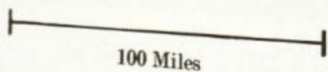
THE CROW NATION BEFORE 1855.

by C. Adrian Heidenreich. Ph.D. and Michael D. Bugenstein, B.A, B.Sci.



[map index on pages 112-115]

CROW COUNTRY

Captain William Clark's group definitely was in the country of the Crow (Apsáalooke) Indians, the "children of the large-beaked bird." Crow country was an environmentally rich and diverse area. John Upton Terrell writes rather poetically that:

> "Moving the eyes in an arc, south to east to north, from the Laramie and the Platte one would never fail to see red peoples – the Arapahoe, Cheyenne, Pawnee, Crow, Sioux – always moving like kings and queens and knaves and pawns and knights across the gigantic chessboard that was their realm on earth." (Terrell 1968: 216)

Washington Irving wrote that the Crow chief Arapooash (Eelapu'ash) (Sore Belly) told Captain Benjamin Bonneville in the 1830s:

> "The Crow country is a good country. The Great Spirit has put it exactly in the right place; when you are in it you fare well; whenever you go out of it, whichever way you travel, you fare worse...
>
> If you go to the south, you have to wander over great barren plains; the water is warm and bad... To the north it is cold; the winters are long and bitter, with no grass; you cannot keep horses there, but must travel with dogs. What is a country without horses? On the Columbia they are poor... To the east, they dwell in villages; they live well, but they drink the muddy water of the Missouri -- that is bad... About the forks of the Missouri is a fine country; good water; good grass; plenty of buffalo. In summer, it is almost as good as the Crow country; but in winter it is cold; the grass is gone; and there is no salt weed for horses.
>
> The Crow country is exactly in the right place. It has snowy mountains and sunny plains; all kinds of climates and good things for every season. When the summer heats scorch the prairies, you can draw up under the mountains, where the air is sweet and cool, the grass fresh, and the bright streams come tumbling out of the snow-banks. There you can hunt the elk, the deer, and the antelope, when their skins are fit for dressing; there you will find plenty of white bears and mountain sheep.
>
> In the autumn, when your horses are fat and strong from the mountain pastures, you can go down into the plains and hunt the buffalo, or trap beaver on the streams. And when winter comes on, you can take shelter in the woody bottoms along the rivers; there you will find buffalo meat for yourselves, and cotton-wood bark for your horses: or you may winter in the Wind River valley, where there is salt weed in abundance.
>
> The Crow country is exactly in the right place. Everything good is to be found there. There is no country like the Crow country." (Irving 1961: 164-165)

Joe Meek, one of the trappers led by Jim Bridger who wintered in the Powder River plains during 1830-31 and 1837-38, referred to the area as a "hunter's paradise" and as a "land of Canaan." (Victor 1983: 83, 96). According to trapper Zenas Leonard, the Wind River Valley was "one of the most beautiful formations of nature" and a common wintering ground "on account of the abundance of buffalo and other game." (Leonard 1959: 156). Likewise, the Crow woman Pretty Shield stated about the 1860s and 1870s, when she was young, that: "The happiest days of my life were spent following the buffalo herds over our beautiful country....There were always so many, many buffalo, plenty of good fat meat for everybody." (Linderman 1932: 248-252)

Apsáalooke country was located within the area of "four teepee poles" described by chief Sits in the Middle of the Land (*Awekúalawaachish)* (known to non-Indians as Black Foot or Black Foot Woman) and re-emphasized in a recent statement by the Crow Tribe Cultural Committee (2003):

- One pole at the confluence of the Yellowstone (Elk) and Missouri (Big) Rivers;
- Second pole located at the Black Hills (called the Pass or Saddle at Mountain in South Dakota);
- Third pole at the summit of the Wind Mountains (Middle Fork of Popoagie-Popochaashe River or South Pass in Wyoming);
- Fourth pole at Three Forks (beginning of the Missouri) down the river to the point of beginning.

Edwin J. Stanley reports the description of Crow country by Sits in the Middle of the Land after a treaty council in 1873:

> "We have a large country. We set up our lodge-poles; one reaches to the Yellowstone, the other is on White River, another one goes to the Wind River, and the others are on Bridger Mountains. This is our land." (Stanley 1878: 30)

That general area was confirmed by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 (see Kappler 1904, Vol. 2: 594-596; Bauerle 2001: xxvi; Heidenreich and Bugenstein 2005).

Crow Encampment
by Alfred Jacob Miller
(The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

Captain William Clark's Exploration of the River Rochejhone in the Summer of 1806
by Charles Fritz

CLARK IN THE COUNTRY OF THE CROW

The capture of the first group of horses occurred only a few miles from where Clark had seen smoke signals and where Crow and other Indian tribal activities often occurred. In the same week he saw the smoke, he noted war lodges nearly every day immediately preceding capture of the horses. Clark wrote on 17 July 1806:

> "I saw…an Indian fort…built of logs and bark. The logs was put up very Closely [ends supporting each other] capping on each other about 5 feet [high] and Closely chinked. around which bark was Set up on end so as to Cover the Logs…this work is about 50 feet Diameter & nearly round. the Squaw [Sacagawea] informs me that when war parties find themselves pursued they made those forts to defend themselves in from the pursuers." (Moulton 1993, Vol 8:195)

The archaeological classification of such a lodge would be a cribbed-log structure, and that would have been one of the largest lodges reported. Archaeologist William Mulloy described a "village" of such lodges about 30 miles north of present Billings (Mulloy 1965).

On 21 July Clark noted that George Shannon had seen the remains of a different kind of structure, "a remarkably large lodge about 12 miles below, covered with bushes, and the top decorated with skins, &c., and had the appearance of having been built about 2 years." (Moulton 1993, Vol. 8: 209) A few days later, on 24 July, Clark described the lodge on an island in the Yellowstone just after he passed the mouth of the Clark's Fork River, near present Laurel, Montana:

> "it is of a Conocil form 60 feet diamuter at its base built of 20 poles each pole 2-1/2 feet in Secumpheranc and 45 feet Long built in the form of a lodge & covered with bushes. in this Lodge I observed a Cedar bush Sticking up on the opposit side of the lodge fronting the dore, on one side was a Buffalow head, and on the other Several Sticks bent and Stuck in the ground. (on) the top of those poles were deckerated with feathers of the Eagle and Calumet Eagle also Several Curious pieces of wood bent in Circler form with sticks across them in the form of a large Sturrip. This Lodge was erected last Summer." (Moulton 1993, Vol. 8: 218)

That was a Sun Dance lodge. In various forms, it was a central ceremony of almost two dozen Plains tribes. The traditional Crow ceremony was called "fringed ankle dance" (Baaíichkiisapiliolissuua) and today a Shoshone-Crow form is called Big Lodge (Ashkísshe or Ashkísshilissuua). The Sun Dance is a ceremonial prayer, a ritual for welfare of the tribal community and the individual. Prayer, sacrifice, and suffering are involved through fasting, physical exertion and spiritual intention. [NOTE #11]

Francois Larocque, who was in an Apsáalooke village for five days the previous year, noted that this location was where the Crow "usually make their fall medicine." (Larocque 1910: 45 & 1985: 192) According to Nicholas Biddle's annotation, Clark said "the Indians call this [blank] or 'The Lodge where all dance.'" (Moulton 1993, Vol. 8: 221; Clark-Maximilian in Moulton 1983, Atlas maps 108, 115)

The Crow call Clark's Fork River itself *Bilíiliikasshe*, Swift Current. The Sun Dance area is between the present town of Edgar and the mouth of the river. (Medicine Horse 1987: 9, 115) Based on historical events, this area of Clark's Fork is *Ashkísshipuo*, "Where the Sun Dance Lodge Was Run Over." Joe Medicine Crow, Barney Old Coyote, and Heywood Big Day all state that it is known as the place where stampeding buffalo ran into a Sun Dance lodge, rubbed against the poles, and tore it down.

Randolph Graczyk explains the translation from *Ashkíssh(i)* 'sun dance' + *ípuo* 'they run over, overpower'. That event, perhaps related to spiritual disturbance, might reflect the common idea in some translations of Clark's Fork as "Rotten-sun-dance-teepee" or "Rotten Sun Dance Lodge River." According to Graczyk, it is derived from an alternative segmentation of the term, *Ashkísshi* 'sun dance' + *púa* 'rotten'. (Medicine Horse 1987: 8; Linderman 1932/1974: 224; Nabokov 1967: xxvii; Graczyk 2005)

Lt. James H. Bradley noted paintings and carvings along the rimrocks on the northeast edge of present Billings in 1876, and wrote that "the rocks are lavishly adorned with Indian Hieroglyphics, some of them graven deeply in the face of the rock at a considerable height above the ground and in places difficult of access." (Bradley 1961: 52-53) Some such pictures were ceremonial, some noted historic events, and some were biographic. Pictograph Cave, one of the most significant regional sites and now a Montana State Park, is located about six miles south. (Mulloy 1958)

Thomas Leforge, who lived with the Crow during the late nineteenth century, described some of the pictures in the area Bradley noted as "depicting the main incidents of a smallpox

epidemic that had visited the Crows during a previous generation." (Marquis 1974: 220) To the east of this area is a place known to the Crow as Sacrifice Cliff, where grieving survivors rode their horses off of the rimrocks. The Crow also know this as *Aashúuchoosalaho*, "Where There are Many (Human) Skulls." It is known that major smallpox epidemics occurred in the Upper Missouri/Yellowstone region about 1780, 1802, 1837, and the 1860s, with periodic local outbreaks at other times.
[NOTE #9 & #12]

Along with hand-to-hand combat and shield-bearing warriors, hoofprints and horses are the motifs most common in pictographs/ petroglyphs and hide paintings on the Northwestern Plains. The Four Dances petroglyph shows a warrior who wears a long war bonnet headdress and a cape or robe and holds a small shield and a tomahawk or coup stick with a handle wrapped with ermine pelts. He is chasing driven or escaping animals, which might be five horses or two horses, two dogs, and a bear. There are two arrows or spears; one appears to go toward the animals and the other toward the warrior. (Keyser and Klassen 2001: 232; Conner and Conner 1971: 22 and figure 16)

The petroglyph is known as *Annisshíshoopash Alaxapé*, "Where Dances in Four Places Laid Down." It is located on the east edge of current Billings, near where Larocque camped with the Crow in 1805 and between the locations where the two groups of Clark's horses were captured in 1806. Such images are not contemporaneous with Larocque and Clark, but do illustrate events related to capturing horses in the area.

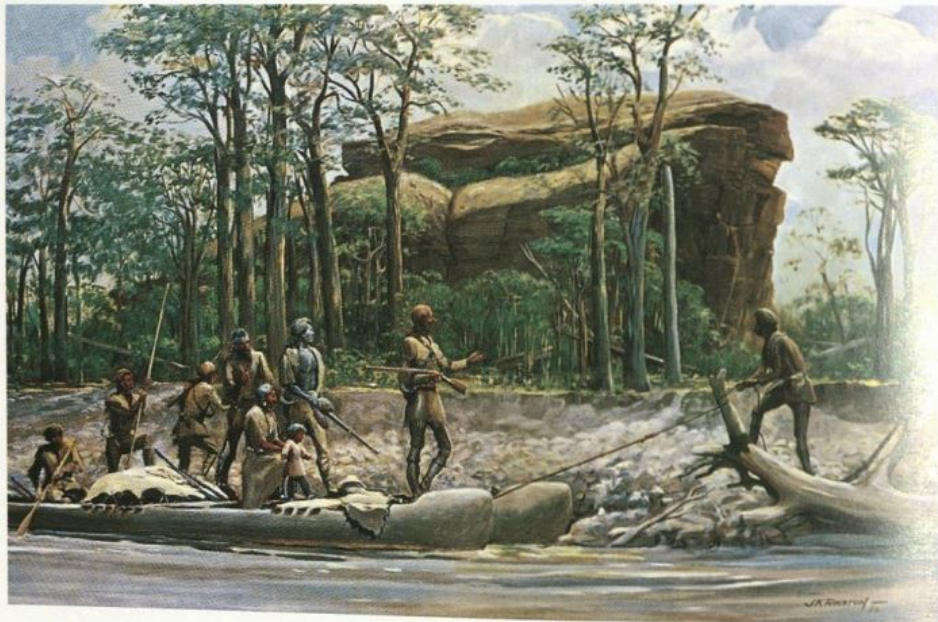
William Clark's trip down the Yellowstone, or perhaps another early fur trade event, is recorded at a petroglyph panel near 30 Mile Mesa north of present Billings, Montana. That petroglyph shows two men, one possibly with a hat, holding oars in a boat similar to a dugout canoe or fur trade pirogue, a flintlock gun above them, and apparently another smaller man or animal such as a beaver in the boat. There is another man outside the boat who is holding a flintlock gun and with a possible coon skin cap above him. And five horses are portrayed. (Mulloy 1965: figure 6)

Some tree ring dates from cribbed log lodges at the site indicate about 1801-1817. Archaeologists James Keyser and Michael Klassen, following long-held regional opinion, write that "The boat scene, called Explorer's Petroglyph, may document a horse raid on the Lewis and Clark Expedition." (Keyser and Klassen 2001: 234; Conner and Conner 1971: 23 and figure 21; Mulloy 1965: 6, 7, 10, 18, and figure 6)

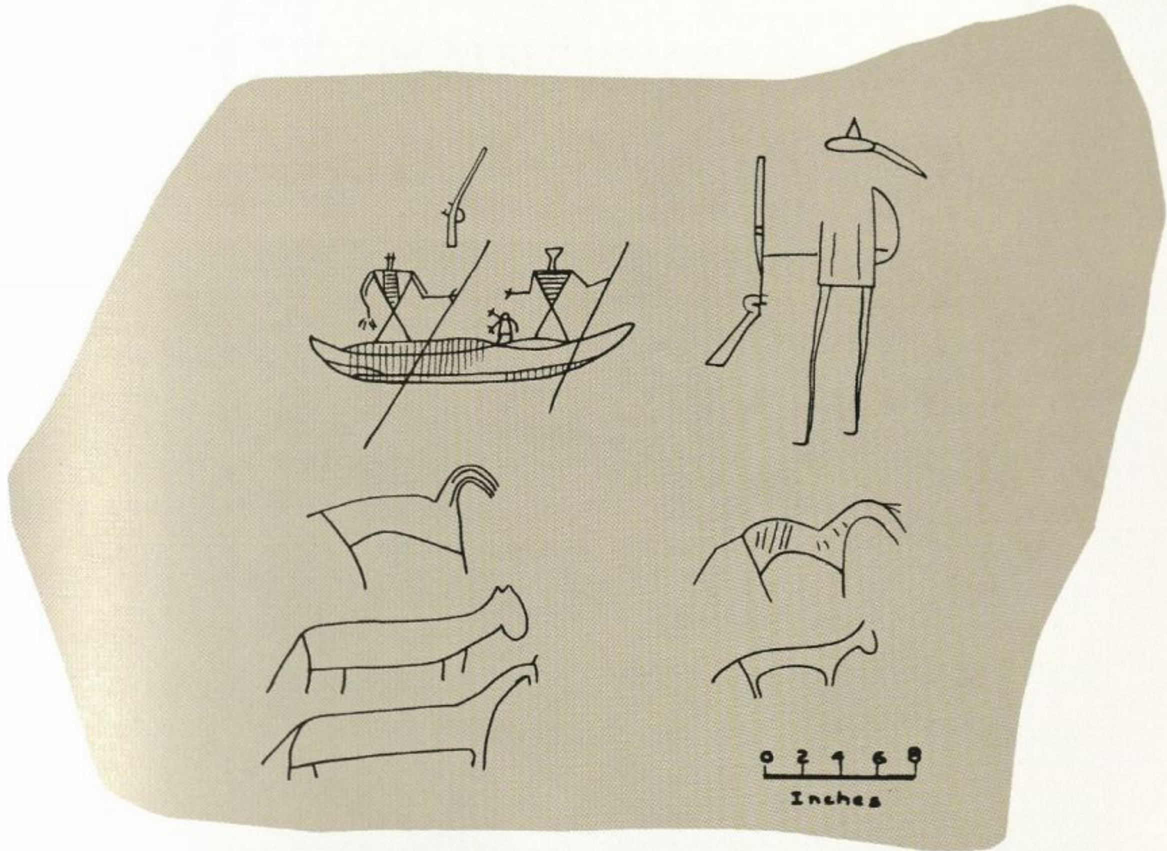
Pompey's Pillar is about 30 miles farther east. Larocque may have referred to it when he reported in 1805 that this "is a Whitish perpendicular Rock on which is painted with Red earth a battle between three persons on horseback and 3 on foot." (Larocque 1910: 47 &1985: 193-194) Clark noted on 25 July:

> "this rock I ascended and from it's top had a most extensive view in every direction. This rock which I shall Call Pompy's Tower is 200 feet high and 400 paces in secumphrance [circumference] ... The Indians have made 2 piles of Stone on the top of this Tower. The nativs have ingraved on the face of this rock the figures of animals, &c. near which I marked my name and the day of the month & year." (Moulton 1993, Vol. 8: 225)

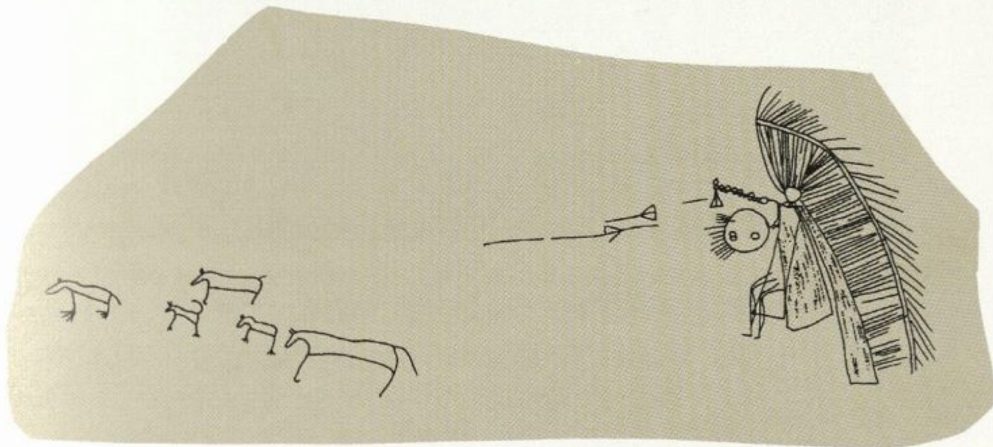
The Apsáalooke know the sandstone formation as Mountain Lion's Lodge (Where the Mountain Lion Sits, Lays Down, and Sleeps or Dies), *iish-biia ah-naac'he'* or *lishbíialawaache*. The name is variously associated with the shape of the formation, presence of the animal itself, or a Crow leader by that name. (Pretty On Top 2005; Graczyk 2006; Heywood Big Day) The second group of horses was captured from Sergeant Pryor's group a few miles south.



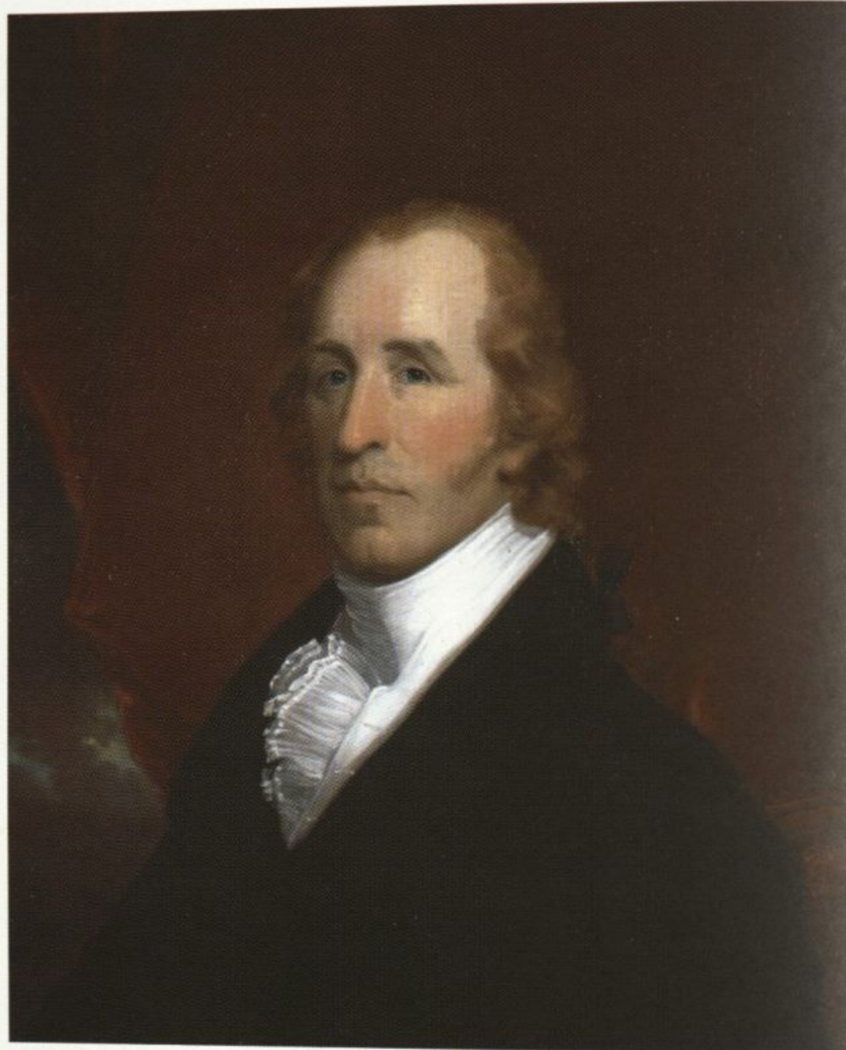
Captain Clark at Pompey's Pillar
by J. K. Ralston
(courtesy of Mrs. Don C. Foote and U.S. Bureau of Land Management)



Explorer's Petroglyph at Thirty Mile Mesa, Montana



Four Dances Petroglyph near Billings, Montana



William Clark, c. 1810,
attributed to John Wesley Jarvis
(Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis)

CLARK AS RED-HEADED CHIEF

More than one hundred years ago, just before the Lewis and Clark Centennial, well-known fur trade historian Hiram Chittenden wrote of the Crow that "There is no other tribe whose history is so full of romantic adventure, and the country of no other so abounded in the wildness and weirdness as well as the beauty of nature." (Chittenden 1954, Vol. 2: 856). Clark had been anxious to meet with the Crow to convey greetings from President Jefferson and begin dialogue with them about diplomacy and trade with the United States. Only distant smoke signals, the sighting of a lone Indian, and the evidence of Clark's signature left in Crow country show how close he came, but he would never meet the Apsáalooke directly.

The story of Clark, the Yellowstone, and the Crow still does not end here. By proxy, as a United States government officer, Clark continued his attempts to contact the Crow, and the efforts were successful. Clark had not been able to read his speech to them, which offered to build a fur trade post in their country. But he and Lewis recommended several locations both within and adjacent to Crow country for fur trade posts.

On their outbound journey in April 1805, they recommended the mouth of the Yellowstone at its junction with the Missouri as a good position for a post for trade and governing the Indians. Clark wrote on 26 April 1805 that "this low plain is not Subject to over flow, appear to be a few inches above high water mark and affords a butifull commanding Situation for a fort near the commencement of the Prarie..." (Moulton 1987, Vol. 4: 74) Lewis wrote on 27 April 1805 that in this vicinity "I think would be the most eligible for an establishment." (Moulton 1987, Vol. 4: 77)

Traveling down the Yellowstone fifteen months later, Clark passed present Livingston three days before he reported the smoke signals. In a later report to Congress he recommended a post near there. During the trip, on 24 July he passed the mouth of the Clark Fork River near present Laurel a week after he saw the smoke signals. At that point Clark wrote "I thought it probable that this might be the big horn river," but he later realized that he was not there yet. In his editing, Nicholas Biddle annotated: "We thought it the B. H. [Big Horn] but aftds when we found the B.H. we called it Clark's fork... here (Inds) the beaver country begins – best between this & Rochejhaune." (Moulton 1983, Vol. 1: map 107 & 1993, Vol. 8: 217)

Clark wrote on 27 July, after he passed the mouth of the Big Horn River on the Yellowstone River, "much more beaver Sign than above the bighorn. I Saw Several of those animals on the bank today." (Moulton 1993, Vol. 8: 237) He wrote on 3 August 1806:

> "to an establishment on this [Yellowstone] river at clarks Fork the Shoshones both within and West of the Rocky Mountains would willingly resort for the purposes of trade ... the Crow Indians, Paunch Indians Castahanah's and others East of the mountains and south of this place would also visit this establishment; it may therefore be looked to as one of the most important establishments of the western fur trade. at the entrance of Clark's fork there is a sufficiency of timber to support an establishment, an advantage that no position possesses from thence to the Rocky Mountains." (Moulton 1993, Vol. 8: 278)

Most historians have thought that Clark proposed a fort at the Big Horn River. Both Clark and Nicholas Biddle, who first edited the journals for publication in 1813, confused it with the Clark's Fork. Manuel Lisa did build a fur trade post there in 1807, possibly at Clark's recommendation because he also valued the Big Horn, which he explored seven miles upstream on 26 July 1806.

A few miles downstream from the junction of the Yellowstone and Missouri, now almost a month after Clark saw the smoke, he and his men met Joseph Dickson and Forrest Hancock. Clark writes on 11 August:

> "I observed a Canoe near the Shore. I derected the Canoes to land here I found two men from the illinoies Jos. Dixon, and [blank] Handcock those men are on a trapping expedition up the River Rochejhone." (Moulton 1993, Vol. 8: 288)

Little is known about how they had knowledge of and interest in the area. Sergeant John Ordway, who kept a journal during the Expedition, writes that as they traveled up the Missouri they:

> "have gathered a great deal of peltry Since they have been out about 2 years and have carshed the most of it in the ground they tells us that they are determined to Stay up this river and go to the head where the beaver is pleanty and trap and hunt until they make a fortune before they return." (Ordway 1916: 360)

Dickson and Hancock returned to the Mandan villages, where the entire Expedition was reunited on 14 August 1806. John Colter, who may have known Dickson previously, was very interested. After spending time talking with them, he requested leave.

Clark's journal entry of 15 August gives little indication of the importance of this event:

> "Colter one of our men expressed a desire to join Some trappers who offered to become Shearers [sharers] with and furnish traps &c. the offer a very advantagious one, to him, his Services Could be dispenced with from this down ... we agreed to allow him the prvilage ... we gave Jo Colter Some Small articles which we did not want and Some powder & lead. the party also gave him Several articles which will be usefull to him on his expedition." (Moulton 1993, Vol. 8: 302)

John Ordway's entry of 17 August 1806 indicates longer-term significance: "...permission was granted him So our officers Settled with him and fitted him out with Powder lead and a great number of articles which compleated him for a trapping voiage of two years..." (Ordway in Moulton 1995, Vol. 9: 351) With the perspective of history, John Upton Terrell writes of this encounter that "The door to the first delineative period of the early history of the American West had been pushed ajar. It would never again be closed." (Terrell 1968: 14)

In effect, Clark sent Colter back into Crow country, to make contact with the tribe he had missed. Colter spent the winter of 1806-07 in the Crow and Shoshone territories. It is not known how long or how far up the Yellowstone the three men trapped together, or exactly what contact they made with Indians. In 1808 Hancock would work as a fur trapper with Manual Lisa's men, including Colter, George Drouillard, John Potts and Peter Weiser, all having been associated with the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Others also were on their way to the Yellowstone River region. John Ordway wrote on 21 August 1806 that the Expedition "soon met three Frenchmen one by the name of Revey [.] they have been trapping as high as the river Roshjone." Francois Revey (Rivet) had been with the Expedition during the autumn of 1804. He went to the Arikara villages in April 1805 and became a trader. ((Ordway 1916: 363; Woodger and Toropov 2004: 125) As they traveled home along the Missouri River downstream from the mouth of the Yellowstone to St. Louis Lewis and Clark would meet nearly two hundred people coming upriver to trap and trade.

Soon after their return to St. Louis, in 1807 President Jefferson appointed Clark Indian agent in charge of negotiations and provisions for Indian tribes north and west of St. Louis. He was known by Indians as Red Head or the "red-haired chief."

Lewis and Clark had encountered members of some 50 tribes during the Expedition. Clark biographer Landon Y. Jones writes that he "was deeply familiar with what he called 'the Indian character.'" Further, he says,

> "Almost unique among American officials of his generation, who saw all Indians as undifferentiated 'savages,' Clark had a sophisticated grasp of the differences among Native Americans, both individuals and the various tribes."
> (Jones 2004: 213)

Yet at the same time, as Jones notes, Clark wrote to his brother Jonathan on 2 January 1809 that he "remained 'vexed and perplexed' by the unwillingness of both Indians and enslaved blacks to conform to his way of life." (Jones 2004: 170). Jones concludes that perhaps at the core, like Thomas Jefferson,

> "Clark was at heart paternalistic: he wanted his 'red children' to submit to the will of their Great Father. If they did not, he would be as stern and punitive as his brother George Rogers had been."
> (Jones 2004: 230)

For several years Clark would juggle governing the Louisiana Territory, which was full of Indian-hating or ambivalent whites, helping and negotiating with or fighting Indians, and encouraging publication of the journals kept on the Expedition, including of course his accounts of meeting Indians.

After the death of Lewis, by suicide or murder, President James Madison appointed Clark governor of the Missouri Territory in the spring of 1813. He was in charge of all territorial administration and also brigadier-general of the militia. Indian affairs was consolidated with the office of governor, and he was also the agent for the federal Office of Indian Trade.

As described by Landon Jones, Clark was in charge of supervising "an enormous area, extending from New Madrid and the Arkansas River in the south, to Illinois and the Great Lakes in the north, to the entire Missouri River watershed in the west." (Jones 2004: 156) Tribes under Clark's jurisdiction included some 73,750 Indians (Jones 2004: 242). In 1819, the Upper Missouri Indian agency was established by Congress. Clark appointed Benjamin O'Fallon, his nephew, as the first agent.

When the first territorial election occurred in 1820, Clark was not chosen as governor. The reasons include his willingness to negotiate with Indians, emphasis on trade over settlement, and advocacy of the factory system of government monopoly and control of the fur trade. And some people criticized his dual role as government agent and private trader and his appointment of relatives to jobs in the Indian country. In 1821 President James Monroe appointed Clark Superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis. Congress recognized his continuing importance when in 1822 it made the post permanent. Clark would serve in that position until his death in September 1838. (Jones 2004: 172; Steffen 1977: 103)

For three decades, William Clark was instrumental in development of American Indian policy, supported fur traders, and worried about the influence of the British on Indians. He led or sent troops and treaty expeditions to many tribes, including the Atkinson-O'Fallon treaty Expedition which extended to the edge of Crow country in 1825. He encouraged creation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, increasingly emphasized the Jeffersonian ideal of assimilation balanced with the Monroe doctrine of Indian land ownership west of the Mississippi River, and coordinated the management of tribes from the east following President Andrew Jackson's encouragement of the Indian Removal Act passed by Congress in 1830. In fact, a major part of "Clark's job was to acquire land from the Western tribes that could be provided to the dislocated tribes from the East." (Jones 2004: 243)

Crow Tipi
by George Catlin

Fort Clark on the Missouri
by Karl Bodmer

CLARK'S ROLE IN THE CROW FUR TRADE

William Clark helped sponsor St. Louis fur trappers who were interested in the upper Missouri and Yellowstone region. He had personal economic interests as well as national interests in the fur trade. In a letter dated 20 August 1806 to Charbonneau, while still on his return trip, he wrote:

> "..if you wish to return to trade with the Indians and will leave your little Son Pomp with me, I will assist you with merchandize for that purpose from time [to time] and become my self conserned with you in trade on a Small scale that is to say not exceeding a perogue load at one time." (Clark in Jackson 1962: 315)

That was just three days after Lewis and Clark had given permission for Colter to travel back into Crow country.

The first major penetration of American fur traders into Crow country began a year later when Manuel Lisa started up the Missouri with between 42 and 60 men in spring 1807. Lisa had helped Lewis and Clark in the vicinity of St. Louis and Camp Wood during preparations for the Expedition three years earlier, and he was at least partially fluent in several Indian languages. [NOTE #13]

With Lisa were George Drouillard, John Potts, and Peter Weiser, all former members of the Corps of Discovery. The party met John Colter at the mouth of the Platte near present Omaha, headed for St. Louis. He was persuaded to join them and return to the Yellowstone.

The trappers built a fur trade post, called Fort Manuel Lisa (also called Fort Lisa, Manuel, Ramon or Raymond) at the mouth of the Big Horn River. Historians have called Fort Lisa the first permanent structure in Montana, although it lasted only a few years after construction. In fact, Indian forts, including cribbed log structures and conical timber lodges, lasted for many decades before and after Fort Lisa was constructed.

Lisa sent trappers south into the territory of the Crow and Shoshone and their villages in the Bighorn, Powder, Tongue, Stinkingwater (Shoshone), and Wind River drainages. He also sent men up the Yellowstone River and across present Bozeman Pass to the Missouri River headwaters at Three Forks to trap and also contact other tribes. The contacts of the trappers with the Crow and Salish/Flathead would soon reduce possibility of trade with their enemies, especially the Blackfeet. (Ewers 1958: 49-56) The Apsáalooke would come to trade at Fort Lisa, in the region where Clark had hoped to give his July 1806 speech to them.

During the 1809-1812 expeditions into the region, Manuel Lisa brought some 150-160 men with him. One of the men with Lisa in 1809-1810 was Reuben Lewis, who was a partner with his brother Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company. Reuben also would be on the Little Big Horn River in 1812-1813 and interact with a Crow village. By 1809, the year of Meriwether's death, Clark appointed Reuben as sub-agent to Indians on the Missouri River and he "became an Indian agent in the territory, dealing with the Mandan and the Cherokee Indians." (Woodger and Toropov 2004: 171; Jones 2004: 172)

Another man who later accompanied Lisa was John Luttig, Clark's bookkeeper and clerk of the Missouri Fur Company, who kept a journal of his 1812-1813 travels. It was Luttig who reported the death of Sacagawea on 20 December 1812: "this evening the Wife of Charbonneau a Snake Squaw, died of a putrid fever[.] she was a good and the best Women in the fort, aged abt 25 years[.] she left a fine infant girl." (Luttig 1964: 106) Toussaint Charbonneau also was with Lisa in 1811-1812. (Luttig 1920/1964: 78; Jones 2004: 205)

Lisa built trading posts for all Indians of the upper Missouri, according to historian David Wishart, including "at the Council Bluffs (for the Omaha, Oto, Iowa, and Pawnee), at Cedar Island (for the Teton and Yankton Dakota), and at the Arikara and Mandan / Hidatsa villages." (Wishart 1979: 45)

Blackfeet were allied with the Hudson Bay Company and harassed Crow forts and trappers associated with them in the Three Forks area and along the Yellowstone. The conflict resulted in Manuel Lisa abandoning the posts in the area where Crow and Blackfeet occupation overlapped.

Meanwhile, when Drouillard and Colter returned to St. Louis, they provided Clark with more detail for a map of the Yellowstone drainage and its inhabitants, adding to what he had learned from the Indians and fur traders at Fort Mandan and his own observations. In 1810, he prepared a master map of the West, based on his own maps, a map drawn for him by Drouillard in 1808, and conversations with Colter in 1810. Lewis and Clark scholar James P. Ronda emphasizes the significance of Clark's map of the Western region:

> "As an act of political imagination the map advanced an American imperial agenda -- one that acknowledged an Indian presence while ignoring Spanish and British claims in the West. In the largest sense the 1814 map is Manifest Destiny visualized."
> (Ronda 2001: 55)

Western historian Robert Utley writes that a dozen years later, in the Wind River camp of the Crows during 1823-1824,

> "the Ashley men plumbed the geographical knowledge of the Crows with the same technique Lewis and Clark had found effective. 'I spread out a buffalo robe and covered it with sand,' recalled Clyman, 'and made it in heaps to represent the different mountains.' Tracing in the sand, the Crows communicated that the southeastern end of the Wind River Mountains could be rounded by way of a tributary of the Wind River they called Popo Agie." (Utley 1997: 59)

That route continued through the mountains along the upper Green River through what would become known as South Pass. That was the path the Oregon Trail would take twenty years later.

The St. Louis Missouri Fur Company had been established in March 1809. William Clark was one of the ten founding members (and the company's agent in St. Louis) among other prominent St. Louis individuals including Benjamin Wilkinson, Pierre Chouteau, Sr., Manuel Lisa, Auguste Chouteau, Jr., Reuben Lewis, Sylvestre Labbadie, Charles Gratiot, Pierre Menard, William Morrison, Andrew Henry, and perhaps Dennis Fitzhugh. (Steffen 1977: 75-79; Chittenden 1902/1954, Vol. 1: 138).

In January 1812 the original company was dissolved and the company reorganized in May 1812 as the Missouri Fur Company. It was a new partnership structured along corporate lines, run by Clark as president and a three-man board of directors, with an increased financial backing. As an officer and active partner in the Missouri Fur Company, as well as Indian agent and governor of Missouri territory, Clark biographer Jerome Steffen writes, "Clark saw no distinction between the commercial and political relationships of the Indian to the United States," and he did not distinguish between private and national public interests. (Steffen 1977: 81-83, 85, 91, 100, 101).

Thomas Jefferson and William Clark also encouraged fur trade efforts of other companies as well. One was the New York-based effort of John Jacob Astor, at that time the richest man in America. Astor owned the American Fur Company (established in 1808). In 1810 Astor formed the Pacific Fur Company and sent groups by sea and land to establish a post at Astoria, located at the mouth of the Columbia River. Astoria was near where Lewis and Clark wintered at Fort Clatsop in 1805-1806. It was Astor's trader Robert Stuart who wrote an exuberant description of the Crow capturing his horses near present Alpine, Montana in 1812.

In 1822 the Rocky Mountain Fur Company organized under the leadership of General William H. Ashley and Andrew Henry. Ashley was a friend of Clark and also lieutenant governor of Missouri (Jones 2004: 266). Clark granted Ashley license to "trade." They advertised in the *St. Louis Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser* on 13 February 1822 and in the *St. Louis Enquirer* two weeks later:

> "To enterprising young men: The subscriber wishes to engage one hundred men, to ascend the river Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two, or three years"

in the fur trapping business. (Jones 2004: 266; Terrell 1968: 167)

Among those who answered the ad or became associated with the company during the next few years were such young men as Jim Bridger, Jedediah Smith, Hugh Glass, Daniel T. Potts, David Jackson, Mike Fink, Thomas Fitzpatrick, William Sublette, Milton Sublette, Robert Campbell, Samuel Tulloch, Etienne Provost, James Beckwourth, James Clyman, Robert Meldrum, and Alexander Harvey. They would interact with and sometimes live with Crow tribal bands during the coming years. Many of these individuals also would serve later as sources of information, guides, scouts, interpreters, or agents for the U.S. government, continuing to interact with the Crow and other tribes into the 1850s and 1860s.

Indian Hospitality
by Alfred Jacob Miller
(The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

MOUNTAIN MEN, FUR TRADE CAMPS, AND CROW VILLAGES

The "mountain men" of legend trapped during the fall and spring, spending most of the winter in camps of their own or living in or near Indian villages. During the 1830s the most important areas for trapping were in the heart of the Crow and edges of the Blackfeet country. Lewis and Clark had reported that the upper Missouri "is richer in beaver and otter than any country on earth." (in Thwaites 1905, Vol 7: 335). In the years to follow, writes David Wishart, "According to trappers' lore, beaver were so plentiful in 'Absaroka' that they could be taken from the streams with clubs." Michael Immel, a trapper for the Missouri Fur Company, in 1821 said that "Crow Beaver" was considered to be superior "not only because of the high natural quality of the pelt," but also as Immell testified, "the fur much longer and thicker on the skin." Also, Crow women processed them skillfully, as he said "the Crow Beaver is scraped and rub'd with pains to make it pliable and fit for transportation." (quoted in Wishart 1979: 29-30).

Often, fur company employees and agents or other trappers lived with a Crow village. Such men sometimes constructed small log structures for living, storage, and trade centers. David Wishart writes that there were "numerous temporary trading posts each winter: 'loghouses or blockhouses', Prince Maximilian called them, 'quickly erected and as quickly abandoned'." (Wishart 1979: 54)

The tipi lodges of band chiefs also served as storage depots for trade goods. Charles Larpenteur and a group of traders led by Louis Vasquez met some of the principal Crow chiefs in August 1833. They "looked splendid, dressed in the best of Indian costumes, and mounted on fat ponies." The traders followed the chiefs to their village "containing upward of four hundred lodges." One of the chiefs directed them to put their possessions in a circle, "and on the arrival of the camp his lodge was immediately erected over it, so that all was safe." (Larpenteur 1962, Vol. 1: 44-45)

Crow country was trapped by such mountain men and by the Crow themselves throughout the period 1807 to 1840. According to James H. Bradley, some sixty or eighty trappers interacted with the Crow in their camps and supplied them with goods, and then went every summer to Fort Union to sell what they had traded and trapped and to purchase supplies. (Bradley 1900: 262)

One of the free trappers, it has been speculated, was York. Zenas Leonard describes a Black man living in a Crow village on the Shoshone River in 1832:

> "In this village we found a Negro man, who informed us that he first came to this country with Lewis and Clark – with whom he also returned to the state of Missouri, and in a few years returned again with a Mr. Mackinney, a trader on the Missouri river, and has remained here ever since – which is about ten or twelve years. He has acquired a correct knowledge of their manner of living, and speaks their language fluently. He has rose to be quite a considerable character, or chief, in their village..." (Leonard 1959: 51-52)

Mackinney may have been Kenneth McKenzie, who was in charge of Fort Union for the American Fur Company in 1831-32, or Donald McKenzie who worked for William Ashley.

It has been suggested that the Black man was Edward Rose, James Beckwourth, or York. When editing the journal of Zenas Leonard, John Ewers thought it was Edward Rose, but later discovered that he died a year or two earlier. It could also have been Cadet Chevalier, who was a free mulatto employed by Lisa in 1805 and may have been about fifty years old by 1832, although he was not a member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. (Nasatir in Luttig 1964: 101 fn 147)

Most scholars believe that York never returned to the West. In his book *In Search of York*, Robert Betts evaluates the evidence and concludes:

> "From what is known, only three things can be stated with confidence: there is no hard evidence that York was dead by 1832, Edward Rose had been killed by the time of the battle with the Blackfeet, and all previous identifications of the man as having been James Beckwourth can be strongly challenged. Beyond this, as is so often the case with York, the trail vanishes before the truth can be reached." (Betts 1985: 143)

Thomas Slaughter says it is improbable that this was York:

> "The problem is that this story gives York a happier post-expedition, post-slavery life, which may make us want it to be true so much that it throws our judgment off about whether we should believe it." (Slaughter 2003: 129)

Yet he also says "maybe it is true" and concludes that York "should have returned to the West... We do not know when York died or where. We can celebrate both York and Clark, but not in the same ways we once did." (Slaughter 2003: 129, 133)

Small fur trade camps also became focal points for beaver trapping, storytelling, and intercultural mixing. Jedediah Smith led a party of trappers on the Green River expedition of 1823-24, and they wintered near the main Crow village in the Wind River country of present west-central Wyoming. Many years later, Joe Meek remembered that winter camp, or a later one in January 1831:

> "This was the occasion when the mountain-man 'lived fat' and enjoyed life: a season of plenty, of relaxation, of amusement, of acquaintanceship with all the company, of gayety, and of, 'busy idleness.' Through the day, hunting parties were coming and going, men were cooking, drying meat, making moccasins, cleaning their arms, wrestling, playing games... Nor was there wanting, in the appearance of the camp, the variety, and that picturesque air imparted by the mingling of the native element; for what with their Indian allies, their native wives, and numerous children, the mountaineers' camp was a motley assemblage..." (Victor 1983: 83)

Osborne Russell writes of an 1836-37 winter camp at the mouth of the Clark Fork River on the Yellowstone, near where Clark saw the Sun Dance lodge in 1806. Russell describes the activities in camp:

> "We all had snug lodges made of dressed Buffaloe skins in the center of which we built a fire and generally comprised about six men to the lodge. The long winter evenings were passed away by collecting in some of the most spacious lodges and entering into debates arguments or spinning long yarns until midnight in perfect and good humour and and I for one will cheerfully confess that I have derived no little benefit from the frequent arguments and debates held in what we termed The Rocky Mountain College..." (Russell 1965: 51)

In this camp were members of the trapping party, including non-Indians and Delaware, Nez Perce, and Salish/Flathead Indians. Crow war parties often joined the camp for a few nights. Blackfeet raiding parties, on the other hand, attacked the trappers when they were away from the camp.

Trader at Pierre's Hole Rendezvous
by John F. Clymer ©
(Courtesy of Mrs. John F. Clymer and the Clymer Museum of Art)

THE RENDEZVOUS
OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR TRADE

Operating as part of the Rocky Mountain trapping system, along with the fur trade camps and smaller fur trade posts, was the rendezvous system. In the Rocky Mountains, it was based on both American business conventions and Indian trade practices and locations, particularly the Shoshone summer trade fair.

In July 1825 a great number of trappers and Indians met for the first official rendezvous of the Rocky Mountain Trapping System. The location was on Henry's Fork of the upper Green River. Like modern business conventions, the location changed from year to year. One summer 1829 rendezvous was held in Pierre's Hole in present southeast Idaho, and another one that same summer, as well as the 1830 rendezvous, was in the Crow country of the Wind River Valley on the Popo Agie River south of the junction of the Big Horn River and Wind River. Most were on the southwest edge of Crow country. The annual event would last until 1840.

The rendezvous consisted of the meeting of men from St. Louis, independent trappers, representatives of several fur trade companies, and Indians from many tribes, including Shoshone, Crow, Nez Perce, and Salish/Flathead. In the early summer, goods shipped from St. Louis reached the rendezvous site. These included guns, ammunition, cloth, tools, beads, alcohol, and many other items.

After the rendezvous, the non-Indian trappers either took furs overland on pack horses or in wagons, or floated them down the Wind, Big Horn, and Yellowstone rivers in boats (rafts, dugout canoes, and bullboats) to Fort Union at the Yellowstone-Missouri confluence. From that point, they were taken down the Missouri in wheelboats and steamboats to St. Louis.

James Beckwourth, who lived among the Crow at that time, evokes the spirit of the rendezvous:

> "It may well be supposed that the arrival of such a vast amount of luxuries from the East did not pass off without a general celebration. Mirth, song, dancing, shooting, trading, running, jumping, singing, racing, target-shooting, yarns, frolic, with all sort of extravagances that white men or Indians could invent were freely indulged in. The unpacking of the medicine water [alcohol] contributed not a little to the heightening of our festivities." (Beckwourth 1985: 107)

The trade in liquor to Indians was very profitable. Although transporting liquor into Indian country was illegal according to federal law, the government allowed liquor permits for non-Indians. Clark routinely gave such authorization along with trade permits.

Lewis and Clark had taken liquor for the men on the Expedition and also gave whiskey to the leaders of most tribes they met going up the Missouri. In later years, Clark used liquor to toast with Indian leaders during treaty negotiations with tribes. And even though Clark gave permits for alcohol use, he was concerned about abuse and frequently encouraged prohibition of "ardent spirits" in Indian country. (Chittenden 1954, Vol. 1: 25, 347; Jones 2004: 131, 274, 287-289, 298, 307, 316-317)

The Crow were just beginning to be affected by alcohol. Sometimes it was devestating, but Charles Larpenteur (1962, Vol. 1: 45), James Beckwourth (1985: 341), James Bradley (1900: 244-246; 1961: 81), and others commented that the Crow generally refrained from alcohol during this period of their history.

During the rendezvous, there was much activity, making of deals, socializing, and celebrating, a "combination of business, debauchery and frolic." (Porter and Davenport 1963: 81; Malone and Roeder 1991: 41) The event lasted for several weeks, generally a month or two.

The fur trade has been described as "a dog-eat-dog business" (Brown 1961: 73) and "a cutthroat business in which quarter was neither asked nor given" (Speck 1970: 363) during the 1830s. Gordon Speck (1970: 348) writes of rendezvous behavior that the trappers and traders "drank and gambled, raced their horses, slept little, ate much, talked long and boastfully, fought, swaggered, lied, cheated the Indians, their own people, and each other." According to Malone and Roeder, the event gave Indians contact with "the seamy side of Anglo-American civilization," with "drinking, debauchery, mayhem, and sometimes murder." (Malone and Roeder 1991: 41, 47) Hiram Chittenden writes that

> "The ruthless code of competition which finds expression in the correspondence of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., in such instructions as *coute que coute* and *ecrasez toute opposition*, is the world wide rule of business affairs." (Chittenden 1954, Vol. 1: 344)

Whatever the cost and consequences, eliminate all competition.

As Robert Utley emphasizes, the companies therefore "inflicted costly damage on each other" (Utley 1997: 143). Members of Indian tribes were embroiled in such competition, and often were instigated to participate in robberies of rival fur trade companies.

Based on his 1832-33 visit, George Catlin (1841, Vol. 1: 46) believed Crow robbery of Whites was "a kind of retaliation or summary justice...for the unlicensed trespass committed" in their country, and lenient punishment at that. Writing in 1876, James Bradley writes of Crow robbery that:

> "These acts of unfriendliness were, however, confined in the main to the worse spirits of the tribe, the general sentiment being of friendliness, and their villages ever afforded a place of refuge to the harassed parties of white men who roamed the West." (Bradley 1961: 79)

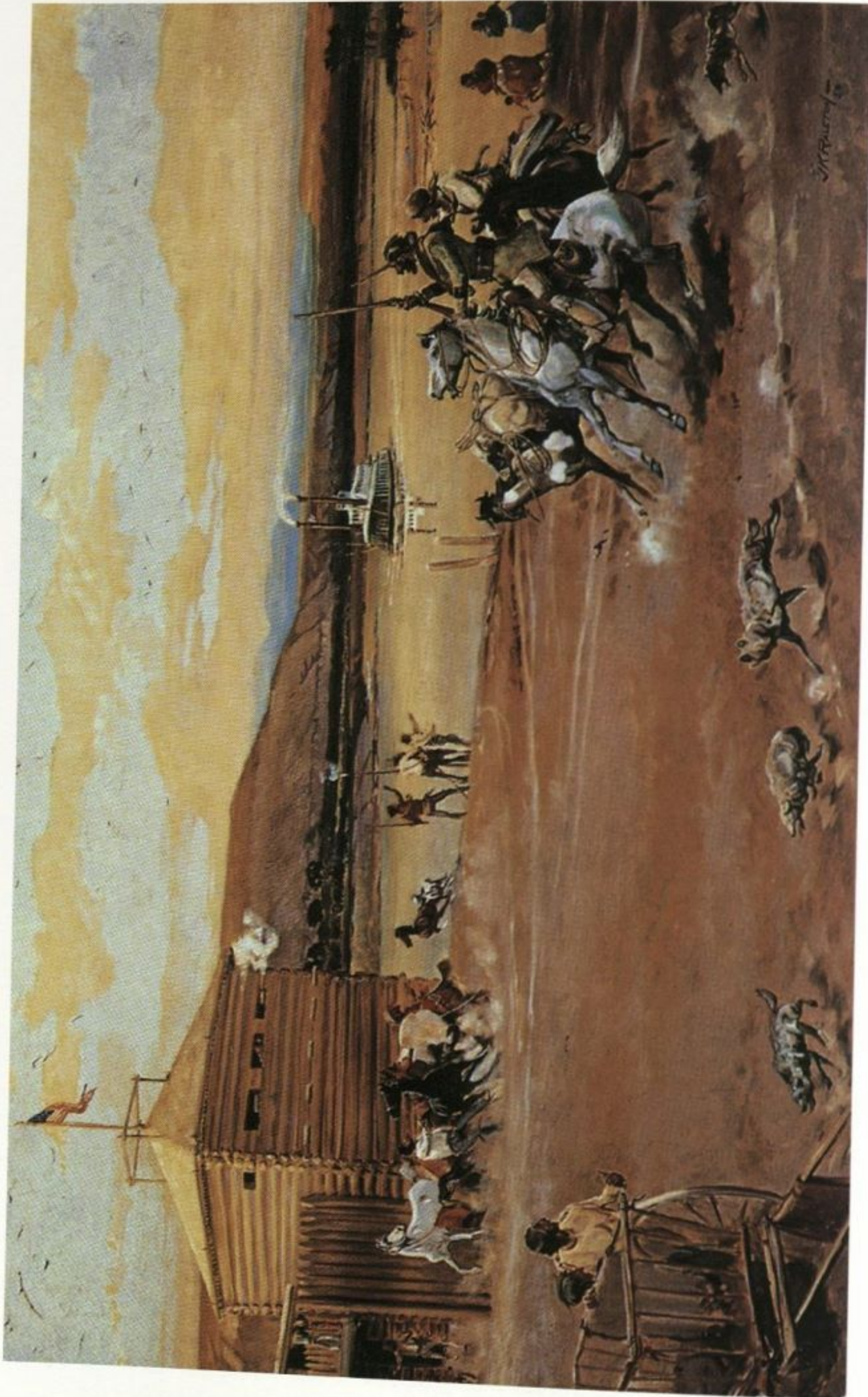
However the number and nature of the various conflicts and actions are evaluated today, it is clear that the Crow independently chose who to ally with, when and how.

Trapper Joe Meek added another perspective when he described the July 1830 rendezvous on the Popo Agie:

> "Nor were Indian women and children wanting [lacking] to give variety and an appearance of domesticity to the scene.... gay laughter, and the murmur of soft Indian voices, all made up a most spirited and enchanting picture, in which the eye of an artist could not fail to delight." (Victor 1983: 48-49)

As many as 2000 to 3000 Indians might gather at a rendezvous. The many details of the places, participants, and events of the rendezvous notwithstanding, it combined, as David Wishart describes it, "the pragmatism of a mart with the celebration of a social occasion." (Wishart 1979: 190)

The Crow also continued to barter for various products at the Mandan and Hidatsa villages, at the larger fur trade posts such as Fort Union, Fort Clark, Fort Pierre, and Fort Laramie, at the smaller fur trade posts along the Yellowstone, and in the winter camps where trappers stayed.



River Fort
by J. K. Ralston
(courtesy of Mrs. Don C. Foote)

THE CROW AND FUR TRADE POSTS

The system of both small and large fur trade posts was important. In 1929 the American Fur Company built Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone River. That location was based on the recommendation by Lewis and Clark almost a quarter century earlier and on the more recent request by the chief of the Rock Band of Assiniboines, according to Charles Larpenteur (1962, Vol. 1: 108-109). [NOTE #14]

James H. Bradley wrote that the summer reunion of mountain trappers who had been in Crow country winter camps

> "was the signal for a grand carousal at Fort Union and many are the scenes of boisterous gaiety – the narration of the season's adventures, the boasting and brawling and free fighting – which its walls have witnessed." (Bradley 1900: 262)

Such celebrations at the forts were similar to those at the rendezvous, although with fewer participants. Edwin Denig wrote of Fort Union that it was the "principal and handsomest trading post on the Missouri River" and it would be the dominant fur trade post and trading center until it gradually closed between 1865 and 1867. (Denig 1961: xvi)

During the 1830s and 1840s. several smaller fur trade posts were built periodically along the Yellowstone River by the American Fur Company for trade with the Crow. These included Fort Cass (Tullock's Fort)(1832 to 1835), Fort Van Buren (1835 to 1842), Fort Alexander (1839 or 1842 to 1850), the first Fort Sarpy (1850 to 1855) (Meldrum's Post), and Fort Sarpy II (1857 to 1859). Fort Alexander was the post Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet called "the Fort of the Crows." The Sarpy forts were the last posts used specifically for the Crow trade.

Establishments by other companies included Brasseau's Houses, a post built by Fox, Livingston and Company, a post built by Harvey and Primeaux in 1846 to rival Fort Alexander, and the Portuguese Houses to the south. In the region also were other fairly large posts similar to Fort Union. They were on the edges of Crow country, and the Crow sometimes visited them.

Fort Clark (established in 1830) was an American Fur Company post on the Missouri River near a Mandan village about 55 miles north of present Bismarck, North Dakota. Named for William Clark, the fort was "ranked as one of the most important posts on the river" according to Hiram Chittenden (1954, Vol. 2: 957).

Fort Pierre was established east of the Black Hills south of present Pierre, South Dakota in 1832. It replaced a succession of posts in the same area (Fort LaFramboise in 1817, Fort Recovery in 1820, and Fort Tecumseh in 1822).

Several posts in Blackfeet country, north of the Crow, were built by the American Fur Company on the Missouri in the vicinity of the mouth of the Marias and became centers for activities on the upper Missouri. Fort Piegan was established in 1831, then replaced by Fort McKenzie until 1843 or 1844. Fort Chardon (1840-45) was built at the mouth of the Judith River. A new post called Fort Lewis (Fort Cotton) was built downriver in 1845. The name was soon changed to Fort Benton; it is known as the birthplace of Montana.

Fort Laramie (originally called Fort William) was established by William Sublette's fur company in 1834. John Upton Terrell states that the location was at "the most strategic place for a fort between the Arkansas and the Yellowstone, the junction of the Laramie and North Platte Rivers, where all the trails of the high plains crossed." (Terrell 1968: 239)

The Crow were involved with every type of trade activity, to their economic and social benefit, and sometimes misfortune. Fur trade posts were a reciprocal arrangement, as was trapping in the territory of a particular tribe. The Crow and other tribes viewed the posts in their territory as their own, and the fur trade activity surrounding them could not exist without their acceptance. Traders, on the other hand, considered the posts "company property." Overall, the U.S. Government controlled trade licenses to operate them. Until 1838, all of this activity and licenses were under Clark's supervision as superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Missouri River drainage. (Heidenreich 1985: 10)

As a regional enterprise, the Rocky Mountain trapping system, the rendezvous and small fur trade posts, and the upper Missouri trading system of large fur trade posts all interfaced with each other. Eventually, economics of the fur trade reached to and from St. Louis, New Orleans, New York, and Boston in the United States, Montreal in Canada, London and Liverpool in England, Leipzig and Cologne in Germany, Moscow and St. Petersburg in Russia, Canton in China, and other countries including Belgium, Italy, and France. (Terrell 1968: 67-68; Wishart 1979: 107, 108, 109, 167; Kurz 1937: 234)

Fort Laramie
by Alfred Jacob Miller
(The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

He Who Jumps Over Everyone
(Ba da ah chon du)
by George Catlin

THE 1825 FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH THE CROW

Many people, including William Clark, were interested in further exploration in the upper Missouri and Yellowstone area and establishment of a military post in the region, as Lewis and Clark had recommended in 1805-1806. To achieve such ends, an important exploration was planned to build a military post at the mouth of the Yellowstone River for security of the Western country. [NOTE #15]

Called the Yellowstone Expedition, it was under the command of Major Stephen H. Long in 1819-1820. Like the Lewis and Clark Expedition, it was to be both military and scientific. The purposes also were to open travel and communication between the Mississippi River and Pacific Ocean, encourage and protect the fur trade, emigration, and frontier settlements, and keep the Indians in check.

Unfortunately, the Expedition only went up the Missouri as far as the Platte River, partly because, as Edwin James wrote in the preface to the official report of the Expedition, the "state of the national finances during the year 1820 having called for retrenchments in all expenditures of a public nature." (quoted in Chittenden 1954, Vol. 2: 574) The Expedition did have an impact, however, and was a precursor to treaties with the Apsáalooke and other tribes.

In his continuing efforts to influence politics and trade on the frontier as Indian Superintendent, William Clark had been encouraging formation of a Bureau of Indian Affairs. While that legislation was yet to be approved, in September 1823 he urged Secretary of War John Calhoun to dispatch another military force up the Missouri River the following spring.

In large part, that was a response to several events in 1823, including the Arikara attack on William Ashley's keelboats and trappers near present Pierre, South Dakota, the deaths of trappers Robert Jones and Michael Immell at the hands of Blackfeet in the area between present Big Timber and Billings, and theft of Andrew Henry's horses by Blackfeet and Assiniboine near the mouth of the Yellowstone. During the years after the War of 1812, Clark also still was concerned about what he thought was the British threat. A number of other people believed that it was the American trappers who should be controlled.

Clark and Senator Thomas Hart Benton (Missouri) pressed for a military expedition up the Missouri. Finally, a compromise was enacted. On 25 May 1824, President Monroe signed a bill that created a Bureau of Indian Affairs as part of the War Department and appropriated $10,000 for an Indian peace commission to the Upper Missouri. Commissioners would ascend the Missouri to make treaties of peace and loyalty with all the tribes along the River. The treaties would become known as "handshake" agreements to the tribes.

The treaty Expedition would be backed by a military escort. The joint commissioners would be General Henry Atkinson and special Indian agent Benjamin O'Fallon. Atkinson was a friend of Clark and O'Fallon was Clark's nephew and virtual adopted son. The sutler was George Hancock Kennerly, who also served as an Upper Missouri Indian agent. Kennerly had been a militia lieutenant and Clark's aide-de-camp during the War of 1812, was a first cousin of Clark's wife, Julia, and was his brother-in-law. One of the interpreters was Toussaint Charbonneau and the other was Edward Rose.

Rose was mixed Cherokee, Black, and white. He had worked for Manuel Lisa, but eventually argued with him and quit. Then he went to live with the Crow from 1811-1820 and adopted their life style. Rose was given the name *Che-ku-kaats*, "The man that killed five" or Five Scalps. He served as a guide to many groups which went through Crow country.

In 1825, with nearly five hundred troops and nine wheelboats carrying supplies, the commissioners negotiated with tribes, "impressing each with colorful military displays," as historian Robert Utley puts it, "lavishing on each an array of presents, and concluding with each a treaty of peace and friendship." (Utley 1997: 65) Landon Jones notes cogently that

> "Each treaty-signing ended with an awe-inducing military parade, the firing of cannons, and the distribution of whiskey. The ceremonies could have been scripted by Lewis and Clark, or even Anthony Wayne." (Jones 2004: 274)

Between May and October 1825 treaties were made with bands of seventeen tribes, including Ponca, Oto, Maha, Pawnee, Cheyenne, Lakota (Teton), Yankton, Yanktonais, Oglala, Saone (Siones), Hunkpapa, Arikara, Mandan, Minitaree (Hidatsa), and Crow.

The treaty with the Apsáalooke was negotiated at the Mandan-Hidatsa villages at the beginning of August 1825. The stated purpose was for

> "perpetuating the friendship which has heretofore existed, as also to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension, as it respects trade and friendship between the United States and their citizens, and the Crow tribe of Indians ..."

The provisions of several articles were especially important to advance Clark's intentions of nearly twenty years earlier and still of major interest to him and other government officials:

> Article 1. It is admitted by the Crow tribe Indians, that they reside within the territorial limits of the United States, acknowledge their supremacy, and claim their protection. The said tribe also admit the right of the United States to regulate all trade and intercourse with them.
>
> Article 2. The United States agree to ... extend to them from time to time such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient, and seem just and proper to the President of the United States.
>
> Article 4. That the Crow tribe may be accommodated with such articles of merchandise, &c., as their necessities may demand, the United States agree to admit and license traders to hold intercourse with said tribe under mild and equitable regulations...
>
> Article 6. And the Chiefs and Warriors, as aforesaid, promise and engage that their tribe will never, by sale, exchange, or as presents, supply any nation, tribe, or band of Indians, not in amity with the United States, with guns, ammunition, or other implements of war.

Following up on incidents such as the capture of horses from Captain Clark, Robert Stuart, and many others, not only by the Crow but also other tribes, another provision had become standard in the treaties:

> Article 5. ... And it is agreed, that the chiefs of said Crow tribe shall, to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to recover horses or other property, which may be stolen or taken from any citizen or citizens of the United States, by any individual or individuals of said tribe; and the property so recovered shall be forthwith delivered to the agents or other person authorized to receive it, that it may be restored to the proper owner. And the United States hereby guarranty to any Indian or Indians of said tribe, a full indemnification for any horses or other property which may be stolen from them by any of their citizens...

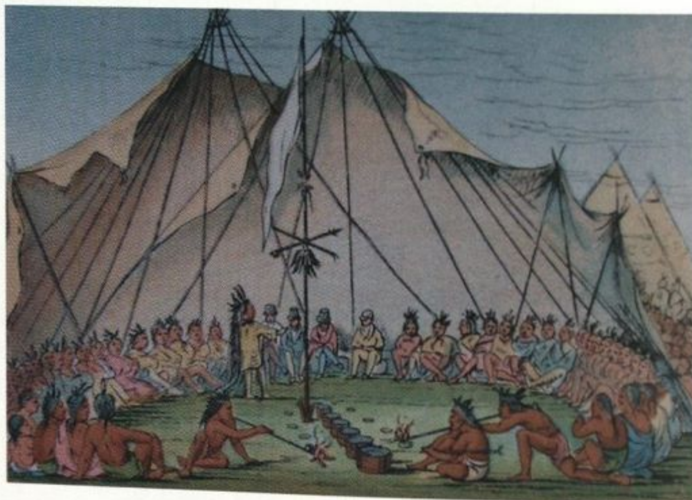
The first signer of the Treaty was Long Hair (Isshiiháchkash). He Who Jumps Over Every One (Ba-da-ah-chon-du) also signed, and was portrayed by George Catlin a few years later. Arapooash (Eelapúash) (Sore Belly) refused to be involved in the negotiations. There were some tensions on both sides, and the underlying issues involved a balance of control, sovereignty, and intercultural protocol for both the Apsáalooke and the United States.

Historian Frederick Hoxie's evaluation of the ramifications of this treaty with the Crow is that

> "while the treaty signing was a fiasco, it signaled the onset of a period of interplay between external authorities and local leaders that would produce a sharper sense of Crow identity even as it promised to reduce the group's autonomy and independence." (Hoxie 1995: 62)

He also writes that it "marked the end of a period of informal, long-distance contact between Crows and outsiders…" (Hoxie 1995: 66) Even though it would take another 25 to 50 years for the effects of that beginning to be realized, following the 1825 Friendship Treaty the Crow increasingly were influenced by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. William Clark's system of Indian agents involved current or former fur traders or army officers who lived at the agencies.

The Crow were administrated from the Mandan subagency. John F. A. Sanford was the resident administrator (1830? to 1834). William A. Fulkerson, resident administrator from 1834 to 1838, was a brother-in-law of William Clark. Supervising these men was John Dougherty, who was appointed by Clark as Upper Missouri Agent in 1830. He had been a trapper with Manual Lisa in 1810 and had a career as U.S. Indian agent from 1820 to 1837. Joshua Pilcher replaced Dougherty. Pilcher had been one of the partners with Clark in the Missouri Fur Company. He succeeded the aging William Clark as superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis in 1838.



Grand Feast Given by Sioux to the Great White Chiefs
by George Catlin

MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN CROW COUNTRY

The first Christian missionaries visited the Crow and held services. Based partly on the influence of Iroquois fur trappers who were Catholics living among them, between 1831 and 1839 the Salish/Flathead and Nez Perce sent four delegations to St. Louis. According to various traditions, they intended to visit William Clark to request missionaries, obtain knowledge of the Bible and how to pray to "the Great Spirit" according to the White man's way, and discover other information that might be useful to them.

According to William Foley, in October 1831 a group

> "arrived in St. Louis in search of the redheaded chief who had visited their eastern Idaho village twenty-five years earlier... His only reference to the Nez Perce travelers came later in response to a query from George Catlin about the journey's purpose." (Foley 2004: 253-254 & fn 61)

Foley continues with the observation that

> "Modern Nez Perce historians assert that in their conversations with Clark the visitors would not have failed to mention his Nez Perce son, Daytime Smoker, who represented a direct physical link to the admired redhead and his culture." (Foley 2004: 253-254 & fn 61)

There were three Nez Perce and one Flathead in the delegation of 1832, and Landon Jones writes that "They had been welcomed by Clark." (Jones 2004: 316) These were the first Indians from west of the Rocky Mountains Clark would have met since the Expedition. (Jones 2004: 316)

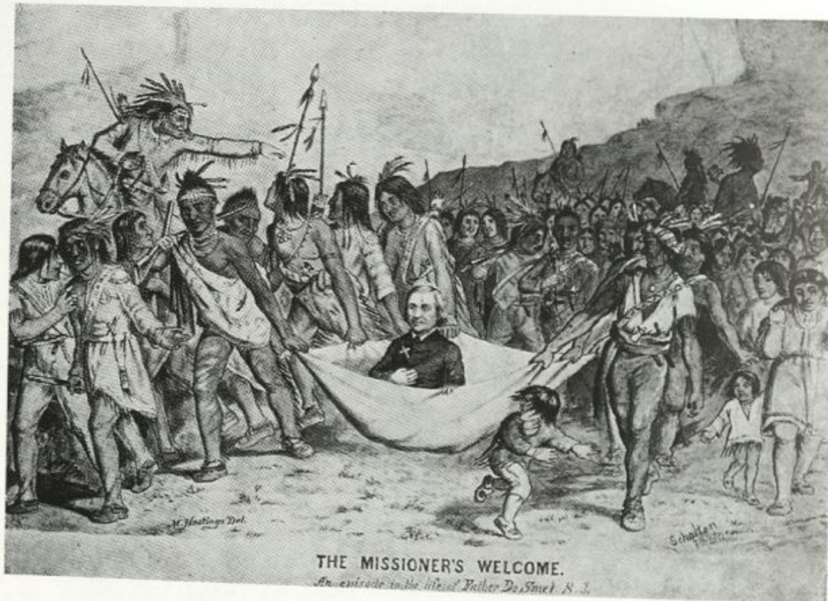
The Crow and other tribes would have at least passing acquaintance with the first Protestant and Catholic missionaries stimulated by the Salish/Flathead and Nez Perce delegations.

Jason and Daniel Lee (Methodists) traveled with trader Nathaniel Wyeth to the 1834 Rendezvous. On 1 July 1834 Jason Lee wrote of the potential in the *Christian Advocate*:

> "The Crow Indians range along the Missouri and Yellow Stone, and far up toward this country. They have 400 lodges, and about 4,000 souls – no agents; but there are traders among them. They are friendly to whites, who are in their camp; and I have no doubt that missionaries would be well received among them, if the traders did not oppose; and even if they did, I think their opposition might be overcome." (Anderson 1967: 31)

However, those missionaries would move West to the Oregon country, and sustained Protestant activity would not begin in Crow country until several decades later.

In 1840, the Catholic "Black Robe" Jesuit Father Pierre-Jean De Smet visited the Green River rendezvous. He made contact with many tribes, and in 1841 established St. Mary's Mission in the Bitterroot Valley among the Salish/Flathead. On his return to St. Louis in September 1840 De Smet led a group which traveled down the Yellowstone. They encountered a Crow camp downstream from Clark's Fork. That was near where Larocque camped with the Crow in September 1805 and Clark saw a Sun Dance lodge and put his horses across the river in 1806. De Smet wrote that "The Crow chiefs received us with cordiality and gave us a great feast." (De Smet 1905, Vol. 1: 237). However, sustained missionary activity by the Catholics would not begin until later.


THE MISSIONER'S WELCOME.

The Missioner's Welcome
an Episode in the Life of Father DeSmet, S.J.

Chah-ee-chopes
"The Four Wolves"

Oo-je-en-a-he-ah
"The Woman Who Lives
in the Bear's Den"

Pa-ris-ka-roo-pa the Younger
"Two Crows"

Duhk-pits-a-ho-shee
"The Red Bear"

Portraits of Crow Indians
by George Catlin

The Author Painting a Chief
at the Base of the Rocky Mountains
by George Catlin

SCIENTIFIC AND ARTISTIC ENTERPRISE

Besides trade and politics, William Clark also played a significant role in the scientific and artistic enterprise, missionary activity, tourism, and other intercultural exchange of the Yellowstone, Upper Missouri, and Rocky Mountain region.

Two of the very first nonfiction books which featured Upper Missouri and Northern Rocky Mountain Indians were works on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Sergeant Patrick Gass first published his journal in 1807 (Gass 1997); it did not deal with the Yellowstone trip. The summarized version of the combined journals of Lewis, Clark, and Ordway was edited and annotated by Nicholas Biddle, and was published in 1814. Biddle interviewed William Clark and George Shannon, who had been with him on the Yellowstone, for additional information. Stephanie Tubbs writes that Biddle managed "to weave an accurate and highly readable narrative" and that "Readers of the journals are indebted to Biddle for revealing details unavailable in the originals but by no means insignificant." (Tubbs 2003: 10, 66; Biddle 1962)

There are only brief comments regarding the Crow in Biddle's edition, but it was assumed that they were important to the passage of the Expedition down the Yellowstone River. There was reference to the capture of horses and future fur trade in the region. The Sun Dance lodge was noted: "From its whole appearance, it was more like a lodge for holding councils than an ordinary dwelling house." (Biddle 1962: 516). The published journals stimulated some interest in the Expedition, fur trade, and Indians.

Before leaving St. Louis to travel to the upper Missouri and Yellowstone region, as William Foley writes, "Anyone desirous of visiting Indian country had to secure the superintendent's permission...[and] Clark also lent a helping hand to artists and writers interested in the West." (Foley 2004: 232-233) Clark gave all of his visitors a tour of his museum, part of his Indian agency council room next to his house, which by then was renowned. Landon Jones writes that William Campbell Preston visited St. Louis in 1816 and provided a description of Clark's museum:

> "The Governor's large council chamber was adorned with a profuse and almost gorgeous display of ornamented and painted buffalo robes, numerous strings of wampum, every variety of work of porcupine quills, skins, horns, claws, and bird skins, numerous and large Calumets [pipes], arms of all sorts, saddles, bridles, spears, powder horns, plumes, red blankets and flags." (quoted in Jones 2004: 237, 356 fn 75)

Ethnohistorian John Ewers writes that "This room, in reality the first museum west of the Mississippi River, had become one of St. Louis' outstanding tourist attractions for both whites and Indians." (Ewers 1968: 80)

The artist George Catlin conceived an ambitious plan to document as many Indian tribes as possible. In 1830 he visited Clark, who befriended him and encouraged his project. He traveled upstream on the *Yellow Stone* with a purpose, as he wrote in his 1841 book:

> "... I started out in the year 1832... devoted to the production of a literal and graphic delineation of the living manners, customs, and character of an interesting race of people, who are rapidly passing away from the face of the earth ... thus snatching from a hasty oblivion what could be saved for the benefit of posterity, and perpetuating it, as a fair and just monument, to the memory of a truly lofty and noble race." (Catlin 1841, Vol. 1: 3)

He spent the winter of 1832-33 at Fort Union, Fort Clark, and with the Mandan.

Catlin interacted with and painted pictures of Indians of many visiting tribes, including the Apsáalooke. Brian Dippie writes that Fort Union was, for Catlin, "his own rendezvous point with a variety of tribes -- the 'splendid costume' and ornamentation of the Crows and Blackfeet particularly impressed him." (Dippie 1990: 26) Dippie also says that the portrait of "Red Bear [*Daxpitcheehísshish*], a distinguished warrior" (1832) is "a splendid portrait of a Crow, unadorned, self-assured, and monumental, [and] sums up Catlin's achievement." (Dippie 1990: 436). One of his other pictures shows Crow warriors relaxing along the Yellowstone and bathing in the river.

In 1833 the German scientist Prince Maximilian of Wied brought with him the talented Swiss painter Karl Bodmer. Maximilian wanted a pictorial record which would be as accurate in detail as his own written record. The journals of Lewis and Clark abbreviated and edited by Nicholas Biddle twenty years earlier had inspired Maximilian to study Indians in North America after he had studied Indians and natural history in Brazil. William Foley writes that "When Maximilian arrived in St. Louis in 1833, he immediately turned to Clark for guidance in organizing his western trip." (Foley 2004: 234) Clark gave Maximilian and Bodmer a tour of his museum and other places of interest.

Like Catlin the year before, they spent the winter of 1833-34 at Fort Clark and with the Mandan, and visited Fort Union and Fort McKenzie. During their sojourn they also interacted with Indians of many visiting tribes, including the Crow, and Bodmer painted many pictures. His composite picture of several Crow warriors shows several different types of clothing worn by warriors of different status. Stephanie Tubbs writes that "Bodmer's ... paintings are frequently associated with accounts of the [Lewis and Clark] expedition." (Tubbs 2003: 22)

The Scotch nobleman William Drummond Stewart brought the American artist Alfred Jacob Miller to the 1837 summer rendezvous in the Wind River Valley. Miller painted pictures of the mountain scenery, the rendezvous, fur trade activities, and portraits of traders and Indians. Among his paintings are scenes involving the Crow and a few portraits of Crow individuals. One of the most frequently reproduced pictures is the "Crow on the Lookout," which can easily recall the "lone Indian" which Charbonneau saw on the bluffs above the Yellowstone River on 19 July 1806.

Catlin, Bodmer, and Miller were more than tourists. The work they did was ethnodocumentary or artistic journalism; they were the "embedded reporters" of the media of their day. They would witness visiting Crow and be the first non-Indians to paint pictures of them. Their paintings of the Crow would hang in private collections and in museums, and their words about and pictures of the Crow would be published in many books. Those included Catlin's illustrated Letters and Notes on the Manners and Customs of the North American Indians (1841) and the words and pictures in Maximilian's Atlas (1843), with wood engravings, a map, and eighty-one elaborately colored aquatint plates.

The larger EuroAmerican world began to become more acquainted with the Crow and other tribes of the Upper Missouri and Rocky Mountain region, although at a distance. The various travelers encouraged by Clark were making collections of Apsáalooke artifacts, things the Crow used in their everyday material and spiritual lives. Those items would become the basis for museum collections in countries such as Switzerland, England, Germany, and the United States.

William Foley concludes that "The valuable services Clark rendered each of his illustrious guests earned him their gratitude and a well-deserved reputation as a patron of western exploration and art." (Foley 2004: 234)

Caravan en Route
by Alfred Jacob Miller
(The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

EARLY TOURISM IN CROW COUNTRY

Sir William Drummond Stewart, a Scottish nobleman and former army captain, made several trips into the Rocky Mountains and to rendezvous between 1833 and 1843. According to Mae Reed Porter and Odessa Davenport, they interacted with William Clark and in early spring 1837

> "Clark received them seated in a large armchair covered with a grizzly-bear robe...He was sixty-seven, but vigorous and alert in spite of the many hardships he had endured in his youth.... He showed his two guests the many trophies he had collected and placed in the museum connected with his office, related many a story of the Rocky Mountains....and expressed deep regret that he could not go with them." (Porter and Davenport 1963: 132-133)

They also obtained valuable advice and assistance from Generals Henry Atkinson and William Ashley.

Stewart's party accompanied a group led by Thomas Fitzpatrick for Pratte, Chouteau and Company, successors of the Western Department of the American Fur Company. Stewart himself had two wagons, each pulled by four mules. They were stocked with luxuries: linen sheets, varieties of fine foods such as sardines, hams, marmalades, dried fruits, brandies and fine wines, and a large Oriental rug for guests to sit on (Porter and Davenport 1963: 154).

The economic and personal relationships between trappers, tourists, and Indian tribes were framed in a context of competition. An often-cited incident in which the Crow were involved occurred after the 1833 rendezvous. Stewart accompanied Robert Campbell and Thomas Fitzpatrick to the Big Horn. While camped, according to Washington Irving, a large body of Crow "got possession of the camp, and soon made booty of everything -- carrying off all the horses" which numbered about one hundred, and beaver furs and equipment including guns, traps, and trade goods. Stewart "behaved with great spirit; but the Crows were too numerous and active." (Anderson 1967: 343) Alfred Jacob Miller later painted a dramatic picture of Stewart, depicting him and Fitzpatrick's men surrounded by threatening Crow warriors.

The Crow also encountered Fitzpatrick and robbed him personally. He complained to head chief Arapooash (Eelapu'ash) (Sore Belly), who called for the return of at least some of his horses and other goods, and many were restored by the Crow. (Brown 1961: 74, 96-97; Irving 1961: 208-209; De Voto 1947: 124-131)

In 1843, Stewart sponsored and financed his own rendezvous, a proposed "hunting frolic." He brought an entire wagon train, including luxuries such as a crimson [red] tent, a jewel-colored Persian carpet to serve as a floor, fine Irish linen sheets and towels, and a "fabulous selection of delicacies" (Brown 1961: 97; Porter and Davenport 1963: 218-221). In addition, according to Porter and Davenport, Stewart

> "applied for and got a permit to transport liquor into the Rocky Mountains. Never before had so many kinds of fine alcoholic beverages been taken into the Far West." (Porter and Davenport 1963: 220).

There were about seventy guests, and among the many participants there were:

> "Some of the armey. Some professional gentlemen. Some on a trip for pleasure. Some for health, etc., etc. So we have Doctors, Lawyers, botanists, Bugg Ketchers, Hunters and men of nearly all professions, etc., etc." (Porter and Davenport 1963: 225)

So wrote Rocky Mountain Fur Company trader William Sublette, who guided the caravan.

William Sublette hired Jean Baptiste Charbonneau to drive a cart. He had been a year and a half old when he traveled with his mother and Clark's group down the Yellowstone in 1806 and six when Clark became his guardian in St. Louis. As a young adult, he had interacted with the Crow as a fur trapper. Joe Meek refers to Jean Baptiste as Cabeneau and says that he proved "himself an efficient mountaineer at twenty years of age." (Victor 1983: 97). William Marshall Anderson recalled in 1832 that "On December 22 [Robert] Campbell learned from Kenneth Mackenzie that 'the crows who came to Tullocks fort had said Charbono had arrived at their village...' " (Anderson 1967: 285) W. M. Boggs recalled that "It was said that [J. B.] Charbenau was the best man on foot on the plains or in the Rocky Mountains." (Morgan 1967: 286). Now at 38 years old he drove one of Stewart's two-wheeled wagons toward Crow country.

Another member of the group was William Clark's son, Jefferson Kennerly Clark, who "had inherited the red hair and rounded facial contours of his father..." With him was his cousin Clark Kennerly, Clark's nephew-in-law and the son of George, Clark's aide-de-camp during the War of 1812. Both were about eighteen years of age. Matthew C. Field, a 30-year-old journalist, was another guest. (Porter and Davenport 1963: 132-133; 154; 213-225)

The Apsáalooke were exposed to such tourism and participated with it when they rendezvoused in places on the edges of their territory as well as the upper reaches of the Big Horn River and the Yellowstone Valley in the heart of their country. At the same time, they continued to make their own presence and viewpoints known.

Attack by Crow Indians
by Alfred Jacob Miller
(The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

John Colter Visits the Crows 1807
by John F. Clymer ©
(Courtesy of Mrs. John F. Clymer and the Clymer Museum of Art)

A LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVE ON CLARK AND THE CROW

Prior to 1806, the Apsáalooke knew only a few non-Indian traders. Francois Larocque's travels with them in the late summer of 1805, Clark's journey down the Yellowstone in the summer of 1806, and John Colter's venture during the winter of 1806-07 started a new period in their lives. The effects would continue beyond the 1825 Friendship Treaty and the last rendezvous in 1840. In 1838, Clark passed to what the Crow term "The Camp on the Other Side."

During those decades, the Crow came into contact with literally hundreds of independent trappers and fur company employees, artists, tourists, U.S. government representatives, and many other non-Indians. Lewis Saum perceptively epitomizes the viewpoints these people had of the Apsáalooke:

> "Commentaries on the Crows differed greatly. Traders strongly liked or disliked them, rarely hated them, and forgave their trespasses to a surprising degree. Perhaps the variation of opinion exists because the Crows had too great a flair for the dramatic -- or the sensational -- ever to be simply ignored." (Saum 1965: 59)

The pictures and written reports of ethno-documentarians such as Catlin, Maximilian, Bodmer, Miller, and Denig, the diaries and biographies of fur traders, early novels about Indians and the West, oral traditions of the Crow themselves, and the journals and letters of Lewis and Clark reflect multiple perspectives on the nature of culture and history, and of intercultural images and relations.

For the Crow, their fame as nomadic horsemen and generally friends of the Whites spread far beyond their own country. The flow of trade goods increased, leading to an economic inflationary period followed by recession. Crow women became renowned for their tanning of bleached, pliable white buffalo skins. The matrilineal kinship and clan system of the Crow would be identified as one of the major world types. [NOTE 16]

There was increased wealth and a flowering of cultural and political awareness and creativity stimulated by all the activities of the fur trade, politics, and tourism in which the Crow were involved. The Crow, as well as other tribes, would continue to capture horses from many groups for years to come.

Historian Ernest Osgood writes that in this region there would be many conflicts and battles in a long struggle before this part of the West was won, and that "Here on the Yellowstone... William Clark was a link in that chain of history which reached beyond his knowing." (Osgood 1968: 29)

During the years preceding the 2004-2006 bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, there was extensive planning for visitors. Some years ago Ernest Osgood stated that when Clark's group reached present Bozeman Pass,

> "Before them lay the valley of the Yellowstone. The tourist might well pause at this place, remembering that Clark and his party were Montana's first tourists as well as its first explorers... The reader of the journals of the expedition frequently comes across an entry that any tourist might have written." (Osgood 1968: 23, 26)

Osgood highlights Clark's impression of Pompey's Pillar as a "remarkable rock" where there was much "to see and admire" and "As did Clark, the tourist will get 'a most extensive view in every direction.' " (Osgood 1968: 26-27) Pompey's Pillar is now a National Monument, under stewardship of the U.S. Bureau of Land Management.

Part of the area south and east of the route Clark traveled down the Yellowstone River is the Crow Reservation, established by the Fort Laramie Treaties of 1851 and 1868. The city of Billings, Montana for several decades used the statement of chief Arapooash (Eelapúash) (Sore Belly) about Crow country, appropriating and paraphrasing it to say that "Billings is exactly in the right place." The recent *Billings 2004-2005 Visitors Guide* states:

> "The influence of the railroads, early homesteaders and the region's Native American tribes have shaped the area's rich heritage. The Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery journeyed through this land and you'll find many museum exhibits and artifacts that offer a glimpse into that era."

Not only museums and artifacts and landscapes, but also people. The Crow Tribe, the Apsáalooke, still exists 200 years after the Lewis and Clark Expedition. In fact, there are many more Crow tribal members today than there were when Clark passed through their country. They have had the courage and strength to persist, and their culture is vibrant.

Today, the Crow people and other Americans can recognize that understanding the story of Captain Clark on the Yellowstone consists of much more than brief sightings of smoke and a lone Indian by Clark's party, and more than the bravado of Crow raiding parties capturing horses from under the noses of slumbering men during a dark and rainy time.

Pompey's Pillar – Window Shield
by Rabbit Knows Gun

NOTES

1. The transcription of Crow words and orthography varies among linguists. I have used the modern forms reflected in the work of Medicine Horse (1987) and Lowie (1935 & 1960), along with information from Randolph Graczyk, Heywood Big Day, and Derek Big Day. Some names are from Catlin (1841).

2. Clark's speech to the Crow is given in Moulton (1993, Vol. 8: 213-215) and Mussulman (2005).

3. Lt. Bradley (1917: 220) speculated: "Does not this vague notion that the horses first came to them out of the water have some connection with the first Spanish expedition which brought horses with them in their ships?"

4. West of the mountains, the Nez Perce (Ni míi puu; Chopunnish) had a larger number of horses. Lewis wrote on 13 May 1806: "these people have immence numbers them [horses] 50, 60 or a hundred he[a]d is not unusual for an individual to possess." (Moulton 1991, Vol. 7: 252).

5. Paul Cutright (1968: 35) says "Lewis called them Minnetarees of Fort de Prairie, though they were actually Piegan Blackfeet." Some historians believe that the Indians may have been Gros Ventres (Atsina), often identified as Blackfeet by later fur trappers because of the alliance between the two tribes; see Ewers (1958: 47-49), Saindon (2002), and Jackson (2006).

6. According to Moulton (1993, Vol. 8: 203 note 2): "Clearly 'S. 20° W.' here in the first draft, but 'S.S.E. in the text of the Codex M entry and 'S. 30° W.' in the codex courses and distances."

7. Recently, archaeologists have located evidence of mercury in urinals adjacent to the probable Lewis and Clark campsite at Travelers' Rest in northwest Montana. The mercury may have come from Dr. Rush's Pills, which were used to treat the men. See Graetz (2003: 32-35)

8. This is a brief summary of the very complex Crow kinship system. The Crow do not have terms for aunt, uncle, and cousin, so these are interpretive translations used by most Crow. The "teasing cousins" are nephews according to the Crow system. See Old Coyote (1974) and Frey (1987).

9. Smallpox epidemics, including those among the Crow, are discussed in Denig (1961: 169-171), Taylor (1977), and Robertson (2001).

10. There are many sources which discuss activities of tribes during this period, including Chittenden (1954), Brown (1961), and Ewers (1961).

11. Works on the Crow Sun Dance include Lowie (1915), Voget (1984), Frey (1987), Crummett and Big Day (1992), and Heidenreich (2005).

12. Popular local history gives the location as southeast across the Yellowstone on the high cliff known as Belle Butte, above the current coal plant, but Crow tradition puts it on the north side of the river, above the current METRA and water treatment plant.

13. Overviews of fur trade history include Chittenden (1954), Brown (1961), Sunder (1965), Wishart (1979), and Utley (1997).

14. Sources on fur trade posts, including ones used by the Crow, include Chittenden (1954, Vol. 2: 947-974), Hart (1963), Miller and Cohen (1978), Burlingame (1980: 75-77), and Heidenreich and Bugenstein (2005).

15. General discussions of the 1825 Friendship treaty include Hoxie (1985: 61-67), Jensen (2001), Jones (2004: 218-219, 245-246, 258, 272-274, 280-283), and Utley (1997: 64-65). The 1825 treaty text itself can be found in Kappler (1904: 244-246) and the Little Big Horn College Library web page at http://lib.lbhc.cc.mt.us/about/government/1825.htm.

16. There are many sources on the Crow tribe, among which are Lowie (1935), Denig (1961), Frey (1987), Old Coyote and Smith (1993), Hoxie (1995), Medicine Crow (1992), and Bauerle (2003).

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