in the region (Denig 1961).

The Arikara are traced to the Upper Republican phase of the Central Plains Village Tradition (A.D. 1120-1250) located in Kansas and Nebraska. This cultural phase is generally characterized by maize horticulture, hunting, fishing and wild plant gathering; small semi-permanent, unfortified villages, located on smaller tributaries near arable land, wood resources, or lithic sources with basic ceramics; and rectangular houses built below the ground surface (Wedel 2001). As the ancestral Arikara began to move northward and merged into the Plains Village Tradition (A.D. 1200-1400), they built large semi-permanent fortified villages of long rectangular houses that were located on high river terraces above the floodplain overlooking the main river channel (Wood 2001).

Later Ancestral Arikara moved further north, up the Missouri River into the modern Dakotas, and joined the Coalescent Village Tradition (A.D. 1300-1650) (Parks 2001). In this tradition, the Ancestral Arikara built villages somewhat larger than the previous period, but remained in the same geographic location and constructed villages as in previous periods. Their houses were dome-shaped, earthen structures with an interior wooden super-structure that was usually square, rectangular, or round. These homes were partially sub-surface, where the removed soil became part of the roofing material. The earliest periods of the phase were marked by somewhat smaller villages. Protohistorically, environmental and social conditions drew people into fewer, more densely populated villages with improved fortifications (Krause 2001). One major environmental factor included a warming trend that allowed corn to be grown more effectively in higher latitudes. The later periods of the phase saw the initial contact of displaced eastern woodland groups, such as the Sioux and Cheyenne, moving onto the Plains through the ancestral Arikara territory.

History and Territory

The earliest account of the Arikara was made by Etienne Bourgmont, who in 1714 was told of three Arikara villages on the west side of the Missouri River above the Niobrara River, along what is now the Nebraska-South Dakota border, and another 40 villages farther up the Missouri River (Parks 2001) (Figure 3). In 1719, the tribe was reported to be a 45-village segment of the Pawnee, and in 1723 they were reported to be living 10 leagues from the Omaha with whom they were allied (Parks 2001). In 1743, sons of the French explorer, La Verendry, visited an Arikara

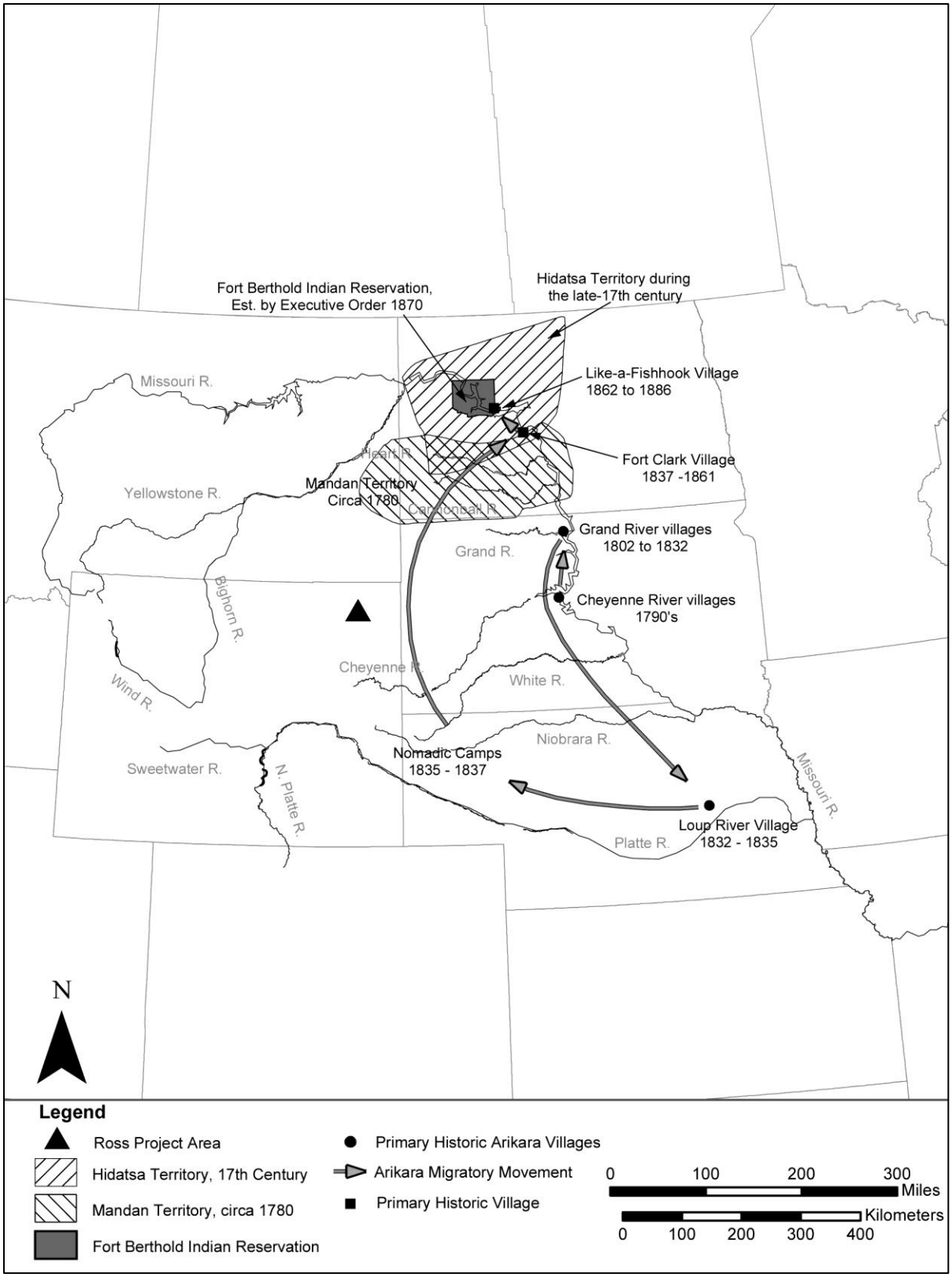

Figure 3. The territory of the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan.

village and called them the "Little Cherry People." This group was said to be living along the Missouri River at the mouth of the Bad River, in the modern location of Pierre, South Dakota.

At the end of eighteenth century, with the expansion of the fur trade out of Saint Louis, more accurate and detailed descriptions of the Arikara's location began to be compiled. Most traders recorded small numbers of villages below the mouth of the Cheyenne River, north of modern-day Pierre, South Dakota (Parks 2001). Jean-Baptiste Truteau led a trade expedition up the Missouri River in 1795 and lived a year with the Arikara at the Cheyenne River villages. This was the tribe's introduction into the fur trade and the first sustained contact with Europeans. Truteau noted that accounts from the tribe stated that the Arikara had numbered over 30 villages, but three smallpox outbreaks had forced the tribe to live in two large consolidated villages along the west bank of the Missouri River. While many Native American tribes suffered rapid population loss, Lowie notes (1954:12) that James Mooney of the Bureau of American Ethnology estimated the Arikara population to be at 3,800 people in 1780; that was reduced to 2,600 by 1804. Shortly afterward, Truteau left the Arikara as they abandoned the Cheyenne River villages in an effort to avoid an anticipated Sioux attack and moved north towards the Mandan (Parks 2001).

Another French explorer, Pierre-Antoine Tabeau, and the Lewis and Clark Expedition visited and lived among the Arikara between the years of 1803-1804 at the tribe's new villages located at the mouth of the Grand River on the west bank of the Missouri River. Tabeau and the Lewis and Clark Expedition noted that the three Arikara villages they encountered there were the remnants of 10 to 18 smaller groups that had consolidated into larger villages. Denig noted that many abandoned villages, some of "very ancient date," mounded and overgrown with vegetation, along the Missouri River; these he attributed to the Arikara. Two of these Grand River villages were occupied continuously until 1823 or 1824 when hostilities broke out between the Arikara and a fur trader party under the command of William Ashley, which ran aground at the Village when traveling the river. The conflict resulted in the deaths of 15 fur traders. The U.S. military responded by sending 275 soldiers and 750 Sioux and mountain man volunteers (Denig 1961). The soldiers shelled the villages for several days. After the barrage, soldiers were sent into the village to request that the Arikara make peace. The Arikara rejected the offer by shooting at the soldiers from holes dug through the walls of their homes. The army had intended to continue the shelling, but the tribe had slipped away under the cover of darkness and fled to several Mandan and Hidatsa villages further north along the Missouri River (Morgan 1964; Parks 2001). This event marked the beginning of the Arikara's growing distrust of the whites and traders of the Missouri River.

Concurrent with the violent encounters between the Arikara and the U.S. military, trade relations between the Arikara and the Europeans began to deteriorate. At one time, the French traders and American explorers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had characterized the Arikara as friendly towards whites. As the fur trade expanded along the Missouri River, however, new trading posts were established and trade relations were initiated with distant tribes. This pushed the Arikara out of their comfortable position as middlemen in the trade network. The encroachment of whites into the region began to threaten the Arikara, and relations between the tribe and many traders turned hostile. The attack on the Ashley fur traders further deteriorated the situation to the point that the Arikara gained a reputation as being treacherous and violent to whites. This reputation, however, was mostly the result of rumor and propaganda

promoted by the fur trading companies to isolate the Arikara (Ewers 1961). In 1825, the tribe returned to the abandoned Grand River villages and signed a peace and friendship treaty with the U.S. government. The treaty forced the Arikara to recognize the government's right to regulate trade relations with the tribe.

In 1832, in response to persistent violent encounters with the Sioux, continued harassment from the U.S. military, a crop failure brought on by drought, and a scarcity of bison, the Arikara again fled the Grand River villages and moved south to live with the Skiri Pawnee along the Loup River near modern-day Genoa, Nebraska (Thwaites 1904-1907). Eventually tensions grew between the Arikara and the Skiri Pawnee. When it was learned that U.S. troops had been dispatched to settle the discord between the two tribes, the Arikara quickly abandoned their villages. For two years the tribe lived as mobile hunters moving through eastern Wyoming and the western Dakotas, until resettling near Fort Clark along the Missouri River in North Dakota where the Mandan were living. Soon after their arrival, a smallpox epidemic broke out, killing half the Arikara population. The Mandan suffered even more losses and abandoned the village, moving north with the Hidatsa (Denig 1961). The Arikara stayed in the partially abandoned village, even rebuilding it after a fire destroyed the abandoned Mandan homes. The Arikara occupied the rebuilt village until Fort Clark was abandoned and destroyed in 1861 (Parks 2001). The Arikara also suffered from severe drought affecting their horticultural practices in the mid-1830s, furher increasing tensions with the U.S. military and neighboring tribes. Contemporaries such as Dodge and Catlin reported that some Arikara families abandoned village life altogether, and were observed living a more mobile lifestyle in hide-covered tipis (Denig 1961).

After leaving Fort Clark, the Arikara moved to the large Mandan and Hidatsa village of Like-a-Fish-Hook and lived there for over two decades. This led to an increase in Sioux attacks and more contact with European settlers and the U.S. government. In an effort to offset their shrinking territories and conflicts with the Sioux, the Arikara, as well as the Hidatsa and Mandan, re-established their roles as middlemen in trade relations with European settlers for guns, horses, and other trade goods. The Arikara then traded these items with other Plains tribes for buffalo meat, hides, and wild vegetables (Parks 2001).

In 1866, an unratified treaty was agreed upon by the tribe and the U.S. government that established lands located near Fort Berthold as those held in reserve for the Mandan, Hidatsa, and the Arikara. In 1870, an executive order solidified the terms of the unratified treaty and officially established the Fort Berthold Reservation. In 1880, these lands were reduced from the original 7. 8 million acres to 1. 2 million acres (Parks 2001). The Arikara continued to live in the village of Like-a-Fish-Hook until the advent of the Dawes Act and land allotment period.

After leaving the Like-a-Fish-Hook village in the 1890s, the Arikara began to live in individual family land allotments around the village area and eventually moved onto the Fort Berthold Reservation. The flooding on the Missouri River with the construction of the Garrison Dam in 1953 forced many Arikara to move to the northeast portion of the reservation near the town of Whiteshield (Schneider 2001). Today, Arikara tribal members mainly occupy the eastern portion of the reservation. The tribe is a member of the Three Affiliated Tribes, which also includes the Mandan and Hidatsa.

Subsistence

The Arikara were horticulturalists, practicing extensive wild food gathering and hunting. Bison was an important food source to the Arikara, and the meat was highly sought after. Bison meat was taken in mass hunts seasonally, generally in the early winter. Denig (1961) also reported that the mass hunts involved the drowning of the bison as they fell through the thawing spring ice of the Missouri River, and then were dragged ashore by the villagers. Bison was also procured through individual hunts, and obtained through trade from mobile tribes. Other animals used for food included elk, deer, antelope, geese and rabbits. The tribe also gathered fish using willow pens baited with rotten meat. The tribe's horticultural practices were conducted solely by the women, and included the raising of 11 varieties of corn, and several varieties of squash, beans, watermelon, sunflowers, and tobacco generally on small plots varying in size from one-half to three acres (Lowie 1954; 22). The Arikara observed two harvests, one in August when "green" corn was collected, and the second in late September or early October when the mature ears were gathered for winter storage. Lowie is quick to point out that the use of maize is often overstressed, and the Arikara suffered from the same agricultural obstacles as later Euro-American farmers, namely low precipitation and wild foragers such as birds or ravenous grass-hoppers. The subsistence needs of the Arikara were met by a wide variety of wild foods, gathered primarily by women, including chokecherries, buffalo berries, plums, sand cherries, grapes, gooseberries, raspberries, prairie turnips, and wild onions. As stated previously in this description, the Arikara were noted traders and kept relations with many groups even during periods of tension between the tribes. During good growing seasons the Arikara would trade bison meat and other wild foods for the surpluses of corn and other agriculturally grown foods. Later, when hostilities between the Sioux and the Arikara increased, this may have been the primary way the tribe received bison and other wild meats. Many mobile hunting tribes traded with the Arikara, most notably the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache, and several western bands of Sioux (including the Oglala, Saone, and the Yanktonai). These groups were attracted to the Arikara villages as a trade center due to their access to European goods and domesticated foods. Accounts of mobile tribes living just outside of an Arikara village and trading exclusively with them were not uncommon. If hunting was poor and visiting groups had nothing to trade, it was not uncommon for the Arikara to be compelled to trade with aggressive groups with the threat of violence and intimidation (Ewers 1961; Parks 2001).

Religion and Ritual

The Arikara had an elaborate religious system that was separate from, but related to an equally elaborate shamanistic system. These two systems were overseen by the priests, who were concerned with the welfare of the tribe as a whole, and the doctors, who ministered to ill individuals. The Arikara believe in a supreme power known variously as the Chief Above (*ne se nu tnacitakux*), Our Father Above (*ati Ax tnacitakUx*), or the Great Holy One (*se ni wa rUxtinIhu nU*). This is an amorphous power that resided in the heavens and was the ultimate source of the world and everything in it (Parks 2001). He was a neutral force who would not directly take part in human affairs. The deity, Mother Corn, was the intermediary between the Great Holy One and the earth's inhabitants. She provided guidance during the early emerging periods of human life and came to people's aid in times of need. Both Denig and Tabeau describe blessing ceremonies revolving around corn planting and harvesting. Below these two deities was an all-encompassing power called *awa haxu* that inhabited all living things and inanimate objects. The Arikara recognized a distinction between heaven power and earth power. For example, moon

and sun power was regarded as a different force than the power possessed by animals or rivers. All power could be used for good or evil depending on the user of the power (Parks 2001).

Many of the rituals involved in Arikara society revolved around giving thanks and the seasonal punctuations of planting and harvest, as well as with the procurement of animal hides and meat. The ceremonies followed a set ritual calendar that began with the corn planting ceremony. Rituals were performed for the worship of specific deities or for the marking of a specific calendar event. The Arikara were not known for their use of the Sun Dance and may have only practiced it for a brief time in the nineteenth century (Parks 2001; Curtis 1907).

Arikara rituals were performed by two distinct groups: the Shamans (*na wi nAhcitawi u*) and the Doctors (*Kuna u*). Shamans, or priests, were responsible for tribal welfare, rituals, and ceremonies of thanksgiving. Doctors were more concerned with the healing of the sick and the understanding of disease and curing. These two groups often worked together in joint rituals within a medicine lodge (Parks 2001). Shamans were responsible for the upkeep and protection of the tribe's medicine bundles, which were given to the tribe at its origin by deities who taught them to grow corn and perform thanksgiving ceremonies. Each band had a medicine bundle specific to that band and its history. The shaman and bundle custodian positions were often inherited and required a large investment of time to learn. Doctors were medical practitioners who were divided into two groups: those who practiced within a specific society and those who were not a member of a society but possessed healing powers. All healers specialized in the healing of specific wounds, ailments, or diseases (Parks 2001). The Doctor societies would come together in late summer to participate in an extended ritual that lasted from 3 to 8 weeks. During this period the Doctors were devoted day and night to singing, dancing, and practicing their medicine. These rituals were held in secret during the day but held in public at night where they could display their powers as healers (Parks 2001).

An individual, such as a Doctor or even regular tribal member, could receive supernatural power in many ways. The most common method involved a vision quest. A solitary man would fast on a high hill or in a burial ground in search of helpful spirits. The man would cry or in some cases slash his legs and arms, cut off a finger, or some other form of self-mutilation that would attract the sympathy of a spirit. If the man was successful in his quest he would be empowered by a guardian animal. He could then create a medicine bundle based on his vision. An alternative method involved the purchase of power from someone who had received a vision. After the transaction the buyer would be instructed in the use and secrets of the power. This method was very expensive and required a great deal of wealth. The existence of both the vision quest and the ability to purchase supernatural power allowed medicine bundles and power to disseminate throughout the tribe without being restricted to the wealthier individuals (Parks 2001).

Social and Political Organization

The Arikara were a fluid confederation of bands arranged around villages. Each village was headed by a chief and conceived of as an extended kin network, possessed its own distinct endogamous organization. The basic units of organization within the villages were extended families organized by matrilineal descent. Generally, these extended kin units were matrilocal, and consisted of 15-20 individuals who lived in a large, communal earth lodges. These families could practice sororal polygyny, in which the husband was allowed to marry a woman and later marry her younger sisters. At the time of marriage, a couple would most likely live with the

woman's family, although in some cases they might receive a home of their own. Very infrequently the new couple might live with the man's family. Kinship was bilateral, meaning a child called his father's brothers "Father" and his mother's sisters "Mother." Children of a mother's sister or father's brother were considered siblings (Parks 2001).

A family's home, garden, and fields all were the property of the wife. The Arikara women built the family home and looked after its general upkeep. Men were responsible for hunting and defending the village and fields. The women were often the main negotiators during trade negotiations since their produce was often the most sought-after of items (Parks 2001).

The social organization of the Arikara was stratified into social groupings based on the wealth of its members, although these groups were quite fluid. The highest positions, those of chiefs and priests, were inherited, but generally ranks were not static and a commoner could strive to acquire a higher status through sacrificing to deities and personal achievement. The higher ranks did tend to practice endogamy, consistently marrying into their own rank, thereby keeping much of the wealth among the wealthy (Holder 1970).

A village chief was a political and social leader, his rank signified by the holding of the Sacred Bundle, the charter of the village that symbolized its political and economic function as well as serving as the center of religious life. The Chief, who was recognized as the descendant of the original bundle-holder, could make many decisions for the village, but the priests of the village were the only ones who knew the rituals and power of the bundle. This made much of the upper class the most important spiritual practitioners in the village. Since village bundles were passed down through families, the position of chief and shaman powers were hereditary. Just below the highest rank were the Doctors. A Doctor position was not necessarily hereditary, but the costs of acquiring knowledge and curative powers and the practice of rank endogamy often kept commoners out of the Doctor rank as well (Holder 1970; Parks 2001).

The Arikara had several secular societies for both men and women that crosscut village and rank organizations. The men's societies were both military and benevolent, were quite powerful in socio-political decisions, and often emphasized the age of members. The military societies vied for dominance in hunting and warring parties, and taking turns to serve as village protectors during such activities. Most societies had no prerequisites for membership and the membership was fairly fluid. One man could be a member of several societies at once if he wished. These societies were all responsible for a specific social aspect of the village. The societies all had their own emblem or icon, as well as distinctive costume and a unique musical instrument with unique songs and dances to accompany the instrument. These societies often organized themselves in battle and competed with one another during raids (Parks 2001).

While Parks (2001) notes that no women's societies were recorded in the nineteenth century, three distinct groups were organized by at least the twentieth century, and had as their primary function activities that were seen as auxiliary to the men's societies. One notable women's society was the Goose Society, the membership of which was primarily older women who strove for exceptional gardens and advancement in all things related to horticulture (Lowie 1915; Parks 2001).

By the nineteenth century the general confederacy of villages had been codified into 12 recognized tribal bands for both secular political and ceremonial purposes. The villages were subsequently organized hierarchically into groups of three, each group associated with a specific cardinal direction. The chiefs were also subsequently reorganized with a single head chief from the Awahu Band and three sub chiefs, each overseeing the chiefs of individual villages.

Archaeology and Material Culture

The Arikara were known to live in tipis seasonally during the summer months while hunting bison. Because they were mobile for only a portion of the year, the Arikara also built elaborate and extensive villages with numerous semi-permanent features such as fortified stockades, partially subterranean homes, and cache pits. These villages were usually organized around a large central Medicine Lodge built in the center of the village (Parks 2001). These structures were often designed to hold 400 to 500 people at a time and were the center of their religious system (Parks 2001).

The Arikara were considered expert potters who made fairly elaborate ceramic vessels. During the Plains Village phase (A.D. 1200 to 1400) the Arikara practiced a paddle and anvil shaped pottery style, made mostly of local clay with incised or cord impressed decorations (Wood 2001). Later during the Coalescent Village Tradition (A.D. 1400 to 1650) new pottery types developed with more elaborate decorations that included more varieties of incising, inscribing, and painting. The Arikara were also accomplished craftsmen with glass and traded for European glass beads for re-firing to make their own beads. Corn was an important part of the Arikara diet, and wooden and stone mortars were a part of every household.

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming

The Arikara are thought to have extended their hunting activities deep into the Plains prior to the smallpox epidemics of the late eighteenth century. After the smallpox epidemics, the Arikara consolidated their territorial range in the confluence of the Cheyenne and Missouri Rivers. Throughout the mid-1830s the Arikara traveled through eastern Wyoming and western South Dakota, living in semi-sedentary villages or in small bands of hunter gatherers before eventually being settled on the Fort Berthold Reservation, in the late nineteenth century. Together with the Hidatsa and the Mandan, the Arikara are part of the Three Affiliated Tribes, all of which reside on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota.

ASSINIBOINE

Language and Origin

The Assiniboine are a Siouan-speaking people closely related to Sioux and Stoney tribes. The Assiniboine oral tradition states that they emerged as an independent tribe in the seventeenth century when they broke off from the Yanktonai Sioux (Keating 1824; Mooney and Thomas in Hodge 1907-1910). The Stoney tribe developed from the Assiniboine and became an independent tribe in the eighteenth century. Assiniboine is spoken in two distinct but mutually intelligible dialects. One is spoken predominantly on the Fort Belknap Reservation, and on the Grizzly Bear's Head and Carry the Kettle reserves in Saskatchewan. The other dialect is spoken on the Fort Peck Reservation in Montana and the Ocean Man, Pheasant Rump, and White Bear reserves in Saskatchewan (Parks and DeMallie 1992). The Assiniboine call themselves the

Nakota, the common name known among all Siouan tribes (Denig 1930; Parks and DeMallie 1996). The name Assiniboine comes from the Ojibwa term for 'stone enemy.' Many other neighboring tribes refer to them as the "Stones," "Stone People," and more commonly as the "Stone Sioux" (DeMallie and Miller 2001). This may have also derived from the Chippewa name of "those who cook with stones," which comes from the Assiniboine's practice of cooking with hot rocks.

History and Territory

The traditional territory of the Assiniboine stretched from Lake Winnipeg in central Manitoba west to the plains of central Saskatchewan, south to the Missouri River and north of the North Saskatchewan River (Figure 4). In 1808, eight bands of Assiniboine were recorded and only one was found to be living within U.S. territory near the northern border of North Dakota. By 1840, two-thirds of the tribe was living along the western reaches of the Missouri River (Ray 1974). In the mid-nineteenth century the Assiniboine territory stretched east to west between Wood Mountain in southwest Saskatchewan, and the Cypress Hills, up to the North Saskatchewan River, and south to the Missouri River.

The first historical account of the Assiniboine as an individual tribe comes in 1640 when the tribe is described as living 100 miles north of Lake Nipigon, in present day Ontario, Canada (Wedel 1974; Ray 1974). The first European contact occurred in 1678 when English traders attempted to make peace between the Assiniboine and their Sioux neighbors to facilitate a larger trade network. This action was unsuccessful but the traders were able to trade with more tribes using the Assiniboine and their Cree allies as middlemen. The Assiniboine and the Cree were not peaceful with one another in the 1600s. At that time the Assiniboine were still closely tied to the Sioux tribes of Minnesota and the Eastern Plains. As the Cree began to acquire firearms from English traders they intensified their hostilities against the Sioux and their allies. The Assiniboine bore the brunt of these attacks due to their geographic proximity to the Cree. Seeing the vulnerable position they were in, the Assiniboine made peace with the Cree and began to intermarry with them. The Assiniboine gained access to European trade goods including firearms, but their relationship with the Sioux suffered (DeMallie and Miller 2001). European traders recorded open hostility between the Sioux and the Assiniboine in the late 1600s and early 1700s, prompting the peace making attempts mentioned earlier.

The Assiniboine utilized their relationship with the Cree to become part of the fur trade network of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Assiniboine and Cree were the exclusive middlemen between the Hudson's Bay Company located along the shore of Hudson's Bay in northern Canada and the Northwestern Plains tribes of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Montana. Original trade methods included porting massive shipments of goods by canoe up and down the rivers of the region. Seeking to maximize this middleman position, the Assiniboine began to expand their territory west into central Saskatchewan and central Alberta in search of beaver sources (Ray 1974). This brought some bands of the Assiniboine into competition and conflict with the Gros Ventre and Blackfeet tribes. At the same time, other Assiniboine bands were focused more on exploiting bison resources of the Northern Plains and were living peacefully with these same tribes (Ray 1974). This westward movement of the Assiniboine may have also been motivated by pressure from the south and east from the Sioux tribes of North Dakota and Minnesota. By the mid-eighteenth century the Sioux had acquired firearms from French traders and had begun

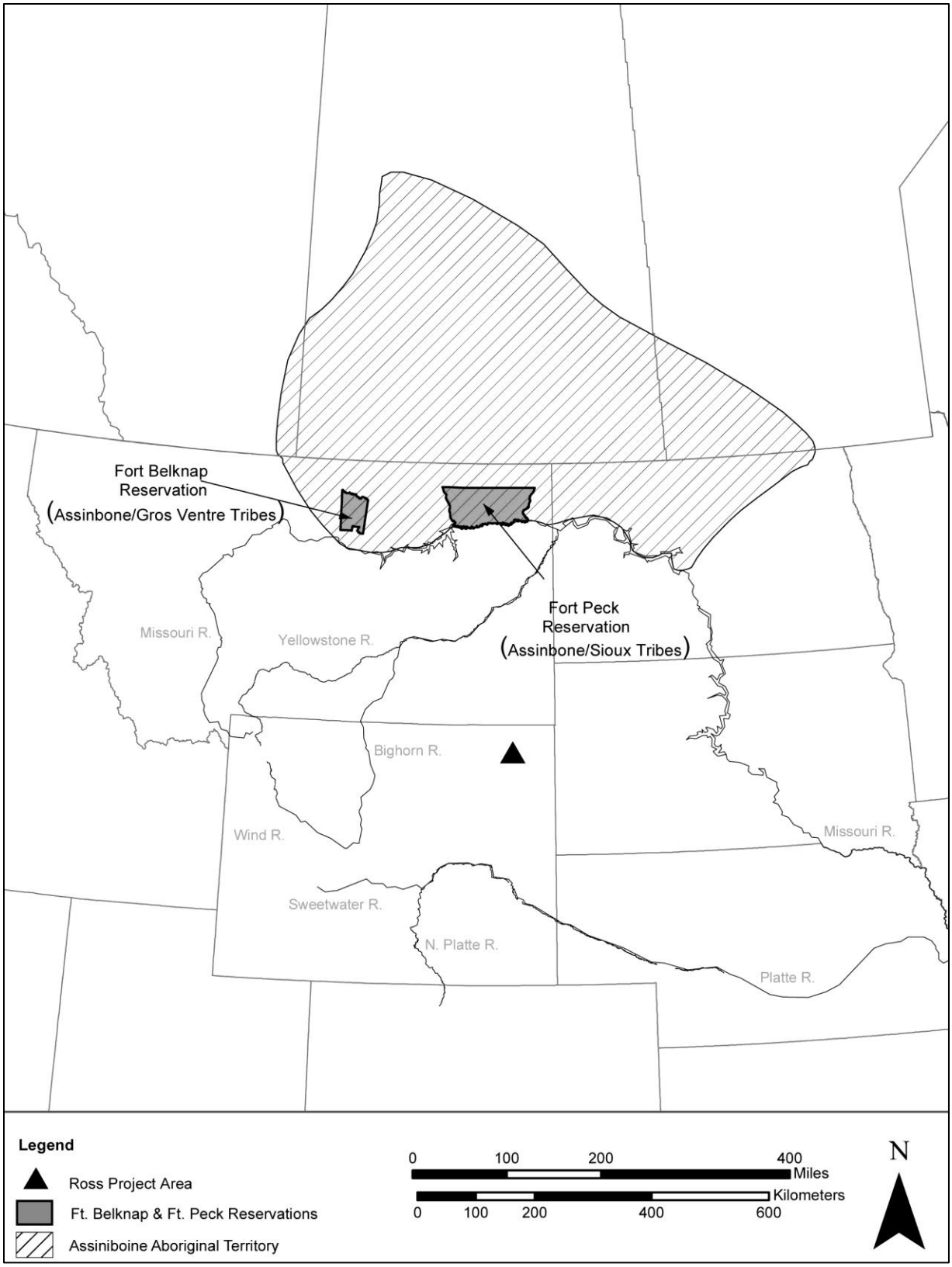

Figure 4. The territory of the Assiniboine.

an aggressive push northward into Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Montana, the center of Assiniboine, Cree, and Ojibwa territories.

Horses began to be acquired by the Assiniboine in the mid-1700s. Trade with Blackfeet and Gros Ventre had provided many horses in the 1750s. However, a European explorer in 1755 found the Assiniboine using horses for material transportation and not yet riding them (Ray 1974; Hendry 1907). In 1776, the Assiniboine were known for their large horse herds but this was short lived (Ray 1974). In 1778, the Hudson's Bay Company built the Hudson House trading post within the Gros Ventre tribe's territory along the North Saskatchewan River near the town of Prince Albert. This eliminated the middleman position the Assiniboine had enjoyed for so long, and led to a huge increase in inter-tribal violence. At about this same time, the Assiniboine began to migrate south, settling along the modern Canadian-U.S. border. The Assiniboine and the Cree began to attack the Gros Ventre and Blackfeet throughout Saskatchewan and Montana, driving the two tribes south into northern Montana (Fowler 1987). This new hostility toward their main horse providers consequently led to the Assiniboine becoming extremely horse poor by the early 1800s. A report in 1830 stated the Assiniboine had at most two horses per household and relied on dog travois for transport.

The Assiniboine were hit hard by a smallpox epidemic between 1781 and 1782. It is reported that one-third to half the tribe died from the outbreak (Denig 1930; Ray 1974; Miller 1987). In response the survivors began to move south, again attracted by new trade opportunities with the Mandan tribe and plentiful buffalo along the Missouri River. The Assiniboine began to trade with the American Fur Company and with Spanish traders from Louisiana who had moved up the Missouri River, providing guns and other European goods. A large number of Assiniboine began settling in the Fort Union area along the Missouri River at the modern North Dakota-Montana border. This location sheltered the tribe from attacks by neighboring tribes and provided access to new trade networks but exposed the tribe to the diseases of the white traders. The tribe began to rebound from its population losses in the late 1700s only to be devastated again by a smallpox epidemic in 1837-1838, transported from Saint Louis by an infected trader steamboat. Of the reported 250 lodges at Fort Union at the time, only 30 lodges survived (Miller 1987; Denig 1930). This terrible loss left the survivors vulnerable to attacks from all the surrounding tribes; the Plains Cree remained the Assiniboine's ally (Denig 1961).

The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 granted the Assiniboine hunting rights on Blackfeet lands at the mouth of the Milk River in northern Montana, just west of the present-day location of the Fort Peck Reservation. This region was shared with the Blackfeet, Gros Ventre, Crow, and bands of Métis who had moved south from Canada. The restriction of land use and the competition for dwindling resources eventually led to further conflict. The U.S. government eventually established Fort Browning in 1869 in the current Fort Belknap Reservation area (DeMallie and Miller 2001). Fort Browning became an annuity distribution center for several tribes of the region. This fort lasted 4 years and was abandoned when tensions between tribes using the fort and surrounding region for hunting turned violent. Fort Belknap and Fort Peck were opened a few years later to redress matters (Flannery 1953).

The Assiniboine separated into individual bands after the disintegration of Fort Browning and several violent encounters between other tribes, white hunters, and settlers. Some moved west to live peacefully among the Blackfeet and Gros Ventre tribes (Flannery 1953). Many stayed with

the Yanktonai Sioux and became part of the Fort Peck Reservation, officially established in 1886 (Flannery 1953). Those that moved west became part of the Fort Belknap Community with the Gros Ventre tribe. Many other smaller bands returned north and claimed lands in central and southeastern Saskatchewan. These were negotiated with the Canadian government in 1874 and throughout the late 1800s. The bands that remained in the U.S. were divided as the Upper Assiniboine and Lower Canoe Paddler Assiniboine bands. The Upper bands included the North, Stone or Rocky, and the Dogtail bands. These bands were located in the Fort Belknap area south of Chinook, Montana. The Lower Canoe Paddler bands included Red Stone, Broken Arm, Bobtail Bear, and Red Snow bands. These bands occupy the Wolf Point area of the Fort Peck Reservation, which they share with the Yanktonai Sioux (DeMallie and Miller 2001).

Subsistence

Bison were the mainstay of the Assiniboine tribe's diet. The tribe would congregate and disperse according to the seasonal pattern of the bison herds. The tribe generally used three methods of bison hunting. The first was to systematically surround the herd with 80 to 100 hunters on horseback who would fire arrows at the herd animals. This method would kill 100 to 500 buffalo in an hour (Denig 1930). The second method was the pound or park method in which coordinated hunters would drive a herd over a cliff or bluff where they would fall into a corral at the bottom. The bison were then slaughtered with arrow and bullet fire. This method could provide 300 to 600 buffalo at a time. Several days would be required to butcher all of the meat. This method was utilized well into historic times. Three such pound areas were located near Fort Union (at the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers) in the early 1850s. Another method used was stalking, where a single hunter using a rifle would stalk and kill a single bison. This was often practiced in the winter when the bison herd and the tribe were dispersed (Denig 1930). The Assiniboine also hunted elk, deer, big horn sheep, and antelope. Grizzly bear were occasionally hunted, often in the winter in their dens. Killing a grizzly ranked just below killing a human enemy and was counted among a man's brave deeds. Small game animals, including wolves and foxes, were hunted for their fur while a larger variety of small animals and birds were eaten. The diet was rounded with prairie turnips, wild rhubarb, artichokes, various fruits, berries, and rose hips (Denig 1930; Rodnick 1938).

Religion and Ritual

Similar to the Sioux tribes, Assiniboine religion centered on the *wakan (waka)* or 'holiness', which represented all things wondrous. All life, and the elements of the world were considered spirits and manifestations of wakan. The creator, although not personified, was named *Wakan Tanka (waka taka)* or 'great holiness.' The spirits of *wakan* were omnipresent and omnipotent, but could be called on by humans for good or evil purposes. Through prayer, pipe offerings, sacrifices, weeping, and self-mortification, men could gain the pity of the spirits. Spirits were considered to be security for individuals in an unsecure world (Denig 1930). Vision questing was quite common, and was used to provide power for warfare, hunting, or curing. Some men, through repeated questing, gained powers of perception and healing. These holy men were responsible for leading ceremonies and defending people from evil medicine, including through herbal remedies and sweat baths. It was Assiniboine belief that evil medicine was shot into another person's body over great distances. Women did not actively seek out *wakan* power, but it was sometimes endowed on them through dreams.

The most important ritual in Assiniboine culture was the Sun Dance. The Sun Dance was held in June with the gathering of the tribe during the summer bison hunts. Other rituals were performed by men's societies such as the Horse or Fool society. The Fool Society (*witkokax wacipi* or 'fool-maker dance') held two-day events focused on hunting and war powers, but its members were also considered able healers of eye injuries. The Fool Society would wear masks, speak in a 'backwards way,' and imitate a trickster cultural hero. The Horse Society was considered as sacred as the Sun Dance, and included both men and women. Society members were trained in ceremonies and skills helpful in healing horses and people. The Society prayed for the acquisition of horses and for children to grow-up free of sickness (Rodnick 1938; Lowie 1909). Most other societies were men-only groups associated with powers of leadership and warfare. Women also had exclusive societies although little is known of them (DeMallie and Miller 2001).

Social and Political Organization

The primary unit of the Assiniboine tribe was the band. Each band was comprised of extended families headed by a chief or 'huka.' The chief position was earned through merit and generosity; hence, wealth was a prerequisite for this position. There was no over-arching political structure above the band level. During major gatherings the tribe would camp in a large circle with each band occupying its own part of that circle, thus maintaining its own autonomy (Rodnick 1938). A band council was made up of male members who had achieved some success in battle. The band chief led the council, but he had little extra authority over its decisions. A portion of the council served as soldiers. The soldiers function was that of police, maintaining order within the camp and supervising hunts and camp movement. Punishment of transgressions usually resulted in the destruction of the person's possessions. Crimes, like murder, were considered personal affairs dealt with by the families affected. Neither the Chief nor the Council would become involved (Denig 1930).

Archaeology and Material Culture

The Assiniboine were bison hunters and as such were highly mobile. The tribe's relative lack of horses through much of the 1700s and 1800s required them to rely on the dog travois for much of their pre-reservation history (DeMaillie and Miller 2001). The Assiniboine built buffalo hide tipis with a three-pole foundation; although, Lewis and Clark reported that they used a four pole formation during their visit with the tribe (Lowie 1909). The average tipi was constructed of 12 hides and usually covered an area measuring 31 feet in diameter. The tribe's close connection to the Hudson's Bay Company in the late 1600s and 1700 resulted in the tribe having access to a number of European made metal tools, guns, foodstuffs, and alcohol. DeMaillie and Miller (2001:582) state that the tribe was less eager to use European goods especially clothing, and also that they had few guns, which put them at a disadvantage against their enemies. This assessment may refer to the period in the mid-1800s when the tribe had moved into northern Montana and North Dakota along the Missouri River and was temporarily cut off from European trade goods.

The most complete history of the Canadian Assiniboine is provided by Ray (1974), in which he focuses on the Assiniboine's involvement in the fur trade. Histories of the Montana Assiniboine include Rodnick (1938) and Fowler (1987). Denig (1930) wrote ethnographic accounts in the 1850s on Assiniboine culture; Parks and DeMallie (1992, 1996) provide linguistic classification

and an unpublished dictionary and collection of texts; Lowie (1909) provides descriptions of Assiniboine art and artifacts.

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming

The tribe's southernmost territory appears to have commonly reached only as far as the Milk and Missouri Rivers in northeastern Montana and is not known to have traditionally extended as far south as northeastern Wyoming. There is no reference in the literature regarding the Assiniboine in mention of the Bear Lodge, Inyan Kara, or any other landscape features associated with the Black Hills region. The extent to which they may have traveled as far as these lands is not specified. See Figure 4 for historic territories occupied by the Assiniboine; note that these may not include all areas used by them.

BLACKFEET

Language and Origin

The three main groups in the tribe are the *Pikuni* or the Piegan, *Kainah* (Many Chiefs) or the Blood, and the *Siksika* or the Blackfeet (Ewers 1958; Schoenberg 1961). The Piegan occupied the western portion in the mountains of their territory with the Blood northeast of Piegan and the Northern Blackfeet northeast of the Blood (Martin 2005). All of the three groups are known as the Blackfeet, or the *Siksika*, and make up the Blackfeet Confederacy (Dempsey 2001). All three major divisions of the Blackfeet Nation speak an eastern Algonquian language. Algonquian derived languages were spoken among the eastern tribes of Native Americans, and was shared by several groups of Plains tribes who migrated westward during the early historic period. Linguistically, the Blackfeet appear to have been among the earliest Algonquian speakers to make the westward journey. Isolation from other Algonquian speaking groups and exposure to Shoshonean, Athapascan, and Siouan languages changed the Blackfoot languages; although, many similarities remained with Algonquian speaking tribes that would follow over the next two centuries. The division between the three Blackfoot tribes likely occurred during the westward migration resulting in some language differences arising between the groups (Ewers 1958). Although linguistically similar, these groups were politically and socially independent of one another. During prehistoric times, the three groups would come together for communal hunting purposes, warfare, and religious ceremonies.

History and Territory

It is believed that the Blackfeet migrated out of the eastern woodland areas of Minnesota and Manitoba in Canada during the mid-1700s and occupied a large territory that stretched from the Northern Saskatchewan River in Canada to the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers in Montana and up to the base of the Rocky Mountains (Martin 2005) (Figure 5). The specific reasons for the westward migration are not known, but it is likely that the Blackfeet were pushed west by rising populations of eastern tribes. By the 1800s, the Blackfeet recognized a smaller area that stretched from extreme northern Montana northward to the Saskatchewan River near Edmonton in Canada.

Before acquiring the horse, the highly mobile Blackfeet used dogs for work, transporting goods, and trade (Ewers 1958). Horses, called "elk dogs" by the Blackfeet, were introduced sometime during the 1730s when the Shoshone used them in warfare against the Blackfeet (Ewers 1958).

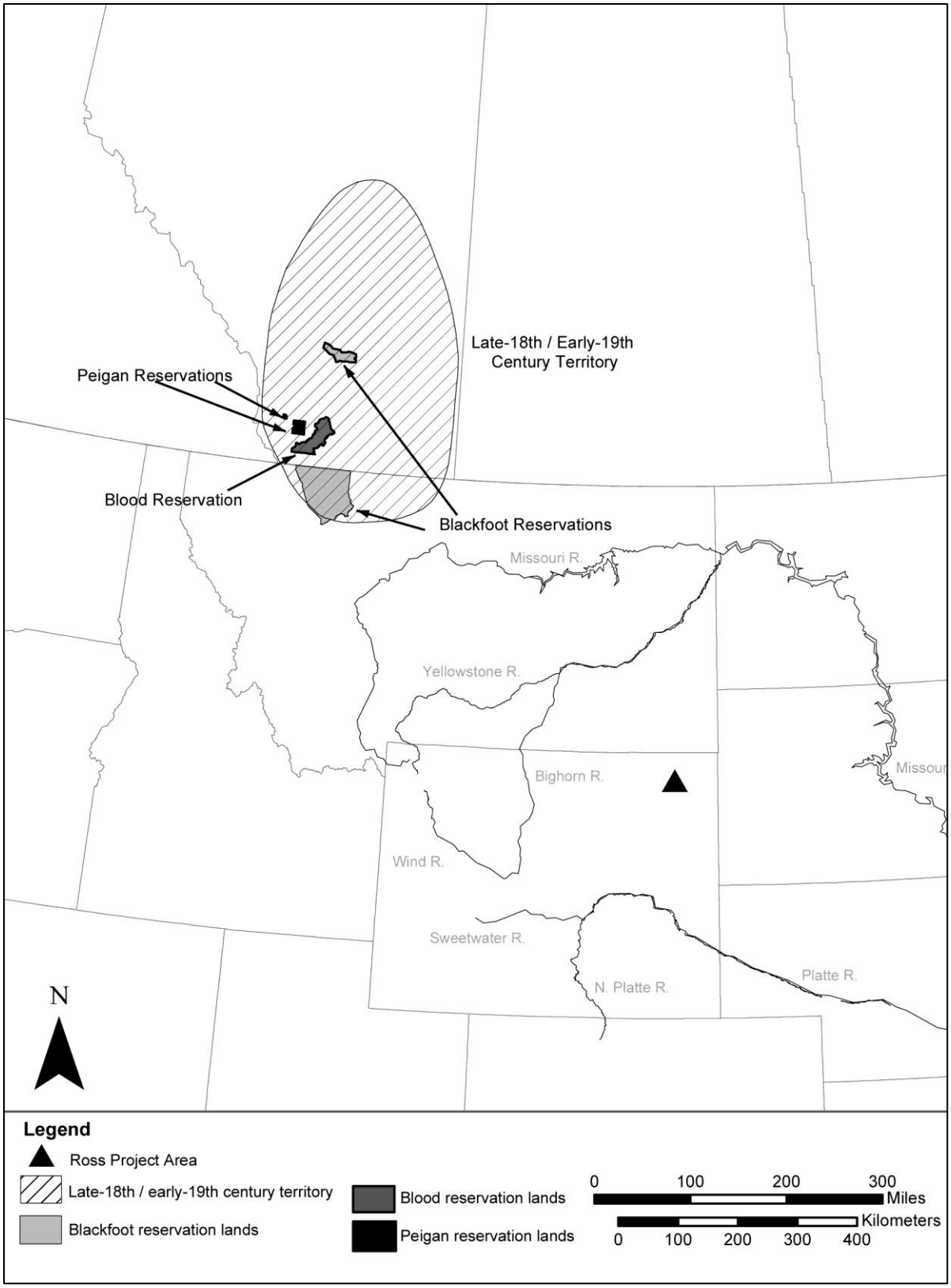

Figure 5. The territory of the Blackfeet.

During their westward migration, trade with other Plains tribes introduced the Blackfeet to horses and other European trade goods which were moving west along with the fur trade. Soon after, the Blackfeet worked to obtain horses from surrounding tribes, such as the Flathead and the Nez Perce and obtained firearms from the Assiniboine and Cree (Ewers 1958).

The Blackfeet capitalized upon their new equine mode of transportation to move more easily throughout their territory and began to move into new areas in Shoshone territory (Dempsey 2001). Horse use allowed the Blackfeet to hunt more easily, and carry more goods. It also increased conflicts with neighboring tribes as hunting territories began to overlap and the desire for horses increased inter-tribal raiding. By the mid-1750s the Blackfeet began trading directly with the Hudson's Bay Company, which had already established relations with both the Assiniboine and Cree (Dempsey 2001; Ewers 1958). Trade with the British typically involved Blackfeet travelling to British trading posts. A number of trading posts between the Missouri and North Saskatchewan Rivers were established between 1750 and 1850 (Ewers 1958). When the Americans began to travel up the Missouri River, their preference for trapping and hunting independent of the Native Americans led to several conflicts (Dempsey 2001).

Both peaceful and violent interactions with westward pushing Americans resulted in a series of treaties and agreements which defined the boundaries of Blackfoot territory, as summarized in the Ethnohistory of Wyoming's Pumpkin Buttes (Philips et al. 2006):

> Although not present at the original signing, the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 assigned lands to the Blackfeet from the Musselshell River, north of Billings, Montana, to the mouth of the Missouri River, west along the Rocky Mountains and back up north to the U.S./Canadian border (Ewers 1958). This huge extension of their southern border quickly became a source of conflict for many Plains tribes who recognized this region as their own hunting territory (UW 2003). This increased territory also may have allowed the Blackfeet to gain access to newer regions through their association with the Crow and Sioux tribes, who engaged in intertribal warfare and raids in the Plains region extending from northern Montana and into southern Canada (UW 2003).
>
> As conflicts arose from the newly assigned lands, the Blackfeet met with representatives of the U.S. government and signed a treaty in 1855. Lame Bull's Treaty, as the Blackfeet called it, was not agreed upon by all members of the tribe (Ewers 1958). This first treaty led to a series of later treaties, agreements, and executive orders that eventually picked away the original reservation to which the Blackfeet were assigned. Once the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 passed and the sale of tribal land allotments ended, the U.S. government provided the Blackfeet with only part of their original treaty lands that previously had comprised the greater Blackfeet Confederacy. As a result, the Blackfeet were placed on four reservations, three of which are located in Alberta Canada. The Piegan band was split into two divisions, with the northern division settling in Canada and the southern division settling on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana (Martin 2005).

> The Blackfeet Reservation located in Cut Bank, Montana, borders the Canadian province of Alberta and shares its western border with Glacier National Park. Badger Two-Medicine and the Lewis and Clark National Forest make up its southwestern border. The Blackfeet reservation consists of the Southern Piegan band of the Blackfeet Tribe in Montana while the Northern Piegan band is located across the border in Canada. North and South Piegan are known as Canadian and Montana Blackfeet, respectively. The rest of the Blackfeet Confederacy lives in Canada on three separate reservations named for their bands. (Phillips 2006:65)

Subsistence

The Blackfeet were almost exclusively bison hunters, though they also took advantage of the presence of other game, when bison were not present, and also hunted deer, antelope, and grizzly and black bears (Dempsey 2001). Smaller game consisted of porcupine, rabbit, and squirrel. Birds and fish were eaten only during stressful times (Wissler 1910). Plant foods utilized by the Blackfeet included a number of available species including serviceberries and chokecherries, wild turnips, rosebuds, and prickly pear (Dempsey 2001). Serviceberries and chokecherries in particular were used along with meat and bison fat to create pemmican, which could be kept for several months (Dempsey 2001).

During the "dog days" before they acquired the horse, the Blackfeet used several approaches for hunting bison. One method included luring or driving buffalo into surrounds formed either naturally using horses and people, or using corrals formed of poles set in the ground. Once surrounded, the buffalo could be killed with spears and arrows (Dempsey 2001). Another method was the bison jumps where the Blackfeet hunted bison in groups large enough to herd the bison into runs leading over a precipice. Bison by the hundreds fell off the precipice and were killed (Bradley 1923). The most commonly used bison jump, Head-Smashed-In, was located in southern Alberta, Canada (Thomas 2000). Once the tribe began using horses, their method of hunting changed to take advantage of their increased mobility and speed. Individual Blackfeet hunters would ride into the bison herd and single out their own animal to kill at close range (Ewers 1958).

Religion and Ritual

The Blackfeet believed in a number of supernatural beings or forces that permeated all things on earth and in the heavens. Napi, for example, was believed to have created the world and everything on it. The Blackfeet believed that Napi lived in the mountains at the headwaters of the Oldman River in the province of Alberta, Canada (Ewers 1958). The Blackfeet also believed that the Sun was the supreme deity and that his power was important for success in war and in hunting. The Sun was married to the Moon, and the two of them had a son, represented by the morning star (Grinnell 1892). Supernatural forces in the ground or in the water generally were considered to be evil (Dempsey 2001).

Communication with the spirits was possible through ceremonies, prayer, dreams, offerings, and through medicine bundles (Harrod 1997). Medicine bundles were especially highly valued for their strong powers. They assisted individuals in their vision quests and were integral to certain ceremonies, particularly those such as the Medicine Lodge, which was used by warrior societies in the early nineteenth century (Dempsey 2001; Wissler 1918).

The Blackfeet believed that certain features in the landscape were sacred either because of their inherent powers or because of some event or use of that feature. For example, sacred places included areas where an individual had received a vision, ceremonial sites, burial sites, and sites used for sweat lodges. Some places were inherently sacred such as the whole range of the Rocky Mountains, which was considered to be the backbone of the universe (McClintock 1910).

Social and Political Organization

The basic unit within the tribe was the band, comprised of related kin. Each band had several headmen and usually a band chief. Band chiefs were selected for their prowess as warriors and their generosity toward the poor. Responsibilities of the band chief included maintaining order within the band, settling disputes, acting as a mediator and magistrate, and maintaining good relations with other bands. Because band membership was fluid, members of a particular band could easily move from one band to another when political and social tensions grew too high (Harrod 1971; Martin 2005).

Polygyny was common among the Blackfeet with wealth of the husband being the limiting factor as to the number of wives a man could have. It was not uncommon for a man to marry the sisters of his wife and the widows of his brothers (Dempsey 2001).

Men and Warrior societies were an integral part of Blackfeet society; each society had their own rituals and responsibilities. These societies were age-based and members of these societies were selected at the early age of five and six years old. Young men in these societies were expected to learn the rules and customs from the older members. Older men in these societies organized hunts, raids, and relocations of the band. Hunting and war etiquette was strictly enforced by warrior societies who also maintained the social order of Blackfeet bands. Warrior societies often would organize and enforce gift giving to the survivors of a person's family who was lost in battle or at other times. In 1833, seven of these men's societies were still in existence. Men's societies predominated with only one woman's society being documented (Martin 2005).

Archaeology and Material Culture

Blackfeet material remains from pre-horse days are scarce due to their highly mobile lifestyle and lack of heavy burden animals. After the tribe began using the horse, however, individuals began to accumulate a few more items. It is difficult, however, to distinguish these items from those of neighboring tribes, especially the Gros Ventre, because the Blackfeet borrowed heavily from the technology and material cultures of their friends and enemies (Ewers 1958). The Blackfeet were known to have produced clay pottery for cooking and food preparation, but few remains have been found (Thomas 2000).

Perhaps the most common component of Blackfeet material culture was their artistic use of animal skins. The skins of buffalo and other animals were used for a number of purposes including clothing, coverings for tools and shields, domestic items such as cups and spoons, and coverings for their tipis (Ewers 1958). It was not uncommon for these items to be decorated in some fashion. Other animal parts also were used such as porcupine quills for clothing decoration and art. Their mobile lifestyle necessitated that they carry few objects, hence their preference for decorating items to be used on a daily basis or for ceremonial purposes (Scriver 1990).

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming

After the Treaty of 1855, the Blackfeet were designated an extensive territory, reaching south to the Musselshell River. Although the U.S. government quickly reduced these lands, the Blackfeet may have entered into the northern most part of what is now Wyoming on raiding or hunting excursions. But the Blackfeet are not known to have used the lands in the region in a significant way. See Figure 5 for historic territories occupied by the Blackfeet; note that these may not include all areas used by them.

CHEYENNE

Language and Origin

The Cheyenne speak an Algonquian language that is related to languages of the Arapaho, Blackfoot, Cree, Gros Ventre, and the Ojibwa. Prior to the adoption of the horse, the Cheyenne lived a semi-sedentary life, inhabiting the "mosaic of woodland, prairie, and plains habitats" of modern day Minnesota west of the Great Lakes (Moore et al. 2001). Both the Cheyenne and the Arapaho migrated out of this northern Midwestern territory and both arrived in South Dakota and eastern Wyoming in about the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries (Debo 1970). Access to horses and trade opportunities coupled with pressure from other Plains tribes forced the Cheyenne and the Arapaho to move southward into present-day South Dakota and Wyoming (Moore et al. 2001). While the two tribes speak similar languages, they differ in culture and are considered two culturally distinct tribes.

History and Territory

The Cheyenne were first recorded by Western observers in 1673, inhabiting the present-day western Wisconsin and Minnesota between the Mississippi, Minnesota, and Upper Red Rivers (Lowie 1954) (Figure 6). A woodland tribe, the group in fact consisted of a fluid confederation of bands that later united in the late eighteenth century. Prior to acquiring the horse, the Cheyenne lived a sedentary lifestyle in this region and occasionally traveled by foot for hunting purposes on to the Plains (Moore et al. 2001). They are thought to have moved westward gradually and adopted the equestrian lifestyle during this time. The Cheyenne are believed to have occupied the North Platte River region of Wyoming by 1800 (Svingen 1993) and engaged in frequent struggle with other Plains tribes over hunting territory and access to the Black Hills region. These battles are thought to have contributed to their westward migration and their alliance with the Arapaho. Consequently, the Cheyenne and the Arapaho both began to move southward onto the Central Plains in South Dakota and Eastern Wyoming where trade was readily accessible (Moore et al. 2001). When these alliances failed to attain territory from Plains groups occupying this region, the Cheyenne and Arapaho began to move southward and westward where they continued to encounter the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache, and also the Comanche.

Prior to contact, the Cheyenne were thought to be one culture group. It has been argued that there were Cheyenne bands that stayed with the horticultural lifestyle that were acquired during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is believed that some of these bands stayed with the Middle Missouri tribes located along the Heart River in North Dakota, but it is unclear as to which bands may have continued this way of life (Moore et al. 2001). By historic times, the Cheyenne were comprised of two tribal groups, the Northern and the Southern Cheyenne. This

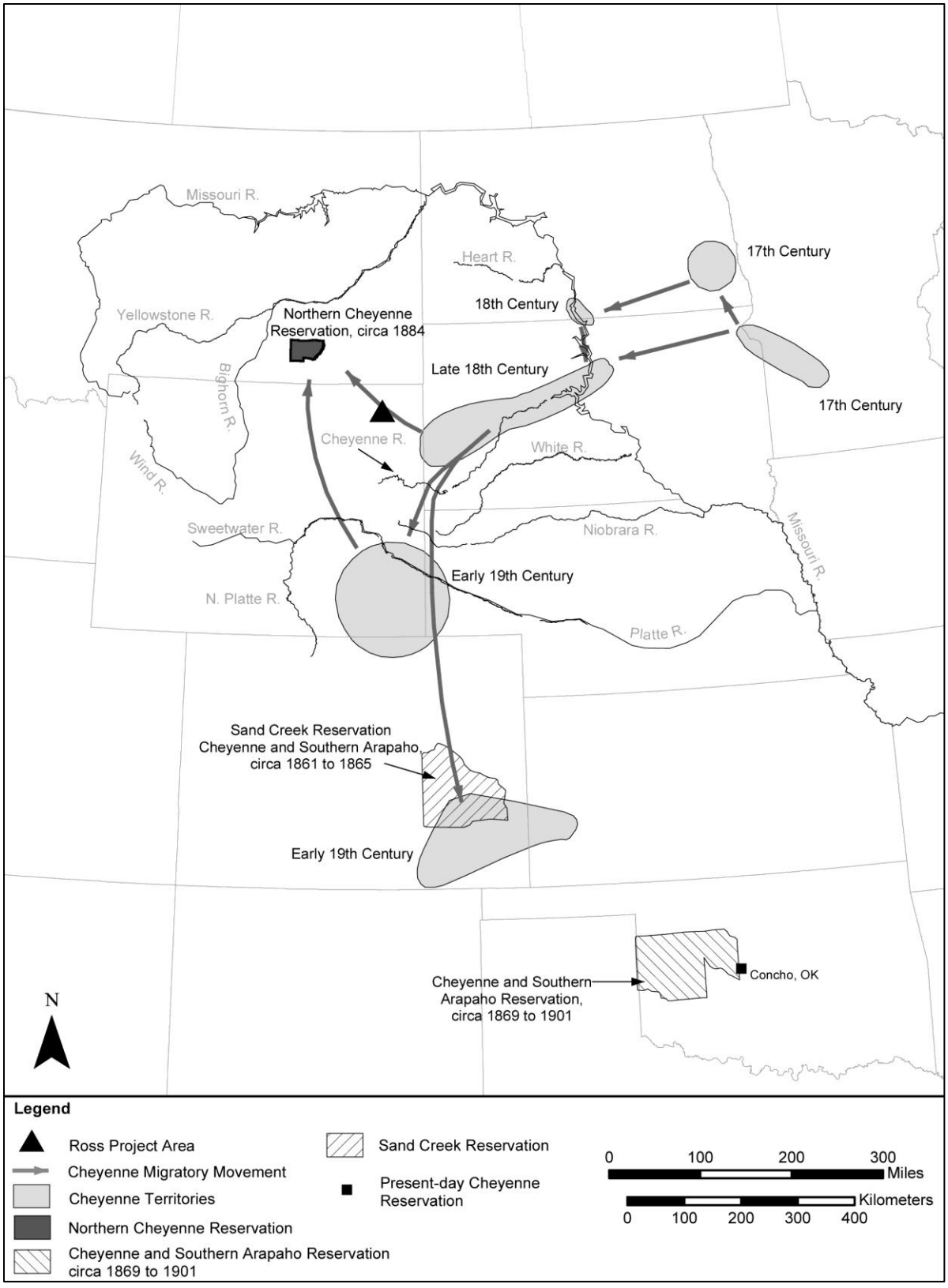

Figure 6. The territory of the Cheyenne.

bifurcation, which had begun in the early nineteenth century and was accelerated by Euro-American encroachment, was formalized with the signing of the Friendship Treaty in 1825. The treaty was signed by one Cheyenne band and the U.S. Army in Fort Pierre (Weist 1984) and was enacted for the entire tribe, leading to conflict and confusion and further dividing the Cheyenne into two groups, the "friendly" Northern Cheyenne and "hostile" Southern Cheyenne. These designations by the U.S. government significantly affected the political relationship of the two groups in the nineteenth century. After their historic split, both the Southern and Northern Cheyenne were given separate territories that completely separated the two groups. The Northern Cheyenne were placed on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation, which is located in southeastern Montana, alongside the Crow Reservation. Meanwhile, the Southern Cheyenne were moved onto the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation, which is located in central Oklahoma.

The Northern Cheyenne are very protective of land tracts along Otter Creek and Owl Creek in Montana, and consider both areas sacred. The Otter Creek land tract is said to have contained 46 home sites where the Birney people once lived (Northern Cheyenne Tribe 2002; Deaver 1988). This land tract was given up as part of the Tongue River Reservation establishment that occurred in 1899. The Owl Creek land tract, which is said to have cultural and religious significance for the Cheyenne. Early Indian agents expected the Cheyenne to take up farming in Montana but this attempt was unsuccessful due to the land being unsuitable for agriculture (Campbell 1987).

Subsistence

Prior to reservation times, the Cheyenne used seasonal bison hunting as their primary food source, augmented with the gathering of a variety of plant foods and horticulture. They are known to have cultivated tobacco as late as 1802 (Lowie 1954). Seasonal hunting that occurred in the summer and sometimes in the fall was conducted in groups by men's societies. At other times, when bands were broken into smaller groups, individuals hunted alone. Other big game hunted by the Cheyenne consisted of deer, elk, wild sheep, and pronghorn. Smaller game, such as wolves, coyotes, bears, beavers, and otters, were hunted for food and fur. The Cheyenne supplemented their diet with native plants including roots and tubers such as breadroot, Jerusalem artichokes, and Indian potatoes (Grinnell 1923). Seasonal fruits and berries, such as buffalo berries, elderberries, and chokecherries also were gathered (Moore 1996). Horticulture, which was abandoned largely by the time horses were acquired, included crops such as corn, beans, and squash (Moore 1996). After the acquisition of the horse and the transition to a fully nomadic lifestyle, buffalo hunting became the primary subsistence strategy of the Cheyenne, who traded closely with the Arikara, exchanging buffalo meat and hides for the horticulturalist's corn and crop goods (Lowie 1954). Buffalo was hunted, always by men, in two ways: communally by the men's societies in the early summer and late fall, and individually or in small groups when the tribe had disbanded throughout the remainder of the year (Moore et al. 2001). Horses also provided the opportunity for the Cheyenne to raid for more horses, livestock, and other goods. By 1830 the Cheyenne had maneuvered themselves into position as the primary trading group in the Great Plains with horses used as the primary currency to procure and move other goods.

Religion and Ritual

Connection with the natural world and their immediate environment was vitally important to the Cheyenne. The basis of Cheyenne cosmology was the conception of the world above and below,

separated by the surface of the earth. The horizon, where the two worlds met, was separated by the four cardinal directions, each inhabited by specific spirits and symbolized by specific colors and animals (Moore et al. 2001). It was expected that tribal members should live in harmony with and treat the land with respect. Part of showing respect for the earth meant causing no unnecessary disturbance of the ground. Medicine men and women assisted others in maintaining this respectful relationship through a numerous ceremonies and vision quests (Weist 1984:39).

Ceremonies provided an important way for the Cheyenne to maintain their sacred connection to nature, with four major ceremonies delineating their religious cycle. These included the Sacred Arrow Renewal, the Sun Dance (also called the Medicine Lodge), the Massaum (also called the Animal Dance), and the Sacred Hat Ceremony. The Sun Dance, which was geographically associated with the sacred lands of the Black Hills and northeastern Wyoming (Dodge 1882; Hanson and Moor 1999; Sundstrom 1996), was a means of renewing "the barren earth" and was a performance that reconstructed the world and nature. Seeking spiritual visions was a key element in the Cheyenne Sun Dance (Harrod 1997:146-147). Of the other three major ceremonies that were performed, the most important was the Sacred Arrow Renewal Ceremony, where Sweet Medicine was received during the supernatural instruction at *Noahvose*, the Sacred Mountain (also known as Bear Butte) in South Dakota (Moore et al. 2001) and is considered the center of the Cheyenne universe (Monnett 2001:13). The Sacred Arrow Renewal Ceremony consisted of two war arrows and two hunting arrows that were cleansed and revitalized. It was necessary to cleanse the Sacred Arrows periodically, especially after intertribal violence had occurred. Failure to renew the Sacred Arrows could have risked the welfare of the entire tribe, as polluted arrows caused poor hunts and drove big game away (Moore et al. 2001). Although the Sacred Arrows Renewal ceremony is usually associated with the continuation of successful hunts, the ceremony also was a source of moral regeneration for the Cheyenne universe, reaffirmed the social bonds between all Cheyenne, and promoted a stronger sense of group solidarity (Harrod 1997:94-107). The origin of the Sacred Arrow is said to be Devils Tower, in present-day northeastern Wyoming (Looking Horse 1987).

Social and Political Organization

Seasonal cycles found many Cheyenne in small bands that each had a chief. These smaller residential bands, generally numbering ten and possessing a customary wintering place along a river, were comprised of several hundred related individuals that were further defined by matrilocal extended kin networks. These bands became larger groups that made up men's societies and a council of the local chiefs. Ten major divisions of the Cheyenne bands existed throughout most of the year. Four representatives were sent to summer meetings as well as four "old man chiefs" who served for 10 years, after which another "old man chief" was selected as his replacement. The "old man chiefs" worked closely with men's societies to carry out the recommendations of the Council of 44, a governing body of peace chiefs distinct from war chiefs (Moore et al. 2001). Ultimately, all the bands were subject to the decision making of a single tribal council (Lowie 1954).

Warrior societies also played an important role in Cheyenne society. Cheyenne tribes were organized into six men's societies, which were divided among the 10 bands. They acted as lifelong fraternities that had their own songs, dances, and regalia. Originally, men's societies were warrior societies but became associated with governing the Cheyenne tribe over time (Petersen 1964). When a young man came of age, he joined his father's society. Women's

societies were not based on kinship, but focused on craft production used in trade or at campsites. For example, the Quilling Society, devoted to crafting with porcupine quills, was a highly regarded society for women (Moore et al. 2001).

The Cheyenne are considered to be bilateral, where terms of kinship are extended from a father to his brothers and the term for mother is extended to her sisters. This type of kinship system is referred to as bifurcate merging (Eggan 1955; Grinnell 1923; Moore 1987).

Archaeology and Material Culture

The Cheyenne utilized a limited number of ceramic items that were constructed for subsistence and for play. For instance, the Cheyenne produced an assortment of furnishings for their tipis. Items such as pipes, saddles, bridles, lariats, and travois were constructed for daily secular and sacred purposes. Smoking pipes were made from both bone and stone (usually red catlinite) (Moore et al. 2001); awls and scrapers were often made of bone or antler and used for sewing buffalo hides into clothing and tipi covers (Hoebel 1960). Cultural items such as baskets, small plum stones, netted wheels, balls, dolls, sleds and tops also were produced (Moore et al. 2001).

The Cheyenne constructed their tipis with a three-pole base with a cover that was sewn together with up to 21 bison hides. 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). Long and narrow tipi flaps created a long smoke hole that was a characteristic attributed to the Cheyenne (Campbell 1927). Cheyenne camps were located typically near waterways or other water sources (Grinnell 1918). They differed from other groups in the region because they developed and utilized a special tanning process that whitened their bison hides. As a result, Cheyenne tipis and campsites were easily identifiable since other Plains tribes did not use white skins on their tipis (Moore 1996:33-35).

Sweat lodges were made with tree branches and covered with sod and were used for purification and cleansing purposes. Participants dug a ceremonial hole and filled it with hot coals (Grinnell 1919). Ceremonies that used sweat lodges were used throughout the Northern Plains and were common for the Cheyenne.

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming

The Cheyenne are known to have been active in Nebraska and eastern South Dakota as well as in western Wyoming. During their alliance with the Arapaho, the Cheyenne moved into Central Plains in South Dakota and Eastern Wyoming. The extended area of the Black Hills and northeastern Wyoming west of Devils Tower were identified historically as sacred hunting grounds of the Cheyenne, who used hunting not only for subsistence but as important ceremonial activities that helped define their identity as a people and tie them to the land (Blackmore 1869; Sundstrom 1996). While the buffalo was the most important resource, the Cheyenne and other Native American groups used this area for sacred hunting activities related to pronghorn procurement (Sundstrom 2000). As discussed above, northeastern Wyoming was also an important location for band gatherings and ceremonies such as the Sun Dance and Sacred Arrow Renewal Ceremony (Chicago Tribune 1875; Dodge 1882; Hanson and Moor 1999; Looking Horse 1987; Niehardt 1953).

CREE

Language and Origin

Similar to other eastern and Great Lakes tribes that began to migrate westward following the arrival of Europeans, the Cree speak dialects of the Algonquian language group, similar to the languages spoken by the Ojibwa, Fox, and Menominee. Variations and dialects within the Cree language show greater diversity between the eastern and western groups suggesting that they may have had little contact, while migration north to south, likely seasonally, resulted in greater similarities in dialects between northern and southern bands of Cree (Darnell 2001).

History and Territory

It is believed that the Cree originated near Lake Winnipeg in southern Manitoba, moving westward due to population pressures in the east, and involvement in the fur trade. Analysis of the diversity in the eastern and western Cree languages suggests that some of the Cree began migrating westward well before the arrival of Europeans, moving to northwest Manitoba by the tenth century and farther west along the Saskatchewan River as early as the fifteenth century (Figure 7). Interactions with European fur traders in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, starting with the French, and later with the British, occurred with the continued westward migration of the Cree and the expansion of their territory further south, where they began interacting with the tribes settled along the Missouri River (Darnell 2001).

The Cree set themselves up as intermediaries between the Plains tribes and European traders. They allied themselves with the Assiniboine against the Blackfeet and took control of meetings with Europeans and, along with this, gained access to firearms. Still spending part of their year away from the Plains, in woodland environments, the Cree were less reliant on European horses of the buffalo trade during the seventeenth century, heading south to the Plains only during the winter to hunt and trade. By the end of the eighteenth century the disruption of the traditional Cree trade networks limited access to horses and broke their once strong hold on European trade. The disruption of the trade network resulted in more conflicts between tribes in the region, resulting in the Cree allying with the Flathead, Hidatsa, and Mandan. In addition to trade goods, interactions with Europeans during this period also brought a host of diseases that ravaged the Cree, wiping out half their population by 1838. Although many of the Plains tribes had greater numbers killed by disease, the decrease in population along with the decline in buffalo changed many of the traditional Cree settlement and hunting patterns. By 1845, the Cree had mostly migrated away from their former woodland territory and adapted to settlement on the Plains (Darnell 2001).

Between 1850 and 1880, the buffalo were all but gone from the Plains. The decline in the buffalo herds affected the territories of some tribes more than others, leading to more raids and conflicts between groups. The Cree maintained their strong trade networks with Europeans, and turned to the Hudson's Bay Company when conflicts with the Blackfeet escalated. A treaty with the British in 1876 provided financial support but confined the Cree to Reservations. At their maximum extent, the Plains Cree ranged from Manitoba through Saskatchewan to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains in Alberta. They had little contact with the Wood Cree located further to the north.

Figure 7. The territory of the Cree.

Subsistence

Until the mid-nineteenth century, the Cree made seasonal use of both woodland and plains resources. By the mid-nineteenth century buffalo had become the dominant game for the Cree, which they hunted using the "chute and pound" method, which employed angled chutes made of brush to funnel game into constructed or natural enclosures which trapped the buffalo. The buffalo would then be killed using spears or arrows. Buffalo meat could be preserved in the form of pemmican, which combined meat with berries and melted fat. The Plains Cree supplemented their diet with fish caught using weirs or killed with spears. Local plant resources included grassberry (Indian turnip) and various berries (Darnell 2001).

Religion and Ritual

The Plains Cree believed in the Great Spirit and creator of the universe, *kice-manito-w*. Other spirit powers existed as intermediaries between the Cree and the Great Spirit. The most important ceremony in the Cree religion was the Sun Dance which was thought to bring long life to the Maker and to bring rain for the people. The Sun Dance, conducted annually, also provided an opportunity for social interaction as groups would assemble for the ceremony. Another significant ritual was the "smoking tipi," which was held in the spring and involved fulfilling a pledge to the spirits through singing. Common ceremonial elements in the Cree religion included smoking a pipe, material offerings to spirit powers, songs, prayer, purification through a smudge or sweat bath, and the use of medicine bundles (Darnell 2001).

Social and Political Organization

The basic unit within the tribe was the band, comprised of related kin. Bands exhibited a great deal of fluidity with members and families switching between them. Although movement between bands was not uncommon, parents often wanted children to marry within the band. Prestige, in the form of hunting ability, wealth, or a strong war record, formed common criteria for the band chief. The role was largely based on earned respect, and was not considered hereditary. A band could have more than one chief at a time, and would often have a war chief and a peace chief (Darnell 2001).

The leading men of the band would form the council, which provided counsel to the chief, who would ultimately make decisions; the word would be spread through the band by a crier. The warriors were selected by the elder men and each band's warriors had their own songs, dances, and insignia. The warriors and young men of the band would attain prestige through their prowess, and by disassociating themselves from material possessions (Darnell 2001).

Burials usually involved interment with the head facing north, or sometimes tree burial during winter months. Grave goods, usually in the form of tobacco or grease, were placed on the surface of burials (Darnell 2001).

Archaeology and Material Culture

The Plains Cree made use of a three pole tipi, similar to the Sioux, the Cheyenne and the Kiowa, and which varied in size. The Cree used smaller tipis during the summer months when the tribe was separated into familial band, building larger tipis when bands would congregate during the winter months (Lowie 1954). Sweat baths usually consisted of smaller poles bent in an arch over a center post that was used to hang offerings (Darnell 2001). Other ceremonial structures, such

as the Sun Dance Lodge were built using a number of lodge poles lashed together supporting hide, or later canvas coverings. Clothing made of deer hide and buffalo robes was often decorated with beads and embroidery. Cree beadwork unlike their lodge construction, more closely resembled western Great Plains groups such as the Crow and Flathead (Darnell 2001; Lowie 1954).

Before the loss of the bison, subsistence relied primarily on big game hunting, driving game into natural enclosures using brush lined drives and chutes. In the late nineteenth century, the reduction of bison herds across the Plains had encouraged the Cree to supplement their diet with fishing. The Cree built weirs across fast moving water, consisting of a series of sticks set into the water to restrict the passage of fish and enclose it in pools where they could be easily killed (Darnell 2001).

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming

While the traditional range of the Cree lies to the north of the Project area, in northern Montana and southern Saskatchewan and Alberta, by the middle of the eighteenth century, bands of Cree living in Saskatchewan had started to migrate farther south into the Great Plains. Trade with the Assiniboine and conflicts with the Blackfeet may have led the Cree to settle further south along the Rocky Mountains into southern Montana and Wyoming. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, pressure from the Blackfeet and the decline of the buffalo herds led the Plains Cree to withdraw further to the north (Darnell 2001).

CROW

Language and Origin

The Crow speak a Siouan language that is closely related to the Hidatsa. It is generally believed that the Crow originated near the Bear Paw Mountains at Three Forks on the Missouri River and separated from the Hidatsa and moved west onto the Plains region during the 1500s to 1600s, as suggested through linguistic evidence (Hollow and Parks 1980). Although considered separate tribes in today's world, the Crow and Hidatsa continue to speak mutually intelligible languages with each other.

The Crow consisted of three groups, two of which separated prior to historic times (Voget 2001). The River Crow, the "*wirrê·sape·re*," were considered the original descendants of the Hidatsa proper while the Mountain Crow, the *ašaraho'*, were ancestors of the Awatixa Hidatsa (Bowers 1965; Curtis 1907-1930). The third, the Kicked-in-the-Bellies, were a smaller group that broke away from the Mountain Crow in historic times.

History and Territory

Although little is known in ethnohistorical literature about Crow prehistory, it is believed that the Crow were sedentary farmers and potters who lived in earth lodges along the Missouri River until about the early 1500s. After splitting from the Hidatsa between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Crow became semi-nomadic hunters, living in tipis and hunting big game.

By the 1820s, the Crow were recorded as encompassing a large land base distinct to each division (Figure 8). The Mountain Crow were recorded as hunting in the Big Horn, Middle Yellowstone, Upper Tongue, and Powder River basins and into the Big Horn, Absaroka, Beartooth, and Wind River mountain ranges (Voget 2001). As they moved into the area they likely displaced some of the tribes making use of the area, including the Shoshone-Comanche, and Kiowa. By 1850, the Crow were ranging as far south as Fort Laramie, and controlled most of the northeastern Wyoming (Smith 1983). The River Crow ranged over Montana in the lower Yellowstone River and north to the Marias and Milk rivers with fall and winter hunting grounds established in Judith Basin (Voget 2001). All bands of the Crow would unite in the spring and summer for hunting. After 1850, neighboring tribes such as the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe began to encroach on Crow territory, likely pressured by continued western expansion by U.S. settlers (Smith 1983).

The Crow are thought to have acquired the horse around A.D. 1730 (Haines 1938). They might have obtained horses from the Comanche and possibly the Nez Perce (Morgan 1959; Bradley 1896-1923), but it has also been documented that they may have acquired them from the Shoshone (Haines 1938). Once mounted on the horse, the Crow became integral trading partners with a number of tribes. By the late 1800s all three divisions of Crow had established trade relations with western and Northern Plains tribes, which included the Eastern Shoshone, Comanche, Nez Perce, and Flathead, and expanded their trade among the River Crow, who were more sedentary than the mounted Mountain Crow. Other tribes along the Upper Missouri River, such as the Mandan, Hidatsa, and the Arikara, provided necessary trade goods that further created extensive trade networks that brought on good relations with early European traders and the U.S. government in historic times (Algier 1993).

The role of the Crow as middlemen in trade evolved into diplomacy and cultural mediation with early European settlers. Beaver pelt trade was thought to be their first participation with the American Fur Company trading posts at Fort Cass and subsequent forts in the region (Algier 1993:87). The Crow, at one time, occupied areas in the Powder River Basin along the Bozeman Trail. The treaties of 1851 and 1868 established the boundaries of the Crow Reservation. Land sales over the years have significantly diminished Crow lands and the reservation is now severely partitioned, or "checker boarded," to such an extent "that the overwhelming majority of Crow Indian land is under the control of white farmers and ranchers" (Old Coyote 2005).

Subsistence

After their transition to nomadic hunting and gathering, the Crow relied heavily on buffalo as their primary meat source. The Crow hunted mostly from horseback, unless the snow was too deep, when they will make use of firearms (Denig 1961). This was supplemented with plant foods, such as biscuit root and prairie turnip, and other plant varieties (Hart 1992; Voget 2001). Other big game hunted included elk, deer, antelope, mountain sheep, and bear. Buffalo, elk, and deer were all hunted by the surround and jump method (Frey 1987; Frison 1979).

Women processed most of the big game animals and fashioned certain domestic items, such as bowls, from box elder and spoons and cups from mountain sheep or buffalo horn (Voget 2001). Although meat was the primary focus of the Crow diet, horticultural items, like corn and squash were often traded from the Hidatsa (Frey 1987).

Figure 8. The territory of the Crow.

Religion and Ritual

Spirituality played an integral part in the daily lives of the Crow with much of the praying, vision quests, and ceremonies oriented toward obtaining spiritual power. Among a number of spirits prevalent in the Crow belief system, the Sun, referred to as "father," represented the most powerful spirit. The Crow never failed to make prayers and offerings to the Sun during ceremonies (Voget 2001).

Spiritual power, or medicine power, was essential to the success of the Crow. This power was embodied in the medicine bundle and could be attained by individuals through a variety of means. The most important of these included the Tobacco Planting ceremony, the Sun Dance, and the vision quest.

The Tobacco Planting Ceremony was said to have been introduced by No Vitals, a famous Crow leader at the time the tribe split from the Hidatsa. No Vitals was instructed to seek out the sacred tobacco plant at Devils Lake in eastern North Dakota. The plant had the power to help the Crow be successful in war; its worship was required to fulfill their destiny (Denig 1961 in Voget 2001).

Like many Plains tribes, the Crow practiced the Sun Dance. The Crow version of the Sun Dance appears to be a modified version of the Eastern Shoshone Hide Beating Dance (Voget 2001). The entire tribe participated in the dance to focus their combined medicine powers to achieve victory or revenge against their enemies. The dancers formed around an individual who had pledged himself to avenge some wrong. The pledger danced around a Sun Dance medicine bundle containing a manikin. Young men who had pierced themselves or who dragged buffalo skulls behind them, danced around the pledger, hoping to receive some of the medicine power. The ceremony concluded once the pledger witnessed that the manikin had turned black indicating that his revenge had been fulfilled (Voget 2001).

The vision quest played an important role, particularly among young men, in obtaining spiritual power. UW (2003:29-31) has summarized the vision quest process:

> Vision quests were conducted individually, by young men, in an effort to obtain spiritual power. These were carried out in special places, such as Pompey's Pillar along the Yellowstone River, or summit points in the Bighorn Mountains. Fasting, going without sleep, and bodily mutilation might be used to force potential spiritual donors to take pity upon the seeker. Guardian spirits were usually supernatural manifestations of animal species, but could also be other sorts of beings. Most common of these were Little People, the belief in which remains pervasive among the Crow (Frey 1987:68). Little People were a particularly powerful and practical donor; like leprechauns they could be both generous and mischievous. Upon obtaining such a power, one entered into a lifelong relationship with the donor, which entailed obligations as well as benefits. If instructed so to do, the recipient would display representations of the donor. This seemed to be common in the case of zoomorphic spirits, but not, for instance, Little People. The spiritual power derived in such cases was indeed a sort of "guardian spirit," which helped one in warfare, hunting, and other

> dangerous activities. However, it was not a guarantor of success, and sometimes led to a sense of fatalism in combat.

The sweat lodge was a vital component of Crow prayers and ceremonies. It served as a form of spiritual preparation for the body and spirit before one could attain spiritual power through vision quests, the Sun Dance, or other rituals. The lodge itself was constructed of willow branches covered with animal hides. The steam inside the lodge was produced by pouring water over heated stones contained in a shallow pit (Voget 2001).

Within the Crow territory, Devils Tower (known to the Crow as Bear Lodge) was a location of particular importance. The Crows would go there to fast and pray, and some would create temporary shelters from stones collected along the base of the formation. Bear Lodge was an area contested by both the Sioux and the Crow, and some Crow recollect conflicts specifically over control of that area (Stone n.d.). Another area important to the Crow was Little Missouri Buttes, known to the Crow as "Two Buttes" (Stone n.d.).

Social and Political Organization

UW (2001:27-29) provided a sufficiently comprehensive summary of the Crow social and political structure:

> Crow society was organized into territorial bands and matrilineal clans, which were generally not territorial. Lewis Henry Morgan designated this type of kinship system "Crow," although the Crow proper are less "pure" examples of the type than are the Hidatsa (Lowie 1912:207-12; Morgan 1881). Fred Eggan (1955) speculated that Crow kinship was moving from a pure matrilineal form to a transitional one characterized by an emphasis on generation. Such changes were a response to the changing conditions of life in the historic era, with greater emphasis on mobility and war honors. Nevertheless, traditional matrilineal clans remained very important in Crow society during the historic period. Fred Voget assembles a list of twenty-two such clans from all extant sources (Voget 2001:702). Such units were important for a variety of reasons. Each was exogamous, with marriage within the clan forbidden. Each produced chiefs. Most importantly, clans were the focus of an elaborate system of reciprocity that constituted the fabric of social life. A child was born into the mother's clan, but remained a "child of" the father's clan. This implied a lifelong relationship of reciprocity with those he called "father" (Lowie 1935:18-19). Typically "children" supported their "fathers" with food and material wealth, while "fathers" gave supernatural protection in the form of "medicine" (Voget 1987:207-16). This culminated in "giveaways," which involved large scale transfers of property. This aspect of the matrilineal kinship system has remained intact among present-day Crow, despite the fading of taboos on intra-clan marriage and the replacement of Crow nomenclature with English cognatic kin terminology (Frey 1987:40-58).
>
> Crow society was pervasively egalitarian, but with considerable room for individual achievement and recognition. Chiefs held great power and influence derived from their own abilities and attainment. Such office was never hereditary.

> Prestige derived from two separate but integrally connected sources: supernatural power and war honors. Supernatural power could be obtained in several ways, most usually through the vision quest—involving fasting, bathing, and isolation in a powerful site, generally on a mountain peak or unusual rock formation—or the Sun Dance. Bodily mutilation was sometimes practiced in both contexts. In general these were means of appearing pitiful to spiritual beings, who would then agree to aid the sufferer. These spiritual beings in effect took the role of clan fathers, who provided supernatural aid to their wards. In return, the recipient of power would undertake certain obligations for the guardian spirit. The other path for achievement, which was considered to be inextricably connected to spiritual power, was war honors or "coup." The prototype means of "counting coup" was to touch a powerful enemy without harming him. However, a variety of achievements in war and other contexts requiring bravery could allow one to count coup. Commonly the theft of horses was such an avenue. Even peaceful pursuits, such as bison hunting, could result in coup if bravery was evident. Coup honors were especially important to adolescents and young men, who were entitled to marry after attaining their first honors. Additional honors allowed one to rise up the ranks, eventually to chief.
>
> Chiefs were the juridico-political leaders of local bands. They were proclaimed by a council of elders, who based their decision, which should be arrived at by consensus, on war honors and vision experiences of the candidate. A chief should be a person of strong medicine, that is, someone who was well-protected by supernatural guardians. Thus, this sacred protection could be extended to the group as a whole. Chiefs determined when and where to move camp, and other collective actions. They maintained the peace, with the aid of the band "police," composed of members of warrior societies. These warrior societies, eleven in number for the Crow as a whole in the early historic era, 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, certain matters, such as murder and the payment of blood money, were handled by clans. In general, consensus and group discussion, at least among men with honors, was the mechanism by which Crow politics functioned (Voget 2001:704-06).

Archaeology and Material Culture

In prehistoric times the Crow were sedentary, settled long the Missouri River and relying upon corn, beans, and squash. After the Crow separated from the Hidatsa, they moved west and transitioned to semi-nomadic bison hunting. This transition also involved a change in living accommodations from earth lodges to tipis (Frey 1987). After their transition to bison hunting, the Crow abandoned their use of ceramic house goods and began using bowls carved from box elder, and spoons, cups and other wares made from animal horn (Voget 2001). Supplementing their primary food—bison—the Crow also hunted elk, deer, antelope, bear, and mountain sheep. A number of bison jump sites have been documented in northern Wyoming (Frey 1987; Frison 1979). Although the Crow relied heavily upon meat, their diet also included roots and berries, as well as horticultural products obtained through trade with the Hidatsa (Frey 1987).

Crow lodges were typically tipis based on a four-pole structure covered with 15 to 20 buffalo hides. The tipi could typically hold eight to sixteen people. The entrance to the tipi faced east to allow the medicine bundle holder to pray to the Sun immediately upon exiting in the morning (Voget 2001).

Like other Plains tribes, the Crow made use of bags made from stretched rawhide which they either incised or painted in intricate patterns. Decorative patterns that appear to be preferred by the Crow include well-formed straight lines and vertically bisected diamonds shapes. These patterns are similar to those created by the Shoshone (Lowie 1954).

The Crow were well situated in a transitional region between the Northern Plains and the Columbia Plateau culture areas for trade with both their eastern and western neighbors. Common trade goods included catlinite pipes, bows, shells, foodstuffs, and, in the historic era, horses and Euro-American goods (Teit 1930:113-14). As UW (2003:27) describes:

> With the advent of the horse, which the Crow obtained from the Eastern Shoshone or their Comanche relatives, the Crow role in trade (as well as horse stealing) became more prominent. They played a central role in the fur trade, and acted as middlemen in bringing Euro-American goods into the northern Rocky Mountains from the outposts on the Missouri (Voget 2001:696-97). The Crow were innovative in their adaptation to the horse, as seen, for instance, in the distinctive Crow saddle designs of the historic era.

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming

The Crow likely separated from the Hidatsa and moved onto the Plains in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, but it was likely that they did not make regular use of northeastern Wyoming until the eighteenth century with the withdrawal of other tribes. The Crow use of horses for hunting and transportation allowed them to cover broad distances and until the mid-nineteenth century, the Crow appear to have made ample use of the region. Since their removal to the Crow Reservation in southeastern Montana in the mid-1860s, specific knowledge of the area is being lost. A handful of places of significance in the Powder River Basin have been documented by Timothy McCleary of UW (2003) through ethnographic interviews. Some documented stories make specific reference to geographic locations within the northeastern Wyoming, such as Bear Lodge (Devils Tower) and Two Buttes (Lower Missouri Buttes (Stone n.d.). See Figure 8 for historic territories occupied by the Crow; note that these may not include all areas used by them.

GROS VENTRE

Language and Origin

The Gros Ventre people speak an Algonquin language, closely related to the Arapaho language. It is widely believed that the Gros Ventre tribe was at one time part of the Arapaho tribe that had split off. It is unknown when or why these two tribes separated (Kroeber 1908). The Gros Ventre tribe was not clearly identified by Europeans until the mid-eighteenth century. At that time the tribe occupied the Canadian plains between the North and South Saskatchewan Rivers. The close similarities between the Gros Ventre and Arapaho languages suggests that the Gros Ventre may have moved from the east into the Saskatchewan region at a similar time as the

Arapaho and Cheyenne migration out of the western Minnesota region. The name Gros Ventre means "big bellies" in French, and was a name given to them by French fur traders visiting the region. The Gros Ventre call themselves "'aa' aaaniineninch" meaning 'white clay people.' This name refers to the lime or chalk used to clean hides, or the mounds of earth used to direct bison into corrals (Taylor 1983; Kroeber 1908). Many neighboring tribes refer to the Gros Ventre as the 'always hungry' (Fowler and Flannery 2001). Many of the Gros Ventre were also fluent in the language spoken by the Blackfoot, which alludes to the frequent interaction and usually friendly relations between the two groups (Morgan 2009).

History and Territory

The Gros Ventre people were confirmed to be encountered by Europeans historically in 1772 when Cocking (1908) an English trader met the tribe where then living between the two forks of the Saskatchewan River (Figure 9). Cocking called the tribe the "Waterfall Indians" and associated them with a group of five allied tribes known to the Cree as the Archithinue (Kehoe and Kehoe 1974). This group included the Gros Ventre, two bands of Blackfeet, and the Sarcee. In the early 1700s these five allied groups traded with the Cree, but at times they also were in conflict with the Cree and their allies, the Assiniboine (Isham 1949). The Hudson Bay-based fur trade industry of the 1600s and 1700s pushed westward closer and closer to the Gros Ventre territory with the Cree and their allies acting as middlemen in trade matters. Later the Hudson's Bay Company would build camps and the Hudson House to trade directly with the Gros Ventre tribe. In the 1780s, the Gros Ventre experienced their first of many smallpox outbreaks. Coupled with the effects of the disease, the Gros Ventre also experienced increased conflict with several of their neighbors, notably the Blackfoot, who were their traditional allies, and the well-armed Cree. Conflicts with these tribes, coupled with the virulence of smallpox caused a great deal of Gros Ventre casualties. The Cree were well equipped with guns from their dealings with the European traders and began to pressure the Blackfeet and their allies, including the Gros Ventre, to move south. The Gros Ventre began to feel stressed and began to strike back at their Cree and Assiniboine enemies and at the European traders who the Gros Ventre viewed as the Cree's allies. In less than 10 years the Gros Ventre tribe had gone from being considered "the most rational and inoffensive" to a dangerous tribe especially aggressive towards traders (Fowler 1987).

By the 1830s, the Gros Ventre had moved with their Blackfeet allies to live among the Cypress Hills in northern Montana and southern Canada. The tribe settled around the Milk River between the Missouri and Frenchman Rivers. The Gros Ventre and their allies were initially opposed to the fur traders in their new territory; however, relations improved and peaceful trade between the Gros Ventre and the American Fur Company along the Upper Missouri River began. The Gros Ventre became wealthy with horses and trade goods and partially escaped the smallpox epidemic in 1837, although losing 200 members—many fewer than neighboring tribes (Fowler 1987). In 1855 the Gros Ventre and their Blackfoot allies signed a treaty with the U.S. government allowing U.S. military travel and military posts to be built throughout their territory (Kappler 1904-1941). Increasing numbers of white settlers in the Upper Missouri River region restricted the hunting and travel of the Gros Ventre into smaller and smaller territories. The reduction in their hunting territory, and the dramatic U.S. deprecation of the buffalo herds across the Plains, severely impacted the lives of the Gros Ventre. Unable to procure buffalo in significant quantities, the tribe, along with the Assiniboine, who were suffering similar issues,

Figure 9. The territory of the Gros Ventre.

began to consolidate around Fort Belknap in north central Montana. Fort Belknap was a substation outpost with a small trading post and blockhouse for distributing annuities from the government. As white settlers further pressed the tribe into smaller and smaller areas, the tribe began to rely more heavily on Fort Belknap for food and supplies. The government decided to close Fort Belknap 1876 and force the Gros Ventre tribe to travel to the Sioux reservation of Fort Peck for supplies. The Gros Ventre opposed being forced to mingle with their enemy, the Yanktonai Sioux, and refused to travel (Flannery 1953). They instead supplemented their food supply with local game. In 1878 the U.S. government re-established Fort Belknap, and the Gros Ventre and the Assiniboine again began to draw their annuities there. From 1878 to 1890 the Gros Ventre lived in four large groups west of Fort Belknap, to better defend themselves from Sioux and Blackfeet raiding parties. In 1890, the tribe lost much of their territory to the U.S. government, in return for the tribe's being allotted a small reservation around Fort Belknap, which they shared with some bands of Assiniboine (Flannery 1953).

The Gros Ventre tribe is part of the Fort Belknap Indian Community on the Fort Belknap reservation, located in north central Montana near the Little Rocky Mountains. The northern boundary of the reservation runs along the Milk River, a northern tributary of the Missouri River. The Gros Ventre tribe has shared the reservation with the Assiniboine tribe since inception of this reservation area in 1890. A constitution and by-laws were adopted by the tribe in 1935, but the federal government required that the two tribes be incorporated together, which occurred in 1937 after much resistance (Fowler 1987).

Subsistence

The Gros Ventre tribe depended primarily on buffalo hunting for subsistence. Before acquiring horses the tribe used impounding methods to hunt buffalo (Curtis 1907-1930; Flannery 1953; Kroeber 1908). After the horse was introduced the tribe would congregate into large groups of 300 to 500 people in anticipation of the bison's northern migration. Groups of men with specially trained "buffalo horses" would make "runs" on herds firing arrows at the bison. Smaller groups or individuals stalked deer, elk, and antelope. Winter campsites were usually located along wooded creeks but in the summer a band would move several times to follow smaller herds of bison. All meat was eaten immediately, dried as jerky, or pounded into pemmican. Bison hides collected at specific times of the year were used for different functions. The hides taken in the spring with thinner hair were used more for tipi covers, moccasins, par fleches, bags, and ropes. Hides taken in the fall and winter when the hair was thickest were used for clothing and blankets. Women were responsible for the processing of hides, building tipis, making clothes and other domestic items, and gathering vegetables such as roots, berries, nuts, and tubers. Men were responsible for hunting larger game, skinning animals, and looking after horse herds.

Religion and Ritual

The Gros Ventre traditionally believe in a single supernatural being known as "The One Above," or 'he who makes or does (by thought or will).' This being is not thought of in a human form, and is considered the ultimate source of life and of the power possessed by other supernatural beings and humans (Cooper 1957). No tribal member in the nineteenth century recounted any origin or creation stories concerning "The One Above" within ethnographical accounts. However, three hero traditions were recorded. The heroes, known as Nih'atah, Earthmaker, and

He Who Starved to Death, are said to have provided the Gros Ventre with many different gifts. Nih'atah gave the people freedom of thought and taught them to pray with a pipe. Earthmaker recreated the world after a flood and created the Flat Pipe medicine bundle, an important part of Gros Ventre ceremony. He Who Starved to Death used supernatural assistance to coax horses out of a lake to provide for the tribe.

Traditional Gros Ventre ceremony revolves around the upkeep of two medicine bundles known as the Flat Pipe bundle and the Feathered Pipe bundle. Keepers are specially trained individuals who have made prayer-sacrifice vows, such as providing gifts for the bundle, or sponsoring a sweat ceremony, care for these bundles (Cooper 1957; Horse Capture 1980). The Sun Dance ceremony was a central part of the Gros Ventre religious system but it was completely lost after the wide spread introduction of Catholicism (Horse Capture 1992). Christianity was introduced to the tribe in the late 1880s with the building of a Jesuit Mission in Hays, Montana. In the 1890s several converts of children and a few adults prompted more and more of the tribe to convert. Horse Capture (1992) attributes the converts to increased pressure from economic hardship; whereas, others suggest the conversions resulted from two other factors. Fowler (1987) cites similarities between Catholicism and Gros Ventre beliefs, specifically a Supreme Being and prayer sacrifice. Junkins (1889) states that the tribe was attempting to appeal to the Indian Agent, showing him they were becoming more civilized. Regardless of the reason, traditional Gros Ventre religious practice suffered. Lodge ceremonies, including the Sun Dance, began to disappear. In 1924 the last official Keeper died and by the 1930s only a small group of people still practiced the pipe bundle ceremonies, (Fowler 1987). In recent times, the tribe has begun to look for ways to rebuild their traditional religious practices. This has included borrowing or learning ceremonies from their past relations the Arapahos (Horse Capture 1992). The Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe bundle ceremonies, and the instruction of Keepers are included in these ceremonies.

Another significant ceremony among the Gros Ventre was the Grass Dance. The dance was adopted by many of the Plains tribes; although, it is generally believed by the tribes themselves to have originated with the Gros Ventre. The ceremony takes place in a multi-sided building with a hole in the roof, a feature observed by early ethnographers among many of the Plains tribes. Nevertheless, the ceremony holds some significance for the Gros Ventre and became central to the continuation of their cultural practices (Wissler 1916)

Social and Political Organization

Details regarding the social and political organization of the Gros Ventres have been well documented in past ethnographies. As stated in the ethnohistory of northeast Wyoming's Pumpkin Buttes (Phillips et al. 2006):

> The social network of the Gros Ventre was mostly separated by gender and age. At the age of 15 or 16, boys were encouraged to form together into groups of friends and pledge themselves to either the Star or Wolf moiety. This decision was completely up to the group of boys and binding for life. The members of a moiety were bound to help each other in all aspects of life (Flannery 1953). After a moiety was chosen, a boy would pledge himself to an age specific group known as the Fly Lodge. This was the first of a series of age-group lodges that the boy would progress through as he grew. Various spiritual and social tasks had to be

> accomplished to progress from one lodge to the next. Membership in many of the lodges required the potential member to sacrifice property or give gifts. A man's wife was an important part of this process as a lodge's power was transferred from a sponsoring "grandfather" of a lodge, to the initiate's wife, who then transferred it to him. This grandfathering process was an important part of the Gros Ventre society. Religious practices, ceremonies, and supernatural power were sought out by a person from an older male of a specific lodge but in the opposite moiety of the initiate. The grandfather and his grandson practiced reciprocal gift giving. The two men and their wives were to treat each other with great respect, avoid fighting, and fulfill any favor asked (Cooper 1957). Gift giving and assisting the less fortunate is an important part of Gros Ventre life. Gift giving and self-sacrifice are the fastest and most important ways to advance both politically and religiously (Fowler and Flannery 2001).
>
> Prestige and honor were acquired through wealth, generosity, and bravery in battle or in hunting. Historically wealth was mainly associated with horse herds and success in trade. The latter often led to men marrying more than one woman to increase the number of buffalo robes a household could process and then trade in a season (Flannery 1953). Battle honor often came from stealing horses (especially tethered ones), taking scalps, killing, or touching an enemy, taking a weapon from an enemy, or assisting a comrade in battle (Hatton 1990). The more prosperous a man and his family were, the more people would likely form a band around them and share in the wealth.
>
> A bandleader had influence on decisions concerning movement of the group but had no direct authority over any other family or band member (Flannery 1953; Curtis 1907-1930). The Gros Ventre tribe has an oral history concerning a "head chief" that over saw tribal councils. Unlike many other Plains tribes, the Gros Ventre Chief retained more power and control over the tribe. This was due in part to the influence of the Soldier Band, a group known for its strict discipline that was responsible for carrying out the orders of the Chief (Fowler 1987:31). Early dealings with the U.S. government, however, were carried out by a spokesman, and not a "head chief" (Flannery 1953). (Phillips et al. 2005:85)

Archaeology and Material Culture

Gros Ventre lived in tipis at the time of their initial contact with Europeans. The tipis were constructed using a three-pole foundation method. The average tipi was constructed of 14 to 17 skins although a prominent man and his family may have a tipi made of 25 or more. Tribal bands were known to arrange their camps in either long parallel lines of lodges or in great circles. The latter was used primarily for ceremonial gatherings of the tribe (Hendry 1907, Flannery 1953). When European trappers met the Gros Ventre in 1772, the tribe was noted as being expert bison hunters using the impounding method. This involved driving a herd or portion of a herd into a large corral. The tribe was known to use drive lanes and horses together to direct the bison into the corrals. Once the bison were inside the corral, they were speared or shot with arrows. The tribe was noted to be expert horseback riders using buffalo skin saddles with stirrups, and hair rope bridals. The first impressions of Europeans regarding the Gros Ventre were that the tribe seemed to have had horses for at least a generation (Hendry 1907).

Horses were likely acquired from neighboring southern tribes, possibly through trade with their Blackfoot allies or through raiding the Crow and Sioux tribes. As well as their well-developed equestrian culture, Europeans accounts also noted baked clay vessels among the Gros Ventre. The Gros Ventre people were also familiar with European trade goods and firearms well before initial contact. Specific structures used by the Gros Ventre, including the multi-sided lodge built for the Grass Dance, were common among other Plains tribes including the Blackfoot and the Assiniboine (Wissler 1916).

Additional information regarding the Gros Ventre may be found in Kroeber (1908); Curtis (1907-1930); Cooper (1957) and Flannery (1953); and Hatton (1990). Horse Capture (1992) includes interviewed accounts from oral histories and cultural preservation efforts.

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming

There is little evidence that the Gros Ventre spent substantial time in northeastern Wyoming. Gros Ventre territory was traditionally located in Saskatchewan, Canada and in northern Montana. Although the tribe was pushed south towards the end of the eighteenth century due to pressure from neighboring tribes, it is generally believed that this southern movement did not extend as far south as northeastern Wyoming. It is possible that some bands may have ventured into the basin, such as while camping in Crow territory in the 1880s, but these activities are not well documented. See Figure 9 for historic territories occupied by the Gros Ventre; note that these may not include all areas used by them.

HIDATSA

Language and Origin

The Hidatsa are part of the Siouan language family, closely related to the Mandan and Crow. The Hidatsa are thought to have occupied the Upper Missouri River valley and are documented as having occupied three villages at the mouth of the Knife River toward the end of the eighteenth century (Stewart 2001).

History and Territory

The Hidatsa and Crow tribes are believed to have split from a common ancestral tribe. The split was first documented by the eighteenth century fur trader, La Verendrye (Hanson 1986), but most likely occurred sometime between 1675 and 1750; although, it is possible it occurred even earlier as oral traditions claim that it did. Oral traditions of both tribes relate the separation to an argument over bison meat, a primary subsistence food for both groups, as well as most tribes in the Great Plains. This occurred before the "Crow acquired the horse" (Foster 1993). Even after this separation, early accounts show the Crow and Hidatsa maintained good relations with frequent visits to each other's tribes (Ewers 1997). Like the Arickaras, the Hidatsa are distinct from many other tribes of the Plains in that they traditionally practiced semi-sedentarism of fixed earth lodges, possessed fired ceramics, and practiced horticulture.

The Hidatsa people were divided into three groups: the *Awatixa*, the *Awaxawi*, and the Hidatsa proper. Although culturally and linguistically similar, each group tended to live in separate villages in the Knife River region in the Missouri River valley (Aher et al. 1991) (See Figure 3). Oral tradition indicates that the *Awatixa* always lived on the Missouri River while the *Awaxawi*

and the Hidatsa proper arrived from the east sometime after A.D. 1100 (Stewart 2001). A series of smallpox epidemics severely reduced the number of Hidatsa living in villages along the Missouri River and left them highly susceptible to attacks from the Lakota and Assiniboine (Stewart 2001).

The Xoska band is reported to have spent considerable time in the "Rough Country" of the Powder River Basin. The band's name, in fact, is derived from the Lakota word *Hóski* meaning Rough Country. This name was applied to these Hidatsa by the Lakota because of their use of the badlands in the Powder River Basin (Garcia 1998 [as cited in UW 2003]).

The Fort Laramie Treaty in 1851 established the boundaries for territories held collectively by the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara. In 1870, when the U.S. government established the Fort Berthold reservation, the tribes were relocated to lands that disregarded the boundaries set forth in the Fort Laramie Treaty (Meyer 1977). At its inception, the Fort Berthold Reservation marked its southern boundary at the "junction of Powder River with the Little Powder to a point on the Missouri four miles below Fort Berthold" (Meyer 1977). Over the following decades, the reservation lands were reduced significantly until the reservation centered on Fort Berthold.

The Hidatsa people currently reside on the Fort Berthold Reservation alongside the Mandan and the Arikara tribes. All three tribes are referred to today as the Three Affiliated Tribes. Fort Berthold Reservation is located southeast of Minot and northwest of Bismarck, North Dakota.

Subsistence

The Hidatsa people combined both horticulture and hunting for subsistence. The tribe hunted big game, such as deer and elk, but pursued bison as their primary animal food source. The Hidatsa supplemented their animal foods with fish. The Hidatsa were intense horticulturalists whose cultivation of corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash was done primarily by women (Hanson 1986). Planting in the spring, the Hidatsa harvested the ripe corn in late September or early October, when it was ceremoniously braided and hung to dry (Lowie 1954). They stored the harvest, as well as dried meat and personal objects, in large "jug pits," underground pits shaped like bells. The Hidatsa males also grew a form of ceremonial tobacco that they traded with the Crow who used it ceremonially, in comparison to the tobacco the Crow themselves cultivated (Lowie 1954). The Hidatsa's annual subsistence cycle also involved seasonal migrations between camps during the fall and again during the summer to conserve access to fuel sources. Fall campsites tended to be located in "densely wooded river bottoms" (Stewart 2001) while in the summer, the Hidatsa returned to their earth lodges along the Missouri River. These seasonal migrations coincided with communal bison hunts. Prior to horse availability, the tribe used dog travois extensively to carry people, most often young children, and household goods during the seasonal migrations.

Augmenting the Hidatsa hunting and horticulture subsistence strategy was an extensive trade network. The Hidatsa traded surplus produce with nomadic Plains tribes for horses and buffalo robes (Wood and Thiessen 1985). During the nineteenth century, the Hidatsa traded heavily with European traders and trappers. This access to an even wider variety of trade goods came to make the trade of European goods with other Native American groups a central characteristic of their subsistence strategy (Lowie 1954; Stewart 2001).

Religion and Ritual

Not unlike other tribes, religious belief and ceremony permeated every aspect of Hidatsa daily life. It was believed that significant achievements of an individual in the tribe were the result of that person accessing supernatural powers, bestowed by supernatural beings who were themselves associated with animals. These supernatural powers could be attained in one of two ways: either by "fasting, self-torture, of by a combination of the two;" or by purchasing the power from someone else (Stewart 2001:335). Power in this sense was symbolized through the possession of sacred bundles, which could be transferred between individuals through elaborate ceremonies. A ceremonial feast for a bundle was initiated when an individual promised to honor the spirits in order to obtain supernatural power. While some of these ceremonies benefited only a very few individuals, others "serve all the people for instance by bringing buffalo or by causing rain" (Stewart 2001:336). Not only did individuals possess bundles for their own benefit, but also possessed tribal bundles which influenced the fate of the tribe as a whole.

The Hidatsa performed a number of ceremonies and rituals throughout the year. Many of these rituals not only revolved around the transfer and acquisition of bundles, as described above, but also involved rituals supporting such activities as planting and harvest, hunting, fishing, and warfare.

Social and Political Organization

The Hidatsa village was a highly endogamous institution that was led by a council of elders whose meetings were open to participation from all members of the community. The village was further lead by two chiefs, the War Chief, a temporary position that may have only been filled in times of need, and the Peace Chief, the elder of the village with the highest ceremonial status, usually symbolized by the Earthnaming Bundle, particularly among the *Awaxawi* (Stewart 2001). The office of the Peace Chief, and the bundle, were generally inherited. After the smallpox epidemics of 1781 devastated the Hidatsa population, the three villages organized a pan-tribal council made up of warriors who oversaw matters of conflict with outside groups as well as maintaining good relations between the three villages.

The Hidatsa kin networks were organized by a matrilineal system recognized through clan, moiety, and phratries (Lowie 1954). There were seven clans in the Hidatsa tribe, each of which was divided into two moieties. Tribal clans provided social support for its members, especially for the elderly and those who had been orphaned (Stewart 2001). Equally important, the Hidatsa also used the age grade system. This system contained a number of men's and women's societies, age-cohorts were organized by coevals along gender lines. These groups seem to have been fraternal societies in general with few ascribed responsibilities, with the exception of the Black Mouths, a cohort of young men just below the age of the elder council. It was the responsibility of the Black Mouths to ensure that the decisions of the council were carried out. The women's age-grade societies were fewer in number, and generally participated in activities that supported and celebrated the warring activities of the village men. The women's societies were also more distinctly religious than that of the men. For instance, the Goose Society, with an age cohort of women ranging from 30 to 40 years of age, was responsible for ensuring a good harvest, while the similar White Buffalo Society sought to ensure the successful procurement of bison during the winter months.

As might be expected, marriage practices played a key role in the functioning of the tribe. Women were the core of the household, literally and figuratively. Not only did women build the earth lodge in which the family lived, but they owned the gardens, household goods, and animals, as well as passed on skills and knowledge from one generation to the next. The Hidatsa were a polygynous tribe, primarily sororal, with the men marrying the sisters of the same household. Men were expected to support their wife's household through hunting, but still belonged to the household of their mother, which a man could also support and draw resources from.

Archaeology and Material Culture

The Hidatsa lived in earth lodges that were circular and dome-shaped. The roof was covered with earth and could be conical shaped or flattened at the very top (Lowie 1954). These earth lodges were intended to be permanent dwellings and could be used for 7 to 10 years. Beside each earth lodge was a cache pit that was used for the storage of dried meat and berries (Lowie 1954).

Like many semi-sedentary tribes, the Hidatsa manufactured a variety of tools for daily use. Agricultural tools, such as hoes, rakes and digging sticks, usually were made from bone or antler (Lowie 1954). Food gathering and storage, as well as heavy labor were made possible through the use of baskets. The Hidatsa were known to make two types of baskets, each from different natural materials. One type, the burden basket, was made from skins and was used to carry heavy loads, such as rocks or dirt excavated during the construction of their buildings. The other type of basket, the harvest basket, was made from willow bark (Lowie 1954). Basket making was a female craft, the skills for which were passed from one generation to the next. This knowledge may have had similar function as the bundles, which were primarily possessed by men, and may have been passed through similar ceremonies (Stewart 2001).

The Hidatsa also built small round boats known as "bull boats" that were made from bison skins. Women could easily carry these lightweight boats on their backs during portages. When bison herds were greatly reduced, bullboats were constructed from cowhide rather than bison (Lowie 1954).

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming.

The traditional territory of the Hidatsa from the 1780s until 1894 was located in northwestern North Dakota. Contemporary Mandan and Hidatsa people, however, recall the importance of the Powder River Basin through the boundaries of their historic territory as outlined in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, and through the activities of a separatist band known as the Xoska who lived in the area (Baker 2002; Driver 2002; Garcia 1998; Grinnell 2002; Hudson 2002 [as cited in UW 2003]). Oral traditions of all three groups of Hidatsa anchor the tribe to the Missouri River Basin. The sedentary lifeways of the Hidatsa made the tribe vulnerable to both disease and attacks by more nomadic tribes, causing them to condense their territorial range in the nineteenth century.

KIOWA AND KIOWA APACHE

Language and Origin

Kiowa

The Kiowa speak a language that is related to the Tanoan-Kiowan linguistic group that is often associated with the Tanoan language spoken by several Puebloan groups of the Southwest. This suggests that the Kiowa may have early origins in the southwest. However, many scholars believe the Tanoan-speaking people broke into separate groups while still in the north and most moved further south, while the ancestral Kiowa stayed in the western Montana region (Levy 2001). It is believed that at one time, several different dialects of Kiowan may have been spoken by different groups, however, by the time of early contact with Europeans, only one identifiable dialect was recognized (Goddard 2001).

Kiowa-Apache

The Kiowa-Apache speak a Southern Athapaskan dialect related to the Jicarilla and Lipan Apache groups of northern New Mexico and Texas. It is thought that the Kiowa-Apache were part of a large group of Apache tribes known historically as the Plains Apache. This name is a term used to group all Apache tribes that lived between the Black Hills in South Dakota and the Canadian River in Northern Texas (Foster and McCollough 2002) (Figure 10). The Kiowa-Apache later were given the name Plains Apache mainly to differentiate them from groups that later moved out of the Central Plains into different regions.

Documented accounts of when these Apache joined with the Kiowa are unknown. Previous research has indicated that the Kiowa-Apache cannot remember a time when they were not joined with the Kiowa (McAllister 1949:1). Yet, many scholars disagree and believe the Kiowa-Apache differ both linguistically and culturally (Brant 1949; Newcomb 1970; Bittle 1971). Because of this, both groups have been separated by subsection in the following section only.

History and Territory

Kiowa

Kiowa oral tradition states that the tribe originated in an arctic region living in "ice" houses (Tsonetokoy 2002) and moved to the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers in Montana. Oral tradition also states that a dispute between band chiefs over an antelope udder caused a split in the tribe. It is believed that the winning group moved northwest and disappeared, while the losing group moved southeast and became the Kiowa. The Kiowa moved southeast from Montana into the Black Hills and Devils Tower areas (Sundstrom 1996). This relocation brought them very close to the Crow tribe, who, it is thought, provided them with their first horses and hunted bison with them (Tsonetokoy 2002; Sundstrom 1996:2f-3, 2f-6). The Kiowa lived in the Black Hills for some time trading extensively with the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara. Spanish sources place the Kiowa in the Great Plains region in 1732, and it is believed they were a horse-mounted tribe by 1725. Kiowa oral tradition includes several narratives describing eastern Wyoming's Pumpkin Buttes, Big Horn Mountains, and Badland regions (Harrington 1939:174-176; Sundstrom 1996:3c-5, 3c-7; Tsonetokoy 2002).

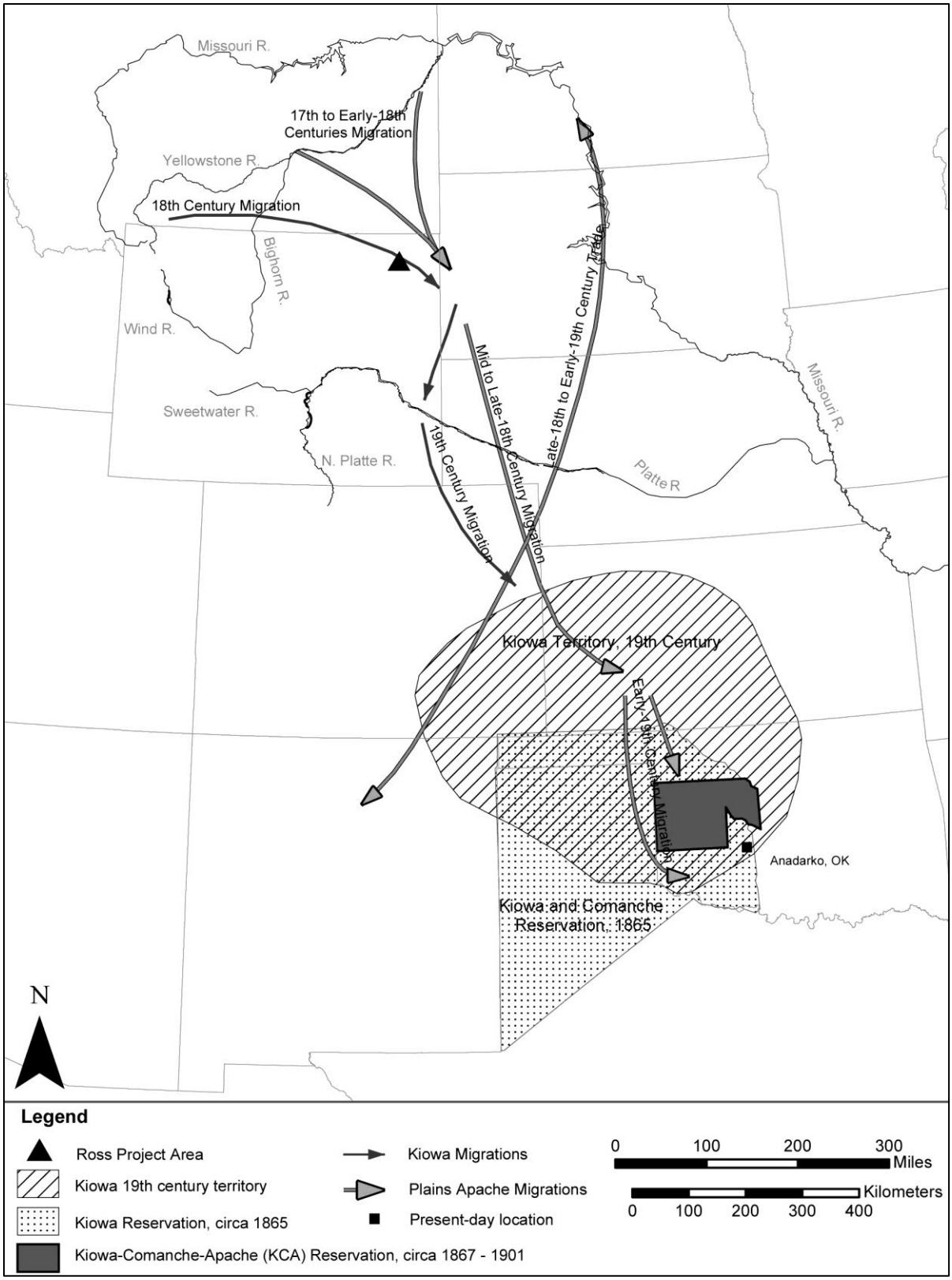

Figure 10. The territory of the Kiowa and Plains Apache.

The western expansion of the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho tribes into the Black Hills in the late eighteenth century forced the Kiowa to move south (McCready 1998). The Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1805 was told that the Kiowa lived along the North Platte River in southeastern Wyoming. This southern move put the Kiowa into conflict with the Comanche who themselves were being pushed further south. Hostilities between the Comanche and Kiowa continued as the Cheyenne and Arapaho pushed the Kiowa even further south. The Kiowa and Comanche made an alliance against the northern tribes in 1806 that allowed the Kiowa to move to the south bank of the Arkansas River (Mayhall 2002). The Kiowa began to concentrate their raiding into Mexico and Northern New Mexico, taking slaves and horses. In 1840 the Kiowa made peace with their northern and eastern neighbors making nearly all of the tribe's territory secure (Levy 2001). The Kiowa were known to avoid direct conflict with Euro-Americans and the U.S. government. Wishing to avoid reprisals from the U.S. military, the Kiowa in 1834 established friendly relations with the Creek and Osage tribes, who also had good relations with the U.S. The Kiowa signed formal treaties with the U.S. government in 1837 (Kappler 1904-1941). The Treaty of Fort Atkinson in 1853 formed a peace with the U.S. and Mexico and allowed for the construction of roads and military posts within the tribe's territory. However, the Kiowa continued to raid into Texas, northern Mexico, and New Mexico. In 1864 a Kiowa village was attacked and burned by the U.S. military (Pettis 1908). The attack sparked a period of hostility between the tribe and the military, leading to the Little Arkansas Treaty of 1865, which sought to stop hostilities, and ultimately led to the tribe moving to a reservation shared with the Comanche in western Oklahoma and Texas.

Kiowa-Apache (Plains Apache)

Although the Kiowa-Apache closely relate themselves to the Kiowa, the Kiowa-Apache language, social structure, beliefs, customs, and some folklore are considered distinctly Athapaskan (Brant 1949). Athapaskan migrations south from northern Canada are believed to have occurred around the 1500s. It is believed that these Plains Apache groups may have settled all throughout the Central Plains region. Based on seventeenth century accounts of Robert de LaSalle, Hodge (1912) surmises that the Kiowa-Apache ranged to the south of the Platte River, trading a far south as New Mexico—where they traded with the Spanish for horses. Originally a more centralized tribe, it is believed that the Kiowa-Apache were scattered on to the western portion of the Southern Plains by the Comanche in the eighteenth century (Foster and McCollough 2001) (Figure 10). Foster and McCollough (2001) state that, of the Plains Apache, bands of the Jicarilla fled into modern-day New Mexico to seek protection with the Spanish, while the Lipan band moved to southern Texas. The ancestral Kiowa-Apache band instead relocated into the Black Hills of South Dakota and Eastern Wyoming. In 1805, Lewis and Clark describe the territory of the Kiowa-Apache as between the two forks of the Cheyenne River (Hodge 1912). The Kiowa-Apache became allies with the Kiowa for protection, and quickly became integral members of the Kiowa tribe (Foster and McCollough 2001). No historical account of when the Kiowa were adjoined with the Kiowa-Apache is available, but most historical scholars believe the two tribes merged around 1700 (McAllister 1949). The Kiowa themselves claim that they do not remember a time when the Kiowa-Apache were not part of the tribe.

The Kiowa along with their Comanche allies, moved to a reservation in 1865. At their own request, the Kiowa-Apache did not initially join the Kiowa and instead joined the Cheyenne and

Arapaho. By 1867, most of the Kiowa-Apache had rejoined the Kiowa who had moved onto a reservation with the Comanche although some of the Kiowa Apache continued to live with the Cheyenne and Arapaho until 1875 (Hodge 1912; Swanton 1952). The Kiowa reservation covered the northern portion of Texas and the Panhandle and western third of Oklahoma. Under the U.S. policy of allotment in severalty, the reservation was later divided up into 160-acre allotments with the excess being sold by the U.S. government for $1.25 per acre (Levy 2001). The Kiowa-Comanche-Apache reservation, as it came to be called (or the KCA) was divided into common pasturelands and homesteads for white settlers and ranchers. The tribal connections began to break apart as the tribe's territory shrank further and further. Later efforts by the tribes to work together and form common business interests has resulted in the tribes being physically separated in the small areas of tribal land with the area of the original reservation but connected under a single tribal authority based in Anadarko, Oklahoma. When the Kiowa were assigned a reservation in 1867, the Kiowa-Apache requested to be located with them. The Kiowa-Apache also were assigned their own small reservation in Oklahoma, but are connected to the tribal government in Anadarko as well (Foster and McCollough 2002).

Subsistence

The Kiowa were primarily bison hunters who were likely involved in bison jumps and pounds in the prehistoric periods before the introduction of the horse. However, no prehistoric sites have been clearly associated with the Kiowa in the region of northeast Wyoming. The Kiowa relied on dog-drawn travois for transportation until the introduction of the horse in the early 1700s (Mayhall 1962). The Crow are believed to have introduced the horse culture to the Kiowa. The Crow provided the first horses and taught the Kiowa to hunt bison from horseback (Levy 2001:907). The Kiowa continued to hunt other game such as antelope, elk, and deer. Tribal mobility and subsistence activities were all based around the seasonal bison hunts. Winter seasons were spent in large camps near watercourses for access to firewood and shelter, with small bands breaking away to hunt the scattered bison herds. In late spring when the bison began to gather into large herds to migrate north so did the Kiowa. The tribe would gather together into a few very large bands. In summer related bands would gather for communal hunts, raid planning, and ceremonies. Kiowa women also provided a stable food source by gathering plants and roots, including chokecherries, plums, grapes, blackberries, wild onions, and prairie turnips (Jordan 1965).

Religion and Ritual

Descriptions regarding Kiowa Religious practices have been well documented in other ethnographic reports for the region. Relying on ethnographic reports compiled by Levy (2001) and others, the Pumpkin Buttes ethnohistory for northeastern Wyoming provides the following details regarding the Kiowa:

> In the Kiowa belief system, all natural things hold a spirit force called *dwdw*, or "sacred power." "Sacred Power" is a pervasive force that is localized in certain spirits, animals, or places. Eagles or buffalo, as well as the sun, moon, and winds, were considered important personifications or concentrations of power (Levy 2001). Supernatural power is not equal in all things and some things can have more "power" than others. For example, 'powers from above' have stronger *dwdw* than earthly animals; and the Sun has stronger *dwdw* than the Eagle, which

is stronger than the buffalo, etc. (Kracht 1997). The *dwdw* is not inherently good or evil; it is the person requesting spiritual help who decides how to use it, however a "source" of *dwdw* can judge the seeker to be deserving of its help (Levy 2001). Landscapes and certain land possess the *dwdw*; these places of power can be places of personal spiritual connection, such as fasting sites. In earlier times, only those in the social rank of Kiowa society, the *ode*, were able to solicit *dwdw*. Those in lower social ranks had to pay for this power and could only receive *dwdw* by learning from one who already possessed this power. Vision quests usually took place in seclusion at the highest point possible, such as a mountaintop, for four nights. Persons on the vision quest fasted, smoked, and prayed. They prayed for three nights and on the fourth night, the person returned home. If successful a vision of a spirit appeared who would become a guardian or helper. It was thought that a man could not succeed in life without a spirit helper (Levy 2001). Vision quest seekers sought power for war or healing which led to greater prestige and potentially higher rank among the tribe (Kracht 1997).

The Kiowa also kept several medicine bundles. The bundles were provided by a mythical hero who transformed himself into ten medicine bundles for the tribe to use and pray to. The bundles played an important part in Kiowa society as each bundle had specific curing and social powers and helped to keep the tribe peaceful. Each of the ten bundles was kept in a separate lodge, and since the bundles had taboos against any violence in their presence, the lodges were considered refuges where disputes would be settled (Levy 2001).

The most important religious ceremony of the Kiowa was the Sun Dance. The Sun Dance was held annually while Kiowa bands joined together in the summer months to hunt bison and pray for successful hunts. Participants sought to gain supernatural power or increase the amount they already had. The central aspect to the Kiowa Sun Dance ceremony was the *Taime*, a small image representing a human figure. The *Taime* was prayed to and provided gifts to ensure large bison herds and secure good health for the Kiowa (Levy 2001). Two *Taime* bundles were in the Kiowa's possession in the late 1770s, one male and one female. The two *Taime* were acquired by the Kiowa from an Arapaho man who married a Kiowa woman, this man is said to have received the bundles from the Crow. It is also thought that the Kiowa were practicing the Sun Dance ceremony before they received the Taime bundles, but coincidentally it [is] also thought that the Crow taught the ceremony to the Kiowa. Unlike other Plains tribes, the Kiowa did not partake in the self-mutilation or piercing. The Kiowa believed that any blood spilled during the Sun Dance would spoil its power and doom the tribe (Mooney 1898).

The Kiowa also had a network of men's Shield Societies that could disperse *dwdw* to relatives, friends, or allies. A person who had acquired *dwdw* could make shields depicting his power and pass it and its associated abilities to an heir or sell it to a friend. There were four prominent shield societies: the Taime, Eagle, Buffalo, and Owl. The Taime were considered the oldest shield society and were associated with the protection of the Taime bundles and the Sun Dance

> Ceremony. The Eagle Shield society was associated with power in battle. The Buffalo Shield Society was created by a woman, but only her male descendants could be members. This society had powerful healing gifts and [members] often acted as medics during battles. The Owl society had the power to prophesy, enlist the help of the dead and to find lost items. These male societies held a great deal of political and religious power within the tribe. The most notable women's society was Bear Old Woman Society. The Bear Old Woman Society had only female members but was considered closely related to the Taime and other shield societies. These women wielded considerable power and were feared by members of all other societies. The Bear Old Woman Society members acted like bears, wore bear claw necklaces, and sometimes dressed like men (Marriott 1968). The parents of sick children would promise a feast to the society during a Sun Dance ceremony to ask for their help in healing the child (Parsons 1929). Bear power was considered more powerful than the Taime or Medicine bundles. They were so powerful that young people and children were removed from camp when a Bear Old Woman meeting was taking place. This society was considered the oldest religious society of the tribe (Levy 2001).
>
> During the early reservation period several new Kiowa religious ceremonies emerged as a result of contact with European culture and dealing with the U.S. Government. The Ghost Dance and later the Peyote Ritual were both practiced extensively by the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache. The combination of several military defeats in the 1870s and the restriction of their nomadic lifestyle encouraged Kiowa warriors to find a new source of power in the Ghost Dance (Levy 2001). The purpose of the Ghost Dance ceremony was to bring back the conditions of the past, such as large bison herds, the absence of white people, and freedom to roam. The other ceremony that started at a similar time as the Ghost Dance was the Peyote Ceremony. This ceremony was adopted from the Mescalero Apache and flourished on the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache reservation in Oklahoma. The ceremony incorporated the use of peyote cactus buds as a hallucinogen. The ceremony may have appeared as early as 1870, but did not become widely popular until the late 1890–1900s Reservation Period. It has been argued that the source for the use of the Peyote Ceremony by other Native Americans can be traced to the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache (KCA) Reservation during that period (Darnell 2001). This period also saw the early development of the powwow gatherings where members of several tribes came together. It is through the powwow gatherings that the Peyote ceremonies spread throughout the Indian communities of North America (Phillips et al. 2006:93-95).

The Kiowa and the Kiowa-Apache both held sacred views towards Devils Tower, located west of the Project area. While many of the tribes referred to the formation as something that translates to "Bear Lodge," the Kiowa term for the formation *T'sou'a'e* means "aloft on a rock". Nevertheless, the story regarding its creation remains similar, with the formation rising out of the ground to protect a woman from her sibling who had turned into a bear (Sundstrom1996).

Social and Political Organization

The Kiowa followed a bifurcate merging kinship system, where all children of the same generation were called by the same term. A man's brother's children were called by one term and his sister's children were called by another term. This bifurcation could be broken down to the nuclear family level, which consisted of a married couple and their non-married children (Levy 2001).

A single band of Kiowa would have 10 to 20 families in the group. A prominent wealthy man led a band comprised of his son's-in-laws and their families, poorer relatives, and individuals with no family ties. The size of a band varied considerably based on the prestige of the leader and the season. The leader was responsible for maintaining order in the band without using physical violence, directing the movements of the band and, organizing the defense of the camp. There were about 40 Kiowa bands that consisted of 35 or more people each. Kiowa tradition states that these bands were grouped together into seven autonomous divisions each made up of several bands. These divisions included the Biters or Arikara, this name comes from the close trade relations this division kept with the Arikara tribe; Elks who are considered to be the Kiowa proper, and the original division of the tribe; the Big Shields; Thieves; Kiowa-Apache; Black Boys, who were considered the smallest division; and the Pulling Up division who are said to have been eliminated by the Sioux in the 1780s (Mooney 1898; Levy 2001).

Kiowa society recognized status based on social rank and involvement in military societies and honor gained in battle. Although not permanent, status was based on individual prowess and achievements, and could be lost or gained (Meadows 1999). Meadows (1999:43-44) documented four levels of social rank:

> The ode or *odeogop* were affluent, had war honors, were generous, courteous, the headsmen of the tribe, etc. The *aude* were the favored and usually oldest male or female children of an *ode* family, received the best clothes, food, and often their own tipi, and were not required to work as youths. The *odegufa* were the second best, largely the same as *ogop* except lacking in war honors and thereby being less wealthy; they included many specialists in religion, doctoring, art, and upcoming war leaders. The *kauaun* (pitiable) were common people, hard working but poor, including many captives. The daufo (no good, worthless) were a very small minority of unmotivated, lazy, and dishonest individuals.

These social ranks were not rigid, however, and a person could exercise a great deal of social mobility by gaining prestige and wealth and moving up the ranks or losing it and moving down. Everyone had the opportunity to improve his or her rank, though those born to the lower ranks had more obstacles to overcome in achieving a higher rank. A middle ranked man, for instance, would have to win battle honors to gain enough prestige and supernatural power to advance in the ranks. Women were given the social rank they were born into but could marry into another rank. Mexican women captives, often part of the second lowest social rank, were often married into the highest two social ranks illustrating the amount of social mobility a woman could hope to achieve in the tribe.

Once the Kiowa acquired the horse, the animals played an integral role in the development of status of an individual. The increased mobility of the horse led to increased raiding of other tribes, made possible new ways to demonstrate one's bravery and facility as a horseman, and made it possible to acquire more possessions (Levy 2001).

The wealth and opportunity differences between the groups could have led to many disputes, but the Kiowa culture itself made up for these disparities. First, men of the highest two ranks were expected to be very generous, dignified, and gentle towards women. Not being so would cause a man to lose a great deal of prestige and respect very quickly. Second, the Kiowa had several men's societies in which membership crossed all family and rank associations. All men were part of some society that opened up social connections to other bands and other ranks. In addition society members were obligated to help their society brothers in times of hardship (Levy 2001). There were several men's societies that were quasi-egalitarian, but the responsibilities and wealth required to become a member tended to filter out those from the lower ranks.

Some examples of the more prominent societies included the 'Horses' which was a low ranking society of young men from all classes; the 'Black Legs' who were one of two societies that required battle honors as a prerequisite for membership; the 'Skunk Berry People' (also known as the Gourd Dancers) who were considered the most influential and the oldest society; and the 'Principle Dogs' which was a highly exclusive society that had at most ten full members, all of whom had to be from the higher ranks and have extensive battle honors. The Principle Dogs were the most elite tribal leaders and the membership requirements made it impossible for anyone but the most affluent and prestigious to join. A women's society known as the 'Calf Old Women' held a great deal influence in the tribe and was regarded as being equal in stature to many of the men's societies. The Calf Old Women society held war power and was honored with feasts by warriors upon their departure to battle and their return camp. All the societies were responsible for keeping order within their membership and organizing religious ceremonies like the Sun Dance (Levy 2001).

Archaeology and Material Culture

Prior to European contact, the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache lived in tipis that varied in size. Large tipis were about 20 feet in diameter. Tipi doors almost always faced east. The Kiowa decorated their tipis with designs, such as society or family symbols (McCready 1998; McAllister 1949). The Kiowa were excellent leather craftsmen who made elaborate clothing with only minimal bead decorations. The Kiowa culture also created calendars on animal hides to keep accurate records of tribal movements, gatherings, and environmental observations. The environmental observations, which are temporally and factually precise, have been cross-referenced with tree ring dates. The Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache traded extensively across the Great Plains region and were well known throughout the region as horse and slave traders. The tribe was known to trade with the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan in the north and the Rio Grande Pueblo groups of New Mexico in the southwest. The Kiowa were notorious raiders who raided horses and cattle from across the southwest region from Arizona to northern Mexico to southeast Texas (Levy 2001).

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming

Although the Kiowa were living as far south as Texas, New Mexico, and Oklahoma by the nineteenth century, the tribe is known to have spent significant time in the northeastern

Wyoming and the Black Hills. The tribe's migrations southward from Montana took them through this area, where they lived and hunted for some time. Archaeological evidence suggests, but without certainty, that the tribe used the Vore bison jump near Sundance, Wyoming (Reher and Frison 1980). Devils Tower has been regarded by historical (and contemporary) Kiowa as a major sacred site (San Miguel 1994), and figures in a number of their stories. In addition, there are several stories in Kiowa oral tradition that describe other features within northeastern Wyoming, connecting to the use of this region by the tribe at some point in their past (Harrington 1939:174-176; Sundstrom 1996:3c-5, 3c-7; Tsonetokoy 2002). These references to local landmarks, however, are specific to distinct landmark features such as Devils Tower or Bear Butte, and not to general features within the natural landscape. See Figure 10 for historic territories occupied by the Kiowa and Plains Apache; note that these may not include all areas used by them.

KOOTENAI

Language and Origin

The Kootenai are divided into two groups, the Lower Kootenai located closer to British Columbia on the lower waters of the Kutenai River, and the Upper Kootenai who settled on the Upper Kutenai River in Eastern Washington, Idaho, and Montana (Figure 11). Scholars have not found any satisfactory affiliation for the Kootenai language, which appears as an isolated language group. There have been some studies linking Kootenai to Algonquian languages from the east, or the Salish language groups in the northwest, but neither of these views have broad scholastic support (Campbell 2000; Turney-High 1958). The Kootenai likely originated further east on the Great Plains with a possible association with the Blackfeet; however, the Kootenai themselves have no migration stories that would support Plains origin (Turney-High 1958). The Kootenai are composed of several politically independent bands, with strong ties, yet minor variations in dialect between groups.

History and Territory

Although the Kootenai lack well established migration myths, it is generally believed that they originated farther to the east, and that the Upper Kootenai represent the oldest band. The Kutenai River was central to the Kootenai territory, and provided most of their subsistence needs. It is believed that the Lower Kootenai broke away far back in their history, settling further downstream along the Kutenai River. The line between the upper and Lower Kootenai appears to have been in the vicinity of the present-day town of Libby, Montana. For the Upper Kootenai, the Tobacco Plains, located on the border between Montana and Alberta, Canada was their cultural center, and it is suggested that this may be their first settlement in the region. Others within the tribe believe that the groups had divided before settling on the Kutenai River.

Kootenai interviewed during the early twentieth century suggested that there is a long knowledge of past conflicts with the Blackfeet, but most of the conflicts that took place after the 1800s appear to have been small (Malouf 1952). It is generally believed that these conflicts with the Blackfeet along with the spread of smallpox that drove the Kootenai from the Great Plains (Brunton 1998). From their traditional range within the Rocky Mountains, the Kootenai would make seasonal visits to the Plains to hunt buffalo (Brunton 1998). Taking advantage of a wide range of resources, including plains, mountains, and riverine resources, transportation was of

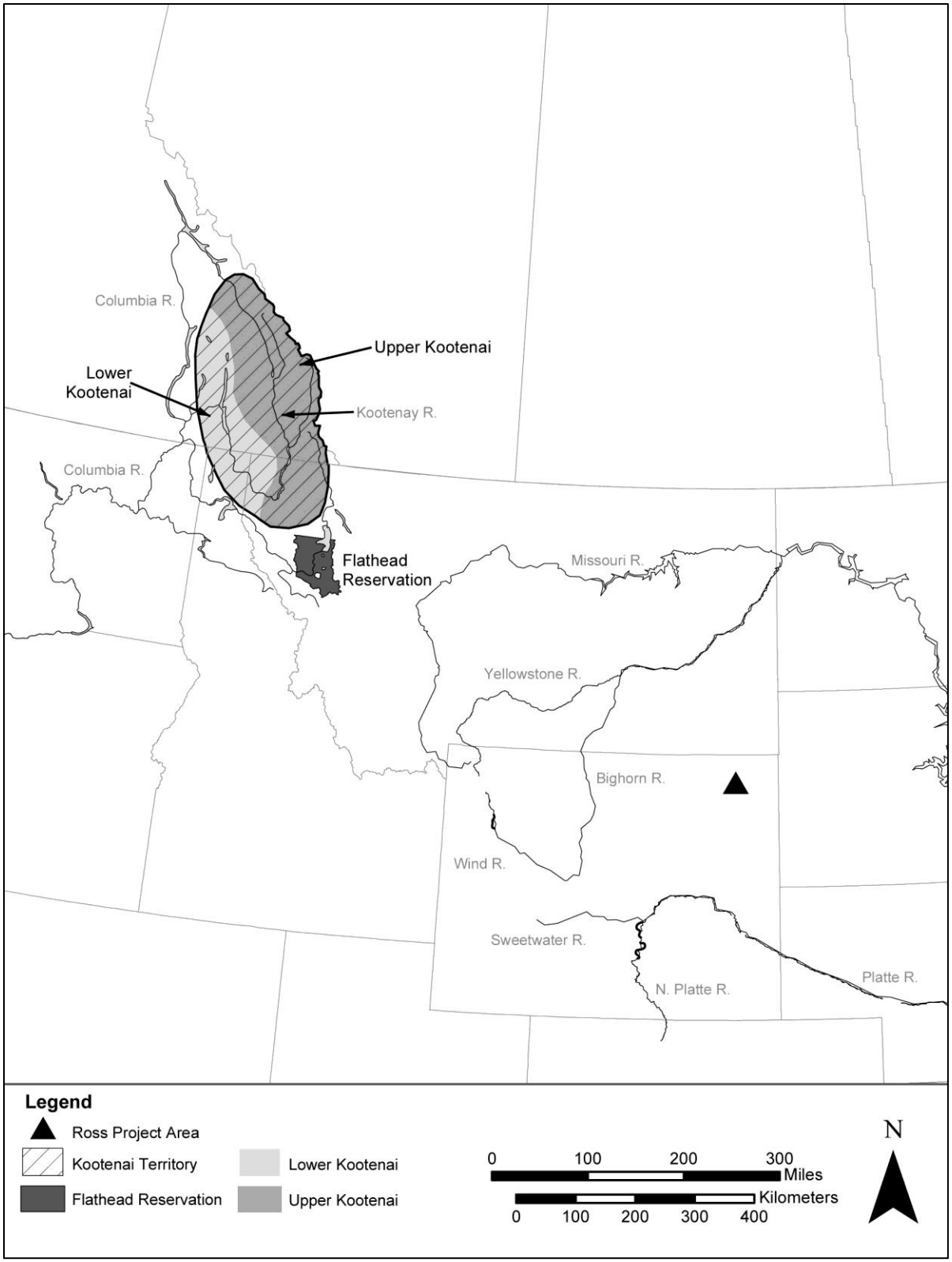

Figure 11. The territory of the Upper and Lower Kootenai.

particular necessity to the Kootenai. The Kootenai claim that they were among the first tribes in the region to have horses, having acquired them through trade with the Cree. Prior to the acquisition of the horse, dogs were the primary pack animal, although they were also trained for tracking game.

The Kootenai became more involved in the fur trade by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Because the Kootenai resided primarily in the mountain regions, access to bison required them to travel into Blackfoot territory, which frequently led to conflict (Brunton 1998). By the middle of the nineteenth century, several bands of the Upper Kootenai were living along the shores of Flathead Lake, where they took advantage of the available game and fish. This area was also used by the Salish and the Blackfoot, the latter using the area primarily to raid Salish and Kootenai—to steal horses and other goods. By 1845, French fur trappers and traders had begun to settle along Flathead Lake and, in 1855, the Kootenai signed a treaty with the U.S. to define set boundaries for their territory. Under the terms of the 1855 Treaty, Kootenai bands not willing to move north of the Canadian Border would be restricted to a reservation along Flathead Lake. This reservation would also include the Salish speaking tribes called the "Flathead" and the "Pend d'Oreille." The Lower Kootenai living in Idaho and Canada were not part of these negotiations and were not included on the reservation. On the reservation, the three tribes remained relatively isolated from one another, particularly in the early years after the treaty.

Subsistence

Although the Kootenai ranged both on the plains and in the mountains, bison was their primary game, as it was among the Plains tribes settled farther to the east. Because their traditional lands did not extend far into the Plains region where the bison was abundant, the Kootenai frequently had to extend into territory controlled by their enemies. Because of this, on every hunt they ran the risk of conflict (typically with the Montana Salish or Blackfeet); therefore, the Kootenai tended to move in larger groups for protection. Their hunting style took advantage of their numbers, approaching the herd and attempting to divide a small number of bison away from the larger group. Hunting took place over a short span of several weeks during the summer, during which it was expected that hunters would bring back the entire winter food supply (Turney-High 1958). Some bison meat was eaten fresh, but most was dried for long term use. Meat was pulverized for better storage, or used to make pemmican.

Bison hunting necessitated the use of horses, both to catch and kill the game, and to bring the food back into the mountains. Records do not indicate how hunting was conducted prior to the acquisition of the horse, or if bison were then a focus. In addition to bison, the Kootenai made use of deer, elk and caribou, a variety of birds and other small game. After the arrival of Europeans, and under the influence of the fur trade, beaver became an important resource (Turney-High 1958).

One dramatic difference between the Kootenai and the Plains tribes living further east was the Kootenai's use of aquatic resources. Fish, which was not a common staple among the Plains tribes, was an important part of the Kootenai diet, particularly among the Lower Kootenai living along the river. Fishing primarily made use of traps and weirs; although, fishing using lines were sued as well. The different resources available to the Upper and Lower Kootenai promoted trade and interaction between the bands (Turney-High 1958).

The Kootenai made use of a variety of game resources and gathered vegetable foods in their diet. Probably the most important root vegetable used by the Kootenai was the bitterroot, a starchy root gathered in the spring. Camas bulbs were also collected; although, this was more common among the lower Kootenai whose territory had a more abundant supply. In addition to these root vegetables, the Kootenai also made use of service berries, huckleberries, and choke cherries (Turney-High 1958).

Religion and Ritual

Kootenai religion is centered around the search for and veneration of spirits. These spirits take the form of animals who are sought for guidance or for success in hunting or in war. Guardian spirits are acquired during adolescence, and the guardian is thought to be with the person through their life, deserting them at the time of their death. Tobacco was used as a means of exchange with spirits. The Kootenai believe that the spirits lost the ability to gather tobacco when the Native American peoples took over the land. The Kootenai therefore offer the tobacco to the spirits during ceremonies and the spirits look over the Kootenai. Many of the ceremonies and ritual practices were conducted by shamans, who were respected figures in the tribe that had a calling from the spirits. The Kootenai appear to have preferred younger shamans to older ones, as a shaman's power was thought to fade over time (Turney-High 1958).

Most ceremonies and rituals performed by shamans were meant for communication with the spirits. One exception was the Sun Dance, a ceremony adopted from the Plains tribes, but practiced by both the Upper and Lower Kootenai. Other rituals, such as the Grizzly Dance and the Blue Jay Dance, were practiced, with the Blue Jay Dance being a more recent adoption that was not practiced before the nineteenth century (Turney-High 1933).

Social and Political Organization

The Upper and Lower Kootenai represent the largest social division, largely separated by location along the Kootenai River. Most differences between the two groups are therefore related to divergent environmental resources. Within each of these divisions, the Kootenai settled in small bands, with each band having a winter village site on the river. Winter villages ranged from 150 to 200 people divided among 10 or more lodges. During the summer months, these villages would break into smaller familial units. Family groups were divided by individual households including grandparents, as well as married and unmarried children. The oldest male was considered the head of the household. Women were responsible for domestic tasks such as food preparation, preparing hides, child care, and gathering plant materials while the men were responsible for hunting and care of the horses. Marriage was informal as far as it lacked any specific ceremony; although, agreement or approval by the families was considered important. Polygyny was practiced, often with a husband marrying several sisters from one family.

Leadership in the winter villages fell to a single village leader, based on respect and prestige. The leader would manage day to day activities and appoint leaders for special band activities such as fishing leaders or travel leaders. The Kootenai themselves remember that this form of leadership was adopted after contact with Europeans and that leadership was more informal prior to that time.

Archaeology and Material Culture

Before the introduction of the Great Plains-style tipi, the Upper Kootenai built a version of the Plateau long house. The long house could hold 40 to50 people with at least three hearths positioned down the center of the floor. The base of the house was excavated one foot deep to provide firmer support for the poles.

Individual lodges were also constructed. These used lodge pole tripods connected by smaller poles covered in large mats of vegetable matter. Houses were arranged in a circle with the chief's house in the center. Sweat lodges were also constructed, consisting of a circular frame of bent poles set into the ground with the interior of the structure excavated to about two feet deep. The frame structure was covered by sod and grass until canvas became available through trade with Europeans.

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming

Knowledge of the range and territory of the Kootenai prior to the eighteenth century is not well known; although, it is generally believed that the Kootenai originated farther north in what is now Canada. By the nineteenth century, they had migrated farther into the Rocky Mountains, with access to a portion of the Plains in northern Montana, in Blackfoot territory. It is not clear in the literature that they ranged as far as the Little Missouri River or Black Hills country of northeastern Wyoming.

MANDAN

Language and Origin

The Mandan are a Siouan speaking tribe that occupied the upper Missouri region (see Figure 3). The Mandan lived primarily along portions of the Upper Missouri River and eventually settled along the White Earth River, North Dakota (Will and Spinden 1906; Wood and Irwin 2001). Prior to European contact, the Mandan consisted of four bands: the *Nuptadi* or "east-side Mandan," the *Nuitadi* or "west-side Mandan," the *Awigaxa* and the *Istopa* or the "northern Mandan" (Meyer 1977; Bowers 1950). During the 1600s the four groups resided on the banks of the Missouri River, with the greatest concentration of villages near the mouth of the Heart River.

History and Territory

Prior to European contact, the Mandan, along with the Hidatsa, played a key role among the Plains tribes as middlemen in an extensive trade network. Their location at the "nexus of three trade routes," as well as their semi-sedentary lifestyle, permitted them to trade in goods from most every region of North America (Meyer 1977). In addition, their sedentary and agricultural lifestyle made it possible for them to grow surplus crops to use in their trade negotiations. However, their position as traders was generally precarious. Pressure from more aggressive nomadic groups pushed them into strongly fortified villages along vast sections of the Missouri River from the Cannonball River to the mouth of the Yellowstone River (see Figure 3) (Bowers 1950; Wood and Irwin 2001). The Mandan villages were important trading centers for Native Americans in the Great Plains; this position was strengthened by the inclusion of European trade goods. By 1738, the Mandan replaced the Assiniboine as the primary middlemen in the trade networks between the Europeans and other tribes. Their success in trade, however, contributed to their undoing. Their strategic location along the major trade routes, as well as their frequent

contact with the Europeans, critically exposed them to multiple smallpox outbreaks (Meyer 1977). Outbreaks in the late 1700s and in 1837 decimated the tribe. Their weakened state left them vulnerable to attacks from the Lakota and other tribes. In an effort to allay this onslaught, the Mandan formed an alliance with the Arikara and the two tribes began living together until they were strong enough to split up and establish their own villages again (Meyer 1977).

By the mid-1800s, the Mandan were on the move again, this time as a result of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, and the establishment of their reservation. The Fort Laramie Treaty established the boundaries for territories held collectively by the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara. The boundaries were described in the Treaty as "commencing at the mouth of Heart River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Yellowstone River; thence up the Yellowstone River to the mouth of the Powder River in a southeasterly direction, to the headwaters of the Little Missouri River, thence along the Black Hills to the head of the Heart River, and thence down Heart River to the place of the beginning" (Treaty of Fort Laramie 1851). In 1870, when the U.S. government established the Fort Berthold reservation, the tribes were placed on lands that disregarded the original boundaries set forth in the Fort Laramie Treaty (Meyer 1977). At its inception, the Fort Berthold Reservation marked its southern boundary at the "junction of Powder River with the Little Powder to a point on the Missouri four miles below Fort Berthold" (Meyer 1977). Over the following decades, the reservation lands were reduced significantly until the reservation centered on Fort Berthold.

Today the Mandan people reside alongside the Hidatsa and the Arikara tribes on the Fort Berthold Reservation. The three tribes are known collectively as the Three Affiliated Tribes. Fort Berthold Reservation is located southeast of Minot and northwest of Bismarck, North Dakota.

Subsistence

Because they lived a largely sedentary lifestyle, the Mandan relied upon horticulture to provide their primary food source along the Upper Missouri River. Crops regularly produced by the Mandan women included seven types of corn, as well as several types each of beans, squash, sunflowers, and melons for food as well as tobacco for ceremonial use (Lowie 1954; Thompson and Hopwood 1971; Will and Spinden 1906; Wood and Irwin 2001). The tribe supplemented their diet by hunting bison, elk, deer, antelope, and wild birds, fishing, particularly catfish, and by gathering wild fruits, such as chokecherries and wild plums. Although largely sedentary, the Mandan trapped in vast areas that included rugged lands between the Little Missouri River and Missouri River mainstem, and "as far west as Powder River in Montana," their hunting grounds being nearly indistinguishable from those of the Hidatsa (Bowers 1950; Wood and Irwin 2001). Trapping grounds also included areas near the Cannonball River and sections of the Black Hills. Animals trapped by the Mandan included both bear and eagle for religious and ceremonial activities. Sedentism allowed the Mandan to increase their agricultural skills so that surplus crops became an important part of their trade with other tribes, and later, with European traders (Wood and Thiessen 1985; Meyer 1977). Early European explorers to the area noted the regularity with which other tribes, such as the Assiniboine, made seasonal visits to the Mandan for the express purpose to trade for corn and other agricultural goods (Lowie 1954).

Religion and Ritual

Mandan religious life revolved around the male acquisition of power, such as through undertaking vision quests or procuring bundles. All aspects of the natural world possessed power, and, like many of the Plains tribes, the Mandan believed in a number of spirits with the First Creator being the most powerful of these. Their faith in the supernatural affected all aspects of their daily lives from agriculture to warfare and involved communication with the spirits in order to guarantee health and happiness for the village. Personal power was symbolized through the possession of bundles, which could be inherited, or assembled in conjunction with a vision quest. The Mandan communicated with the spirits through ceremonies, self-torture, and through meditation on their medicine bundles. Women as well as men could own, assemble, or get power from a bundle. A woman could also get power from a bundle that she then passed to her husband. The Mandan believed that the visions created by these activities opened direct communication with the spirits (Bowers 1950). The Mandan also valued individual kindness and philanthropy toward other tribal members (Meyer 1977). In fact, gift giving was considered the most prestigious and the most difficult way to earn the good favor of the spirits.

Of the many ceremonies that permeated Mandan daily life, perhaps none was more important than the four-day Okipa Ceremony, which had many parallels to the Sun Dance. This annual ceremony was a reenactment of the Mandan creation story and of the hardships that the Mandan people had endured over the generations (Bowers 1950). Good fortune, a bountiful harvest, and successful hunting were assured by the Okipa ceremony, which involved self-torture, dancing, and visions. Another important ceremony was the "Cleansing of the Seeds," which the owner of the corn bundle held on his roof. In this ceremony special seeds were sanctified and distributed to the women of the village for planting. The owner of the corn bundle held the responsibility for assuring a good harvest, and did so throughout the growing season by performing the necessary rituals in response to the weather, whether too hot or cold, too dry or wet.

Social and Political Organization

In accordance with the Okipa ceremony and origin myth, the Mandan are a group of thirteen exogamous matrilineal clans grouped into a clan and moiety system that was further delineated by age (Bruner 1955; Lowie 1912; Wood and Irwin 2001). The Mandan political system revolved around the village with individual members usually showing more dedication to their village than to the tribe itself. Moving one's residence to another village was not uncommon; however, and individual loyalties transferred to the new village (Meyer 1977).

Leadership of the clan was determined by the clan members. Men gained status and position through their demonstrated success in warfare. Those individuals who had demonstrated bravery and gained prestige in battle and on hunts were most likely to be selected to partake in the decision making council of headmen (Wood and Irwin 2001). As with the Hidatsa, both a War Chief and a Peace Chief were selected as village leaders, the former based on performance as a warrior and the latter an inherited position and symbolized through possession of especially powerful bundles (Bowers 1950; Wood and Irwin 2001). Residence was matrilocal with matrilinearly related extended kin networks inhabiting the same lodge and sharing household goods. Ultimately, marriages were seen as unions between families, and were often made to

unite clans or bring peace between villages in conflict. These unions were created through the exchange of gifts between the families (Lowie 1954).

The Mandan also maintained age-societies; although, the exact number of male societies is not documented. Women had four age-societies, the most prestigious of which was the White Buffalo Society, the membership of which consisted exclusively of women of post-menopausal age, and who were reputed to be highly skilled with healing and herbal medicine.

Archaeology and Material Culture

Mainly women in early Mandan society produced pottery. Mandan women had two techniques for producing pottery: the paddle and anvil and the coil method. The latter is less frequently utilized in the current day. Decorative patterns included check stamping, which involved creating decorative designs on the pottery by incising a crisscross pattern. Archaeological sites that contain pottery with check stamping have been located between the Heart River and just north of the Knife River (Neuman 1963). Hagan ware, a pottery style type attributed to the Mandan, has been found along the Missouri River in North Dakota. Additionally, a small variety of bone tools and utensils made from mostly from bison were for agricultural use and were utilized for daily activity.

The Mandan constructed earth lodges that were "covered with hard water-proof clay" (Meyer 1977; Catlin 1973) and that incorporated a hearth at the center of the structure. Lodge construction included rafters that extended slightly beyond the large central beams that left a small opening at the top. Horizontal poles were placed on top, leaving a small smoke hole in the center (Meyer 1977). Earth lodges were circular in form and varied in size from 30 to 60 feet depending on the number of occupants living in them. Earth lodges were divided into rooms that served various functions. Mandan earth lodges were constructed for semi-long term use, about 10 years. In Mandan society, every village center contained an open area known as the "Big Canoe," the greatest source of power for the Mandan. The Big Canoe was associated with the Mandan oral history of a great flood (Catlin 1973). Other common structures found in the Mandan villages included ceremonial lodges, palisades, burials, mounds, and caches. Caches were simple pits dug out of the earth that may have been used for storage. Most caches found are approximately three feet deep (UW 2003).

Rock art and cloth paintings have been attributed to the Mandan culture, but can be indistinguishable from the work of other Plains tribes due to overlaps in style and technique. Examples of Mandan rock art include shield figures, which in general Plains art can be located in parts of Texas and New Mexico and as far north as Saskatchewan and Alberta. A similar range of rock art drawings, including shield figures, are found in the northern parts of Wyoming and Montana (Francis and Loendorf 2002; Gebhard 1966).

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming

Mandan oral traditions cite the Missouri River as their sacred origin point. As a result of their increasing sedentism in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, encouraged by external pressures of warfare and aggression, it is unclear to what extent their pre-seventeenth century territory ranged. The eastern most extent of their territory, in the late eighteenth century, reached approximately to the Powder River in southeastern Montana. As the tribe succumbed to the ravages of smallpox and intertribal warfare, their territory shrank considerably. The Treaty of

Fort Laramie in 1851, however, did establish their territory as extending to the Powder River. These lands were reduced significantly in the years that followed. It has been reported by UW (UW 2003) that contemporary Mandan hold the Powder River in high regard based primarily, it appears, on the lands granted to them by the Treaty of Fort Laramie.

SALISH

Language and Origin

The Salish in the greater Northern Plains region includes the groups called the Flathead and the Pend d'Oreille. Flathead and Pend d'Oreille are two groups with generally overlapping territories who both speak dialects of the Salish language group. Salish speaking people are generally settled west of the Rocky Mountains, from eastern and central Washington to the Pacific Coast. The Flathead represent those with the eastern-most dialect.

History and Territory

Originally the Flathead occupied the area now encompassed by Yellowstone National Park in northwestern Wyoming and southern Montana, and eastward as far as present-day Billings, and west from these Missouri River Basin areas to the continental divide. Although the two traditionally overlapped across much of their territory, divergent from the Flathead, the Pend d'Oreille generally settled west of the continental divide with a social and cultural center around Flathead Lake. The Flathead tend to settle more towards the eastern end of the Salish territory and Montana's Pryor Mountains. Regular migration in search of resources was common among the Flathead, mostly aligned with seasonal cycles (Brunton 1998; Fahey 1974). (Figure 12)

Lewis and Clark first encountered the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille while they were settled on the Bitterroot River in Western Montana. By that time, western diseases such as smallpox had already occurred westward along trade routes and had afflicted these tribes. Periodic waves of disease from the 1770s through the 1850s continued to impact the two tribes. Along with disease, trade with Europeans introduced horses, which the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille acquired by the late eighteenth century. The introduction of the horse expanded the range of the tribes, which led them farther east onto the Plains. While this allowed them to hunt bison more efficiently, it also led them into direct conflicts with neighboring tribes, especially the Blackfeet who were also expanding their range. These conflicts were costly for the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille, and they began to withdraw westward, even abandoning some camps along Flathead Lake. By the mid nineteenth century their use of the Plains was limited to seasonal trips for hunting bison (Brunton 1998).

In 1855, the Governor of Washington Territory, Isaac Stevens, began to negotiate with the Flathead, Pend d'Oreille, and one band of Kootenai to establish a reservation along Flathead Lake, and open up the remainder of their territory for white settlement. The Flathead objected to losing access to the Bitterroot River valley. The Flatheads were initially granted a reservation along the Bitterroot River, but by the 1870s, under mounting pressure from white settlers, the U.S. government relocated the Flathead to the reservation along Flathead Lake (Fahey 1974).

Figure 12. The territory of the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille Salish.

Subsistence

The Flathead and Pend d'Oreille who were living on the Plains east of the Continental Divide hunted bison. Prior to the acquisition of the horse, bison hunting involved the use of drive lanes along with jumps or corrals to retain the bison where they could be killed. Similar methods were used in the mountain regions for antelope and deer. The horse made many of these methods obsolete, providing for more direct approaches to the herds via horseback. Other game sought included moose, rabbits, ground hogs, mountain goats, and bears, which were hunted using nets, snares, and deadfalls. Fish were an important resource to the Pend d'Oreille; this was less so for the more Plains-oriented Flathead (Brunton 1998).

Plant foods utilized by the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille also played an important role both in their diet, shelter, and tools. Bitterroot was one of the most important utilized plants, serving as a dietary staple. Serviceberries, elderberries chokecherries, and huckleberries were also eaten, often dried and pounded into cakes. Berries did not tend to be combined with meats as they were with many of the Plains tribes (Brunton 1998).

Religion and Ritual

Religious views focused on communication with spirits, which could take human form or appear as animals or even inanimate objects. Of these figures, the most important was the Coyote, from whom the Flathead believe they are descended (Fahey 1974). Individuals could seek power from the spirits through vision quests; although, in some cases spirits arrived unsought. Powers provided by the spirits were not specific to the animal, and could include success in hunting, gambling, love, war, fishing, or any number of activities for which the person might want success. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreille did not adopt the more elaborate rituals celebrated by the Plains tribes to the east, but did share some with more of the western tribes, such as the Winter Spirit ceremonies. Shamanism was present, but did not appear to play a major role in society. Primarily it was used to counteract another form of magic, or to punish those who those guilty of activities offensive to the tribe (Brunton 1998).

Social and Political Organization

Little is known in ethnographic literature about the traditional organization of the Flathead and the Pend d'Oreille until the seventeenth century. The Flatheads by then were organized into a series of bands which varied in size based on the season. These bands were led by one or more chiefs and a council who performed various duties and handled matters between the individual bands. The Pend d'Oreille had a similar structure but few details are known about either group as far as their political or social organization. By the eighteenth century, depopulation from disease and conflicts with neighboring tribes had altered the traditional structure of these groups (Brunton 1998; Fahey 1974).

Archaeology and Material Culture

The traditional territory of the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille allowed them access to a variety of different resources, either by direct access or through trade. Plains resources, particularly bison, were acquired during seasonal hunts, while goods such as abalone and olivella shells were acquired through trade with coastal groups living to the west. Direct access to resources in the forests along the mountain ranges provided enough wood for constructing shelters; although, sometimes cave and rockshelters were also used. Lodge pole structures were typically conical-

shaped tepees that would be covered with brush, or sometimes animal hides. After trade with Europeans and Euro-Americans had been established, canvas was often used as a covering. Plant materials and animal skins were also used to make containers used for carrying goods or for cooking. Other animal remains, particularly bones were used to create a variety of tools including awls, scrapers, punches, needles, and even flutes and whistles (Brunton 1998).

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming

The eastern range of the Flathead expanded into the northern end of Wyoming, most notably in the general vicinity of present-day Yellowstone National Park. Although their use of this land was often limited by conflict with the Blackfeet, the Flathead appear to have made at least seasonal use of the Plains eastward of the Rocky Mountains. Hunting ranges may have extended beyond those boundaries. At least one account from the eighteenth century indicates that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreille, Kootenai, and Shoshone once ranged far east of the Rocky Mountains; however most documentary evidence suggests that the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille did not customarily venture as far east as Black Hills (Brunton 1998; Fahey 1974).

SHOSHONE

Language and Origin

The Shoshone are linguistically and culturally related to other tribes of the Great Basin cultural region such as the Comanche, Ute, Paiute, Bannock, and others (Murphy and Murphy 1986). The Shoshone fall into approximately three groups: Western Shoshone, Northern Shoshone and Bannock, and the Eastern Shoshone. It should be noted that because Shoshone culture is marked by a fluid and changeable social organization, the division of these three groups has been based primarily on location (Murphy and Murphy 1986). The Shoshone moved on to the Great Plains from the Great Basin in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Shimkin 1947) (Figure 13). Within the current context that the Eastern Shoshone are the only Shoshone culture group detailed.

History and Territory

Shimkin (1986) divided the Eastern Shoshone into two groups: the "Buffalo Eaters," the *kuccuntikka*, who also were known as the "Sage Brush People," and the "Mountain Sheep Eaters," the *tukkutikka*. The "Buffalo Eaters" centered themselves in the Green and Wind River valleys but migrated over the entire territory known to them as Eastern Shoshone territories. The "Mountain Sheep Eaters" inhabited the central Rocky Mountain area, including the vicinity of Yellowstone Lake. Shimkin (1947) has argued that the Eastern Shoshone should be classified as a Northern Plains tribe rather than a Great Basin tribe. The Eastern Shoshone are thought to be the first tribe of the Northern Plains to receive horses from the Comanche and Ute. They are also thought to be the main supplier of horses to the Nez Perce and Crow (Lavender 1992).

Once mounted on horseback, by the mid-1700s, the Eastern Shoshone controlled a huge range extending outward to Saskatchewan and South Dakota, influenced by buffalo hunting and through trade with various Plains tribes and other Shoshonean groups. According to Steward (1937), Shoshone territory "extended from the region of Little Lake and Death Valley in California, northward across most of the eastern half of Nevada into northern Utah, southern and

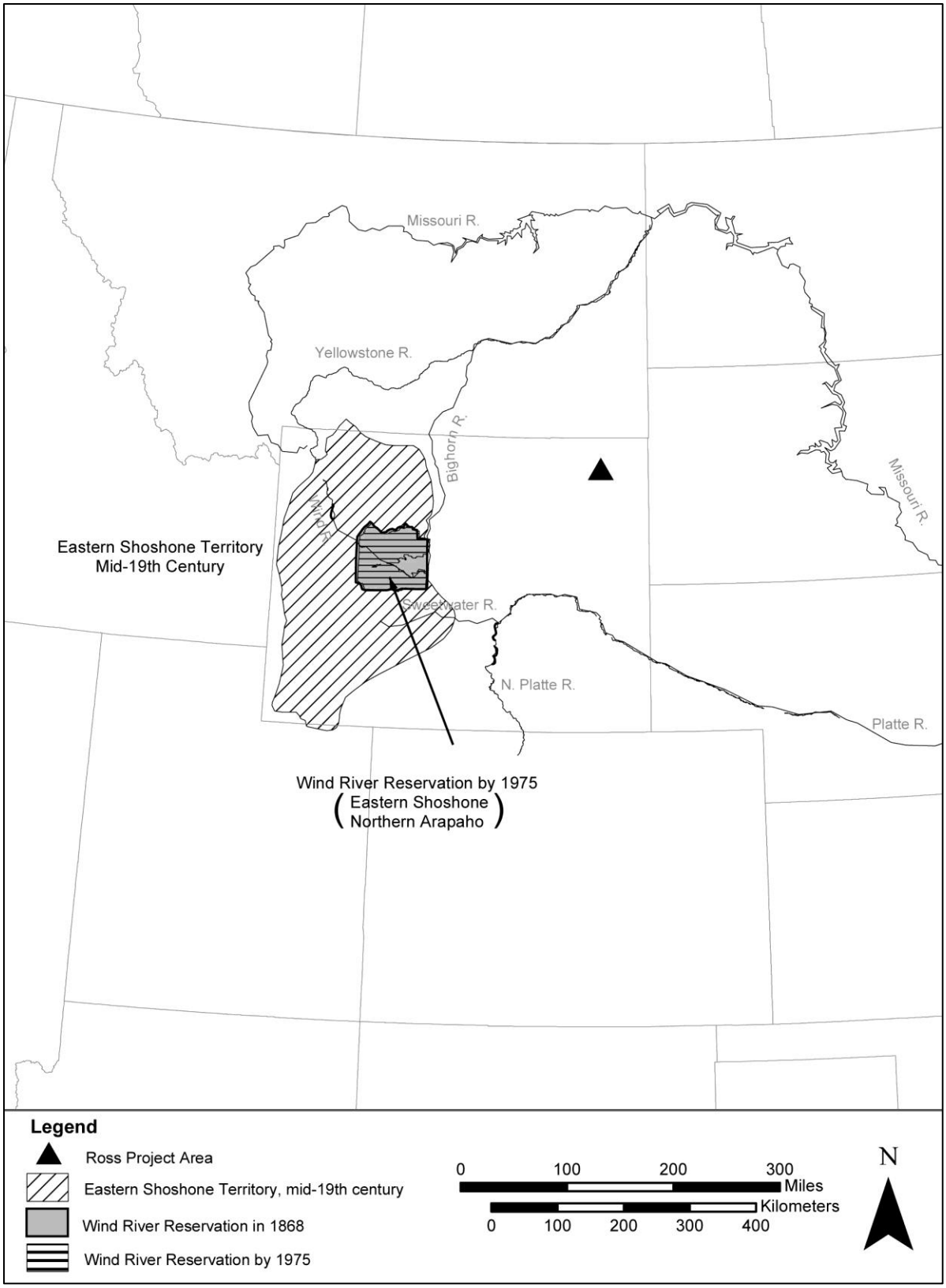

Figure 13. The territory of the Shoshone.

eastern Idaho, a little of adjoining Montana and western Wyoming." Murphy and Murphy (1986) describe their range as follows:

> The Eastern Shoshone of Wyoming conducted most of their buffalo hunting in the region beyond South Pass, into the valleys of the Wind and Big Horn rivers. Their winter camping grounds were generally in the area of the Green River. During the spring and summer small parties sought subsistence in the mountains of northern Utah and southwestern Idaho, and their routes often took them through the same country traveled by similar small groups of Snake River people.

Shimkin (1947) also identifies Shoshone territory as consisting of the western half of the Big Horn Basin, Owl Creek Mountains and the adjacent plains, the Powder River Valley, the lower drainage of the Sweetwater and the upper North Platte rivers, the Red Desert, the hill country between Fort Bridger and the Great Salt Lake, and the inter-mountain country surrounding Jackson Hole. Unlike the Western Shoshone and Northern Shoshone and Bannock, the Eastern Shoshone were thought to have formed larger, highly militaristic groups or bands (Shimkin 1986) because of their greater dependence on buffalo and more frequent contact with other Plains tribes.

Not all contacts with neighboring tribes were peaceful or beneficial to the Shoshone. In fact, during the eighteenth century, the eastern range of the Shoshone was greatly reduced by increasing conflicts with the Arapaho, Teton Sioux, and Cheyenne. As a result of these conflicts, the Eastern Shoshone withdrew from their eastern ranges. By the time they encountered Lewis and Clark in 1803, the Eastern Shoshone were living along the western slope of the Rocky Mountains in Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado (Stamm 1999). Of the Plains tribes living in Montana and eastern Wyoming, the Flathead were the Shoshone's strongest allies, with whom they traded, socialized, and intermarried (Stamm 1999).

Frequent contact with other Plains tribes, both hostile and friendly, also led to their interaction and friendly relations with white traders and settlers and government agents (Forney 1858; Mann 1862; Dodge 1905; Hebard Collection 1930). This is evidenced by Washakie's offer of Eastern Shoshone services to the U.S. government's campaign against the "hostile" Indians, such as the Sioux, Arapaho, and Cheyenne, as well as small numbers of Kiowa occupying areas along the North Platte River in 1865. One account is documented in 1926 by Jeannette Easton in the Grace Hebard Collection (1930), in which she shares her childhood memories of her father's stories concerning the Shoshone/white relations:

> As a child I heard them say many times, when the indians [*sic*] were bad on the trails, 'If we can only make Washakie's camp we are safe.' Once… some of our boys were freighting, the heavy snows and bad roads… had reduced them almost to starvation… in a pitiful condition [and] harassed by Indians. Washakie's braves… sent (word) to the chief that white men were being pursued. He lost no time in coming to their rescue, keeping [them] for days… showing every courtesy in his power.

In June 1858, attempts were made to provide a reservation for the Shoshone, in particular to Chief Washakie's band (Shimkin 1986). No reservation was established until 1862 (Forney 1858). During the interim, the Shoshone and Bannock escalated their raids and ambushes on a

number of mail and stage coach companies traveling south through Wyoming to Salt Lake City, along the Oregon Trail, and at Fort Bridger (Hebard Collection 1930:106). In April 1862, 100 men from the Nauvoo Legion were sent to the area around Independence Rock for 90 days, but they did not encounter any tribes (Hebard Collection 1930). It was believed that the Shoshone and Bannock had moved their families to the Salmon River Country out of the range of the soldiers (Hebard Collection 1930). Documented accounts, however, showed that Washakie, by then the main chief of the Shoshones, had disavowed "any acts of violence or theft" (Mann 1862). Subsequently it was recommended that Washakie's band be provided a reservation either in the Wind River Valley, the Valley of Smith's Fork River, or in the region around the divide between of the Henrys Fork and the Green River drainages. This agreement ultimately was derailed, however, due to the treaty agreement the U.S. made with the Crow tribe (Hebard Collection 1930).

In 1863 the Fort Bridger Treaty was signed, designating a territorial boundary for all Shoshone that reflected their traditional base from the early 1800s (Hebard Collection 1930). In response to a number of failures on the part of the federal government to meet its obligations under the treaty, Washakie informed the Utah Superintendent that his band would have to hunt near Fort Bridger and that they now depended upon "their Great Father to help them to live now that the white men whom he would not fight had driven off his game" (U.S. Serial Set Number 4015, 56th Congress, 1st Session:786; Hebard Collection 1930). By September 1865, Washakie's band had increased in population with much of the increase coming from an influx of other Shoshone bands including the Bannock, and the Northern and Eastern Shoshone.

In 1866, Superintendent Head enlisted Washakie as an advisor to assist in keeping the Bozeman Trail open. The trail cut directly through Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho treaty territories in Powder River country (Hebard Collection 1930). This trail allowed passage to Montana mines, and also disrupted big game hunts for tribes with hunting grounds already established within the Powder River Basin. Efforts were made by Washakie to communicate the concerns of the various tribes for their established hunting territories and reserves, stating that the Powder River Basin "had always been claimed by the four principal tribes—the Sioux, the Cheyennes, the Arapahos and the Crows" (Hebard Collection 1930). Washakie further explained that these tribes saw the Bozeman Trail as an effort on the part of the white man to starve them and deny them their hunting grounds (Hebard Collection 1930).

In 1868, the Eastern Shoshone and Bannock assembled at Fort Bridger for a "council" regarding the territory issue. Washakie was originally interested in the country from the highest point of the Uintah Mountains (south of the southwest border of present day Wyoming into Utah), Wind River valley and the Salt Lake City meridian to the line of the North Platte River to the mouth of the Sweetwater River (Hebard Collection 1930). At the government's insistence, however, Washakie relinquished claims on the Green River Valley due to the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. Thus, the original Wind River Reservation was established. In 1878, The Northern Arapaho tribe relocated to the Wind River Reservation where the two tribes reside today. The original reservation land area of approximately 44.5 million acres went through several reduction phases. First, with the Brunot Land Cession in 1874, then two other land cessions in 1896 and 1904 that further reduced their land base to one-fifth of its original dimensions (Hebard Collection 1930). In the 1940s, much of the acreage that had been lost

during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was returned to the tribe. The current boundaries of the reservation are close to those originally established in 1868 (Kappler 1979).

Subsistence

The Eastern Shoshone could be classified as nomadic hunter/gatherers that depended on bison, antelope, fish, and mountain sheep for subsistence. During the spring, small bands of Shoshone traveled together through the summer to hunt antelope, sheep, and deer when bison was scarce (Wilson 1910; Shimkin 1947). Early acquisition of the horse extended Eastern Shoshone territory dramatically and afforded the Shoshone long distances for hunting the bison herds east of the Rockies, to the head waters of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers (Lavender 1992). During the late summer, they headed north for trade with other tribes in Montana, Idaho, or Wyoming and would disperse and head to their winter range (Wilson 1910). As noted, Shimkin (1947) reported the Eastern Shoshone continuing to utilize resources in southern Montana and northeastern Wyoming area for hunting bands such as the *no'oki*, the *di'ga'ondimp*, and the *ta'wunasi'a* who spent a portion of their year in the southwestern area of the Powder River Basin (Hoebel 1960). Shimkin (1938) recorded accounts by informants from the 1930s detailing hunts and expeditions that extended into the Powder River valley and notes that

> In the period 1842-1875… the bands would gather each spring in Wind River Valley… they would descend the Big Sandy, crossing it near the Lombard Ferry… They would go… to Fort Bridger [to] stay for the summer. Early in the fall, they would return to Wind River and separate for the bison hunt. The band led by *Ta'wunasia* would go down the Sweetwater to the upper North Platte. That led by *Di'kandimp* went straight east to the Powder River Valley. (Shimkin 1947:247)

Additional accounts of subsistence have been detailed in Wilson (1910) that include fishing and hunting practices, as well as poultice applications, surgeries, and the use of salt water and skunk oil in the treatment of injuries and illness (Wilson 1910). Other types of subsistence, such as plant gathering, included some berries, seeds, and roots gathered during the late summer and fall months (Shimkin 1986). Favored plants included currants, rose berries, hawthorns, gooseberries, wild roots, wild onion, camas roots, honey plants, gilia, cinquefoil, and the seeds of thistles and sunflowers (Shimkin 1947, 1986).

Religion and Ritual

The Eastern Shoshone practiced two forms of religious belief: one that was achieved on a personal level that was guided by personal success through the use of supernatural powers, and another that could be directed toward the community and used in certain ceremonies, such as the Father Dance, the Ghost Dance, and the Sun Dance (Hultkrantz 1986; Shimkin 1986). Generally, the Shoshone believed that they obtained their powers through dreams and visions and they received these dreams by communicating with spirits who lived in certain caves and rock outcroppings containing pictographs (Malouf 1974; Shimkin 1986; Steward 1943).

Shimkin (1986) notes that the use of supernatural beings created from nature and the power they contain, known as *poha*, were central to the shaman, *pohakani*, "the one who has power." The relationship between the shaman and this power was complimentary, being supplemental and dependent upon one another. Both *poha* and *pohakani* could be expressed through the use of ceremonial dance and vision quests (Shimkin 1986).

As documented by Voget (1984:168), the Crow Chief Yellow Hand introduced the Sun Dance to the Shoshone. The dance was identified by Voget as an adaptation of the Crow Beaver Dance and connected to the sacred tobacco of Crow cosmology. Shimkin (1953:409, 413) challenges this point, however, and maintains that the Shoshone derived their Sun Dance from the Kiowa, stating "it appears that the Shoshone derived their Sun Dance from the Kiowa via the Comanche, with subsequent strong influence from the Arapaho and lesser influences from the Blackfoot or Crow" (Shimkin 1953). In either case, the Eastern Shoshone adaptation of the Sun Dance, much like those of other tribes in the Great Plains region, was initiated during the winter and took place in late spring or early summer (Shimkin 1953). Other ceremonies integral to the Eastern Shoshone included the adaptation of Peyote Ceremony in the late nineteenth century, and the incorporation of Peyote use into the Shoshone Sun Dance by this time (Voget 1984). A more detailed description of the Peyote ceremony may be found in Stenberg (1946).

Vision Quests involved sleeping at sacred sites located near pictographs, also known as *poha kahn* or "house of power," or at Shaman graves (Shimkin 1953). Many of these vision quest sites have been identified near Dinwoody Canyon on the Wind River reservation, which is said to contain rock art panels containing pictographs of Water Ghost and Rock Ghost beings (Gebhard and Cahn 1950).

Little has been documented regarding places of traditional cultural importance to the Eastern Shoshone. They do not speak freely of these particular sites (Shimkin 1938). However, the few areas or sites of traditional cultural importance that have been recorded include land features, dance grounds, trails, petroglyph sites, places where spirits live, burial sites and rock art sites, all of which are especially culturally sensitive. Many sites, such as the Bighorn Medicine Wheel in Wyoming, have been regarded as culturally important to many Plains tribes. Bull Lake, located on the Wind River Reservation, also is considered a place of traditional cultural importance. They regard this area as the "home of monsters" and it is said to be "the place where ghost people play the hand game" (Shimkin 1986). The Shoshone view Devils Tower to be sacred not only to them, but to Native Americans in general. The Shoshone do not provide many details regarding their specific views, however at least one ethnographic account indicates that the Shoshone share similar beliefs to other groups associating the formation with the Bear Spirit (Hanson and Chirinos 1997).

Social and Political Organization

Although by the time Lewis and Clark first encountered the Shoshone, when the tribe had withdrawn westward from regular settlement on the Plains, the organization of the tribe resembled that of other Plains groups in the region (Stamm 1999). During historic times, the Eastern Shoshone would disperse into three to five bands that would congregate in the winter or early spring. Each of these bands had a loose association with territories located in western Wyoming and were organized around one chief who controlled and was aided by two militaristic societies, the Yellow Brows and the Logs, and their assistants (Shimkin 1986). The two military societies were complementary to one another. The Yellow Brows usually were comprised of young men who ordered tribal marches or collective hunts and were "committed to fearlessness" (Shimkin 1986) while the Logs were comprised mainly of middle-aged men who "acted as rear guards for the Yellow Brows and were highly honored for military deeds" (Shimkin 1986).

Age and gender also played an important role in Shoshone society. A woman's status was highly dependant upon her husband's role in band and society. Men moved up in rank as they acquired supernatural power; as the husband rose in rank so did his wife (Shimkin 1986). However, Johnson (1975) notes that women played a key role in the formation of alliances between the tribe and white and Métis trappers and traders.

Archaeology and Material Culture

Originating in the Great Basin, the Shoshone developed traditions of pottery and basketry. However, the Eastern Shoshone adapted to Northern Plains subsistence more so than the other Shoshone divisions. Eastern Shoshone adopted mobile residences and constructed tipis, consisting of at least ten buffalo hides and twelve long and twenty short poles, covered in buffalo hide (Shimkin 1986).

Decorative work of the Eastern Shoshone shares similarities to that of other tribes with whom they had contact. By the late 1880s, Stenberg (1946) documents that the Eastern Shoshone adopted many of the floral patterns from the Crow and incorporated them into their motifs. Similarly, Shoshone representations of stars and feathers in their beadwork are similar to those of the Arapaho (Stenberg 1946).

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming

Various researchers have reported that Shoshone territories traditionally extended as far east as the Powder River. It is difficult to ascertain, however, the extent of Shoshone land use in Northeastern Wyoming. Ethnographic accounts suggesting that they recognized the importance of Devils Tower infer that they made use of the areas as far east as the Little Missouri and Belle Fourche Rivers. In general, the Shoshone prefer to retain knowledge they may have among themselves. See Figure 13 for the historic territories occupied by the Shoshone; note that these may not include all areas used by them.

SIOUX

Language and Origin

The Sioux are a diverse group of tribes most easily identified by their related languages. This group, which extends across three geographically and culturally distinct divisions, comprises the Siouan language family (DeMallie 2001). These divisions were recognized by the U.S. government in the early nineteenth century and included the Santee Sioux who consider themselves *Dakota*, and are divided into four smaller bands known as the Mdewankantonwon, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, and the Sisseton; the Yankton/Yanktonai Sioux, who split from the Dakota and moved on to the Plains region, and comprised three bands known as the Yankton, Upper Yanktonai, and the Lower Yanktonai; and the Teton Sioux, who consider themselves *Lakota*, who moved west of the Missouri River and occupied portions of the northeastern Powder River Basin, and are comprised of seven bands known as the Oglala, Miniconjou, Sicangu or Brulé, Hunkpapa, Sihasapa or Blackfoot, Itazipacola or Sans Arc, and the Oohenupa or Two Kettle (Gagnon and White Eyes 1992). Although the Sioux language contains variations, these are dialectically distinct and considered mutually intelligible to each other.

Historic descriptions of the Sioux territory emphasize the vast expanses the tribe inhabited. The Sioux are documented as occupying the region extending from Mille Lacs to the Missouri River

as early as 1640. Denig noted that within the borders of the Sioux nation was Turtle Mountain, Pembinar River, the "Grand River of the Arickaras," Powder River, the Black Hills, Big Sioux River, and Vermillion River (Denig 1961:3). Early accounts of the Sioux are based on linguistic distribution patterns that have placed them west of Lake Michigan, and in parts of southern Wisconsin, southeastern Minnesota, northeastern Iowa, and northern Illinois (DeMallie 2001).

Each division of Sioux usually occupied, to varying degrees, specific territories. The Teton Sioux have been reported as occupying lands that include northeastern Wyoming. For this reason, the Teton Sioux are the only division that is detailed in the following sections, with exceptions given to tribal customs and beliefs generally shared by all three divisions.

History and Territory

Early accounts of French explorers recorded the Sioux as occupying territories located east and west between the Missouri and Platte rivers, and divided the Sioux into the Sioux of the East, recognized later as the Santee, and the Sioux of the West, which contained all three of the Sioux divisions (Figure 14). Gradual westward movement of Sioux groups has been documented as occurring between the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, largely due to pressure from other culture groups, such as the Chippewa and Cree, and from exploring new locations for hunting territories and new trade networks (DeMallie 2001). By the early nineteenth century, the Sioux occupied territories that were based on their division. The Santee migrated along the Minnesota River and its lower Minnesota extent; the Yankton/Yanktonai established territory east of the Missouri River region where they lived between the Minnesota and James Rivers; and the Teton occupied territories from the three forks of the Platte River to the forks of the Cheyenne River, including the Black Hills (DeMallie 2001). Although each Sioux division had established their own territory, the Sioux continued to hunt in each other's hunting grounds and intermarriage between divisions was frequent (DeMallie 2001).

The Teton Sioux people have been recorded as being composed of seven bands: Oglala, Brulé, Blackfoot, Miniconjou, Sans Arc, Two Kettle, and Hunkpapa. An early account by the Lewis and Clark Expedition placed four bands of the Teton Sioux (Brulé, Oglala, Miniconjou, and possibly Yanktonai) on both sides of the Missouri River. The Brulé were located on both sides of the Missouri, White, and Teton Rivers; the Oglala on both sides of the Missouri River below the Cheyenne River; the Miniconjou band above the Cheyenne River and located on both sides of the Missouri River; and the Sans Arc located farther up and on both sides of the Missouri River (Ewers 1938). Territories for these specific bands were not always rigidly defined or absolute because all Sioux bands utilized these shared territories collectively for war, hunting, and trading (Ewers 1938).

According to Ewers (1938), Teton band regions were recorded as follows:

> Brulé bands were located on the headwaters of the White and Niobrara rivers at the time of the report. Evidence of their location has been recorded as campsites that extended down toward these rivers, equally about half their length. Oglala bands were located at Ft. Laramie on the Platte and have been recorded as occupying territories that include the region northeast of the Black Hills, extending to the source of the Teton River and as far down as the fork of the Cheyenne River. They have also been recorded as occupying territories as far

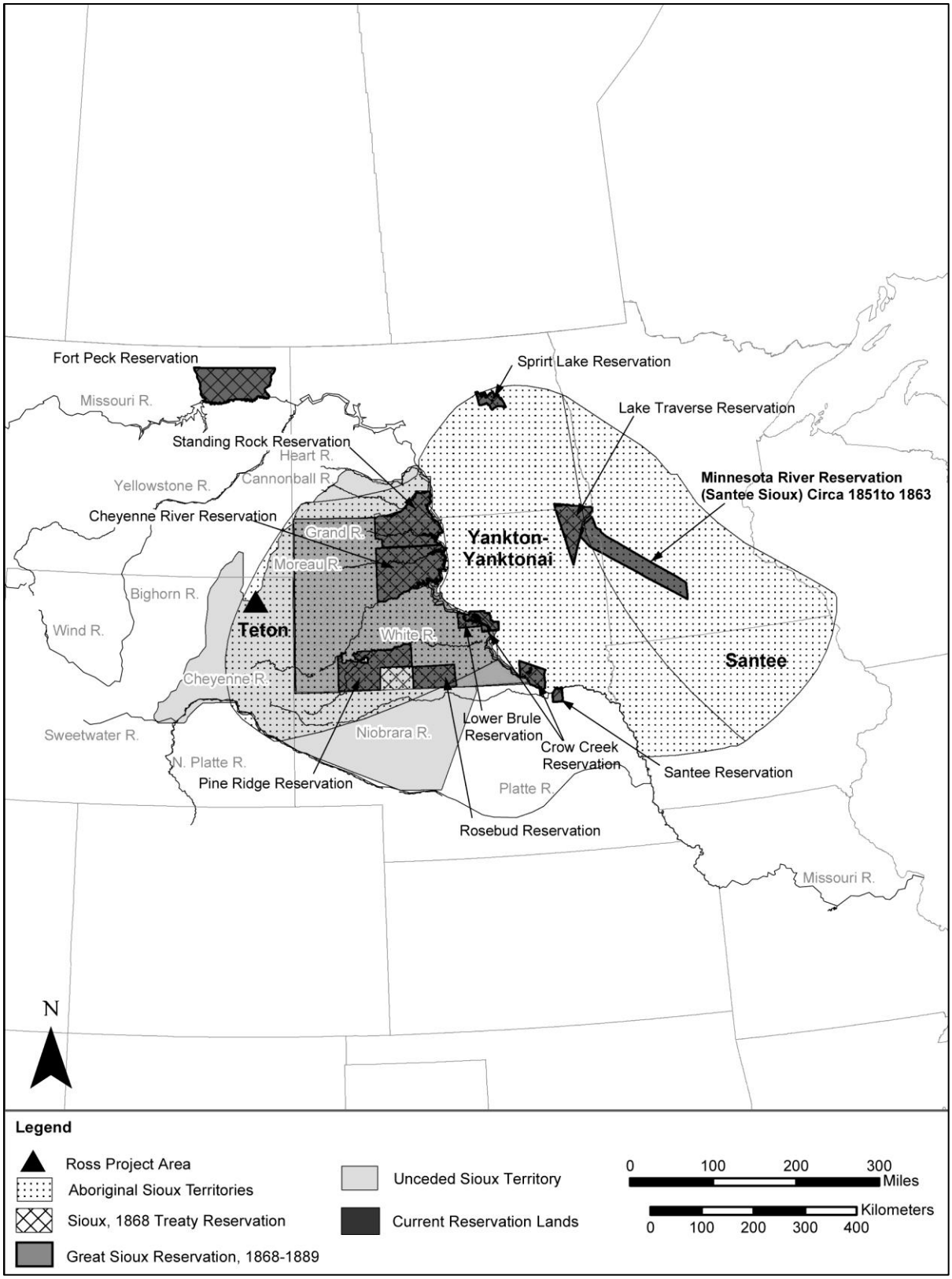

Figure 14. The territory of the Sioux.

> west as the Grand River. The Miniconjou bands were located from Cherry Creek on the Cheyenne River to Slender Butte on the Grand River. The Two Kettle bands were located along the Cheyenne and the Moreau rivers.

Ewers (1938) states that these bands seldom moved from north of the Cheyenne River and were highly mobile along both aforementioned rivers as well as the Grand River. The other bands, Hunkpapa, Blackfoot, and Sans Arc, were hard for outsiders to distinguish and were scarcely treated externally as separate bands. Early military journals (Talbot 1931 [1843]) also place some bands of the Teton Sioux, namely the Miniconjou, in Sweetwater Valley on a war party against the Crow. Accounts by Axelrod (1993) describe the Teton Sioux as utilizing the region located between the Black Hills and Powder River region by 1814.

Territories began to shift due to outside pressure during the early nineteenth centuries for all three Sioux divisions. The Teton Sioux are documented as attempting to abandon their nomadic ways and settle with the Arikara in an effort to escape this pressure and begin a horticultural lifestyle (DeMallie 2001). This effort was short-lived as tensions rose and divided the Oglala Sioux band in two (Tabeau 1939). The band later reconciled and abandoned horticulture. Meanwhile, Teton Sioux bands located to the south began to migrate west and further south toward the mouth of the White River (DeMallie 2001). Trade relations were established with the Arikara in later years as the Teton exchanged buffalo meat and robes for produce and winter encampment in the Black Hills (DeMallie 2001).

In the early to mid-nineteenth century, the Teton Sioux continued to ally themselves with the Cheyenne and Arapaho in an effort to drive the Kiowa and Crow from the Black Hills region (DeMallie 1980; White 1978). Other Sioux divisions shifted their focus toward the Missouri River (DeMallie 2001). This consistent pressure and conflict on the Plains and in the Powder River Basin led to intertribal warfare that was not uncommon among Plains tribes who had established territorial boundaries prior to European contact.

The U.S. government established territorial boundaries for each of the Sioux bands as well as other Plains tribes in response to increased conflict with European settlers and travelers. The historic signing of the Treaty of 1851 provided specific boundaries for the Teton Sioux, who had previously resisted "limiting tribal lands" (DeMallie 2001). In exchange for safe passage of European settlers as well as necessary approval to build roads, military posts, and secure emigrant trails, such as the Oregon/California/Mormon Trail system, the Sioux were granted the following lands:

> Commencing the mouth of the White Earth River, on the Missouri River; thence in a southwesterly direction to the forks of the Platte River; thence up the north fork of the Platte River to a point known as the Red Butte, or where the road leaves the river; thence along the range of the mountains known as the Black Hills, to the head-waters of the Heart River; thence down Heart River to its mouth; and thence down the Missouri River to the place of beginning. (Ft. Laramie Treaty 1851)

Because of the growing number of breaches of the Fort Laramie Treaty by Euro-Americans, conflict between Plains tribes and settlers only increased. This was especially true along the

Bozeman Trail, which various military units, such as Crook's and Sawyers Expeditions, used as a primary corridor for enforcing the Treaty.

Because further conflict with the Plains tribes (especially the Sioux) followed the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, another treaty was drafted in 1868 that directly affected all three divisions of the Sioux and solidified their boundaries. This treaty established the Great Sioux Reservation, which included all of present-day South Dakota west of the Missouri River and areas north of Nebraska, north of the North Platte River, and eastern portions of Wyoming and Montana that extended to the summit of the Big Horn Mountains (DeMallie 2001). These boundaries also recognized hunting territories located on the North Platte and Republican Rivers, where buffalo was still sufficient in number (DeMallie 2001). As Indian agencies were established, many of the Teton bands such as the Oglala and Lower Brulé remained in unceded territory, located west and south of the Great Sioux Reservation.

The 'Great Sioux Wars,' between 1876 and 1877, were the result of consistent European contact and pressure. As a result, the Teton Sioux bands and Cheyenne joined forces and retaliated against gold miners, settlers, and other Native Americans who were friendly toward the U.S. government. During this war, the U.S. government sent cavalry troops onto the Great Plains to engage the tribes. The Great Sioux Wars resulted in several battles, most notably the Battle of the Little Big Horn, or at 'Greasy Grass.' There the combined Sioux and Cheyenne warriors overwhelmed the U.S. forces led by General Custer. By the end of 1877, attrition led the Sioux tribes and some Cheyenne bands to surrender to U.S. Cavalry troops at Fort Robinson in Nebraska (Brown 1970).

The primary Sioux homeland possessions are now limited to several reservations originally based on historic land divisions located in North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Montana. Modern-day reservations for all three divisions include the Cheyenne River Sioux, the Crow Creek Sioux, Fort Peck, Lake Traverse, Pine Ridge, Rosebud Sioux, Lower Brulé, Santee Sioux, Spirit Lake, and Standing Rock reservations. Bands of the Teton Sioux are located primarily on the Cheyenne River Sioux, Lower Brulé, Pine Ridge, Rosebud Sioux, and Standing Rock reservations.

Subsistence

Because of their access to prairie lands and their high mobility, the Teton Sioux relied heavily upon bison as their primary food source. The Sioux found every part of the animal either consumable or usable for utilitarian or decorative purposes (DeMallie 2001). Communal bison hunts in the summer were a major annual event for the Sioux. A typical hunt was supervised by the 'hunt police' who ensured that no one disrupted the hunt. Upon the signal of the hunt police, the hunters descended upon the bison herd for the kill. Butchering of the animals followed with some old men, women, and children arriving from the camp to help. All those who assisted in the hunt received a portion of the meat (DeMallie 2001). Once enough meat was processed, the tribe moved on. At this time, individuals were at liberty to supplement their food stores by hunting other animals such as elk, deer, antelope, and small game (DeMallie 2001).

The meat-rich diet of the Sioux was supplemented with a variety of fruits and vegetables (DeMallie 2001). Denig (1961) describes the prairie turnip, which he considered nearly inedible, as being relied on heavily by the Sioux during drought or other times of food scarcity, because

this vegetable could be dried and stored for a considerable amount of time. The Sioux also foraged for wild artichokes, wild peas, red plumbs, various berries including chokecherries, and other tubers. Many of the fruits and vegetables were eaten fresh, but some amounts were also dried for use during the winter. Pemmican, a favorite food among the Sioux, was made by creating balls or patties from pounded dried meat, animal fat, and dried berries (DeMallie 2001). Numerous explorers also discuss the collection of wild plants for medicinal and ceremonial purposes (Denig 1961; Dunn 1886)

Religion and Ritual

Several beliefs were fundamental to the Sioux religious worldview. One of these was the existence of White Buffalo Woman. It was through White Buffalo Woman that the Sioux acquired the Sacred Calf Pipe (Utley 1993). The Sacred Calf Pipe was thought to represent the entire cosmos of the Sioux and was essential to sanctifying relationships, vows, and predictions (Powers 1975). It also provided a powerful bond between the Sioux and the 'Great Spirit.'

The Sioux also believed in *Wakantanka,* the 'Great Spirit.' Essentially, *Wakantanka* represented the power and mystery of the universe. In times of need, individuals could make appeals to *Wakantanka* for pity and in the process call upon the entire supernatural world for aid and guidance. Although any individual could ask for guidance from *Wakantanka*, only shaman could come close to understanding and utilizing the full power of *Wakantanka* (DeMallie 2001).

Another important belief among the Sioux was that of the earth as mother. The Sioux revered the earth as a powerful and sacred being and a provider of nourishment to all things. Certain geographical locations, specifically the larger area of Devils Tower, Inyan Kara Mountain, and other places in northeastern Wyoming—especially the Black Hills, were particularly regarded as being sacred (Dodge 1882; Sundstrom 1996; Vestal 1948). The Black Hills were and still are regarded as the "center of creation's great hoop" and "the center of the world" (Pemberton 1985:293; Tallent 1899).

The Sioux had several sacred dances and ceremonies that required specific songs and rituals. Seven of these sacred dances were handed down by White Buffalo Woman and promoted the well-being of the entire tribe. Four of the seven sacred dances were conducted as part of their seasonal religious cycle. These dances included Dance for the Dead, the Scalp Dance, the Holy Dance, and the Sun Dance (Walker 1980). The Sun Dance, in particular, was a time for all Sioux bands to participate and come together to pray for an increase in the number of Sioux people and buffalo (DeMallie 2001). In the 1930s, Dick Stone interviewed several Sioux elders about the Sun Dances and other ceremonies that were held in northeastern Wyoming (Stone n.d.).

Social and Political Organization

The Sioux maintained a system of chiefs that was primarily divided by territory. Sioux divisions were comprised primarily of small village bands that traveled independently of one another (Blair 1912) and consisted of five or six families that came together for spring gatherings and communal hunts in the summer (DeMallie 2001). Each Sioux division consisted of four chiefs who then appointed leaders that served as the police force, or the *akicita*, which changed yearly. This police force was established in all three Sioux divisions (DeMallie 2001).

The Sioux social system also was comprised of a series of men's societies that controlled either policing or social duties. According to Sioux oral tradition, men's societies were originally organized based on interpretations of a shaman's dream (Hassrick 1964:149). One of these men's societies included the Kit Fox Society, or the *"Tokalas,"* to which belonged men who had shown great bravery (Hassrick 1964:18). Many of these societies were age dependent and based on achievement. Other considerations included the family's social and political status for the eligible person (DeMallie 2001).

Ideally marriage was preceded by a long courtship in which the bride was "purchased" through the complex exchange of gifts. Polygyny was commonly practiced, and the purchase of a woman often gave the man access to her sisters as appropriate marriage partners. The Sioux, having very strict taboos on inter-relations, were highly exogamous and, while there was no strict living pattern after marriage, the new couple generally lived patrilocally (DeMallie 2001).

Archaeology and Material Culture

The Sioux constructed fairly elaborate tipis that were made to enhance efficiency and allow for quick dismantling to suit their lifestyle as nomadic hunters and gatherers. Tipi construction usually required at least five bison hides to create a tipi at least eleven feet in diameter. Most tipis were decorated with quills, which were used to form "dangles made of short strips of rawhide wrapped with brightly colored porcupine quills to which were attached horsetails, feathers" (Hassrick 1964:211-212). Sioux campsites were often assembled around one large public tipi in the center of the camp for council meetings and ceremonies. The doors of all the tipis frequently faced the rising sun in the east. Visitors who entered the campsite were determined as friendly or hostile, depending on the direction from which they entered; from the east signified friend, from any other direction signified an enemy (Walker 1982:21-22).

Because they were highly mobile, Sioux cultural items are scarce. It is believed that the Sioux contained very few possessions as a result of this high mobility. Bows and arrows attributed to the Sioux were used for hunting. Tanned hides were acquired from big game hunts (DeMallie 2001). Other wild game was used by women to make clothing, which was decorated with geometric designs, and to make jewelry, such as earrings and necklaces: Historically, ear ornaments made of brass wire or dentalium shell were also used by women, as well as for other ornamental items produced for warriors (DeMallie 2001). Headdresses, war bonnets, and painted shirts were also created for ceremonies and other special occasions. Painted shirt designs often symbolized and distinguished leadership roles (DeMallie 2001).

Land Use in Northeastern Wyoming

The Sioux have been extensively documented in the Black Hills and northeastern Wyoming, a location where they identify their sacred hunting grounds as well as sacred grounds used to procure medicinal plants and perform sacred ceremonies (Dodge 1882; Dunn 1886; Niehardt 1953;Sundstrom 1996; Vestal 1948)). In addition, Devils Tower is identified by the Sioux as the origin point for the Sacred Pipe (Boston Daily Globe 1911; Ford 1954; Looking Horse 1987; Stone n.d.).

Historical accounts place the Oglala, the Brulé, and Miniconjou in various Wyoming locations (Ewers 1938; Campbell 1934). Accounts by Axelrod (1993) describe the Teton Sioux as utilizing the region located between the Black Hills and Powder River region by 1814. The

Sioux also are known to have formed alliances with the Cheyenne and Arapaho against the Crow and Kiowa, which would have brought them into the region.

EXPECTED TCP TYPES BASED ON THE ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

The broad patterns, events, persons and cultural values described in the Synthesis section are likely to be found significantly reflected in tangible properties—TCPs—in the Project region. Known potential TCP types identified in northeast Wyoming, for the greater Powder River geologic structural basin, are previously summarized by the University of Wyoming (2003) and Phillips et al. (2006). Notably the Powder River geologic structural basin is larger than Powder River watershed, and encompasses the Little Missouri River watershed in Wyoming and the Belle Fourche River to the edge of the Black Hills, as well as extending westward to the Bighorn Mountains and southward across Cheyenne River to the North Platte River drainage, similar to the extent of the current geographical extent of this ethnographic overview. Within this area, the previous studies categorized the following TCP types (as summarized from University of Wyoming 2003):

- creation story locations and boundaries;
- sacred portals recounting star migrations;
- universal center locations;
- historical migration destiny locations;
- places of prehistoric revelations;
- traditional vision quest sites;
- plant-animal relationship locations;
- mourning and condolence sites;
- historical past occupancy sites;
- spirit sites;
- recent historical event locations;
- plant, animal and mineral gathering sites; and
- sanctified ground.

These site types may encompass archaeologically identified stone circle sites, vision quest and fasting sites, cairns, mourning sites, rock art and rock art sites, traditional use and resource gathering areas, places of ceremony, offering and prayer sites, and eagle trap sites (Phillips et al. 2006).

Stone Circle sites maybe representative of warrior society lodges, or may be associated with Animal Dance lodges or other ceremonial locations. Circles located in clusters at base camps are more likely to be associated with habitation sites, although it should be noted that archaeological investigations of these resources have not always been focused on distinguishing function or use (Phillips et al 2006).

Vision Quest and Fasting sites, often located in isolated, high-elevation areas, may include features associated with preparatory activities. These features may include sweat lodges, fasting beds, medicine wheels, rock art, and stripped poles often associated with buffalo skulls (Phillips et al 2006).

Cairns served a variety of functions, many of which are difficult to interpret archaeologically. Cairns were used to mark trails or pilgrimage routes. In some cases these trails led to major ceremonial areas like Big Horn Medicine Wheel. They have also been associated with marking special events, graves or offering locations (Phillips et al 2006).

Rock Art may be associated with ceremonial activities being created after fasting or vision quest ceremonies, or during the opening of medicine bundles. In some cases, Rock art may be the only remaining physical evidence of ceremonial locations, outside of landscape features (Phillips et al 2006).

Traditional Use and Resource Gathering areas refers to places where traditional plant or mineral resources may have been gathered. These resources may have served either dietary function such as the bitterroot used by some tribes in western Montana or ceremonial purposes such as Ocher, which served some ceremonial functions (Phillips et al 2006).

Places of Ceremony may include important geographic locations, such as Bear Lodge, or more general topographic or landscape features used for ceremonial purposes such as Sun Dance locations. These places are probably the most widely documented for each of the tribes consulted (Phillips et al 2006).

Mourning sites may include physical features, such as cairns (see above discussion). They may also remain unmarked, identifiable only through knowledge of traditional practices or landscape features (Phillips et al 2006).

Offering and Prayer sites include locations where offerings were made. These areas can include a variety of natural and cultural features such as springs, rivers, trees, and rock art panels. The Project area, including the areas near the Lower Missouri River and Bear Lodge contain several natural springs, and locations where these types of offering may have taken place (Phillips et al 2006).

Eagle Traps take advantage of westerly winds found favorable to flying eagles. They are most often found at the western edges of prominences near villages. It was common practice to build prayer and sleeping lodges near the trap, but these features were often well hidden from view in stands of trees or over a nearby hill (Phillips et al 2006).

The full, albeit open-ended, range of TCP classifications differentiated by SHPO for cultural resource documentation purposes includes variations on the above types as well as other categories of resources generally known across Wyoming (Wyoming SHPO 2007). These are:

- Altars
- Cairns
- Ceremonial sites
- Eagle traps
- Fasting sites
- Graves
- Landmarks
- Medicine wheels
- Mineral gathering areas
- Rock art
- Oral history/traditional
- Plant gathering areas
- Prayer offerings
- Sweat lodges
- Trails
- Other

Site types differentiated for cultural resources management purposes are considered to be only indications of potential TCPs. In the above descriptions, many archaeologically identified sites, such as rock art and cairns, may mark locations of other traditional uses that are not ascertainable through archaeological methods alone. Moreover, they may suggest other related practices that occurred on the surrounding landscape that may be identifiable through ethnographic investigations/traditional knowledge but that are not apparent through archaeology alone. Likewise archaeology may better inform ethnographic studies by providing information that may have been lost to history and memory.

Archaeological sites documented in the Ross Project area are categorized mainly as camp sites (Ferguson 2010). Most demonstrate fire-cracked rocks and other evidence of hearths in association with lithic tools and debitage. Some present stone circles and faunal bone, including identifiable bison bone (Ferguson 2010). These camp sites tend to line the bank of the Little Missouri River and aggregate at its confluence with Deadman Creek. Some site areas are bounded quite expansively, and their lengths tend to course in parallel to the stream terraces rather than extend inland on flats or upland on ridge lines; although, a few sites and isolated artifacts were found on knobs and prominences adjacent to the river-based sites. Between the archaeological sites are scattered numerous isolated artifacts, predominantly lithic debitage and a few tools, but also fire-cracked rock. In sum, archaeological review indicates potentially intensive settlement in the Little Missouri River headwaters at the Deadman Creek confluence.

Archaeological site findings suggest that Native American peoples were concertedly living on the Little Missouri in the Ross Project area. A full spectrum of traditional activities is expected to correspond with this living space. Documentary evidence included accounts of various tribes maintaining, at least seasonally, camps on various riverways around the Black Hills, including unspecified portions of the Little Missouri River. These accounts indicate that certain tribes may have frequented certain drainage basins as preferred hunting areas as well, and that hunting often had important associated ceremonial aspects. The Little Missouri River was noted as one of the drainage ways in which the General Crook campaign sought Crazy Horse's camp in 1876 (Phillips et al. 2006).

These archaeological sites were connected to traditional landscape use, whether people were traveling and setting up camp based on drainage basin geography (or proximity to Devils Tower and the Black Hills), procuring and processing specific foods, or conducting culturally specific social and religious observations. Patterned traditional use of the landscape has previously been contemplated at TCPs in the region (i.e., Phillips et al. 2006). Emergent at the time of that previous study, the consideration of traditional cultural landscapes ("TCLs") has moved toward the forefront in 2012 (cf. Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 2012). It is anticipated that TCP iterations of site types in the Project region will expand from the basis of artifactual remains and examine important landscape elements connected to these resources, such as prominences and observation points near camps, resource procurement areas near camps, and topographic features important within site settings.

The TCP types identified within the greater Powder River Basin and within the context of this study, as well as those classified for Wyoming by SHPO, primarily serve to organize and address TCPs from a resource management perspective, for properly considering the historic preservation of resources within planning and treatment measures. TCP types considered in a

management context would necessarily be refined based upon the results of TCP field surveys, to best articulate with the traditional tribal understanding of these resources—to maintain the important traditional character and values identified by tribes for these resources and that contributes to the TCPs' significance in relation to NRHP evaluation and eligibility.

Evaluation of TCPs in relation to the ethnographic context is accomplishable by relating the results of TCPs identified in the field with property types described here; comparing the TCP's characteristics with those expected for its property type; and defining the physical extent and locality of the property, per the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Evaluation (NPS 2001). Notably, "If no existing property type is appropriate, a new property type is defined, its values identified, and the specific characteristics or data requirements are outlined and justified as an addition to the historic context" (NPS 2001). Prescriptions for the evaluation of significance and historical integrity of TCPs are provided in detail in NRB 38 (Parker and King 1998). Regarding historical integrity, NRB 38 states clearly that the integrity of a possible TCP "must be considered with reference to the views of traditional practitioners; if its integrity has not been lost in their eyes, it probably has sufficient integrity to justify further evaluation" (Parker and King 1998:12).

CONCLUSION

This context provides a broad overview within which to consider historic property types, such as TCPs, in relation to important trends in history and cultural heritage. Specific properties and their particular concerns are ordinarily identified through field survey (NPS 2001). While relatively ample bodies of ethnographic information have been compiled on the Native American tribes that once fully inhabited the Ross Project region, very few data have been compiled regarding site-specific occupations, unless extraordinary like Devils Tower. Field identification could inform as well as be informed by the ethnographic context. As such, this ethnographic context provides a backdrop against which to consider TCP characteristics and values and approach their planning and management within the purview of the Ross Project and NHPA requirements.

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