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River Basin Surveys Papers, No. 29: Crow-Flies-High (32MZ1), a Historic Hidatsa Village in the Garrison Reservoir Area, North Dakota

Carling Malouf

Smithsonian Institution

Bureau of American Ethnology

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 185

RIVER BASIN SURVEYS PAPERS

FRANK H. H. ROBERTS, JR., *Editor*

Inter-Agency Archeological Salvage Program

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D.C., June 10, 1961.

SIR: I have the honor to submit the accompanying manuscripts, entitled "Small Sites on and about Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, Garrison Reservoir, North Dakota," by George Metcalf; "Star Village: A Fortified Historic Arikara Site in Mercer County, North Dakota," by George Metcalf; "The Dance Hall of the Santee Bottoms on the Fort Berthold Reservation, Garrison Reservoir, North Dakota," by Donald D. Hartle; "Crow-Flies-High (32MZ1), A Historic Hidatsa Village in the Garrison Reservoir Area, North Dakota," by Carling Malouf; "The Stutsman Focus: An Aboriginal Culture Complex in the Jamestown Reservoir Area, North Dakota," by R. P. Wheeler; "Archeological Manifestations in the Toole County Section of the Tiber Reservoir Basin, Montana," by Carl F. Miller; "Archeological Salvage Investigations in the Lovewell Reservoir Area, Kansas," by Robert W. Neuman, and to recommend that they be published as a bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Very respectfully yours,

FRANK H. H. ROBERTS, JR.,
Director.

DR. LEONARD CARMICHAEL,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

II

EXPLANATION OF THE INTER-AGENCY ARCHEOLOGICAL SALVAGE PROGRAM

The Inter-Agency Archeological Salvage Program is a cooperative plan of the Smithsonian Institution; the National Park Service and the Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior; and the Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army. It was formulated, through a series of interbureau agreements, for the purpose of recovering archeological and paleontological remains that would otherwise be lost as a result of the numerous projects for flood control, irrigation, hydroelectric power, and navigation improvements in the river basins of the United States. Various State and local agencies have assisted in the work. To carry out its part of the joint undertaking, the Smithsonian Institution organized the River Basin Surveys as a unit of the Bureau of American Ethnology. The National Park Service has served as liaison between the various agencies and has provided the Smithsonian Institution with all of the necessary information pertaining to the location of proposed dams and other construction and their priorities. It has also had responsibility for budgeting costs of the program, funds for which are provided in the annual appropriations of the Department of the Interior. The operations of the River Basin Surveys, Smithsonian Institution, have been supported by funds transferred to it from the National Park Service. Through agreements with the National Park Service, money has also been made available to State and local agencies to supplement their own resources and aid them in their contributions to the program.

The River Basin Surveys Papers, of which this is the eighth bulletin, are issued under the scientific editorship of Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., director of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

FOREWORD

The seven reports which comprise the present volume of River Basin Surveys Papers pertain to work which was done in four reservoir areas in the Missouri Basin. Two of the reservoirs are located in North Dakota, one in Montana, and one in Kansas. The North Dakota reservoirs are the Garrison on the main stem of the Missouri River, located some distance above Bismarck, and the Jamestown on the James River above the town of Jamestown in the eastern part of the State. The Montana reservoir is the Tiber, located on the Marias River in the northwestern part of the State, and that in Kansas is the Lovewell on White Rock Creek, a tributary of the Republican River in the north-central part of the State. All four of the projects have been completed, and the areas where the archeological investigations were carried on are now inundated.

Four of the projects were in the Garrison Reservoir basin, and three of them are particularly interesting because they pertain to historic Indian locations. As a matter of fact, one of the three could virtually be called modern. Most of the work in the Garrison area was done in sites which were pre-White contact and older or in sites of the early historic period when the Indians were associated with or living adjacent to trading posts or military installations. The information obtained from Indian occupation areas which were contemporaneous with those of White origin but which gave little evidence of direct association throws interesting light on various aboriginal activities.

Mr. Metcalf, in the first paper, describes small sites in and about the Fort Berthold Reservation because it was thought that while most of these sites were too small to merit a full-scale investigation, they nevertheless provided a considerable amount of previously unreported data which should be made available. Some of the sites mentioned by Mr. Metcalf subsequently received additional attention and will be described in other papers. Most of those which he describes, however, will not be discussed elsewhere. His report adds to the general information of the Fort Berthold area. The second paper, by the same author, describes the investigations made at a single site, where a village was started by the Arikara in the spring of 1862 and was occupied only until the latter part of August of the same year, when raids by the Sioux forced its abandonment and the withdrawal of its occupants. Although the life of the community, which is

known as Star Village, was of extremely short duration, it nevertheless provides information about changes which were taking place in house types and village patterns.

The article by Dr. Hartle describing the dance hall of the Santee Bottoms on the Fort Berthold Reservation is, strictly speaking, an architectural study and not archeological in nature. The building was still standing at the time the study was made, and there were numerous Indians living in the vicinity who had participated in ceremonies held in the structure. The building is of particular interest because it was the last example of that type of dance hall built and used in the Fort Berthold area. The place where it stood is now many feet beneath the waters of the Garrison Reservoir. The fourth paper in the Garrison series, that by Dr. Carling Malouf, is, more strictly speaking, an ethnohistorical study, but it was based on excavations in a former village site. The historical incidents which led to the establishment of Crow-Flies-High village and various things which took place there after it was occupied constitute an interesting sidelight on activities in that portion of North Dakota at that particular period. Dr. Malouf was fortunate in being able to obtain from some of the Indians still living in the vicinity and from documentary records items which bring to life activities in a native village at a time when many changes were taking place and the people were under considerable strain. Opportunities to make a study of that nature are not common and Dr. Malouf took full advantage of the situation. The fieldwork which he did was a cooperative project between the National Park Service and Montana State University. The other three projects in the Garrison Reservoir basin were under the direction of the River Basin Surveys, and the field parties were directed by regular staff members of the Missouri Basin Project.

Investigations at the Jamestown Reservoir began in 1946, when a preliminary reconnaissance was made of the area to be flooded by the project. The construction of the dam was delayed and it was not necessary to do further work in the area until the summers of 1952 and 1954 when the excavations reported by Mr. Wheeler were made. As a result of his studies, Mr. Wheeler concluded that the manifestations in the Jamestown basin represented a single aboriginal culture complex which he designated the Stutsman Focus. The material collected indicated seminomadic communities whose subsistence was based on a combination of horticulture, hunting, and food gathering. Also, these communities trapped eagles for ceremonial purposes. The pottery which they made is comparable to that found at various locations in central and southeastern North Dakota which has been ascribed to the Hidatsa Indians, and it is quite possible that the latter may have been responsible for the remains assigned to the Stutsman Focus. Certain items of trade material attributable to European

origin and some late pottery types from other complexes which were present suggest that the Stutsman Focus belongs in the early historic period and may well date from A.D. 1750 or 1770 to 1800. Prior to the investigations by the River Basin Surveys, virtually nothing was known of the archeological manifestations in that immediate area.

The investigations in the Tiber Reservoir basin in Montana were not as satisfactory as might be desired. The original surveys were made in the late summer of 1946 and some excavating was done during the summer of 1950. Because of insufficient funds it was not possible to continue that project until the summer of 1955. In the meantime heavy floods had swept down the river and washed away many of the sites which had been designated for further investigation. By the time that Mr. Miller went there in June 1955, practically all that remained was one large site where there had been some digging in 1950. Mr. Miller tested a number of locations in that site where it appeared that archeological evidence might be obtained. On the basis of what he found and the material collected 5 years earlier, it appears that the Tiber area was mainly occupied by intermittent groups of hunters from communities located elsewhere. The major game animal was the bison, and the bones representing that animal indicate a transition between one of the older forms and modern bison, with the implication that there was appreciable antiquity to some of the remains occurring there. Unfortunately there is not sufficient evidence to identify the hunters with some of the groups which were occupying portions of Montana in the surrounding area. However, it would appear from the limited number of potsherds recovered that the later stages of the culture were related to a Woodland variant existing in late prehistoric times.

The presence of archeological manifestations in the Lovewell Reservoir area was known for some time prior to the investigations by the River Basin Surveys. In 1935 George Lamb, an interested local amateur, did some preliminary digging in two of the more important sites. Two years later a party under the sponsorship of the Nebraska State Historical Society, directed by Paul Cooper, carried on excavations at one of the sites. He was assisted by Mr. Lamb. A survey of the entire reservoir basin was made in 1951 by Franklin Fenenga for the River Basin Surveys. Then, in the summer of 1956, a River Basin Surveys party undertook more intensive investigations in the area. Further excavations were made in the village remains previously tested by Mr. Lamb and Mr. Cooper, and digging was carried on at several others which until then were known only by their surface indications. Mr. Neuman, who was in charge of the 1956 work, in addition to digging extensively in three village and one mound site, also collected material from all other known archeological locations in the basin. The results of Mr. Neuman's studies in the field form the

basis for his report which is River Basin Surveys Papers No. 32. In his description and conclusions pertaining to the village and camp manifestations occurring there, he includes the data which were collected by Mr. Lamb and Mr. Cooper. He concludes that the remains in the area represent the Late Ceramic Period of the Central Plains and that the date of occupancy was in the late 17th century. The mound which was excavated falls into a somewhat earlier period and probably dates at about A.D. 1200. The work of Mr. Neuman and his predecessors has provided good general knowledge about the Indian cultures in that part of Kansas.

FRANK H. H. ROBERTS, JR.,
Director, River Basin Surveys.

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Crow-Flies-High (32MZ1), a Historic Hidatsa Village in the
Garrison Reservoir Area, North Dakota
By CARLING MALOUF

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CROW-FLIES-HIGH (32MZ1), A HISTORIC HIDATSA VILLAGE IN THE GARRISON RESERVOIR AREA, NORTH DAKOTA ¹

By CARLING MALOUF

INTRODUCTION

Crow-Flies-High was a late 19th century Hidatsa Indian village located on the Missouri River near Newtown, N. Dak. In terms of archeology it was very recent in origin, almost modern. Yet by 1952 it was almost reduced to a legend. In that year there remained two cabin depressions and three cache pits. It had almost been obliterated after many years of plowing and cultivation during the present century. One small depression about 8 feet in diameter marked the location of a single earthlodge which had once served as the village "dance hall." The rest of its structures could not be identified. The original extent of the village, however, was indicated by numerous fragments of dishes, bottles, metal objects, pieces of leather, and broken animal bones scattered over the ground.

Published information on the site is scarce and some of it is inaccurate. From such sources it can be determined that the site was primarily Hidatsa, that it was occupied sometime during the latter part of the last century, that it is near Newtown, N. Dak., and that it was named after a chief called Crow-Flies-High.

A Corps of Engineers map, Missouri River Survey, 1891, chart No. 92, located the village on the right bank of the Missouri River, about 2½ miles above the mouth of the Little Knife River. Eleven rectangular structures were outlined. Maps of the Missouri River Commission, in 1894 (sheet LVI) noted the village in the same place. At the present time its remains are in sec. 5, T. 153 N., R. 93 W., and beneath the waters of Garrison Dam Reservoir.

¹ Submitted December 1956. The party which excavated this site in 1952 was directed by Carling Malouf. It was financed through a contract between the National Park Service, Region Two Office, Omaha, Nebr., and Montana State University, represented by Dr. Carl McFarland, President. Valuable assistance was given by personnel in the Missouri River Project, River Basin Surveys, Smithsonian Institution, through Ralph D. Brown, its Director. His successor, Robert L. Stephenson, has kindly provided the writer with additional information and artifacts from the site. Members of the Montana State University party included Carling Malouf, John Garrett, who acted as Field Supervisor, Roy Shipley, Richard Cannon, Margaret Wetzteon, DeVona LeMieux, Maynard Dahl, and Lewis Napton.

Crawford (1931) devoted a few brief lines to the site in his "History of North Dakota":

77 Crow Flies High. On west side of the Missouri opposite and one mile north of the Little Knife River. The village was made up of log buildings and is near the John Goodall ranch.

One other remark which Crawford makes regarding the Indians who occupied Crow-Flies-High Village was as follows (*ibid.*, p. 535):

79 Yellowstone River site near Buford. Occupied by Crow Flies High's band in the '70s.

Crawford made no effort to explain these two notations in his history, but they are merely presented as isolated facts. Informant data, however, reveal that there was a definite connection between the two villages since both were occupied seasonally by Crow-Flies-High's band.

Will and Hecker also published a brief note on the site, but it has proved to be somewhat less accurate than that of Crawford. Will and Hecker (1944, p. 116) wrote thus:

The Crow Flies High Village (Hidatsa), across the river from Sanish, North Dakota. This is one of the latest Hidatsa earth lodge villages and was occupied by a band of reactionary Hidatsa who objected to being confined to the Reservation.

While earlier reports mention "dwellings" or "log buildings," that of Will and Hecker now listed it as an earthlodge village.

In 1947 a Smithsonian Institution, River Basin Surveys party, under Marvin F. Kivett, examined the site and furnished the first specific information on its archeological potential. They noted that several cache pits were visible in the uncultivated area next to the river bluff. Shallow depressions in the cultivated sections were thought to "probably indicate earth lodges."² Kivett also noted that broken glass, leather pieces, metal objects, broken stones, bone ash, and other items were scattered over an area about one-quarter mile long. The field notes of the River Basin Surveys party (Kivett, 1948, p. 10) revealed:

The greater part of the area has been under cultivation for a number of years, but considerable evidence remains, particularly in the sodded areas near the northeast edge of the village. In this section are several small circular depressions, one of which was excavated. This was found to be an abandoned storage pit which had been filled with ashes, metal plates, files, and similar items of white manufacture. Tests in the cultivated sections of the site revealed extensive areas of charcoal and burnt earth which may indicate the remains of earthlodges.

Finally, Waldo Wedel (1948, p. 23) referred to Crow-Flies-High Village in a published account:

² Smithsonian Institution, River Basin Surveys, field sheet, Site 32 MZ1, dated 7/29/47, recorded by Kivett, with additional notes by George Metcalf, 1/3/51. It is possible that Kivett was influenced by Will and Hecker's report in expressing this opinion of earthlodges.

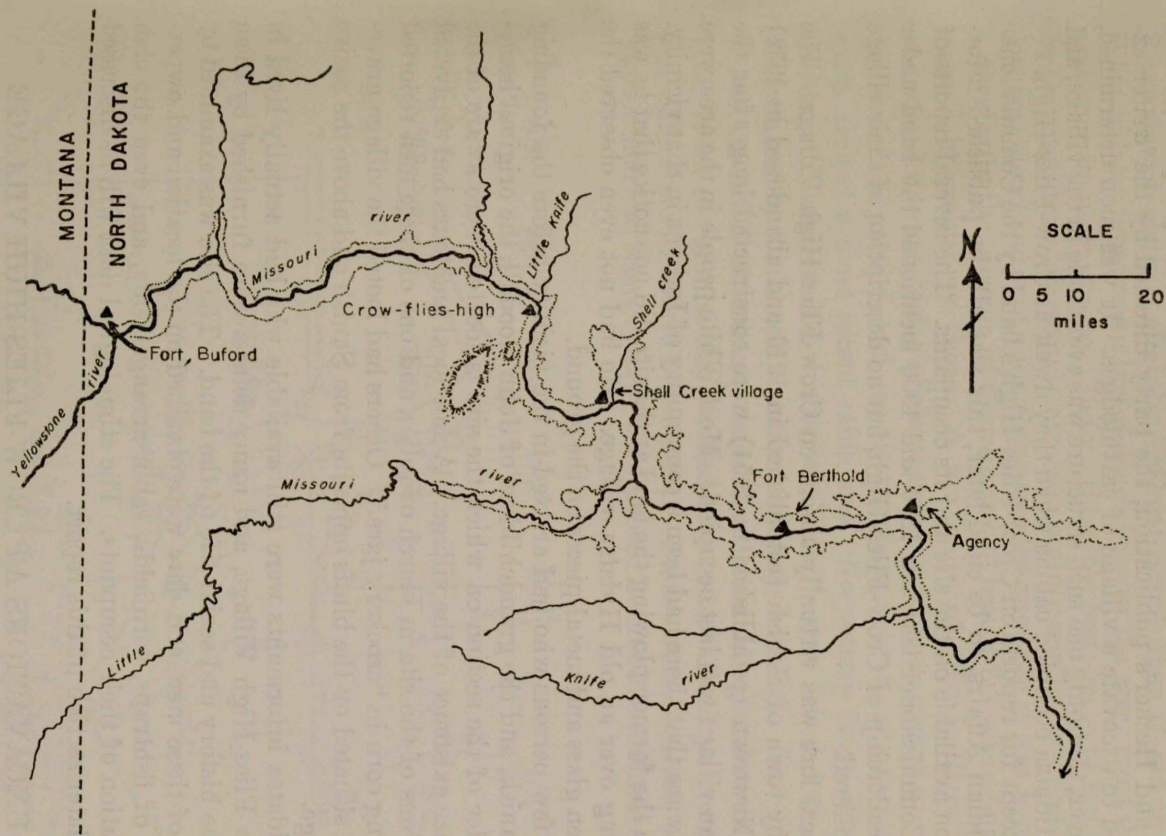


FIGURE 19.—Territory in northwest North Dakota occupied by Crow-Flies-High band of Hidatsa. Dotted line along the Missouri River indicates area inundated by Garrison Dam.

Of more recent date is another earth-lodge village (32MZ1), opposite the mouth of the Little Knife River. Known as Crow Flies High village, it is believed to have been occupied between 1868 and 1893 by the Hidatsa. Metal, glass, and other recent materials were plentiful, but there was little of native origin.

On the basis of the preliminary River Basin Survey reports, and of Will and Hecker's publication, the party directed by the writer expected to excavate a village of earthlodges. It was soon determined, however, that only one such structure was ever made in the village, and the Hidatsa occupied cabins when they dwelt at Crow-Flies-High.

Except for reports on Crow-Flies-High's band by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to be cited later, this was all the published information available on the site and its occupants. The several reports of the Commissioner between 1876 and 1900 mentioned the band under the leadership of Crow-Flies-High, but no description of their village was offered.

Local lore was virtually absent on Crow-Flies-High Village. The nearby town of Sanish (established in 1916 and abandoned in 1952) and Newtown (established in 1951) were constructed long after the Indian village was last occupied. Most White people in the area were not aware that there had been a community of Indians in that vicinity. Even the farmer plowing the land at the site did not notice that he was moving over an old Hidatsa village. He had not even observed the broken glass and metal pieces on the ground.

A few persons who had arrived in the vicinity before the founding of Sanish, and the grandchildren of John Goodall, the original homesteader of the section on which the site is located, were aware of the former existence of the village. A few local amateurs had excavated portions of the site in search of relics, and one of these men reported finding corn in "crockery jars." Others had looted the village graveyard situated on the bluffs opposite from Sanish and above the native village.

Hidatsa informants were still available who had actually lived in Crow-Flies-High Village, and many details were furnished by them on the history and social life of the band. The site was examined by two of these men, and data were obtained on the location and ownership of fishtraps, cornfields, cabin arrangements, and even the clan affiliation of their occupants. The ethnological data will be discussed in a later section of this report.

EXCAVATIONS AT CROW-FLIES-HIGH VILLAGE

The site of Crow-Flies-High Village was located on a broad terrace west of the Missouri River which in this vicinity flowed from north to south, and it was about 35 feet above the water level. The flats between the base of the terrace and river were treeless, but there were swampy sections at the base of the terrace where water seeped through.

The flow, however, was too small for domestic use, but brush and grass grew around the bogs. Drinking and culinary water was obtained from the Missouri River itself. A stream of clear water, Antelope Creek, flowed toward the east about one-half mile south of the village.

At the time Crow-Flies-High Village was occupied, the Missouri River flowed along a slightly different course than it did in 1952. What in later times was a lesser channel across the river from the site was once its main course. Before the river bottoms were inundated by Garrison Dam the main stream was rapidly eroding into the broad, low benchland and was a little closer to the site than it was formerly.

Evidently the location of the village had been a favorite occupation ground in prehistoric times. A few chips of "Knife River flint," and some lithic specimens of the same material were picked up on the surface of the ground, and one or two pieces came from screening the earth around a more recent cabin site. No pottery from either the prehistoric level, or the historical Hidatsa was found here. The Hidatsa had by this time discontinued pottery making. Bear-In-The-Water, or Adlai Stevenson, remembered that his grandmother had made it out of "gumbo clay," rolled into balls. Children carried the clay balls from its source to the camp. Stones were collected, usually those which had been partially decomposed in fires in sweathouses, and

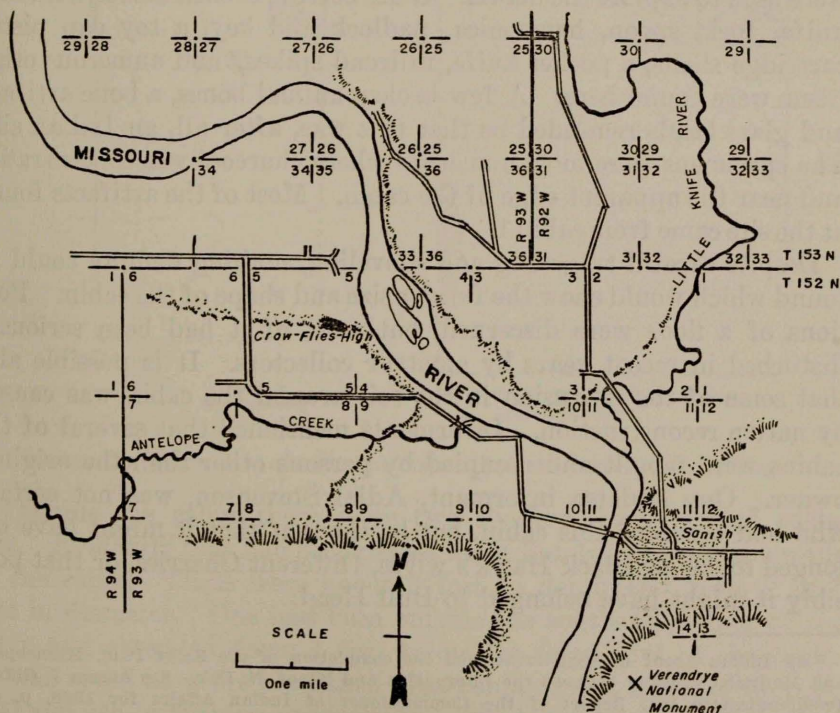


FIGURE 20.—Location of Crow-Flies-High Village.

were pounded into a sandy composition. The vessels were fired in charcoal, completely covered. Designs, it was added, were incised.

Most of the site has been plowed at least 50 times since John Goodall first homesteaded it in 1886. A small strip of land on the edge of the terrace from 5 to 25 feet in width remained unbroken by plows. Cabins found here were about 1 foot under the surface of the ground; those in the field had been destroyed.

Before excavation commenced it appeared that there were two cabins and four cache pits still remaining on the unplowed portion of the village. Nearly halfway down the terrace, about 100 yards to the north of the terrace edge, there were traces of what appeared to have been two more cabin outlines. On the benchland below the terraces, still farther to the north, was the distinct outline of another cabin and two more cache pits. All the remains on the terrace slope and in the bottomlands proved to be the works of early ranchers in the vicinity and not that of the Indians. Only the cabin outlines and the cache pits on the terrace proper proved to have been a part of the Hidatsa village.

Cabin 1.—Cabin 1 was originally an irregular depression in the ground about 3 feet in depth. Rusty cans and broken pieces of glass and chinaware were scattered around on the ground in the vicinity of this outline. After the vegetation in the pit was cleared away, trowels were used to explore the debris. Glass bottles, broken dishes, a kitchen knife, fork, spoon, harmonica, padlock and key, a toy cap pistol, cartridge shells, a pocket knife, railroad spikes,³ and numerous other items were found here. A few broken animal bones, a bone artifact, and glass beads reminded us that this was, after all, an Indian site. The specimens were most numerous where charcoal was concentrated, and near the apparent edge of the cabin. Most of the artifacts found at the site came from cabin 1.

Despite careful troweling and shoveling, nothing definite could be found which would show the former size and shape of the cabin. Portions of a floor were discerned, but most of it had been seriously disturbed in recent years by amateur collectors. It is possible also that some of the confusion in the soil around the cabin was caused by native reconstruction. Informants mentioned that several of the cabins were rebuilt and occupied by persons other than the original owner. Our Hidatsa informant, Adlai Stevenson, was not certain who had occupied this cabin, but he thought that it might have belonged to one of Black Hawk's wives, Different Cherries, or that possibly it might have belonged to Bull Head.

³ An Indian agent in 1888 mentioned the completion of the Saint Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway between the reservation and Minot, N. Dak. See Abram J. Gifford (communication in), Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1888, p. 44, Washington, D.C.

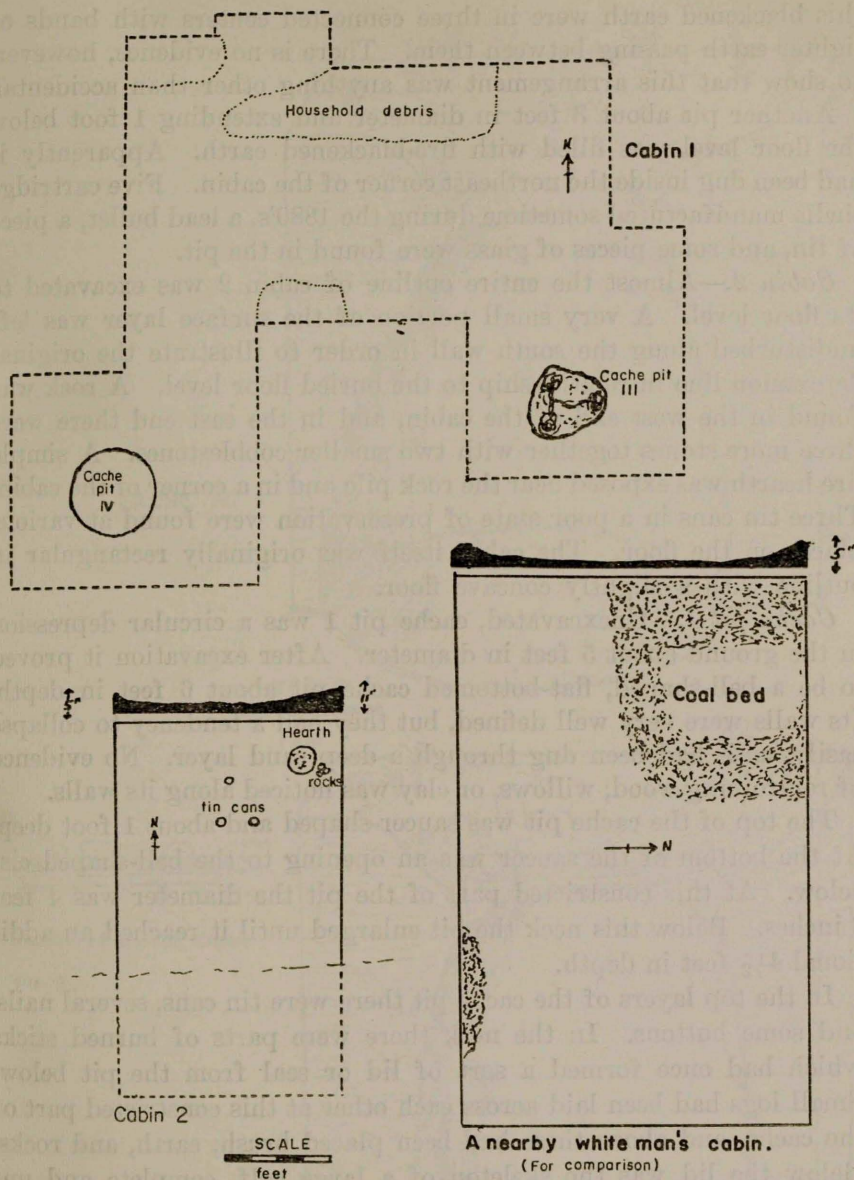


FIGURE 21.—Floor plans of cabins and excavations at Crow-Flies-High Village.

Outside the cabin there were two shallow, basin-shaped cache pits. Evidently they had been placed immediately alongside the walls of the cabin. These were about 2 feet in depth and from 2 to 3 feet in diameter. One had been outside the southeast corner of the cabin and extended down 1 foot below the floor level of the cabin. It was noted as a fire-blackened area containing a mixture of charcoal and ash in varying proportions. The heaviest concentrations of

this blackened earth were in three connected centers with bands of lighter earth passing between them. There is no evidence, however, to show that this arrangement was anything other than accidental.

Another pit about 3 feet in diameter and extending 1 foot below the floor level was filled with fire-blackened earth. Apparently it had been dug inside the northeast corner of the cabin. Five cartridge shells manufactured sometime during the 1880's, a lead bullet, a piece of tin, and some pieces of glass were found in the pit.

Cabin 2.—Almost the entire outline of cabin 2 was excavated to its floor level. A very small portion of the surface layer was left undisturbed along the south wall in order to illustrate the original depression line in relationship to the buried floor level. A rock was found in the west end of the cabin, and in the east end there were three more stones together with two smaller cobblestones. A simple fire hearth was exposed near the rock pile and in a corner of the cabin. Three tin cans in a poor state of preservation were found at various places on the floor. The cabin itself was originally rectangular in outline with a slightly concave floor.

Cache pit 1.—Unexcavated, cache pit 1 was a circular depression in the ground about 5 feet in diameter. After excavation it proved to be a bell-shaped, flat-bottomed cache pit about 6 feet in depth. Its walls were very well defined, but they had a tendency to collapse easily, as it had been dug through a deep sand layer. No evidence of reinforcing wood, willows, or clay was noticed along its walls.

The top of the cache pit was saucer-shaped and about 1 foot deep. At the bottom of the saucer was an opening to the bell-shaped cist below. At this constricted part of the pit the diameter was 4 feet 3 inches. Below this neck the pit enlarged until it reached an additional 4½ feet in depth.

In the top layers of the cache pit there were tin cans, several nails, and some buttons. In the neck there were parts of burned sticks which had once formed a sort of lid or seal from the pit below. Small logs had been laid across each other at this constricted part of the cache, and above these had been placed brush, earth, and rocks. Below the lid was the skeleton of a large calf, complete and unbutchered. A heavy layer of larvae shells ranging from 2 to 4 inches thick extended above and within the carcass of the calf. Maggots had had an opportunity to feast on the animal after it had been placed in the pit. The position of the bones, being disarticulated by collapsing and not from the pressure of earth around the skeleton, indicates that it took several years for the pit to fill with earth once it was abandoned. A heavy green canvas had been wrapped around the animal before it had been deposited in the cache pit. Underneath the canvas there

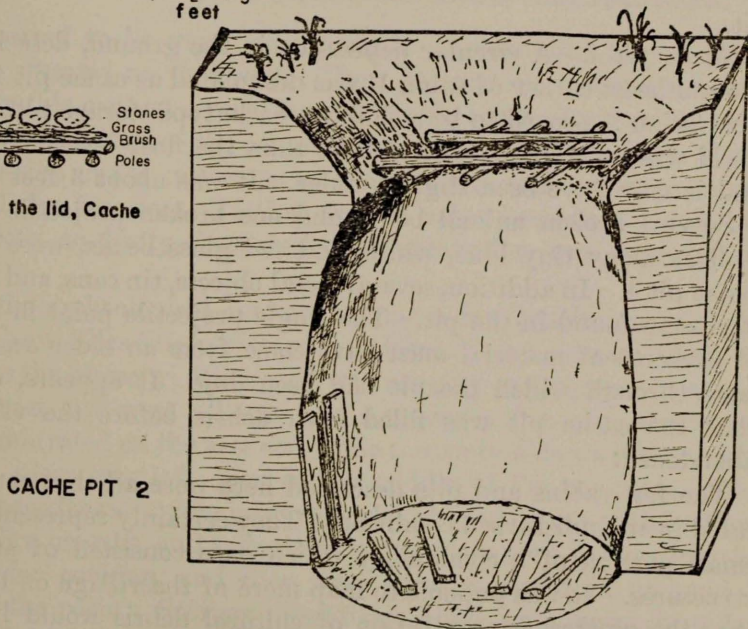
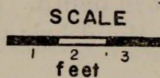
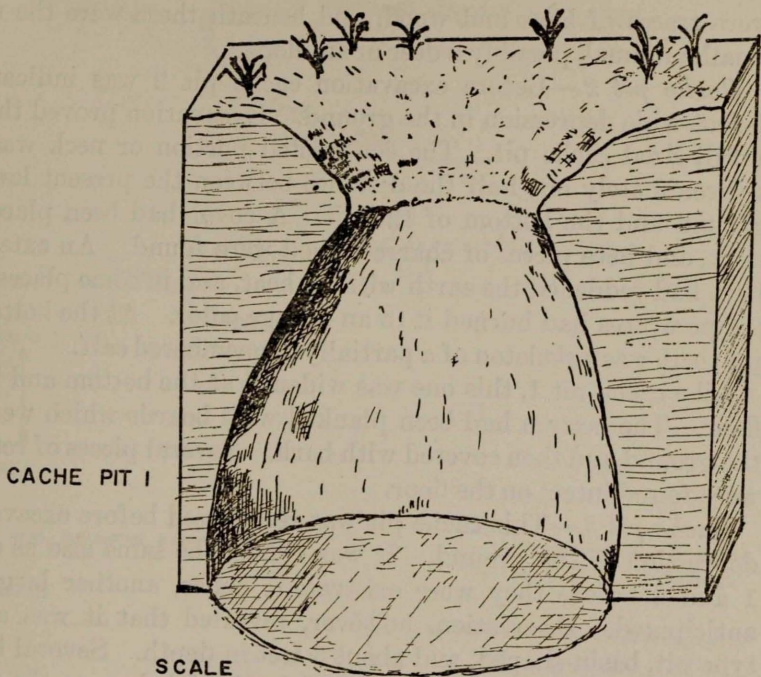


FIGURE 22.—Cross sections of cache pits 1 and 2. Crow-Flies-High Village.

were traces of bark and wood, and beneath these were the ribs of a smaller animal, possibly a deer or antelope.⁴

Cache pit 2.—Before excavation cache pit 2 was indicated by a 3-foot-wide depression in the ground. Excavation proved that it was a full-sized cache pit. The constricted portion or neck was located approximately one-half the distance between the present level of the ground and the bottom of the pit. A cover had been placed in the neck, and here pieces of charred wood were found. An extensive fire here had reddened the earth with its heat, and in some places the high temperatures had burned it to an orange color. At the bottom of the pit there was a skeleton of a partially dismembered calf.

Like cache pit 1, this one was widened at the bottom and had a flat floor. The bottom had been planked with boards which were laid on the ground and then covered with bark. Several pieces of rotten wood were found intact on the floor.

Cache pit 3.—This cache pit was recognized before excavation as a depression in the ground. It was almost the same size as cache pits 1 and 2 before they were excavated; hence, another large pit was anticipated. Excavation, however, revealed that it was a shallow-type pit, basin-shaped, and about 3 feet in depth. Several bone fragments and small stones were found in the debris near the top of the pit.

Cache pit 4.—A circular depression in the ground, detached from the southeast corner of cabin 1, was designated as cache pit 4. After excavation it proved to be a shallow, basin-type storage pit. The pit itself was on a lower ground level than the floor level of the cabin, and it may have been slightly older. It was about 3 feet in depth.

Several broken animal bones and one broken projectile point, as well as many tiny blue, white, and red glass beads, were found in cache pit 4. In addition, several metal objects, tin cans, and some doll legs were found in the pit. The single projectile point in the midst of such recent material must have come from an older occupational level through which the pit had been dug. It appears, moreover, that the cache pit was filled with debris before the village was abandoned.

The few cabins and pits described here were all that could be located in an undisturbed condition. They certainly represented a very small portion of a community which once consisted of at least 30 structures. It was possible to map more of the village on the theory that the greatest concentration of cultural debris would lie around old dwellings. Thus, wherever pieces of old leather, nails, dishes,

⁴ During the excavations an elderly Indian woman who had lived in the village as a little girl asked us to return a colored, beaded blanket that had been placed in a cache pit many years ago. She was not certain where the pit was located but assumed we might find it during our excavations.

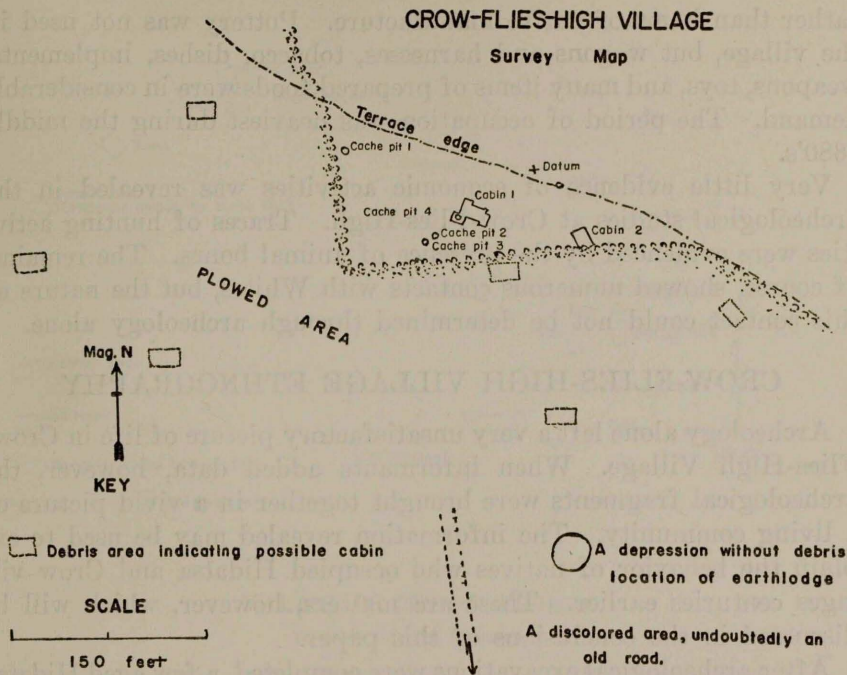


FIGURE 23.—Crow-Flies-High Village plan as determined by archeological studies.

etc., appeared to be more numerous, it was assumed that a cabin was once situated on that spot. Then its location was plotted on a map. By this method several more probable cabin sites were mapped and the general plan of the community was revealed. A large circular depression in the cultivated area of the site was almost certainly an earthlodge location. Testing showed ashes beneath the soil, but it had been so badly disturbed that excavation was regarded as fruitless.

From the archeological evidences alone a few conclusions may be listed. Crow-Flies-High Village was located on a terrace about 35 feet above the Missouri River and was roughly rectangular in shape, oriented east and west. There was a tendency for more structures to be concentrated on the east end while the south side was completely open. A plaza was left open in the middle of the rectangle. The occupants preferred to live in rectangular shaped cabins with earthen floors. Fire hearths, and sometimes stoves were used for heating the cabin or for cooking, and they were usually placed in or near a corner of the room. Storage pits of two kinds were maintained for storage of foods. One was about 6 feet deep in the earth, usually outside the dwelling. In form it was nearly identical with traditional cists in earthlodge villages. The other type was shallow and basin-shaped, extending about 3 to 4 feet in the ground. The inhabitants used mainly manufactured goods from American traders

rather than items of native manufacture. Pottery was not used in the village, but wagons and harnesses, tobacco, dishes, implements, weapons, toys, and many items of prepared foods were in considerable demand. The period of occupation was heaviest during the middle 1880's.

Very little evidence of economic activities was revealed in the archeological studies at Crow-Flies-High. Traces of hunting activities were evidenced by the presence of animal bones. The remains, of course, showed numerous contacts with Whites, but the nature of this contact could not be determined through archeology alone.

CROW-FLIES-HIGH VILLAGE ETHNOGRAPHY

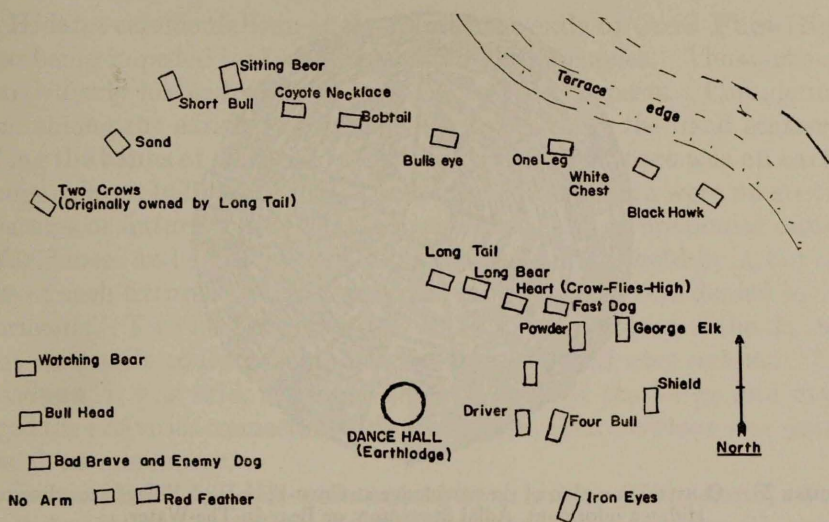
Archeology alone left a very unsatisfactory picture of life in Crow-Flies-High Village. When informants added data, however, the archeological fragments were brought together in a vivid picture of a living community. The information revealed may be used to explain the behavior of natives who occupied Hidatsa and Crow villages centuries earlier. These are matters, however, which will be discussed in the conclusions of this paper.

After archeological excavations were completed, a few aged Hidatsa informants were brought to the site. One of these, Adlai Stevenson,⁵ drew his own sketch map of the village. When it was compared with our survey map, the similarities were very gratifying to us. The large depression near the southeast side of the village was identified as the remains of the only earthlodge in the community. Our suspicions were confirmed by the informant. The two maps also agreed in the absence of cabins on the south side of the plaza.

The excavation of cabin 2 showed that it was rectangular. The informant drew all his cabins with this shape, but admitted when questioned that some of them were square. The cabins were arranged around a sort of plaza which was generally oriented east and west.

Informants denied that stoves were used inside the cabins, but they described fireplaces built in a corner of the room. Smoke and fumes passed through an open chimney in the roof. Kettles were hung over the fire by means of a chain suspended from the roof or from the top of the fireplace. In earlier times, it was said, the Hidatsa preferred to have their doorways facing toward the south, but by the time Crow-Flies-High Village was occupied this custom had been abandoned. Platforms or corn racks were built outside of the cabins,

⁵ This informant, born in 1866 at Fort Berthold, was originally named Bear-In-The-Water. He was renamed Adlai Stevenson during the 1890's after he aided the U.S. Marshal in apprehending cattle thieves and outlaws in the region. He was named after Adlai Stevenson, who at that time was Vice President of the United States.



VILLAGE OF CROW-FLIES-HIGH

According to Adlai Stevenson

FIGURE 24.—Village of Crow-Flies-High according to a Hidatsa occupant, and informant, Adlai Stevenson, or Bear-In-The-Water.

and here corn and meat were dried for winter use. Often people slept up there if the cabin was crowded with visitors.

The earthlodge, or “dance hall” did not have a flat roof, nor did it have a covered doorway. According to Wilson’s (1934, p. 364) classification it was a “simple type” structure.⁶ The doorway was flush with the side of the lodge without additional construction work to cover a passageway. Typically, a bull-boat frame was inverted and placed on the top of the lodge to regulate the flow of air and smoke from a large basin-type fire hearth in the center of the lodge.

Everyone in the community united in its construction, and the assignment of tasks was not made on the basis of clan or moiety membership. It was said that the Grass Dance Society members supervised. Specifically mentioned in the society were its officials, including drum owners, feather-tail owners who had special whips in their possession, and four men with drumsticks. Given a sheet of paper and a pencil, Adlai Stevenson (or Bear-In-The-Water) made a sketch of the earthlodge which is reproduced here with retouching for clarity.

Gardens were located in Missouri River bottomlands about 1 mile north of the village and in certain sections along both sides of Ante-

⁶ According to Wilson this type of earthlodge was relatively easy to make and by 1909 was the most common one on the Fort Berthold reservation.

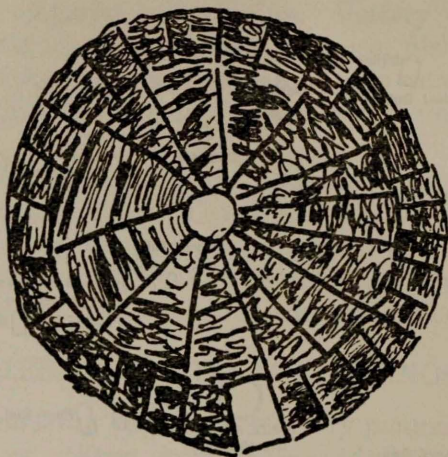


FIGURE 25.—Construction plan of the earthlodge at Crow-Flies-High Village according to a Hidatsa informant, Adlai Stevenson, or Bear-In-The-Water.

lope Creek, about one-half mile to the south. This latter stream was known to the villagers as "Self-Built-Creek." Although the fields were located at least one-half mile away from the village, the land in these places was preferred over the terrace lands where the cabins were built because the soil was softer and easier to work. Moreover, it was regarded as more productive.

Each family cultivated about one-half acre, with most of the work involved, including the clearing of the land, being done by the women. Ownership of the land was by families; clan membership did not enter into matters of tenure.

Corn was planted in hills about 1 pace apart (approximately 18 inches). Five seeds per hill was regarded as the most desirable number. Corn types included yellow, white flint or hard, yellow hard, and a type of corn with mixed kernels. Five different kinds of beans were grown—yellow, black, white, red, and spotted. Frequently corn, beans, and squash were planted together as complementary crops. Certain modern plants, such as cucumbers and wheat were lacking in the gardens, but melons and pumpkins were grown.⁷

Work in the gardens was the task of women and girls, while that of hunting and fishing was for men. One fishtrap was located about one-half mile west of the village on the bank of the Missouri River, while another was to the east. The westernmost trap was owned by Coyote Necklace, while that on a point projecting into the river east of the village was owned by Iron Eyes.

⁷ These farming data on Crow-Flies-High Village are entirely from informants. It may be compared with an earlier and more thorough work by Gilbert L. Wilson (1917, pp. 58, 84). Here nine corn types were reported instead of five. The beans, however, were listed the same as in the present study.

Hidatsa ceremonialism, at the time of the exile of Crow-Flies-High, was being impeded by Indian agents and missionaries. These officials particularly loathed some of its more tortuous aspects. Ceremonialism among the exiles was further disrupted when the band scattered along the banks of the Missouri River. Although there was an earth-lodge "dance hall" at Crow-Flies-High Village, there were no special features or fixtures inside that distinguished it as a ceremonial center. War dances and a few other affairs were sometimes held in it, but the use of such fixtures as cedar trees and buffalo skulls was denied by informants. Two headmen acted as leaders during most of the dances, but no details could be obtained on their societal connections. The headmen, it was said, remained in the center of the lodge and managed the activities connected with the dances. An assistant was designated as announcer.

Few medicine bundles were owned by members of the band. Fast Talks' mother had a private medicine bundle. She was Mrs. Shooting Wood, the wife of a Sioux or Dakota man who was buried on the bluff top about a mile south of the village.⁸ After her husband's death she married Chief Crow-Flies-High under a sororal arrangement.

At least two other men in the village were polygynous. Besides Crow-Flies-High, Black Hawk had two wives. The first one, named Mink, lived with her husband in a cabin on the plaza. The second one lived in a nearby cabin and her name was Different Cherries. Her cabin may have been one of those excavated in 1952.

At one time Bad Brave and Enemy Dog lived together with their wives in a single log cabin. Mrs. Enemy Dog, incidentally, was still living in 1952 at Sully's Lake, on the Fort Berthold Reservation.

The turnover of residents in the village was fairly constant. It is known that Black Chest left the community and that Coyote Necklace repaired the empty cabin and moved in. Two Crows moved into the cabin vacated by Coyote Necklace.

From informants a partial list of nearly 100 names of exiles has been compiled. It includes most of those people who were at one time or another members of Crow-Flies-High's band. In most cases their clan affiliation was also determined. The original purpose of this research was to determine if there was a correlation between clan and moiety membership and cabin location at Crow-Flies High Village. The correlation proved to be negative, but the list is reproduced in appendix A for its sociological value.

The main function of the clan was to establish a rule of exogamy. There are some suggestions that chieftanships had a tendency to follow along clan lines, but military prowess was regarded as of greater

⁸This is the grave which was looted by an amateur collector, the local barber in old Sanish, N. Dak.

importance for a leader than kinship ties. Lowie (1917, p. 2) mentioned that the moiety was important in politics, in sharing new property or meat, and possibly in the use of eagle pits. Several of these pits, incidentally, are still located in the vicinity of Crow-Flies-High Village. One, for example, is in Verendrye National Monument across the Missouri River a few miles downstream from the village.

The informants did not recall hearing of any disturbances in the village from raids by predatory bands of Indians, thus it is evident that the military situation was not the serious matter that it was at the time they went into exile about a decade earlier. It may be remembered that rifle cartridges found in one of the cabins bore the manufacturer's date of 1885; hence, by that time the weapons were used primarily for hunting game.

HISTORY OF CROW-FLIES-HIGH'S BAND

The history of Crow-Flies-High Village began early in the 1870's. There was a Hidatsa chief named Heart, or Crow-Flies-High, who lived at Like-A-Fishhook Village, better known now as Fort Berthold. This was the economic, political, and military center of the combined Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa tribes, and this chief was one of the leaders of the community.

These were difficult times at Fort Berthold. The buffalo herds were depleted, and the remnants were hundreds of miles to the west. Government assistance was inadequate, the Indian gardens were small, and much damage was being caused by the rigorous climate, grasshoppers, and worms (Sperry, 1874, p. 242). Besides, the Dakota Indians were hostile, and several villagers had been killed by them. In 1874, for example, the Dakota lured a war party from the village, led them into an ambush and killed five Arikara and one Mandan (*ibid.*, p. 243). Diseases also took a heavy toll of life. Nearly half of the Indians, according to Sperry, were actually living off the reservation, "serving as scouts at military posts hereabouts, hunting for game, visiting friends among other tribes, or making winter quarters at various places between Forts Buford and Peck, where the conditions for getting a living during the winter" were more favorable than they were nearer home (*ibid.*, p. 242). Some of them hunted for 4 or 5 months out of the year. A few were encouraged by the Agency to cut wood for steamboats which were expected on the river the next season (*ibid.*, p. 242). But in general the outlook for the future seemed bleak, indeed, and Hidatsa social organization was showing signs of deterioration.

According to informant data the rift in Crow-Flies-High's band occurred in this manner. There were two subchiefs who went to the Indian Agent claiming to represent all the natives on the reservation,

and on this basis they obtained two steers. Instead of properly distributing the meat, however, they merely consumed it themselves. This was regarded by some as antisocial behavior, and the news of the act soon spread throughout the reservation. The two men were even accused of having indulged in this practice on several previous occasions.

In protest, a large group of Indians went in a body to the Agency where they set up a camp. Crow-Flies-High acted as their spokesman. They met with Agency officials and demanded to know what had been taking place between them and the two conniving subchiefs, Lean Wolf and Crow Paunch.⁹ These agents were said to have been told at the meeting that these two Indians had been using the meat they had acquired for their own purposes. Besides, said the delegation, they were not really chiefs. The real chiefs, they remarked, usually stayed at home among the Indians, and seldom did they council with Whites. It was finally agreed that the agents would give these Indians some meat to eat while they were still camped at the Agency headquarters.

After the delegation had delivered their complaints and had made their suggestions for improving the distribution of food and equipment, the Agency issued them some rations. Then they returned to their homes at Fort Berthold.

As an aftermath the two rival chiefs, Lean Wolf and Crow Paunch, planned to assassinate Crow-Flies-High. They made efforts to engage four men, Sitting Elk, Cherries-In-The-Mouth, Chicken-Lies-All-The-Time, and Knife to do the killing. Knife, incidentally, later joined the band of Crow-Flies-High. Frequent rumors of the death plot had reached Crow-Flies-High, and it was often suggested that he should leave the reservation until the animosities against him subsided.

A number of followers planned to depart with the chief if he decided to go. Finally a decision was made, and about 1870 they moved upstream. The official version of this movement was given a few years later by an Indian agent:¹⁰

This band of Indians under the leadership of Crow Flies High, quite a noted Gros Ventre character, separated from the bands of Arikarees, Gros Ventres, and Mandans of this place several years ago, owing to a disagreement on the part of Crow Flies High and the present Gros Ventre chief in regard to the elevation of the former to the distinguished honor of chieftainship. Being defeated in

⁹ Lean Wolf, or Poor Wolf was said to have worn his hair with a forelock as did most others in his clan. He was a Water Buster, or as Lowie wrote, a "Real Water." (Lowie, 1917, p. 23.) Lean Wolf's wife was a member of the Knife clan. He belonged to the *awawa'wi* community of Hidatsa who had a slightly different language before they combined with the other Hidatsa bands at Fort Berthold (Lowie, op. cit., p. 17). Wilson also remarks on the presence of Lean Wolf at Like-A-Fishhook village. (Wilson, 1917, p. 107, and 1934, p. 352.)

¹⁰ Gifford (1885). It should be mentioned that Indian Service records and personnel refer to the Hidatsa as Gros Ventres. These are not to be confused with the Algonquian-speaking Gros Ventres hundreds of miles farther up the Missouri River, in Montana, known to anthropologists as the Atsina.

his ends, Crow Flies High and his followers migrated to Fort Buford, 120 miles west of here, and remained there.

Approximately 140 persons accompanied the chief on this exodus from Fort Berthold Reservation.

That a few Mandans accompanied the group into exile is not unexpected. Their numbers had fallen so low by this time that they had virtually lost their tribal identity. Lowie (1917, p. 7) noted in 1910 that they had diminished to a mere 197, and no doubt they were almost as few in numbers the quarter century preceding. In 1952 a few aged individuals were pointed out as "the last of the Mandans."

After the band departed, some of the exiles returned to the reservation. Black Chest was among the returnees, and others joined the group from time to time. Actually, the turnover of members seems to have been fairly high. Hawk and his son Bear-In-The Water (Adlai Stevenson, our informant) were among the people who later joined the band.

After leaving Fort Berthold, the band moved upstream along the Missouri River, settling near Fort Buford. Two earthlodges were constructed in the settlement, one by Bobtail Bull, a Mandan, and the other by Bull Head.¹¹ The others constructed cabins. There was no "dance hall" erected in this village, but if an earthlodge was needed for a ceremony, one of the two existing structures was used. Crow-Flies-High remained as chief of the exile band, while Black Hawk acted as an assistant. Many Antelopes replaced Crow-Flies-High as military chief at Like-A-Fishhook Village. Bobtail Bull, incidentally, was also regarded as a chief of the exiles. The informants denied that any of these persons possessed important medicine bundles.

Once they had left the reservation they were no longer able to obtain Government aid, rations, or equipment. For nearly 25 years the band had to be self-sustaining. At first they were able to provide themselves with bison and other game animals, but later, when these sources of food and supplies were gone, they had to rely more on farming and on other means of getting a livelihood. Early during their exile they were attacked by hostile war parties. Once an enemy group stole some of their horses. A party of Hidatsa warriors went in pursuit and in the conflict which followed, Two Bulls was killed.¹² Soon afterward they were able to kill three men in the enemy party in revenge. Relationships with the Army staff at Fort Buford were apparently satisfactory at first. Among the exiles, Crow-Flies-High was elevated to military chief, the position he had lost to Many Antelopes at Like-A-Fishhook Village.

¹¹ The informant, Adlai Stevenson, was a young man at this time and he lived near these two lodges.

¹² The informant was a cousin of Two Bulls.

The Indian settlement at Fort Buford was not occupied continuously because it was primarily a winter camp and base for their hunting expeditions. During many of the summers they occupied Crow-Flies-High Village, where they grew crops. From their Fort Buford camp, however, they traveled north, west, and south in search of game. Often they traveled up the Yellowstone River, past Glendive, Mont., and as far upstream as Miles City. Sometimes when up the Yellowstone, they crossed overland to the Little Missouri, then moved downstream to the Missouri River proper. This was just one of several hunting routes they followed when in search of game.

Both Fort Buford settlement and Crow-Flies-High Village were used irregularly; thus it is not possible to determine accurately the length of time they were occupied. Crow-Flies-High Village, at best, seems to have had a net occupation of nearly 10 years.

When game disappeared, it became necessary for this band to seek new sources of sustenance. To add to their supplies, several smaller winter camps were set up along the Missouri River, on both banks between the Fort Berthold Reservation and Fort Buford. Here they chopped wood, which was sold to the steamboats plying up and down the river. Reports of prostitution among a few women in these camps reflects a moral breakdown during this period of hardship. The river camps, like others used earlier, were not occupied continuously but were seasonal.

As the years passed, the band dispersed more and more along the banks of the Missouri River between Fort Buford and Fort Berthold. Loss of game caused economic hardships, but it also permitted them freedom from harassing raiding parties. Relief was provided when their enemies sought sustenance elsewhere. When a strong military organization was no longer required, definite changes were made in Hidatsa social and political structures.

Sometime during the 1880's a number of men in Crow-Flies-High's band were recruited at Fort Buford as Indian scouts. Trouble with the Dakotas, under Chief Sitting Bull, was anticipated, and preparations were made by the U.S. Army to quell an outbreak. The families of the Hidatsa men who had enlisted were not happy over the prospects of their youths being killed by the Dakotas, but aside from voicing unhappiness, no objections were made to their engagement. Indeed, as servicemen, the youths were able to augment the income of their families, and this fact added to the attractiveness of the venture.

The scouts (which included our informant, Adlai Stevenson), together with soldiers, their horses, and equipment, rode to Bismarck, where they were placed on a train to South Dakota. The fight with the Dakotas did not materialize, and the military forces returned to Fort Buford. The Indian scouts thereafter served as military mail

couriers and messengers. Often the scouts traveled to Montana points such as Poplar, Plentywood, and even as far up the Yellowstone River as Glendive.

The band could have returned to the reservation at any time during their exile. Indeed, all of them at one time or another visited the Agency headquarters, where they were given presents such as coffee and tea. One such visit was described by Sperry (1875, p. 241).

A band of Gros Ventre seceders, numbering about 100, spend nearly all their time near Fort Buford, one hundred and thirty-five miles above this place, and although considered as belonging to this agency and entitled to its privileges, are not enrolled here. Small delegations from their camp visit us occasionally and receive the regular ration as long as they remain.

Crow-Flies-High himself sometimes visited the Agency. Murphy, the agent, recorded one such visit (1890, p. 30) :

Two or three days ago the Chief Crow-Flies high came to the agency accompanied by a few of his men, one of whom wanted his horses shod.

The original reasons for the exodus were more or less forgotten over the decades. Instead, new obstacles faced them in making an adjustment to reservation life. They chose to remain away rather than conform to the program of integration which was being followed by governmental officials. If they returned to the reservation, for example, they would have had to give up their children to go to school, and they would have been required to assume an allotment of land and its cultivation. Moreover, a tribal court, consisting of an "intelligent Indian with Judicial ability" from each of the three tribes on the reservation, was given powers to break polygynous marriages and to mete out punishment for other customs which white men found offensive (Gifford, 1888, p. 42). None of these prospects appealed to the band. Thus, the cause of their departure was one thing, but the reason for their absence from the reservation for 25 years was another matter.

By 1884 relationships between the exile band and the military post at Fort Buford had deteriorated. In autumn of that year the exiles were ordered away by the commanding officer. According to the Indian Agent they settled on the Little Knife River (Gifford, 1888, p. 29). More than likely this settlement was across the Missouri River from the mouth of the Little Knife River at Crow-Flies-High Village. Two years later John Goodall built a homesteader's cabin about 1 mile west of the village, but his presence does not seem to have bothered the Indians.

In 1889 an Indian agent, Thomas H. B. Jones, and Col. W. W. Junklin met with Chief Crow-Flies-High and discussed the return of the band to the reservation. Jones (1889, p. 147) reported the meeting thus :

We held council with Crow-Flies-High, with a view to obtaining his consent to the adoption, by his tribe, of the civilized pursuits of the other Indians, and to the advisability of placing all their children of school age in school the coming fall, or as soon as the Catholic Mission school (now under course of construction) should be completed. After four hours' argument and persuasion, I am happy to report that we succeeded in getting his consent. These Indians will take up allotments, and commence farming the same, as soon as they can be supplied with sufficient agricultural implements.

Crow-Flies-High's band was still widely scattered up and down both sides of the Missouri River in 1894, when it was finally decided to move back onto the reservation. For a quarter of a century they had been without government assistance, and besides, Whites had appropriated much of the land, further reducing their chances of making a living. After a series of consultations between chiefs and Indian Agents it was agreed that the band should return to the reservation. A military escort, including Hidatsa Indian scouts still enlisted at Fort Buford, provided assistance. The Indian Agent, an Army Captain, boastfully announced to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: "It is a source of gratification that the band of Crow-Flies-High was forced upon the reservation in the spring of 1894 . . ." (Clapp, 1895, 232). There is no real evidence except the assertion of Captain Clapp that force was necessary to make the Indians return to the reservation. At least part of the military escort consisted of Indian scouts who belonged to the Indian band.

At Tobacco Creek, a few miles above Newtown, they were all reunited as a band for the first time in many years. At this time Crow-Flies-High relinquished his chieftainship in favor of a younger man. He knew that he would not live much longer, so he began to examine the qualifications of several prospective successors in his own clan. Finally he decided to support a more distant kinsman, Long Bear, as his choice for chief. After this, the band formed a long column which moved southward toward the reservation, traveling along the north bank of the Missouri River. Rufus Stevenson, who was then a mere lad, still remembers seeing the long line of Red River carts (a two-wheeled vehicle), pack and saddle horses, and travois wending their way toward the reservation. The arrival date is given as April 2, 1894 (Clapp, 1894, p. 222).

When they reached the reservation most of them settled near the mouth of Shell Creek, southeast of Newtown, N. Dak. One final earthlodge was built there, probably the one reported by Wilson as constructed by Hairy Coat (Wilson, 1934, p. 380). This man's name does not appear anywhere in connection with Crow-Flies-High's band, and therefore it might be assumed that he moved to Shell Creek after 1894. The exiled band had for many years retained older elements of Hidatsa culture, since they were relatively isolated and out of contact with the changes being effected by Indian Agents

on the reservation. At Fort Berthold changes began to occur at a rapid rate. Clans, for example, almost immediately began to lose their exogamous function. Clapp (1895, p. 232) noticed other changes which were to occur during the following years.

They are, however, far behind the other Indians in industry and habits of life, and it will take some years before they will take kindly to cultivating fields and intelligently caring for stock. Their children are, so far, wholly untaught, and for some years to come this fragment will continue to be a source of trouble and anxiety to the agent.

Chief Crow-Flies-High died of pneumonia in 1900 (Richards, 1900, p. 315). The episode of his exile, however, is not a closed book but still concerns Indians and Whites alike. Claims against the United States are being pressed by the descendants of these people for their loss of rations, land, cattle, and equipment.

CONCLUSIONS

Excavations at Crow-Flies-High Village gave details on the life of an exile band of Hidatsa Indians who had left Fort Berthold Reservation during the 1870's. The archeological study is strongly augmented by ethnographical information and historical accounts.

It is not known when Crow-Flies-High Village was first established. The band went farther upstream to Fort Buford when they first left the Fort Berthold Reservation. Heaviest occupation of the village, however, was during the 1880's. It was primarily an agricultural community, with the main activity here coming during the summer months. During other seasons their economy was centered on other occupations, such as hunting, chopping wood for steamboats plying the Missouri River, and similar pursuits.

So many small cultural items such as cooking and eating implements, weapons, and utensils had been acquired by the Hidatsa that the site did not seem to have been of native origin. Even their dwellings were of European derivation. Certain larger structures were retained from earlier times for ceremonial purposes. Storage pits in the ground were also maintained in connection with their cabins.

Two earthlodges were constructed first at Fort Buford, while another one was built at Crow-Flies-High Village. A final earthlodge was erected at Shell Village after the band returned to the reservation. In all these cases they were simple in type, serving usually as a dwelling, but sometimes they were converted into a ceremonial center. This tendency to erect single earthlodges for ceremonial centers, while simple structures were substituted for dwellings in newly established communities, was adumbrated about two centuries earlier at the Hagen site, on the Yellowstone River. Here, after an earlier split among the Hidatsa, a group of dissidents had left their kinsmen on the Missouri River and had built a village on the Yellowstone River,

near Glendive, Mont. (Mulloy, 1941). Later they became the Crow Indians. At the Hagen site, as at Crow-Flies-High Village, the exiles had built a single earthlodge of a simplified type as a ceremonial center and had erected smaller structures as dwellings.

There is reason to believe that the formation of Crow-Flies-High's band was no fortuitous circumstance in which conservatives from all segments of the Hidatsa tribe joined in protest to an acute political situation at Fort Berthold. It is more probable that it was made up primarily of Hidatsa who had always represented an advance element in the movement up the Missouri River over the centuries. Crow-Flies-High's band may have always been a separate unit within the Hidatsa structure. The Crow Indians may have had a similar association with the Hidatsa in centuries earlier, when they made their break as an independent tribe.

Crow-Flies-High's band, according to Alfred Bowers (personal communication), had worked its way up the Missouri River from South Dakota, preceding other Hidatsa bands who were more sedentary. This advance group had always done more hunting, made pottery less often, and in several other ways differed from the others. Life at Fort Berthold must have been a greater strain on these people than on the other Hidatsa.

The study of Crow-Flies-High Village and its occupants gives us a better understanding of human characteristics and social processes which have determined the affairs of the sedentary tribes of the Missouri River during the past 200 years. It links archeological fact and ethnological reality.

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