After the buffalo days: documents on the Crow Indians from the 1880s to the 1920s
by Charles Crane Bradley

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE in Education
Montana State University
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Abstract:
The period in the history of the Crow Indians of Montana between the 1880's and the 1920's for a long
time concerned historians less than the period ending with the Custer Battle. In this thesis I have
attempted to present the important events as based on documentary evidence. Most of the documents
referred to in this thesis were the letters received by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs filed in the
National Archives at Washington, D.C. Reference was also made to Congressional Hearings in the
Interior Department library and to Chief Plenty Coups Letter File and Note Book in the Plenty Coups
Memorial.

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Thus, when the political authority on the Reservation disintegrated, members of the Crow Business
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brain work from the Indian Office.

Leases, however, concerned the Crow Tribe less than the ceding of the western and northern portions
of the Reservation. The railroads cutting through the Reservation brought economic advancement to
the surrounding white people, but the Crows became dubious toward them.

The Crow Irrigation 'Survey was significant in that it was the first large scale employment of Crow
Indians. Schools on the Crow Reservation were regarded by the Indian Office as indications of material
progress and progress toward white man’s culture. World War I involved the Crow Indians in the world
situation. In short, the period from the 1880’s to the 1920’s was the period of a major transition in
Crow culture and also a forgotten portion in the life of Chief Plenty Coos.
Corrections by

Charles C. Bradley, Jr.

June 27, 1972.

David E. Horn
University Archivist
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AFTER THE BUFFALO DAYS: DOCUMENTS ON THE CROW INDIANS
FROM THE 1880'S TO THE 1920'S

by

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A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE
in
Education

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August, 1970
Many thanks are due to Dr. Elnora A. Old Coyote who for the most part made this research possible. Her concern in collecting the documentary background of the Crow Tribe allowed me to pursue my interests.

Without the guidance of Dr. Barney Old Coyote, my research would never have produced the results it has thus far. Dr. Old Coyote was largely responsible for catching my interest in the documents on the Crow Tribe. He then put me in touch with Government historians Robert M. Utley and Donald Rickey, both of whom deserve thanks. It was at the suggestion of these three men that I decided to go to the National Archives.

At the National Archives in Washington, D.C. I was sent to the Social and Economics section where Robert Kuasnika very kindly got me started. Richard Crawford, Milton Ream, John Canter, and Mrs. Anderson deserve credit for pulling all the documents for me.

I would also like to thank Eloise Pease for reading most of this thesis for me. Special recognition is hereby given to Joe Medicine Crow, Joy Taineeta, Mickey Old Coyote, and to Suzy and Allen Old Horn, all of whom have given me advice, encouragement, and pertinent information.

Finally, I thank my typist Joan O. Remple who has given this research its necessary treatment.
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ABSTRACT

The period in the history of the Crow Indians of Montana between the 1880's and the 1920's for a long time concerned historians less than the period ending with the Custer Battle. In this thesis I have attempted to present the important events as based on documentary evidence. Most of the documents referred to in this thesis were the letters received by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs filed in the National Archives at Washington, D.C. Reference was also made to Congressional Hearings in the Interior Department library and to Chief Plenty Coups Letter File and Note Book in the Plenty Coups Memorial.

After reading between 1500 and 2000 letters concerning the Crow Reservation I concluded the basic mistake the Indian Office made was training the Crows to become farmers, herders, irrigators, carpenters, and blacksmiths. The Office of Indian Affairs never foresaw the day when a few educated Crows would attempt to manage the Reservation. Thus, when the political authority on the Reservation disintegrated, members of the Crow Business Committee were ill prepared for administrative work.

The important issues concerning the Crow Reservation from the point of view of the Government included leasing Tribal lands, granting right of ways to railroads, authorizing irrigation construction, and establishing schools. Leasing Crow land to stockmen drew much excitement and considerable brain work from the Indian Office. Leases, however, concerned the Crow Tribe less than the ceding of the western and northern portions of the Reservation. The railroads cutting through the Reservation brought economic advancement to the surrounding white people, but the Crows became dubious toward them. The Crow Irrigation Survey was significant in that it was the first large scale employment of Crow Indians. Schools on the Crow Reservation were regarded by the Indian Office as indications of material progress and progress toward white man's culture. World War I involved the Crow Indians in the world situation. In short, the period from the 1880's to the 1920's was the period of a major transition in Crow culture and also a forgotten portion in the life of Chief Plenty Coos.
THE CLOSING OF THE OLDEN DAYS: AN INTRODUCTION

In 1930 Frank B. Linderman tried to collect by sign-language the biography of a famous Crow chief. Linderman used the French spelling, but by 1905 the Chief signed his name Plenty Coos. The story ended shortly after the Custer Battle of 1876.

"Those were happy days," he said softly. "Our bodies were strong and our minds healthy because there was always something for both to do. When the buffalo went away we became a changed people. . . . Idleness that was never with us in buffalo days has stolen much from both our minds and bodies. . . . The buffalo was not only our food but our clothing and shelter. . . . The buffalo was everything to us."(1)

The disappearance of the buffalo seemed to mean for Plenty Coos the disappearance of the Crow culture instead of a change in that culture.

Peter Nabokov edited the biography of Chief Two Leggins. Again the story concluded shortly after the Custer Battle. Two Leggins said:

Nothing happened after that. We just lived. There were no more war parties, no capturing of horses from the Piegons and the Sioux, no buffalo to hunt. There is nothing more to tell.(2)

But ironically after the Custer Battle the lives of both Plenty Coos and Two Leggins were not even half lived. What did happen as the century turned?

At the time I started collecting historical material on the Crow Indians, very little had been written about events after the buffalo days or after the Custer Battle. Furthermore, Linderman's book was non-historical, while Nabokov's was confusing. Robert H. Lowie's book,
The Crow Indians, was of no use in history, and Mark H. Brown's history, Plainsmen of the Yellowstone, involved the Crow Indians but did not center on them. The only written Crow interpretation was Joe Medicine Crow's thesis: "The Effects of European Culture Contacts Upon the Economic, Social, and Religious Life of the Crow Indians."

I would probably have never known where the bulk of documents concerning the Crow Indians lay if it had not been for Dr. Barney Old Coyote. One day he checked out some volumes for me. They were congressional hearings on the political problems which faced the Crows in the early part of the twentieth century. I hooked together a chronology based on these hearings plus the sources listed above. At this point, Barney Old Coyote talked to his mother, Mae Childs, and Joe Medicine Crow. All agreed that the turn of the century was the shortest part of the chronology. With helpful hints from Don Rickey and Robert Utley, both Governmental historians, Barney Old Coyote and I decided the exploration should begin in the National Archives in Washington, D.C.

At the National Archives I had a choice of about five areas of documents on the Crows. I elected to go to the Social and Economic section where the friendly personnel pulled for me nearly every letter received in the Office of Indian Affairs between the 1880's and the 1920's. The filing system changed in 1907; this was the reason for dividing this thesis into two phases. The chapters were patterned for flexible reading.

Any Crow Indian who reads this thesis should be angry. I sought
for the Indian side to the events, but the documentary evidence defended
the Government side. The only thing I uncovered was the day and some­
times the hour in which these events occurred. These dates would
become more valuable when the Crows disclosed their oral traditions.
Then we would have a truly "Crow" history.

The history of the Crow Indians up to the 1880's was essentially
linear. Few major events occurred. During the 1880's several programs
were started; thus the history fell naturally into a few topics.

The events of the nineteenth century provided the setting of
the 1880's. The first treaty between the U.S. Government and the Crow
Indians was signed in 1825. General Atkinson and Agent O'Fallon
practically forced the Crows to sign. Chief Long Hair, representing
the Mountain Crows, finally agreed to sign. The Treaty merely pro­
tected white fur trappers.

In the 1830's and 1840's the Government did not concern itself
with Indians. The Indians fled from white men. The enemy was smallpox.
The worst epidemic broke out in 1837; by 1840 the Crows saw bad years.

Following the epidemics the Tribe regained strength to resume
war path activities. On the 17th of May, 1851, a council was held at
Fort Laramie. Tom Fitzpatrick, Jim Bridger, and Robert Campbell
represented the Government. Although many tribes were invited, only
the Crow signed. Chief Big Shadow and Sits-on-Edge-of-Fortification
represented the Crows. The Crows were asked to protect white travelers;
in return the Government granted the Crows nearly 39,000,000 acres and
annuities amounting to $50,000 per year for ten years. (3) The original treaty called for annuities to be given the Crows forever, but the Senate changed the clause in 1852.

During the Civil War the Sioux raided travelers in and near Crow territory. After the Civil War the U.S. Army turned against the Indians. Generals Sherman and Sheridan held another council at Fort Laramie. On the 7th of May, 1868, eleven Crow chiefs signed a second treaty at the Fort. The Government sought to protect the Bozeman Trail which went through Indian hunting grounds and into Crow territory. Sioux and Cheyennes raided the Crows and Shoshonis for protecting white travelers, but still Crow territory remained safe grounds for white men. In the Treaty of 1868 Crow territory was reduced to a little over 8,000,000 acres, but the land was to be reserved from all disturbances. Only by a majority of the Crow males could more land be ceded. The Government promised to build an agency, to help the Crows select land allotments, to educate the Crow children. It promised to give each Crow supplies depending upon whether the Indian worked or not. The Government also promised to send a doctor and other skilled men to the Reservation. The Treaty was signed by Pretty Bull, Wolf Bow, Mountain Tail, Black Foot, White Horse, Poor Elk, Shot in the Jaw, White Forehead, Pounded Meat, Bird in the Neck, and The Swan. (4)

In that year, 1868, most of the large tribes obtained their reservations. The Sioux, Navajos, Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, and Shoshonis got theirs. The Cheyennes of the north did not get a
reservation. But in the early 1800's the Cheyennes, Sioux, and Arapahoes formed an alliance against other tribes. This alliance became a common enemy for both the Crows and Shoshonis; thus in 1869 the Crows and Shoshonis formed an alliance.

In the 1870's Congress discontinued recognizing treaties with Indian tribes. The Indians were no longer regarded as foreign nations; they were wards of the Government. President Ulysses S. Grant applied his Peace Policy to the Indian reservations in 1872. This Policy, which lasted until his death in 1885, attempted to regulate missionary activity on the reservations. During the Grant Peace Policy, however, the Indian wars came to a climax. The embittered Sioux alliance raided the Crow Reservation. Then in 1876 the River Crows were ordered to leave Indian territory north of the Missouri River. They went south to join the Mountain Crows on the Crow Reservation. They were attacked along the way, and when they arrived at the Agency near Absarokee, there were not enough rations. That year the Crows and Shoshonis sided with General George Crook and the U.S. Army in the Battle of Rosebud against Crazy Horse's Sioux and Two Moon's Cheyennes. The Cheyennes called them women, but in both the Battle of Rosebud and in Custer's Last Stand, or the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the Crows played a decisive role as scouts and as warriors. Some of the best Crow scouts assisted the Army in wrapping up the Sioux and Cheyennes after the Custer Battle.

The Cheyennes were sent to the Southern Cheyenne Reservation in Oklahoma. Sitting Bull and his Sioux went into Canada. In 1877 Chief
Plenty Coos and other Crows helped General Nelson Miles track down Chief Joseph's Nez Perces. In 1878 the Northern Cheyennes returned to Crow territory, and the U.S. Army attacked them early the next year. Gradually the Sioux gave up. In 1880 Spotted Eagle and Rain-in-the-Face surrendered to General Miles at Fort Keogh. In the following year Sitting Bull surrendered at Fort Buford. Eventually the Northern Cheyennes were given a reservation at Tongue River Agency.

The Crows signed another treaty on the 12th of June, 1880, ceding the land west of the Boulder River. It was ratified as an Act on April 11, 1882. The Government offered to pay $30,000 per year for twenty-five years for the cost of running the Crow Reservation. The Government also promised to make allotments to each Indian. The Crows permitted cattlemen to drive their herds across the Reservation. Finally, the Act of 1882 ratified the Reservation Treaty of 1868. (5)

In 1883 a selected Senate investigating committee was sent westward to "examine" Crow grievances. There were conflicting purposes for the use of the land.

The General Manager of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, H. Haupt, wrote from St. Paul, Minnesota to the Hon. H. L. Dawes, Chairman of the Senate Committee. Haupt said the Crow Indian territory along the Railroad could not be cultivated without irrigation, but he thought with irrigation the country "could be made exceedingly productive and lead to rapid settlement." (6)
It has been, I think clearly demonstrated that the Indian, in his present condition, is incapable of providing for himself the necessaries of life, and must either starve or be dependent upon the Government for supplies. The Government must necessarily support the Indian tribes until they can be taught to support themselves. (6)

The best way to teach the Indians how to farm was to hire whites to live among them.

There are many poor men in Massachusetts and other New England States who would be glad of the opportunity to locate for themselves homes and farms, and who are also influenced by a desire to render themselves useful in performing some missionary work. (6)

In November the Senate Committee collected testimonies at the Old Agency. Bernard Bravo interpreted the comments of Iron Bull, Two Belly, Plenty Coos, Bull Nose, Takes Wrinkle, and Thin Belly. Iron Bull was the first chief to speak: "We want the Great Father to give us cattle, and we want cows that will have young ones, and we will put them at the foot of the mountains and all along the creeks, and by the springs." (7)

He did not want the Agency moved to the Little Horn River even though the eastern part of the Reservation was better suited for grazing. Two Belly expected the Government to send rations to the Indians even after they learned how to farm and raise cattle. (8)

Plenty Coos spoke next and asked the Committee if they were ignorant of the fact that the Crows had already paid for the cattle the Government should give them.

By the CHAIRMAN:
Question. How did you pay for them - Answer. We sold the Boulder country and all the timber on the creeks to pay for the cattle. I don't see any pay for all this land and for the timber, but I don't ask all the time where it is.
Q. Tell us all about it. - A. There are a great many things we have never gotten pay for, but we don't ask every day where the pay is. I think the Great Father is trying to steal the agency and carry it into the lower country.(9)

The Chairman, Dawes, said the Government wanted to pay the Crows for the land, but the problem was that the Government did not know the best way to spend the money. Plenty Coos said the money should be used to buy cattle.

All the Indians that live on the prairie and wear the breech-clout are fools, but none of the Crows are fools yet.

Q. What is the reason the Crows are not fools? - A. The reason they are not fools is because they like to live in this country, and want to go to herding cattle.

Q. Do you want to go to farming like a white man, and take care of yourself like a white man? - A. We want houses and farms along the creeks, and if the Great Father will give us cattle we will raise them, and will kill a calf once in a while and eat it with potatoes.

Q. If the Great Father gives you farms and cattle, will you want rations too? - A. Yes.

Q. Do you want the Great Father to do more for you than he does for the white man? He doesn't give both to the white man. - A. We would like to have rations all the same, because we don't know anything about farming yet.

Q. Would you like to live and dress just like a white man, or be like an Indian and dress like an Indian? - A. I would like to have clothes like the white man, to put on when I go to work. We are not fools. The white men killed some of my relatives in the lower country, and I have said nothing about it, but I was not asleep; and they took my horses from me in the day time, too.

Q. Who did this? - A. The white men did it over on the other side of the Little Horn in open day.

Q. The white men punish their people when they steal horses. Do Indians punish Indians when they steal the white man's horses? - A. If Indians go and steal horses we follow them and kill them, but we point our guns away from the white man when he steals horses.(9)

Bull Nose thought the Committee was trying to find faults with the Indians. But the Chairman assured him they were not. So Bull Nose said:
A long time ago the Indian and the white man were both made of dirt. Do you know about that?

Q. The Great Father wants you to be just like the white man. He wants you to work on the land and take care of yourselves.
A. The Great Father ought to give us rations until all the Crows die and are gone.

Dawes asked him how long the Great Father agreed to deliver rations to the Crows. Bull Nose said, "He told us he would give us rations as long as we lived. We have held on to his words, and will never forget them."
Old Dog said, "I went to see the Great Father in Washington, and he told me he would give us rations as long as we live, and our children after we are gone." No one bothered to explain to the Crows that the Government had modified the Treaty of 1868 before ratification in 1882.

In the course of the testimony by Bull-That-Goes-A-Hunting,
Senator Logan asked him:

Would you like to have horses, cattle, or sheep? - A. We want everything that has young ones - what don't have young ones we don't want.

Takes Wrinkles said he did not want to leave the area of the Old Agency as his people were buried there.

The Great Father told me when the railroad got through I would have a plenty of everything, but I have not seen it yet. I have received nothing, and I am poor, as you can see by my clothes.
I don't want to talk bad to these white men sitting here, and I like to eat with all the white men I see, but I don't like to pay for what I eat. I like to eat without paying for it.

Senator Logan discovered that Takes Wrinkles worked on a farm.

Q. I want to ask you, as an Indian and a man, why, if you raise all these things, which would be as much as I would want to eat, why do you still want the Government to give you rations?
A. Because the Great Father promised me rations, and he ought to give them to me.
Q. But you raise all these things. What do you do with them?
Do you eat them? - A. Yes, I eat them.

Q. Well, why do you want anybody else to give you something to eat? - A. The Great Father promised us rations if we would go to farming; and I am just doing as he told me to do. (12)

Medicine Crow wondered why the Crows were not allowed to buy ammunition any longer at the store. Senator Logan questioned him.

Q. If there is no game what do you want with ammunition? - A. There are prairie dogs, antelope, and deer which I could kill and bring in to eat if I could get the cartridges at the store. . . .

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Hadn't you rather raise what you eat off of the ground like the white man does? - A. Both are good; what I can raise off of the ground and the game too. . . . (13)

When Thin Belly gave his testimony, he was asked if he could farm the entire Reservation himself. And he said he could. (14)

It was apparent that the Crows and the Committee were not communicating very well. Agent Henry J. Armstrong was questioned next. He said the Crows only raised vegetables, and they did not raise even a quarter of what they needed. (15) When Clerk C. H. Barstow was questioned about ceding more land from the Reservation, he thought it should be done immediately.

I don't see why these wild men, who have no use for the land, should keep it. I think the Indians are well disposed towards the Government, but they are children to all intents and purposes, and the Government should treat them as a father treats his children. The Government should point out the direction in which they shall go, and insist upon their obedience. (16)

He even thought the Agent ought to insist that the Indians exchange their horses for cattle. (16)

Deputy U.S. Marshal, A. M. Quivey, boasted of knowing the Crows well.
I believe that in five years they will be self-supporting if the proper means are employed. If they are not self-supporting then, they never will be. The longer they are allowed to dance and paint themselves, and these young Indians are taught or allowed to believe that it is dishonorable to work, the longer it will be before they become self-supporting. I also believe that it is doing them a great injury to build houses for them and put up fences on their land. They should be made to help.

There is a custom among the Indians that the food in all the lodges is free to everyone, and this custom should be broken up.

In 1883 Special Agent G. R. Milburn had been building cabins on the Little Horn River, anticipating the removal of the Agency. The cabins Milburn was building were on 160-acre plots, and not in villages. He said none of the Crows were capable of building cabins. Game was disappearing; it was time for the Crows to farm. He also mentioned that Crazy Head and 200 Crows had stolen many horses from the Cheyennes, and there were whites who also stole horses. Spotted Horse and Crazy Head claimed the Little Horn area and would not let Milburn work on the cabins.

General J. P. Hatch, commanding Fort Custer, felt the Crows were depressed because of the disappearance of the buffalo. I look upon them as children, hardly able to reason out the case properly; but I am satisfied of one thing, that with judicious management a large proportion of them could be put, within a year, in a way towards self-support.

Captain J. N. Wheelan of Fort Custer felt that at least two-thirds of the Reservation was useless to the Crows.

W. H. Lyon, who was on the Board of Indian Commissioners and who was Chairman of the Purchasing Committee, thought any Indians not wearing the clothes sent them ought not to receive any rations.
The Senate investigating committee concluded that the soil around the Old Agency was very poor for farming. The 3,500 Crows had been neglected and as a result degenerated into "increasing listlessness and idleness, the mother of vice and degradation."(22) The tribe who had assisted the Government the most had received the least attention. Game had disappeared, and the Crows were dependent on the Government. Supplies from the Government came in the same amount as in 1866: they were no longer sufficient. The Crows were declining not in numbers but in morale. The Reservation, which included empty hunting grounds, had become too large for the Crows, and the eastern portion of the Reservation was more valuable for them than the western part. Only farming and ranching remained for the Crows, and the eastern part was suitable for that kind of activity. "They should be taught, if not required, to exchange these ponies for cattle and this mode of life for one confined to so much of the soil as they can cultivate and turn to their support."(22)

In 1884 the Secretary of the Interior Department published the revised Regulations of the Indian Department. The Government agents on the reservations were supposed to "induce" Indians to work. Having many unprofitable Indian farms was deemed more valuable than having one profitable agency farm. The agents were to persuade the Indians to surrender their ponies for stock and poultry. The Act of July 4, 1884, prohibited whites from selling liquor to Indians, and Indians were considered "competent witnesses" in violations. Only small groups
of Indians were encouraged to visit other reservations, and then only for short lengths of time.

On the 2nd of December, 1882, Secretary Teller had written about discontinuing "old heathenish dances, such as the sun-dance, scalp-dance, &c."(23) He believed the sun-dances "stimulated" passions for war. To abolish the "evil practices" the rules of 1884 called for establishing a Court of Indian Offenses on each reservation. The judges were to be the first three officers of the Indian police force. The court had jurisdiction over such "Indian offences" as sun-dances, scalp-dances, and war-dances by withholding rations for ten days; it could give Indians who engaged in plural marriages twenty days of labor; it could place a medicine-man in prison for ten days if he was found guilty of retarding progress on the reservation; it could put an Indian in prison for thirty days if he took property from a mourner; and finally the court could punish Indians who gave or sold liquor with thirty to ninety days in prison or by withholding rations for the same length of time.(23) Within six pages the Interior Department outlawed the dance, the giveaway, the medicine-man, the pony, and fire-water. The Department had at its discretion bars and starvation.

By 1885 the Agency had been moved to the Little Horn River. (See Map 1.) In September the Agent, Henry J. Armstrong, wrote his last annual report. He found the Crows to be so eager for work that he did not have enough employees to train them. The Agency had issued 746 cattle to seventy Indian families. In the spring the Crows
MAP I
CROW RESERVATION
1887

ADAPTED FROM
14241-L/88 (NO. 3)
and else
10460-L/92 (NO. 15)

ROAD
RAILROAD
participated in their first round-up, which began at the mouth of Rotten Grass Creek.

No missionary work was being conducted. Armstrong thought there was much work for the missionaries, but at the same time he admitted:

I do not think there is any Crow Indian who feels that he needs to be saved. They think they are the chosen people. (24)

He recommended five missionaries be sent to the Reservation to set up day-schools. He suggested the Government cut down the rations until the Indians gave up enough children to fill the Government school. The Indians were farming along the Little and Big Horn valleys and along Pryor Creek. A large dormitory had been built for the Crow Boarding School, and eight miles of irrigating ditch had been completed. Agent Armstrong concluded his report:

In general there are but two things the Government should do for the Indians - all Indians. The first is to secure to each and every Indian in the United States a homestead immediately... and in such a way that he cannot dispose of it and it cannot be taken for debt. The second is to throw open for settlement every square mile of Indian country not needed to provide homesteads for Indians, expending the money that would fairly be due them for such lands in making necessary permanent improvements, in helping the Indians to establish themselves upon their homesteads, and in the purchase of stock for them... (24)

Armstrong's letter foreshadowed the events that followed.
PART I

TWENTY YEARS OF CIVILIZATION: 1880'S TO 1906
CHAPTER I

AGENTS, TREATIES, AND COUNCILS

The economic situation on the Crow Reservation was simple and drew little attention during the nineteenth century. There was one store at Crow Agency "managed and controlled" by Charles T. Babcock. The Indians had little money, and what they had came mostly from freighting supplies to the Agency or from selling horses. Cattle hides were sold by the Agency to pay the employees.(1)

The agents sent to the Crow Reservation by the Office of Indian Affairs were often men of strong character (see Appendix B, List I, for the agents and the dates of their administrations from 1886 to 1906). The Crow Council had been the only means of communication between the agents and the Indians. Agent Henry E. Williamson felt differently. Several times in the 1880's J. T. Blake and J. C. Wilson sent a lease proposal for the western portion of the Crow Reservation (see Chapter II). Finally the Commissioner decided in 1886 that Indian consent ought to be obtained. Agent Williamson despised the Crow Council.

I desire most earnestly to keep clear of any transactions, or councils either with the Indians or whites, - when the interests of any individual or class of individuals are concerned as in the subject under consideration, and I am fully convinced that such action as holding a council with the Indians for the purpose mentioned, would in a great measure destroy my influence with the Tribe, and my power for benefiting. . . .(2)

Any request Williamson made in councils would be regarded by the Indians
as "asking a great favor" such that "they would surely expect and demand
a most liberal return" from him. (2) Therefore, he thought it advantageous
for the Indian Office to send an inspector from Washington, D.C. to hold
councils.

1886 was the year that Fort Custer got a six-mile square Military
Reserve. Agent Williamson soon felt the Indians living on the Military
Reserve should be "induced" to leave as the women often engaged in
"nefarious" business. (3)

Except for the Northern Pacific Railroad along the Yellowstone
River, travel on the Reservation was limited to horseback and buggies.
The North Western Express Stage and Transportation Company had the mail
route from Rock Creek, Wyoming to Junction, Montana. (4) Ninety miles
of the stage road and five stations belonging to the Company were on the
Reservation. (5)

The "General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Act, passed
February 8, 1887. Since white husbands could not take allotments, Indian
women married to white men were to "be regarded as heads of families." (6)
In cases of plurality, the first wife was to "be regarded as the legal
one and the others allowed to take allotments as single persons." (6) The
special allotting agent for the Crow Reservation was James R. Howard
(see Chapter V).

E. P. Briscoe received the Agency property from Williamson on
May 11, 1888. (7) Agent Briscoe wanted to employ twelve whites for
$14,100 and twelve Indians for only $3,030. (8) No one doubted that
whites were worth five times more than Indians.

In 1889 Briscoe reported on the Crows living near Clark Fork. These Indians are over one hundred miles from the Agency, almost entirely from under the control of the Agent. The lands on which they live are utterly worthless for cultivation. They are living in "bands" in teepees and subsist principally by stealing, begging and blackmailing cattle-men.(9)

Agent Briscoe soon became notorious in his dealings with squaw men. Allotting Agent James Howard took upon himself the matter which he called the "persecution" of Bernard Bravo, his interpreter. Bravo was removed from the Reservation for killing a steer without permission.(10)

Agent Briscoe delivered his side to Commissioner Jonathan H. Oberly.

Your telegram reached me yesterday. Judging from its tenor I must infer that the Hon. Com. has been reading the highly sensational newspaper reports of the wholesale removal of squaw men accredited to me.

I have removed two squaw men from this reservation. (Morrison & Bravo) for conduct detrimental to the welfare of the Indians entrusted to my care.(11)

Bravo had killed stock issued to his wife. Bravo's first squaw asked the Agent to remove him as she felt neglected. Briscoe put Bravo off the Reservation twice, and filed an affidavit against him, then turned him over for trial. Morrison, the other squaw man, had disobeyed the Agent's orders concerning haying. Briscoe added:

In these cases, I particularly request the Hon. Com. to allow me to use my judgement. These men need a Caesar, and I have it in my power to give it to them. No personal motives actuate me in this for I fully recognize the fact that my tenure of office is limited, but it will be of vast good for the Agent who succeeds me.(11)

Briscoe also prepared a case against James Cooper, a third squaw man. Cooper had "been engaged in cutting and hauling off pine and cedar
wood posts and selling the same to parties in Billing's. "(12) The U.S. Marshal, Quivey, "caught them in the very act."(12)

Agent Briscoe held a meeting with some Crows. The Fly said he could not get the land he wanted and Bravo would not ask Howard for it until he presented a horse to Bravo. Big Medicine also said he had been asked by Bravo for money in order to get his land.(13) The Commissioner, nevertheless, ordered the Agent to permit Bravo's return to the Reservation. Briscoe had no intention of letting him return.(14)

U.S. Commissioner Bates tried Cooper for "unlawfully cutting timber on an Indian Reservation," and judged him guilty.(15) Later, Agent Briscoe had to report, "that notwithstanding the proof was positive the Jury, partly composed of men who for years have obtained this fencing material & fire wood from this Reservation refused to indict."(16) Cooper was given the same protection as Bravo. So Briscoe closed, "As I am unable to afford full protection to the Indians intrusted to my charge by reason of the action of the Honorable Commissioner, I would respectfully ask to be relieved of my charge at as early a date as possible."(16)

Agent Briscoe was actually removed, and for a cause. There was the statement of Philip M. Gallaher and O. F. Goddard. They had gone to Briscoe's home in the previous year representing the Billings, Clark Fork, and Cook City Railroad Company at the Indian Council (see Chapter III). They said Briscoe wanted payment for his "services" in the matter of obtaining Indian consent for the Company's right of way across
the Reservation. Briscoe told Gallaher and Goddard that a free and unbiased council would go against the Company. Briscoe demanded $2000 for his cooperation in the matter. When Henry Kaiser, the Company's interpreter, appeared at the Council, Briscoe arrested him, which was his usual way of treating squaw men. Goddard asked for a postponement of the Council for three days; Briscoe then demanded $350, $100 of which would go to him for holding the Indians. (17)

On July 1, Briscoe turned over the Agency property to Moses P. Wyman. (18) The last word anyone had about Briscoe was that the ex-agent was suffering from cancer with one year to live. (19)

William W. Junkin, inspecting the Agency property, sent an "Indian Labor" report, dispelling the usual cliches about Indians. "The majority of them, I believe are disposed to labor for their livelihood, but they are ignorant of the methods necessary to secure that living." (20) The season of 1889 had been hit by drought; yet some Crows sold surplus potatoes and vegetables.

But it will be some years before they take kindly and generally to agriculture. Their great desire is to engage in transportation. They have horses and delight to be with them. Give them employment of this character and they are apparently happy. Since my arrival at this agency the agent has directed them to haul coal and wood, and nearly all of them have now fuel for the winter. . . . (20)

Junkin said about twenty Indian teams were engaged in hauling rations. He thought Indians should also replace white men who were hauling the flour. Junkin said the Indians could supply all the hay and wood required at the Fort, and he recommended a contract be made with the
There is a noticeable and gratifying improvement between the Crow Indians and those on the Blackfeet reservation. They have built a large number of homes, the agent furnishing doors and windows. These homes are principally log structures. They have also, to a considerable extent, erected stables and sheds. There is little drunkenness among them and apparently no desire for whiskey. I have not heard of a single instance of an Indian being drunk.

I trust I have not made this report "rose colored." (20)

In his final report, Junkin mentioned that some of the settlers were a little too eager in their anticipation that the western portion of the Reservation would be sold. Some were already setting up homesteads (see Chapter V).

I am sorry to say that this feeling among the settlers is strengthened by the local politicians of the territory. The latter are anxious to secure the influence of the former, and their eagerness to secure that influence blinds them to the rights of the Indians... (21)

On October 24, "150 to 160 teamsters reported at the agency, and the train started" for Sheridan, Wyoming to haul for Fort Custer. Inspector Junkin said, "The Indians acted as though they were going on a picnic and were delighted at the thought of earning some money for themselves." (22)

Nothing more was heard about them until they appeared at the Agency for pay.

In contrast to Junkin's "rose colored" report, the Crows initiated a petition in November. The demand from the 316 chiefs and headmen was for an increase in the beef rations. Agent Wyman wrote, "Since the destruction of the Buffalo, the Indians have made many demands for an increase of beef rations." (23) The ration had originally been based on
the needs of the Tribe "while they had an abundance of buffalo."(23)

Wyman thought the Indians were justified in their demand.

Until this tribe obtain a system of irrigating ditches which will enable them to produce fair crops from their farms and gardens, —
The ration of beef should be larger than is issued at present. . . .
The Indians will feel much pleased and will realize fully that the Government recognized their rights in the premises and is willing to act on their suggestions as a tribe. . . .(23)

The Territory of Montana became a State in 1889. In the following year, Wyman defended the bill to segregate the western part of the Crow Reservation. He wrote to Thomas H. Carter, a Representative of the young State:

The money derived from such sale will enable the Government to make improvements in the way of irrigating the several Indian settlements, which, alone not only justifies but demands the sale of such unoccupied territory. Many other improvements are necessary ere the Crow Indian can advance in any marked degree in the direction of self support, and none of these improvements are possible until a large amount of money is at the disposal of the Gov't for the best interests of this tribe.(24)

Plenty Coos wrote against the Government requesting his people to relinquish the western portion. He knew the western portion of the Reservation must contain valuable land by the way it was being illegally settled.(25)

The process of civilizing Indians lacked goals. Agent Wyman had four educated Crow girls at his home for whom he was trying to get jobs. People in Billings offered them jobs, but the girls did not wish to leave the Reservation. He did employ two of them at the Crow Boarding School. But the other two were "cleanly attractive, and their relatives bring all the influence they can possible present, to induce them to
enter the camp, forsake all that pertains to civilization and commence
the life lead by so many..."(26) Chief Pretty Eagle did not wish
the girls to work for white families. "I told Pretty Eagle," Wyman
said, "that if he or any Indian interfered with these girls I would put
them all in irons and keep them where they would have little opportunity
for such mischief."(26)

Trouble for the Agent developed during the year 1890. The
allotting agent, James G. Hatchitt, wrote the Commissioner an unusual
report from his camp on Lodge Grass Creek.

To understand the Indian it is necessary to allot him land, camp
& smoke with him & put yourself in his place - a very few days of
the same life were enough to understand the Agent. I am now able
to say that your Agent, Mr. Wyman, is ignorant, illnatured, cruel
& crazy with a passion to rule and that the Indian, who is near
enough to the Agency to be within the influence of his police, is
a sullen coward being, desperate enough to clean the agency out if
he could find a leader that they had confidence in..."(27)

Hatchitt thought the contract with Paul McCormick for hauling oats from
Wyoming did not pay the Indians enough. In fact McCormick was becoming
rich off the Indians.

The first thing that attracted my attention to Wyman was, after
being out two days with me, his driving within five feet of three
squaws and shooting their dogs that were sitting by their sides;
the flash of the gun within two feet of their faces & they
falling to the ground to save being burned. Since then it trans­
pires that his chief occupation is to shoot dogs and hurry up the
school boys that he has working on the Ditch without pay. I have
seen him walking around among the squaws shooting their dogs, the
squaws hugging their dogs under their blankets while getting
rations & several sitting over their dying dogs, crying. When
the dogs were plentiful I have seen him and his daughters standing
in their porch, shooting dogs; and when I left the agency there
was a stench of dead dogs in every direction.

This much will answer for an illustration. Wyman tells me that
he has for "Thirty years been managing large boddies of men on Rail Roads" - others say "that means a section boss". And it must be true, for his whole conduct is more brutal than any Negro Driver I ever saw in the "black belt of Va" where was my old home.(27)

Hatchitt pointed out:

The Indians belonging to Plenty Coos band, living on Clarks Fork - from Pryor Creek westward - are not molested and are doing well compared with those under police influence near the Agency - Plenty Coos kills his three beeves a week and no Agent dare interfere with him.(28)

J. H. Cisney, Inspector, went to the Crow Reservation to look into matters. Chief Plenty Coos swore before him that he never killed any cattle without the Agent's permission. And Bear Wolf swore that he never told Hatchitt the Indians "would clean the Agency out" if they had a leader.(29) But the assistant farmer, A. C. Smith supported "every alligation" made against Wyman. The Indians were doing slave work, while drunk Indians had to work without pay.(30)

James Cisney found Hatchitt and announced he was investigating the charges against the Agent. Hatchitt denied he made any charges; so Cisney showed him his letters. "And he laughed at me," Cisney wrote the Secretary of Interior, "and said that they were not intended for charges - that he was mad when he wrote them and that . . . he and the Agent were good friends and he wanted the whole [thing] dropped."(29) Cisney found all the Crows agreed dog killing saved them "many hundred pounds of beef."(29) He found out the Indians were paid for hauling oats from Wyoming, and the Indians "were more than willing to go."(29)

Cisney returned to Smith who charged the Agent had Indians dig
post holes for the Agency stock without pay. But Cisney found that Wyman had no funds, and thus, in Cisney's opinion, "he done the right thing in this matter - the work did not hurt the Indians and at the same time was learning them to work."(29) What Smith called a "Slave pen" turned out to be 300 acres of farm work done by the Indians who wanted to work at the Agency. All the men on the ditch construction were paid; the school boys were not paid as the work came under their Industrial training in school. Finally, as a mark of good will, the Crows met in Council with Lieutenant Robertson who wanted thirty scouts to fight in the last Sioux uprising. On December 19, sixty Crow scouts followed Robertson to the Agency. "They would compare favorably with any troop of cavalry," Cisney concluded.(29)

In September 1890 the Crows came again to the Agent requesting beef rations be increased twenty-five percent. Agent Wyman supported the petition, at the same time keeping in view the rising trouble among the Sioux.

The Indian, as the Hon Commissioner is well aware depends upon his beef for his sustenance. Deprive him of all other supplies and allow a full beef ration and the Indian is of good heart, but supply him abundantly with all subsistence save beef, and he is sadly discontented. This tribe is doing splendid work. . . .(31)

Beginning in 1891 the Crows did get their beef rations increased.(32)

John T. Brown, a surveyor, was sent to the western end of the Crow Reservation to inspect the land. "There is no timber of consequence on the western portion of the Reservation," he reported to Commissioner Daniel M. Morgan in 1890.(33). He found good grazing grass, but farming
would need irrigation. In the Nye mining area on the Reservation (see Chapter VI), Brown found gold, quartz, copper, nickel, silver, lead and iron. "I believe that if these lands were purchased from the Indians and opened to public settlement, that this would prove to be among the richest of Montanas mineral localities . . ."(33) He also reported numerous squatters waiting for the area to be opened by treaty (see Chapter V).

The Crow Indians signed an Agreement on December 8, selling the western portion of the Reservation. A clipping from the Chicago Tribune said the Crows sold 1,500,000 acres for $900,000, or sixty cents per acre. A cattleman heard about the price and immediately telegraphed one of the Crow scouts saying he would pay twice as much as the Government. The cattleman could not believe Chiefs Wet, Plenty Coos, Pretty Eagle, and Bell Rock would settle for so little from Commissioners Richardson, Doyle and Flint. These Chiefs were, he said, "men of sense and ability, too well provided with each quality, I think, to make them willing parties to a deal that means little less than robbery."(34) The Illinois farmers grew angry about the sale because the Chicago packing plant was able to obtain western cattle at cheaper prices. The mid-western farmers had to pay for their farms, while the western "cattle kings" were able to get ranges at low prices.(34) Another clipping signed by the "Yellowstone Stock Man" said:

There is a Republican Indian Ring in Montana composed of some of the high officials of the state, . . . together with other Republicans have stolen the whole Crow Reservation and propose to
put a fence around it in the spring, export the Indians onto a more barren section of the country, . . . (35)

The Agreement of December 8, 1890, became an Act of Congress on March 3, 1891 (see Map 2). The Indians could make their selections for allotments on the part to be ceded, and the land was to be opened by Proclamation. The Indians had sixty days to make their selections, but they could not claim the land that the miners of Nye claimed when it was discovered that they were on the Reservation due to an error in the survey (see Chapter VI). Special Agent Hatchitt was to go to the ceded portion and help the Indians make their selections. (36)

Everything was understood except for one important factor. When did the sixty days, for the Indians to make their selections, begin? (37) Maggie Garrigus, one of the mixed-bloods, wrote in defense of those living on the ceded portion. They felt "that Maj. Wyman is determined by fair means or foul to cheat us out of our just dues." (38) She was sure Wyman did not want the Indians to settle on the ceded area as he used to work for the Northern Pacific Railroad, and the Northern Pacific did not want the Indians to take their "odd sections." (38)

Twenty-one followers of Two Bear and Shot filed affidavits claiming many Indians arrived too late to get their allotments from Hatchitt because they had to go to the Agency for supplies in March, and then they were called back for a Council. They added, "We do not want to be under the control of Chief Plenty Coos of Pryor Creek, and have to leave our homes and our work whenever he chooses to call us to
Pryor Creek. (39) "The Indian Office had told Wyman to go upon the ceded portion. But when he got there, he found no Indians. He spent a whole month traveling around looking for the Indians. Only fifty-five Indians had selections which had been made before the Agreement. The rest of the Indians, Wyman decided, should move to the diminished Reservation; they would have a better market at the Agency for their hay and grain, and at Fort Custer they could help freight. (40) Meanwhile, Hatchitt had lost his instruction from the Office. When he arrived on the ceded portion, the mixed-bloods were "in great excitement" as they had been told it was too late to make selections (see Chapter V). (41)

Butchering and branding had special methods at Crow Agency. Agent Wyman, defending them in 1892, said "that the system of killing by spear is fully as humane as that by shooting . . . " (42) In regard to branding, the method used was "the cutting off the tip of the ear . . . " (42) Wyman retorted, "I do not consider that a light ear mark on stock is more painful than when our young ladies bore their own ears." (42)

Special Agent J. A. Leonard was impressed with the improvements commenced on the Reservation by Agent Wyman. There was a new slaughter house, a new irrigation ditch full of water, and a new coal bank. (43)

When Walter Graves became Superintendent of the Crow Irrigation Survey (see Chapter IV), the first problem he desired to tackle on the Reservation was forestalling the hay contractors at Fort Custer.
Last year the contractors bought almost every pound of hay produced on the Reservation, and as the Indians have little judgement in regard to providing for the future, they sold practically their entire crop, and left themselves almost nothing to keep their stock on during the winter. (44)

Graves felt work on the irrigation would be retarded as long as the Indians persisted in selling too much of their hay. He recommended the Agent provide the Irrigation Survey 900 tons of hay before admitting the contractors on the Reservation. (44) Graves continued his statement in another letter:

I assume that you are somewhat familiar with the methods in vogue among the Indians for taking care of their stock. Until within the last few years they have been in the habit of allowing them to "rustle" for an existence. There ponies subsisted as best they could, living on clover, so to speak, when grass was abundant, and reaching a condition of starvation when there was no grass to be had. But, as the Agent secured better control of them, and they were supplied with the necessary implements, they began to cut and gather the grass wherever it could be had, and stored their supplies for the seasons of scarcity. (45)

A quarter of the Crow Indians in 1892 were wearing "citizen's dress in part." (46) About a sixth of the Crows were living in houses, the rest lived in tipis. Five-eighths of the subsistence came from the Government, two-eighths from the Indians' work, and one-eighth from hunting. No Indians were "communicants" of a church. (46)

The Crows convened in Council on August 25. Nearly all the males appeared. The Council met at Crow Agency with Commissioners Weed of Helena, Pease of Livingston, and Foster of Billings, to discuss modifications of the Agreement of December 8, 1890. The interpreters were sworn in at 10:00 A.M. Chief Plenty Coos had Henry Kaiser, Chief
Pretty Eagle had Carl Leider, Medicine Crow had George Davis, and some Indians requested Tom Stewart. On the following day Agent Wyman explained to the Crows that $200,000 more were needed for the irrigation project. The Government wanted the Indians to do the irrigation work, and they would get paid every two weeks.

Spotted Horse, Two Leggins, and Medicine Crow admitted the Indians had already been paid for the land and that the Crows could not expect to have it back. Medicine Crow went on to say, "Major Wyman made a man out of me, and I hold on to him to see if he won't make a better man out of me than I am now."(47) Deaf Bull said some of the Indians had teeth "getting sore for grub."(47) Plenty Coos wanted the Indians to live among the whites on the ceded portion in order to encourage friendship among whites.

On the 27th the Council met again in the School House. The modifications of the Agreement were signed by 436 Crows. The Indians who had allotments on the ceded portion would be protected; those who had selections there, would receive allotments; the Indians were to have three years to relinquish their allotments on the ceded portion if they wanted to return to the diminished Reserve. Of the $552,000 to be paid to the Crows by the Agreement of 1890, $400,000 was to be spent on the irrigation project. Beyond skilled employees and civil engineers, the construction was to be done by Crows. Left over funds from annuity payments were to go into irrigation.

President Benjamin Harrison signed the Proclamation on October 15,
1892, opening the western portion for settlement. (47)

When the Commissioner inquired about the feasibility of cutting down rations, Wyman replied:

In my opinion there might possibly be a small number of the Crow Indians who might be capable of purchasing rations and clothing, if they were paid money, enough per capita to supply their needs — and even then I am of the opinion that some intelligent person ought to be present with them to superintend their purchases as they have but a very slight idea of the value of money, as also it is a very difficult task to make them understand the necessity of providing for the future, . . . I do not think it would be a good policy to reduce their rations, unless it might be to cut off — Hominy and Beans which articles they do not care for, and apply the proceeds of those two articles in the purchase of more beef. . . . It may be that after the system of irrigation is completed they may be able to support themselves but not at present. (48)

In the summer of 1893 several persons on the Crow Reservation submitted charges against Agent Wyman. George Pease and six Indians sent a letter demanding jobs and stating there were enough educated Indians on the Reservation to run the Agency and replace the white employees. The letter was a little ironic in that its spelling and grammar showed little education.

Special Agent Thomas P. Smith was sent to the Reservation in July to investigate some of the Indian complaints. Hugh S. Campbell, a trader, testified before Smith that in the summer of 1891 Agent Wyman "rounded up" the Indians and "forced" them to haul hay for Fort Custer. The Contract paid little as hay was cheap. When the Indians hauled in all the hay they could, 200 tons were lacking which had to be purchased in Wyoming. Again "the Indians were rounded up by the
Crow Agency police in the beginning of Winter and forced by Agent Wyman to haul this hay . . . "(49) The Indians were never paid. In the summer of 1892 the Indians sold hay directly to Fort Custer until Walter Graves prevented them. After it was determined that there was enough hay, the Indians were allowed to sell hay again to the Fort. But this time they had to sell through a contractor for less. In July and August, according to Campbell, Agent Wyman contracted with James Haney and Paul McCormick to supply Fort Custer with dry cows belonging to the Indians. Haney and McCormick judged the cattle which were rounded up and sent to the Fort; many fat ones went with the bunch, and the Indians protested in a council.

In June of 1893 Wyman fired Wells for demanding "a settlement with & for the Indians . . . "(49) Wells told Smith:

In the Autumn of '91 the Crows were employed by Wyman on behalf of the Contractor to haul hay from Wyoming to Ft. Custer. I have been told the two trips would amount to $1500. to $2000. for which they have been paid nothing; . . . At the election of Nov' r 92 Wyman ordered that all men on Crow reserve entitled to vote should register & vote republican ticket. . . . (49)

William H. Steele, the Agency carpenter, testified that the Indians complained to him about never being paid for the hauling work in 1891. He also supported the claim that Wyman took five employees with him to Rosebud in 1892.

The Agency carriage used and driven by Wyman on this voting trip came back a complete wreck having been overturned and team running away. It was repaired in the Agency shop at Government expense. (49)

Thomas Smith requested a thorough inspection of the Agency, and
he recommended the Department remove Wyman. (49) No one bothered to check with Wyman to see if his eagerness in the elections was a concern for the deadlock created by western Montanans. In the same year, 1893, Montana sent only one Senator to Washington, D.C.

Inspector P. McCormick arrived at the Agency in November. He thought the Indians should "be brought together on a more circumscribed area, where they could be more under the eye of the Agent, and thereby their advancement in civilization hastened." (50) Agent Wyman told McCormick he would settle with the Indians for the freighting performed in 1891. McCormick found Wyman "a hard working, industrious man" with "the faculty of getting work out of the Indians." (50) But he also found him "uneducated, and illiterate." (50) He did not think Wyman was "perpetrating a fraud." (50) Finally, McCormick wanted the Indians prohibited from living in tipis. (50)

Lieutenant J. W. Watson received the Agency property February 7, 1894. (51) What occurred during Watson's term made the controversies over Wyman mere trivia.

Some of the settlements on the Crow Reservation became branches of the Agency. Three buildings were constructed for the Pryor Sub-agency. (52) The same kind of buildings were built for the Sub-agency on the Big Horn. (53)

Early in 1895 Inspector P. McCormick appeared at Crow Agency again.
The policy pursued on this reservation for the past nine years has been to have the Indians assemble or congregate at the farm on the Little Horn river south of the Agency, and there to plant their vegetables, and sow their oats &c. This policy has had the tendency to draw the Indian away from his allotment and assemble him in bands, which is the most pleasant and agreeable amusement that could be given him. Under the administration of the present actg agent Lt. Watson, this policy was considerably expanded during the past year, on account of having more land under ditches, instead of being congregated at one farm they have been congregated at four or five. (54)

One farm produced $1096.74 from the crops, but the farmer in charge received $720 of it, while the rest was divided among the eighty or ninety Indians who worked the farm. No Indians would become self-sufficient under such a system. McCormick believed the big farm idea was a violation of the allotment law which was to put the Indians on individual farms. Three-quarters of the Crows were allotted, but still some five or seven hundred had no allotments.

A very small percentage of those who have been, live upon their allotments, but live in bands, or camps on the streams. I am informed, by parties here, that dancing is more prevalent and has been indulged in more the past year than for several years. . . . (54)

He thought the 10,000 horses owned by the Crows had "improved in late years by use of American stallions." (54) The Crows owned ten to twelve thousand cattle, with 4,000 head "held in common." (54) He said the Agent had made good sales of Indian cattle, but without the authority of the Department to do so.

All of that portion west of the Big Horn and north of Fort Custer to the Yellowstone river could and should be disposed of, which will give them a sum sufficient to realize an interest fund that will maintain and keep in full shape all of their irrigated country and large surplus for other purposes. (54)
He found half of the Crows living in houses and half still living in tipis.

I feel it my duty to state that an uneasy, unsettled idleness prevails among these people, in fact among most that I have visited in the past few months. Dancing is very prevalent among them. These Indians are, and have been laying in considerable ammunition. . . .(54)

Finally, Inspector McCormick discovered that money due the Indians from Wyman had never been paid.(54)

Agent Watson defended the district farms.

So far this arrangement of the Indians on six large farms has been a matter of absolute necessity, leaving out of consideration entirely the question of desirability or good policy. . . . The question at once presented itself whether to move these Indians from their waterless allotments and put them on Irrigating Ditches where they could work and raise crops, or to let them remain on their waterless allotments, with nothing to do, in idleness.(55)

Watson added, "Keeping them in bands does not perpetuate old habits so much as keeping them in idleness."(55) The Crows wanted to be on individual farms. "A few wish to do so in order to work and raise crops of their own; the most of them wish to do so in order that they may get on out-of-the-way places where the Farmer can not get to them and make them work."(55)

The Commissioner inquired about the feasibility of placing Indian youngsters in white homes as part of their education. Agent Watson responded that it was a good idea, but he doubted it would work. "There is excessive affection between the Crow Indians and their children, and they cannot bear separation."(56) The idea had been tried before. The parents and relatives of the children visited too
often for the convenience of the white family. The agents limited the visits, and the parents demanded the return of their children. (56)

In 1895 the Crows began to agitate for a delegation to Washington, D.C. Some of them thought there was money for one in the Act of 1891. But when the Assistant Attorney General, John I. Hall, peeked into the Act, he found out that the $5000 for a delegation was only good for one year after the Act. (57)

Agent Watson believed the time was near when rations ought to be cut down. Early in 1896 he submitted his ambitious plan. "My idea is," he told the Commissioner, "beginning the 1st of July this year - to cut off all rations except beef from all of the able-bodied males including their immediate families which they would and should naturally support." (58) It had every advantage possible. "In the first place it would cause each individual Indian to make an effort to support himself." (58) It would teach them the value of money. And the Crows would raise all the food they needed except sugar, coffee, and tea.

When Watson submitted the estimates for the annuities required for the coming year, only 1,500,000 pounds of beef was needed. Students, orphans, and children of old people would get rations. The Agent proposed "to purchase the entire quantity of flour from the Indians in 'open market'..." (58) He would also purchase all the oats from the Indians. (58)

In the end of January, Captain Owen Sweet inspected the clothing issued to 672 Crows. Sweet suggested the Department might do better for
the Indians by issuing money instead of cheap goods. (59)

If it was time for the Crows to support themselves, then what was the Agent supposed to do? Frank Terry, Superintendent of the Crow Boarding School, wrote the Commissioner that it was time to "abolish" the position of Agent and transfer his duties to the Superintendent of Schools. This transfer had been made at a few agencies; the consolidated position was called "Superintendent and Special Disbursing Agent." (60). Frank Terry said he had "an eye single to the making of the Crow Boarding School a first-class industrial school." (60) The plan would unify the Agency and the School.

Agency employes would assist in the work of the school, and the school employes and pupils would in turn assist with agency work; and thus, 'one hand washing the other,' accomplish better results than are possible under the arrangement that at present exists. (60)

He saw no reason why the Agency should train the adults and the School the children when in both cases the process was one of learning.

Watson sent Terry's letter and added that Terry would find it impossible to do everything that had to be done. He suggested a better direction would be to expand the Crow Boarding School a little. (60)

Lieutenant W. H. Hay inspected the goods delivered to the Crows in February of 1897. He thought the clothing should have been delivered before winter. (61)

Between the years 1894 and 1897 the Crows must have had a difficult time trying to support themselves. Those working on the irrigation with teams were getting three dollars per day. "Although not accomplishing
as much as white men with better horses could perform," wrote J. George Wright in 1897, "these Indians work steady and well, . . ." (62) Each of the five districts still had a field cultivated in common by the Indians, and the proceeds were divided among the Indians who worked.

Immediately after my arrival at Agency, much complaint was made by Indians regarding this method of farming, they claiming that they were never informed regarding price obtained for their crops, quantity sold or amount received, but that after grain was disposed of they were given various amounts and informed such was all was due them. . . . (62)

Inspector Wright found "irregularities of the grossest character" when he checked the Agency financial records during Watson's administration from spring 1894 to 1897. The differences were outstanding between the amount "represented" and that "actually" paid. "Fictitious" vouchers amounting to $13,947.49 had been made to Indians for hay, coal, freighting, or some kind of labor. But actually Watson had only paid $8802.95 for all these goods, and most of the money had been paid to hay contractors, coal dealers, local traders, or railroad companies. Sometimes Watson paid a different group of Indians than stated on the vouchers. A total of $10,908 had not gone where the vouchers stated, and $7365.95 from grazing and sale of hides had no statements. A grand total of $18,247.35 had not been accounted for by Agent Watson.

Many Indian cattle were shipped each year to Chicago, and the Indians did not receive what was paid for them. Agent Watson often withheld some of their payments in order to purchase articles for them. Inspector Wright declared that the Agent had no right to sell Indian
cattle without the owners' approval. Between 1894 and 1897, $19,052.36 were never paid to the Indians for cattle sold; $26,455.22 due the Indians was missing; $22,563.68 from the Common herd was not accounted for; $46,000 for the Common herd had been used by Watson for something else; and he owed the Indians for grain they delivered in 1896. Wright added:

Lt. Watson states that many of the irregularities above referred to were made knowingly, but with no intention to defraud the Government or Indians; but for the purpose of obtaining funds to purchase needed agricultural implements and other articles for Indians, and for other necessary expenditures not authorized; . . . (62)

Watson submitted a total of 455 bills, but Inspector Wright doubted their credibility, and they still left $14,532.99 unaccounted for. "In view with all circumstances connected with my investigation," Wright concluded, "I do not believe that Lt. J W Watson has benefited himself by these irregularities or money so gained or that he has appropriated any of this money to his personal or private use . . ." (62)

But he thought Watson was wrong in his method of obtaining funds, he was wrong in using Indian money without their consent, and he seemed to be a sick man.

The clerk, C. H. Barstow, who had been at the Agency since 1878, admitted paying the Indians before inspecting the supplies they brought in. Several employees signing certificates of inspection before weighing supplies. William Steele, who was the farmer-in-charge at Pryor, gave Inspector Wright grocery bills amounting to $3108.30 from 1894 to 1897. But Steele's annual salary was only $900.
In December Barstow and Steele were dismissed; two more employees resigned; and two were promoted. The cash accounts of Watson were thoroughly examined, and, on January 1, 1898, Captain George W. H. Stouch took over the Agency. (62)

After Watson was gone, investigations turned to Dr. Portus Baxter, the Agency physician. Baxter was supposed to be removed from the Agency in 1895, but the order was revoked. When pressure was brought against him in 1898, Dr. Baxter sent a petition signed by the employees stating that they had confidence in him as a physician. He wrote his own defense.

You are no doubt fully aware that the greatest obstacle an Agency Physician has to overcome is the Indians' prejudice against a white physician and their superstitious belief in their native Medicine Men. So that the statement of an Indian that he has no confidence in a white doctor is an absurd charge to bring against an Agency Physician. (63)

Nevertheless, Agent Stouch wanted Dr. Baxter removed from the Agency. The Assistant Surgeon for the U.S. Army, Charles E. Woodruff, was convinced that Dr. Baxter charged the Indians for his services. (64)

On May 6 came the order from Secretary C. N. Bliss to break up the community farms and to apportion "in severalty ownership among the Indians" the 30,000 acres of land irrigable at that time. (65)

About the farming methods on the Reservation, Agent George W. H. Stouch wrote:

The only change made under my administration is, that instead of a district working one piece of ground, and dividing the proceeds pro rata, the districts are divided into small plots, and about six
individuals work each plot, and the proceeds divided according to the number of days' work performed by each... (66)

When there was enough irrigable land so each Indian received forty acres, he said, "We will then be ready for an alloting agent." (66)

That summer Agent Stouch estimated the Crows could supply all of the beef required on the Reservation. (67)

In June Edward H. Becker was assigned charge of Crow Agency. By August he was exasperated with Indian complaints. The Watson accounts of 1897 were still unsettled. (68) In September he wrote Commissioner Jones:

I wish to say that the complaints of the Indians regarding the money due on vouchers now in your Department, is almost unbearable. They are coming in in wagons loaded to the guards to file protests against the office for the unjust treatment they have received in this matter. They think that inasmuch as the Government has practically cut them off on rations they should at least receive money justly due them for supplies furnished this Agency... (69)

Agent Becker wrote again in October. (70) By March, 1899, when Agent Becker inquired about the $15,508.77 claim, the Treasury Department was handling it. (71)

Fort Custer was abandoned in 1898 and Army inspectors sent from Fort Yellowstone, Wyoming. Lieutenant F. T. Arnold found all the clothing good in 1899, except for the blankets. They were too thin, too light, and too coarse. "By taking hold of the edge with the fingers," he reported, "I could tear them with very slight effort." (72) Commissioner W. A. Jones demanded a sample of the material. (72)

Agent Becker wrote Commissioner Jones:
On behalf of the Crow tribe of Indians, I desire to be placed on record for furnishing the entire amount of flour needed at the Cheyenne Agency . . . for the fiscal year 1900, beginning July 1st, next.

The grade of flour will be of first class quality. . . . (73)

By February Agent Becker was able to say the people of northern Wyoming were buying Crow flour, and the nearby towns preferred "the Crow brand to that of any other flour offered in their markets." (74) The Crow Reservation was becoming a bread basket.

Agent Becker had $10,000 from the Indian herd fund to distribute; $8620.78 was due to the Indians from the sale of their cattle in 1898. Becker wanted the amount deposited to his credit so he could pay the Indians. But his request had never been fulfilled, and, as Becker said, the Indians were "beginning to be somewhat suspicious on this account and imagine that it might be a repetition of the Watson affair." (75) Becker accused a Commissioner of intercepting the money. (76)

In 1898 the Government believed it was time for the Crows to cede the northern portion of their Reservation. Assistant Commissioner A. C. Tonner telegraphed Agent Becker to hold a council with the Indians and assist the commissioners. The Crows met and two of the commissioners talked to them briefly. There was to be another council in January, 1899. But snow prevented the arrival of the commissioners. Annuity payments were put off, and the Indians camped in the western part of the Reservation. In the end of February the Crows appeared at the Agency, but the Council was moved to the Big Horn Sub-agency. "I thought this a very unwise policy," Becker wrote, "for to this a suspicion of jealousy
would be created among the leaders of the tribe." (77) Therefore he did not attend the meeting. He thought the Indians had no use for the northern portion, bordering the Yellowstone River. When the Crows asked for Becker's advice about selling the area, he refused to help them.

The Commissioner disagreed with Becker; the Agent was supposed to assemble the Indians and always advise them. (77)

In April Becker wrote Senator Thomas Carter that he thought the Crows would sell the northern portion. He confessed he had "property interests" in that area. In any case Becker offered to help the Government obtain any portion of the Reservation. (78)

But Agent Becker was hiding more interests than just land. The Clerk of the Indian Office, Dickson, telegraphed the Commissioner on May 17 that he found evidence at the Agency to warrant the suspension of Becker. (79) The same day Becker telegraphed for a public hearing. (80) Three days later Charles H. Dickson completed his report and presented his charges to Becker. Agent Becker employed three lawyers and a stenographer and demanded the full report. (81) Dickson listed twenty-two charges against Agent Becker. Becker had used "intimidation" and "misrepresentation" to obstruct the investigation; he used profane language before employees and Indians; he had not made any effort to stop the liquor traffic on the Reservation; he had made fun of the Indians in councils; he was influenced by cattlemen leasing Reservation land, and he had interests in Babcock's store; he had not accounted for all funds; without authority he let stockmen graze on the Reservation,
and without authority he often left the Agency. Dickson added, "For past week he has acted (even according to statement of his friends) like a crazy man." Finally, Agent Becker commenced issuing unauthorized annuity payments in order to obtain Indian support.

Inspector Arthur Tinker appeared on the Reservation shortly afterwards. One of Becker's attorneys told Henry Kaiser, a squaw man, that the other witnesses against Becker had withdrawn. But it was another example of "intimidation." A second Inspector showed up. He was W. H. Graves, the former Superintendent of the Irrigation Survey.

Senator T. C. Power, on behalf of Becker, telegraphed the Commissioner:

I am afraid through trumped up affidavits of Squaw men and others arranged by unscrupulous interested parties Becker of Crow Agency is having a hard time. Will you see the President whom I understand has called for his resignation and ask that he has a fair chance. Becker was the only outspoken Honest McKinley newspaper man in all Eastern and Southern Montana three years ago . . .

Inspector Arthur M. Tinker was not idle. He collected speeches and statements in defense of Becker. George Pease wrote a statement for the Crows of Lodge Grass:

We hear that some talk of putting our Agent Major Becker out, now we want him to stay as our agent. Be cause he is our friend & looks after our interest, we know why all this Kick is made, it is be cause he wont let those robers get their work in on him. And another thing we like to keep him be cause he is the first Agent we ever had for along time that don't get drunk & he all ways pay us what money its coming to us & don't put it in the Banks & draw interest on it & tell us its busted & can't get our money. And we can tell you more if its necessary.

Seventy-six Crows signed the statement, including Spotted Horse, Medicine Crow, White-Man-Runs-Him, Old Crow, Bright Wing, and Yellow Tail.

At the Council on May 29, Tinker spoke with Plenty Coos. Plenty
Coos, however, was more concerned with the treaty severing the northern portion of the Reservation and with the unfulfilled promises remaining from the previous treaties. In the Council of May 31, Spotted Horse presented his concern with the way the rations were cut off without Indian consent, and he wanted Indians to replace the office employees at the Agency. Plenty Coos was critical of Becker for not getting a school or a mill for Pryor.(85)

When Inspector Walter Graves arrived at the Agency on May 24, he noted that Becker had surrounded the Agency with Indians, some of whom were hostile to the Irrigation Survey. Dickson was trying to find the facts while Becker's lawyers were trying to prevent the search. Then Graves found out that the First National Bank of Billings had 30,000 sheep on the Reservation. The Bank had paid Becker, but he never accounted for the money. Becker called upon his friends for $7000, which they provided him, so that he could produce it if requested. Graves thought Dickson was too frank and too ignorant of "chicanery and crookedness" to delve deeply, and Tinker was "at the mercy of the Agent."(86)

Tinker held an open court investigation, but the employees did not want to appear in front of Becker's "jeering crowd" of squaw men and half-breeds. Inspector Tinker threatened the employees with suspension if they did not appear. Dickson protested that there was supposed to be "an investigation and not a trial."(86) Becker called the Indians together several times to tell them that the Department had robbed them by spending their money on the ditch work, and he asked them to demand
settlement of their claims. He told the Indians not to sell more land. Graves concluded:

This entire business is so farcical that it is humiliating to anyone to be in any way connected with it. The conduct of Agent Becker has been so frivolous and irrational that had it not been for the vicious and evil results it might be treated with contempt, but he has sown the seed of discontent and suspicion in the minds of the Indians, and the Government will be reaping the harvest for many years. . . . (86)

The Department sent John E. Edwards in June to act as Agent, and wired Tinker to go to Cheyenne River Agency. (87) Becker sent a list of vouchers "covering all outstanding indebtedness" during the time he was Agent. The list contained vouchers mostly to traders. But he still owed the Crow Indians $1,169.25 for hay, $41.01 for oats, $170.20 for flour, and $2,654.64 for beef. (88)

Dickson inspected the traders on the Crow Reservation. E. A. Richardson traded at Crow Agency; he had straight ledgers and itemized accounts of Indian purchases. A. L. Babcock had a store at the Big Horn Mission. Charles T. Babcock, however, had a disreputable business at the Agency, and the Indians complained about his store. Sits Down Spotted entered an agreement with this store to supply eighty sacks of wheat. The store owed him $69, which Dickson settled while he was there. Warren A. Evans, the deputy postmaster at the Agency, confused White Swan, a crippled scout of the Custer Battle, about the number of pension checks he received. White Swan only received two checks, and Charles Babcock told him one of the checks was not worth as much as it was. The other checks had been opened and forged. Evans produced
evidence that White Swan was accredited by Babcock's store with the other checks. But White Swan told Dickson what happened was that he borrowed a wagon for the Decoration Day celebrations. When he returned it, he was informed he owned the wagon and the store charged him $100. Dickson recommended Babcock's license be allowed to expire. (89) By April of 1900, C. T. Babcock sold out to A. L. Babcock. (90)

In the end of July, Dickson reported on the Agency mill where the Indians exchanged their wheat for flour. The records from April 4, 1896, to May 31, 1899, showed that the miller, Ross, was not giving equal pounds of flour and feed for the pounds of wheat received. Ross claimed the differences were due to shrinkage and weeds. The amount of shrinkage on some loads seemed extreme, but Dickson found no case in which Ross made extra money from the Indians. (91)

On March 25, 1901, President William McKinley ordered another survey and allotting of the Crow Reservation. (92) John K. Rankin, the allotting agent, found two abandoned military reservations on the Crow Reservation. Old Fort C. F. Smith, which had been abandoned in 1871 was on the Limestone Military Reservation. The Fort Custer Military Reservation, six miles square, had been abandoned in 1898. There was nothing left of Fort Smith "beyond a few piles of adobe." (93) And Fort Custer was "dismantled, dried up, and rapidly going to destruction." (93) The Secretary of War relinquished these areas on April 23, 1902. (94)
On August 14, 1899, Chief Plenty Coos, Two Le'ggins, and 535 Crow males signed an Agreement with Commissioners B. F. Barge, J. H. McNeely, and C. G. Hoyt to cede a portion of surplus lands north of Fort Custer. The Crows were to cede 1,082,000 acres, which was about one-third of the Reservation. The irrigation project would still be on the diminished Reservation, and each Indian man, woman, and child would have 1200 acres. The Government was to pay the Crows $1,150,000, to be distributed for irrigation, for heifers, jackasses, ewes, for barbed wire, for the school, for a hospital, for a mill at Pryor and at Big Horn, and for a trip to Washington. The remaining money was to be held in trust, and the interest was to be used for annuity payments. The Indians could hold allotments on the ceded portion, but the Secretary of Interior was to set a date by which time those living on the ceded portion would have to elect to move to the diminished Reserve or stay on the ceded tract.

The Agreement became a bill and was introduced into the Senate in 1900. In the following year the Crows initiated four amendments to the bill, and Agent Edwards went to Washington, D.C., in support of ceding the northern portion.

The thumping of drums was still considered evil, instead of beautiful. On January 6, 1902, the Commissioner prohibited dances and feasts on the Crow Reservation, and the agent was to use his power to suppress them. Agent Edwards suppressed the custom of throwing away wives, but he did not think dancing should cease as long as it was mere dancing.
In spite of three petitions from the Crows to retain Edwards, the Department sent Samuel G. Reynolds as Agent. Early in 1902 the Commissioner issued instructions to cut down the subsistence and clothing estimates and raise the number of Indians employed. (98) Agent Reynolds cut rations from 950 able-bodied Indians under forty years of age and from their families. He also reduced the rations for all others to one-half. There were, however, no nearby ranches to hire Indians, and the nearest towns were seventy miles away. The Crows abandoned the community farms, and moved to their allotments. The beef shipments from the Crow herd amounted to nothing. (99) A fierce hail storm destroyed the ripening hay crop. "This storm was so severe that it blew down almost every tepee and tent on the Reservation," Reynolds reported. (100)

There were 470 Indians who needed no rations, 300 who needed beef rations part of the time, 400 who needed full beef rations, and 700 who needed full rations. (100) By 1903 the Agency was filled with efficient Indians. Harry Throssell and Frank Shiveley were office clerks; Henry Ketosh, an engineer; Woodtick, the blacksmith at Pryor; David Stewart, the Agency blacksmith; Frank Shane, the carpenter; Carl Leider was the chief herder with Richard Wallace, Sees a White Horse, and Bad Bear as his assistants.

Special Agent Frank M. Conser believed the Indians needed better supervision.

The Crows are quite immoral and the marriage tie has very little significance with them. The accompaniments of the Indian dance make it a source of much evil and tend to keep them impoverished to quite an extent. . . . (101)
At the Big Horn dance during Christmas 1901, the Pryor Crows, numbering about 500, gave the Big Horn Crows 500 horses, 23 buggies, 200 shawls, 600 blankets, 800 quilts, 50 tents, 50 stoves, 1000 elk teeth, coffee, tea, sugar, overcoats, shirts and clothing, or a total of $13,610 of goods. Conser thought it was "appalling" that the Crows should be so generous, and he was glad the Agent was "discouraging" dancing and prohibiting the giving of presents."(101) Conser also mentioned the difficulty Rankin was having making the allotments. "Family names are not adhered to and in the future to determine the heirship to these lands will be difficult."(101) Keeping family history records, and keeping records of all the marriages, divorces, and adoptions caused Agent Reynolds to request three more Indian clerks in May.(102)

Congressman Joseph Dixon of Montana introduced the bill containing the Agreement of 1899 into the House at the end of 1903. There were several differences between the bill and the treaty. The Government could not give the Crows the sum of money as promised in the Agreement because of the homestead laws passed in the 1902 Act. The land would be sold first, then the money received would be given to the Crows. Agent Reynolds predicted the irrigable land would sell without trouble, but irrigable land was only 150,000 acres of what had to be sold. The other million acres would be auctioned in tracts of 320 acres. "This in my mind," Reynolds wrote, "will prohibit the selling of these lands almost entirely... as we figure that it takes from 20 to 30 acres of this kind of land to run a critter or
When the bill passed the Senate, eager homesteaders thought the land was open. Agent Reynolds made several trips to "eject" whites who had moved in and already cut Indian fences. The controversial Act was approved on April 27, 1904 (see Map 3). The first part reaffirmed the Agreement of 1899. The second part of the Act included the modifications of 1901. The First Article relinquished the northern portion of the Reservation including Fort Custer. The Second Article disposed of the land under the Reclamation Act of June 17, 1902, governing homestead and town-sites. The Government was to sell the land before appropriating money. The money was to be appropriated in accordance with the Agreement as modified in 1902. Thus the Crow Fund became hopelessly divided among items of doubtful interest to the Crows. The Ninth Article stipulated the Indians had to move back to the diminished Reserve before a time specified by the Secretary or stay on the allotments of the ceded portion. This Article was designed to prevent the confusion which developed when the western portion was opened (see Chapter V). The President was permitted to lower the prices of the land if it did not sell. Some of the land never sold.

The proof that homesteaders were disappointed about the land ceded in the 1904 Act was shown in the numerous bills introduced into Congress to open the remaining Reservation (see Chapter IX). Rankin and Reynolds wrote a joint letter against one bill in 1905. They also thought the northern portion should not be opened until the proposed
CROW RESERVATION
1904

MAP 3

ADAPTED FROM
2034-L/04 (SC 147) (NO. 1)
High Line ditch of the Reclamation Bureau was constructed as this would bring the Crows more money for the land (see Chapter IV). But money was never appropriated for the ditch, and on July 16, 1906, the northern portion was opened for entry.

Special Agent Charles McNichols reported in the fall of 1904 that "partly as a means of allaying the discontent of the Indians at not being allowed as heretofore, to visit County fair distant from the reservation an agricultural fair for Indians products was held near the Agency." $500 was received from the receipts, and gambling was prohibited.

The interest the Indians took in preparing their exhibits, in oiling their harness and grooming their stock is described as very encouraging. Intense interest was taken in the various competitions and it is said that a large percentage of the Indians are already planting crops and caring for stock with a view to next fall's fair. . . .

It is just possible that such fairs may yet prove a great aid in getting Indians interested in agriculture. I believe this is an entirely new feature of reservation work.

McNichols said the "real test of assimilation has not yet begun here."

The Crows are wedded to the old life as few other Indians are. Nearly all the adult males wear long braided hair. The women all wear distinctly Indian dress—blankets, short skirts and leggings. The school girl discards the dress of civilization as soon as she returns to camp or allotment. . . .

Father P. Prando of the St. Xavier Mission, remarking on Crow morals to Agent Reynolds, said "that putting the other tribes he had been with down to the lowest point the Crow Indians would still be forty degrees below that." Prando referred to
an instance that took place at a Christmas dance in the Black Lodge district last December: One of the Indians announced that all the squaws who had been true to their husbands during the past year could go into the center of the ring and receive prizes. Two squaws stood up and two bucks immediately arose and announced that one of the squaws was not telling the truth as they had been intimate with her during the past year. (109)

In 1905 Agent Reynolds broke up all camps on the Crow Reservation "where any number of Indians were congregated ... ." (109)

Agent Reynolds requested money from the 1904 Act to establish a permanent fair grounds at the Agency. The Crows used to go to the fairs at Billings and Sheridan. "Our Western fairs cater largely to the wild west element and consist more largely of sporting character than they do to an agricultural character." (110) The Agency got the money and the authority.

At the end of 1901, the Crows owed the five stores on the Reservation a total of $21,540.26 for credit. In the fall of 1902, Agent Reynolds told the traders not to trade on credit the things the Indians did not need. But, by December, the Crows owed $19,658.07. In the end of 1903, they owed $15,839.36. The Crows bought seeds and implements from the traders, and many young Indians by 1905 thought they had no obligation to pay for the things they bought. (111)

The ex-Agent, J. E. Edwards, who had been trading at Crow Agency, sold his business to E. A. Richardson. Edwards wrote that trading with the Indians was becoming unprofitable.

Through the policy of the Department whereby an agent was not allowed to insist upon an Indian paying all of his just debts, the Crows have become harder each year to collect from; and now if informed that they have reached their limit of credit will repudiate then and there all
debts, knowing that the agent can do nothing and that there is no other recourse for the trader. (112).

Plenty Coos requested the Commissioner use the funds that were to be set aside for the hospital, sheep, and jackasses in the 1904 Act to buy cattle. But the Commissioner replied the money could be used only in accordance with Article Two of the Act. Plenty Coos wanted the rations increased because the people were not getting enough food. But the Commissioner told him to see the Agent. Referring to a Supreme Court ruling that Indians could go off reservation to buy whiskey, Plenty Coos wanted the Commissioner to make a special exception to prevent the Crows. The Tribe wanted Reynolds for another four years as he had "stimulated them to work and make a living," and they wanted to have "recreation and amusement" permitted on Sundays as they were working hard during the week. The Commissioner said there was a difference between "rest" and "excitement." He did not want the Indians to engage in activities "which may tend to demoralize home life or prevent your proper progress along the line of civilization." (113)

Inspector James McLaughlin visited the Reservation in January 1906. Rations had been completely cut off, and the Crows were building with materials from Old Fort Custer. (114)

News of open land spread far. A fellow called McIntosh in Chicago claimed to be a member of "one of the tribes of Crow Indians." (115) McIntosh conducted what E. L. Cudebeck of the Dentistry School deduced was a swindle among the Negroes telling them they could go to the Crow
Reservation and purchase homes from the Indians. Later, George Slater described a man in Illinois called Pain who claimed to be a Crow with authority "to raise a colony of colored people and adopt them into the Crow Tribes of Wyoming" where they could obtain 320 acres of land.

Agent Reynolds punished eleven cases of Indians throwing away their wives in the first two months of 1906. Throwing them in the guard house was the solution used.

The second Crow Fair took place in the end of September; it was called an "industrial fair."

The expense of running the Crow Reservation was solved by selling land. From 1880 to 1904 the Government had no other recourse. The Act of 1882 gave the Crows money for the land west of the Boulder River. The money was handled by the Office of Indian Affairs to run the Reservation and build homes for the Indians. The Crows agreed to sell the western portion of the Reservation in the Act of 1891. The Department chose to use the money in constructing the Crow irrigation system. In the Agreement of 1899 the Crows sold the northern portion of the Reservation. The money this time was to be used for many things including the purchase of cattle. Between the signing of the Agreement and the ratification of it in the Act of 1904, the Government passed another law governing the disposal of land. The Government did not actually break the Agreement of 1899; it had to modify it. Yet three mistakes were made in passing the Act of 1904. First, the Government did not hold a council to inform the Crows of the necessity for modifying the Agreement of 1899. Second,
the land had to be sold first before the Crows could get money from it, and the land had to be sold in small homestead tracts. It never sold very well. Third, the Act divided the Crow fund into too many parts. The problems of a divided fund were known two years later; by 1909 the Crows regretted it. After 1904, however, the Office of Indian Affairs opposed selling Crow land (see Chapter IX).

The agents ruling the Crow Reservation from the 1880's to 1909 were men of strong character. There was Agent Williamson who refused to deal with the Indians in councils. Agent Briscoe, who hated squaw men, only lasted a year in office. His resignation of early 1889 was clouded by hints of corruption. The multi-sided Agent Wyman was difficult to understand. He saw prestige involved in holding Indian councils, in employing Indians, and in filling all the schools. Many complaints were lodged against the man, so that in 1893 investigations were held. It was true he had on at least one occasion failed to pay the Indians for work they did. Many small things which looked wrong were added up against him. Wyman was finally removed in the end of 1893. Lieutenant Watson assumed charge beginning in 1894. By 1897 investigations proved he had misused thousands of dollars. Captain Stouch was transferred to Crow Agency for a few months. It was long enough for him to straighten out the finances, count up the Indian cattle, and tidy the Reservation for Agent Becker who took over in 1899. Becker was certainly the most obscure character. In being the first one to oppose the policy of selling Reservation land in 1899, the Indian Office thought Becker
committed his first sin. His sin was really patronizing the Crows before it was a policy to patronize Indians. Then, too, by holding sway over the Crows, Becker was able to cover up a few thousands of dollars. Agent Edwards came to the Reservation in 1899 and set everything straight again. His appointment was one of the best moves the Indian Office made, and by 1901 he was successful in bringing the cattlemen to their knees (see Chapter II).

From Appendix B, List 2, it is possible to see that by Agent Briscoe's time there was equal employment of Indians and whites at the Agency. Agent Wyman increased the number of employees, still keeping Indians and whites equal. After Wyman's time the Indian employees were outnumbered until the coming of Agent Reynolds in 1902. By 1903 many of the office positions were filled with Indians.

In the 1880's the line of communication was primarily from the Department of Interior to the Office of Indian Affairs to the agent, and eventually to the Indian Council. Beginning in the 1890's a few chiefs went to the agents and personally requested councils. After the turn of the century, the situation changed rapidly. As the future seemed more and more insecure, a few Crows saw the need for a smaller organization, speedier action, more specialization and independence (see Chapter X).
CHAPTER II

CATTLE GRAZING

Driving cattle to Montana from Texas commenced in 1866 when Nelson Story brought his herd to Bozeman. In the 1870's thousands of herds were driven north. Although barbed wire was being invented, it did not reach the Crow Reservation for twenty years. Thus cattlemen hired riders whose reputations varied. As the thundering hooves filled the ranges surrounding the Crow Reservation, there arose from the cattlemen protest for more grazing land. The problem belonged to the Interior Department. South of the Yellowstone River and north of Wyoming Territory was just such land; it had fed buffalo for centuries. With the buffalo nearly gone, the grass bowed in the wind as if inviting sharp flat teeth. An exciting game developed between the cattlemen and the Office of Indian Affairs. The game began with one trespassing case and did not end until after forty years of corruption. On the surface both parties engaged in the game for economic reasons; theoretically both parties should have benefited. The Government, for its part, needed money to buy food for the Crows, and the cattlemen had the money. To make the game interesting, there was a third party who supposedly owned the grass. The game was new to the Crows, and it took them twenty years to learn a few tricks.
The procedures for grazing cattle on the Crow Reservation remained obscure until the Senate requested a report concerning the taxing of cattle grazing or crossing the Reservation. Agent Armstrong reported there were only two grazing permits on the Reservation at that time. The background of these two permits was included in the Secretary's report of December 30.

In 1882 a battalion of cavalry under Major Merrill was stationed near Billings on the south side of the Yellowstone River. James L. Ash was given permission to bring his cattle over the River to supply the military with milk. His cattle soon became so accustomed to the range that neither Ash nor the Agency herder could keep them off the Reservation. Late fall in 1883 Ash asked the Agent for permission to leave his cattle south of the River, and Armstrong let him.

In 1883 Thomas Kent, a squaw man on the Reservation, sold his herd and went into the sheep business. Then R. B. Briggs sought permission to leave the 750 cattle, which he had bought from Kent, on the Reservation under Kent's management. The Department instructed the Agent on July 7 to issue a temporary permit.

In August J. C. Wilson, of Kansas, wrote Commissioner Thomas Ryan that he wanted to lease a portion of the Reservation. The letter went to the Secretary's office. Secretary M. W. Joslyn responded with no particular objections provided the Indians granted permission and the Department supervised. But the lease was not approved.

In the following year Secretary Teller wrote Agent Armstrong:
If the Indians, on their own motion, choose to allow stockmen to pasture their cattle on the reservation, paying therefor a fair sum, they have the right to do so under the statute of the United States. But under no circumstances should the agent initiate such a movement, and all the agent should do is look after the interests of the Indians and see that they are not cheated. . . .(1)

When another party wanted a Departmental lease, Commissioner Stevens replied that Departmental leases did not exist. The Indians gave grazing permission, and there were to be no "permanent improvements," liquor, or fire-arms allowed on the Reservation.

A Council was held on October 29, 1884. All the land west of Pompey's Pillar and west of Fort C. F. Smith was to be leased to J. T. Blake and J. C. Wilson, except for the Yellowstone bottom lands. The area covered 1,500,000 acres and much mountainous land. If the lessees failed to pay, their cattle and horses were to be held. The agreement was signed by Chiefs Fringe, Old Dog, Horse Guard, Takes Wrinkle, Spaniard, Old Crow, Dog Eye, Long Elk, Pretty Gutts, Crazy-Sister-in-Law, Old Nest, Medicine Crow, Bear-in-the-Water, Bull Goes Hunting, Two Belly, Big Ox, Fire Fish, Big Forehead, Plenty Coos, Pretty Eagle, Iron Bull, Spotted Horse, Crazy Head, Buffalo Well Known, and a total of 439 Crows.

After the Agency was moved, Malcolm McDonald of Stillwater wrote the President that Armstrong was forcing the Indians to lease the Reservation west of the Big Horn to "a Denver syndicate of cattle men."(1) He claimed the Agent threatened to withhold rations unless the Crows signed the twenty-five year lease. Armstrong replied that he had not
forced the lease signing. The Committee of Citizens of Yellowstone County complained to Commissioner Hiram Price that the area actually contained 3,500,000 acres. (1)

As Armstrong had not realized the Department raised the beef contract twenty-five percent, he told the Crows during the Council of 1884 that they would have to decrease the beef rations in order "to make our supply of beef cattle last through the year." (2) He said the Billings Committee of Board of Trade interfered with the business by locating unfriendly Indians through a squaw man. These Indians went to Junction City where the Committee "worked upon them." (2) They told the Indians not to talk to the Agent and to prevent other Indians from talking with him. "They got Spotted Horse who is as mean an Indian as ever lived to sign the remonstrance against the lease as a War Chief . . ." (2)

On the day they took testimony as they called it, they had Spotted Horse and Deaf Bull, who is a terror among the Crows, take seats at the table next to the seat that was reserved for the Indians the committee proposed to question; for the purpose of compelling all the Crows to talk as they wanted them to talk or to keep those who would not talk so from talking at all. . . (2) Spotted Horse threatened to kill the Indians who did not stop farming. Hence the tribe fell into "doubt as to what was the best thing for them to do, and so either staid away entirely to avoid quarreling with Spotted Horse and his young men and Deaf Bull, or else said they wanted the lease stopped . . ." (2)

In the spring and fall round-ups, cattlemen were allowed to send
representatives to claim strays which had wandered upon the Reservation. But some of the cattlemen violated this regulation. By 1885 Agent Armstrong wanted troops to prevent "the stock men from the north side of the Yellowstone coming upon this reservation for the purpose of rounding up and removing their cattle which they have purposely driven across the Yellowstone . . ."(3) Protest came from the Board of Stock Commissioners in the Territory of Montana. Granville Stuart wrote the Secretary that the Agent was preventing the cattlemen from recovering lost cattle which crossed the River during storms.(4) Armstrong replied that the association made untrue statements. He heard from reliable men living along the Yellowstone "that these cattle were driven across in great numbers."(4) Hay was strewn across the river to attract them.(5)

The Act of 1882 granted permission for cattlemen to drive their herds across the Crow Reservation. James Cox drove cattle across the Reservation in August, 1884, without paying the toll. In 1885 the Case of U.S. v. James M. Cox was tried, and U.S. lost because the letter reducing the charge had been written five days after the cattle commenced crossing.(6)

In 1886, the application for Thomas Barry to graze sheep on the Reservation met "the approval of the tribe . . ."(7) J. A. Campbell, manager of the Columbia Land and Cattle Company, wanted to graze his cattle on the north-east corner of the Reservation because he found it difficult to keep them off.(8) Soon many cattlemen desired to graze on the Reservation. They had to obtain Indian consent through the agent,
then their applications were forwarded to the commissioner for Departmental approval.

Secretary L. Q. C. Lamar refused to recognize the Blake and Wilson lease. Agent Williamson reiterated the need for grazing permits. "Without permits issued," he wrote, "thousands of cattle will be driven on reserve without permission and they will run the risk of paying one Dollar . . . per head fine, rather than have their cattle die on the ranges that are overstocked off the reserve. . . ."(10)

James A. Campbell had been among Crow scouts for many years and was a scout at Fort Custer. As Campbell was still having difficulty keeping his cattle off the Reservation, he met the Indians at the Agency office on November 19. Chief Plenty Coos, Two Belly, Spotted Horse, Pretty Eagle, Old Dog, and others all consented to let Campbell graze his cattle on the Reservation until they desired him to remove them.(11)

There was a Council at the Agency on April 23, 1887. Representing the Crow Tribe were 350 chiefs and head men. Agent Williamson reminded the Indians that "many cattle have grazed on your reservation for which you have received no pay."(12) He told the Indians each head of a family could receive a wagon if they granted grazing permits. Chiefs Crazy Head and Plenty Coos wanted J. A. Campbell to graze east of the Agency and Nelson Story to graze in the west by the Old Agency. The votes were all "yes."(12) By May five cattle companies desired grazing permits for that year.(13)
Secretary Lamar, after considering the report on grazing permits, wrote the Commissioner that permits would expire November 1.

The Agent should be instructed to have the Indians in council designate as early as possible the portions of the reservation which they desire to permit cattle to be grazed upon. Natural boundaries should be selected as far as possible to separate the grazing lands from those allotted to or cultivated by the Indians. When this is reported to your Office proposals should be invited by public advertisement for permits under proper regulations, for the privilege of grazing cattle on the portions of the reservation designated by the Indians for that purpose; . . . (14)

The Third Article of the Act of April 11, 1882, stipulated that the Tribe could consent to permit cattle to cross or graze on the Reservation, but the permits were to be regulated by the Secretary. The Council of April 23, 1887, came to be regarded as that Tribal consent, and the Department chose to regulate by leasing to the highest bidders.

Agent Williamson wrote against the bidding system. The Tribe had "in most instances mentioned the persons whom they are willing should put their herds on the reserve . . ." (15) The cattlemen the Indians wanted on the Reservation had "treated the Indians kindly and fairly . . ." (15) In approving the Blake-Wilson lease proposal, the Indians . . . did not do so with a single eye to accommodate all the stock which the whole of their reservation, . . . would sustain. . . . What the Indians as a tribe desired was, that certain portions of their unoccupied lands should be let to stock men in whom they had perfect confidence, . . . (15)

If the Department wanted to enforce its regulation against the desires of the Crows, then someone else would have to be sent out because Williamson refused to face such "great embarrassment." (15)
Allotting Agent James Howard also wrote against leasing to the highest bidder. "These Indians," he said, "would 'Kick' and 'Buck', and would not stand a lease at all." (16) He said the Crows had not forgotten what Sitting Bull told them the previous year: "that the white men only wanted to squat them down on a small piece of land, and take the balance from them in some way.

When Inspector Frank Armstrong arrived in October to investigate the Crow uprising (see Chapter VI), he reported to Secretary Lamar that the Department had a better idea of what to do about cattle grazing than Agent Williamson did. What was more, the Secretary's orders and the Commissioner's orders had not been complied with by the Agent; no councils had been held. The cattlemen occupying the Reservation would bid the highest for each area, and the Indians would get more money from them.

As to the matter of Indians having a special preference for certain parties, such preference or favors, are generally obtained by a little tract or liberal lobbying on the part of those favored, or on account of some special kindness shown the Indians. . . . (17)

Inspector Armstrong held a Council on November 7 and telegraphed the Secretary that the Crows would designate the parts of the Reservation for grazing "under the directions & arrangements of the Dept. . . ." (18) But the next day the Crows petitioned the President "to have all herds removed from this Reservation as soon as grass comes in Spring" except for Campbell's herd. (19)

The Commissioner ordered that the Agent hold another Council to
designate areas for grazing to be let to highest bidders. The Crows went "through the snow and storm" to the Council held on December 31. Chiefs Pretty Eagle and Plenty Coos were disappointed that what they had told Armstrong had not been sent to the Commissioner, but to the Secretary. They said the only man they would consent to have on the Reservation was Campbell, and they wanted him east of Tullock Fork. All the Indians present supported the statements by the two chiefs. (20) (Unfortunately the Council with Armstrong was not available for comparison.) Hence the Crow Indians were successful in holding off the bidding system for three years.

On April 27, 1888, there was another Council. Chiefs Pretty Eagle and Old Dog wanted only J. A. Campbell allowed to run his cattle on the Reservation. But Chief Plenty Coos wanted all cattlemen removed from the Reservation. (21)

Agent Briscoe wrote Commissioner Atkins that "on his way home from that council, 'Plenty Coos' ordered the Cattlemen to move, but told them they 'could come back after a while' if they would pay him money." (22) So Briscoe visited Plenty Coos' band and found that none of the Indians wanted the cattle moved. He reprimanded Plenty Coos, but Plenty Coos said it was the sheep he wanted removed. "I am fully satisfied," Briscoe wrote, "that 'Plenty Coos' wants the cattle to stay, and only urged their removal thinking he would make money thereby." (22)

There were 30,000 cattle and 30,000 sheep on the Reservation.
Most of the cattle belonged to Campbell of the Hardin Campbell and Company, James L. Ash, the Cramer Brothers; Nelson Story, Jeffers and Maynard, R. B. Briggs, Dilworth, Anderson, and Paul McCormick. These cattlemen were on the Reservation, as Agent Briscoe said: "with the full knowledge and consent of the Indians except as to 'Plenty-Coos.'" (22)

Ten cents per head was the customary charge on cattle driven across the Reservation from Wyoming to the Northern Pacific Railroad. In 1888 a number of cattlemen were confronted with the same charge per head on cattle driven from the Yellowstone River to the railroad right of way at Custer Station or Huntley; it was a total distance of about one mile. At the end of December, Senator Charles Reade took the cattlemen's side. "Mr. Briscoe has evidently mistaken the spirit of the regulations," he wrote. "The letter of the law may allow this charge, but it is worthy of inquiry whether Congress contemplated an obstruction to daily railroad traffic by the imposition of this tax." (23) A newspaper clipping from the Pioneer Press explained that Agent Briscoe seemed "to be as badly rattled on the law and regulation as his predecessor." (22) Agent Briscoe replied that he had acted under authority from Commissioner Upshaw to collect tolls on all cattle and sheep crossing the Reservation. Hence he had written to the Northern Pacific Railroad not to ship any cattle until all tolls were collected. The owners of 1200 cattle refused to pay the toll, and the Northern Pacific agent would not aid in collecting the toll. Briscoe wanted the matter taken to the U.S. District Attorney.

Secretary W. F. Vilas asked for a report on the amount of grazing
that was taking place on the strip of land between the Yellowstone and the stations to see whether any damage needed to be compensated. Agent Briscoe sent his report in 1889. The cattle being driven to Custer Station were held north of the Yellowstone until the cars were ready; the cattle were then driven across the River and over one-half mile to the station. No damage was done. At Huntley the case was different. Often the cattlemen held their cattle south of the Yellowstone on the Reservation. Agent Briscoe thought all cattle going onto the Reservation ought to be taxed or else the Montana cattlemen would have an advantage over the Wyoming cattlemen.

I will say that whenever I have been advised by the owner's of a herd of Cattle that they intended driving onto the Reserve, I have deemed it my duty - to give them all the protection in my power - and have alway's met the herd with a policeman - who had order's to guide & protect the herd and allow no Indians to disturb them. Consequently all driver's were satisfied except two parties who came onto the Reservation via 'Pryor's Gap'. These men failed to notify me of their intention to drive to Huntley, so I could not protect them. One Indian - 'Sharp Head' attempted to black mail them, and threatened to stampede the herd's unless they gave him beef - They were compelled to comply with his demand's - and then protested against paying the toll - and blamed me for not affording them protection.

This Black mailing scheme on the part of the Indian is the principal objection to opening free cattle trails across the Reservation. The Indians will black mail and unless a toll is paid the Government is under no obligations to afford protection.

No advertisements for bids appeared in 1889. Agent Briscoe issued a grazing permit to the Hurlbut Land and Cattle Company. When the manager desired to increase his herd, Chief Plenty Coos and Pretty Eagle requested a Council which was held on June 30. Plenty Coos did not want the extra cattle of the Hurlbut Company on the Reservation. He and
Pretty Eagle objected again on July 7.

When Agent Wyman sought instructions from the Commissioner regarding the Hurlbut Company, he received notice that the permit issued by Briscoe "was unwarranted and in excess of his authority."(25) The Agent was supposed to hold a council to determine "the number of cattle (if any) they were willing to have driven upon their lands, and the portion of the reservation they are to have pastured."(25) Agent Wyman himself could not understand the Indians objecting to the Hurlbut Company on the Reservation as they liked the equipment purchased with the money. But he could not call a council as the Crows were in the mountains collecting their winter supply of berries.

Agent Wyman also believed the cattlemen grazing herds of 2000 or more on the Reservation should hire Indians as one third of their employees. The Columbia Land and Cattle Company, Hardin Campbell and Company, and Nelson Story employed Indians. The Agency also had three Indian assistant herders who were worth more than whites hired for twice the salary.

The Commissioner eventually approved the increase of cattle for the Hurlbut Company, but he requested a council be held to discuss how many cattle the Indians would permit to graze away from their farms; the boundaries of the pastures were not to be mentioned.(25) All that Agent Wyman reported was that both Plenty Coos and Pretty Eagle withdrew their objections to the Hurlbut Company.(26)

Inspector W. W. Junkin supported Briscoe's view in the cattle
toll problem. He did not recommend free trails. Allotting Agent Howard had surveyed a strip including 800 acres between the Yellowstone River and the Northern Pacific right of way. Two squaw men had claimed parts of the strip for "their Indian children and have charged for corral stock in their inclosures," Junkin said. There was a border dispute between the Agent and the Wyoming cattlemen. The Wyoming cattlemen claimed a line two miles north of the survey and ranged their stock on the disputed area. The Wyoming ranchmen wanted the Agent to fence the southern border of the Reservation. "A threat by the agent to fence the south line with sheep brought some of them to arms." (27)

1890 became the Year of the Sheep. Alex Fraser wrote for the wool growers of Yellowstone County to Congressman Carter.

As the matter now stands, the cattle men are granted rights over large tracts of the Reservation to the detriment of the sheep men. Whereas the income from the cattle outfits is only about one half the amount which could be realised if the sheep men had an equal show. (28).

On February 20 Chief Plenty Coos and a dozen Crows went to the Agency. Plenty Coos reiterated that the Crows wanted Campbell, the Hardin Campbell and Company, the Hurlbut Land and Cattle Company, J. L. Ash, Paul McCormick, and Nelson Story to have their cattle on the Reservation. But Plenty Coos wanted all sheep removed from the Reservation.

Wyman informed the Commissioner that Plenty Coos "has quite a following, and feels that his word should be law with all the Crows and
he is not at all inclined to look with favor upon any Indian who may disagree with him. . ." (29) Plenty Coos was correct about sheep grazing on cattle ranges, however. As Wyman put it, the problem with sheep was that they could not travel long distances and thus ate out the grass near the streams. (30)

F. D. Pease advocated terminating cattle leases. He thought Indians and half-breeds should have sheep. The advantage of sheep was that they brought money twice a year; whereas cattle brought money only once every four years. (31) Agent Wyman admitted the Crows might benefit from raising sheep, but sheep would be better on allotments than on open ranges. (32)

In the Crow Council of March 15, Chief Plenty Coos and Wet spoke against having sheep on the Reservation except sheep belonging to squaw men. Plenty Coos and Pretty Eagle wanted only six cattlemen allowed on the Reservation, and they named the six they wanted: Campbell of the Columbia Land and Cattle Company, the Hardin Campbell and Company, Portus Waare of the Hurlbut Land and Cattle Company, Ash, Story, and W. M. Spear representing Paul McCormick. They turned down four other cattlemen. Agent Wyman wrote Commissioner Morgan and said the only reason the Crows might have for objecting to these four cattlemen on the Reservation was due to the selfish influence of Chiefs Plenty Coos and Pretty Eagle. He thought their demand was irrational and should not be given weight. (33)

The Billings Gazette had an article containing the speeches by
Chiefs Pretty Eagle and Plenty Coos. Pretty Eagle and Plenty Coos both stated they wanted no sheep, no horses, and no more cattle brought on the Reservation. F. D. Pease retorted that the "council shows the Handy work of the cattlemen . . ." (34)

Chief Plenty Coos requested another Council on May 9. Supported by Bell Rock and others, he added Porter to the six cattlemen the Crows would permit on the Reservation. (35)

On the 3rd of May, the Commissioner instructed the Agent to issue no more sheep permits, to terminate the present ones, and to remove sheep and horses from the Reservation, but by August Agent Wyman wanted the time extended.

This season has been the driest known in Montana for several years, in some sections there is no grass or but a very slight growth. Within two weeks a number of prairie fires have started - some of them caused by the R R trains - in different portions of the reserve, - often burning large tracts for miles and miles in extent, across such tracts, stock of any kind cannot be driven except at severe loss. (36).

For many years Nelson and Walter Story ran their stock on Clark Fork and wintered them west of Pryor Creek. In 1890 they wished to run their stock east of Pryor Creek. But other cattlemen had permits on that area, and the Indians had a settlement there. The Indians came to the Agency for the Council on the 3rd and 4th of November to discuss with General N. A. Miles about selling a portion of the Reservation to the Cheyennes. Walter Story came too, and demanded the right to throw his herd across Pryor Creek. Agent Wyman refused him the right. At the Council Chief Plenty Coos, supported
by Wet, Bell Rock, and Pretty Eagle, said that Story's cattle had usually been on Clark Fork; they did not want his cattle east of Pryor Creek. Plenty Coos confessed his lack of appreciation for Story's donation of lumped-jawed cows and unmarketable flour. Other Crows claimed that Story did not pay for damages to their crops, nor did he hire Indians. Wyman explained what was motivating Story.

That the reason Mr. Story so earnestly desires to bring his very large herd of cattle east of Pryor Creek ... is ... because he feels certain that the western portion of the reserve is to be eventually segregated, and he is evidently determined to obtain a foothold east of Pryor. (38)

Nelson and Walter Story wrote the Commissioner that previously Plenty Coos' band permitted their cattle to drift east of Pryor Creek; but this year Portus Weare and Paul McCormick had permits on the land east of Pryor. The Storys complained Weare's and McCormick's line-riders were giving harsh treatment to their cattle. (39) Agent Wyman pointed out the discrepancies between what the Storys said and what Plenty Coos said; the Storys commenced throwing their cattle across Pryor. (40) The Commissioner telegraphed Agent Wyman to permit the Storys' cattle to cross Pryor Creek. (41) The Secretary ordered that if the range would not support the Storys' cattle, then each cattleman on the Reservation was to reduce his herd proportionately. (38)

Inspector James Cisney telegraphed the Secretary that there was "serious" trouble developing over the Storys' cattle. The Storys had three times as many cattle as they claimed. (42) At the end of November, Cisney reported that the Storys were disobeying orders.
"They have put many cattle across Pryor in the night & at other times." (43)

By December Wyoming cattlemen brought many thousands of cattle onto the southern portion of the Reservation. Samuel Garvin and the Hurlbut Company had removed their line-riders from the Wyoming border, and all the Agency employees and the Indian police were on Pryor Creek counting the Storys' cattle. The Secretary instructed that if the Wyoming cattle were on the Reservation prior to November 20, they should not be removed during the winter. (44)

William Warner, attorney, sent affidavits of six witnesses of the November conference with Inspector Cisney. Three of them claimed Lovell's cattle were on the Reservation before November 20, and three claimed Wyman used his influence to manipulate the conference and determined who could have cattle on the Reservation; they also said Cisney directed profane language at the cattlemen. (45)

Lovell and Story had 10,000 cattle on the Reservation, and the ranges were overstocked by the end of February 1891. (46) It was time to organize the grazing situation and time to control the cattlemen. The Commissioner telegraphed Agent Wyman to divide the Reservation into five districts; the Agent did so (see Map 4). (47) The leases were to be for three years, for cattle only; proposals were to be sealed and accompanied by a certified check. (48)

The clerk explained the Commissioner's instructions to the Crows. There were no leaders, and the Indians present had no objection to letting to the highest bidder so long as Campbell was allowed to
MAP 4
GRAZING DISTRICTS
1891

ADAPTED FROM 26188/91 (SC 133)
stay on the Reservation. But the next day the Indians went with Pretty Eagle to Fort Custer to converse with the commanding officer, General James S. Brisbin. Pretty Eagle told the General that he wanted the Hardin Campbell and Company, McCormick, Garvin, and the Hurlbut Company to stay on the Reservation, even if the Department should require them to pay more. He did not want to let to the highest bidder "independent of the character of the man...". Medicine Crow said the Crows would not permit more cattlemen or strange ones on the Reservation. "If they don't believe that we are talking straight now," said Old Woman, "let some of they try to put cattle on the Reservation and see how quick we will put them off." Then all the Crows shook hands with Brisbin.

It was obvious to Agent Wyman that the Crows had not understood that Hurlbut Company, Campbell, McCormick, Hardin, and Garvin had to leave the Reservation if strangers offered more money. When they did understand, "they all became excited and went from their camp direct to the Fort to talk with the 'soldier chief'...".

The Council of April 25 was held at the request of 250 Crows. Chiefs Pretty Eagle, Plenty Coos, Medicine Crow, Wet, and Spotted Horse were very strong in their dissent to the bidding system and strong in their demand that the only cattlemen allowed on the Reservation be Williams of the Hurlbut Company, James Campbell, Sam Garvin, Paul McCormick, and S. H. Hardin. Pretty Eagle promised, "We will kick them off of our land." Plenty Coos comment was,
"If the Great Father does not want any trouble with the Crows, don't send any more cattlemen among us. Don't send any strangers whose faces we don't know." (49) When Agent Wyman asked for a vote, not one Indian stood up for the bidding system and many shouted against it. "The Indians are not wholly unwise," Wyman wrote the Commissioner, "and they know that strangers coming on their lands with large herds of cattle, and paying for the range more than any one else can afford will not care very much for their (The Indians) property. . . ." (49) There was the danger that a "thoughtless and reckless man" west of Pryor might get one of the districts. (49) In all, Agent Wyman sent twenty-five pages defending the idea of leaving the men the Crows liked on the Reservation.

Commissioner R. V. Belt replied with a punch.

This Office regrets that any of the Crows, who, as a tribe, have been so obedient to, and respectful of, the wishes of the Government, should be guilty of the dictatorial expressions ascribed to them, and without one word of admonition, reproof or remonstrance from you. . . . It will be admitted that the Indians have the right to withhold their consent to the driving or grazing of cattle on their reservation, but if they desire to permit the grazing of cattle thereon as a means of revenue, it is for the Secretary of the Interior to prescribe the rules and regulations under which such permission shall be given. (50)

The Commissioner thought Wyman should have told the Indians that the new regulation was for improving the grazing business.

Furthermore, this Department would not hesitate to use its authority for the removal from the reservation of any Indians whose conduct shall be such as to render their presence thereon detrimental to the peace and welfare of the Indians upon the reservation. (50)

The fact that the Indians "when unattended by their chiefs or leaders" understood the system and thought it was good, but changed their minds
one day later, made it seem "these leaders were induced in some way, by parties in interest, or in the service of the United States at the Agency . . ."(50)

Agent Wyman pointed out that in the beginning of the Council he did present the Department's side to the issue, and he mentioned the need for better control of cattlemen such as Story and Lovell. Wyman said he doubted the Crows thought he had any kind of sympathy for them; he doubted the cattlemen had influenced the Crows; and he doubted the Crows intended violence.(51)

The proposals were opened in June. They amounted to $29,781.50, or more than had ever been paid for grazing on the Crow Reservation. Samuel H. Hardin took district 1. District 2 was taken by M. Rosenbaum, manager of the Columbia Land and Cattle Company. District 3 went to Portus B. Weare. Thomas Paton of New York offered the most per year for district 4. District 5 was awarded to Matthew H. Murphy. The troublesome men west of Pryor did not even bid, and the men who won the districts were all known by the Crows, except for Paton.(52)

A year later the first fence went up on the Crow Reservation after Spotted Horse, Old Dog, and twenty-two Crows signed consent for J. A. Campbell and M. Rosenbaum to fence the eastern boundary of district 2. The fence was to keep out trespassing stock and wild horses east of the Reservation.(53)

When Special Agent Thomas P. Smith was investigating the charges against Agent Wyman in July 1893, he took down testimony by Samuel Garvin.
Garvin said that Agent Wyman had an "annual bribe fee" whereby he received a total of $500 from the cattlemen who wanted permits on the Crow Reservation. Judge Alexander Fraser of Billings helped Wyman collect the bribe, and it was paid in 1893 in spite of the bidding system. Garvin also said that when the Secretary ordered the removal of horses and sheep from the Reservation in spring 1890, Fraser, who was in the wool business, threatened to expose Wyman's bribe if the Agent applied the order to the sheepmen. Hence, Wyman advocated extending the time for sheep. When the bidding system commenced, the cattlemen became hard-hearted. In the winter of 1892 to 1893, the manager of the Hurlbut Company wanted Garvin to sell out to him, and he told Garvin that Weare had a knife in his boot for him. (54)

In spite of the lease system, the Crows had trouble keeping their cattle. "Recently I have been collecting evidence against three of the most notorious of the cattle and horse thieves," Agent J. W. Watson wrote in 1895, "and at this present time have the chain almost complete around them ..." (55) But chaining thieves did not take place under Watson's administration.

In the same year the Custer County authorities claimed the lessees on the Reservation owed state and county taxes. (56) By September the sheriff had seized sheep belonging to Mrs. Kent, a squaw, for taxing. (57)

Secretary Hoke Smith renewed the same leases to 1899. (58) In 1896 he authorized advertising for bids on district 6. (59)
By August the bid of E. L. Dana for the Granger Cattle Company was approved. No Indian consent was obtained for renewals or for advertising. Trouble was bound to occur.

Agent Watson wrote about the problem of wild horses from Wyoming which came on the Reservation every spring. "They damage the ranges . . . and in addition to this injure the cattle very much by exciting them and driving them around when they are gaining in flesh." A problem connected with the wild horses was Indian ponies. Indian ponies had been the basic part of economy for the Crows. Suddenly, in 1896 Agent Watson believed the situation had changed.

Although now they have many large valuable draught horses and are constantly getting more they have still a large percentage of the pony type which are of no use at all and at the same time are very injurious to the ranges. There being no market for these ponies I have concluded - though I would not wish to have it done - it would pay the Indians to kill all these surplus ponies in order to get rid of them and the damage they do . . .

Watson's idea was authorized thirty years later (see Chapter XIII).

In December the lessees, headed by Thomas Paton, wrote Commissioner Daniel M. Browning that when they got the leases on the Reservation, there was no mention of paying state and county taxes on the cattle. If the Supreme Court sustained the Custer County officials, they wanted their leases cancelled. Agent Watson wrote Commissioner Jones that "the officials of Custer County . . . claim the right to come upon the reserve with a numerous following, to round up the cattle wherever found drive them to any place they desire, and there sell the cattle for any taxes assessed on same."
The cattle lost weight and were not properly assessed. The case went to Judge Knowles of the U.S. District Court of Montana who decided the lessees owed no state or county tax. The case was appealed in the U.S. Court in California where the decision was reversed. (63)

By 1898 the large cattle companies discontinued, leaving more room on public domain. Shipping stock cost more. State taxes had been added for cattle grazing on the Crow Reservation. Portus Weare and Thomas Paton complained about Indians killing their stock. Both claimed the Indians killed exactly 2000, which Agent G. W. H. Stouch thought was a strange coincidence. Although the Crows admitted killing stock, they denied killing any stock belonging to Weare and Paton. Weare's lease was transferred to McCormick, who promised to build fifty miles of fence. (64)

While Agent Stouch was issuing rations, one of "the representatives of about five hundred Indians" presented some objections to the McCormick fence.

Their chief reason being that they were not interviewed on the subject, and their permission had not been obtained. They assert that the first contracts or leases were for a period of three years; these were made with their knowledge and consent; and the continuance of same for one year was likewise procured. But all leases granted since 1895 were secured without their knowledge and consent and they now enter formal protest against the erection of this fence, or the execution of a new contract with Mr. McCormick, without their full approval. (68)

Agent Stouch halted work on the fence. (65) But Secretary Thomas Ryan approved the original proposal. (66) And the Crows continued their complaint against the fence. (67)
Thomas Paton abandoned district 4 and headed to England or Scotland. Agent E. H. Becker thought it would be difficult to obtain a reliable cattleman for the district as most of them had permanent ranches and would not want to move their cattle. He suggested bringing back sheepmen. The advantage of sheepmen was they purchased all the hay the Indians could provide. The Secretary ordered bids to be taken for district 4 for both cattle and sheep.

In 1899 Agent Becker reiterated what Watson had said about the Crows losing cattle. Most knowledgeable men felt the Crows should own about 12,000 cattle by then, but in fact they owned only 5,700. Becker's solution was to employ four whites and three Indians to guard the Common herd.

Later Becker wrote:

In checking up the accounts of several Indians who have been working on the cattle round-up on this reservation during the past six or seven years, I find that they are well-to-do when it comes to ownership of cattle bearing their respective brands. In my opinion these Indians have pursued closely the tactics of a man by the name of Maverick, noted in years gone by, in the state of Texas, for his cunningness in branding calves that really belonged to his neighbors.

Agent Becker withheld $1000 from the sale of "mavericked" cattle and thought it should be returned to the Common herd fund rather than paid to the Indians.

Charles H. Dickson, Clerk of the Indian Office, wrote the Commissioner:

I have found, that with scarcely a single exception, all the Indians of this reservation are very bitterly opposed to a continuation of this system of leasing, and claim that they have never been consulted—as they by right should have been; that they have never been
regularly called into any council for the purpose of ratifying any of these leases upon the reservation, although they have learned that some sort of an agreement was entered into several years since, when a very few (three or four) of their head men were taken to the town of Billings and there prevailed upon to sign some sort of a paper relating to the leasing of a portion of their land, and they claim that this was not in accordance with the law or treaty stipulations. . . . (71).

Since the Crow herd was decreasing, the solution, as Dickson saw it, was to allow the leases to expire in 1900 and fence the Reservation.

No bids were received in 1899. "I have every reason to believe that there was collusion on the part of Agent Becker with other parties," Dickson reported, "and that nearly all of this time the range has been stocked by some cattle but principally sheep." (71) The First National Bank of Billings had sheep on the Reservation during Becker's administration. Three other men had sheep on the Reservation, too. The only benefit the Indians had received from the sheepmen were revenues from sale of hay to them. Dickson assured the Indian Office that J. E. Edwards knew how to make stockmen pay for their privileges; (71)

The day of judgment began when a seek later Agent Edwards seized 20,000 sheep belonging to the President of the First National Bank. (72) Soon he commenced collecting money from stockmen for damages. (73)

Agent Edwards made an arrangement with Samuel Garvin at the end of August. Garvin agreed to pay $200 for his basin on the Wyoming line. He had never paid for it before. "The conditions are such that this money is almost a gift," Edwards reported. (74) The part on the Reservation side was only accessible in the summer time, and the Indians
never went into this basin. Paul McCormick on district 3, Matt Murphy on district 5, and the Columbia Land and Cattle Company on district 2 agreed to pay for the five-mile exemption strips. These areas were usually a total loss for the Indians as little hay ever remained for their cattle. (74)

In the same month Agent Edwards sent the proposal of C. M. Bair to graze sheep on district 4. Bair agreed to pay the Indians for their hay. Secretary Hitchcock ordered a re-advertising of district 4 as he thought Bair's bid was too low. (75) Agent Edwards replied in October that Bair made the best proposal; the Indians would gain more from selling hay and oats. (76) So in December Edwards entered an informal lease with Bair. (77) Due to the Agreement with the Crows in 1899 for the cession of the northern portion of the Reservation, the grazing districts were changed in 1900 (see Map 5). (78) Advertisements were made on districts 2, 4, and 5. Secretary E. A. Hitchcock approved the bid of Charles J. Hysham on district 2, the bid of C. M. Bair on district 4, and the informal bid of Thomas B. McPherson on district 5 which was on the ceded portion. (79) S. H. Hardin remained on district 1. (80) And district 6 was kept by Edwin L. Dana. (81)

Agent Edwards discovered in late winter, 1901, two freshly branded steers. The brands had been altered and the steers belonged to Indians. The theft proved to be a classic after Agent Edwards sent an "outfit" into Garvin's basin to recover 757 head of Indian
cattle. The individually owned cattle had been branded I D, while the Common herd had been branded C O. The altered brands were a combination of the two brands: ♦ ♣. Agent Edwards found Sam Garvin in Billings. Garvin claimed the cattle belonged to Robert Lee, and Lee produced a bill of sale. Yet, no one doubted the brands had been altered. Garvin claimed 600 head of the cattle had been mortgaged to the First National Bank at Billings. But only thirty-five head bore the brand he had mortgaged.

Thus Agent Edwards requested $500 to convict both Lee and Garvin.

"In addition to the cattle I have followed into Wyoming and recovered 100 head of stolen Indian horses." (82) By March 21, Agent Edwards had recovered 140 unbranded yearlings along with the stolen cattle of Garvin's basin. The First National Bank, "being very anxious to get back any part of the $24,000.00," supported Garvin. (83) Garvin employed four of the best civil lawyers in Montana. (83) Secretary Hitchcock requested a U.S. District Attorney to prosecute Garvin and Lee. (89) Agent Edwards wrote:

A most unfortunate thing occurred during this hearing at Billings; a white man living on the north side of the Yellowstone River, opposite the reservation and off of it, has found, this winter, fifteen head of his cattle killed on the range. He placed a guard over his range and on the day of the hearing succeeded in catching three Crow Indians killing a beef belonging to him. The Indians were brought into Billings and proved to be "Little Light", his son, and "Threws It Away", all full-blooded Indians. "Little Light" confessed to me that he shot the beef and that his son and "Threws It Away" helped him dress it and carry the same to camp. Two white men were watching the whole proceedings. The son of "Little Light" is but sixteen years of age. I went personally to the prosecuting attorney and the owner of the animal in question and there requested
that they make no charge against the son and allow him to return to the reservation where I would place him in school from which he had been excused on account of the sickness of his father. I am much pleased that we are now able to punish members of this tribe for the killing of cattle in a manner to be remembered by them. I have, whenever a case was proven to me, punished them by imprisonment in the guard house, but this they do not have the same fear of as they do in being taken away from the reservation and placed in prison. It will have a most wholesome effect on the killing of cattle, both of their own and those belonging to whites, is one of the most serious problems we have to contend with here. As aforesaid, it is most unfortunate coming at the time when public interest is most strong over whites stealing the Indians' cattle. (85)

Robert Lee and Agent Edwards argued one day at the depot in Billings while one of Lee's men stood nearby "with a cocked winchester." (86) Edwards brought his best witness, a man who had worked on Garvin's ranch during the summer the cattle were stolen. But Edwards had to send "into the mountains for him" as Garvin and Lee had threatened to kill him. (86)

Agent Edwards telegraphed from Helena on December 25 that the "cattle case" was won, and Lee and Garvin were declared guilty. (87) The only complaint that Edwards had was that Garvin and Lee had stolen $30,000 to $35,000 worth of property, but under Federal law they only had to pay a $1000 fine and go to prison for one year. (88)

In the following year Chiefs Pretty Eagle, Plenty Coos, Two Leggins, Medicine Crow, and a total of 750 Crows signed a petition urging the distribution of the C 0 herd. (89) The Crows signed a second petition in September. (90)

Agent Samuel G. Reynolds telegraphed the Commissioner on the 25th of August.
I left here last night with the sheriff and three employees after a band of cattle thieves we succeeded in capturing one of the leaders. I will start at once for the rest. This gang drove off a bunch of yearlings & calves and have taken many horses from the Indian herds...(91)

By September Reynolds had one of the thieves in the guard house, one bound over to the Federal Court, and he was searching for the other three in the mountains.(92)

Lee Simonsen moved onto district 3.(98) Drought and grasshoppers swept the ranges in 1903, and the beef market suffered a low.(94)

Agent Reynolds felt the need for twenty-four six-shooters with smokeless cartridges.

Our police are not armed at all at this writing, what guns we have are absolutely worthless, as they are all out of repair and are not worth the expense of repairing. We are constantly bothered by horse and cattle thieves who live along the borders of this reservation and stealing stock. All of these fellows go heavily armed and nearly all of them are desperate characters...

We made two very successful attempts last fall and in both instances, I armed the Indians with borrowed guns, and we succeeded in breaking up two bands entirely, and sent two of their number to the penitentiary and three made their escape and never been heard from since...(95)

Osa Foree was captured in the mountains by Sheriff Neilson of Sheridan.(96) Foree was convicted of stealing calves from the Reservation, and he was given one year in the penitentiary.(97)

Agent Reynolds held a council on the 3rd of February 1905 to discuss grazing. (The Commissioner did not receive a copy of this council until 1909, a fact casting suspicion on its authenticity.)

Ten chiefs and leaders, including Chief Plenty Coos, signed their X's to an agreement to lease by permit the grazing districts provided
the lessees would purchase all Indian surplus hay. They further requested that Dana be permitted to retain district 6 and Bair be permitted to retain district 4. They wanted Frank M. Heinrich to stay on the Reservation but not on the Indian range. Agent Reynolds wrote that Heinrich had been the first to notify the Agency of Garvin's theft, and he proved to be the principal witness in the case convicting Sam Garvin. After Garvin and Lee were convicted, Heinrich "was granted a grazing privilege for the ranging of stock in the country south and west of Black Canon ..." (98) He built a fence to prevent Indian cattle from drifting into Wyoming. "We have made three convictions for cattle stealing since," Reynolds added, "sending the party in each case to the penitentiary and Mr. Dana and Mr. Heinrich were the main witnesses and upon their testimony convictions were made in each of these cases." (98)

The facts are that the Indians in a great many cases will not protect their stock, and I will cite one instance: At the time Harrison and Coggins stole sixteen unbranded steer calves they drove them to a corral on Lodge Grass Creek where they kept them over night. In the morning six or eight Indians, who happened to come there, sat on the corral and watched the thieves brand the calves and also saw them drive them from the reservation. The suspicion of the Indians was never aroused and it was several months after we secured the conviction of Coggins that I found this fact out and talked with the Indians regarding the matter. The information came to the office from one of Dana's lineriders who saw them driving the calves from the reservation. (98)

Secretary Hitchcock approved the one-year permit to Heinrich north of Garvin's basin. (98)

On March 10 Reynolds captured two men from a gang on the east side of the Reservation. But Dr. Orlando Ferguson wrote Reynolds from
Hot Springs, South Dakota, that two or three years previously a gang of horse thieves ran off with 200 head of Crow ponies and the detectives got after them. They heard that the detectives were on close pursuit and they drove the ponies off in a gulch, and rounded up a heard of Range horses and herding them when the detectives came up on them, and when they saw that there was no crow horses among them they let them go.

Later the thieves sold them to one of their fathers. There were fifty or a hundred horses left, according to the doctor, and he recommended a U.S. Marshal be sent before they started their spring stealing again.

G. W. Hall, a stock inspector at Havre, reported to Reynolds that rumors from Butte had it that a quarter blood Cherokee named Hall and Yorkurn, a Texan, were going to try running Crow horses into Canada. The plan was probably conceived after a bet.

With Ferguson's information, Agent Reynolds headed for Hot Springs and investigated the gang on July 2. The horses had been stolen in the fall of 1901, and Agent Edwards had sent two from this gang to the penitentiary. Agent Reynolds caught three more of them for cattle stealing. "I know that these fellows are still an organized gang," Reynolds wrote, "and I think we have them in such shape that it will be doubtful whether they will bother us any more."(100)

Most of the hay raised by the Crows was grown between the Little and Big Horn Rivers. Agent Reynolds thought the lessees on districts 1, 2, and 4 should be required to purchase all surplus hay on the Reservation, in addition to that grown on their districts.(101)

Chief Plenty Coos and Big Shoulder Blade visited the
Commissioner in Washington, D.C. Plenty Coos said the Tribe was unanimous in their desire to have district 4 leased under the permit system, but they wanted districts 1 and 2 let to the highest bidder. The permit system granted better control over the number of stock because the charge was per head instead of per acre. District 4, or the Pryor district, was where about a third of the Crows lived, and they were continually chasing the lessee's stock off their allotments. Plenty Coos wrote to Secretary Hitchcock reiterating what he had told the Commissioner.

The bids were approved in May. Edwin L. Dana was awarded district 1; James L. Ash got district 2. The bids were rejected for district 4, and C. M. Bair received a permit for his 35,000 sheep. (102)

When Agent Reynolds learned Ash got district 2, he wired the Commissioner:

Hold up Ash lease. Believe Sam Garvin brother-in-law a partner. (103)

But the Secretary had already approved the lease.

After Garvin had been released from the penitentiary, he had been working for Ash, by then an invalid. Together they ran sheep west of the Pryor district. (103) J. L. Ash had paid $900 to E. W. Toole and $500 to W. M. Johnston, both lawyers, for the defense of Garvin. Reynolds had been employed at the First National Bank in Billings when the $900 check was passed to him. (104)

R. V. Belt, formerly the Commissioner, was now the attorney for J. L. Ash. He sent an affidavit stating there was no connection between
Garvin and Ash, and that Garvin had no interest in the lease. Belt thought the Agent was simply making accusations because he was disappointed in the continuation of the Ash lease. J. L. Ash was none other than the man who received the first permit to graze on the Reservation in 1882.

With the turn of the century, the hey-day of the cattle barons began to fall. S. H. Hardin, who had previously been grazing cattle on the Reservation, proposed to build a sugar beet factory in Wyoming and grow the beets on the Crow Reservation. By 1905 there were 70,000 acres of irrigable land on the Reservation; those acres were suited for sugar beets. Women and children could help. Hardin argued the beets would improve the soil, the work would help train the Indians in irrigation methods, the project would bring "a better class of whites" to the Reservation and better schools to the Indians, and the factory would provide job opportunities. Hardin felt that a five-year lease would not be profitable, thus he wanted a twenty-five-year lease on 10,000 acres. Improvements on the land would belong to the Indians when the lease terminated. If wheat and alfalfa were systematically used as rotation crops on the farm land, the Indians might receive $100,000 in twenty years. Special Inspector Levi Chubbuck believed Hardin would actually need 20,000 acres to bring that much money to the Crows, but he suggested Hardin start with a five-year lease on 5000 acres. The Department withheld approval for fourteen years (see Chapter XII).

There were several white men, married to Indians, who were enjoying the custom of running cattle on the Reservation, regardless
of whether the cattle actually belonged to them. Reynolds told them to make arrangements with the Commissioner and lessee if they were on leased tribal lands. If the cattle were grazing on Tribal lands, they were required to pay the grazing tax per head into the Tribal fund. "None have desired to do this," Reynolds wrote. In fact two whites came onto the Reservation, ran stock for a season, bought no hay from the Indians, and ran the stock off the Reservation before Reynolds heard about them.

Agent Reynolds received a letter from the "Howe Bros." who wanted permission to gather their horses on the Reservation. Reynolds wrote them to report to the Sub-agency in Pryor and Van Hoose would assist them. Flood Howe, who wrote the letter, had been caught the previous fall stealing Indian horses and had been sent to the penitentiary for a year. While Agent Reynolds was at Pryor, he heard that the Howes had come and left with horses. Reynolds wired the stock inspector, A. A. Campbell, and they caught the brothers with Indian horses. The two were finally convicted in 1906, making the tenth successful stealing case on the Crow Reservation.

The cattle grazing game made many twists and turns from 1882 to 1906. The cattle barons constantly invented new tricks to obtain free grass. The Indian Office invented new regulations for each new trick. It took time for the regulations to take effect. By 1887 the Interior Department was ready to begin applying regulations. But Agent Williamson's refusal to hold a council with the Crows prevented the leasing system from
replacing the informal permit system. The Interior Department had determined that leasing to the highest bidder was a fairer system than permitting to local friends of the agents. The cattlemen, however, decided leasing was unfair, and in 1889 they rebelled by preventing all bids from reaching the Indian Office. In the following year, the Crow chiefs also went against the leasing system. They were supported by Agent Wyman. The Department threatened to make a stand against the cattlemen, the Indians, and the Agent. But in 1890 a drought brought the feud between cattlemen and sheepmen to a head and presented more urgent problems to the Department. The drought also brought much trespassing during the winter, thus swinging the Agent to the Department's side. While the Crow Reservation was severed in 1891, attention was focused on establishing the leasing system. A pause in cattlemen tricks resulted for awhile. The cattlemen now turned against the Indians. Thieving was conducted on a large scale, but nothing could be done about it. Agency corruption occupied local interests, and the exposition of the copper kings in western Montana occupied State interests. Finally in 1901 the first thief was caught. Agent Edwards had practice in cattlemen tricks, and his appointment was a timely one. Cattleman after cattleman was caught thieving. Yet by 1906 litigation against cattlemen had barely commenced. The agents still had to deal with Ash and Heinrich (see Chapters XII and XIII).
In 1862 the Pacific Railroad Bill passed Congress, not without a lot of corruption. By 1869 the Central Pacific line met the Union Pacific line in Utah. The first iron horse puffed its way across the United States. While the Civil War was being waged, the northerners pushed for progress. President Lincoln signed the right of way for the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1864. The road was to go from the Great Lakes to Puget Sound. To the cattlemen, railroads meant speedy shipment of cattle to grass lands or to the market in Chicago. To the soldiers at Fort Custer, railroads meant supplies and liquor. To the people of Billings, they meant coal and winter fuel. The Northern Pacific survey party reached the Crow Reservation in 1880. Inspector Pollock telegraphed Secretary Carl Schurz in September, "The Crows are exasperated on account of the railroad survey and setting stakes on their reservation, from the Big Horn west." The Northern Pacific survey party claimed they had the right to at least survey. Two days after Pollock's telegram, Frederick Billings, President of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, sent an engineer into the fields to halt the surveys. The division engineer, J. T. Dodge, wrote that the survey party had no trouble
until they reached the mouth of the Big Horn. "At this stage of our proceedings, Inspector Pollock comes upon the ground and threatens to pull up and burn our stakes and denounces as trespassers such citizens as he finds traveling on a road across the reservation."(3)

Secretary Schurz, nevertheless, wrote Agent A. R. Keller:

"No Rail Road Company has any right to make surveys on the Crow Reservation without the consent of the Indians."(4) Dodge offered to pay for damages, but he refused to go off the Reservation.(5) President Billings announced that work was to be suspended, but the workers were allowed to remain on the Reservation "inactive."

The survey party continued another thirty miles of work. So Keller "detailed two reliable men" to remove them.(4) By October 22 the Northern Pacific survey party was removed from the Reservation "for persistent attempts to continue work."(6)

The assistant engineer, Moore, wrote of the removal to President Billings:

On Monday morning last, after I had left camp with party on our way to Arrow Creek, our teamsters were called upon by "Spotted Horse", one of the Crow Chiefs. He sent me word that I must stop work on the Reservation and that the Indian Agent told him to "drive" off any parties he found on the Reservation and to pull up the stakes. They are on their way down the valley after Buffalo and will probably go after them towards the Big Horn. ... (7)

The dispute was over the right to preliminary surveys. The Act of July 2, 1864, granting right of way to the Northern Pacific, did not extinguish Indian title to the land. The Treaty of May 7, 1868, which set aside the Crow Reservation protected it from all disturbances.
The Treaty, according to Secretary S. J. Kirkwood, did not "repeal any portion" of the Act. Therefore, the Northern Pacific had the right to enter the Reservation for preliminary surveys. The Secretary wanted the Agent instructed to "give assurance to said Indians that the lands necessary for the right of way granted by Congress will not be taken until further agreement therefor has been duly entered into between the Indians and the United States." (8)

At the Council of May 26, 1881, forty chiefs and headmen appeared. Old Onion and Iron Bull desired more time to think the matter over. Medicine Crow said the railroad would be faster than the steamboat, and it would come whether the Crows consented to it or not. Agent Keller wrote Commissioner Hiram Price, "It is most gratifying to state that they responded with great alacrity, many of them halting their camp en-route to Buffalo and crossing to mad, swollen unfordable streams to respond to the Agents notice to return." (9) Keller underlined the eagerness demonstrated by the Crows for farming and house building. At the time Medicine Crow "was speaking both his hands bore the scars of numerous blisters earned in preparing the ground and planting a crop." (9) Medicine Crow challenged the Tribe so that Agent Keller was moved to say, "With such conduct the barriers to civilization are melting like the snows under a July sun." (9)

The little Council of May was considered consent for the Department to authorize the Northern Pacific to make preliminary surveys through the Reservation. When the Railroad Company desired
right of way, Indian consent was needed. (10) A Council was held on August 22. L. A. Luce, W. H. Walker, and C. A. Maxwell represented the Government. W. F. Sanders, J. H. Pierce, J. T. Dodge, and F. D. Pease represented the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. A. R. Keller, chiefs, headmen, heads of families represented the Crows. In the morning Judge Luce explained the Act of 1864, the Treaty of 1868, and the map of the Crow Reservation showing the tracks. Then a feast was held, and all the happy souls reconvened at 2:00 P.M. After Crazy Head and Two Belly spoke for the Railroad, the Crows "gave their unanimous assent" to what they said. The subject of money was broached. Agent Keller thought $22,000 was sufficient, but Enemy Hunter wanted $400 for each lodge. Luce offered $24,000. Plenty Coos said he would sign the Agreement for $30,000. So Luce offered $25,000, and that settled the money problem. Spotted Horse "drew his knife and wanted the Commissioners and Agent to swear that no timber should be cut." (11)

Llewellyn Luce, William Walker, and Charles Maxwell wrote Commissioner Hiram Price that the Indians "were as well prepared to enter intelligently into the proposed negotiations as it is possible for untutored Indians to be." (12) Enemy Hunter represented the River Crows.

We understood before going into Council, that through the advice of Squaw-men, and other whites not resident upon the reserve, the Crows generally had been made to believe that they should be paid the price demanded by Enemy Hunter who was evidently speaking for that party. As there are something over 400 lodges, it will be readily seen that the price demanded was simply ridiculous. (12)
All of the headmen of the Tribe were present at the Council except Old Crow.

The Railroad Company wanted 5,650.7 acres, $25,000 was the accepted price, and the Agreement of August 22 was signed by 280 chiefs, headmen, and heads of families, including Plenty Coos, Thin Belly, Crazy Head, Long Elk, Iron Bull, Spotted Horse, Old Onion, Medicine Crow, and Pretty Eagle. The Secretary approved the Agreement and the maps (see Appendix A, Map 8). The Agreement became an Act on July 10, 1882. What would have developed had the Crows not approved the Agreement?

For the remainder of 1881, Agent Keller kept constant check on the Northern Pacific Railroad workers to make sure no timber was cut beyond the 400 feet right of way. By 1882 the chief engineer, Clough, and F. D. Pease visited the Agent to obtain permission for the Company to cut timber beyond the 400 feet right of way. Agent H. J. Armstrong wrote:

It seems to be the opinion of some that the R.R.Co. will get the timber they want notwithstanding that section of the treaty which expressly says they shall not do so. They have, in fact, already cut considerable timber for themselves and their employes . . .

By March Agent Armstrong requested troops from Fort Ellis to remove the trespassers west of the Boulder River. On the 7th Captain Gregg was sent. F. D. Pease assured Armstrong no more timber would be cut until there was "legal right to do so . . . " Thus when Captain Thomas I. Gregg and his twenty-five cavalry men arrived at the Boulder River, all of the workers were north of the Yellowstone by orders from Pease. And an Agency employee found
8000 ties and lumber for forty-nine cabins cut outside of the right of way. (19)

Wyoming cattlemen could only drive their cattle to Custer Station or Billings. The route to Billings was a six or seven day trip down the Clark Fork; the route to Custer Station was a ten day drive down the Little Horn River. The Little Horn route went through the Indian settlements. The best route, according to Agent Armstrong in 1883, was around the Reservation by way of the Tongue River. (20) But on August 10 Secretary M. W. Joslyn granted to the Northern Pacific "permission to drive cattle, destined for its road, through the Crow Indian reservation in Montana, upon the accustomed trails . . . no delay to be made in crossing . . . .(21)

The general freight agent for the Northern Pacific, J. M. Hannaford, requested special permission for shipping liquor to Custer Station. From there the liquor would be shipped to Fort Custer, Fort Maginnis, and Buffalo, Wyoming. (22) The Commissioner refused the request in 1884, so the Northern Pacific tried to condemn a few hundred feet of land from Custer Station to the Yellowstone River. (23)

The Act of March 3, 1887, provided for the right of way and for the assessment of damages for the Rocky Fork and Cooke City Railway Company. By July it was known that the railroad was to go through 36.61 miles of the Reservation. (24) The road was to go from Laurel at the Northern Pacific station to the coal fields of Red Lodge.

S. Word and V. Manning of the Rocky Fork and Cooke City Railway wrote
the Secretary:

This Company . . . propose to construct this line of Railroad to said coal fields, at once, for the purpose of hauling coal to the N. P. R. R. to be by the latter company delivered for consumption by Smelters Mills, Mine and the People generally in Montana. It will offer a cheap fuel which is now the pressing need of that entire country. (26)

Commissioner Atkins wrote the Secretary that the route also ran "along a public highway which has been for many years used by the public with permission of the Indians, and by the Government in transporting the mails to Red Lodge Post Office." (26)

President Grover Cleveland called for a council of Crows. (26) On June 4, fifty-nine Crows signed the Agreement with the Rocky Fork and Cooke City Railway Company. (27) (Unfortunately the Council and the Agreement were nowhere to be found.) There were 818.72 acres taken from the Reservation. (23) The Rocky Fork and Cooke City Company sent a $10,000 bond for the land taken and for future damages to property or stock. (29) The first trip to Red Lodge took place February 27, 1889. (30)

Plenty Coos went to the Agency early in 1888. He complained to Agent Williamson about the prospect of another railroad on the Reservation, one which was to go up Clark Fork. Workmen were already in the area, and the Indians disapproved of another railroad on the Reservation. (31) Plenty Coos had interpreted the signs correctly. What other people were wondering about, however, was why the Rocky Fork and Cooke City tracks made a peculiar turn at the junction of the rivers as if the road was originally intended to continue up Clark
Fork (see Appendix A, Map 8).

A railroad up Clark Fork was needed because winter fuel in Billings was a pressing problem. So argued W. H. Lamar who spoke before the House Committee on Indian Affairs. The Billings, Clark Fork, and Cooke City Railroad was incorporated eleven months before the Rocky Fork and Cooke City Railway was. The map of April 12, 1887, which was the first survey, showed the Rocky Fork Railway as a branch of the Clark Fork Railroad. The bill for the Clark Fork proposal was introduced into Congress in 1886. While it was passing through various committees, the Rocky Fork bill, introduced a year later, by-passed the committees as it was known the Clark Fork bill had passed favorably in the House.

The Billings Weekly Gazette contained an article which claimed the Rocky Fork Company was trying to bribe the Crows to get favor from the Indian Department. George R. Davis swore that he saw Henry Kaiser and Walter Cooper giving Plenty Coos presents of sugar, flour, and other things about the 10th of February. Perhaps Plenty Coos was merely trying to collect a good meal for his camp; after all, he had already spoken against the Clark Fork Railway six days before the 10th.

The Act for the Billings, Clark Fork, and Cooke City Railroad was approved June 4, 1888. President Grover Cleveland decreed that consent for the railroad must be obtained from the Crows in council. As if shaking his fist, George V. Sims, vice-president of the Clark Fork Company, ordered the Agent to obtain the consent "without fail."
The Council was postponed for reasons which could only be conjectured, but nervousness might have explained it. The attorneys for the Railroad Company filed a complaint against Agent Briscoe for hostility against the Company. The Commissioner telegraphed E. P. Briscoe to allow the Company to have their own interpreter. But Agent Briscoe telegraphed that he objected to the Company using a certain 'squaw man, and, moreover, the Railroad wanted his influence over the Indians. The Commissioner telegraphed Briscoe that he was to use his influence in neither direction. Briscoe telegraphed that the Railroad officials failed to appear, and the Indians were waiting for their annuities. So the Commissioner telegraphed that the Council should have been held on December 8 with or without the Railroad representatives.

The Council commenced on the 12th. Agent Briscoe presented the matter of the Billings, Clark Fork, and Cooke City Railroad Company right of way. The Crows departed to confer among themselves. The Council reconvened on the 14th. Plenty Coos said the Indians wanted only one road, the Rocky Fork. The rest of the chiefs supported him. When Agent Briscoe presented the agreement for signatures, none signed for the right of way.

Briscoe explained the postponement to the Commissioner. The Clark Fork attorney desired Briscoe to hold the Indians three days until Phillip M. Gallaher arrived. When Gallaher arrived, he wanted the Council postponed until December as the Indians did not want to talk. Briscoe also objected to the use of Henry Kaiser as interpreter.
for the Company because Kaiser "was engaged in trying to influence the Indians with money & promises of money to favorably consider this grant."(35) He gave Kaiser a warning. When Kaiser continued his activities, the Agent removed him from the Reservation. Thus it was that the Clark Fork had to wait for its railroad until the western portion of the Reservation was ceded.

On February 12, 1889, an Act granted right of way through the Crow Reservation for the Big Horn Southern.(36) Secretary J. W. Noble wrote the Commissioner that the Agent should permit the Railroad Company to survey their line "as such location is necessary for intelligent action relating to the consent of the Indians to the provisions of the Act . . ."(37)

President Benjamin Harrison ordered another Council on railroads.(38) It was held on the 20th of December, 1890. P. McCormick represented the Big Horn Southern. Agent Wyman explained the advantages of the Railroad would be it would ship Indian products from their irrigated farms. Spotted Horse demanded a fence on both sides of the right of way to protect the Indians' stock. Bull Goes Hunting and Pretty Eagle wanted money for the land as sugar goes with coffee. Perhaps alluding to the trouble the Crows had been having with the Northern Pacific (see Chapter VI), Plenty Coos added, "When the Railroad is through and man and Wife go to Ride, and the Conductor puts him off and we hold on to him and both of us fall off and get killed don't get mad."(39) Several Indians wanted fair prices for the hay they shipped, and they wanted
speedy compensations for stock killed by the trains. McCormick agreed with their demands and indicated the Crows could ride the trains free of charge. Then 135 Crows signed their consent. (39)

Big Nose and Old Dog went into Billings in 1891 for Saturday night booze which they got from "an outcast" named Mericody Jim. They got drunk and tried to make their way across the railroad bridge to Bob Tail Crow's camp. But they got sick and lay down on the tracks where they were killed at 1:00 or 2:00 A.M. on July 26. Chief Bob Tail Crow demanded $1000 for each man from the Railroad Company.

By 1891 the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy had incorporated the Big Horn Southern. Another Council was held on August 28. The Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Company desired to survey along the Little Horn. Spotted Horse, speaking for the Little Horn Indians, wanted the tracks to go along the mountains. Plenty Coos, Pretty Eagle, and Medicine Crow wanted the surveyors to put up their stakes, and then let the Crows hold another council to decide the matter. Plenty Coos also demanded payment for Big Nose and Old Dog. Only fifty-six out of 300 Crow chiefs and leaders signed the consent for the survey. (40)

In the following year P. McCormick returned to settle damages on 200 allotments. He met with the allotted Indians on July 18. Old Dog, Spotted Horse, and Enemy Hunter said the Little Horn Indians were being mocked for permitting the railroad to cut through their farms. Bird Shirt said they did not want to sell the land. Thus
McCormick got no prices and no consent. Agent Wyman's interpretation was that the Indians will not readily permit the construction of the road along the present line. But they do not in the least degree object to the road being built on such routes as will avoid their farms. In fact they rather favor such construction. (41)

The Act of March 1, 1893, amended the Big Horn Southern right of way. (42) By April the depot at Crow Agency had changed its proposed location (see Appendix A, Map 7) so as not to interfere with the farms and irrigation system. Agent Wyman wrote Commissioner D. M. Browning, "I have every reason to believe that this Tribe will offer no serious opposition to the building of the road, and that they will recognize the benefits to be derived from the same." (43)

A railroad location could change easier than a treaty. The Council of December 20, 1890, was the official Crow consent for the construction of the Big Horn Southern, and the Councils of 1891 and 1892 were practically disregarded. Consequently, the Council of May 5, 1893 had to be consent for the changes in location of the tracks. Old Dog complained against the Northern Pacific which had killed his brother, killed many of his stock without paying for them, and which refused to let Indians ride any more. Medicine Crow pointed out that the railroad would take the freighting business away from the Crows. Then Special Agent George Litchfield played his trick card. "Now this Council is not to get your consent to the building of a new Railroad, but to obtain your consent to the changing of the line of a Railroad which you have already agreed to." (44)
Spotted Horse demanded $1000 plus forty cattle for every Indian allotment, severed by the line and assured Litchfield the Crows would consent to that. Plenty Coos said if the annuities were increased, the Crows would consent. But Litchfield seemed to think that annuities were irrelevant to the matter. Plenty Coos continued his demands, he wanted Indians hired on the Railroad, he wanted a fair price for the land, a fence on both sides of the tracks, free rides in the cars, and payment before signing the agreement. The 350 Crows present agreed with Plenty Coos by raising their hands; fifty-four of them signed Litchfield's agreement. Secretary William H. Sims went ahead and approved the changes on May 17. The Railroad took 1702 acres from the Reservation. A fence was to go up on both sides of the tracks.

The Act of March 2, 1899, granted "to railroads the right of way through the Indians reservations." There was no clause about obtaining Indian consent for the right of way. The railroads merely had to satisfy the Indians for damages due them on account of the right of way. Early in 1900 the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy, as owner of the Big Horn Southern and of the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad, filed a map of definite location for a branch of their line to go from Fort Custer and Toluca to Wyoming via Pryor Gap. Secretary Hitchcock approved the location on March 29 and authorized the Agent to assess the damages to Crow allotments.

The Pryor Creek Crows held several councils with Agent J. E. Edwards and the Burlington representatives. Edwards reported
in May:

The Pryor Indians stated in council at this time that they did not want the railroad; I explained the situation to them in detail and returned to Pryor Creek on the 7th instant. The owners of thirty-nine of the fifty-seven allotments agreed to accept the valuation I placed on the lands. On the 9th instant the remaining eighteen requested that I write the Department stating that they did not want the railroad and that giving their signatures only meant that they wanted to accept my valuation in case the Department would not stop the railroad from going through their country; this I promised to do, after explaining again to them that it was a law and the Department could not change it...

Another Council was held at the Agency on May 12. Agent Edwards explained the situation and the laws again. Pretty Eagle, speaking for the Big Horn Indians, refused to price the tribal lands taken by the proposed railroad up Pryor Creek, just as he had refused to price lands taken up the Little Horn. In his mind the people living in the area of the tribal lands to be taken should be consulted. Bull-That-Dont-Fall refused to price the land for the Black Lodge. Big Shoulder Blade and Sees-With-His-Ears left the price up to Agent Edwards.

The first Crow delegation to Washington, D.C., in 1880 had to ride on horseback to Salt Lake City, Utah, to board the Union Railroad. By 1883 the Crows had a railroad running through their own Reservation. All the advantages had been explained to them. The Crows gave full consent in 1881. But when the Rocky Fork and Cooke City Railway came up for vote in 1887, the Crows were already dubious about the iron horse. It brought more white men inside of the Reservation. It brought many small towns inside the borders. It brought more cattlemen through the Reservation to shipping points. It brought more liquor to cities
surrounding the Reservation. When the Billings, Clark Fork, and Cooke City Railroad proposal appeared in 1888, the Crows reversed their enthusiasm, and Agent Briscoe helped them prevent another set of tracks from being laid down on Crow soil. Then in 1889 the Big Horn Southern Company was organized. After changing its name three times, the Crows gave consent for construction in 1890; the tracks went down on a cattle trail which ran along the Little Horn River. From 1891 to 1893 the Crows protested against this railroad. The Industrial Revolution had long since ceased, and the iron horse began to slow down. It took many years for the Big Horn Southern to go into operation. When it was completed, however, little towns began to spring up along the Little Horn River. In 1899 the Government switched the rules; Indian consent was no longer required. In the 1880's this would have meant tracks all over the Reservation, but only one more railroad branch was proposed for the Crow Reservation. It replaced the cattle trail through Pryor Gap, but it eventually proved useless (see Chapter XIV).
CHAPTER IV

IRRIGATION PROJECTS

In 1884 the Government considered proposals for a network of canals on the Crow Reservation. In America canals came before railroads. It was different on the Crow Reservation, and the canals were used differently, too. The purpose of the canals was, of course, to irrigate the land. The delay in building the system was due to lack of funds.

Two civil engineers surveyed four ditch locations on the Crow Reservation in 1884. The first ditch was on the Grass Lodge Creek (as it was then called), the second ditch was to begin on the Little Big Horn, the third was to run from Soap Creek, and the fourth ditch was to run off Rotten Grass Creek. Agent H. J. Armstrong added that the system would be located in "the valleys of both the Big and Little Big Horn Rivers above Fort Custer." Large ditches would do the job cheaper, as smaller ones would wash out each spring.

In the following year eight miles of the Little Horn ditch were completed. And a five year pause in irrigation activities followed.

Agent Wyman sought permission in 1890 to employ a surveyor to survey twenty-five miles of irrigating ditches.
CROW IRRIGATION SYSTEM

MAP 6

ADAPTED FROM
75440-L/01 (SC 190)
and also
72322-L/01 NO. 13
Last year there was a partial and in some places a total failure of crops. This season the whole valley of the Little Horn for over forty miles - except what is under our one small ditch - about seven miles only, - is a ruin and yet no country will ever give greater promise of good crops than did this valley at the commencement of the season. The Indians are very much discouraged, and well they may be... The Indians cannot to work year after year in the face of such terrible discouragement, and it is only by great effort that they are at present induced to plant their gardens... (3)

Secretary John Noble commissioned Walter H. Graves to commence work on the irrigation construction in accordance with the Act of March 3, 1891. (4) And on the 15th of July, Graves, as Superintendent of the Crow Irrigation Survey, began work by traveling around on the Reservation. He and six men surveyed lines in the Little Horn and Big Horn valleys. They "plowed out" thirty-five miles of the Big Horn ditch. Finally, they were snowed out in October. (5) He made recommendations as to how the Indians ought to be paid while working on the irrigation project.

It will very materially assist the work in enlisting their interest in it and services if they could receive their money at the end of each week. They have not much faith in the word of a white man, which is not to be wondered at in view of their past experiences... (6)

In the next year the Crow Irrigation Survey worked on the Agency ditch. There were not enough plows to keep the Indian teams busy. (7)

In his report for 1892, Graves wrote:

The Indians took hold of the work with a great deal of interest and energy and I found it quite impossible with the force I had on hand to direct their energy properly to secure the best results. For a while we "made ditch" too fast and are now delayed on account of it. The Indians are certainly willing to work and do work surprisingly, and if they can only be properly shown and instructed they will soon be as capable of doing such work as white men... . . . The Indian is very willing to drive a team and scrape but most of them draw the line at pick and shovel work. (8)
Superintendent Graves found only one man on the entire force who knew how to use a pick and a shovel. So everyone was taught. And by October eight miles of ditch were ready for water. "The work on the whole is well done," Graves wrote, "and is a credit to the Indians who built it." (8) The Crows worked on the project ten hours each day until the eight-hour law arrived. "A number of them employ white men to drive their teams for them, and in this they seem to find their greatest satisfaction, even though they receive little remuneration out of the transaction." (8)

Work commenced on the Pryor Creek ditches in the spring of 1893. (9) Plenty Coos started a store, which he called "a mess," and had some half-breeds running it until they ran into competition with outside parties. (10)

Walter Graves halted work on July 6 because the funds were "exhausted." The Crows had waited three weeks for their pay. (11) By the 15th he telegraphed the Indians were "very impatient & irritable for their money and accuse me of bad faith . . ." (12)

Special Agent Thomas Smith did not think the Pryor Creek ditch was feasible at all. Pryor was too far away from the Agency. The Little Horn ditch was complete except for the lateral headgates. "The work is all strong smooth & workmanlike." (13) The half-breeds and squaw men were hiring white men and Negroes to run fifty teams on the Survey (see List 3 in Appendix B, for the Irrigation employees). F. D. Pease and Henry Kaiser felt they had a right to hire these men under the
Amendment of 1892. But Smith thought they were misinterpreting the Agreement. So Pease and Kaiser argued that they had been instrumental in getting the extra $200,000 from the Crows for the irrigation work as stipulated in the Amendment. Smith, however, believed they were overlooking the fact that undesirable men were being hired.

I further cited the case of a squaw-man named Reed who being an habitual drunkard and bull-dozer attempted one bluff too many and was killed a year ago at the ditch construction by one of his own ilk who after the deed was performed flourished his pistol in the air and declared himself a "Montana tough" for all of which he is now doing ten years in prison. In the pocket of Reed who was intoxicated at the time was found the remains of a bottle of whiskey. . . . (13)

The two ditches on Pryor Creek were filled with water. The Crows were in haste to get water on the hay crop. Graves encountered an unusual problem during the work season of 1893. Progress slowed down due to the large force of Indians that persisted in working as long as we continued the construction. It is impossible to work a large force in finishing, and I find it practically impossible to curtail the force. . . To dismiss and get rid of them I was compelled to leave Pryor Creek work before it was in such shape as I should like to have left it . . . (14)

The Forty Mile ditch, located near the Forty Mile Stage Station on the Little Horn, was started in the fall of 1892. Water flowed into it in July 1893. The main channel was four and a half miles long, and there were six miles of distributing channels. The Pryor Creek ditch was completed in the spring of 1894. The main channel was six miles long, and there were nine and a half miles of laterals. Another ditch diverted Lost Creek and irrigated the Pryor Creek area. It was
a short ditch with numerous branches. The Lodge Grass ditch, begun in 1893, took water five miles above the junction of the Lodge Grass Creek and the Little Horn. By October 1894 the first four miles were complete, and there was water in it during the growing season. On the 1st of June 1894, work commenced on the Soap Creek ditch, between Soap Creek and Rotten Grass Creek. Water was turned into it temporarily. By October the ditch was nearly complete. Graves concluded his report:

About 70% of the work has been done by Indians, and I think at least 30% of the cost could have been saved, had the work been done by trained white men suitably equipped.

After all, the difference in the amount of the work accomplished between the white man and the Indian does not arise so much from the inability or the indisposition of the latter to work, or their training, for they learn quickly and readily, as it does from their equipment - Their horses are especially unfit for such work; small, weak, and ill-fed. . . . Sooner or later much, if not the larger part of their earnings finds its way into the pockets of the gamblers - both white and Indians - that infest the Reservation - . . .

I have often observed how willing the Indian is to work and how good natured he is about it, so long as his horses are strong enough to pull their load, and the wagon strong enough to sustain it; but when the horses give out, or the harness pulls to pieces, and the wagon breaks down, he becomes very ill-natured, easily discouraged, and is very willing to quit altogether, and it is difficult to induce them to try it again even though everything has been repaired for him. (15)

By 1895 there were fifty miles of ditches on the Crow Reservation. (16) Agent Watson believed that the Indians spent too much time on the Irrigation Survey and not enough time on their farms. The Agent predicted the crops would fail unless the irrigation work was speeded and unless outside labor was hired. (17) Walter Graves reminded the Commissioner of the Agreement with the Crows that Indians should do the work.
It has never been necessary to urge these Indians in the least, to do this work; they have always been permitted to do so, and have frequently paid exorbitantly for the privilege of working. This fact is so well understood by the Agent's police, that it is not an uncommon occurrence for them to 'raid the Ditch camp' for the sole purpose of levying an excise upon the workers for the privilege of remaining at work undisturbed. . . .(18)

Graves believed the Agent had more than enough Indians on the district farms, and the reason the crops were poor was due to the poor farming methods.(18)

Walter Graves later desired to reduce the wages of those employed on the Irrigation Survey "in order to relieve the work source what of the over crowding, that has grown to be an annoyance and a hindrance to the Agent as well as myself."(19) Thirty-six Crows met with Walter Graves. Most of them complained about the district farms and said they were earning more on the Irrigation Survey. They wanted more time to work on the Irrigation. Carney (or Old Woman) and Medicine Crow did not want outside labor brought in to work on the irrigation. Broken Arrow wanted the wages raised.(20) On the 6th of November, however, Secretary Hoke Smith approved the wage reduction from $3.50 per day to $3.(21)

Graves ran into difficulty by the end of March 1896. "In his farming operations, the Agent seems to require the services of practically all of the Indians, and they are allowed to come upon the ditches only when they can be used at no other work."(20)

The Soap Creek and Lodge Grass ditches were completed in 1895. The largest ditch was the Big Horn ditch. It was to be thirty-five
miles long. By September 1896, 234,000 cubic yards of earth had been excavated, and 16,000 of it had to be blasted out. Graves reported:

Since I have been in charge, in the construction of these ditches we have excavated and handled nearly 800,000 cubic yards of earth, gravel and rock. We have constructed more than 100 miles of ditch channel, and water is flowing through most, if not all, of this channel at the present time, covering, and supplying with irrigation from 20,000 to 25,000 acres of land.

About 65% of the work has been done by the Indians, and from 10% to 15% of it by the whites intermarried with them. The remainder has been done by skilled white labor. (22)

The Soap Creek and Agency ditches had to be repaired in 1897. Graves wrote:

When the Spring opened, the snow was lying deep all over the Reservation, and it began suddenly to melt. All of the rivers and streams were frozen over, the ice being from 2 to 3 feet in thickness: the flood water caused it to break up in immense cakes, weighing many tons, were jammed upon, and over, the gates and dams, and it seemed that nothing could withstand their destructive force; but everything came out in excellent shape. . . . (25)

The ditches at Pryor branched out. The first ditch was built by Graves. North of it was a second ditch built by Bell Rock's Indians. North of that ditch was one built by Sitting Elk's Indians. A fourth was built by Graves, but Fog's Indians extended it for a mile. A branch of that ditch was built by Spotted Arm's Indians. Another was built by Steals on Camp's Indians. (24)

Work on the Big Horn canal continued. In 1897 repairs were made until mid April. By July the largest work force was employed. Twelve miles of the Big Horn canal were completed in 1898. Graves said the original estimates had been based upon skilled white labor; now he needed more time and money. "However, as the Indians were
paying for their schooling from their own funds and were willing and pleased to learn there seemed to remain but one course to pursue," he wrote, "and that was to give them the best results possible for their money."(25) When the Indians received the $6 semi annual cash annuity, they spent it "at the Traders Store for useless and unservicable trifles."(25) Often it was more expensive to travel to the Agency to pick up the annuity than it was worth. "And many of them when working on the irrigation ditches will not take the trouble to go for their money. . . ."(25) The Indians working on the Irrigation Survey were "skilled workmen," and when the system was completed, the Government should continue to employ them for constructing houses and improving highways.(25)

✓ Only $20,000 was left for the Irrigation Survey, and Graves needed $138,000 to complete the Big Horn canal. The ditches needed to be fenced from the 100,000 Crow ponies traveling along them.(26)

Plenty Coos, Pretty Eagle, and seventy-one Crows convened in Council on April 14, at St. Xavier. They wrote a letter to Secretary Cornelius N. Bliss expressing their view that the Big Horn ditch was useless unless completed. Rations had been cut making employment necessary, and the troops had been removed from Fort Custer ending a market for Crow hay crop. The Crows desired more money for the continuation of the Irrigation Survey.(27)

When the President promoted Walter Graves to Inspector, W. B. Hill assumed charge of the Irrigation Survey.(28) By the end of July, Hill
had the work force on the Big Horn headgate. (29)

Walter Hill requested permission in 1899 to work his force on Sundays in order to hurry the work on the headgate. They would receive the same wages as on any other day, and they "had much rather work on Sundays than lie around the camp." (30)

Agent Becker became critical of the Irrigation Survey and labeled it "excessive and extravagant and out of proportion to the work that has been performed." (30) But Charles Dickson, who was about to list charges against the Agent, found that Becker had gotten his notion from a man connected with the Northern Pacific. Dickson had with him a man named Darwin R. James, chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners. James had once spent four months inspecting the Erie Canal in New York. Thus Dickson wrote of the Crow Irrigation Survey:

That the work in all its details was wisely and judicially done, and as far as being excessive in cost—we were thoroughly satisfied that this statement was not in accord with the facts. The good results of the employment of Indian labor upon this work is everywhere apparent, and it has served as a great educator.

This important irrigation system, taken as a whole, is a lasting monument to those who conceived and planned this wonderful work, as well as to those who have executed and carried out the same in all its details. (30)

Inspector Graves headed to the Crow Reservation for the purpose of obtaining the consent of those Indians to the expenditure of certain of their funds in the completion of the irrigation system on their reservation. . . . (31)

On June 23 the Big Horn Indians met Graves at the St. Xavier Sub-agency. Chief Pretty Eagle pointed out that the Pryor Crows and the Little Horn Crows had their ditches; likewise, the Big Horn Crows wanted the
"Big Ditch." The Big Horn Crows signed the petition.

In order not to disturb the Indians at work, Graves rode to Pryor and held another Council on the 27th. Sharp Horn, speaking for the older generation, said that the Pryor Indians opposed more ditches, but some of the younger Crows desired private conference. The Council reconvened the next day at the Sub-agency. Bell Rock spoke out in favor of completing the ditch. Plenty Coos was not in favor of spending more money on irrigation, but he was willing to go along with the younger members. Thus the Pryor Crows signed the petition.

On the 30th Graves moved on to the Agency to meet the Little Horn Crows. They conferred among themselves. At length Chief Two Leggins, speaking for the Black Lodge Crows, favored the completion of the ditch. He also mentioned higher wages, more dances, and freer visiting. Big Shoulder Blade suggested that there should be more ditches on the Little Horn River. So the Little Horn Indians signed the petition too.

The petition authorized the Secretary to use the annuity money and the grazing fund for irrigation work. It was signed by a total of 473 Crows. A few Indians did refuse to sign. Secretary Hitchcock set aside $100,000 of the grazing fund for the project, and he approved a pay raise.

The Big Horn construction proved to be the toughest one to terminate. By 1901 Superintendent Hill needed $65,000 in order to make the Big Horn canal usable. Secretary Ryan authorized the Commissioner to take the sum from the grazing fund, if need be, from the annuity
The headgate was finished by September. It had been slow work because a cloud burst caused a flood and then three land slides destroyed part of one side.

A flume on the Rotten Grass ditch was needed. The Government had set aside $150,000 in 1902 for irrigation construction on Indian reservations; Hill thought the Crows should be awarded $5000 from this fund. Secretary Ryan consented.

In 1903 Hill felt more cubic yards ought to be removed from the Big Horn canal. More flumes, gates, and bridges were required. More money was needed, of course. Six and two-thirds miles of main channel were completed. Drops, bridges, overflows, and diversion gates were constructed. Two more cloud bursts tested the structures.

Every winter seemed to pile an unusual amount of snow making for unexpected floods. The spring floods in 1904 brought damage to the Big Horn canal when water poured over the emergency dam. So Hill wanted more money.

The Act of April 27, 1904, ceding the northern area, also provided for the Huntley project. The Big Horn Canyon was to be dammed above the Big Horn headgate for a Reclamation Survey proposal known as the High Line ditch. Naturally the vision of the High Line ditch appeared rather ugly to Walter Hill, and he wrote the Commissioner that it would be an unnecessary expenditure of two million dollars. The High Line would irrigate twice as much land as the Big Horn canal, but it would not be as good as the Big Horn canal. Meanwhile, Hill
needed more money. "With the contemplated Geological Survey canal, so close to ours," he argued, "we cannot afford to slight our work..." (42) Walter Hill did not want to say it, but when the Crow irrigation system was finished, it would be already out of date.

Hill was out of funds again by October 1904. The last two miles of the Big Horn canal was still unfinished. Flood damage was still being repaired. Laterals were still needed everywhere. (43) In December the debt for the project was $14,500. (44)

Agent S. G. Reynolds argued that the Custer ditch and Sanders canal in the Yellowstone valley and also the Fort Custer canal in the Big Horn valley should be constructed at once so the Crows could obtain more money from the ceded portion. (45) But it was like asking for funds from the sale of unsold land; and had they been sold, there would have been no point in improving them.

The U.S. Geological Survey reported that they could not get funds for the Custer project. Most of the land near the Sanders proposal was allotted to the Crows, meaning the Survey could not get money from the people who would be benefitting from the project. The Fort Custer canal above Two Leggins Creek was impossible to start as a third of the land to be irrigated was on the Reservation. The High Line proposal would cost more than the irrigated lands would bring. (46)

Reynolds advocated the Low Line ditch, as many Crows had been allotted in this area. (47) By 1905 the Low Line proposal was called...
the Two Leggins ditch. (48) (For the continuation of the developments on the Two Leggins ditch see Chapter XIV.)

Hill wanted $10,000 more from the Crow fund to save the crops. (49) In the next year he moved on to Utah. (50)

Hardly had the irrigation system been completed, when certain structures began to crumble. The dam across the Little Horn River was washed out on the 29th of March 1906. Agent Reynolds sent a work force to replace the dam. (51) John Lewis, Superintendent of Operation and Maintenance, sent a bill of repairs on the Big Horn canal due to cloud bursts and floods. As if the Commissioner could not believe all these cloud bursts in Montana, Agent Reynolds reported there was also damage done to railroad tracks. (52)

The new Superintendent of the Crow Irrigation Survey, H. C. Means, took up where Hill left off. More drops were needed, more chutes, and 154 bridges were needed. More money. (53) Secretary Hitchcock sent another $10,000. (54)

The sale of the western portion of the Crow Reservation in 1891 presented the Government with an opportunity for starting an economical adventure. The Government chose the Crow Irrigation Survey. The Government selected a good man in 1891 to supervise the construction. By 1896 the Indians settled near the canals either to farm or to help construct the ditches. The band near the ditches ultimately dissolved, and the Crows became more district conscious. The Irrigation Survey brought employment, money, and with these gambling. Horse trading
and Indian give-aways came up against dollars and cents. Work became measured in silver, play earned nothing. But like most economical adventures, the Irrigation Survey was interminable even when the job was done. By 1900 many Crows had been trained for irrigation construction. Instead of transporting the Crow team north to work on the Huntley project or the Two Leggins canal or even down to Panama, the Government had to drop the whole adventure and admit the Crows had been trained for a job that no longer existed.
CHAPTER V

ALLOTMENTS AND CEDED LAND

In the treaty of 1868, the Government agreed to send rations to the Crows to compensate for the disappearance of the buffalo. In the 1880s Indian rations became too much of a burden on the Great Father. When Senator H. L. Dawes returned from his 1883 journey in the west, he had an idea of how to start the Indians in agriculture. His idea was passed in an Act bearing his name. The philosophy behind allotments was to emphasize individual ownership of land. Owning land was an American ideal since the setting of sails from Europe, and following the Civil War, the northern ideal of the one family farm won over the large plantations of the south. Allotting land to the Crows brought unforeseeable problems, especially when the land ceased being a part of the Reservation.

There were no allotments on the Crow Reservation by 1886, but Agent Williamson reported:

The Crow Indians are locating upon separate tracts of land; they are building cabins and ploughing the soil; they soon will have farming tools sufficient to do their work, and they are slowly and steadily wrapping themselves in the comforts of civilized life.

The Allotments of land to these Indians now would in my opinion, save great trouble, annoyance and discontent among them in the future and would cause them to take an individual early and permanent interest to make his home his castle in every respect. (1)
James R. Howard was commissioned to allot on the Reservation. He and J. G. Walker met the Crows in a Council on September 13. They found no opposition to the allotment idea, until Sitting Bull and his party of Sioux arrived. The Crow chiefs sided with their former enemy and protested against allotments.

Walker and Howard commenced allotting anyway on the 26th. When they got to the Big Horn River, they found that the Indians had abandoned their homes and gone to Fort Custer in fear of a Sioux war party. By the middle of October, many Crows had given up their opposition to allotments. But on the 23rd twenty Sioux from Popular Creek make a raid on the Crows. Two Indians from each tribe were killed, and the Crows left Fort Custer to gather at the Agency.

The General Allotment Act passed the following year on February 8. Howard returned to the Crow Reservation. The Daily Herald of Helena ran an article about allotting. One of the surveyors went out of camp one night and the Indian Police grabbed him. The Police were looking "for a red horsethief," but by "rubbing their hands over his face, discovered that he was a white man and let him go." In "Plenticues" camp they surveyed a line and found that the Chief "had his tepees pitched just where one corner had to be located." The surveyors threatened "to send for the soldiers if they interfered" with the work. "Plenticones was obstinate, however and refused to give in, so the surveyors had to mark the spot and await a more favorable time for setting the corner."
Besides this Mr. Fenn says the Indians are continually hanging around the surveyors camp begging for "grub" and tobacco and annoying the party not a little by their impudence. ... However it takes a constant camp watch and sharp look out over their commissary to prevent their provisions being spirited away by the chronically hungry Crows, who would help themselves without invitation whenever opportunity offered. (5)

James Howard explained to the Indians what the corners and pits signified.

I had a conference with "Plenty Coos", and his chiefs & Headmen and fully explained the nature of the survey and the benefits of having their lands allotted in severalty, and when they understood the thing they all expressed regrets at what had been done and are anxious to have the lands allotted to them. . . . (6)

With the exception of a few days of Indian trouble (see Chapter VI), J. Howard allotted for three months. Black Hawk's band was the only group that refused to take allotments. Howard wrote in his final report:

I called a Council of that Band and had a three hours parley, but to no effect. To make them understand the value of having their land allotted in severalty, I had the money for the hay which was cut off this land, turned into the general Crow Fund, and not paid to the Individuals. They are now anxious to have their land allotted. . . . (7)

In 1888 Howard allotted along the Little Horn Valley and along Pryor Creek. "The Crow Indians," he wrote in his final report, "now, fully realize the importance of taking their lands in severalty, and almost all of them, are ready and anxious to receive their allotments." (8)

The surveyors would go to the tipis and cabins, and they would bring the Indians out to show them the lines while they surveyed them. (8)

James G. Hatchett became the allotting agent for the Crows in
1890. He found several hundred Indians much dissatisfied with their allotments and apparently with much reason. . . . They have as heads of families only 160 acres and it is impossible for them to have the balance of the land, that they are entitled to for their families, contiguous to their present allotment. . . . (9)

Another problem developed, as Hatchitt was issuing patents for allotments on Howard's schedule.

Men are allotted as "Heads of families" as if they had wives, but no wife's name is given. Now a large part of the Indians so allotted are not living with the women they had when they were allotted, but are living with women who were allotted at the same time as widows "heads of families" or as Single persons. Thus while the family, as constituted now, has a double portion, the woman, who passed for the wife when the allotment was made, has no land. . . . Hence I am allotting all as single persons. . . . (10)

Over 200 Crows had made their selections on the western portion to be ceded. (11) By 1891 a total of 158 had allotments on the western portion, and there were 226 Indians living in that area. (12)

A man named W. H. Morton of Stillwater wrote to Senator W. F. Sanders. Morton said Hatchitt had lied; only a band of fifteen to twenty Indians lived on Clark Fork. No great number of Indians "were rushing up pell mell" to get their allotments. A few came to Hatchitt, and they were all sent by squaw men who had "runners out in the camp trying to persuade the Indians to come up & take lands . . . ." (13)

Morton said allotting was taking place where the part Mexicans, Piegans, and non-Crow Indians lived.

Now the people of Mont have no objections to either full Bloods or Halfbreeds that are sincere in their desire to locate on public lands but such wholesale skuldugery as is being perpetrated through the connivance of Maj Pease, Tom Kent & like ilk is an outrage.
and to have an old Bill like this man Hatchitt to aid and urge them on is almost intolorable and the indignations of our people is great, at the injustice of it, there are quite a number of good worthy families who have made every preperation to take homes on the ceded portion that feel sorely disappointed at the turn affairs have taken to be compelled to buy out an Indian or Breed ... is not a flattering outlook for a poor Settler ... (13)

He wanted the "fossilized old crank Hatchitt" transferred. (13)

Meanwhile Hatchitt went to the Old Agency with the farmer-in-charge, C. C. Kriedler. "The policeman who was instructed to travel east till he found Indians, after two days, met them on Pryor Creek, traveling leisurely, coming to select land - never having heard of any sixty day limit." (14) As the Grows began making their selections for allotments, Hatchitt ran into interference.

It is evident to me that the Northern Pacific R.R. is using all of its power to prevent any allotments here, expecting to get half of the land - for its attorneys are evidently directing the business. (14)

The Indians told Hatchitt they wanted to stay on the ceded portion and "to sever their connection with the tribe" because they could not get desirable land on the diminished Reserve. Hatchitt wrote to Commissioner Belt:

My judgment however is that they will be generally freightened off, or be induced by some means to leave. Already, Takes Wrinkle who had resided many years here and had expressed his determination never to leave, has returned to the Reservation expressing fear of some mysterious threatener ... There has been much said in neighboring papers about Indians being induced to come to the Ceded part to make selections for such purposes, but as I have stated about only seven have come. They are Black Foot for his family of five, (he and his wife are allotted on Pryor), Young Otter, for his daughter, and Charles Brown a Carlisle Student. So far from being persuaded to come to make such selections I saw many who expressed great indignation against their Chiefs, who they alleged had prevented their coming until the sixty days had expired. (15)
In fact an affidavit signed by twenty-three Crows living on Clark Fork indicated Two Bear and Shot were "the biggest Chief in the Crow Nation" and the only ones who could "truthfully" tell the Great Father of conditions there.(16)

Agent Wyman sent a list of those allotted on the ceded portion. Over twenty selections were dropped by the Indians, and only 158 Indians and fifty-six mixed-bloods were allotted on the ceded portion.(17)

Morton wrote again, this time to Senator Thomas Carter. He said if the ceded portion was not opened early in spring 1892, "there will be but little show for Republicans in this neck of the woods next year."(18)

Special Agent J. A. Leonard was sent to the western portion early in 1892 to investigate the Indian claims. While he was there Special Agent A. J. Duncan was doing much the same for the Land Office. There were supposed to be 375 Crows living on the ceded portion. Duncan claimed thirty-nine of them were already dead, but Leonard found thirty-two of these to be alive. Duncan claimed twenty of the allottees were not members of the Crow Tribe, but Leonard found only three were considered not members of the Tribe. Leonard found out that some of the Indians had always lived there, some had left and then returned, but all had come before the Agreement of December 8, 1890.(19)

Plenty Coos told Duncan that many of the allotments were made while the Indians were not present. During the Council of 1890, the interpreter, T. Stewart, told the Crows they could get money for holdings on the ceded portion. "Many Indians were undoubtedly induced
to take up allotments under this belief for speculation purposes. . . ."
Duncan wrote. (20) Agent Wyman had "been strenuously opposed to any
colonization of Indians on the Ceded Reservation . . . "(20).

When the ceded portion was opened in October, 1892, the problems
became real. Maggie Garrigus wrote Commissioner Belt that whites were
squatting on her allotment and on her daughter's allotment. By 1893
Agent Wyman removed the squatters and "found quite a number occupying
Indian lands . . . ." (21)

Special Agent George Litchfield assisted the Indians in their
claims against the settlers on the western portion. Litchfield discovered
a discrepancy between the Agreement ceding the western portion and the
Proclamation opening the area. The Treaty of 1890 reserved one and one-
half miles between rivers and allotments, but whites took the land between
the Indian allotments and the rivers. In some cases the Indians sold
their hay to the whites, then the whites brought their herds onto the
allotments during winter.

As to the future of these Indians, scattered so far from the
Agency, and most of them blanket Indians; there is not much show
to improve their condition, as they will be a prey to the strong
of their own nation, and the victims of unprincipled white men. (22)

Litchfield thought the Indians ought to be induced to return to the
Reservation as many had been encouraged to go to the western portion and
claim land so they could sell out to the settlers. Some even went to
the western portion in order to take their children out of school.
In conclusion, I wish to say something in regard to this Reservation as a whole. . . . I find mostly blanket Indians. I notice an element in Agent Wyman, in which he excels any Agent that I have met, viz: in getting such Indians to work. I think he is entitled to the prize for that, and if they can be held to the work, as he has them started, it will be as a light in a dark place.

These Indians are bound to decrease, as, until recently, they have not tried to save their children, which alone would tend to such a result. The children of this Agency are more diseased than any I have visited. . . . (22)

Two killings occurred on the ceded portion in 1893 (see Chapter VI). The basis for anti-Indian prejudice, according to one settler, was that there were no good roads because the Indians did not pay taxes, and it just happened that the Indians were living on perfect places for roads to go. (23) But L. W. Pease, who was a quarter Crow, explained that when the Government resurveyed the lines, he was moved on top of a rocky mountain not worth farming. (24)

Charles Hartman wrote from the House of Representatives in 1895 for the white settlers on the ceded portion. The settlers claimed that "their negotiation with Indians for their allotments are in many instances interfered with by the agent and sub-agent in charge at the Agency." (25) W. H. Steele was the farmer-in-charge of the Pryor Indians and of the Indians on the ceded portion. He gave Dickey and others squating on Indian allotments twenty-four hours to move off. On the following day Steele arrived with the Indian police. Dickey's mother, claiming a homestead on the allotment of High Nose, put up a tent on it. "After urging the old lady to go off peaceably," Steele wrote Agent Watson, "I proceeded to tear down the tent & loaded it and the other things into a wagon & then I had 4 Indians pick up the bed with the old lady
on it and carried her off the allotments."(26) Agent Watson decided that it was not the farmer-in-charge who was interfering with the relinquishment of the allotments. (26)

Early in 1896 Agent Watson reported on the cause of the mixed condition of affairs on the Ceded Strip where Indians and Whites are located promiscuously and indiscriminately together, in some cases an Indian allotment being nearly if not entirely surrounded by Whites, in other cases Whites being surrounded by Indians. This condition of affairs brings about disputes, quarrels, and all kinds of disorders, which is augmented by Squaw men and other bad characters who have escaped justice so far. . . .(27)

Watson thought the only remedy to the situation was to encourage the Indians to relinquish. The Treaty set the deadline for July 1, 1895. Watson thought the deadline "was inserted in the Treaty in some way purposely and solely to hurry up the Indians in relinquishing so their allotments could be thrown open to settlement."(27) He did not think the stipulation meant the Indians could not relinquish after that date.

Secretary Hoke Smith extended the relinquishment time, so that the Indians could move to the diminished Reserve. (28) Hardly had Watson obtained this extension before he began to regret it. He had difficulty locating some of the Coopers on the Reservation.

Although the letter of the last Crow treaty gives to all Indians the right to relinquish their allotments and take up new land on the Reservation still it has always seemed to me that the spirit of the law applied only to those Indians who were not able to get along on their allotments by reason of ignorance of civilized methods . . . But it did not seem to me in accordance with the policy and wishes of the Department to allow half breeds who are nearly white, educated, well advanced on the road to civilization, and fully competent to live and progress under the conditions of civilized life, to leave this kind of life and come back to Reservation life. For this reason while I have allowed all full blooded Indians to
relinquish I have tried in every way to discourage the half breeds, especially those who have good allotments and wish to relinquish for speculative purposes only. Also, as a rule the Squaw men who marry Indians with an expectation of getting land on the Reservation are extremely undesirable characters and bad associates for the Indians. . . .(29)

1897 was the year of the greatest number of relinquishments (see Appendix B, List 4). When Fred Geisdorff complained that the Agent was not permitting him to relinquish his allotment, Agent Watson replied:

As a rule I have not approved such relinquishments by any squaw-men or half breeds for two reasons: 1st, Provided they are willing to work they are fully able to support themselves on their allotments. Any honest white man would be overjoyed to get one of these allotments on the Ceded Strip and go to work on it. For a half-breed to relinquish his allotment is a retrograde movement . . . 2nd. The object of squaw-men or half-breeds in relinquishing their lands is to get a good price for them and then to come over on the Reservation proper and get new land, generally, if not always with some improper motive in view . . . (30)

Mrs. Levantia Pearson described the plight of the mixed-bloods. They had been refused by the Agent, but were treated as "intruders" on the ceded portion by the white settlers. They had no grazing privileges, and yet white men were allowed to graze herds on the Reservation. They had to pay taxes, while their children were not allowed to attend the schools. But Agent G. W. Stouch held much the same view as Watson.

I have yet to see the "Squaw Man", who, by his presence, is in any way conducive to the general welfare of the Indians. While there may be men of such stripe, whose presence do no harm, they never do good. To the best informed observer, there can be but two classes of men who wish to make their home on an Indian reserve. First, the man who is too indolent and lazy to work, or who cares for no society above that of an ordinary sloven squaw. Second, the man who has stock and wishes to move into an Indian country in order to obtain free range and protection, and if possible, to circumvent tax collectors, . . . (31)
Stouch added:

I wish to call your attention to a decision rendered ... to Lieut. J. W. Watson, from which I quote: "A white man by the act of marrying an Indian woman acquires no legal rights in, or in any wise, pertaining to an Indian reservation, or any rights whatever as an Indian" ... . (31)

When E. H. Becker assumed work at the Agency, he did not know about the correspondence which had taken place regarding mixed-bloods. He approved the relinquishment of Margaret Shane. Soon he, too, agreed "to hold back relinquishments of mixed blood Indians, except in very worthy cases ... ." (32)

In 1899 Agent Edwards saw a need for an assistant U.S. Attorney to settle over forty claims of Indian allotments being squatted by whites. (33) Many Indians brought papers showing they had made selections in 1892 without ever receiving allotments. (34) He wrote again:

The Indians entitled to selections on the different reserved tracts have nearly all returned to the reservation; they are continually calling on me to settle differences between the whites relating to their selections and also allotments. In many cases they have leased without authority from any Agent to some white settler and these white settlers in many cases have failed to recompense the Indians for the privilege. Other white settlers absolutely refuse to give up possession of these lands as the impression is they will be allowed to hold them ... . (35)

Agent Edwards had to deal with several individual cases of relinquishing, leasing, or squatting on allotment. Some cases involved a combination of all three. Sometimes the Indians changed their minds about the prices they wanted for their allotments and confusion resulted. An interesting case involved Orrin Clawson who had tried to take the allotment of Shows A Lance in 1896. By 1901 Clawson was doing
"business, merchandising and buying Indian allotments and in turn selling these allotments to actual settlers." (36) Clawson claimed to have statements proving Shows A Lance and his wife, Takes Pretty Things, relinquished their allotments to him. Shows A Lance claimed Clawson owed him $300 for the allotments, but Clawson only paid $200. Takes Pretty Things did not want to relinquish at all. Agent Edwards did not appreciate "Clawson's manner of doing business with Indians . . ." (36) Clawson produced receipts for goods purchased in his store by Strikes Twice, but Edwards "refused to accept" them. McClintock paid for the improvements of Strikes Twice, beating Clawson to the local land office. Clawson complained to the Department of the Interior. So Agent Edwards offered to reimburse Clawson if he could prove he paid anything for the allotment. "In closing," Edwards wrote to the Commissioner, "I will state that he is correct in one surmise, viz., that I would take the word of almost any Indian before either his own or the party he refers to." (36)

As Allotting Agent John K. Rankin commenced the new allotments along the irrigating ditches, he encountered new problems. Of the 400 deaths by 1901, 300 had near relatives. Thus 300 Indians should have had larger allotments by inheritance.

The giving to the heirs of these deceased Indians this additional land, . . . will in the opinion of Agent Edwards work much more ill-feeling and dissatisfaction among the Indians, than will the ruling that heirs should have a prior right to take, the land as their individual allotment, . . .

. . . Personally I hold that where Indians have a reservation the tenure of their possessory right to which is a common right; that when any Indian dies, the whole surviving members of the tribe are his heirs to his rights in the land, the same as they are to
his share of their invested funds, and that his immediate heirs have only an individual interest in such improvements he may have made... (37) Rankin was instructed to re-allot the inherited lands to the heirs. This brought up another problem. How far from "direct decent" should he go? He wrote, "These Indians as a rule have only the Indian notion of heirship which does not extend to individual ownership and decent of land." (38)

Many Crows still had claims in 1903 against homesteaders in the western portion. The problem stemmed from the fact that only the Indians knew where their allotments were, and the Indian allotments were based on the Bundock Survey of 1892. New public surveys had changed all the lines. Secretary Ryan ordered Special Allotting Agent George Keepers to proceed to the Crow Reservation. (39) Many settlers of Sweetgrass and Carbon Counties complained about him. John Barbour, writing from his law office in Big Timber, wrote Congressman Joseph Dixon that "a person styling himself an 'adjuster' and purporting to represent the Indian Department... has been making surveys of said allotments and adjusting lines in accordance with the said 'Bundock Survey'. ...(40) Keepers replied that he was indeed using the Bundock Survey instead of the official survey. He did not find "material difference" between the two surveys, "but in a few cases it would of been an injustice to the Indian for me to have induced him to accept the official survey." (41) The settlers were trying to rob the Indians of their allotments. "It is the old old story, Mr. Commissioner when an Indian has any thing of value some white man is going to have it if possible, even if he has to cheat lie or even commit perjury to get it." (41)
John Rankin and Gilcres were sent to the western portion to adjust Keepers' adjustments. They made what they thought was "a fair, just, and equitable compromise and adjustment" between the allottees and settlers; they recommended moving all the Indian allotments to conform with the official survey. (42)

The Interior Department ordered Rankin to construct family genealogies. He soon found it more work than making allotments. "Owing to the loose marital relations always prevailing among the Crows; the multiplicity of and frequent changing of names the work here is most arduous and perplexing." (43)

The U.S. Geological Survey was seized by visions of what was called the High Line ditch. Their dream called for a huge and expensive dam in the Big Horn Canyon, and another one on Beauvais Creek (see Chapter IV). Rankin allotted one-fourth of the Crows in the area of the proposed High Line ditch as the Indians had been promised the ditch would be constructed. The director of the U.S. Geological Survey, H. C. Rizer, decided Rankin needed some advice. Rizer wanted the Indians east of the Big Horn. But Rankin pointed out, "No question had been raised as to the propriety or right of the Indians to select homes anywhere on the diminished reserve." (44) Rizer thought the allotments should only be five acres per man or ten acres for man and wife. Rankin thought that for raising a family with no big city near "even a Chinaman would starve to death." (44)

The 1st of May, 1905, was the last day Indians could decide to
relinquish their holdings on the ceded portion in the north and move to the diminished Reserve. (45) Secretary Thomas Ryan approved eighty-two allotments on the northern portion in 1906. These allotments covered 14,711.96 acres. (47) As the northern portion was opened, Allotting Agent Rankin wrote it was time to stop selling portions of the Reservation.

It should not be forgotten that even with the most advanced tribes, ... the thing they know the least about is land values, and above all the fact that when their land is gone, it will never come back to them. The right to sell should be curtailed not enlarged. (47)

Rankin completed allotting on the diminished Reservation in September. He made 2353 allotments to the members of the tribe. The allotments covered 444,905.59 acres. "Almost every allotment carries at least approximately 40 acres of irrigateable land, and the average for the head of the family is 80 acres." (48)

The Howard allotments of 1887 were provided by the General Allotment Act. At first the Crows seemed to rebel against the freedom of individual ownership. They had never owned land individually before. The Hatchitt allotments beginning in 1890 set a vicious pattern which could not be halted for thirty years. The Crows were given new allotments, and then surplus land was sold. The struggles which followed the opening of the western portion in 1892, demonstrated that most of the Crows were unable to maintain individual ownership of land among white people. The Tribe would have had more land if the Crows had held their allotments on the ceded portion. But most of them rushed back to the diminished Reserve in 1896. The Agreement of 1899 worked the
same way as the Agreement of 1890. The Rankin allotments were commenced in 1901, and the surplus land was severed in 1904. Again the Crows lost their footing on the ceded portion. The problem of holding on to the land became a strenuous task for the Crows after the Act of 1904 (see Chapter IX).
In spite of the wonderful farm programs, irrigation projects, and apprenticeships instituted on the Crow Reservation, progress was indeed slow. There were white men trespassing on the Crow Reservation. All over the west white men insisted on their right to mine land which was not being used for agriculture. In the early 1870's a rich gold vein was found in Emmigrant Gulch. Quickly a whole town sprang up on the Crow Reservation. The Government solved the numerous disputes between miners and Indians either by waiting until the gold ran out or by selling the Indian land. The first strip of land taken from the Crows in the Treaty of 1880 included the biggest mountains in the Territory of Montana. As Dr. Barney Old Coyote pointed out, it seemed the miners thought the bigger the mountains, the more the gold!

Besides miners, Blackfoot Indians still came down from the north to raid Crow camps. Sioux, who had fought against the Crows in the Custer Battle of 1876, were still troublesome. In 1887 a few Crow warriors attacked troops at the Agency. It was perhaps the second time the Crows ever attempted to shed white men's blood. The Rules of 1884 insisted Indians must stay on their reservations unless they had written permission from the agents. The agents tried to create intertribal
peace by sending their Indians on visits to other reservations. The visitations more often than not created trouble.

Liquor, which had been taboo among Crows in the 1860's, crept into the Reservation during the 1870's. Although it was outlawed in 1884, white men smuggled it to the Indians.

In 1885 nearly ten trespassers came onto the Crow Reservation and built cabins in the Stillwater basin. By 1886 the whites were building cabins along Clark Fork, and they were hauling timber off of the Reservation and cutting hay on it. The Indians began to complain.

A letter from the Board of Stock Commissioners at Fort Maginnis complained of the Crows and Blackfoots sneaking off the reservations, stealing horses from each other, and plundering the farms on the way. The letter urged that as Indians were wards of the Government, and no longer foreign nations, they should be put on trial for murder.

Fort Custer had guns, knives, and carbines which were taken from the Crows in 1869, in 1873 and in 1885. Agent Williamson pointed out that the Crows had the task of protecting their stock from their enemies, the Piegan Indians, who have heretofore frequently stole ponies and horses from the Crows. I consider that these arms are the property of the Crow Indians, and I urgently recommend that they be returned to them as the Crows are peaceful and quiet and to place these arms in their hands would be no more danger than to give them to the same number of law abiding white citizens of this territory.

Orders for the return of Crow arms came a month too late. In 1886 450 Bloods on the war-path headed toward Crow country. On August 26 the Piegans raided the Crows on Pryor Creek at what Brigadier
General Thomas Huger called "Chief Pentecost settlement." Chief Plenty Coos claimed sixty horses were stolen. Later he sent a Crow party and forty horses were retrieved. The following day a party of Piegan stole fifteen horses from the Crows living near Fort Custer. The cavalry pursued them to the Yellowstone River. The Piegans escaped with twenty-five horses belonging to the Crows and citizens. They were intercepted, and the Crow horses were returned. Then the Piegans stole fifty-five more horses from the Crows on September 7. (6)

There were more than just Piegans to worry about. In August the Cheyenne River Agent, Charles McChesney, sought permission to allow 100 of his Sioux to visit the Crows for six weeks. "The Crow Indians have sent word," he wrote the Commissioner, "that they wish to present them with Ponies to cement their friendship." (7) At the same time Agent James McLaughlin, at Standing Rock Agency, sought permission to allow forty of his Sioux to visit the Crows. (8) Secretary L. Q. C. Lamar granted permission. (9) Agent Williamson telegraphed that he "decidedly opposed Sioux visiting" the Crows, and even the Crows objected to the visits. (10) In September Agent Bell, of Pine Ridge, wanted to add Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses and nine more Sioux. (11) When the Sioux from South Dakota began appearing on the Crow Reservation, trouble had already started.

In the previous year the Crows had killed a Sioux girl on the Fort Peck Reservation and stolen some horses. So in 1886 a party of Sioux from Fort Peck stole some horses from the Crows. Agent Heth of Fort Peck
sent Feather-in-the-Ear back to the Crow Reservation to return the horses. Heth wrote Agent Williamson to have the Crows bring all the Sioux horses to Fort Peck. (12) The Sioux party, however, never returned the stolen horses to the Crows. As Agent Heth wrote:

They went about eight miles, saw sage brush, which they imagined to be a Crow army, and stampeded. . . . One of the stolen horses was traded off for a saddle, and the others were left in the bad lands, so the thieves report. (13)

The Sioux were so afraid of the Crows they refused to spread out and farm. Heth suggested a peace meeting between the Yanktonian Sioux of his reservation and the Crows. (13) There was a meeting but not the kind he wanted. On the 26th of September, some Crows killed two Assiniboin women and shot a third. (14)

Meanwhile, Sitting Bull came with two parties of Sioux from South Dakota. He argued with J. G. Walker and James Howard about allotments. Sitting Bull claimed he had the allotments deferred at his reservation. The Crow chiefs began to side with him. According to Agent Williamson, Spotted Horse claimed, "This country was his, and that he would put the Crows on places where he wished them to live". . . . (15) Other chiefs said the same kind of thing. Then came ninety-three Sioux from Cheyenne River Agency. By September 27 the visiting Sioux left the Crow Reservation. (15)

The allotting agents, Walker and Howard, wrote their view of Sitting Bull's visit. They found no opposition to the allotment idea until Sitting Bull appeared. Then five Crow chiefs ordered the rest of
It is therefore morally certain that the present attitude of these people is the immediate result of the machinations and insidious counsels of Sitting Bull. He has convinced the Crow Chiefs that their influence with their people will be destroyed and lost in proportion as their people learn to look to the agent for guidance and control, instead of to them. These chiefs were not astute enough to discover this fact until it was shown them by the wily Sioux. . . . (16)

At the end of September, twenty Crows were trying to cross the Yellowstone River while returning from their dirty work at Poplar Agency. Fort Custer was ordered to intercept and arrest them. But the Crows came at night time, and the cavalry was unable to follow them. On October 4 the cavalry "deployed pickets" at Custer Station to await the Crows and the 200 horses they had stolen. On the 6th Fort Custer was alerted by telegrams from Fort Peck saying that ten to twenty Sioux were heading south in revenge. So Lieutenant Byram quickly captured seven Crows and ten horses, while the other Crows went into the Bull Mountains. (17)

Agent Williamson had his mind made up to punish the Crows for murdering the Assiniboin women. He wrote Commissioner J. D. C. Atkins, "From all the information I can obtain this murder was most unprovoked, and I believe that severe punishment visited upon the leaders of the party will have a very good influence on the Crow Tribe." (18) Agent Williamson, however, was the first to complain about the punishment. Fort Custer charged him fifty cents per day per prisoner for the seven captured Crows. Though the military should be compensated, he did not feel he should be the one to compensate them. (19)
Some Crows found signs of Sioux on the 20th of October. Two sets of clothing had been cached in a gulch on the Big Horn River. It was a war party in revenge for the murders. About three in the afternoon the Sioux attacked south of the Fort. The alarm was sounded, and forty minutes later Colonel N. A. M. Dudley and his troops were at the scene. The Crows had located the Sioux in some hills near the Little Horn River. Two Sioux tried to hide in the river bottom. While killing them, two Crows were killed and three were wounded. (20)

Early in 1887 Dudley made cautious arrests of the remainder of the twenty Crows accused of murdering the Assiniboin women. (21) Agent Williamson delivered eighteen Crows to the U.S. Marshal at Miles City. "They were called to answer but were discharged on the ground that the Court had no jurisdiction . . ." (22) Williamson thought their confinement in Miles City "had a good effect upon them." But it was "impossible to procure sufficient evidence to convict them . . ." (22)

The Departmental orders of February 21, 1887, stipulated that consent must be obtained from the agencies to be visited before permits could be issued. Agent Spencer of Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota issued a pass to Two Strike and fifteen Sioux to visit the Crows in May. They were taking money, blue cloth, and pipes with which to buy Crow horses. But it was reported to Spencer that a large number of Indians without permits joined the party. He wrote Williamson:

It would be a comfort to me if you would drive away those not having passes - except one "He Dog", who, if you will lock up until "Two Strike" is ready to return, I shall consider an especial favor. This
Indian is on my Police force, and went away without permission and the "medicine" referred to will not only do him good, but have a wholesome effect upon others. . . . (23)

Williamson telegraphed Spencer telling him to bring his own Indians back to his agency. "You have violated positive order of Department in giving permission without my consent." (23) Then Agent Williamson telegraphed Commissioner Atkins that he did not want any visiting Indians.

The party of Indians from Rosebud Agency, . . . coming on this reserve means two or three weeks of Dancing, War Paint and feathers, the whole affair led by a lot of renegade, taken-for-granted-non-progressive Sioux and excitement causes large number of my Indians to join them, thus abandoning their farming operations etc. If the party of Indians are "non-progressive" they ought to be at home during the planting season and receive lessons to be progressive. (23)

Williamson did not permit the Crows to visit other reservations. His reason for not wanting visits that year was that the Crows were beginning to farm their allotments. When Agent Gallagher received Williamson's word, the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Sioux had already left. He sent his police after them. And Williamson informed Gallagher that he had violated the Departmental orders, too. (24) The Indian police from Cheyenne River Agency stopped one Sioux party at the end of June. The other party was intercepted by Captain Forse at Deaf Bull's Bottom, thirty miles from Fort Custer. (25) Agent H. D. Gallagher explained later that he had merely wanted to keep the respect of Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses, and Young-Man-Afraid thought Indians should be allowed to visit "in the same manner that white people visited their friends." (26)

Frank M. Canton, chief of the detectives in northern Wyoming Territory, claimed there were large bands of Indians in the Big Horn.
Mountains. Some were Crows with many Arapaho and Shoshoni Indians. He was convinced the Indians were trying to "pretend to be hunting deer and elk" in an area where "game is very scarce, and cattle is plenty." (27) But Canton had the wrong plot in mind.

Though it was perhaps not the first time, it was certainly a surprising time for a few Crows to engage in an uprising. Allotting Agent Howard made the first report on the events. On the evening of Friday the 30th of September, 1887:

everything was quiet and peacefully, the Indian families were nearly all in around the Agency to draw their rations in the following day; the Agency butchers were slaughtering cattle; a large train of Indian freight wagons were being unloaded of Agency goods into the warehouses everybody was busy & cheerful. Agent Williamson & his wife were on the porch of his house, he, reading his mail, before taking it to his office, as is his usual custom; when about 5 P.M. this "Medicine Man" and some fifteen or sixteen of his followers rode through the Agency . . . to the slaughter house, & then partially separated into small bands, one of which, five or six in number, headed by this "Medicine Man", all in full war-paint & feathers, and well armed, road round the Agency buildings, commencing on the East side, & fired into the roofs of all the houses along their route, particularly at the Agents office on East side, where the Agency Interpreter was standing, this "Medicine Man", then came to Agents dwelling house on the West side, and fired a volley at the roof; struck the brick chimney and made things fly, they were very defiant and insolent; The Agent acted with perfect calmness, there were none of his Policemen near at the Time; but had there been, They could not have arrested those fellows without much bloodshed, and I believe a general massacre; I think Agent acted very wisely in not attempting to arrest them with his Police force. Two Troops of Cavalry arrived in the ground about 11 P.M. The officer in charge not having instructions to make any arrest, but to protect the Agent, employee & property. After the arrival of the Troops, this same party & followers continued to make hostile demonstrations, and sending word to the troops, that they were ready for them, & at the same time removing all their Squaws, Old Men, children from their Tepees to the opposite side of the river.
The troops went into camp about 11 P.M. The agent thinking everything to have quieted down, retired and extinguished the lights in
the house. This defiant gang of Indians next went to the Traders Store and demanded ammunition, and were of course refused. They then fired into the store, and the Trader, Wife & clerks had to barricade the windows with bales of blankets to protect themselves. There was five or six bullet holes shot through the building. This gang kept up repeatedly their shooting tour around the agency buildings, openly defying the troops, nearly all night, & making night horizons with their yells. From the Traders store, they again came to the agents house, having been reinforced by several followers; and making more hostile demonstrations. On the porch of the house were the Agency Interpreter and a few friendly Indians, where "Boy That Grabs", chief of Indian Police, reported to the Interpreter, that those fellows, said they had come to kill the agent. An Indian by the name of "Sport" went out and took hold of the "Medicine Man" horse and told him that it was cowardly to attack a man when he was in bed, and that the first Indian who again fired his gun he would kill him; this demonstration aroused the employee of the agency, and several of them promptly came to agents house, armed with their guns, soon after which, the officer in command of the troops, placed a guard around the agency buildings after which quiet remained until morning. On Saturday morning two more troops of Cavalry arrived at the agency, and for nearly five or six hours this gang and some sixty or seventy followers got on top of a hill overlooking the agency, about a quarter of a mile from where the troops were camped, and dared and defied them to come up there and take them (and they do so yet). In the evening they disappeared, and have been planting the seeds of discord, among the whole Crow Tribe ever since, and abuse all "crows" as being Old Women because they will not join them to fight the Whites. These Indians have not only stolen horses from the Piegans, but have stolen horses from white settlers along their line of plundering, several of whom are now at agency looking for their stolen property, and several telegrams to agent making enquiries about their stolen horse. This "Medicine Man" who is the leader of this bad element of Indians, it is thought gained his notoriety very recently; he and a few young Bucks ran off to a Sun Dance, which was held at the Northern Cheyenne agency some few months ago, he stood the torture so well, that all the Indians present pronounced him a "Big Medicine Man", and gave him, the sword, which is usually given in such cases, and he has been quietly and gradually demoralizing, these young Crow Bucks ever since. These Indians absolutely believe that he is impervious to any sword or bullet of the "Whites", They fear him as such, and consequently will [not] disobey, any order from him.(28)

By October 8, when no arrests had been made, Howard added:

One astonishing fact, is, that everyone of the agency School children, numbering over 50 scholars during all this excitement have been
obedient and quiet, and none of them have left or signified a wish to do so, they are performing their duties very commendably. . . .(28)

The Agent worked as usual while the Indians gathered in bands. "Some of the Old Indians are coming daily, trying to apologise for the conduct of these beligerent Bucks, and some condemning their action, but say they will never surrender."(28)

A news clipping announced that a "young malcontent chief" was leading 150 to 200 warriors into trouble. An attorney, John Blankman, explained that he had been to Yellowstone Park the previous year where he had conversations "with many intelligent old trappers, Indian fighters, cow-boys etc."(29) They predicted Indian outbreaks were bound to come when "certain Indian chiefs died or lost their control over the tribes" as "the Indians were not treated in good faith by the Government agents etc."(29) Furthermore, the Indians knew the troops were not well armed.

But the chief reason assigned by the most intelligent and reliable of my informants was this, That since the Government had placed these Indians upon their present reservations a younger generation had grown to an age when an Indian was bound under the old usages of his tribe to have distinguished himself in war; that is killed and scalped some one, That an Indian standing in his tribe was based upon his war record & those who could not show such a record were considered a little better than squaws, That at night the old warriors would gather around their fires & tell of their bloody deeds in former times, That these frequent recitals in the hearing of the younger Indians had fired them with the desire to emulate the deeds of the older Indians & place themselves above the level of the squaws, and that sooner or later these circumstances would bring about an outbreak.(29)

Blankman's analysis might have served to explain Sioux and Piegan uprisings. But he did not recognize that this was only the second time in history that a few Crows were hostile to whites.
Ten armed Sioux from Fort Belknap were on the Crow Reservation by October 11. They had passes but no prior consent from Agent Williamson. The next day Colonel Dudley arrested them. (30) Agent E. C. Fields of Fort Belknap later explained the party was merely looking into the return of a horse stolen by Crows. Naturally, he knew little about events on the Crow Reservation until ten days after he sent the party. (31)

When Inspector Frank C. Armstrong arrived, he telegraphed the Secretary, "The Leader and Seventeen outlaws should be arrested as soon as possible . . ." (32) He thought the work of the previous two years in farming and allotting would be lost "through the bad influence of this medicine man . . ." (32) Some of the Crows abandoned their homes and permanent locations. They gathered together in bands along the Big and Little Horn Rivers. "Sufficient military force should be used to impress this tribe for all time to come that it is useless to offer resistance to the Government . . ." (32) Some of the Crows scattered into the mountains. (32) Armstrong believed the Crow uprising was due to the incessant Crow versus Piegan raids and the visit of Sitting Bull the previous year. (33)

On October 19 the Medicine Man and thirty Crows went to Tongue River Agency. "In defiance of Agents order forbidding it." (34) The Medicine Man left word he would kill the Agency Interpreter if any attempt to arrest him or his followers was made. (34) Eventually a few Crows appeared on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota, so that the Sioux commenced traveling uneasily from camp to camp and demanded passes.
for large parties to visit other reservations. The Rosebud Agent, Spencer, thought Sitting Bull's "incendiary talk on the field where Custer fell" was the cause of all the trouble. (35)

Agent Upshaw at Tongue River Agency became so excited about the uprising that he telegraphed the "Commander of Indian Affairs" instead of the Commissioner. Fifty Crows were among the Cheyennes. "Please send troops to drive them off," was his cry. (36) Secretary William C. Endicott of the War Department sent orders to Major General A. H. Terry for "action at once as may be considered necessary in the premises to prevent an outbreak." (37) In spite of the fact that Crows had served as Terry's scouts in the 70's, it was no justification for an uprising. Thus on October 21 Major General Terry "directed General Ruger to give instructions for their immediate arrest, . . . ." (38) General Thomas Ruger ordered a company of infantry and a troop of cavalry from Fort Keogh to the Tongue River Agency. (38)

All was quiet on the Reservation by October 24. Brigadier General Ruger thought less than a 100 Crows would join the resistance. Two more companies were coming from Missoula, and a force was waiting at Fort Meade. Much snow was piling up. (39) The next day things were still quiet. The Crow party returned from the Cheyenne reservation. The Crows moved their camp west of the Agency. (40)

Another point of view was given by the Reverend William C. Rommel, a Presbyterian of Philadelphia. He wrote President Grover Cleveland:
The reason of the disturbance is probably not hard to find. Montana, in whose territory the Crow Indians have a valuable reservation, is rapidly filling up with white settlers. They naturally covet the rich domain of these Indians.

The Indians are goaded to the war path by unlawful trespassers, who coolly act as if they owned the reservations and the Indians rob him of his horses, debauch his women, abuse and maltreat him, and as good opportunity offers shoot him down treacherously and cowardly on the plea of self defence or to prevent assault. These and the like old devices on the part of a few grasping, and unscrupulous, and determined whites, fire the Indians to self defence and retaliation.

Rommel had been a minister at Helena from 1872 to 1876.

The great Custer massacre, by the Sioux, occurred during my stay in the Territory. I recall vividly the sense of relief and security from the knowledge that the Crow Indians stood between the few and feeble white settlers and the strong and cruel Sioux. During all the Indian troubles the Crows remained the trusted and faithful allies and friends of the whites, a bulwark against the "hostiles."

"It would be a burning wrong and shame," he concluded, "to have war brought against these old friends and protectors, because they have been goaded into an attitude of defense in behalf of themselves, their home and the home of their fathers."

An armed party of Gros Ventres from Fort Belknap reached the Crow Reservation. Secretary Lamar wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on the 26th of October.

You are hereby instructed to notify the Agents for Indians in Montana and adjoining Territories, to use every effort to keep the Indians under their charge on their reservations, and not to permit any of them to visit the Crow reservation.

The next day the troops took charge of the Gros Ventre party. And, on the 29th, a circular was sent by the Commissioner prohibiting agents from granting passes without permission from the Indian Office and the
Department of the Interior, as well as from the agent of the reservation to be visited. (44)

Armstrong made arrangements with the Crows to protect the "good Indians" and arrest the "refractory ones . . ." (45) He gave General Ruger a list of the twenty-one Crows who participated in the shooting of the Agency on September 30. Inspector Armstrong considered Deaf Bull a "disturbing element in the Crow Tribe . . ." (45) Deaf Bull had tried to incite the Crows and Cheyennes to make war on the whites. Thus Armstrong recommended Deaf Bull be arrested and removed "to someplace where he can be made to know the power of the Government." (46)

The troops arrived November 5. The Crows were camping below the Agency. A demand was made that those Indians who did the shooting in the Agency be given up. Armstrong put it, "If resistance is made the Indians must take the consequences . . ." (47) "A sharp skirmish between the troops and Indians ensued," Armstrong telegraphed. "The troops killed several Indians among them the leaders of the renegade." (48) The rest of the Tribe returned to their camp "quiet and submissive." There were a few more "outlaws" in the hills who agreed to surrender. (48) By the 7th all of the refractory Indians were arrested. (49) And, according to General Ruger, Chief Plenty Coos was "in good temper." (50) President Grover Cleveland telegraphed Secretary Lamar, that the Crow prisoners were to be sent to Fort Snelling, but the matter should be dealt with with "as much moderation as is consistent with safety." (51)

The man whom the allotting agents called "Medicine Man," whom
the generals called "Sword Bearer," and whom the Inspector called "Wraps His Tail" was dead. Who shot him and who else was killed was only told by the Crows. Inspector Armstrong wrote his interpretation of the uprising. The Indians fired upon the troops first and killed a corporal, wounded two soldiers, and wounded some horses. The troops returned the fire. When the Indians "gave back," the troops ceased firing. "The presence of so large a force completely overawed the Indians," Armstrong wrote. "Chees-ta-pah, (Sword Bearer) The Medicine Man, had worked these Indians up to believe that he was all-powerful, and that they under his medicine, could clean out the entire camp." (52) But it was only Armstrong's interpretation, and he seemed to overlook the fact that the troops advanced towards the Indians first.

In 1888, W. H. Forwood, the medical doctor at Fort Shelling, Minnesota, wrote Campbell, a scout at Fort Custer.

There was a hell of a row here among the Indians last night. Deaf Bull got up just after midnight when the others were asleep and with a small pocket knife began cutting and slashing in the most desperate manner, as though bent upon killing as many of his companions as possible and then himself. He stabbed Crazy Head in several places about the body and cut the throat of one of the younger men... so as to expose the carotid artery, but without wounding it. Others were also more or less cut and then he applied the knife to his own throat making a fearful wound, but not necessarily a fatal one. In the effort to suppress him, he got a broken arm (left radius) and a bad whack on the top of his head from a musket barrel which, however, only made a scalp wound...

I asked D. B. why he did this and he replied that they had been abusing him and lying about him - He kept his mouth closed but they still lied about him and abused him and he could not stand it any longer. I think he is crazy. (53)

Deaf Bull had cut his jugular and right carotid, he had a scalp wound,
a broken arm, and numerous bruises. Crazy Head had wounds on his forehead, and he was stabbed in the right side of his breast. Young-man-who-carries-his-grub (even the doctor suspected that was not the right name) had an eight-inch wound in his right shoulder. Bank had his throat cut badly. Crazy Head's son was stabbed in the foot.(53)

Plenty Coos approached Allotting Agent Howard and Colonel Dudley a couple of times requesting the release of two young men.(54) Banks and Sees-with-his-Ears were returned in June, but Sees-with-his-Ears died. Crazy Head and his son, Carries his Food, returned in November that year. Two more prisoners, Rock and Big Hail were supposedly sent to Carlisle Industrial School in Pennsylvania.

By 1889 Deaf Bull was the only Crow left in the prison. Colonel Edwin Mason, commanding Fort Snelling, wrote that Deaf Bull displayed excellent conduct and "worked willingly and faithfully - indeed he has done more work than the average white prisoner."(55) Deaf Bull learned farming methods in the "Convict garden." He wanted to visit his family, and the Colonel recommended his visit for approval. The surgeon thought Deaf Bull should visit during the warm months as he had rheumatism.(55) In August President Cleveland ordered Deaf Bull's release.(56)

Big Hail and Lears were still at Carlisle in 1890. But the student called Lears was actually known as Glands on the Reservation. By mistake Big Hail and Glands were sent to Carlisle; Banks and Looks-with-his-Ears were returned to the Reservation, and Glands was erroneously called Looks-with-his-Ears or Lears. The chiefs and fathers of the two
young men at Carlisle desired to have them back and Agent Wyman added:

Neither of these youths were particularly vicious during the trouble of 1887, and "Glands" did not take part in the actual trouble at agency, but was with the original party stealing horses some weeks previous, and being of that party, he came in freely and gave himself up. ... (57)

In the western portion of the Reservation trespassers continued to move into the Stillwater basin. The problem was related to the fact that no lines, marks, or monuments showed where the boundary of the Reservation was. When the settlers and miners ran their own line, they thought they were off the Reservation. Some of the settlers cut hay and refused to pay for it. When Agent Williamson ordered the settlers to go south of the John T. Blake line in 1880, they refused to go. (58)

By the following year, Inspector W. W. Junkin reported on the remains of one settlement named after a trespasser.

Nye City was once quite a village, probably two hundred people having lived there at one time. While I did not see the monuments dividing Montana from Wyoming I am satisfied that Nye City is on the reservation. The people who once lived there are also satisfied of this fact. They have all moved away except two or three families. A company was formed here a few years ago when mineral was discovered. A large smelter and other necessary works to reduce the ores were erected, but have never been operated. ... (59)

But in 1890 F. D. Pease recommended that the southwest boundary be again established and the squatters removed. (60)

A party of Indian raiders in 1888 went up the Big Horn River south of Fort Custer and captured forty Crow horses on June 15. The Crow Indian scouts at the Fort pursued them. The next day they returned.

The Indians were very jubilant over their success, they struck the trail about eight miles west of the post of Custer, followed it in
direction of Pompey's Pillar, over taking the raiders in the brush near Yellowstone Banks. They corralled the party at this point, killed one Indian and wounded another - the third was seen to break for the river, and the Indians expressed the opinion that he was drowned with the wounded man. All the horses, some forty-three were recovered.(61)

The Crow Indians kept their reputations as warriors well beyond the end of the war days. The Standing Rock agent wired the Commissioner that the Crows were attacking. Agent Briscoe advised the Standing Rock agent to watch his own Indians "as this 'Crow' scare is simply a blind to cover other motives."(62) The Crows were all at home hauling coal and hay and oats.(62). In the meantime, Frosted, a Sioux Medicine man, led 150 Sioux out to attack the Crows at Heart Butte which happened to be off the Sioux reservation. So Troop F left Fort Yates. They located the Sioux camp at night time, but most of the Indians had started returning to the reservation. The troops returned the next day to look for Frosted and fifty Indians. "Captain Brown had a talk with the Indians, explaining that the report was false, gotten up by this Indian 'Frosted', to serve his own ends, ..."(63)

Orders from the Adjutant General on July 8, 1889, instructed the commander of Fort Custer to assist "in keeping the peace" on the Crow Reservation and "in arresting and confining at Fort Custer any Indians attempting to create a disturbance ..."(64) The Commissioner wrote to Crow Agency asking for information on two Crow medicine men. Agent Wyman supposed the men who caused trouble were Gray Blanket and the son of White Shirt.
who were reported at one time to have gone to the mountains to dream and make medicine. Gray Blanket was arrested by Mr. Barstow the acting agent by order of my predecessor and sent to Fort Custer where he was confined for several days. Since that time there has been no repetition of the offence . . . (65)

In the Council of August 1881, the Crows did indeed request the right to ride the Northern Pacific trains, and the representatives of the Railroad seemed to give assent. In 1890 Agent Wyman reminded the General Manager of the Northern Pacific in St. Paul of the Council. The men representing the Railroad were "duly authorized," and the Indians expected the whites to keep their promises.

The Indians demanded that this authority for them to ride on the Company trains be incorporated in the agreement. But the representatives of your Road assured them that this was not necessary. That they would always be allowed to ride. That such permission was never refused by an R. R. Company to Indians through whose lands the road passed . . . . (66)

It seemed that Spotted Tail and a party of eight Crows had passes from Agent Wyman to visit the Flatheads. The whole party was put off at Laurel.

"And I beg leave to assure you," Wyman warned, "that the action taken by your conductors in many instances has created a bitter feeling on part of some of our Indians, and that in event such action is continued, the result may be very serious." (66)

1890 was a bad year for the Sioux in South Dakota, but there were no ghost dances on the Crow Reservation. (67) Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses, with forty Sioux, paid the Crows a "friendly" visit. (68)

In July 1892 a group of Rosebud Sioux under Young-Man-Afraid wanted permission to visit the Crow Reservation "to get horses promised
them . . ." (69) And Spotted Elk and a party of forty Pine Ridge Sioux wanted to buy Crow horses with money from their crops. (70) But Agent Wyman wanted the visits "deferred until autumn." He said the Crows were haying and harvesting and could not complete their work if sixty Sioux visited them. (71) Two days later the Pine Ridge agent wrote that Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses and his party of twenty-seven were finished with their work. The Sioux wanted to buy horses from the Crows as they had lost many horses during the last Sioux uprising in December 1890 and during the winter storms of 1891. (72) When the Sioux arrived, four did not have passes, so Wyman arrested them and put them to work at the Agency. (73)

The western portion, which was opened in 1892, proved to be a rugged place for Indians to survive. Agent Wyman reported on a murder in March 1893.

A corporal from Fort Custer had permission to go over to Rocky Fork Creek, to enlist some Indians scouts for their Company. They had already enlisted six Indians, and the Indian: "Small", who was killed, was to be the seventh. He told the corporal that he had five horses, which he wished to take with him to Fort Custer, and that he would go and get them, and mark some logs, which he had cut in order to build a house. He would then return, and go to Fort Custer with him. As "Small" did not return that night, the Squaws went in search of him. On reaching the place where the logs lay, they found him, shot dead, lying partly on his right side, with his gun underneath him. . . . As soon as the Indians heard of the killing, they were greatly excited, and the White settlers in the vicinity commenced moving out of the country, forgetting in their haste many small articles. "Small" has always been known as a peaceable Indian. "Red Wings" (the corporal) "Plenty-Coos", and several other Indians and squaws gathered round me, wringing their hands, and crying. They said it would be well if the white man who killed "Small" were sleeping beside him. (74)
Abshire, who killed Small, the son of Little Face, was to be tried in Helena, and the Billings people were in sympathy for the Indians. (74)

While Special Agent George Litchfield was assisting the Indians in settling claims against the squatters on the western portion, he reported that there was excitement over the trial. "It is attracting the attention of all interested at present, to such an extent, that it takes the precedence of other duties." (75) As he was closing his letter to the Commissioner he added:

We have received the intelligence that a band of horse thieves had escaped from Wyoming, and were secluded upon the Reserve, and are being pursued by Officers hoping to overtake and arrest them; so we do not lack for a change of excitement to break the monotony. . . . (75)

Litchfield reported later that the trial resulted in the discharge of the prisoner, as not guilty. This has caused much grief to the Indians; and there is a feeling among them that some punishment should have been administered, especially as the accused man did not deny the killing, but claimed it was done in self-defense. . . . (76)

John Shopke was arrested in January by the Indian soldiers at Fort Custer. Shopke, also known as Big Nose George, was caught selling whiskey to an Indian. But as Wyman put it:

Under these conditions, I am compelled, if I want a prisoner punished, to transport him at my own expense, some 65, or 70 miles, in order to turn him over to the proper authorities, who, in the course of time, turn him loose for want of sufficient evidence, which would add expense that they never expect to have repaid. . . . although "the law makes it a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment to sell liquor to Indians".

Of the several trials, made by my predecessors, to convict persons found selling liquor, not one was successful, in each case the jury bringing in a verdict of acquittal. In one of the cases referred to, it was shown that an Indian bought the whiskey, the witness, a reliable
White man, standing beside him, taking the glass and tasting the liquor. In spite of this, the man was acquitted. (77)

It was a hard year for those who had forgotten how to pull a gun. On September 18, Agent M. P. Wyman and four of his Indian police were looking for children playing hookie on the school near Chief Wet's place on Pryor Creek. His police were about a quarter mile in front of him when they saw two white men start to run with saddle horses and a pack horse. The police followed until the white men ambushed them. Agent Wyman drove up in his wagon near the ambush, and the white men commenced firing with Winchesters. A ball passed through the Agent's coat and killed Bird Horse behind him. The other three policemen opened on the white men with revolvers and killed both. (78) A telegram from Billings announced, "Desperadoes both done fore." (79) Bird Horse, the Crow who was killed, was also known as Follows the Woman. The Indian police force consisted of "men of determined bravery, and always cool," according to the clerk, C. H. Barstow. "To this fact is probably due the loss of but one of the Agents party, altho the attack must have been wholly unexpected by the Agent." (79) It was the same thing as saying that the brown hand had not lost its touch.

The two whites turned out to be George Hamilton and Eugene Willard. The Indian police who killed them were Medicine Tail, Bear Claw, and Takes the Horse. Hamilton and Willard had a keg of whiskey on their pack horse. Willard was the one who shot at Wyman's clothing and killed Bird Horse. (80)
As usual there was another view of the gun fight. Mrs. Hamilton wrote to Secretary Hoke Smith:

My husband George B. Hamilton who was employed at Agency... "By an Indian" called Medicine Tail Has been murdered in cold blood shot in the back after he had given up his arms as he was on his way back after having been home on a visit, ... Did Mr. Hamilton interpret any thing to you for the Indians to cause Major Wyman enmety as I think his death was caused by his instigation, And I demand an investigation. (81)

The U.S. District Attorney, Preston H. Leslie, attempted to demonstrate the complexity of the case.

No person was present, or saw, or in any way witnessed the occasion and transaction, except the two men slain, and those engaged in the affair. They were Wyman, who at that time was agent in charge of the Crow Indians on the Crow Reservation, and a posse of his Indian Police, consisting of five Indians (one of whom it is alleged was shot and killed). There was a so-called Coroner's inquest held three or four days afterwards, at Billings, Montana... Wyman and three of the Indians were sworn and examined as witnesses, touching the transaction. There was one other Indian present who saw it all but was not examined. The body of the Indian that it is alleged was killed was not brought with the others to the place of holding the inquest; nor does it appear whether anyone else than his comrades ever did see his body, or in any way know that he was killed or buried. The finding of the Coroner's Jury was, that the men were shot and killed by three of the Indian Police whose names are given. No arrest or prosecution of any sort has ever been made or instituted in any way. The slayers of these men are all going at large, and with impunity. I have procured a paper which purports to show the entire evidence introduced and given before the Coronor and Jury at the time of holding the inquest. It is a very confused and unsatisfactory mass of questions and answers, evidently intended to sustain the account of how it all came about, and what occurred, as given by the Agent, Wyman in his telegram to the Department, and to others; but there is a great deal in the statements of Wyman and the three Indians who testified to excite grave suspicions that in the killing of these men, there was much of crime, if not absolute murder. ... (82)

Leslie believed a "painstaking" investigation and perhaps a secret service man on the Reservation would be needed to get evidence of guilt.
for murder. (82) Nothing much developed from this case. Agent Wyman was removed at the end of the year, and no one could find him long enough to settle his debt to the Crow freighters, much less long enough to appear before a Grand Jury. It was interesting enough that the U.S. District Attorney should enlist a fifth Crow in the "transaction" but never get his name and never succeed in locating him. And his expression of doubt about the Indian police "(whom it is alleged was shot and killed)," left him open to the suggestion that, after the others had gone to Billings, Bird Horse jumped up and went into camp telling everybody the joke.

Another type of bad man entered the Crow Reservation. Agent J. W. Watson reported at the end of 1894:

A great and disreputable nuisance and injury to this Reservation is the horde of gamblers that flock here from all points around the Reservation whenever money to any considerable extent is disbursed among the Indians. These gamblers are characters of the lowest class, known locally as "tin horn" gamblers, and they make their money by playing their nefarious trade among the Indians. Their operations are confined principally to the workers, Indians and others, on the system of Irrigation Ditches now in process of construction. . . . (83)

Early the next year Agent Watson was disturbed by a case of "Messiah craze."

I have in the guard house here a half witted, worthless Crow Indian, by the name of "Bad Belly," who had been absent from this Reservation for more than two years until arrested and confined here a few months ago. He is a ghost dancer and disciple and perhaps teacher or spreader of the Messiah craze. He has been traveling around a good part of the last two years, but exactly where he has been I have been unable to learn. His teachings or beliefs or pretended beliefs have taken some slight hold on the Crows but not to amount to any thing worth considering seriously. (84)

In 1896 Agent Watson refused to allow forty Sioux to visit the
Crows who were farming. (85) Only three Sioux were allowed to go in the next year. The Cheyenne River Agent, Peter Couchman, wrote to the Commissioner in 1898 "to represent the annual craze to visit the Crow Agency, Mont. has again possessed some of the Indians of this reserve." (86) The visit was not permitted. (86)

Frank C. Armstrong, who in the 1880's had been Inspector, became counsel on claims against tribes. On September 22 a Council was held with the majority of adult male Crows "for the purpose of appointing special council to look after and defend their interests" as approved in the Act of March 31, 1891. Takes Wrinkle presented Plenty Coos, Pretty Eagle, Medicine Crow, and Bear Claw to represent the Crows for four years and work with Armstrong. And 545 Crows signed their names to the agreement. Armstrong filed a four-year contract with the Crows. There were, according to the Justice Department, "pending in the Court of Claims against the Blackfeet, Crow and Piegan and Shake Indians some 287 cases for depredations, and the amounts thereof aggregate $899,889.95." (87)

The contract was approved in 1897; however, it was no longer with Armstrong, but with Josiah M. Vail (or Vale as the Secretary spelled it). By 1899 the Crows complained about the substitution. Agent Becker reported to Commissioner W. A. Jones that the Tribe seemed confused about the amount to be paid and from what fund it was to come. They "claim that the Crows as a tribe at no time in the past committed any depredations, except those committed upon other tribes in a spirit of
retaliation for raids made upon the Crows in horse stealing expeditions."(88)
The Crows included a letter with Becker's letter. Their letter, signed by Plenty Coos, Pretty Eagle, Medicine Crow, Bear Claw, and Carl Leider, stated that the Tribe wanted a cancelation of the contract with Vail.(88)
At the end of May, Plenty Coos said no more whites should be hired by the Crows; he recommended an Indian named William Leighton to act as counsel for the Tribe.(89)

The Yellowstone County authorities arrested three Indian police on March 14 for striking a prisoner they were putting off the Reservation.(90) The prisoner was a Mexican whom the Agent ordered off the Reservation. F. Glenn Mattoon, the Agency Clerk, felt the County authorities "were acting out of their jurisdiction," so he wired a U.S. Attorney.

The policeman's first orders were to remove from the Reservation a band of Cree Indians, who were camped along a creek a few miles below the sub-agency at Pryor. It was here they came upon the Mexican, and policeman, knowing that the Mexican had been ordered off the Reservation, proceeded to put him off again. And while resisting the officer he made a threatening sign as if to draw his gun, whereupon the policeman hit him over the head with his riding whip, drawing considerable blood. He then went peaceably. . . .(91)
The two Indian policemen, Three Bears and Iron Thunder, were discharged, but Charles Wilson, the Negro Interpreter known as Smokey, was declared guilty and fined. Later Judge Hiram Knowles discharged Wilson, too.(92)

In the fall of 1898, "a man engaged in the liquor business, by the name of Mudge, . . . in Wyoming, boldly and deliberately made it a business to sell whiskey to a number of the Indians belonging to the Crow tribe."(93) Agent E. H. Becker sent two of his Indian police
"disguised as camp Indians..." (93) The Indians returned with a bottle of whiskey and evidence of the saloon business. Becker reported to Commissioner Jones in 1899:

Subsequent events proved that I was successful in the state court and the man Mudge was entirely busted up in business, and agreed to get out of the country forthwith, which he has done. The saloon formerly kept by him is no longer in existence. (93)

Agent Edwards wanted to select a white man to investigate the whiskey traffic, then take each case to court. Naturally he needed money. The Commissioner decided the plan was worth it. (94) By the end of September, Agent J. E. Edwards reported that the Burlington Railroad was supplying whiskey to the stations.

At Parkman whiskey is sold openly to the Indians and at one station within the reservation lines called Wyola I have for some time been satisfied that the agent has been selling and trading whiskey to Indians; I had an Indian sent to him with money to buy whiskey—he returned with the whiskey. I have two other Indians who traded their saddles for whiskey... (95)

On the 27th Agent Edwards arrested the Railroad agent at Wyola for selling whiskey. The man had "a full stock of liquor in his possession and evidence of such nature that he plead guilty..." (96)

In 1900 Edwards wrote the Commissioner:

Referring to previous correspondence on the subject of the sale of liquor to the Crow Indians, I have the honor to report that I have been successful in securing the conviction of two persons, one a saloon-keeper at Joliet, Carbon Country, Montana, the other a negro at Billings, Montana... (97)

Edwards sent another story to the Commissioner in June.

On the 18th, while at Aberdeen Station, on this reservation, six miles from Wyoming line, loading 1300 Indian ponies, I purchased for the Indians delivering their horses two beef from a white man
residing in Wyoming and sent five Indians with the white man to kill
and haul the beef to Aberdeen. Two white men, whom I had removed
from the reservation this spring, had rented a house and pasture one-
half mile below the reservation line and I have two witnesses to the
fact of their making the statement that they would kill the police-
man and the farmer who removed them the first time they caught them
off the reservation. One of the five Indians sent by me for the beef
was the policeman who removed them. In riding by the house occupied
by these two men the Indians were fired upon. One Indian came at
once to Aberdeen and informed me of the occurrence, the others remaining
to watch the whites. I went at once to the place, found the men
barricaded in the cellar, arrested them and took them to the sheriff,
making complaint against them. . . .(98)

The Commissioner inquired if the Agent would permit seven Southern
Cheyennes from Oklahoma to visit the Crows in 1903. But Agent S. G. Reynolds
replied that his

Indians were too busy to have visitors during the summer. In a very
few days we will be in the midst of haying and harvesting, and I have
tried to arrange our Indians so that every one who is able to work is
at work. Last summer a few days after I took charge as Agent, nearly
300 Indians from different reservations came to visit us, it upset us
completely, as the Indians were crazy to dance at the time while the
visitors were here. We have the Indians very much out of the habit
of dancing. . . .(99)

When it became lawful to sell liquor to Indians with trust patents
in 1905, cases hooked up rapidly. It seemed that Brass, a Crow, had given
Davis, a white man, $5 to get $4.50 worth of whiskey, the fifty cents to
be retained by Davis. But Davis bought fifty cents of whiskey, retained
the rest of the amount, and Bull Horse drank most of the whiskey, getting
drunk. The police locked up Bull Horse, and proceeded to capture Davis.
Bull Horse was an allotted Indian with the trust patent in his pocket,
but Brass was not. So Davis was turned over to Grand Jury for a hearing.
Agent Reynolds went to Helena and returned to discover seven whites were
furnishing the Indians with whiskey for Christmas. He quickly removed
five of them and pointed out:

Some of the Indians seemed to be anxious to assert their rights as
American citizens and seem to think there is no way they can be so
well asserted, so that the world can see they are free American
citizens as by getting drunk and making general nuisances of
themselves. (100).

In 1906 250 Utes were camped on the Powder River in Wyoming.
They exchanged horses for money and money for food. There were "no
hostile demonstrations" and they seemed to be headed into Montana to
visit the Crows and Cheyennes. (101) A Ute chief said they were looking
for land and water. Rumors and reports of terrorization proved to be
false when Agent Reynolds saw them. A cowboy told them soldiers were
coming, so they broke camp and moved down the river, and they did not
go to the Crows or Cheyennes. (102) They headed toward Fort Meade, though
the "sugar beet people of Billings" offered each member of the tribe a
job of "topping beats." (103)

The Rules of 1884 encouraged the agents to send only small parties
of Indian visitors, and they were to be sent for the purpose of creating
friendship among the tribes. But Indian troubles continued partly because
of the lack of communication and partly because in sending the Indians on
visits the agents merely wanted a rest from some of their worst trouble-
makers. On the 2nd of February 1887, then, the Commissioner had to change
the rules. Indian visitors still needed passes from their agents, but
the agents had to have permission from the reservations to be visited.
More Indian trouble followed simply because the agents were too lazy
to wait for communication from other reservations. Thus the Commissioner of Indian Affairs tightened his control by issuing the circular of October 29, 1887. Permission now had to be obtained from the Office of Indian Affairs, from the Department of Interior, as well as from the reservations to be visited. With the last Sioux uprising in 1890, the war days were over for the Indians. In the 1890's the agents at the Crow Agency discouraged visitations. At the same time liquor cases rose. The gun fights of 1893 showed that liquor could cause as much trouble as Indian visitations. In the 1900's liquor continued to be a gruesome problem for the Crows (see Chapter XV).
Perhaps the first missionary seen by the Crow Indians was Jebediah S. Smith, the Bible-bearing preacher who visited the Crows in the winter of 1822 to 1823. Historically the best known missionary figure was Father Pierre Jean de Smet. Wearing his Jesuit attire, de Smet made his first visit to Crow territory in 1840. Although he learned the major Indian tongues and visited many tribes several times, he was never very successful among the Crow Indians for the reason that he could not take away the smallpox which was plaguing the Crow camps at that time. Few missionaries attempted to visit the Crows. When they did, it was merely for the purpose of escaping from the Sioux. To prevent competition for Indian souls, a plan known as the Grant Peace Policy was applied beginning in 1872. No more church denominations were allowed to enter the reservations. It so happened that there were no church denominations on the Crow Reservation. Thus when the Government organized the first school on the Crow Reservation, there was no competition. Upon the death of the former President, Ulysses S. Grant, in 1885, the Grant Peace Policy was terminated. In the following year Catholics and Unitarians applied for entrance to the Crow Reservation. The greatest contribution, if not the only one, which the missionaries...
provided was the schools they built.

When the Crow Boarding School was first organized in 1883, it had a capacity for 50 children and employees. A building containing a classroom, a sewing room, and employees quarters was constructed in 1884. In 1886 a combination school-house and chapel was built and moved to the school ground. The School had 41 students boarding and 6 day students. The boys dorm was used as a school room during the day. The boys chopped wood and did some farming and milking. The girls were taught cooking, washing, ironing, sewing, and making butter.

The Catholics applied for permission to organize a permanent mission under Father P. P. Prando on the Big Horn. On October 9 the Department granted 160 acres to the Catholic Jesuits for a school to be called St. Xavier.

In August the Commissioner and the Department of Interior granted the American Unitarian Association 160 acres for an Indian industrial school. The new Unitarian school was open by the following year. It was located seven miles south of Custer Station on the Big Horn River. It was soon called the Montana Industrial School. It became a Government contract school on April 1. In those days schools were active all year long, and no one heard of summer vacation.

In 1886 the Methodists applied for authority to locate a school on the Reservation. Authority was granted for them to select 160 acres, but, in the next year, Agent H. E. Williamson reported to Commissioner Atkins, "The said church has done nothing under the authority so far."
On September 1 St. Xavier Mission School became the second contract school on the Crow Reservation. (8)

The Reverend Mother Mary Amadeus, Superior of the Montana Ursuline Sisters, applied for 160 acres for a school. Agent Williamson supported the application. "No society can claim greater success in the education of Indian children and youth than that desiring to locate this school." (9)

Early in 1888 the Secretary of Interior granted authority to set aside 160 acres to the Ursuline Sisters "for temporary use." (10)

E. W. Hoyt became Superintendent of the Crow Boarding School in 1889, relieving H. M. Beadle. Hoyt was not at all pleased with what he found. He thought the employees were doing only what was required legally, but they were staying out late at nights. Some were taking leaves without permission.

Of course Indian pupils labor under the greatest disadvantage, that of learning a new tongue, with no means of interpretation. I found this school was not memorizing its work, and had no true idea of study. The teachers doing all the work, pupils passive, or reading all class work, and the best scholars, only of a primary grade. In number work, they are very deficient, yet they take hold and learn readily under thorough drill. In language, or grammar I found two small classes, but not doing anything intelligently, as I consider it, and the same in other work. Mr. Beadle had never had evening schools, so I took the whole school into a general class, and have an exercise of an hour's length every evening, teaching number work, language, hygiene, music, and letter writing, using the blackboard freely, and requiring them to read and recite constantly.

... The children are obedient and willing but require constant supervision for they carry young heads on old shoulders, lacking judgement. (11)

Agent Briscoe reported on the Montana Industrial School under the charge of the Reverend H. F. Bond. Briscoe said the school
has an average attendance of about twenty pupils — mostly half-breeds — the accommodations are ample, and the children well cared for, and the system of teaching calculated to rapidly advance the pupils. The employee's are conscientious in the discharge of their duties — the school however is not a success owing to the fact that Mr. Bond cannot get along with, or win the confidence of the Indians.(12)

Reporting on St. Xavier Mission School, Briscoe said:

- The children seem to be satisfied and well cared for, but there is some complaint of insufficient clothing,... The Indians as a rule seem well satisfied with the school, and are easily induced to place their children therein.(12)

Agent Briscoe was critical of "Prof. E. W. Hoyt." He thought the Agency school had "not improved" under his charge. "The pupils have felt & shown the effects of the unfortunate disagreement among the employee's."(12)

He did say, however, that the buildings were cleaner and better cared for than in the past.(12)

The Montana Industrial School of 28 students employed 9 whites. The industries taught were farming, carpentry, blacksmithing, dairying, sewing, and house work. St. Xavier Mission School employed 16 whites and no Indians. The Mission had 115 students. The industries taught were farming, herding, gardening, carpentry, teaming, woodcutting, baking, washing, ironing, cooking, needle work, and general house work. The Crow Boarding School employed 7 persons including one Indian. There were 45 students boarding and 25 day students. The school taught farming, laundry, sewing, cooking, and general house work.(13)

There were 584 school-age children on the Crow Reservation, and 206 were in school. By October there were 62 at the Crow Boarding School, and the matron was "compelled to put two children in nearly every bed."(14)
Daniel Dorchester, Superintendent of Indian Schools, advocated the abandonment of the dorm-kitchen building.

In consequence of this faulty work in its construction, about two years ago, the building "came near blowing down." It is now held together by iron rods running through it lengthwise. But it is even now, after this safeguard, "out of plumb," and somewhat "bulged." (15)

There were 270 children in school, thus Dorchester recommended the Crow Boarding School be expanded. "On that magnificent plain, with deep fertile soil . . . and among an Indian population of over 3000 souls, is one of the best opportunities for a large Indian Training School, where the industries of civilized life should be taught." (15) He said Agent Wyman had boosted education, and all three schools were filled. (15)

In spring of 1890, Commissioner Morgan ordered Wyman to get forty students for the Carlisle Industrial School of Pennsylvania. Agent Wyman telegraphed back that the chiefs objected, so he wondered if he was authorized to use force. The Commissioner replied he was not. But in June the Commissioner demanded more students for Fort Totten and other eastern schools. Wyman replied that while the students for Carlisle were being hauled to the Northern Pacific in a wagon, some Indians tried to take one back. The chiefs spoke out against sending children away to school in the east, and Wyman doubted the full Agency force could capture more pupils. (16)

Agent Wyman hired three Indians at the Crow Boarding School. L. Cross Bear, E. Mad Wolf, and Robert Raise Up were assistants; naturally they received the lowest salaries of the employees. (17)
Boarding Schools, argued the new Superintendent, H. D. Arkwright, made it possible for the children to "get... away from the degrading, baneful influences, of the camp..."\(^{18}\) Such schools taught them care of property from "mittens" to a "threshing machine," surrounded "them with healthful elevating influences," and perhaps even showed them the value of saving money. During the first year at the Crow Boarding School, students read from Appleton's Chart, learned language from pictures for words and sentences, counted, and wrote by copying from the board. In the second year the students learned reading from the first reader, drawing, language, addition, subtraction, multiplication, spelling, and writing. In the third year there was reading from the second reader, drawing, forming sentences, and the fourth arithmetic operations, spelling, writing, hygiene, and geography of the town, county, and state. The fourth year consisted of reading, drawing, language, fractions, writing, hygiene, geography, and history in stories. In the fifth year there was reading from the third reader, drawing, language, decimals, writing, hygiene and physiology, geography, and history.\(^{18}\)

By the end of October, L. Cross Bear, Shavings, and Thomas Jefferson were the Indian assistants at the Crow Boarding School.\(^{19}\) In 1891 Agent Wyman relieved those three and brought in Laura Hillside, S. Bull Tongue, and Benjamin Long Ear as the Indian assistants.\(^{20}\) By July 11 the new Indian assistants were Julia Bad Boy, Lois With His Brother, and Herbert Long Ear.\(^{21}\)

Daniel Dorchester wrote Commissioner Morgan that the Government
school at the Agency was "simply disgraceful" compared to the Catholic and Unitarian schools on the Reservation. The Catholics would soon complete their new building for 150 students and cream off the best ones. The "poor Crows," he said, "have few if any spokesmen, while the Sioux and some other tribes have many pleaders."(22)

A new school building was constructed. In 1892 Agent Wyman used both the old building and the new; he needed another new one.(23)

The Office of Indian Affairs received conflicting views about returned students from off-reservation schools. A questionnaire was sent to all the agents. Forty-seven Crows by then had gone to off-Reservation schools, and twenty-two had been returned. Five students returned in "worse state of health than when they left their homes."(24) Two died from diseases while away from the Reservation. Wyman did not think the Crow students were benefitting from the opportunity.

I will say, that students of probably no other tribe have such influence brought against their advancement in proper paths, as do the returned students of the Crow Tribe. These Indians are friendly and always (with minor exceptions) have been. But I have never seen a tribe more attached to their traditions and older customs, than the Crows. And beyond a disposition to labor and earn money, which they exhibit to a market degree, they do not favor progress in our civilization.(24)

He punished the "young men for any insult to the young women of the Tribe."(24) Most of the girls were not conforming to Christian marriage standards. Several of the returned male students were working for the Government as herders, laborers, additional farmers, and apprentices. But in the eyes of the Agent, none of the students had excellent records.
since returning to the Reservation, and a quarter of them had bad ones. (24)

Supervisor of Indian Schools, O. H. Parker, reported that the
Crow Boarding School was one of the best schools he had inspected. There
were 78 students. The girls were in the new building. But Parker said:

The boys are not so well off. . . . They are in the old building.
They have no matron, and no one to look after them but the Industrial
Teacher. . . . There has been no play room except the wash room.
There building is poor with broken plastering, and during the winter
it is very cold. The boys looked ragged and rather forlorn. . . . (25)

All three schools continued to run through the entire year. (26)

Merial A. and Daniel Dorchester visited the Crow Reservation again
in November. Merial Dorchester described the feats involved in getting
to Crow Agency and crossing the Big Horn River at Fort Custer by a cable
car known as the "air ship." (27) Everybody must have known the
Dorchesters were coming; for, Daniel Dorchester sent nice words about all
three schools. The old dormitory of the Crow Boarding School was still
used by the boys as quarters and as a laundry room and as a class-room.
"The old building," he said, "is rickety, fearfully cold, and so windy
as to make it difficult to keep lights burning in any room or hall." (28)
There were now 84 students in the school.

But how different from those I was upon former visit. They are very
clean, well dressed, healthy and in good flesh, and also well behaved.
The scholarship has advanced very materially, tho some of the oldest
have been taken away to Carlisle. The children work hard and cheer-
fully. The boys keep a large pile of wood cut and split ready for
the stove, in advance. I never heard better singing by Indian
children, and I was surprised at the large numbers of tunes from the
Gospel Hymns, which they can sing. . . . (28)

Dorchester visited St. Xavier, where he found the missions "conducted
by seven Jesuit Fathers, two lay Brothers, eight Ursuline Sisters, and
nine hired help."(29) In 1891 the Jesuits commenced a school at Pryor.
By 1892 they had a two-story building run by 4 sisters, and 9 students
were enrolled. "This school," Dorchester wrote, "is intended to be
wholly for boys, and to be a feeder for the St. Xavier school."(29)
He was impressed with the language instruction at St. Xavier. "I never
found in any school Indian children who could stand so good an examination
regarding the use of capital letters in writing..."(29) Finally,
Dorchester visited the Montana Industrial School at Ramona Ranch. There
were 52 students.

It would do you good to see the immense pile of wood worked up
ready for the stove, piled up behind the school buildings; this work
was done almost entirely by the boys... The girls are not less
industrious..."(30)

Dorchester was "particularly pleased with the class of employes, who are
intelligent, high minded, earnest, faithful workers, intent upon doing
good."(30) He said, "I witnessed here the most beautiful and impressive
kindergarten exercise, I have anywhere found."(30)

This is especially a family school. The teachers and pupils are
kept in such close relations with each other... I believe schools
of from fifty to sixty pupils, on this family plan in the midst of
the reservations, do the very best work in civilizing the
Indians..."(30)

Supervisor O. H. Parker returned to the Crow Boarding School in
1893 and selected 13 students to take back to Fort Shaw. He reported
that only fifty percent of the school-age children on the Reservation
were in school. The school house and the boys' dorm were in terrible
One of the girls he selected was Katie Dreamer who agreed to go to Fort Shaw for 5 years in spite of her father's desires for her to stay and marry a young man on the Reservation. (31)

Agent Wyman was away from the Agency when Parker took the students. Wyman telegraphed the Agency to prevent Parker from taking the students from the Boarding School, to let him have the pupils in the camps. When Parker found out about the telegram, he complained to the Commissioner that Wyman was not cooperating. (32) Agent Wyman replied:

I had taken every child of school age, who could pass an examination by the Agency physician, and put them into school, and to do this, my Police were in the saddle night and day.

The Indians were satisfied to know that their children were only taken from them to be put in a Reservation School.

In their Treaty of December 8th, 1890, for the segregation of the Western portion of their Reserve, they were promised that their children would not be taken to non-Reservation Schools, but, should receive their education at home, on their own Reservation. . . . (33)

Parker took all the Indian apprentices from the Agency and some of the Indian assistants from the School. (33)

The Crow parents, in the presence of Bishop Brondel of Helena, wrote to "His Excellency the President of the United States . . . ."

We the undersigned parents of the fourteen Crow children transported to the Fort Shaw school Montana, would respectfully petition our Great Father, the President, to order the return of our children to this reservation that we might send them to one of our schools. Some were taken by force against our will and some without our knowledge. (34)

The twelve names were written in illegible phonetic symbols and marked with X's. W. H. Winslow, Superintendent of Fort Shaw Industrial School,
countered by sending favorable written statements from nine of the students. But three students ran away in May, and two others seemed not to have written anything. Eli Black Hawk, Paul Hairy Wolf, and Clifford White Shirt were the run-aways. A comparison of Wyman's list of students and those who wrote the letters showed that at least three names had been changed when the students arrived at Fort Shaw.

Special Agent Thomas Smith recommended another new building for the boys. "The old, brown two story wooden structure long since condemned is a dangerous trap." (36)

I have advised the Industrial Teacher to arrange some savings and to make some large hammocks from a remnant of woven fence wire. If their love of the tom-tom and the ghost dance would be lessened they must be taught in due order that the saw buck is not their only hope of amusement. (36)

According to Agent Watson the children seemed to be most interested in geography and history, although vocal music was practiced much. He said the sports played at the Boarding School were "Ball playing, shooting arrows, and almost wholly civilized games, or games played by white children." (37)

Joseph M. Cataldo, of St. Xavier, requested permission to build a church at the mouth of the Lodge Grass Creek as he had consent of the Indians living there. Agent Wyman forwarded the request for 5 to 10 acres for a church. In 1894 the Secretary approved setting aside 10 acres for the Roman Catholic mission, provided there was Indian consent. (39)

In 1891 the Department granted a one acre area at the Agency for Catholic missionary work. P. P. Prando requested the one acre area be
expanded to include 10 acres. The Reverend J. G. Burgess also requested 10 acres for missionary activity at the Agency. (40) Secretary Hoke Smith granted authority in 1895 for the additional 9 acres to the Catholics and the 10 acres to the American Missionary Association at the Agency provided both organizations obtained consent of the Indians. (41) Twenty years later the subject of the missionary lands came up again, and the question had to be settled as to where these tracts were located and whether the Crows had given consent for them (see Chapter XIII).

At the Agency school 2 Indians were hired with the 13 whites. Louise Kills-with-Her-Brother was the cook, and the laundress was L. Geisdorff. (42) The buildings and rooms were heated by coal stoves, and the rooms were lighted by kerosene lamps and reflectors. For blackboards there were wall spaces painted black. Fire protection consisted of buckets and pumps. The drinking water came from wells of very hard alkali water, and for part of the year ditch water was used. There was no sewage system, although there was "an open drain for carrying off slops, etc." (43) There was half a holiday on Saturdays. Boys eight years and older spent five hours in the garden daily. On Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays the children attended night school programs in singing, English, literature, and preparing for holidays to be observed. On Thursday evenings they attended a song service. On Friday nights they played games. (43)

The Commissioner authorized the Agent to submit estimates for improving the water supply and sewerage system at the Boarding School. (44)
When Agent Watson proposed a boys dormitory, he added:

I would respectfully and earnestly recommend that the arrangements for water-closets, urinals, and bath-tubs be approved. No one who has not lived here through the winters can realize the intense cold of this climate during January, February, and March. Sometimes less than five minutes exposure will freeze ears, nose, or any exposed part. In January or February it may fall to sixty degrees below. Under these circumstances it is much to be desired in order to have an advanced and progressive school that these arrangements be all inside of the building. (43)

He also contemplated electrical lighting. (45) Construction began in summer.

Watson hired 15 white employees, and no Indians in 1895. (46) The shop and boys' dorm at the Montana Industrial School burned down February 11. The living quarters became cramped; hence the Montana Industrial was turned completely over to the Government on July 1. (47)

The new boys' dorm and the water system were completed in 1896. Of the 1300 people living south of Fort Custer, 100 at the Agency were using "sinks" as water closets, while 1100 people were using the Little Horn for surface drainage. The Boarding School increased the pollution in the Little Horn by nine percent. (48)

Watson had 24 employees at the Boarding School with one Indian assistant cook. (49) He argued against spending more money on the Montana Industrial School.

The school is, at times, well nigh inaccessible from this point. It is about 40 miles from here and the Big Horn River has to be crossed to get there. There is no wagon bridge except one made of pontoons and these pontoons are not put in the river until the ice is all gone out. Accordingly there is quite a long interval when either because of thin ice or broken floating ice the river can not be crossed with wagons. . . . (50)
Later he advocated the School "be abolished and transferred to the Crow Boarding School." (51) Some of the staff at the Montana Industrial were transferred by Commissioner's orders of November 14. (52)

The Superintendent of Indian Schools wrote Agent Watson that not enough was being done for the returned students from off-Reservation schools. Clerk Barstow wrote for the Agent saying Watson hoped to find positions for them at the Agency so that the influence of the Agency might counteract the influence of the relatives in the settlements where from the first hour every trait of their every relative or friend is turned, and with energy worthy of a better, -cause, -to the one sole object of undoing all that their student life, and outings with the whites has accomplished. . . . Their clothing, hats, shoes etc. being sometimes burnt to force them to the blanket and to Indian life once again. (53)

So saying, the Clerk diverted the Supervisor's blame to the Indians.

The log foundations of the Montana Industrial School were "rotting away," reported the Superintendent, H. H. Spencer, and the sides of the buildings were "leaning and springing outward and in our severe Montana wind storms, the entire structure shakes fearfully." (34) The draught of 1896 ruined most of the crops. The classroom work and industrial training had "been crippled" since the important teachers' positions had been discontinued. (54) The doors were finally closed, and, on the 17th of August, 1898, Agent Becker "was granted authority to issue the buildings. . . ." (55)

In 1897 the Pryor Indians desired the school they had been promised in the Treaty ceding the western portion. From January through
April it was very difficult for the parents from Pryor to visit their children at the Agency school. (56)

At the Crow Boarding School there were 151 pupils, too many. The students were sleeping two in a bed; each had his own towel, but not his own toothbrush. The dining hall was too small. The school house was outdated, cold, and poorly lit. The new water supply system was good, but the pipes froze at times. Besides the water was taken from the Little Horn only 100 feet below a ditch which was the sewage line for the Agency and the police. The carpenter shop had all the necessary equipment and tools, but there was no carpenter; the Shawnee industrial teacher was really a disciplinarian. There was a white school at the Agency with 14 students. Supervisor James J. Anderson said of the Indian parents:

While the Crows are progressive in the matter of working, raising crops, cattle, etc, they seem bitterly opposed to making "white people" of their children. On Sundays they visit the school in swarms, and on every second Friday they are permitted to visit their children in the afternoon. At that time it is necessary to dismiss school. While it seems necessary to permit these visits in order to keep the Indians pacified to some extent, the said visits are not beneficial to the school. The old Indians ridicule their children for talking English and accuse them of wanting to be "white people". . . . (57)

The girls were kept in school until husbands were found for them. (57)

The acting superintendent at St. Xavier Mission School was Father Van der Pol. The four hired men were Irish, Dutch, and French. Sister Ursula, supervisor of the sisters, was a German, but the five sisters were all American. There were separate dining rooms for boys and girls. The students went to mass every morning at 6:30, then they
went to school at 9:00. In the afternoons they did industrial work and recreation. They studied in the evenings starting at 7:30. At 8:15 there was a fifteen minute service before bed time.

During the school year no children are permitted to go home excepting in cases of extreme necessity. In vacation girls under 12 and all boys are permitted to go home. Girls over 12 are kept at school. The parents are permitted to visit their children at the school on Sundays. (58)

No corporal punishment was used at the School, and it seemed unnecessary.

At Pryor Creek there was the St. Charles Mission, a branch of St. Xavier. Father G. Boschi, an Italian, was in charge of three men and four Ursuline Sisters. There were 23 students. The boys were living in a two-story frame building built in 1895. The girls lived in a two-story frame building built in 1892 which also contained the dining room. Mass commenced at 6:30 A.M. The boys began their studies at 8:30. Industrial work came in the afternoons. At 7:30 P.M. there was drawing and exercises. At 8:15 they went to bed. The girls studied at 9:00 A.M. and sang until 4:00. There was no school on Thursdays. On Sundays there was 9:30 mass and a Crow sermon at 10:00. (58)

By spring 1898 33 Crows had returned from Carlisle. Four were graduates of the school: Carl Leider, William Leighton, George Suis, and Alex B. Upshaw. Agent Stouch, applying the usual criteria, concluded that most of the returned students showed no sign of having benefited by eastern schooling.

The boys as a general rule make good use of the English language gained by said schooling, but the girls after returning to "The Camp", and which they invariably do, very seldom speak English,
even when spoken to by a white person. It is also very noticeable, that while the boys continue to wear respectable clothing, after their return, the girls soon abandon their eastern dress and substitute the blanket. (59)

Only 12 students had graduated from the Agency school. (59)

The Catholic Bureau of Indian Missions held the Pryor Creek school open until June 30, 1898. Most of the students were transferred to St. Xavier, the rest went to the Crow Boarding School. (60) The Catholics complained of insufficient support from the Government. (61)

Supervisor R. C. Bauer reported to the Commissioner that the coal stoves heating the Crow Boarding School were dangerous, and so were the kerosene lamps. Many of the students had "weak or affected eyes . . ." (62) Bauer thought what the School really needed, though, was a cornet band. (62)

Agent Becker reported there were 183 children on the Reservation not in school. Of them, 105 were "incapacitated for school duty," tubercular disease being the highest ranking disorder. (63)

By 1899 the Crow Boarding School covered kindergarten through seventh grade. Supervisor Bauer thought the bathing facilities were "simply ridiculous . . ." (64) There were two tubs for all the boys and one for all the girls; 155 students were using these three tubs. (64)

Charles Dickson, who listed charges against the Agent, also found Superintendent Henry Hanks "guilty of (1) profanity, (2) duplicity, (3) violent temper, (4) stirring up enmity between employees, (5) threats of dismissal of employees, and (6) taking liberties with employees and Indian school girls." (65) Hanks paid "marked attention to a young lady"
who was the daughter of the miller. (65) Once he locked himself up with a female employee. He led a male employee to alcoholism and then blackmailed the man to prevent him from reporting his immorality. Dickson said Hanks "has caressed Indian school girls in a way to arouse their worst passions and has otherwise so conducted himself as to cause great scandal. ..." (65) Hanks denied the charges, but then he admitted having a violent temper, and kissing a few girls, and, rather than defend himself, he submitted his resignation. (65).

There were 87 students at St. Xavier by 1900, and the Government only supported 17 of them; there were 50 to 60 students at Pryor not in school due to the lack of facilities. Agent J. E. Edwards, though a non-Catholic, argued against the Government withdrawing its support of the Catholic schools.

The influence derived by the girls attending the Mission school is far better than that derived from attendance at the Government boarding school, as proven by the fact that in the percentage of girls marrying from school those remaining faithful is by far greater from the Mission than that from the Government boarding school. (66)

In search of other funds, the Catholic Mission desired to lease their missionary lands. The Crows were unanimous "in the desire to give free the Mission the use of the land during the time they maintained the school and operated it for the benefit of the Indians." (66) And the Commissioner approved the proposition. (66)

Department Orders of July 26 cut off Government funds to the Catholic schools but stipulated that supplies would still be sent. On the 27th of August 1901, the Department rescinded the orders and
prohibited all Governmental supplies sent to the Catholic schools. Agent Edwards again argued against cutting off Government support. The Boarding School was over-crowded and could not take the students from St. Xavier. (67)

The only industry taught at the Crow Boarding School was farming. The School needed a night watchman because of the dangerous coal stoves. (68)

The little school of 1883 with a capacity for 50 students and employees had grown to 165 students and 25 employees by 1902. Certain facilities expanded slowly; the students had four tubs to bathe in. (69)

Secretary Hitchcock approved a contract to build a school at Pryor. (70) It was located on the Catholic Mission site. Pryor Boarding School was inaugurated on January 5, 1903. (71) The doors opened February 12, and 32 students entered the new brick buildings. By May the number of students had grown to 58. (72) Russell White Bear became the Industrial teacher. (73)

H. L. Morehouse requested a tract of land on the Crow Reservation for a Baptist mission. (74) At the same time the Methodists desired to locate a mission at Pryor. (75) The advent of day-schools came with the Protestants.

Another competitor arrived the next year when on May 11, Secretary Hitchcock set aside one-half acre at the Agency for Rosebud County. The land was to be used by a public school for the offsprings of white employees. (76) Public schools were bound to replace Government schools.

As the enrollment at the Boarding School continued to climb,
the capacity seemed to climb also. In 1904 there were 171 students at the Crow Boarding School which was only suited for 138. (77) Agent Reynolds requested twenty employees at the School, five of whom were to be Indians. (78) By October the Crow Boarding School had 184 students enrolled; however, the capacity was down to 103. There were 60 students at the Pryor Boarding School, and 70 at the Catholic Mission School. There were 18 students at the Baptist Mission Day School in Lodge Grass. There were 5 Crows at Hampton, 5 at Fort Shaw, 5 in Rapid City, South Dakota, and one at Riverside, California. Supervisor F. M. Holland’s remark was, "Something should be done to give these children respectable names." (79) At the Crow Boarding School "several children are bathed in a tub without changing water." (79)

Special Agent Charles McNichols did not recommend expanding the Crow Boarding School. "These Indians like many others are decreasing in number and as elsewhere local and public schools will eventually reduce attendance." (80) Although the Crow population was still decreasing, the number of children attending school was still increasing. Superintendent Lorenzo Creel and Agent S. G. Reynolds recommended sending the sixth and seventh grade students to off-Reservation schools.

Camp shawls were forbidden at the Boarding School by 1905. (81) Agent Reynolds criticized the day-school idea as advocated by Plenty Coos.

The Baptist Home Mission School at Lodge Grass has an attendance of about 30 children. The Indians are very much pleased with this school as it allows them to have their children at home which is
the main attraction for them. On several occasions when I visit Lodge Grass, I have found the children at the store by themselves for their dinners, as they were on their way to school. Each pupil is also provided by his parents with a saddle pony, and the majority of the time when they are out of the school is spent in horse racing or in riding around from one camp to another. I have called the Indians' attention to these things and have told them they would have to cook wholesome food at home for their children and in other ways try to take care of them, same as white people, in order that they might make the day school a success.

Five Crow students were transferred to Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas. They were Percy Stops, Charles Strong, Max Big Man, Richard Jack Rabbit, and Henry Pretty on Top.

Inspector James McLaughlin visited the Crow Boarding School in 1906. Without realizing it he had walked into the original 1884 and 1886 buildings. The one-story frame building was still used as a class room. The two-story frame building was still the laundry room and class room for the kindergarten and primary grade. There were 12 whites and 5 Indians employed at the School and 147 students. He was impressed with the 56 Pryor Boarding School pupils. "They are rugged in appearance, McLaughlin wrote, "and Doctor Oberlander, the superintendent, speaks very highly of them." There were 6 whites and one Indian employed. There were 78 students at St. Xavier, and 36 students attended irregularly the Baptist Home Mission. Every healthy child on the Reservation was in school.

Clearly, the enrollment in boarding schools had started to decline.

In 1883 the Government organized the first school on the Crow Reservation. By the following year it was a regular boarding school. Then in 1886 the missionaries arrived. The Unitarians built their
Montana Industrial School, and the Catholics built their St. Xavier Mission School. In the boarding schools the activities centered around converting the Indians to white man's culture. Every effort was made to sever the Crow youngsters from the family ties. If keeping the students day and night was insufficient, there were also off-reservation schools, such as Fort Shaw and Carlisle. The agents believed that the farther away from the parents these students were, the better off they were. The effort to impress white man's culture was increased when in 1891 the Catholics started a school at Pryor. But conversion was slow in taking place and soon became retarded. In 1897 the Montana Industrial School had to shut its doors. In the following year the Catholics closed the Pryor School. The Government cut all funds going to missionary schools in 1900, and the following year supplies were cut off. St. Xavier was forced to lease its land in order to survive. Beginning in 1903 the Baptists entered the Crow Reservation. They opened small day schools near Indian camps, a tradition which eventually took over (see Chapter XIV).
CHAPTER VIII

DISEASES AND EPIDEMICS

Diseases and epidemics had been a long sad story among the Crow Indians. By the early 1800's the Crow population was reduced to less than one quarter. In the 1830's every major Indian tribe of the northern plains was smitten by smallpox. Favorite camp spots were abandoned. Everywhere signs of death hung. The population of the Crow Tribe continued to decline, and the threat of extinction loomed every step of the way.

The census taken in the fall of 1886 showed there were 2456 Crows, most of them full-bloods.(1)

In one month, June 1890, only 13 Crows reported to Dr. Yolton for treatment. Dr. Yolton remarked:

During the quarter just ended I have treated a great many cases. Some times they would take my Medicine and go according to directions and at others they would not. They do not take very kindly to White Mans Medicine the most of them. I feel though that they are making some progress in that direction.(2)

By December Dr. Yolton felt the Indians had made no great progress ... towards the abandonment of the Medicine Man. They are very slow to give up their Native "Doctors" for the Agency Physician but some of the more civilized ones call upon me regularly ... when they are in reach of me. Most of them though believe like one of the Chief's said some time ago - "The White Doctor is allright for sores and things on the outside but the Indian doctor can see the insides and is best when the Indian is sick insides. ... (3)
The population of Crows declined to 2202 in 1892. There were 105 mixed-bloods. Dr. Yolton believed that the sanitary conditions had improved on the Reservation because the Indians were "better fed and clothed," and because they had money "to buy the necessaries of life." (5)

In 1893 there were 2160 Crows on the Reservation, but only 130 Indians reported to the doctor for treatment in September. (6)

During the quarter ending in June, 1896, 3 Indians died of pulmonary tuberculosis. (7) Five died of it in the first quarter of 1897, 3 died of pneumonia, and a couple died from influenza. (8) Two more patients died in the next quarter, one of pulmonary tuberculosis and one of pleuritis. (9) The Boarding School was closed for nearly a month on account of the measles epidemic. There were 108 cases in the School, and the entire teaching staff joined together to help, until every case reached recovery. (10) In the next year about 15 Crows died of pulmonary tuberculosis. (11)

The population of Crows was down to 2005 in 1899. (12) The sanitary report for the quarter ending in June showed that 2 Indians died of fever and one of pulmonary tuberculosis. (13) Agent Edwards telegraphed the Commissioner on December 26 that there was smallpox in Billings. He wanted to hire four Indians to patrol the western boundary of the Reservation to prevent the Indians from going to Billings and to keep other people from entering the Reservation. (14) Edwards wrote again three days later:
We have been very successful in getting the greater portion of the tribe in for vaccination; have patrolled the western boundary near Billings—this city being the seat of the disease in this section; I have issued orders to Superintendents of the divisions of the Northern Pacific and B. & M. R. R. to have all of their employees residing at stations on the reservation vaccinated within a given time. . . . Our greatest danger lies in the western portion as there are a large number of Cree Indians camped between Billings and the western line—they are the scavengers of Billings and they have been constantly slipping over the line among the Crows. Crows of lower Pryor have also been in the habit of going into Billings for purchases . . .(15)

In March 1900 Agent Edwards wrote:

On the 10th, while absent on leave, I received a telegram from chief clerk Mattoon stating that smallpox had developed in an Indian policeman who was sent from this agency to ride the quarantine line on west part of reservation. I took the first train for here and arrived on the 13th. The patient is isolated and all suspects are quarantined. The Indians have scattered in small bands and are camped in the hills, and with authority from the Department to proceed as the occasion demands, I feel confident of being able to suppress any advance of the disease.(16)

As the Agency school was over-crowded, Edwards dismissed school and sent the children home except for the older ones.(16) Three more Indians got smallpox from the first case.(17) Edwards wrote to the Commissioner.

I have to inform you that on the 4th I received a telegram from a station of the B. & M. R. R. located on the reservation, that a section hand was ill and from description of the symptoms supposed to be smallpox; upon investigation this proved to be true. He had been but 5 days on Reservation. I have quarantined the station and section house, . . .

No new cases among the Indians. We still maintain quarantine camps of those exposed, some seventy-five Indians in all are in those camps. Nothing has as yet developed, and this being the sixteenth day of exposure I am very much in hopes that we are in sight of the end. In the camp of the last case taken there are three of the family with the patient who have never had the smallpox, and I have no doubt, but what we will have from one to three cases in this camp, but no exposures.(18)

By the 23rd of April, 10 more cases of smallpox developed. All 14 cases
were "confined entirely in what is known as the Black Lodge district, which is that portion of the reservation lying north of the agency, on the Little and Big Horn Rivers extending to the Yellowstone River."

Farming in that district was hindered by the smallpox cases. Edwards wrote:

This district I have established a strict quarantine against, and am also quarantining each district of the reservation against the other. The Indians are behaving in an admirable manner. . . .

No deaths resulted from the disease.

Smallpox broke out again in 1901 on the Burlington right of way along Pryor Creek. Agent Edwards placed 5 Indian guards in the area. Finally 4 more cases broke out in the railroad camp, and the "pest-house" in Billings became full.

Smallpox was found on February 16, 1903, in the Agency School. Unfortunately 37 boys escaped from the dorm to the camps three days before the smallpox was found. They were all back at the School the day before the doctor found the disease. A smallpox epidemic hit the boys' dorm of Pryor Boarding School on the 1st of June. By the 8th 7 more boys got it. The next day 10 girls had it. The boys went into a special camp with an Indian nurse, and a camp was made for the girls.

The population of the Crows in 1904 was down to 1826. In spite of the epidemic in Billings, the Crow Indians escaped further smallpox in 1905. A measles epidemic broke out in 1906. There were 60 cases in the School. In April Dr. Walter Q. G. Tucker found a case
of cerebro-spinal meningitis in a seven-year old boy. He died ten days later. Another case appeared twenty miles from the Agency, but it was in a family which visited the School when the first case broke out. Agent Reynolds reported that the children were "being taken to their homes as fast as relatives come after them." (25)

For twenty years the sanitation reports showed what was considered average health on the Crow Reservation. From 1886 to 1899 the population of Crows declined 453, or under 35 per year. From 1899 to 1904 the population declined 177, over 35 per year. The cause of the decline went unrecorded. Twenty to forty Indians went to the Agency physician each month. The doctors blamed the diseases on the medicine men. But even after the medicine men ceased to function, the death rate mounted. Between 1896 and 1898 a few Crows died of pulmonary tuberculosis. Doom seemed foreclosed in 1899 when smallpox hit Billings. In the following year a few Crows got it, and the Tribe fled into the hills. In 1901 and in 1903 smallpox hit the boarding schools. Tuberculosis continued as the principal enemy (see Chapter XI).
PART II

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE: 1907 TO 1920'S
CHAPTER IX

THE THREAT OF OPENING THE RESERVATION

In the end of the nineteenth century immigrants from Europe flooded into the United States. Rapidly they filled up the factories. Labor became cheap, and living quarters became poor. The immigrants of the cities were greeted by a class of social darwinists and social reformers. Jane Addams set up the Hull House, and Jacob A. Riis, in 1895, wrote on the tenement situation. Congress acted by passing new homestead laws in 1902. Immigrants and others abandoned the cities and went west looking for open land. Dry farming techniques developed. Soon homesteaders were looking at Indian reservations with envy. They wrote letters to their Congressman demanding more land.

With the turn of the century, however, social reformers turned into muckrakers. Ida M. Tarbell wrote her suspicions of the John D. Rockefeller monopoly—the Standard Oil Company. Upton Sinclair attacked the packing plants in 1906. Corruption was exposed among the copper kings of western Montana. On the crest of this wave, somewhat belated, came one to the Crow Reservation. Her name was Mrs. Helen Pierce Grey.

After a brief look at the Reservation in the winter of 1907 to 1907, she sent a list of charges to Secretary Garfield of the Interior Department and to Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. E. Leupp.
Very few of the Crows know or can find out the boundaries of their allotments. To burn coal they must use a walled tent in which to place a stovepipe. The bedding laid on the ground absorbs the moisture and the tent becomes cold as the fire grows low, causing pneumonia.

I should say three-fourths of the Crows have no houses, have been unable to get them, and have no prospect in the future of getting them.

For five years the Crows have been living on the sales of their horses. They have few left except what have been rejected from year to year by the buyers.

Some of the Indians are able to get wire and lumber issued without payment for all their needs. Others can get nothing. The Indians believe the reason for this is the spy system organized on the reservation by the agent. The Indian who will "pack news" being favored, while those who will not spy upon their neighbors can get nothing.

A secret society was formed among the Indians about a year ago, called the Crow Indian Lodge, to act, for one thing, as a check on the spy system organized by the agent, and which the Indians believe is corrupting their young boys and girls, who are useful because they speak English.

Mrs. Grey said that Sam Garvin, prosecuted during Agent "Edwards' Rule," was "pardoned out" of the penitentiary and was "now a rich man living near Billings." (2)

Take, for instance, a complaint which was made against Fred Miller, the chief clerk at the agency. The complaint connected him with one of the women of the tribe. His reputation on the reservation in this particular is notorious. It is known also that he has robbed the graves of the dead for elk teeth and bead work, and has sold two collections and has another one now at the Billings Club which is for sale.

The Indians bitterly resent being arrested. It is the common custom on the reservation to bring an Indian in and put him in the guardhouse, keep him there for any length of time, he often not knowing why he is shut up. The guardhouse is a filthy place, not heated in the winter time, having dark cells, and without any of the toilet accessories I supposed the law required in every jail. Moreover, it is never cleaned, although these Indians are many of them suffering from tuberculosis, all of them subject to it.

I stayed during part of November and December at the school building, Crow Agency. The Indians hate this school. If a system of
inoculating with tuberculosis had been specially devised, I do not think it could be an improvement on the conditions of the Government school.

I have seen the method of washing these children, all in the same water, with one brush.

There are many Indian men in middle life who are blind on the reservation. Almost without exception these men have been pupils of the Government schools.

One night Mrs. Grey met with 100 Crows "on the creek bottom." They wanted "their citizenship," and they requested "an investigation of Major Reynolds." Mrs. Grey offered to convey their requests to Washington, D.C. But, on the following morning, she was arrested by Reynolds and six policemen. Reynolds tried to persuade her "not to make this report."

After the Indian Office had time to swallow Mrs. Grey's letter, S. M. Brosius wrote. Brosius, supposedly writing independently of Mrs. Grey, said that Indians aspiring to improve conditions on the Reservation were often thrown in prison "without warrant or justice," thus breaking up the cooperation among the Crows. The jail, according to Brosius, was where the Indians were "terrorized;" it was "unfit for human beings to be incarcerated in . . ." Run-away school girls were kept in the jail for thirty days. Brosius claimed Agent Reynolds "surrounded himself . . . with many relatives . . ." The sheepman, Charles Bair, was related to Mrs. Reynolds, and the trader in the Agency store was Mrs. Reynolds' sister. The cashier of the First National Bank in Billings was married to another sister of Mrs. Reynolds; the president of the Bank was Agent Reynolds' "bondsman," and Bair was a stockholder.
at the Bank. Frank Heinrich's cattle outfit on the Reservation included Reynolds and his brother-in-law. Agent Reynolds did not brand the Indian calves, and Bair resold the hay purchased from the Indians at a higher profit. The Tribe was not paid for the land used by Bair's sheep. The Government farmers were running stock on the Reservation; Reynolds organized the Elks lodge in competition with the Crow lodge; Inspector Dalby refused to allow the Indians to have their own stenographer while investigating the Agency; there was immorality among the Government employees; and the moral condition of the Crows was low. Inspector Z. Lewis Dalby reported on his investigation. Complaint centered around the cession of the northern portion of the Reservation. The Agreement of 1899 was ratified in 1904, but it was changed in the process. Instead of paying the Crows the lump sum promised in the Agreement, the Act stipulated the Government would pay the Crows the amount collected from the sale of the land. Dalby said the Crows resented the arbitrary approach which the Government took. Beyond the Act of 1904, he found no further complaint. The trouble with Mrs. Grey's report was that she was captured for a reason. The Grand Jury in Helena charged her with receiving funds from the Crow Indians who were not citizens. Meanwhile entrymen coming onto the ceded portion which was opened July 1906 desired a price reduction. Of the 420 entries made, 147 had been relinquished. They were being compelled to relinquish as they were unable to get water on their lands as well as being unable to
pay for them. The Commissioner suggested Congress extend the time limit on the payments due to the Government. But Senator Joseph M. Dixon had another idea. He introduced a bill into Congress to open the Crow Reservation.

Thus early in 1908 Chief Plenty Coos found himself fighting two fronts at once. Plenty Coos, Wet, Coyote Runs, Bull Well Known, Strike on the Head, Hides, and Alex Upshaw wrote a letter to the Billings Inquirer. They explained that Mrs. Grey "cannot tell the truth" because "she will exaggerate and misrepresent to suit her purpose." She amassed "a great pile of typewritten charges" none of which the Crows knew about. At Lodge Grass the Crows asked Inspector Dalby to permit Mrs. Grey a peaceful leave from the Reservation. But she broke into "violent language" so that Dalby had Scolds the Bear arrest her and remove her. The Crows claimed Mrs. Grey no longer had any following.

Pryor Creek Crows protested against Senator Dixon's bill to open the Reservation. Chief Plenty Coos spoke for the Pryor Indians in a council. He said he was learning the ways of the white man, but the Crows had not fully learned it yet. The children of the future would not have any land for allotments. The Government had not paid for all the land taken in the last cession of land; so he did not think it would be right to take the rest of the Indian land. The petition was approved by Agent Reynolds and signed by 137 Crows.

The Commissioner replied the Reservation was protected by Treaty from disturbance except in cases where the Department thought
it would be for the benefit of the Tribe. The Commissioner also reminded Plenty Coos of the Lone Wolf case of 1903 in which the Supreme Court decided that Congress could do as it pleased with the reservation. The best plan for the Crows was "to make the best bargain possible." (11) The Commissioner admitted the lands of the Act of 1904 had not been paid for, but it was because the Act of Congress opening them did "not admit of their ready sale until the expiration of five years. . . ." (11) After 1909, he predicted, the land would sell easily. The Commissioner also said there was "a plan on foot to establish a great horse breeding farm on your reservation, which can be made successful by your co-operation only." (11) The words "horse breeding farm" were probably meant to be a pacifier.

Inspector James McLaughlin held a Council with the Crows on the 11th of February. Carl Leider and Frank Shively were the interpreters, and fifty-nine male Crows came. Agent Reynolds reminded the Crows that six years before they were living on community farms and drawing rations. Four years previously they commenced building houses and were paid. They had not drawn rations for three years. The Inspector McLaughlin reminded the Crows that in the case of Lone Wolf the Supreme Court had stated Indians were "wards of the Government," and that as the Government was the "guardian," it could do whatever it "deems best." (12) Therefore Congress had the right to open the Reservation without consent of the Indians.

Plenty Coos mentioned that in previous sales the Crows did not
know "the value of money," and they did not know the lands they gave to
the Great Father "contained gold, silver, and coal." (13) He did not want
to dispose of more land. (13)

Bell Rock, second chief of Pryor, said, "The land is small now;
there are a good many children unallotted; and as I look around I see a
number of pregnant women." (13)

Looks with His Ears, a subchief of the Black Lodge Crows, said:
The old chiefs in their treaties with the Government never made
provisions for the coming generations in selling their lands for an
insignificant consideration. I do not want the concessions and
councils of the former chiefs to be considered anymore. . . . (13)

Big Medicine, second chief of Black Lodge, said, "We are receiving
rentals from the leasing of our surplus lands, and I do not want to let
these moneys get away from me." (14) Bull-That-Dont-Fall-Down, first
chief of the Lower Big Horn, said, "When the land on the north of us was
sold I never consented, but it was put over my head. . . . " (14) Medicine
Crow, as first chief of Lodge Grass, pointed out that he was one of the
first Crows to become a farmer and was the first to fence his allotment.

If I now start from any point, I reach the reservation boundary before
the sun is down . . . I am a ward of the Government; I am as an
infant, and that infant is appealing to the Great Father to defer any
more bargaining or agreements involving any more Crow lands. (14)

Knows the Ground, of Big Horn, suggested letting younger and
educated Crows talk to the President "face-to-face." (15)

Coyote Runs, subchief of the Pryor band, said:
From the rising to the setting of the sun white people came, many
poor ones, and I stood them in the palm of my hand and lifted them
up. My people were once as birds; they moved and camped here and
there, roaming all the time. We considered the buffalo, the elk, and the deer as our own, but the white people came and slaughtered them. We lived by the chase, and now there is no more game. As it were, we sat and watched you take it all, and we never said a word; we considered you were our friends; . . . (15)

Curley, of the Reno band, said:

The soil you see is not ordinary soil; it is the dust of the blood, the flesh, and the bones of our ancestors. . . . You will have to dig down through the surface before you can find nature's earth, as the upper portion is Crow. . . . (15)

Spotted Rabbit, subchief of the Upper Big Horn, said there was nothing left of the Reservation to sell. (16)

Inspector McLaughlin admitted that the ending of the frontiers had turned settlers toward Indian lands.

In the past I believed in Indian reservations being held intact, but I have changed my mind as to that and now believe that it will be beneficial to the Indians to have their lands opened, as it brings in white people to settle among them, from whom the Indians may more readily acquire the white man's civilization and industrious habits and also provide a market for products raised by the Indians. . . . (17)

The next day the Council reconvened, and ninety-three Crows were present. In them was a change of heart, or a change in their understanding, or a change in tact. A mystery that was never solved.

PLENTY COOS. . . . We have been friendly to the whites, and it seems that they favor these outside tribes in letting their lands stand intact while we, the friends of the whites, are the first to be asked to dispose of our lands, and what we have disposed of we have never been paid for . . . (18)

Horace Long Bear had the best suggestion of all; he wanted the Government to rewrite the horse-breeding bill in readable language.

Medicine Crow, Bull-That-Dont-Fall-Down, Bell Rock, and Spotted Rabbit, agreed that the educated Crows should take the matter up in
As Coyote Runs put it:

We have sent our children to school to learn the white man's way so that they might use this knowledge as a train uses an engine with a light in front of it to help and to show where it is going. . .(19)

Inspector McLaughlin replied that sending some of the "educated young men" was a good idea.(20) Buffalo Bull wanted Plenty Coos to go with the delegation. McLaughlin suggested the Crows elect a committee of six of the strongest leaders of the Tribe as a whole, and not just one from each district.

Chief Plenty Coos brought up to the center of the Council five men. They were Carl Leider, Frank Shively, James Hill, David Stewart, and Horace Long Bear. At the time of the Treaty of 1868, these men had not been born, but the Treaty stipulated that the Indian children should go to schools. Plenty Coos added:

Now these . . . are the result of that first treaty, the fruits of it, and these young men who understand the white man's way, wear their hair short, and live as white men. Should I go with these young men the officials in Washington would know that they are the fruit of that first treaty, as I represent the old type of Indian and they the new, and the officials would listen to me kindly and help me. . . .(21)

The alternates chosen were Joseph Cooper, Morris Schaffer, Spotted Rabbit, Big Medicine, Holman Ceasley, and Looks-with-His-Ears. The Council voted unanimously to give the committee Tribal funds to go to Washington.

Inspector McLaughlin said to the Crows, "The late decision of the grand jury in Helena has wiped out everything reflecting upon your agent and all is clear and clean on this reservation, and you should now start in without any ill feelings and let bygones be bygones."(22) And
Scolds the Bear reiterated a similar feeling.

The Indians in the Lodgegrass district were doing well until about a year ago. A woman appeared upon the scene and made trouble. We were as fish in a clear stream before that, and this woman muddied up the stream; but now we are again in clear water. . . .(23)

Inspector McLaughlin wrote Commissioner Francis E. Leupp, "I have had, as I regard it, a remarkably satisfactory conference with the Crow Indians with reference to opening the surplus lands of their reservation as contemplated" in Senator Dixon’s bill. McLaughlin thought highly of the committee of Crows selected to go to Washington.

"I feel confident that this committee will concur in whatever you may determine upon as best for the Indians and that the tribe will thus be fully satisfied with the outcome and gracefully accept the provisions of the bill after a few insignificant changes which the committee will ask for are conceded."(24)

McLaughlin wrote a lengthy report to the Secretary of Interior.

"McLaughlin thought he noticed "a remarkable change of sentiment and attitude of the Indians, with reference to the opening of surplus lands of their reservation."(25) And he thought that the change "was largely due to the influence of the educated, English-speaking young men."(25) He wanted a delegation of six Crows authorized "at the expense of the tribe."(25)

On February 26, Assistant Secretary Jesse E. Wilson granted authority for a Crow delegation of ten persons to visit Washington.(26)

For whatever reasons the delegation was approved, Inspector McLaughlin, with all his assurances and recommendations to the Department, was in
Hearings before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs were held in April from the 1st to the 13th. The title of the hearings indicated the Committee was supposed to talk about a horse breeding company and a bill providing survey and allotments on the Crow Reservation. It was the only book in the world with two titles, both of them misnomers. For, who should appear on April Fools Day, smarting from the case she had lost in Helena, but the free-lance writer, Mrs. Helen Pierce Grey. She began arguing with the Chairman before she was officially called to the stand. Mrs. Grey wanted the Crow Reservation investigated and offered to do it herself. She claimed officials were wasting Crow funds somewhere and somehow. Some treaty appropriated $30,000 for houses and $500,000 for irrigation; nowhere on the Reservation could such expenditures be seen. She said the Reservation was being leased to three cattlemen whose bids were lower than other bids offered. Mrs. Grey claimed Packs the Hat and other Crows had to pay for the lumber in their houses, and after the Government carpenter put Packs the Hat's house up, it fell down twice. (27)

The next day, Matthew K. Sniffen, secretary of the Indian Rights Association, said Agent Reynolds refused to permit anyone but Inspector Dalby to investigate the Reservation. Secretary Garfield refused to order another investigation until specific charges were brought to him, and he did not accept the Brosius letter. Sniffen pointed out:
You have to bring the Indian sometime to a position when he can stand on his own feet.

Senator Dixon. Is the Indian Right Association opposed to that?

Mr. Sniffen. No; it believes that as soon as you can do away with the reservation system and bring the Indian up to his individual status and get him on the same footing as the white man ... the better it will be for him. In other words, the theory of the Indian Rights Association is in reality to exterminate the Indian as an Indian and merge him—

Senator Dixon. Into citizenship?

Mr. Sniffen. Yes, sir.(28)

Mrs. Grey resumed her fire on April 3. Ten Bear was to be one of her witnesses in Helena at the Grand Jury, but he was contained in the Agency jail for sixty days without a trial. She presented affidavits made by Lucy Old Horn who was heading for Helena and was arrested in Billings while caring for a sick girl. Mrs. Old Horn was kept during the trial and accused of cohabiting with the sick girl's husband.(29)

Chief Plenty Coos and his delegation of nine interrupted the debate. Plenty Coos stated abruptly they came only to fight the Senate bill opening the Reservation. He wanted to know if Congress could open the Reservation against the will of the Crow Indians.

The Chairman. Tell him that the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the Congress can open any of these reservations that it sees fit to, even if the Indians do not want them opened. . . .(30)

On the 4th of April, Sniffen explained five Crows went to him to complain about the Council with Inspector McLaughlin and about the delegates sent to Washington. Joe Cooper told Sniffen "there was no general call for a meeting ... "(31) Jim Carpenter claimed McLaughlin tried to make the situation look hopeless and told them "they could
not help themselves in this matter . . . "(31) Horace Long Bear complained that Fire Bear announced the committee to go to Washington without taking any votes on the matter. Carpenter accused Fred Miller of not recording the minutes properly, and he accused Shively of not interpreting properly.(31)

Like Sniffen, Mrs. Grey was also in favor of Congress opening the Reservation, but she wanted the opening regulated in such a way that the Crows did not become "landless beggars."(32) It was better to have poor homesteaders buying the land from the Indians than to have giant cattlemen leasing the land and ruining it.(32)

Frank Shively, speaking for the Crow delegation, said all of the irrigated land had been allotted to the Indians, and what land remained could not be farmed even if opened. But he thought the horse-breeding company would be worthwhile.(33)

Senator Dixon pointed out the Crow Tribe was decreasing by two and a half percent per year, and he could not see the point in having one Indian per 2000 acres of land. The Crows would obtain more money from selling their land, as they were being swindled by the cattlemen and sheepmen. But Shively said the Crows wanted to retain the grazing land because of the cattle promised them in the 1904 Act and for the horse-breeding company being considered.(34)

By April 6 Inspector McLaughlin still thought the Crows had already agreed to the bills by their statements in the Council of February. Furthermore, he thought it was to their advantage to have the Reservation opened and to have whites mingle with them. All the
districts had been notified of the Council, and each had its leaders there. (35) The mystery of McLaughlin's misinterpretation of the February Council was simply due to a discrepancy between what he heard and what he expected to hear.

Agent Reynolds was capable of defending himself in Washington just as well as in Helena. He admitted some of the Indians were eating dead cows and sheep which they found, but he tried to discourage them to no avail. He explained that Holds His Enemy and other cohorts of Mrs. Grey were arrested before they could join her in the trip to Washington because they did not have permits to go off the Reservation. Lucy Old Horn was punished because she was living with Straying Calf. The Crows did not want Congress to open their Reservation, but if the Reservation was to be opened, they wanted the bill amended. Reynolds said horse buyers came from all over the country to buy Crow horses, and he permitted them providing the Crows were not working on their farms. The cattle that Reynolds had running with Heinrich's herd were explained easily. Reynolds had sold 300 head to Heinrich and the brands had since been changed. The Department had never permitted an agent to pay lease money to the Indians, and it had always been used for housing and irrigation. Brosius never asked for permission to investigate the Reservation. Finally, Reynolds said he did not want Joe Cooper on the delegation because he did not work, and he was supported by his half-brother George Pease. (36)

Nevertheless, Cooper came. He testified that Yellow Brow, Packs the Hat, Holds His Enemy, and Spotted Rabbit were arrested with him in
Sheridan as they were trying to get to Washington. He said he did not know that agents were under orders to arrest Indians off the Reservation without permits. (37) Living with his friends was due to the fact that his house burned down. He wanted his citizenship so he could go off the Reservation when he wanted to. He admitted that he did not have a job. It developed that he spent his earnings for the trip to Washington instead of irrigating his farm. He also admitted that he had a 1500 acre ranch and that he only farmed two and a half acres of it. Cooper thought he should be allowed to handle his own money from the sale of ceded land. (38) The next day Cooper continued by saying Bair owed him lease money for grazing on his allotment, but he had never asked Agent Reynolds about the money; in fact, he did not even ask Bair for the money. When asked more about the arrangement with Bair, it turned out that Cooper had a "verbal agreement" with Bair, and Bair was to pay him by putting up a fence and digging a ditch for him. (39)

Plenty Coos took the stand once more.

I fought with them in battles and have given the very best of my manhood to the army when the army needed me, and I come here with the expectation of meeting my own friends, and this is the thanks I get, opening the only thing I have, taking it away from me, what I consider to be my own, if I say so or not. . . . (40)

The delegates favored the horse-breeding bill, but Cooper said the Crows opposed it. (41)

At the end of the hearings, Mrs. Grey submitted a letter which she had from another Crow, G. W. Hogan, who was at Haskell. He claimed that the Agent used "unjust punishment." (42) The specific incident or incidents, as in all of the other cases mentioned by Mrs. Grey, were
lacking. The Chairman, Senator Clapp, reacted by saying Mrs. Grey was blocking attention from more urgent problems. (42)

A woman in San Diego, California, sent a clipping to President Theodore Roosevelt and asked that the Crows be protected. The clipping interpolated the picture of Chief Plenty Coos at the hearings of April.

"He wants to know," said the interpreter, "whether white chiefs will open reservation no matter what showing Indians make."
"Tell him if Congress sees fit, it may do so."
The old chief looked quickly from one face to another. His face flooded instantly with chagrin and disappointment. And some of the wise legislators snickered as the old fighter walked out, his heart full of sorrow. (43)

The hearings of 1908 were merely the first bout. For, in the following year, the Montana legislature sent to the Secretary of Interior a House Joint Memorial urging the opening of the Crow Reservation. (44) The Hardin Commercial Club resolved that Congress should open the surplus lands on the Crow Reservation. (45)

There was another trend in the handling of Indians; it became known as "competency." It started with the Burke Act of May 8, 1906. Certain Indians were given patents under the Burke Act and were also declared U.S. citizens. (46) The Indian Office sent out a circular in the following year requesting a list of Indians on the various reservations that were considered competent to handle their own money. (47) Agent Reynolds forwarded a list of fifty-nine Crows including mostly mixed-bloods. On the list were George Pease, Frank Shively, Carl Leider, the Coopers, and the Yarlotts. (48) Secretary Jesse Wilson approved the list and instructed that any money due to the people on the list should be sent directly to
them. (49) In 1909 Agent Reynolds added thirty-eight more to the list, including Thomas Medicine Horse, Robert Raise Up, and Robert Yellowtail. (50) Then on July 19, 1910, Commissioner R. G. Valentine sent a questionnaire in which the agent or superintendent was to list those Indians "capable of managing or leasing their lands and collecting the rentals therefrom without Department control. . . ." (51) Winfield W. Scott, who was Reynolds' successor as agent (although his title was Superintendent of Crow Indian Schools) forwarded a list of 105 Crows "capable of managing their allotments and those of their minor children . . ." (52) With the list was another containing 334 adult Crows who were not capable of managing their allotments. Scott added:

Those who have received fee patents have, almost without exception, sold their allotments and wasted the proceeds. It is my opinion, however, that there will be no improvement in this direction as long as their entire business responsibility is carried by the Government officers; and that, while the experience will probably be costly, it is the only way in which they can be induced to take up their own burdens. (52)

The list was approved by the Secretary in November. (53)

The Dixon bill continued to be a live issue. After the 1910 delegation left Washington, Cooper, Hogan, and Shively remained to assist Senator Dixon in writing another bill which passed the Senate. The bill proposed to allot the entire Reservation pro rata among the Crows. Congressman Pray, on the contrary, took the former Dixon bill which the Crows opposed in 1908 and introduced it up in the House Committee on Indian Affairs. The two bills were brought up together in a joint session of Congress. Pray told Congress that Shively and Cooper did
not represent the Crows. Instead, Mrs. Grey was authorized to speak for
the Crows and she favored the first Dixon bill. Then Congressman Stephens
of Texas spoke against the first bill, as it was no better than the Act
of 1904 which still had 1,000,000 acres of unsold land. Neither bill
obtained the necessary two-thirds majority. (54)

Congressman Pray introduced the first Dixon bill again in 1911,
and again Congressman Stephens led the defeat. Pray accused the Crow
delegates of having their expenses paid by cattlemen. (55)

At the March 1913 conference in Washington (see Chapter XIII),
the Crow delegates included Plenty Coos, White-Man-Runs-Him, Medicine Crow,
Frank Shively, Richard Wallace, and Robert Yellowtail. They requested
allotments to children since the Rankin allotments, closed in 1905.
Children born after that date could only receive inherited allotments.
Commissioner F. H. Abbott believed any allotment bill would lead to
selling of surplus land. (56)

There was no direct road between Pryor and Crow Agency and "no
wire communication . . ." (57) The idea of moving the Pryor Creek Crows
to the Agency had been mentioned by a few agents. But nobody had figured
out a way of enforcing such a measure. Superintendent Scott thought he
had a feasible plan: sell the Pryor district. (57) The Commissioner replied:
The Office is unable to see . . . why proper administration over
this end of the reservation cannot be maintained by means of a sub-
station, if necessary. (58)

Many people between 1910 and 1920 wrote the Commissioner asking
if the Crow Reservation was open to entry, and some even thought it had
been. The Commissioner had to reply to all the letters that the bill was still being discussed. But rumors remained alive, and so also the tension. The Dixon bill, or the Dixon-Pray bill, became known by a different name. On the 25th of August 1915, Plenty Coos and sixty-one Crows sent a letter to Commissioner Cato Sells opposing the Myers bill to open part of the Reservation. While Senator H. L. Myers was writing his bill, Senator T. J. Walsh collected facts about the Crows.

Commissioner Sells ordered a brief hearing in 1915. The Crow delegation consisting of Chief Plenty Coos, Curley, Richard Wallace, Robert Yellowtail, Harry Whiteman, and F. Reed came on the 6th of December. The birth rate on the Reservation was a little greater than the death rate, and the previously diminishing Tribe had been saved by doctors and hospitals. Thus Plenty Coos thought the Reservation ought to be reserved for the "unborn children of the tribe ..." The delegation presented a protest from the Tribe which had been resolved in a Crow Council and signed by 148. The Crows felt that the whites living in Billings and Hardin were using Congress to force open the Reservation. In 1913 the Tribe received 9000 cattle, by 1915 the herd increased to 12,500. The private herds were also ranging on the Reservation. There were worthwhile stallions and horses being bred. The Tribe had spent $1,250,000 of its own funds on irrigation. The Crows were farming more acres than ever before.

Furthermore, 280,000 acres of the northern cession of land remained unsold, and there was a total of 19,000,000 unsold acres in the State of Montana. To terminate leases would be to take away $100,000 per year.
As the Reservation was run mostly by Indian funds, the Government only paid $6000 per year. The value of the land would increase in years, making it feasible to wait a few years before opening it. And finally, the Crows felt there was still too much racial discrimination for whites to mingle with the Indians satisfactorily. (61)

The 1916 hearings resumed on Myers' bill. The bill stipulated that all these new members of the Tribe should be allotted on tribal lands, and that unallotted lands were to be sold under the homestead laws. The money was to be deposited into the Treasury to the credit of the Crows at four percent interest. (62)

Senator Thomas J. Walsh led the defense of the Myers bill. The Crow Reservation containing 2,300,000 acres was the second largest in the United States. The population of Crows in 1914 was 1696. That meant there were on the Reservation 1375 acres per capita, and for a family of five the farm would be 6875 acres. The Northern Cheyennes living next to the Crows only had 344 acres per capita, and they were "markedly in advance of the Crows." (63) Then there was the Lone Wolf case of 1903 eliminating the need for the Government to get Indian consent. In effect, the case over-rode the Treaty of 1868 which stipulated that no portion of the Reservation could be opened except by the majority vote of adult males living on the Reservation. Besides, opening the Reservation was "in the interest of the Indians." (63)

A report from Secretary Franklin K. Lane indicated that the Montana State legislature was trying to influence Congress to open the
Reservation, but Senator Walsh felt the Reservation had produced a few "millionaires" in Montana who had more influence over the Crow council than the State legislature had over Congress. Naturally the cattle barons opposed opening the Reservation. The Crows spent $50,801.82 from their lease money for maintaining the irrigation system in 1915, and they only grossed $43,151 from agriculture products. The 10,000,000 acres of unappropriated land in Montana, Walsh felt, would be taken in three years. Walsh felt that the "young Indians" wanted the Reservation opened so they could use the money to buy stock. It was impossible to find where all the lease money was going, but from rumors he suggested that the $100,000 was "spent in the administrative expenses of the reservation." The Crows were getting only 8 cents per acre annually for the leases. But if they sold the land for an average of $6 per acre and kept it at five percent interest, they would get 30 cents per acre annually, or they could buy 12,000 cattle. Walsh suggested that by bringing white settlers in, the Indians would learn to be industrious from their example. The big time stockmen and the low grade persons would be replaced, and the valleys filled with worthwhile citizens.

Then Walsh presented a report from the Billings Chamber of Commerce. C. W. Fowler claimed that out of 467 families only 259 Crows were farming. "Of the 995 Indians examined in 1914, 202 were tubercular and 185 had trachoma." The only thing that could save the Crows was introduction of white blood. Opening the Reservation meant more homes, churches, and "civilizing influences of the whites . . ."
Fowler argued that the whites living on the Reservation thought it should be opened. Being able to run cattle free of charge explained why Robert Yellowtail opposed opening the Reservation.\(^{(66)}\)

When the pro bill point of view had been presented, Robert Yellowtail took the stand. He admitted that the Crows were divided into two factions and the educated ones "advocated the opening with some arrangements ... .\(^{(67)}\) But he said "the majority absolutely disregard considering the opening ... .\(^{(67)}\) Plenty Coos' statement was interpreted by Yellowtail. "The old Indians, who constitute the majority, will not profit by the proposed action," he said. "They need more time in which to educate themselves industriously to the point where they will profit and will appreciate the change... .\(^{(68)}\) He had no idea when the Crows would be ready for the opening, but he did not understand where Congress wished to put Indian stock after the Reservation was opened.\(^{(68)}\)

Even Senator Myers did not know of any Crows in favor of the bill, but he thought that if certain influences were reduced a few might favor it. Russell White Bear took the statement as a challenge and suggested that Crow Council be held to vote on the matter. He and Plenty Coos both said they would abide by the vote of a council. White Bear predicted some of the Crows might favor selling individual allotments, but not opening Tribal lands.\(^{(69)}\)

Robert Yellowtail claimed that Fowler, of the Billings Chamber of Commerce, and Harris, of the Hardin Chamber of Commerce, were pushing for the opening of the Reservation because they wanted to locate a power
company in the Big Horn Canyon. (70) Montana voters were electing men who spoke out for opening the Indian reservations. "Whenever we are sandwiched, we experience nothing else but abuse," said Robert Yellowtail. He pointed to the second Dixon bill which invested all the land in individuals, leaving only mineral and timber lands to the Tribe, and stated that individual Crows could sell their excess allotments to individual settlers. The Crows approved the bill, and it passed the Senate. Congressman Stephens added his blessing:

The most reliable and experienced observers of Indian affairs have reached the conclusion that the greatest drawback to the development of the Indian is his lack of enlightened selfishness and his belief, fostered by the communal system under which all his property has been held, that he must divide the fruits of his efforts with any and all other members of his tribe who may choose to squat down upon him for such length of time as they may choose to remain. As individualization will result in the Indian's property rights being his individually, further progress will come, aided by enlightened selfishness that will result in individual effort increasing the material welfare of the individual. This is the keystone of the proposition involved in the Senate bill. . . . (72)

Superintendent of Crow School, Evan W. Estep, testified that the Crows never agreed upon the Government's decision to act as "agent" in selling the land ceded by the Act of 1904; the Myer's bill proposed a similar method for "disposing" land. (73)

With Plenty Coos gone, Yellowtail took the time to say that even though Plenty Coos was the Chief of the Tribe, he had little "sway" remaining from the old times, Chief Two Leggins had only three "listeners," and Chief Medicine Crow had no authority at all. (74) All the ruling and regulating on the Reservation was actually done by the Government.
When the hearings of 1916 were continued, Assistant Commissioner E. B. Meritt testified that no bill producing strong Indian opposition had been enacted. The Indian Office favored opening the Reservation ultimately, but it simply was not time yet. Meritt recommended allotting the entire Reservation and letting individual Indians sell their unwanted allotments, as the plan had the full approval of the Crows.(75)

On the 6th of July, the Pryor district sent the Commissioner a petition signed by Plenty Coos, Wet, Old Coyote, Bell Rock, and a total of 105 Crows. They requested that no further attempt be made to reduce or open the Crow Reservation.

Until such time as a competent commission shall have passed upon the ability of the members of the Tribe or portions thereof to conduct their individual affairs in competition with White settlers who will invade our Reservation in the event of its total or partial opening.(76)

In August the hearings before the Senate Committee continued. The Chairman presented the report from the Crow Council. Plenty Coos had called a Council, and 240 Crows came. Seven names were placed in a hat. John Frost drew chairmanship, and J. Hill and Hogan acted as secretaries. The entire Council opposed the bill to open the Reservation. They demanded no expenditure of their funds without their consent, and, they wanted the Common herd distributed pro rata. The resolutions were signed by Robert Yellowtail and 193 Crows.(77)

Senator Walsh said every student or friend of the Indians, including the Indian Rights Association, knew that reservation supervision must end.(78)
tied, three to three. Thus it was postponed for further hearings.(79)

In December the hearings continued. Senators Lane, Curtis, and Ashurst received a letter from the Crows requesting permission to come to Washington as they had prepared their own bill. The letter was signed by C. Ten Bear, Plays with Himself, J. Stewart, F. Bethune, F. Stewart, J. Wallace, F. Ten Bear, Old Horn, Sees-with-His-Ears, Isaac Plenty Hoops, and others.(80)

Senator Curtis voted against the bill simply because of the unanimous opposition by the Crows, by the Secretary of Interior, by the Commissioner, and by the Indian Rights Association. Although Congress had the right to open the Crow Reservation, Commissioner Meritt added, "There is a moral question involved here, and this is the question of taking the property of the Crow Indians... in view of the strongly expressed opposition of the Crow Indians."(81) Senator Owen thought it would be unreasonable to disregard the opinion of the Crows.(81) Senator Gronna concluded the hearings by saying that Walsh had made an "economic case" out of the bill.(82) The bill and the economic case, according to Gronna, both pointed to the mismanagement of Indian funds as conducted in the past.

Myers' bill was postponed by the Senate Committee.(82)

A contract between Victor J. Evans, lawyer, and the Crow Chiefs was signed January 31, 1917, by J. W. Cooper, Plenty Coos, Spotted Rabbit, Two Leggins, Ben Spotted Horse, Jack Covers Up, Stops, F. Yarlott, B. Old Coyote, Jasper Long Tail, Arnold Costa, Robert Yellowtail,
H. Whiteman, Thomas Medicinehorse, J. Carpenter, R. Wallace, J. Frost, R. White Bear, and J. Stewart. But by July Commissioner Sells and Secretary Lane disapproved the contract as it was improperly executed.

Russell White Bear and Richard Throssel went to Washington, D.C. to file another contract with Evans. White Bear demanded $2000. Evans let him know that he would prefer not to be lawyer for the Tribe in such case. White Bear said he would accept $1000 instead, later he reduced his demand. But Evans "declined any proposition from him along these lines." And he hoped the Crows would relieve him of the trouble with White Bear.

The Crow delegates worked with the Commissioner on a bill in 1918. It became known as the Office bill by some and as the Crow bill by others. The bill proposed to prorate the surplus lands among the Crows; so it was essentially a revamp of the second Dixon bill. Superintendent Calvin H. Asbury felt heavy pressure from the delegates in 1919 and "told them they were at perfect liberty to go one and all to Washington, or to San Francisco, or to China, or any place else that they have the money to pay for . . ." He simply could not authorize the delegation until they were called for by the Indian Office.

Senator T. J. Walsh introduced the bill to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. On the 3rd of September, hearings were held before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. The Chairman was Senator Curtis, and the Crow delegation included F. Yarlott, J. Frost, T. Medicinehorse,
Sits Down Spotted, M. Wolfe, H. Bear Claw, and Robert Yellowtail. The delegates came for the purpose of presenting the Crow bill. The bill authorized the Secretary of Interior to survey all the unsurveyed land on the Crow Reservation, to allot 160 acres to the unallotted members of the Tribe, and to distribute equally the remaining land individually to all enrolled members. Fee patents were to be given to competent Indians, and trust patents to the incompetent were to be issued. Church and school lands were to be reserved, and mineral lands were to remain Tribal lands to be leased and regulated by the Secretary. The irrigable and irrigated land was to be divided equally among the members of the Tribe, and no further irrigation work was to be authorized without Tribal consent. Irrigation work was to be paid by annual "charges against allotment." No liquor was allowed anywhere on the Reservation. Furthermore the Crow Tribe was authorized to appeal to the Court of Claims as plaintiff against the Government, and the Tribe could hire attorneys. The Secretary was to distribute the Tribal herd. And finally the Secretary was to appoint a commission to decide upon competency classification of the Crow Indians.(89)

Although some of the actors in the hearings were the same as those of the 1916 hearings, the testimony was remarkably different. Senator Walsh and Commissioner Meritt wanted to strike out an unnecessary paragraph. Yellowtail suggested giving the competent Indians a choice of accepting a fee patent or continuing with a trust patent. The Chairman did not think the Indians should take money out of the U.S. Treasury
as it would form a "double book keeping" problem. He also thought each member should receive the same amount of each kind of land so that each Indian would have irrigated land, farming land, and grazing land. Or a system of equivalency might be worked out. But Yellowtail said the irrigated land had already been allotted, and the Tribe agreed to allotting by number of acres rather than by type of land. Only the Senate Committee could insure that fairness in land values was made. The Chairman suggested setting a limit as to how much land an individual Indian could sell. (90)

By October the bill changed. Certain Indians could elect to have fee patents and subject their land to taxation or to keep their trust patents. It provided for a commission of two Crows and one Department representative to divide the Crows into competent and incompetent. It provided a 640 acre homestead for each member of the Tribe, and one half was to be retained for at least twenty-five years, but the Indians could sell their allotments to veterans of the Army, Navy, or Marines. A separate bill was prepared admitting the Crows into the Court of Claims. (91)

On the 17th and 19th of March 1920, hearings were held before the House Committee on Indian Affairs for the same bill as was in the Senate. Meritt added several amendments, including the distribution of the trust funds. (92) Russell White Bear, elected to represent the Tribe, wanted to change the reimbursement clause on irrigated land to include only projects started since 1918. The Tribe as a whole benefitted from all the projects previous to that time. (93)

By May the Crow Bill passed the House with minor amendments.
It next went to a joint session. (94) The bill became an Act on June 4.

It provided for allotment of the Reservation to the Crows and for patents in fee to those who were declared competent to transact their own business. Lands held under trust were to be sold through the Agency, the sales validated and approved by the Secretary of Interior. (95) The Act furthermore consolidated the Crow fund, effectively repealing the 1904 Act which broke up the fund by allocating it for different items. (96)

Helen P. Grey with two whites visited Joe Cooper in spring, 1920. Superintendent Asbury said:

'We can hardly regulate who comes on this reservation at present as there is a great deal of patented land scattered all over to which people must come and go. The roads more or less throughout the reservation are recognized as public roads. The town of Hardin, Lodge Grass, and Wyola are on patented ground and are not under supervision of the office. . . .' (97)

Mrs. Grey wanted the Crows to select oil and mineral lands, and the Indians feared that her attorneys would prosecute the cases and get the oil leases on their allotments. So Asbury told the Indians not to worry as no allotments could be made on mineral lands, and Commissioner Meritt told Asbury to ignore Mrs. Grey unless she launched a movement of a kind. (98)

There were other outrageous recommendations concerning the Crow Reservation. Resolutions were passed at the end of 1923 by the New York Bird and Tree Club at the Museum of Natural History. The resolutions urged the Government officials to examine the possibility of creating a National Park in the Northern Big Horn Mountains to cover about 300 square miles which would include canyons, "an Indian shrine," rapidly disappearing
big horn sheep, and an area from which game animals would travel into hunting areas again. (99) The same resolutions were adopted early in 1925 by the Ecological Society in Washington, D.C. (100) Commissioner Charles H. Burke did not see the need to investigate the Crow Reservation for such a proposal. (101)

A band of Cree Indians were bannished from Canada in 1885. By 1900 they began moving on to the Crow Reservation, and they lived mostly in the Pryor district. In 1912 Superintendent Scott reported to the Commissioner:

Two or three times they have been gathered by the Agency authorities and put off but each time have returned, and in gradually increasing numbers until there are now approximately 100 of the tribe here. They are generally quiet, industrious Indians, many of them mixed bloods, generally of French Canadian blood. (102)

A few of them intermarried with the Crows. Scott thought they were intelligent because they made crafty deals with the Crows who paid them "at extravagant rates." (102) The Crows often employed Cree Indians and then paid them in horses and cattle. The Crees had nearly as many horses as the Crows, and the Crees seemed to take better care of their stock. But when Scott issued orders for no more hunting and fishing out of season, the Crees proved to be the worst offenders. (103)

Finally, in 1913 a bill was introduced into Congress to provide the Chippewas and Crees a reservation on the abandoned Fort Assiniboine Military Reservation. (104) The Rocky Boy Reservation was created in 1916.

The Act of 1904 ended the tradition of selling Crow lands for money to run the Reservation. Yet events proved the 1904 Act had two
It divided the Crow fund, and it disposed Crow lands unsatisfactorily. When a bill to open the Crow Reservation appeared in 1907, the Crow Tribe fell into schisms and disputes over the opinions of Mrs. Helen Grey. The hearings of 1908 ended in shambles. Nothing was accomplished. Mrs. Grey was ignorant of what had happened in the past and the way things had been handled for years, and she would not have liked the situation any better even if she had known. She was misled by complaints from a few crafty Crows, and in turn she got them into more trouble than they wanted.

When the bill came up again in 1910, the Office of Indian Affairs took the lead. With Congressman Stevens they argued the bill was unpopular, and it was no better than the 1904 Act. A second bill was written with the help of unofficial Tribal lawyers. This bill was based on competency which had started in 1906. It went into a state of dormancy.

But in 1915 the bill to open the Crow Reservation was resurrected. Walsh defended the bill with the Lone Wolf case of 1903. He pointed to the Crow lands which were standing under the sun useless and idle. Plenty Coos and the Tribal leaders argued that the Crows were just plain not ready to have the Crow Reservation opened yet. Once again the Indian Office took a stand against the bill. The Senate Indian Committee finally turned down the bill, and Walsh told the Crows to write their own bill.

The Crows amended the Walsh bill using the second Dixon bill. There was a race to the Senate Committee floor. The Nugent bill to open the Reservation of 1918 was defeated by Crow protest, and the amended
Walsh bill was thrust forth. The Walsh bill, also known as the Office bill or the Crow bill, proposed to put the entire Reservation under individual ownership instead of under Tribal ownership. At the same time it established a competency commission to decide what Crows could sell their own allotments. The Crows, the Congress, and the Indian Office joined hands, and the bill became the Crow Act of June 4, 1920. The 1920 Act was a compromise after fifteen years of bitter politics. On one hand, it disposed land by granting certain Indians permission to sell their own land. On the other hand, the bill substituted "competency commission" for "threat of opening." The Act created new stumbling blocks, and in 1926 hearings were held in the House of Representatives to amend the Crow Act.
When men like Joe Cooper, Jim Carpenter, James Hill, George Hogan, and Russell White Bear returned home from school, they thought they deserved to be respected as educated Indians. In time the rest of the Crow Tribe agreed. After years of schooling, why should these men not be allowed to take over the administration of the Crow Reservation? The movement began as a protest. Such protest had led to revolutions for independence in nations of South America and Africa. In the United States, however, independence was not possible. Thus, protest led to the Crow Business Committee. The idea of a Business Committee did not originate from the Crow Indians. It was suggested to them by their unofficial attorneys, Kappler and Merillat.

Charles J. Kappler and Charles H. Merillat were not authorized to appear on the Reservation in 1909 and draw up a contract making them the national attorneys for the Crow Indians. They suggested the Crows might take the initiative by organizing a business committee. They sent Plenty Coos a copy of the resolutions that such a business committee should pass; they even dated it.

The Crow Tribe as a whole being assembled at the Crow Agency, at the time of the Annual Fair of the Crow Tribe, and being desirous of placing its affairs on a basis that will permit action to be taken speedily for the best interests of the Tribe
If the time should ever arrive that speedy action is necessary to protect the best interests of the Tribe, resolves in open general council . . . that a Committee of two from each of the Five Districts of the Tribe shall be selected to represent the Crow Tribe as a whole. This committee shall be known as the Business Committee of the Crow Tribe. It is authorized to act for the Crow Tribe in such manner as the Business Committee may deem for the best interests of the Tribe as a whole and to make contracts in the future for the employment of a National Attorney or Attorneys at Washington to represent the Crow Tribe and protect its interests. . . .(1)

But it took another year to organize the Tribal Council for such a purpose. The minutes of the Council of September 26, 1910, showed that the representatives elected were Sees-with-His-Ears, Two Leggins, and Bull Robe for Black Lodge; Spotted Rabbit, Sits Down Spotted, and Richard Wallace for Upper Big Horn; Plain Owl, Bull-Dont-Fall-Down, and Holds the Enemy for Lower Big Horn; George W. Hogan, Morris Schaffer, and Deer Nose for Reno; J. W. Cooper, J. Carpenter, and Packs the Hat for Lodge Grass; Plenty Coos, Rosebud Farwell, and Old Coyote for Pryor.(2)

The Business Committee met for the first time on the 12th and 13th of October. They refused to give consent to have Crow funds used for constructing a bridge. They objected to the employment of Crees and whites on the irrigation work. And the Committee wanted a contract with Kappler and Merillat. Scott sent the minutes of the first meeting and added:

It is a difficult problem to know how far to recognize the educated class— the young English-speaking Indians. Some of them are trouble-makers, who are working for the personal ends, rather than for the real good of their people. They formed the habit, during the previous administration, of fighting the Agency authorities, and are a little slow in getting out of it. Others are honest in their efforts to benefit the tribe . . .(3)
When Assistant Commissioner F. H. Abbott received notice of the first Business Committee meeting his first reaction was to disapprove the organization. (4) But early in 1911 he telegraphed the Superintendent to disregard the orders. (5) Abbott ordered a general council to ratify the Council of 1910. (6) Superintendent Scott reported that the Business Committee was controlled by Joe Cooper, Jim Carpenter, and Packs the Hat; all three were from Lodge Grass, and in 1910 they did not have consent from the majority of the male Crows to set up a business committee. The "little gang of agitators" thus ruled the Committee, while the other Indians were "quiet and contented." Scott did not think the Crows had "reached a point or degree of intelligence and business capacity where their council is of value." And he thought the matter ought to "be allowed to rest" for a spell. (7) The Commissioner disagreed, however, and he ordered Scott to call a council. (8) By mid-February the Committee had become disorganized and some of the members resigned. (9)

Assistant Commissioner Hauke ordered Scott to reorganize the Business Committee and fill the positions by election. (10) When Scott called a meeting in March, Strikes on Head replaced Old Coyote. Scott was still anxious to drop Carpenter and Cooper. (11) So Hauke called for a re-election in Lodge Grass. (12) On April 19 Lodge Grass elected Medicine Crow, Bear Don't Walk, and Wolf Lays Down to replace Cooper, Carpenter, and Packs the Hat on the Business Committee. (13) The list of representatives of the Business Committee was sent to the Secretary, and on May 5 the First Assistant Secretary approved it. (14) Carpenter and
Cooper retired to do greater things.

Plenty Coos, Spotted Rabbit, Medicine Crow, Two Leggins, and 106 members of the Tribe, including the Business Committee representatives, met at the Agency office. On November 13 they sent the Commissioner their request that Kappler and Merillat represent the Crows in Washington. Commissioner Valentine opposed the contract with Kappler and Merillat because they supported the Crow bill. By allotting the entire Reservation, which Kappler and Merillat and the Crows in the second Dixon bill proposed to do, the Tribe would become "real estate people." (15)

An unsigned statement went to the Agency in 1912. It was obviously written by someone who had made good marks in social studies.

We, the undersigned, Crow Indians of the Crow Nation, ... who, by the beneficent Will of our Creator, have been blessed with those same sacred and inalienable rights of humanity, as other Nations are, and which, are so justly prized and obtained at any sacrifice by all Nations, and as evinced in the past by the United States, in all her efforts for freedom and recognition from the powers of the earth, are, at the present time, which marks the elapse of half a century, and during which time, the Government of the United States, has exercised absolute tutorage, over all our affairs, both spiritual and temporal, and, as the logical result of this lengthy time of guardianship and tutorage, we, deem ourselves, capable both mentally and physically, of self Government ... (17)

It demanded fourteen positions on the Reservation be filled with Crow Indians.

The declaration was accompanied by a letter bearing the signature of James Carpenter. "There is a saying, 'God helps those who help themselves.' this is true, the Government is not going to help us, unless we make a showing for ourselves. ..." (17) According to Scott, "The
movement was initiated by Joe Cooper, Jim Carpenter, and Jim Hill, each of whom will ask appointment to one of the places to be vacated." (17) Cooper and Hill wanted to be assistant farmers, Robert Yellowtail wanted to be superintendent of live stock, and Carpenter wanted the position of game warden established for him.

Of course the whole proposition is absurd. The time when the Crows will be able to manage their own affairs is not yet in sight; nor is the time in sight when a Superintendent can handle the Reservation with Indian assistants. . . . (17) Scott hoped the Indian Office would inform the Crows they were "still wards of the Government." (17)

For the meeting of February 10 to 11, 1913, the Committee accepted the invitation from the Commissioner for Plenty Coos, Medicine Crow, White-Man-Runs-Him, with Frank Shively as interpreter, to attend "the laying of the corner stone for a monument to be erected at Washington to the American Indians . . ." (see Chapter XI). (18) Tribal funds were to finance the trip, but the Committee wanted two additional members to go with the group. Ed Wolf Lays Down, chairman, and Jim Hill, secretary, and eleven signed the minutes. (18)

Reforms took longer than expected even as progressivism dawned in America. So Robert Yellowtail and Frank S. Shively, delegates elected by the Crow Business Committee, wrote the Secretary of Interior in April. The tone of their declaration was more aggressive than the one of 1912. In attempting to reclaim Crow property and money, they listed charges against a few white employees, including A. A. Campbell,
the Live Stock Superintendent. "This is a good example of pernicious squandering of Crow moneys through the medium of incompetent employees over our protest."(19) Campbell could not understand English well and had trouble in arithmetic, he had no valuable service to render, he was sloppy in his business, he allowed Heinrich's horses in the Government barn, and he brought liquor onto the Reservation.

It is a long established and undisputed truth that when any Nation ever rose above barbarism and primitiveness it was because men of her blood and bone placed themselves both mentally and physically upon a footing of ability and respect which entitled them to assume the reins of guidance and leadership, thus lifting their people to a higher plane of civilization."(19)

It was time for self-government. "As a result of the present Iron Rule system," they wrote, "we are held as serfs in the onward march of American civilization."(19) The white employees at the Agency had not only conducted work unbeneficial to the Crows, but their work had even impeded their advancement."(19)

On the 3rd of February 1915, fifty-three Pryor Indians, including Plenty Coos, sent a petition to Superintendent Estep protesting against the patent in fee Indians sending petitions or delegations to the Interior Department. Superintendent Evan W. Estep added his own note referring to Russell White Bear, Sam Davis, Joe Cooper, George Pease, Charley and Frank Yarlott.

These men are all patent in fee Indians who have sold their allotments and squandered the proceeds in riotous living, and are now malcontents and agitators who are volunteering their services to the commercial bodies of Billings, Harden, Wyoming, and other towns surrounding the reservation in an effort to secure the opening of the reservation."(20)
Estep found a letter, as he put it, "which has been floating around over the reservation somewhat freely of late" and forwarded it to the Commissioner. The letter, dated February 22, was signed "S-RWB." The authors advocated organizing a committee composed of two or three representatives from each district to meet the Walsh bill or any Senate commission sent out to treat with the Crows for the opening of the Reservation. The letter also indicated that the Lone Wolf case of 1903 was documentary evidence that the Indians did not in fact own their reservations, the Government did. It concluded that there was a need for learning "to act in a business-like manner when dealing with the Representatives of the Government . . ." Superintendent Estep deduced that "S-RWB" signified none other than Sloan and Russell White Bear. Estep assumed Sloan was following the Senate's suggestion of organizing a free and uninfluenced council.

The Commissioner requested a report on the Indian councils, business committees, and organizations and their authorities for existence. Superintendent Estep referred to the letter of Senator Lane advocating a "free and open council, duly called by themselves without interference." Estep thought Senator Lane had little notion of how to get such a council under way.

I have to advise that the Council or Business Committee of the Crow Indians as called by me was composed of twenty-one members, three from each of the farm districts into which the Crow reservation is divided. . . . After the Committee was called together they chose their own officers, and when through with the meeting, adjourned. . . .

As to what is accomplished or expected to be accomplished by such a council, I can answer—nothing. The Crow Indians are
hopelessly divided on practically every subject pertaining to the
welfare of the tribe. Any crooked person who has any pet scheme to
put through can pass it through any council that might be called
at an expense of less than $1000 for a council of twenty-one
members. . . .(22)

By July 28 and 29 the chairman of the Council became a president.
This position was taken by Joe W. Cooper. The Council sent resolutions
concerning grazing leases (see Chapter XIII), and concluded:

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:
That said Crow Council in session, after duly selecting and
electing three members from each district of their Reservation to
represent said Council . . . shall sign this resolution, together
with the President of said Council, and when so signed shall be binding
upon the Council the same as if all its members had signed the
same.(23)

Plenty Coos was still an honorary member, the Pryor representatives were
Bird Hat, Luke Rock, and Arnold Costa; the Little Big Horn representatives
were Two Leggins, Holds the Enemy, and Bull Dont Fall; the Lodge Grass
representatives were White-Man-Runs-Him, Scolds the Bear, and Yellow Brow;
for Wyola there were Knows His Coos, George No Horse, and Scratches His
Face; for Reno there were Jackson Stewart, Russell White Bear, and Frank
Yarlott; and for Black Lodge there were Thomas Medicinehorse, Victor
Singer, and Sees-with-His-Ears.(23)

Father L. Taelman wrote Commissioner Cato Sells in 1917 that he
did not think the Crows were ready to handle their own affairs on the
Reservation; they would continue to need the Office of Indian Affairs
looking out for them a little longer.(24)

In October the new Superintendent, Calvin H. Asbury, set out to
establish a Tribal Business Committee. He wrote the Commissioner that the
Tribal Council desired to establish a Business Committee. (25) But Assistant Commissioner Meritt advised Asbury to become more acquainted with the Reservation first. (26) Asbury still thought the idea was good. "I believe that the tribe itself initiated this movement and selected their delegates and that we should not interfere with that manner of handling the business of the reservation until it is given fair trial . . . " (27) Only one quarrel developed in a district over selecting representatives. Thus Commissioner Meritt requested a list of committee-men. (28) In 1918 they were as follows: for Black Lodge there were Isaac Plenty Hoops and Old Horn; for Reno there were George Hogan and Sees-with-His-Ears; for Lodge Grass there were James Carpenter and One Star; for Wyola there were Ben Spotted Horse and Robert Yellowtail; for Upper Big Horn there were James Hill and Sits Down Spotted; for Lower Big Horn there were Shows His Coos and Shobe Littlelight; and for Pryor, John Frost and Pretty Coyote. Both older Indians and educated ones were represented in each district. (29)

The Business Committee met with Superintendent Asbury on the 8th of January. Carpenter was the chairman and Yellowtail the secretary. By this time Plenty Coos replaced Pretty Coyote, and Alvin Morrison and Jasper Long Tail replaced two other members. The Committee wanted Richard Wallace as superintendent of live stock and reconsideration of the contract with Victor Evans, lawyer. (30) Superintendent Asbury turned the meeting over to the Committee, and the Committee wrote its own minutes. The only difficulty the Committee had was staying on the subject of
business problems. (31)

The Superintendent was not "enthusiastic" about the Business Committee; but as the Indians were, Commissioner Meritt approved the Committee on the 9th of February. (32) By April Pretty Coyote was back in the Committee, and so also were Shows His Coos and Shobe Littlelight of the Lower Big Horn. Alvin Morrison and three substitutes represented the Black Lodge. The rest of the Committee was the same: J. Frost, J. Hill, Sits Down Spotted, Hogan, Sees-with-His-Ears, Carpenter, One Star, B. Spotted Horse, and R. Yellowtail. (33) The Commissioner approved the members for one year. (34) A memorandum stated the Indian Office and the Superintendent of the Crow Reservation ought to establish trustworthy relations with the Committee.

Lack of tact on the part of the superintendent at the outset, failure to recognize the right of this committee to have a thorough knowledge of all the affairs of the tribe, or an attitude of belittling its importance, may easily make of this committee a source of powerful opposition to the superintendent and the policies of the Commissioner. (35)

By mid November Superintendent Asbury felt that the year of trial proved a success. "It is certainly much more convenient to get this committee together than it is to get together a full council of the tribe." (36)

On the 21st and 22nd of January 1919, the Business Committee met with other members of the Tribe. The Tribe did not think the Indian cowboys were being given a fair opportunity for employment on the I D herd as the whites were. So they voted unanimously that the Indians
run the I D range, and charged the white cowboys with drunkenness and idleness. The Tribe thought too much money had been spent on the irrigation work and that incompetent employees were used. Thus the Tribe voted unanimously to hire Indian labor on the irrigation work. The chairman, Carpenter, the secretary, Hogan, Chief Plenty Coos, nine members of the Business Committee, and fifty-six other members of the Tribe signed and thumb-marked the proceedings. (37)

The Business Committee dissolved in 1920. (38) On the 11th of October a letter was sent straight to Secretary John Barton Payne from the "undersigned Chiefs and Councilmen of the Crow Indian Tribe" explaining they had appointed Russell White Bear and Ralph Saco "as a committee to communicate with you on business matters pertaining to our affairs," and, if need be, they were to go to Washington. (39) The letter was signed by the chairman, Ralph Saco, the secretary, Carpenter, and 800 male adults including Plenty Coos.

Saco and White Bear then sent a longer letter to Secretary Payne explaining their situation.

Your office authorized the Crow Indian to organize a business committee. Heretofore the Indian Department has had more or less influence in who should be on the Committee, consequently we were never very successful in having a strong, fearless, non-influenced Crow Business Committee. At this writing we have no such organization. We are of the opinion that if the Crows are given authority to make their own appointments, of their own selections, they will take such action with prudence. . . . (40)

Secretary Payne replied the Department would consider their letter. (41) Carpenter, as chairman, Hogan, as secretary, and Chief Plenty Coos
telegraphed the Secretary they wanted to send a delegation of five Crows to Washington to discuss Tribal affairs. Finally, the Secretary notified the Superintendent that the delegation was approved.

The Crow delegation conferred with the Department on December 2 to 6. The Crow delegation wanted a per capita payment of $100. They wanted all oil leases executed through the Crow Business Committee of the Crow Council (see Chapter XIII). They wanted a business committee consisting of six or seven members, and a competency commission on the Reservation to determine competency in handling cattle as well as money.

A regular meeting of the Tribal Council was held on January 8, 1921. Carpenter was the chairman and Hogan was the secretary. Only 108 Crows attended the meeting, but it turned out to be an important little Council. Eighty-two voted for the resolution, "That a regularly elected Business Committee should be authorized, for the transaction of such tribal business as may require attention from time to time." It was to be composed of fourteen men, two from each of the seven districts. The members were to be elected each January, and they were to be paid per diem and mileage. Asbury recommended that the chairman of the Committee be the Superintendent or the Agency Clerk. He admitted that the Committee should also have its own chairman when deliberating on their own.

When the Superintendent began to see the advantages of the Business Committee, a few Crows began to see the disadvantages. The
Pryor district sent a petition on February 24 signed by Chief Plenty Coos and fifty-six Crows. They wanted the General Council to handle Reservation affairs, and not the Business Committee. "Past experience has taught us that it is not safe to put all tribal interests and matters of importance into the hands of a few and give them absolute power to transact all business for the tribe." (47) Thus the Pryor Indians refused to elect committeemen. Assistant Commissioner Meritt pointed out that the Pryor Crows were represented at the Council of January 8 which voted for the establishment of the Committee. The Committee was more efficient in handling Tribal matters. Thus Meritt thought Pryor district should go unrepresented until they selected their own committeemen. (48)

The Crow Business Committee held a meeting November 3 and selected Edward Horsky of Helena as Tribal attorney along with an associate, Franklin D. Tanner of Hardin. The chairman, J. Carpenter, and the secretary, J. Martinez, signed the resolutions. (49)

Commissioner Burks and Assistant Commissioner Meritt held a conference on November 18 with the Crow delegation including Plenty Coos, David Stewart, Russell White Bear, and John Frost. The contract between the Crow Tribe and an attorney was disapproved as it was not in "proper form" and it did not "disclose what service" was intended from the attorney. (50) The Commissioner wanted the Crows to have a contract with an attorney to handle their claims against the Government, but the Secretary of Interior thought the Indians ought to save the expense. An attorney in Washington would be cheaper than sending local lawyers
or delegations east. White Bear requested Daniel B. Henderson, and the
Commissioner suggested they get him and make a proper contract. White
Bear, who had been interrupting the Commissioner and contradicting some
of the things he said, complained that Superintendent Asbury was "too
independent." The Commissioner said trouble was on both sides.

You people started out on the war path to get Asbury's scalp and
reported you were going to get it.
White Bear:
   We can get it.
Mr. Commissioner:
   Those things do not disturb us at all.(50)

On the 20th of December, the Business Committee members were
elected. R. Yellowtail represented Wyola; J. Carpenter represented
Lodge Grass; C. Yarlott represented Reno; H. Whiteman represented Black
Lodge; Leo Hugs represented Upper Big Horn; Ties His Knees or Shot-in-
the-Nose represented Lower Big Horn; and Old Crane represented Pryor.(51)

The Eagle, Sees-with-His-Ears, Mountain Sheep, and a fourth
stated they did not wish to have the Business Committee

handling the affairs of the Crow Indians. . . . Our experience has
been that this Committee only mixes things up and makes matters
worse. We had a meeting in Black Lodge for the purpose of electing
a member to this Business Committee, but we have decided that we
want no business committee but want these matters handled by the
agency office as they used to be. . . .(52)

Asbury explained that confusion developed over the oil leases, so the
older Indians opposed the Business Committee by putting "in blank ballots
to indicate that they wanted no one at all, instead of trying to elect a
man of their choice."(53) Asbury favored continuing the Business Com-
mittee and the representational democracy it stood for.(53) Commissioner
Meritt agreed, and in 1922 he instructed The Eagle to have his district elect a man they wanted and one who would do an efficient job. (54)

Therefore the little Council of 1921 became the authority, confirmed at least twice by both the Commissioner and the Superintendent, for the establishment of the Business Committee.

The Business Committee met on the 21st of January to consider the by-laws which had been written by Superintendent Asbury and rewritten by the Commissioner. The Committee amended the rules. It wanted to have its own secretary keeping records, though it did not object to having the Agency clerk take down proceedings. Further, the Committee wanted the right to call special meetings. (55) So Superintendent Asbury reported to the Commissioner that the Business Committee still had not taken action on the by-laws because they wanted the authority in the meetings. (56) Commissioner Charles H. Burke supported Asbury. The Indian Office must have control over the Business Committee in order to insure equity over the whole Tribe and to prevent factionalism. Burke wrote that the Committee should have one copy of the proceedings, and matters of great importance should be taken to the General Council. (57)

The Business Committee adopted the by-laws on the 9th of May, 1922. Regular meetings were to be called by the Superintendent, but the Committee would elect the chairman. Any member of the Tribe could present new subjects to the Committee, and matters could be taken to the General Tribal Council by a vote of five. The Committee could exclude non-members from the meeting by going into an executive session. The
action was signed by Superintendent C. H. Asbury, Harry Whiteman, James Carpenter, Charles Yarlott, Shot-in-the-Nose, and Robert Yellowtail. And on the 25th, the Indian Office approved the action. (58)

Following the Lone Wolf case of 1903, the threat of opening began to point long fingers toward the Crow Reservation. The basis for existence had been nibbled away for many years; it seemed about to be gobbled down completely. The Crow Indians became alerted, then panic-stricken. They agitated for control. Requests turned into demands. By 1912 a few Crows threatened to grab the reins. The issue was tribal attorneys. The lawyers and the Crow Business Committee needed each other, but the Government had no use for either and vetoed both. The decade from 1910 to 1920 was an age of delegations to Washington, D.C. Sometimes more than one Crow delegation boarded the train to make sure the Tribe was heard. Patronizers of Indians took opposite stands; some urged the Crows to seize the controls, while others warned them of the dangers. Congress favored the Business Committee idea. In 1917 the Office of Indian Affairs changed its mind and decided to deal with the Crows through the Business Committee. A year of trial was conducted. Already a few Crows began to see bad omens. By 1921, when the voice of protest was well-established in the Business Committee, the Pryor district became the seat of conservatism and even tried to boycott the Committee. Crow Indians who were not really experts in economics or land-management were making difficult decisions for the whole Tribe. Suddenly the stakes became real, losses were forever. In the thirteen years of struggle for independence the Crow liberators had
made a complete circle. The channel was still from the Interior Depart-
ment to the Superintendent down to the Crows, except that between the
Superintendent and the Crow Council there was a Crow chairman and a
handy elite.
CHAPTER XI

INDIAN FUNCTIONS AND CONDITIONS

Starting in 1904 annual fairs were held at Crow Agency. The fairs originally were held for the purpose of displaying agricultural and ranching products (see Chapter I). Awards were given for exhibits of good work. The annual fairs rapidly became known as the Crow Fair, and the agricultural exhibits eventually disappeared. At the same time the Crows engaged in the performing arts. Soon the Fourth of July celebrations became shows.

Running parallel to the gaiety and mirth of vestigial and transforming aspects of Indian culture, there were grave sanitation problems which seemed connected with the old way of living, particularly after the Indians settled down on their allotments and permanent places. Tuberculosis and scarlet fever were the menaces of the early 1900's. The death rate among the Crow Indians continued to be greater than the birth rate.

In 1905 Holds the Enemy wrote to Plenty Coos from St. Xavier.

I am going to tell you something. This Mission school is no good the only good thing of them is they feed the children well that is all right the rest they are no good and they want to pray so much that they keep me from not dancing.

When they are sick he keep them until they are very bad and he gives them back but they do not get well I wish you would talk about it.(1)
Criticism changed direction in 1907. William H. Ketcham, Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, reported to Commissioner F. E. Leupp on a "barbarous custom" which he had reason to believe was confined very much to the Crow Indians, namely "the practice of mutilation for the dead."(2) He saw a case in spring.

An old Indian had died while away from home, and every effort had been made by relatives of the family to keep the news of the death from the man's widow, as they feared that in the excess of her grief she might kill herself. At that time it happened a great gathering of the Crows took place a few miles from the Mission, and as they had invited me to visit them at their encampment in company with Father Cardon, I went over to the Dance Lodge and witnessed their dancing and feasting, which was carried out in the style of other days in truly old-time Indian fashion . . .

While the dancing and merrymaking was in progress, it happened that a child told the gray-haired widow of her loss. She instantly seized a knife and cut deep gashes in her head, cut off the ends of the fingers of her left hand . . . gashed her lower limbs, and, crying and moaning, covered with blood, and holding up her mutilated hand, came into the tent. This of course, put a stop to all the merrymaking. The death song was taken up, and all followed her as she led the way toward her home. Halting in sight of it, she stood, it seemed to me for hours, with her hand uplifted and mourning, while the people gathered around her gave way to wild expression of grief.(2)

Ketcham requested "steps be taken to eliminate this cruel practice entirely. . ."(2) The Commissioner wrote to the Crow Agent to prevent mutilation for the dead and to cooperate with the Catholic missionaries "in suggesting some form of mourning which would satisfy the longing of the Indians to express their woe and at the same time exclude the barbarities of the existing practices."(3)

In spite of the ceremonies left over from the Olden Days, there was the more real aspect of the world in which the Crows lived. By the end of November, smallpox had broken out on the Reservation in several
different places. (4) Bathtubs were in great demand at the Crow Boarding School where nearly 200 children shared four of them (see Chapter VII).

Finally, in 1908 bathtubs and other articles were shipped to the Agency. (5) Dr. George J. Fanning could not obtain the numbers of deaths resulting from tuberculosis or even the number of cases on the Crow Reservation.

In regard to the method of handling tuberculosis on the reservation I will state that practically nothing is done except in the school. Children with glandular tuberculosis are kept in school and medical and hygienic measures are taken to improve their condition; if they do not respond to treatment they are allowed to go home, where, as a rule, they get well, as they then live the greater part of the time in the open air. Children affected with pulmonary tuberculosis are sent to their homes on the reservation. The Agency physician can do practically nothing with the reservation Indians as they are at liberty to reject the services of the physician and to pay no attention to his advice. They still believe in Indian Medicine Men and subject themselves to their treatment. (6)

Dr. Oberlander, reporting from Pryor, said there were very few cases of pulmonary tuberculosis, and the Indians there sought "good medicine not advice . . ." (6) If immediate treatment did not come, then the Indians went to the medicine man in nearby towns.

Health conditions were bad, according to Dr. Ferdinand Shoemaker early in 1911. The houses were unsanitary. Six to eight persons were often living in one-room houses which were over-heated in winter, and they moved into tents during the summer. The death total the previous year was five more than the birth total. More than half the pupils at the Crow and Pryor Boarding Schools had tubercular infection; the same was true of the students at the Baptist Day School in Lodge Grass. Trachoma
was common among the Crows. "Indeed," wrote Shoemaker, "it is a rare thing to find a perfectly normal eye among them."(7) More doctors were needed and a better hospital. There were a few "native medicine men" who sometimes prevented the patients from getting care.

There are often instances, I am informed, when they have done positive harm and, in fact, even caused death. They, no doubt, stand in the way of progress and the advancement of their people.(7)

Shoemaker thought some of the diarrhoeal disorders so common in the summer time were due to the amount of wastes being thrown into the Little Horn River.

Superintendent Scott argued against constructing a tuberculosis sanitarium on the Crow Reservation.

Tuberculosis is so generally diffused among the Crows that it is impossible to segregate those affected, and I am inclined to think that persistent education along the lines of home sanitation would be much more effective than such individual treatment as it would be possible to give.(8)

In 1910 the secretary of the Carbon County Fair invited Chief Plenty Coos. Carbon County offered "liberal purses" for the winners of the Indian horse races. What the people desired was stunts by Barney Old Coyote.(9)

The Brotherhood of North American Indians National Organization held its first meeting in 1911.(10) The movement set out to organize the Indians, to educate them, and to inform the outsiders of the Indians' rights.(11) Article II of the Brotherhood's constitution ran as follows:

The objects of this Brotherhood are to teach, obtain and maintain rights, liberties and justice for all Indians equal to that of any people and inferior to none; to preserve and perpetuate the ancient
traditions, arts and customs of North American Indians; to unify their effort and interests; to council together; to promote and encourage industry and thrift among Indian people; to collect, secure the preservation of and to publish the records, papers, documents and traditions of historical value and importance to North American Indians; to mark by appropriate monuments places historic and sacred to the American Indian; to impress upon present and future generations of American Indians the importance of united action for the common good; to promote a feeling of friendship, brotherhood and good citizenship among its members; and to provide for the aged and infirm of our race.(12)

The Crow delegation for 1913 consisted of F. S. Shively, R. Yellowtail, R. Wallace, Plenty Coos, Medicine Crow, and White-Man-Runs-Him. Their mission was on one hand to defend the Reservation and on the other hand to participate in the dedication of the Memorial to American Indians in Washington, D.C. On the 19th of February, they signed a sworn statement.

We, the undersigned Crow Indians, of Montana, on behalf of our tribe and of the Indians of this Nation as a whole, do, through our presence and the part that we have taken in the dedication of this Memorial to our people, Proclaim abroad to all the nations of the world the reassurance of our firm allegiance to this nation and to the stars and stripes, that henceforth and forever, we are in all walks of life and endeavor brothers striving hand in hand.(13)

On the 22nd President William H. Taft attested to the Declaration of Allegiance to the Government of the United States by the North American Indians at Fort Wadsworth which was the site of the Indian Memorial. The concluding paragraph began, "Though a conquered race, with our right hands extended in brotherly love and our left hands holding the Pipe of Peace, we hereby bury all past ill feelings . . ."(14) Thus the Indians of America acknowledged that white man was dominant. The first three signatures were Plenty Coos, White-Man-Runs-Him, and Medicine Crow.

Then seventy Indian representatives met with Secretary F. K. Lane
on March 7. Most of them had participated in the dedication of the Wannamaker monument as well as the inauguration of President Wilson.

Commissioner Abbott introduced the Secretary of Interior. The Secretary, after shaking hands with all the Indians, told them they were his friends. He said big game was gone, and all that remained were a few wolves. There was laughter. But he said he would protect the Indians. Commissioner F. H. Abbott said,

Mr. Secretary, we know that you have not the time to hear from all, so the Indians have selected one of their very distinguished fellow tribesmen, Plenty Coups, Head Chief of the Crow Tribe, as a representative and he will say a few words.(15)

The Secretary signified he wanted to hear from him.

The Chief. (Through Frank Shively, Interpreter). It gives me great pleasure to come into this house. We, the Indians, like to see you and to shake hands with you, and have our wishes granted by your hand and our hand. We, of the different tribes from all the different states from different parts of the country, we want to look at you as our Father. What we ask of you is to take care of us, not only us but our old people and our young people. We will remember what you have said now. I have great confidence in you from what you say and we will appreciate all the good you will do for all the Indian Tribes.(15)

The Secretary's daughter, Nancy, shook his hand, and Plenty Coos promised her a present.(15)

President Woodrow Wilson wrote his personal thanks to Plenty Coos for sending him "the war headdress."(16)

Aloysius Vrebosch of the Catholic Mission painted a grim picture probably for the sake of the Crows in his area who wanted their own doctor.
Would to God you could do something for our poor Crow Indians. Sickness is making woeful ravages among them; if this continues, it will not be long before the Crow's have seen their days.

Since last November 51 Crow babies have died; not to speak about the adults. Measles, whooping cough, and mumps are vying with each other to see which will kill the most.

The Crows are entirely incompetent to take care of their sick. Children sick with the measles are thrown into cold water, and those who have the mumps are exposed to the severity of the weather. (17)

A scarlet fever epidemic hit the Crow Boarding School, and eighteen pupils were attacked. By June 11 the epidemic had "abated" and all the cases were "convalescent." (18)

In 1884 there were 3226 Crows, by 1894 there were 2126, in 1904 there were 1826, and by 1914 there were 1696 Crows. The rate of decrease was slowing down, but the rate of increase of mixed-bloods was rising. The greatest number of deaths due to tuberculosis came in the year 1911. In that year 132 Crows died. By 1914 there was a doctor at the Agency, one in the Big Horn district, one at St. Xavier, and one at Pryor.

Supervisor Elsie G. Newton noticed:

Over-crowding, bad ventilation, eating off the floor, and sleeping on the floor seems to be quite as common now as ever. Many families do have beds and tables, but they are not well kept.

In summer tents are much used, either alongside the house or when the family goes to the prairie to cut wild hay. The tents are poorly kept. . . . (19)

In regard to the Indian camp at the 1914 Fair, Newton pointed out, "It was alongside the river, the water of which was used without discrimination for horses, dogs, bathing, sewerage and drinking supply." (19)

Although 467 heads of families did have houses, the younger couples were not building houses. They were living with the members of
their families. "This is a deplorable feature of reservation life,"
Newton wrote, "as it produces overcrowding in small houses, not to
mention other results, such as family quarrels, separations, idleness,
visiting, etc."(19)

Elsie Newton was appauled at the lack of sexual morality. At
the dance in 1912 only one woman was able to stand up unchallenged in
her virtue. Between 1907 and 1914, of 380 arrests, there were 142 "social
crimes," such as adultery, illegal cohabitation with school girls, rape
and abduction, and breaking or attempting to break into the girls'
dorm.(19) Five girls in the dorm were sent to Haskell for instigating
the attempts at breaking into the dorm. "Another girl was ringleader in
a serious adventure which included three other girls; they secured a pass
key and for several nights went out and joined the boys elsewhere."(19)
Most of the marriages were "by Indian custom."(19) Crows who were
citizens by the Dawes Act were under the State laws governing marriage
and divorce.

The Indian dance as I have seen it, is not per se objectionable.
It is a fine spectacle, immensely enjoyed by the Indians themselves;
where the old ones find it a reminder of tribal traditions and
ceremonies, the young ones look upon it as merely a social pastime.
However, there is little chaperonage in an Indian camp, and the
dance is an all night performance. With the excitement of dancing,
the gathering becomes the excuse for every sort of self indulgence
afterwards. Mothers care little what happens to their girls, and
there is an exchange of partners among the older people also.(19)

The students knew everything about sex, but Newton thought "the young
people should have more social training; they don't know how to approach
each other in a merely social way . . ."(19)
The women wore simple garments with a belt. According to Newton:

No underclothing is worn, one dress being put on over another for warmth or appearance, the other one being the cleaner. Blankets or sheets are used for wraps, silk kerchiefs for the head. Abroad, the Crow woman looks rather neat...

Bead work was the only hand-craft the women did. "A great deal of blue is used in the coloring, the results being good, but the Crows are abandoning the old Indian geometric designs for more gaudy and meaningless ones of flowers." (19)

The Crow women have no idea how to charge for their work. That which sells easiest, they price the highest, regardless of the amount of work.

The articles made are vests, gauntlets, bags, purses, leggings, belts, moccasins, saddle bags, hat bands. None of them are adapted to modern use...

Many of the women liked dresses made of bright colored velveteen or flannel which they beaded themselves. (19)

The Crow Tribe wanted to hold their Fair at Lodge Grass in 1915. They thought Lodge Grass was a proper place for whites to visit them, and besides the majority of the Crows wanted it there. (20) The Superintendent would not permit them to have it in Lodge Grass, and an agreement was made on August 7. But the Crows thought the agreement only applied for 1915. So in the following year Commissioner Sells wrote Richard Wallace, Robert Yellowtail, Curley, Plenty Coos, F. Reed, and H. Whiteman that he could not comply with their request to move the Crow Fair to Lodge Grass, as the camping facilities were better at the Agency. The Commissioner also requested that the Fair be limited to three days. (21)

In the fall of 1917, however, the Crows held two Fairs, one at the Agency
On the 16th of August 1916, the Clerk in charge of the Agency announced to the employees and residents on the Reservation that infantile paralysis was discovered in one of the districts. "It has become necessary to declare a rigid quarantine, forbidding the Indians to leave the Reservation or their districts." But restricting visits among the districts soon became a tradition. Superintendent Estep wrote the Commissioner in 1917 that Spotted Rabbit, "a leading advocate of unrestricted travel on the reservation," and a few other Crows left the Big Horn district at the end of March. They had no permits from the farmer in charge of their district to visit Pryor. By September a lot of protest came from the Crows for free visiting among the districts on the Reservation.

Commissioner Meritt wrote Superintendent Asbury:

The Office fully appreciates the necessity of Indians remaining in their districts during the farming season, and approves of the efforts made by the farmers to see that they do, but believes that at other times the Indians should have the greatest possible amount of liberty consistent with a proper administration of their affairs.

Although the Commissioner requested further information on permits for visiting, no more was heard on the subject.

Hearings were held before Commissioner E. B. Meritt on May 24, 1918. The Crow delegation consisted of Plenty Coos, Ben Spotted Horse, Jim Carpenter, Frank Yarlott, Barney Old Coyote, Crooked Arm, and John Frost. Meritt did not understand the Lodge Grass Fair Ground problem, but he thought it had already been decided the Fair should be held at
the Agency. So he recommended the Crows all join in and have fun. (27) Asbury later explained the Fair Ground situation. The Crows claimed they purchased the estate of Inside the Mouth, but there was no record showing such sale unless it had been burned in the fire at the Agency office two years before. (28)

By 1918 the Office feared the 4th of July celebrations were getting out of hand. Asbury wrote:

I communicated to the leading members of the committee at Lodge Grass the desire of the Office as to their 4th of July celebration and told them not only in a letter but told them in person that we desired to place them upon their honor and to place upon them the responsibility for having a well conducted celebration and to have it interfere as little as possible with the agricultural activities. Their program was already prepared. . . . They feel that they must leave home a day or two in advance and get their camps established at least one day before the show begins and after the exercises are over it is hard for them to break camp and get back to their homes. I am sure that most of them were away from home at least a week and I know some were away a little over. . . . There was no dance unless it was for a short time the last evening. It seems that they became rather indifferent about the dance and many of the white people were disappointed in not seeing the Indian dance as advertised. I attended this program each day and was amazed at the business way in which they pulled off the various events and they gave a good entertainment in the way of roping, riding, etc., and there was very little disturbance or intoxication until the celebration was over, when I understand there was some drinking before the camp broke up. (29)

Gate receipts were turned over to the Red Cross along with some contributions from prize winners. Asbury suspected the only way to "show them the folly" of camps and long entertainments was to join them occasionally. (29)

Superintendent Asbury informed the Crows that if they wanted a Fair in 1920, it would have to be held at the Agency, Bird House
was elected as president of the association. (30)

At the end of October, some Crows went to a Stampede Ball in Cody, Wyoming. By the end of December some women protested to the Superintendent that the Indians were drunk and riotous. Plenty Coos, however, went with the party, and he told Asbury that none of the Indians obtained any liquor. (31)

The reports on the Crows in 1910 and 1914 showed how grim the conditions were on the Crow Reservation. Only by a miracle, it seemed, could the Tribe survive all the diseases. But sometime after 1914 the downward trend halted. Diseases became a conquered enemy, and the birth rate climbed for the first time since over a century. A final step in the transformation of Crow culture coincided with the new upward trend. The Brotherhood of North American Indians was organized in 1911. The celebration of the Indian Memorial came in 1913. The day when Indians could be respected as Indians had been born. Beginning in 1915 the Crows argued for transferring the Crow Fair to Lodge Grass. But the Crow Fair remained a firm tradition at Crow Agency. Inter-district visiting on the Crow Reservation came to an abrupt end in 1916. The rule was established to prevent communicable diseases from spreading. For one reason or another, the rule was continued by the superintendent until 1917 when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs admitted he did not understand the purpose of it.
CHAPTER XII

ALLOTMENTS AND MISSIONARY LAND

When the Crow Tribal lands were divided into grazing districts and leased to the highest bidder in 1891, the small-time cattlemen were swept away immediately (see Chapter II). The Office of Indian Affairs, however, permitted a few allotments to be leased beginning in the same year. A few small-time cattlemen crept onto the Crow Reservation, while many waited just off the borders. By 1910 Indian allottees were allowed to negotiate their own leases. The small-time cattlemen entered, and they brought with them small-time problems.

Samuel H. Hardin applied for a large-tract agriculture lease on the Crow Reservation in 1905. The Government hesitated. The subject of large agriculture leases came again in 1918. In 1895 Secretary Hitchcock granted land to the missionary societies on the Crow Reservation provided they obtained Crow consent. Rankin allotted land to the Catholics and Baptists. But consent was never determined. In 1916 the Commissioner decided to check the missionary allotments.

By 1908 and 1909 farming and grazing leases on allotments were common. The regulations of September 19, 1910, stipulated that leases on allotments "except those covering minors' allotments, are subject to the approval of the Superintendent in charge and do not require
Departmental approval. 

(1) By letter on November 9, allottees could be granted authority to negotiate their own leases unless they were thought to be incompetent. And in the next year Superintendent Scott permitted Bear to negotiate his own five-year leases for his allotment and for the allotment inherited from Catches the Sioux. (2) William Bends and Charley Clawson were granted authority to negotiate their own leases. (3) Tribal grazing lessees complained that the allotments on their grazing districts covered the watering places. The value of the districts was reduced when these allotments were leased, particularly when they were fenced. But it was no new policy on the Reservation. The Indians were allowed to lease their surplus lands by the Departmental regulations providing the able-bodied Indians retained at least forty acres for residences. (4)

The Second Assistant Commissioner C. F. Hauke informed Superintendent Scott of the way things had been handled in the past. Unfenced allotments were to be considered part of the Tribal grazing districts, and the allottees should receive from the grazing fund whatever proportion of the district their allotments covered. Hauke requested another report. (5)

Superintendent Winfield W. Scott did not have time to make a report. He recommended cancelling ten leases on the allotments of Bright Wings and others to Mrs. Rosa Peters. It was discovered that her husband, a squaw man, was going to run sheep on the open range covering her allotment and the leases. But Commissioner Hauke replied the Office
could not cancel these leases until violation could be proved. (6) There was nothing to do except wait and watch.

If the Crows ever wondered what became of the money they hoped to recover for damages, it was because they had little conception of how complicated the United States Government is. A classic case began when on the 19th of September 1911 Superintendent Scott forwarded to the Commissioner the complaint filed by Mrs. Mary Kent Stevens, a Crow allottee, against G. W. Waisner of Sheridan and against Oliver Peters of Lodge Grass for $1135 worth of damages resulting from the trespass of sheep, owned by Waisner Brothers, leased to Peters. The sheep also trespassed in the grazing district leased to F. M. Heinrich. (7) By November the sheep were off the Reservation. (8) Assistant Secretary C. A. Thompson turned the matter over to the Attorney General on December 15. (9)

There was a long, long pause which lasted until 1918. The instructions failed to reach the U.S. Attorney for the district of Montana. (10) So Assistant Secretary S. G. Hopkins requested the Attorney General to take the matter up again. (11) Superintendent C. H. Asbury discovered the correspondence with Stevens and Waisner had been destroyed in the office fire of 1916. (12) The District Attorney for Montana was directed to investigate the matter. (13) Eventually suit was instituted "in the name of the United States v. G. W. Waisner, Chet Waisner and Elk Waisner . . ." (14)

In April the next year the Court in Wyoming
held that the contract between G. W. Waisner and Rosa and Oliver Peters, relative to live stock of the former, does not subject Waisner to responsibility for the trespass committed by the stock while they were under the care of the lessee. (15)

Secretary Hopkins recommended "a new suit be instituted, joining Ross and Oliver Peters as parties defendant." (16) U.S. v. Rosa Peters and Oliver Peters was filed November 7. (17)

After another pause the Assistant U.S. Attorney for Montana, W. H. Meigs, wanted to dismiss the case in 1923 because the Peters did not have the money to pay for the damages. (18) By December even the Stevens family wished to drop it if the money could not be obtained in the event of judgment, and the case was dropped on the 19th. (19)

There were 2300 grazing allotments on the Crow Reservation in 1912. The Crows leased some of these to stockmen who enclosed them with fences. The water places soon became fenced off from the grazing districts. After some protest, the policy was changed. But then the Indians protested because 700 of the grazing allotments were dead Indian allotments, and all of them required hearings to determine the heirs. Fencing the allotments was disadvantageous to the Tribe as a whole and of small advantage to the individual Indians. As Indian stock was on the open range, no Indian had stock on his own allotment. Superintendent Scott therefore decided the unfenced allotments on the grazing districts should be part of the Tribal leases, and the lessees should pay higher prices for the water they received from these allotments. (20)
In effect Superintendent Scott proposed a complete reversal of the policy allowing competent Indians to negotiate their own leases, and Assistant Commissioner F. H. Abbott set forth self-contradictory authority supporting Scott's reversal. As the Crow delegates had voted in favor of continuing the system of including the unfenced allotments in the grazing leases, authority was given on May 27 "for prohibiting leasing of individual allotments for grazing within the territory embraced in the tribal grazing districts during the terms of the leases and permits now in effect or that may be hereafter approved." (21) At the same time Commissioner Abbott said, "Every effort should be made however to encourage the Indians to fence their grazing allotments for the use of their own stock." (21)

By November 1913 more interesting developments were taking place. Rosa Peters asked Superintendent Scott if she could lease to a cattleman residing in Wyoming. Scott replied that the lease would have to be made through the Agency. But nothing was heard from Peters. It turned out that the cattleman was John Henry Booz. (22) Thomas Long Tail told one of the Government farmers that Booz was among those who gave money to Mrs. Grey so she could go to Washington. (23)

Booz complained of being restricted in his negotiation with the Crow allottees, but by the authority of May 27, 1912, Scott was not supposed to approve leases of Indian allotments lying in the grazing districts. Booz, with the help of Mrs. Helen Grey and agitators, made informal leases, and Scott wrote, "the Indians have been led to believe that they have the right to do these things without consulting this
office, and that the enforcement of these regulations is tyranical."(24) Assistant Commissioner E. B. Meritt resorted to the contradictory authority of 1912.

You will take prompt action in all cases of this character that may come to your notice, and cause to be removed from the reservation any stock belonging to outsiders found grazing without proper authority, reporting the facts to the office.(25)

In December John Booz made a move by forwarding to the Commissioner the requests of Mrs. Maria Bright Wings and Mrs. Rosa Peters who wanted to lease their grazing allotments.(26) Commissioner Meritt denied the leases as they formed a block of land along a river in a Tribal grazing district.(27) Little Nest desired to lease his allotment to Booze as Heinrich, who was leasing the district, would not pay for the hay nor the use of his allotment.(28) Meritt took the same stand with Little Nest as he had with other allottees.(29)

Another case came up when in 1915 a lessee named Berton A. Achenbach was supposed to put up fences around the allotments he leased. But his cattle broke through and ruined the oats on the allotment of Bear Don't Walk. The district farmer, John F. Hargrave, and James Cooper went onto the allotment where the damage took place, and they found cattle belonging to Bear Don't Walk, to the I D and to Achenbach. Bull-All-the-Time, Big Hail, James Cooper, Oliver Bear Don't Walk, and others claimed they had chased Achenbach's cattle from the field many times.(30) Achenbach refused to pay for the damages to Mrs. Bear Don't Walk. Superintendent E. W. Estep recommended that a suit be brought
against Achenbach in 1916.(31) Achenbach countered by sending four affi-
davits. Achenbach claimed he should not pay for damages as he had seen
I D cattle in the same field.(32) Assistant Secretary Bo Sweeney requested
the Attorney General investigate the matter.(33) Finally, Achenbach paid
half the damage.(34)

Commissioner Cato Sells wrote Plenty Coos that he was impressed
with the number of acres of wheat which had been sowed in 1914. The Commis-
sioner also mentioned that he was impressed with Plenty Coos' farm.(35)
With the arrival of the First World War, however, Indian farm work began
to look trifling. Frank A. Thackery, J. Stephens, Chester E. Faris,
Superintendent Evan W. Estep, and Inspector E. B. Linnen (all representing
the Agriculture Department) wrote to Plenty Coos in 1917 that they had
been sent to the Crow Reservation
to make it plain to the Crow Indians that there is a great necessity
at this time that every available tillable acre of farming land be
utilized and made to grow some food crop.
It is therefore very essential that every able-bodied Crow Indian
on this reservation now get to work and go to farming and plow, plant
and harvest his crops so that all of the Indians will have an ample
supply of food stuff.(36)

The device for increasing Crow farming activities was a few simple words.
"We might add that by so doing this you will disarm in a large measure
the white men who are so anxious and persistent in their efforts to throw
open your reservation."(36)

In 1905 S. H. Hardin attempted to lease 10,000 acres for farming.
But the Department, fearing giant farming leases, never got around to
approving the proposal (see Chapter II). But, on the 6th of April 1918,
the Secretary approved an agreement with Thomas D. Campbell, president of the Montana Farming Corporation, for leasing large tracts of land on crop rental basis. By the following year Campbell was experiencing difficulty in getting the Crows to go along with the idea. So he went around the Reservation and made a special lease with each Indian. (37) With the approval of Campbell's leases, the Spear-Faddis Company applied for a large farming lease under the same agreement. Others followed.

Secretary Hoke Smith granted authority in 1895 for an additional nine acres to the Catholic Mission and ten acres to the American Missionary Association at the Agency provided the missionary societies obtained Indian consent and provided the Secretary could withdraw the lands from the missionary societies (see Chapter VII). By 1916 the Indian Office learned the American Missionary Association was conducting services at other stations on the Reservation, the sites of which were not in the files. Commissioner Meritt wanted Estep to approach the Mission and determine by what authority they had the sites and to find out if they had consent from the Crows. (38) St. Xavier Mission had a 160-acre tract; the Baptist mission also had 160 acres. (39)

But a panic started. H. P. Douglass, secretary of the American Missionary Association, claimed he had a letter from the Indian Office, dated October 16, 1909, from Commissioner Valentine approving certain allotments to the Association. Douglass believed those allotments were somewhere in Reno and Black Lodge districts. (40) About the same time, the Reverend L. Taelman, Superior of the Catholic Mission, reported that
they had purchased by Indian Department rules the allotment of Dan Old Bull for the St. Xavier Mission. The Mission was established in 1886 by P. P. Prando on land claimed by Knot-Between-the-Eyes who turned the land over to the Mission. The Mission also included a field to the east which was "allotted away" by Rankin in 1902. Furthermore, Taelman claimed the Mission had constructed a $4,000 ditch and dam on the Rotten Grass Creek before the Big Horn Ditch was built.

When the Big Horn Government Ditch was constructed, the Mission dam was condemned and pierced through for the purpose of erecting the foundation for the Rotten Grass flume. In return, the Mission was guaranteed by the officials at that time, perpetual free water rights for their land.

William A. Petzoldt reported that the Crow Indian Baptist Mission had a fee patent for 160 acres at Lodge Grass granted to them March 3, 1909. He said the Mission also had patents for a five-acre tract at Wyola and for a twenty-acre tract at Pryor.

Commissioner Meritt, however, was still concerned about these missionary tracts. The following year he informed Superintendent Asbury that a 160-acre tract was set aside for the Catholic Mission at St. Xavier, and became patentable under the Act of March 3, 1909. On the 12th of October, 1909, the Department approved the forty-acre tracts in Reno and Black Lodge districts to the American Missionary Association, but the land was not patentable. Moreover, the authority of 1895 did not cover twenty-acres at the Agency for the American Missionary Society, but only ten acres.

Commissioner Meritt, who probably had a right to enjoy the menace
he had created, then wrote H. Paul Douglass, of the American Missionary
Association in New York, that no patents could be issued for the Reno and
Black Lodge sites, "but unless the lands are irrigable and actually needed
for Indian or other purposes there is little, if any, risk or loss, should
you wish to enlarge your improvements."(44) A patent for the twenty acres
at the Agency would not be issued as more land was needed there by the
Government.(44) Similarly Meritt informed William H. Ketcham, of the
Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, that the Indian Office was waiting to
see the perpetual water rights at St. Xavier and also a survey of the nine-
acre tract at the Agency.(45)

Douglass, of the American Missionary Association, explained the
curious circumstances surrounding the missionary tract at the Agency. In
1895 the Association erected a seven or eight room building and a stable
covering one part of the twenty-acre tract. Then in 1911 they put up a
church on the other part. Hence the Association desired a patent for
the entire twenty acres.(46)

In the next year, 1919, the Protestants made their appeal to the
Indian Office. G. A. Vennink, of the American Missionary Association,
wrote to Commissioner Cato Sells that a ten-acre tract at the Agency had
been turned over to the Association in order that the Black Lodge Mission
School could be moved to a central location. The tract was on the allot-
ment belonging to Mortimer Dreamer, deceased.(47) The Mission was also
on part of a forty-acre tract where the Indians used to camp while at the
Agency.(48) Thus on the 9th of June 1919, Assistant Secretary Hopkins
approved the twenty-acre tract at the Agency for the American Missionary Association, reserving the right for a public highway to go through it.(49)

Meanwhile, Supervising Engineer, W. S. Hanna, reported that St. Xavier Mission had not paid the operation and maintenance charge from 1915 to 1918. According to Walter Hill, the Superintendent of the Crow Irrigation Survey, the Catholic Missionary dam had been washed out by a flood, and the Irrigation Survey even repaired it for the Mission. Hill thought perhaps the Mission did get permission for free water, but he doubted the permission was intended to be perpetual. Besides, the Big Horn ditch was watering the Missionary land better than the Missionary ditch had.(50) Then, on February 1, Thomas A. Laforge, Holds the Enemy, Bull-Dont-Fall-Down, and a total of thirty-eight Crows signed a petition against the Catholics having any right to land in the Big Horn valley.(51)

Superintendent Asbury brought up the subject of cattle which St. Xavier Mission had been running on "the Tribal range without the payment of a grazing fee . . . "(52) Commissioner Cato Sells responded, "Unless the Indians themselves, through the business committee, or by resolution of Council, bring up the matter of the Mission cattle you should take no action looking toward the collection of grazing fees."(53)

The Catholics maintained silence. By 1925 Commissioner Meritt was still writing to Charles S. Lusk, secretary of the Catholic Bureau of Indian Missions to consider $4000 of credit for the Missionary ditch. The credit would pay for the construction charges against the Mission, for irrigation, but it would not pay for the operation and maintenance charges.
Leasing of allotments had started in the 1890's as a way of putting into cultivation land owned by aged and infirm allottees. By 1909 leasing allotments became a common practice. The Office of Indian Affairs sought to relieve itself of a lot of problems by letting the Indians negotiate their own leases, and in 1910 the leases no longer needed approval from the Office. When sheep leased to Rosa Peters trespassed on the allotment of Mary Stevens, problems were thrown back to the Government. The case went to court in 1911; no money was ever recovered. Another trespassing case appeared in 1913. John Henry Booz created a stir which led to investigations of the Crow Reservation in 1914 (see Chapter XIII). By 1915, with the Achenbach case, trespassing was closely connected with leasing allotments. Then in 1918 the first large-tract agricultural lease was approved by the Office of Indian Affairs. It was a war-time measure which was not popular among the Crows and did not last long. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs started a missionary crisis in 1916 when he asked to see the patents for church lands. The patents of 1909 to both Protestants and Catholics were eventually reaffirmed.
CHAPTER XIII

TRIBAL LEASES AND LITIGATION

The cattlemen game consumed much of the time in the Office of Indian Affairs. Thieving, which had drawn much attention in 1901 and 1902, drew less attention after 1906. The cattlemen tricks were no less ingenious. Plots and schemes were devised, and even the Crow Indians joined the game. Conspiracy was more difficult to discover, but often the game seemed to make little sense until corruption was found.

Agent Reynolds wanted to extend the leases in 1909. "The Indians are apparently satisfied with the present leases. . . ."(1) On February 16 the Pryor Crows met in the Government warehouse at Pryor and wrote a petition to extend the permit to Charles M. Bair for his sheep until the Reservation was to be opened. Bair bought their products and helped them. The petition was marked by Plenty Coos, Wet, Bell Rock, and forty-one Crows.(2) But Commissioner R. G. Valentine instructed Reynolds that it would be better to advertise the grazing districts for bids.(3) Agent Reynolds wrote:

Regarding the . . . leases and permits on the reservation, I have not called a council of the Indians since returning home and do not want to unless it is necessary because they are busy plowing and getting ready for the planting of grain. Quite a number of the leading Indians have been in to see me and they say they prefer to have present leases extended rather than to have the commotion incident to removing old stock from [and] the new stock to the reservation, . . .(4)
Later the permits were extended until 1910. (5) Edwin L. Dana agreed to increase the payment for district 1, and C. M. Bair did the same for 4. James L. Ash eventually raised his payment on 2, Dana agreed to raise his payment on 6, and F. M. Heinrich agreed to double his rental on district 5 (see Appendix A, Map 8). (6) S. M. Brosius, agent for the Indian Rights Association, protested against the extension of the permits as the Crows had not been consulted in the matter, and Thomas E. McPherson, of Omaha, listed allegations against every cattleman grazing stock on the Crow Reservation. (7)

By the end of May, Agent Reynolds was known as Superintendent Reynolds. He sent a personal letter to Commissioner Valentine while laid up after attending many cases before the grand jury in Helena. He referred to his previous protest against permitting James Ash on district 2 (see Chapter II). Ash had agreed he would not allow Sam Garvin to run his business on the Reservation. "I think at this time," Reynolds wrote, "he divided up his sheep interests as Ash Sheep Company and Ross and Runner." (8) Ross was another of Ash's relatives. Commissioner Valentine telegraphed Reynolds that Ash's lease forbid sub-letting, therefore his lease was forfeited. After Ash's lease had been declared forfeited, McPherson unloaded cattle on the district without authority. (9) Because of the draught in Arizona where McPherson had been running his cattle, he brought three train loads to the Crow Reservation in order to save them. (10)

As Ash was an invalid, he and Christian Yegan formed the Ash
Sheep Company incorporating Yegen who was a share holder. Ash did not need all of district 2; so he obtained permission from Reynolds to let Ross and Runner run their sheep on the district. (11) It was decided Ash should be allowed to stay on the Reservation. (12) But sealed bids were to be opened on August 1. (13)

On the 1st of June, a group of Crows sent to the Commissioner a petition witnessed by Lucy Old Horn and signed by Crooked Arm, Day Light, Two Leggins and forty-three Crows. They wanted the districts leased to the highest bidder; they did not want Heinrich's permit extended. (14)

Fifty Indians lived on district 1, and 57,600 acres of the district were allotted. District 2 had 20,480 acres allotted but no Indians lived on it. District 4 had 96,000 acres allotted, and there were 500 Indians living on it. District 6 included 29,440 acres allotted, and thirty Indians lived on it. This district was originally organized to protect the Indians from the gangs south of the border. Heinrich was on a strip south of the Indian Range and along the border to protect the Indians. The district was known as Number 5, and Heinrich had been there ten or eleven years. The area had 91,520 acres allotted. Seven-eighths of the Indian stock was near this district. (15)

The Crows met again on July 5, and all the males signified they wanted Bair's permit on 4 extended. (16) Secretary Richard A. Ballinger met Alex Upshaw and Plenty Coos in Billings and confirmed the Crows' desire to have Bair. (17) A quiet investigation showed Bair would take district 4 with his bid. (18)
Z. Lewis Dalby, who had been Inspector prior to the 1908 hearings (see Chapter IX), became F. M. Heinrich's attorney. While the bids were being considered in August, Heinrich wrote Dalby that district 5 included mostly the Big Horn Mountains. He wanted to bid on some of the land at the foot of the mountains where the Indian cattle were because the mountains were only useful three or four months in the year. He proposed to pay for all unfenced land between the Little and Big Horn Rivers. (19)

Sometime in August Commissioner F. H. Abbott had a conference with Plenty Coos, Coyote That Runs, and Alexander Upshaw. Plenty Coos, who did most of the talking while Upshaw interpreted, suggested W. M. Spear should run stock on both districts 1 and 2. On district 4 the lessee, Bair, had sheep, and he prevented damage to the Indian farms. Tom Snidow had sheep on district 3. The Crows were still more interested in the "character of the man" than in how high he bid. Yet, since Snidow was not paying as much as Bair, Plenty Coos said the Crows did not like him. Commissioner Abbott said the Indian Office had to be fair with stockmen. But Plenty Coos held to his contradictory statement: the Crows wanted the lessees to pay as high as they would in ordinary competition, but the Crows would decide who should graze on what district. (20)

At the end of August the districts were awarded; it was the first time the bids had been opened in the Indian Office. The curious thing was that the Crows got what they requested. District 1 went to Spear Brothers Cattle Company; Plenty Coos' endorsement was given weight. For district 4 the Office received indefinite proposals from the two highest bidders, so
Fred Inabnit and C. M. Bair were requested to bid again defining how many and what kind of stock. Inabnit failed again to define his proposal, so Bair took the district. District 6 went to the ex-agent, J. E. Edwards and Company, beating out M. Tschargi. Spear was awarded district 2. Indefinite proposals came for district 5; so Christian Yegen and Frank Heinrich were requested to bid on district 5 plus the ID range. Heinrich took it and agreed to ship Indian cattle free of charge and to let them use his bulls. (21)

The only problem was that advertising for bids, awarding districts, and approving leases had all been conducted without Tribal Council consent. Superintendent Reynolds, trying to be helpful, sent a copy of minutes of a council supposedly held on February 18 of that year. Reynolds was away while the Council was held by the clerk, F. E. Miller. (22) What was interesting about the document was that in March Reynolds said he had not held any councils on grazing and did not wish to; moreover, it was well written, sophisticated, and fit to be published. In any case the neglected Council of February 18 was regarded by Reynolds as Crow consent for leading the ID range. Actually Plenty Coos spoke for extending the permits, Wet wanted the lease money paid in cash per capita, and the rest supported their statements. (22) Naturally, Assistant Commissioner Abbott saw through the minutes. They were unsigned, no representatives were mentioned, and furthermore the Tribe approved only the leasing of Tribal lands, not the ID range. Abbott set out on a daring adventure. "There has been prepared a form of minutes of a Council meeting which will comply strictly
with the law and which will give the necessary written evidence of the
wish and intent of the Indians."(23) All that Reynolds had to do was call
a General Council and either get them to sign it, or get them to authorize
a Business Committee to sign it. Abbott told him if any trouble arose, he
would come or send someone. But he hoped that Reynolds would "be able to
successfully handle the situation."(23) The prepared forms stated that
the Crows authorized the representatives in the Council of February 18 to
speak for the Tribe and that they ratified the leases to Spear, Bair,
Heinrich, and Edwards. Blanks were provided for signatures.(23) Commissi-

sioner Valentine wrote to the Yerkes and Hamilton firm in Washington:

"I am personally acquainted with all the steps in this matter taken
both at this end and on the Crow Reservation, and indorse every act
of Mr. Abbott as being for the best interest of the Indians and done
on a clear business basis as the absolutely open record shows."(24)

Instead of forging names or thumb marking the prepared form with
all the Agency employees, Reynolds telegraphed the Commissioner:

"The danger in general council will be the Indians who are threshing
and finishing fall work are liable not to be present and they are
for the leasing as per your awards. Your presence would to my mind
insure success."(25)

Commissioner Abbott telegraphed Reynolds to withhold action on the Council
until the arrival of Chief Supervisor E. P. Holcombe.(26) Plenty Coos
and sixteen Crows, who probably had not been told the background of the
problem, signed a statement on October 25 claiming that the Council of
February 18 was Tribal consent for the Secretary to enter leases by bids.
Upshaw had died (see Chapter XV), so the interpreters for the statement
were J. Carpenter, F. Shively, and J. Cooper. Ernest P. Holcombe did
not use the prepared form by Commissioner Abbott. He wrote that the Council held "was the largest and most representative" ever, and the Crows voted to have the speakers of the day sign their names as there were too many Indians to sign at such a late hour. (27) To prove the "Council" was no fake, the following day Holcombe telegraphed for authority to use $150 of Tribal funds for rations to be delivered to the Indians who witnessed the Council. (28) Authority was granted the next day. (29) Speculators might have wondered if the $150 was actually used as a bribe payment to the signees.

No one questioned leasing the I D range, and on the 3rd of November, Assistant Secretary Frank Pierce approved Heinrich's three-year lease. (30) Commissioner Abbott, who was probably still mopping sweat off his forehead, recommended permits be extended two years beyond February 1, 1911, and Secretary Pierce approved the decision. (31)

Large numbers of trespassing stock came onto the Reservation in 1910. Superintendent Scott issued warnings, then he followed through by authorizing a group of Indians to round up the stock and collect a dollar per head. Six hundred cattle and horses were collected and the penalty paid for them. However, early in November the same stock came onto the Reservation and the owners refused to pay the penalty again. (32) Then, on the 20th, shooting occurred near Pryor. Scott wrote:

It appears that the Farmer, T. J. Burbank, had directed a Policeman, Red Star, with his brother Notch, a man named Elven Other-bull, and two others to round up stock belonging to cattle men who live near the Reservation and who have for several years made trouble by running stock over the line. The party had a small herd and were driving
toward the Farm headquarters when they were fired upon as stated. Elvin Other-bull was shot through the body in two places and only lived a short time. Red Star was shot through about the waist and will in all probability die. Notch was seriously hurt but will recover. The horse ridden by one of the other members of the party was killed, the rider saving himself by getting into the brush. (33)

The Agency hospital was full, so the wounded were taken to Billings, and effort was taken to "apprehend the guilty persona." (33) Clearly the Crows had not fared as well as in the gun fight of 1893. But the same day Michael Wrote and Tutes Brown were arrested near Pryor; they admitted ambushing the Indians. (34)

"Three of my Indians were ambushed and shot down in cold blood," was Plenty Coos' side of the story. "They were facing a snow storm and as they were not looking for trouble of this kind were not on the watch when fired up-on at close range." (35) Alvin Other Bull was shot twice, Red Star and Peter Paul Knotch were wounded. Michael Blue Moccasin's horse was shot under him; he and William Big Day were shot at several times. The Indians were never able to return the fire. Plenty Coos said there were at least three men who committed the crime and probably more as telephone connections at forester's cabin and at Crockett's ranch were torn out. The Chief requested a troop of cavalry. (35)

"There appears from tracks in the snow at the place from which the shooting was done, to have been three persons present," Scott reported. "Information recently secured indicates that Otis Ford was the third member of the party." (36) On the day of the shooting Wrote and Brown phoned the sheriff of Carbon County to arrest them. The next day
the U. S. Marshal took them to Red Lodge. The U. S. Commissioner ordered
the men to be put in the county jail. But as Superintendent Scott added,
"Disregarding the Commitment order the Sheriff allowed Wrote and Brown
their liberty."(36)

On the 3rd of December, Wrote and Brown appeared before U. S.
Commissioner Mann in Billings with fifteen or sixteen witnesses. The
Superintendent brought only five or six witnesses of the shooting.

The Defendants acknowledged the shooting, alleging as defense that
the Indians were driving their stock from the range on the Forest
Reserve onto the Reservation for the purpose of collecting a tax.
They also alleged that the Indians did the first shooting. . . .(36)
Scott also said that neighbors of Wrote and Brown would "do anything in
their power to clear them . . ."(36)

Peter Notch died December 5, and Secretary R. A. Ballinger sent
his "sympathy" to Plenty Coos.(37) The Federal Grand Jury held in Helena
on the 21st of December, "returned a true bill against Brown and
Wrote. . . ."(38) It was a difficult case, but the Jury made convic­
tions on the 31st of January 1911. Wrote was convicted of second degree■
murder, and Brown, as a youth of eighteen, was convicted of manslaughter
only.(39) Wrote was sent to prison for twelve years, and Brown was
institutionalized for five years.(40) U. S. Attorney J. N. Freeman was
satisfied with the case. All the witnesses had been Indians, and the
defendants received money from "various stock interests and fraternal
organization . . ."(41)

Nevertheless, there were those who were not satisfied with the
case. Red Star was captured in Billings at the end of March and charged by Carbon County with "larceny of stock that was being driven to the Crow Agency . . ."(42) After he was charged, he "was taken secretly to Red Lodge although bond was offered . . ."(43) Preliminary hearings were held in Red Lodge; the complaint against Red Star was that he had been rounding up stock the day he was shot. But "no evidence pointing to larceny was adduced," Scott wrote in April. "Red Star was discharged and was immediately re-arrested on a warrant of similar import, but the action was dismissed the same evening by the County Attorney."(44)

Sometime later U.S. Attorney Freeman discovered he could not file expenses incurred by State of Montana v. Red Star. The testimony had been recorded by a stenographer who happened to be a friend of the Carbon County attorney and of the sheriff. This stenographer, according to Freeman, "knew that I calculated to use the testimony as a basis for an action for malicious prosecution of Red Star."(45)

Thomas A. Snidow had leased district 3 for five years and wanted his lease renewed.(46) Assistant Commissioner C. F. Hauke approved negotiating for an extension of the lease providing Snidow would increase the amount of payment.(47) But when Scott called a meeting of the Business Committee in April, the resolutions called for leasing district 3 to the highest bidder provided the lessee purchased all the hay the Indians produced there.(48) At the same time Snidow refused to increase his payment due to the decreasing of the tariff on wool.(49) Secretary Pierce approved advertising district 3, and on the 10th of June,
Commissioner Hauke awarded William Rea Jr.'s bid. (50)

Commissioner R. G. Valentine met with the Crow Indians at the Agency on the 13th of November 1911. "You can always do business better with a man when you look at him in the face and he look you in the face," he said. (51) After a few more introductory remarks he turned the session over to the Indians. Sees-with-His-Ears said he was looking for the items listed in the 1904 Act, namely--jackasses, stallions, cattle, sheep, wire, and farm implements. He also did not want to lease tribal land to stockmen. The Crows, according to him, wanted ten head of cattle each. The Commissioner replied that the Crows could run their cattle in two manners: individually or in common. He suggested that running them in common would be more profitable, but he wanted the Crows to consider both ways. Superintendent Scott added a note to the minutes of the meeting saying Sees-with-His-Ears spent too much time in politics; he bought thirty head of cattle in 1908; then he killed all but five or six which he traded the previous fall for a race horse.

Spotted Rabbit said he had so many questions that he would put them in writing for the Commissioner. He did say, however, that some of the older Indians were having trouble in business transactions, though the younger Indians were better at it. He said originally each Indian could have had forty head of cattle from the C O or I D herd, but since the herd was placed in the mountains only about four head were available for each.

The Commissioner said the Crows could disapprove further leasing upon the expiration of the permits and allot the land to the children.
The best way to oppose the threat of opening the Reservation, however, was to make full use of the land. What the Crows should do is to put their cattle on the surplus land. If they had 1000 head on the surplus land, Congress would not open the Reservation. Thus the Commissioner thought the Tribe ought to start with a common herd, build it up with lease money, and divide it later. They could give each Indian five cattle and leave the rest in the common herd.

Spotted Rabbit said the Crows had petitioned for the division of the herd now, not later. (51)

A Crow delegation met in Washington on the 27th of March 1912. The delegation included J. Hill of Upper Big Horn, Sees-with-His-Ears of Black Lodge, Stops of Reno, Arnold Costa of Pryor, and Holds the Enemy of Lower Big Horn. All the delegates voted unanimously for leasing of Tribal lands by bids. (52)

Gros Ventre, a Crow Indian, complained that someone had cut the wires of his fence. (53) But the case had been investigated two or three years previously, and it was found that two men hauling salt for Heinrich had cut the wires of the fence because Gros Ventre had built it on Heinrich's grazing land. (54)

The Crow delegation, which attended the Indian Memorial celebrations in 1913, met with Commissioner Abbott on March 2, 10, 15, 17, and 20, to discuss purchasing cattle. The delegation included Plenty Coos, White-Man-Runs-Him, Medicine Crow, Dick Wallace, Frank Shively, and Robert Yellowtail. Abbott admitted that Wallace, Yellowtail, and Plenty Coos
had been working hard on their ranches. But he thought the rest of the Crow Indians were working less than they used to. Yellowtail mentioned the friction developing between the Indian cattle and the lessee herds. Abbott suggested placing the Indian herd in a different place and hiring Indians to ride the line.

The Office was recommending an amendment to the second article of the 1904 Act so that all money for sheep, jackasses, and so forth could be spent on cattle. The proposed amendment for the 1904 Act would place the expenditure of Tribal funds in the authority of the Secretary of Interior; instead of under Congress. Plenty Coos thought the authority for expenditure should be left to the Superintendent of the Reservation.

Yellowtail wanted all available funds used for the purchase of cattle because any amendment to the 1904 Act would take two years to pass. Yellowtail proposed to "buy out Frank Heinrich's lease, saving the unnecessary waste of time in looking over the country for cattle." Plenty Coos said the Tribe wanted the cattle purchased with any money in the Treasury. In fact he wanted to buy out Heinrich, Spear, and Bair. "These cattle are more valuable to us, because they are acclimated and are native, and those two facts had them more valuable to us than strange cattle, who don't know the range and the water holes." He did not want southern heifers, in accordance with the 1904 Act. Abbott agreed but the law would not permit the buying of any other cattle than southern heifers. The choice was southern heifers or pushing the Office amendment.
The Commissioner reported on his findings in the Treasury Department.

I am happy to be able to tell you that I can send to the Crow Reservation an authority that will give you $400,000 for immediate use in the purchase of cattle for the Crow Reservation. It will be possible for these cattle purchased with this $400,000 to be divided pro rata as individual cattle, just as you have wished...(58)

Then Abbott shook hands with Plenty Coos, White-Man-Runs-Him, and Medicine Crow. He told them he hoped to see the Reservation hills covered with their own cattle. He congratulated them for approaching in a business-like manner and not with complaints. They shook hands again. The delegation remarked that this particular St. Patrick's day had been a lucky one for the Tribe.(58)

Agent Reynolds had been worried about the Ash Sheep Company during his administration. He must have kept close watch on James L. Ash and his business. But by July 1913 Superintendent Scott wired the Indian Office that Ash Sheep Company was running six or seven brands of sheep on the ceded strip in the north on an area already leased to a cattleman. The Secretary of Interior requested the Attorney General investigate the matter and prosecute the owners.(59)

Another long case commenced. On August 11 the suit was filed against Ash Sheep Company for the recovery of about $7,100.(60) Judge Bourquain dissolved the suit on the 19th, supporting the claim of the Sheep Company that ceded lands were public domain and were hence under authority of Congress and not the Interior Department.(61) The case of U.S. v. Ash Sheep Company was appealed in the Circuit Court of Appeals
in 1915. On the 8th of March, the decision of the lower court was reversed. (62) A suit for equity was instituted, but in 1917 the Judge felt that sheep did not come in the category of "cattle." (63) The Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the judgment of the District Court again in 1918 and determined the case in favor of the Government. (64) But the Sheep Company appealed for reversal of the penalty of $5000. The Circuit Court of Appeals decided on December 2 there was no reason to reverse the decision to penalize the Sheep Company. (65)

The firm of Hysham and McPherson in Omaha conceived a wild plan of selling the east boundary fence of the Reservation to Spear Brothers. For two or three years they tried to sell the fence, claiming they had purchased it from Matt Murphy with the terms that they could remove the fence. By June 1913 Hysham threatened to remove the fence and sell it to the Indian Office. (66) The Second Assistant Commissioner, C. F. Hauke, informed Hysham of the fact that this fence had been constructed by J. A. Campbell with Crow consent in 1892.

It is the opinion of this Office that, even if proof of purchase were furnished, considering the time that has elapsed since the erection of the fencing and the fact that it must have been renewed many times at the expense of the Indians (or grazing lessee) that the fencing is now the property of the Crow Indians. (67)

Frank M. Heinrich heard rumors in the summer of 1913 that some Crows were butchering his cattle at Carl Leider's place. While he was headed there, Curley was driving away with a loaded wagon. Heinrich asked him what he had hiding on the wagon, but Curley refused to answer. So Heinrich jumped aboard the wagon and found fresh meat. Curley
admitted the meat came from Leider's allotment; so Heinrich went there, and the Indians told him the hides had been destroyed. It was a sneaky plan because the Montana State law required a display of the hides for ten days after butchering. Heinrich had complained several times about Crows slaughtering his cattle, but no Government official or Indian policeman had caught anyone. Heinrich was the first to bring action. When the State authorities took the matter up, they fined Knows the Ground for violating the law. (68)

In the following year came the John Henry Booz affidavit. Sworn before the Notary Public on the 20th of March 1914, Booz said when he moved near the Crow Reservation twenty-one years before, the Crows had 13,000 cattle and 25,000 to 30,000 horses.

At the present time the Indians are in destitute condition and I have been told by other Indians that they are eating dog. Horses are scarce; the cattle is very near gone, and the reason is because the range has been overstocked by the lessees. The Indians are poor because they cannot have control of their allotments. (69)

He said the lessees were also cutting fences and their herds destroyed the Indians' gardens. They were rounding up Indian cattle and branding the calves. He said the stock inspector, A. A. Campbell, was not doing his job and liked "whiskey mighty well." (69) Booz was leasing Garvin Basin and sub-leasing a dry corner of Heinrich's range. Booz said O. Wilson, G. T. Tschirgi, M. Tschirgi, J. Kennedy, Will Heinrich, Charles Heinrich, and E. L. Dana were also running stock on Heinrich's range. He claimed Heinrich was the first to lease the I D range in 1910, and he did so without Indian consent. (69)
Mrs. Helen P. Grey found her way into the files again; she wrote a confusing memorandum, and kindly left a copy at the Indian Office. She thought district 5 was established because Heinrich had leased the I D range under Agent Reynolds without consent of the Office. (70)

Assistant Commissioner E. B. Meritt ordered an investigation of the Agency while Scott was turning over the property. (71)

With the mounting hysteria over the threat of opening, confusion developed on all sides—among the Crows, in the Office of Indian Affairs, at the Agency, and among the cattlemen. Charges were listed against all kinds of people, and little was known of the total situation. Frank Heinrich charged George Pease with stealing a cow and calf. Live Stock Inspector J. E. Jenkins recovered the cow and calf at James Pease's ranch on the Upper Rotten Grass Creek. Sure enough, the cow had Heinrich's antler brand, while the calf had George Pease's brand. Pease and his wife arrived at the Agency to say "he quite possibly 'made a mistake'" and agreed to settle matters. (72) Commissioner Cato Sells instructed Superintendent E. W. Estep "that prompt and decisive action be taken in regard to such matters and all offenses of this character, whether committed by Indians or whites, should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law." (73)

Superintendent Estep picked up these instructions, and decided the time had come to find out what Indians were killing the I D herd and the lessees' stock because the cattle business was going down hill. (74) In effect Estep proposed to turn against the Crows methods Agent Edwards
had used for capturing the Wyoming cattle thieves and boot-leggers.

Inspector E. B. Linnen was sent to the Crow Reservation, and on the 29th of September, he called a meeting of Crows which developed into a complaint panel. Stops complained that the Superintendent was treating them "like dogs," and he was not consulting the Crows. He said the Crows wanted the herd divided. George No Horse believed the Government had used Crow funds to purchase cattle, but no cattle were given to the Crows. The most common complaint was that the Crows had not been consulted and the Tribal herd had not been distributed.

Another meeting was held October 1 by Superintendent Estep, Special Agent F. S. Cook, and Inspector Linnen. Ninety Crows were present. Plenty Coos wanted Heinrich ordered off the Reservation because he was taking "too much privilege," he wanted the Tribal herd distributed, and he wanted the Crows consulted "in management of their affairs so justice and understanding can be done." Then all the members present signified that they agreed with what Plenty Coos said.

Estep, Cook, and Linnen collected interesting stories. Lottie Shell Bird testified that on October 10 she bought some beef at the store in St. Xavier. Christine Got Many Enemies told her the Indians did not need to buy beef anymore; they simply killed I D cattle and hid the brands. "They usually go out on stormy nights and go three in a bunch and one of them watches while the others kill," Shell Bird said. "Sometimes they go out in the day time they take it down by the river so they can throw the insides in the river."(77) She said Plenty Buffalo's
group never bought beef; this ring was composed of Old Shield Chief, Ralph Saco, Knows the Ground, Old Elk, and Bull-on-the-Hill. Others that went in pairs or trios with these included Young Yellow Wolf, Strong Enemy, Bull Horse, Barney Looks Back, and Ed Iron. George Thomas and Old Tobacco went together. Shell Bird said often the Indians butchered in the stables. Sometimes they would kill one of their own cattle and one I.D, then they would hang up the hide of their own. They let the horses trample the insides of the other cattle. (77)

Mrs. George Thomas knew her husband and Old Tobacco were killing cattle; they even shot at a white man after one killing. Bull Robe, Austine Stray Calf, and Richard Daylight killed cattle, too. She said Sees-with-His-Ears got some of the meat, and some probably went to Lucy Old Horn. She said the camp crier, Arapahoe, came to the Crow Fair and told the Indians to hide the meat. "I saw Plenty Stars digging a hole to put his meat in." (78) George Thomas also hid some meat in the ditch. Mrs. Thomas also saw Bull Robe, Richard Daylight, and Harry Whiteman go out with her husband and bring back meat after a little time. (78)

Stories were also told of the damage done by Heinrich's cattle. Shot-in-the-Nose or Ties His Knees, of St. Xavier, claimed that two years previously thirty loads of oats were destroyed by Heinrich's cattle. Ties His Knees complained to Superintendent Scott and the farmer of his district. He never got paid, but he did not make a complaint to Heinrich. (79)
Scratches His Face said Heinrich's cattle had eaten his grass without payment for damages. Little Nest planted his garden. When his daughter became sick, he went away. Upon returning, he found Heinrich's cattle had ruined his garden and eaten up his hay. He reported to the farmer of the Lodge Grass district and to Superintendent Scott. He admitted however, that "someone" had left the gate open on his allotment.

Bird Faraway had seven and a half tons of hay and eleven tons of alfalfa which Will Heinrich measured and agreed to buy, but the cattle broke through the gate and ate the products. There was even a man on a horse watching the cattle eat. It turned out, though, that Bird Faraway had sold the stack the previous year to Heinrich, and as Heinrich did not use the stack, Bird Faraway scattered new hay over the old stack and tried to sell it again. Heinrich's brother, Will, told him to put the new hay somewhere else and they would buy it. Bird Faraway removed the new hay, but Will Heinrich got sick and never measured the stack. Bird Faraway never reported to Superintendent Scott.

The Progressive Lodge of Ten met with Linnen and Cook. The Lodge included Eagle, Curley, Walks-with-a-Wolf, Crooked Arm, Antelope Cap, Strong, Shows His Coos, Dick Bushy Head, Big Medicine, Sidney Black Hair, Pretty Pain, Thomas Medicinehorse, Austine Stray Calf, and Wilbur Wolf. Black Hair said, "We want to prevent cattle killing and when they say they want to open the reservation because the Indians do not farm, we want to do more farming." Cook told them he was glad to see such a Lodge organized. He also said the Commissioner did not want the
Reservation opened, and as long as the half-million dollar investment in cattle was protected, Congress would not open the Reservation. Black Hair also said that he did not want the Government to pay any attention to Crow petitions without the signature of the Superintendent. But he thought the Superintendent should send the Lodge all circulars received from the Government. Crooked Arm, who was head of the Black Lodge district, said the Ten had organized to help the Crows progress and to help the Commissioner and the Superintendent carry out their policies. Walks-with-a-Worf said the Ten gathered that summer and broke forty to eighty acres of land and took care of 9000 cattle.

Richard Wallace counteracted many of the complaints against Heinrich. Wallace was considered a progressive Indian with 200 cattle fenced in on his own allotment. He said he thought Heinrich was fair with the Crows, but sometimes they neglected to take their complaints to him. He knew Heinrich's cattle were breaking into the Indians' stacks, but so were the I D cattle. Most of the Indian fences, moreover, were poorly made.

Knows the Ground had sent a complaint against Heinrich's cattle which destroyed some of his crops. He said he was willing to settle for five dollars. He did not have a fence around his crops, but it was because Heinrich captured him and blamed him for cattle killing. Then while he was in jail at Butte, Heinrich's cattle destroyed his crops.

The only complaint Barney Old Coyote had was against Matt Tschirgi, Heinrich's foreman. He said Tschirgi ran cattle into his corral while
he was trying to repair the fence. Old Coyote told Tschirgi to remove his
cattle, or he would. Nothing happened, so he moved the cattle.

After I drove them out Matt Shirgy met me in the store at the Mission
and asked me who drove the cattle out and I told him I did. He said
I had no right to drive the cattle out and he struck at me but I
dodged it and when I saw it was going to be a fight I had a fist fight
with him in the store which is also the post office and my under-
standing of the law is that there shall be no fighting in the post
office. (86)

But Old Coyote had no claim as the hay was not damaged. He was told
Heinrich's side of the story. Heinrich had found some of Old Coyote's
cattle mixed in his herd. Tschirgi told Old Coyote to remove them, which
he did not. Tschirgi called him a dirty name, so they fought. Cook added
that Heinrich "didn't see where you had any complaint because you whipped
Shirgy." (86) Old Coyote said his cattle had not mixed with Heinrich's,
but he admitted he had kind of whipped Tschirgi. (86)

Heinrich said he paid for damages, but the Indians often stacked
hay before it was ripe and they did not fence the stacks properly. Cook
presented the numerous claims against Heinrich, but Heinrich said he left
such claims to the farmer of the district to assess. Heinrich said
Scratches His Face never cultivated his own soil and he only camped on
his allotment occasionally. Heinrich said Martha Cooper Chatham sold him
hay for $5 per ton; after she sold it, she decided she wanted one dollar
more per ton. Heinrich refused to pay her more, so Chatham turned stock
on the hay until Heinrich's brother stopped him with a gun. The matter was
then taken to Superintendent Scott who felt that Chatham had gotten as
fair a deal as he deserved. Heinrich said he did not order his men to cut
Indian fences; rather he ordered them to fix Indian fences.

Heinrich claimed he lost as much as 1000 head of cattle killed by the Indians each year.

I found one place where we tracked the cattle in the snow where they had driven them on to the thin ice on the Big Horn where there were air holes and they would break through the ice and drown in the deep water and then drift down on to the shallow places and lodge there. We counted the carcasses of 52. . . .(87)

Shell Bird told Heinrich her husband drove fifty head of his cattle into the mire by the ditch and killed eight. Heinrich's men found twenty of the cattle in the ditch.

Heinrich ended his rebuttal by saying Oliver Peters, Helen Grey, and John Booz were "animals of the same pack."

Mrs. Grey has been nothing but an evil influence on the reservation. She has led the Indians to believe they have been robbed by the Government and any man who had dealings with them through the Government. And that she would recover vast sums of money for them, causing the Indians to lay around in idleness shiftlessness and improvidence when they ought to have been working for their living, the result was when the Indians wanted or needed anything to subsist on, they went out and killed the lessee's stock are now killing their own. . . .(87)

John L. Waddell told a tale but did not swear to it. When Walks Pretty died, Plenty Coos wanted him to prosecute Bird-All-Over-the-Ground. Waddell requested $300, and Plenty Coos offered to pay in horses. Plenty Coos, with his interpreter, Barney Old Coyote, and Waddell went to Superintendent Scott and got permission to pay in horses. Live-Stock Inspector J. E. Jenkins reported that the death of Walks Pretty "was from some ulterior cause."(88) Plenty Coos collected statements from some Indians that Bird-All-Over-the-Ground had kicked Walks Pretty to death.
Waddell filed the information with the District Attorney in Billings. When Estep took over the superintendency, he did not want the matter to be taken up. District Attorney Ford resigned, and Homer C. Murphy became the District Attorney. Murphy did not want to take up the matter either. The horses were delivered, but Campbell refused to inspect them on orders from Estep. Waddell held the horses at Young's place. Then Young took the horse which Waddell owed to O. M. Lee.

Just before Major Scott left the reservation T. J. Burbank the Government Farmer in the Pryor district advised me that some kind of difficulty arose between the Indians and some coy boys belonging to a cow outfit in which there was a shooting affray in which Bird-All-Over-the-Ground was on one side of the controversy and Plenty Coos was on the other. Being a new comer I did not know about this. Later I was advised by Major Scott that in his opinion the shooting affray which occurred a number of years ago in the Pryor Mountains in which Plenty Coos was against Bird-All-Over-the-Ground was the cause of this effort of Plenty Coos and in a way a move to prosecute and get even with Bird-All-Over-the-Ground. . .(88)

The story was a little too fantastic, however. John M. Lee produced a cancelled check showing he bought the horses from Waddell, who in turn bought them from an Indian in Pryor.(89)

Superintendent Estep reported in November, that George Thomas indicted for larceny of a steer belonging to Zimmerman-Spear Cattle Company, entered a plea of guilty to the charge and was sentenced to six months in jail. George took the blame of the entire transaction on himself, and the indictment against Old Tobacco was dismissed by the United States Attorney.(90) Estep thought the penalty for George Thomas was "inadequate as a punishment for his offense, and will have very little effect in deterring other Indians from similar work."(90)

A petition was signed by Plenty Coos, Wet, and fourteen Crows,
The 19th of March 1915. It signified approval for the permits to
Joseph on district 5 and to Jerome F. Magee on district 3. (91)

But on the 28th of July, a Council was called by direction of the
Commissioner, and on the following day resolutions were signed by three
representatives of each district. The Tribe wanted grazing districts 3
leased for sheep to the highest bidder. They wanted 1 and 2 leased to
the highest bidder for cattle only. They wanted districts 5 and 6
validated and leased to the highest bidder for cattle. Ninety-seven
voted against permitting Frank M. Heinrich or renewing any permits
in. The Council wanted the Secretary to use the rates determined by
Crows. They thought each allottee should decide whether to lease his
allotment to the lessee of the grazing district. They wanted the lessee
to purchase all surplus hay on their districts, and they wanted each head
family permitted to run cattle on the range free of any grazing
fee or tax. (92)

In November the Tribe requested the cancelation of the leases on
districts 3 and 4 to Lee Simonsen; Simonsen permitted Heinrich to run his
sheep on district 3, and he permitted George Herd to run his sheep on 4.
Lease stipulated that only 95,000 sheep were to be on both districts.
Simonsen had 115,000 sheep. Heinrich did not look as if he were
ready to move off the Reservation the way the Tribe wanted. Russell
Bear urged the Department to act or "we shall take the matter into
our own hands for adjustment." (93) The Agency Clerk telegraphed the Commissioner
saying that Simonsen had 53,650 sheep on districts 3 and 4. There-
Early in 1917 Estep learned that both Frank Yarlott and Russell White Bear had left for Washington. Yarlott had been "arrested for bringing iskey on the reservation and for giving it to school boys." He no longer supported his family. "Russell White Bear and perhaps to a some-what less extent, Frank Yarlott, has been busy for some weeks with Mrs. Grey and her followers in handpicking a delegation to go to Washington in the interests of the opening Bill." On the 8th of January, thirty-four names including Curley, White-Man-Runs-Him, Scolds the Bear, Big Medicine, Rabbit, Ralph Saco, Ties His Knees, Sits Down Spotted, Holds the Enemy, Spotted Rabbit, and Crooked Arm, wrote to the Commissioner.

The Crow Indians did not send Russell White Bear and Frank Yarlott to Washington and we do not want them to use any of the Indian funds. We do not wish them to come back to the Reservation. They can come back to Billings. There are some Indians who want to be citizens, you might let these Indians have their money so they will not bother us any more. We do not want them to get the cattle back and the land either. We want these Indians who have sold their lands and those who want to be citizens to be entirely out of the reservation affairs... Mrs. Helen Grey and Russell White Bear have secured signers among some of the Indians to petitions. The Indians understood this was in regard to Annuity, if they have taken these petitions to Washington and they do not refer to Annuity, we do not want you to consider them.

A hearing before Commissioner Cato Sells was held on February 7. Present were the following: Inspector E. B. Linnen, Superintendent E. W. Lep, Supervisor L. F. Michael, the Reverend L. Taelman, interpreter in Frost, Plenty Coos, Two Leggins, Spotted Rabbit, Mrs. Spotted Rabbit, Carpenter, Russell White Bear, Richard Wallace, Jasper Long Tail,
Mortimer Dreamer, Hartford Comes From Above, F. Yarlott, Barney Old Coyote, Robert Yellowtail, Thomas Medicinehorse, Arnold Costa, and Harry Whiteman. The leases on districts 3 and 4 to Simonsen had been cancelled. Plenty Coos wanted the districts re-leased for sheep only. White Bear preferred to vote to see whether they should be leased for cattle or sheep. Eighteen voted to lease district 4 for sheep, and twenty-one voted to have district 3 go to the highest bidder, cattleman, sheepman, or both. Nineteen voted to prevent Frank Heinrich and Lee Simonsen from bidding on 3 and 4. Nineteen favored letting Charles McDaniels and Augustus Barth bid on 3 and 4, even though they were both on district 5 and had their leases cancelled. No attempt was made to reimburse Russell White Bear for his trip to Washington. Little did the Indian Office suspect that White Bear expected to be reimbursed by the cattlemen for whom he cast his vote.

E. L. Dana was awarded district 3, and J. B. Long took district 4. The old McCormick fence between districts 3 and 4 was gone. It became questionable as to how many cattle Heinrich owned on the Reservation when he began to remove them in July. The confusion of cattle and sheep on 3 and 4 raised doubts. C. R. Wanner and H. W. Shipe telegraphed the Commissioner that Simonsen would not accept responsibility for Herd's sheep. They recommended contacting the U.S. Attorney General. As sheep were scarce, J. B. Long desired to substitute cattle. But Wanner and Shipe claimed Long and Company had already had enough sheep and cattle on his district. Superintendent Estep did not favor ordering any more Indian councils to discuss the matter. He recommended
the Department act wisely on its own. (103) Commissioner Sells, however, did not think the Long lease should be modified without Indian consent. (104) On September 1 a Crow delegation in Washington signed consent to modify the Long lease to substitute cattle. It was signed by Plenty Coos, Robert Yellowtail, James Hill, Yellowbrow, and Russell White Bear. (105)

The delegates also requested Commissioner Meritt divide the Tribal herd and forbid sheep on the Reservation. (106) Commissioner Meritt did not think it was time to divide the Tribal cattle. (107)

In 1914 it was clear that the Crow Indians had learned the art of civilization including a few tricks. By 1917 it became apparent that at least one Crow was highly motivated to vote on leasing matters in a peculiar way. The Hardin Tribune for October 26 contained head lines that Russell White Bear was demanding payment from four lessees.

Through his attorney, John L. Waddell, Russell White Bear of the Crow Agency yesterday filed suit in the office of Clerk of Court Frank A. Nolan against Charles McDaniels, a prominent stockman of this county, A. H. Barth of Billings, George Kirby of Wyola, M. S. Cunningham of Bozeman, and the Mays Cattle Co. of Portland, Oregon, for $20,000 for services rendered in the cancellation and reletting of leases Nos. 3, 4 and 5 on the Crow Indian Reservation and the ousting of the former lessees, Frank M. Heinrich of St. Xavier, this county, and Lee Simonsen and George Herd of Billings. The complaintant alleges that the defendants were to pay, and did pay, all expenses incident to the cancellation of the leases which entailed several trips to Washington, D. C. on the part of the plaintiff, and that they promised to pay him a reasonable fee commensurate with the services rendered and the objects attained. He alleges that the time of service extends over a period from July 28, 1915, to October 15, 1917, at which time he completed the services and defendants refused to pay him as they had agreed to do. He asks $20,000 as a reasonable fee. This is the second largest suit of the kind ever filed in Big Horn county. (108)

Plenty Coos had already suggested that the McDaniels lease should not be
How much did the Chief know of what Russell White Bear was up to? Full exposition of White Bear's plot took more than a year.

The Commissioner received a report in 1918 from the Chief Supervisor of Live Stock, H. F. Long, saying that George B. Kirby had overstocked district 5. The only reason the Commissioner did not recommend removing all the cattle at once was on account of the War demand. (110) By March the Government had a suit against Simonsen, and Simonsen had a suit against A. H. Barth. (111)

Superintendent Asbury reported in June that the Agency was "familiar with the fact the Kirby & McDaniels lease had on it cattle belonging to a dozen different people and these were reported and these people paid something to Kirby & McDaniels for the privilege." (112)

The Bureau of Investigations finally sent Special Examiner M. C. Masterson to map out affairs on the Crow Reservation. On August 24 he sent his three-part report to the Attorney General. The report included 889 pages of testimonies, exhibits, and what he called facts. Masterson summarized these as follows:

1. That in pursuance of a resolution by the Crow Tribal Council dated July 29, 1915, grazing leases were entered into by and between Even W. Estep as Superintendent of the Crow Indian School, for and on behalf of the Crow Tribe of Indians, and Lee Simonsen of Billings, Montana, covering districts Nos. 3 and 4 of the Crow Reservation, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior on December 22, 1915, for the purpose of grazing sheep (and sheep only), the said leases also providing that the total number of sheep to be grazed on said districts at any one time should not exceed one hundred and fifteen thousand.

2. That at the time the leases of Lee Simonsen became effective, namely, on February 1, 1916, there were on districts Nos. 3 and 4 of
the Crow Indian Reservation approximately 12,500 head of sheep belonging to J. G. Herd and 25,000 head of cattle belonging to F. M. Heinrich, such sheep and cattle being on said districts through no fault of Lee Simonsen, but were there pursuant to arrangements made with or approved by the Indian Office, or its authorized representatives.

3. That A. H. Barth and Charles McDaniels, with the assistance of Thomas Arthur and Russell White Bear, were instrumental in causing the Indians at a general council held on July 29, 1915, to pass a resolution to the effect that F. M. Heinrich, a large and successful cattle owner, be refused further grazing permits or leases on the Crow Reservation, expecting that, as a result of such action, competitive bidding for leases on lands in the reservation would be cut off, so that they themselves, or some one interested with them, would be the only successful bidders.

4. That after the leases of Lee Simonsen on districts Nos. 3 and 4 went into effect, A. H. Barth and Charles McDaniels (with the assistance of Thomas Arthur and Russell White Bear), having themselves failed to obtain leases on said districts after the elimination of F. M. Heinrich, by means of bribery and corruption, induced the Indians to demand the cancellation of Simonsen's leases for alleged fraud, etc., at the same time requesting that "said grazing districts Nos. 3 and 4 be readvertised."

5. That, also as a result of the efforts of A. H. Barth, Charles McDaniels, Thomas Arthur, and Russell White Bear, evidently for the purpose of enabling them to more readily accomplish their selfish aims, the Indians were induced to demand the removal of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Cato Sells, and the then Superintendent of the Crow Indian School, Evan W. Estep, the latter to be succeeded in office by one of the conspirators.

6. That in consequence of the representations made by the Indians at the instigation of the persons referred to, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on October 19, 1916, cancelled the leases of Lee Simonsen on districts Nos. 3 and 4 of the Crow Indian Reservation "on account of violation of terms," effective February 1, 1917.

7. That although, according to the strict terms of the leases, the presence of cattle on the districts in question was "a violation of terms," it is in effect claimed by the persons interested that because of the fact that the cattle were there "legally", or in accordance with an agreement made with the Department or its authorized representatives, and also for the reason that a reasonable time within which to remove the stock ... was not given, there was not such a "violation" as would warrant the cancellation of the leases.

It would seem that the acts of A. H. Barth, Charles McDaniels, Thomas Arthur and Russell White Bear constitute the second offense named in Section 37 of the Federal Penal Code of 1910; and that the institution of criminal proceedings against the persons named is warranted, except as to Russell White Bear, who is an important
witness for the Government. I have the honor, therefore, to recommend that the matter be presented to the grand jury. (113)

Commissioner Cato Sells, differing with Masterson, wrote to the Secretary.

This report has been given careful attention and I am of opinion that it strongly indicates a united effort on the part of certain persons named to control the leasing of lands on the Crow Reservation and generally to interfere with the Indian Service in its administration of the affairs of the Indians under that jurisdiction.

In view of this report, I recommend that the Department of Justice be requested to bring such action as may be warranted under the law and the facts against A. H. Barth, Charles McDaniel, Thomas Arthur, Russell Whitebear and any others, white or Indian, who are involved in this conspiracy to defraud the United States and to obstruct the Government policies on that reservation.

It is also suggested that this action should not be construed as any interference in the further prosecution of the proceedings for the collection of grazing fees from Lee Simonsen and others, which proceedings are now pending in the Department of Justice.

The character of the Indians involved does not entitle them to any special protection where they have been guilty of lending themselves to the attempts of white people to defraud their lesser intelligent fellow tribesmen. Such a course will have a strong deterrent effect in such cases, not only upon the Crow Reservation, but elsewhere throughout the Indian country where shrewd Indians with full knowledge of the gravity of what they are doing lend themselves to white men in their efforts to obtain undue and unlawful advantages of the Indian.

I further earnestly recommend that an investigation be made of the action of Lee Simonsen, Frank Heinrich, and others, in submitting the bid of Lee Simonsen for the grazing privileges on Districts 3 and 4, as I am firmly convinced that these men deliberately intended to overstock these ranges when Simonsen submitted his bid and that it was their deliberate intention to keep Heinrich's stock on the range, in spite of the provisions of the contract permitting the grazing of sheep only. (114)

Secretary Franklin K. Lane concurred with the Commissioner and wrote the Attorney General, "A vigorous and effective prosecution of all parties involved cannot fail to have an excellent effect in the administration of the affairs of our Indian wards." (115)
The case of Whitebear v. Barth was held December 16 to 20, 1918. The Agency Clerk, O. M. Boggess, reported on the hearings.

After all of the evidence had been presented, Judge Taylor who presided took the case out of the hands of the jury and directed the return of a verdict in favor of the defendant Barth. In directing the return of such a verdict the Judge stated that no contract with the defendant had been proved, but that if such a contract existed it was based on fraud, and for this reason no court of law could find in favor of the plaintiff. (116)

The Government tried to get Barth in 1919. The U.S. District Court requested Plenty Coos and John Frost to appear at the Grand Jury in Helena. (117) Little came out of the case, but in 1920 U.S. Attorney Edward C. Day and Special Assistant C. S. Easterling sent $35,000 to the Department. The check was from F. M. Heinrich for cattle grazed in 1916 and 1917.

This payment is made with the understanding and agreement, and it is hereby stipulated that the suit now pending in the District Court of the United States for the District of Montana against Lee Simonsen . . . shall be dismissed as settled on motion of the plaintiff. (118)

In May Attorney E. C. Day wrote:

In the matter of the suit against Kirby and his bondsmen upon the permit for 1918, the court has held that no recovery could be had upon the permit because it was made by the secretary of the Interior and the superintendent of Indian schools without the previous authorization of the Indians. However, we suggest that this may be remedied by a ratification by resolution passed by the Indians in Council at this time. (119)

U.S. v. Kirby, et al., went to the Circuit Court of Appeals. The plaintiffs became George B. Kirby, Charles McDaniels, and U.S. Fidelity and Guaranty Company. The defendant became the Government on behalf of the Crow Tribe. Opinion was filed May 2, 1921. The rule in
the permit to Kirby stated that the lessees could have 9000 cattle on the range, at no time more than 11,500, and the annual average must not be more than 9000. Although the rule was poorly stated, it was clear the lessees were wrong in thinking they could graze cattle for free in excess of 9000 so long as the number was under 11,500. For, the rule stated that an additional charge was to be placed on cattle in excess of 9000. Kirby claimed he did not know of the arrangement for McDaniels to put cattle on the range, but it was shown that in fact he did know of it. (120)

Thus the ambitious plot of 1917 ended.

Walter Jack Rabbit telegraphed the Commissioner on the 11th of March 1918 that a bunch of I D cattle were drowned in the Little Horn near Reno Creek. (121) At the end of March, Superintendent of Livestock, Booz, claimed no cattle had gotten near the Little Horn by Reno Creek since the previous winter. But some of Spear's cattle were killed there, probably from walking out on the ice looking for water. The I D herd included 15,000 to 16,000 cattle, and not more than forty or fifty died that winter. There were many reports claiming 5000 or 6000 head were dead. Superintendent C. H. Asbury concluded, "Most of these reports come from people who are sitting around the fire in the stores while the cowboys are out on the hills riding, looking after the stock, and they are usually utterly without foundation." (122)

Another conference was held before Commissioner Meritt on May 24. The Crow delegates were Plenty Coos, Ben Spotted Horse, Jim Carpenter, Frank Yarlott, Barney Old Coyote, Crooked Arm, and John Frost.
arlott announced that the Crows were extending the leases on the Reservation for sixty days on account of the War. Old Coyote complained about the Superintendent of Live Stock; he said Boos was handling the stock from the road in his car, and he was employing whites. (123)

Chief Supervisor of Live Stock, H. F. Long went with Superintendent of Live Stock Boos on the round up beginning at War Man Creek on June 25. It continued to Soap and Rotten Grass Creeks, Big Horn valley, across to the Fort Custer flats, thence up the Little Horn river to Lodge Grass creek and ending at the south east corner of the range on July 30."(124) Calves were branded and the cattle counted. There were 12,546 Trible cattle, 10,436 cattle belonging to individual Indians, and 5000 Indian horses. District 5 was taken over by Tribal cattle. Perhaps as many as 2437 cattle had been lost between 1914 and 1917. "It has been demonstrated to me on this round up," Long wrote, "that the Indians who own cattle have taken no interest whatever in looking after their stock or to the proper branding of their calves, but have depended entirely on the I D outfit to do the work."(124) Dick Wallace and one squawman were the only ones who had representatives on the round up. Some Crows told the outfit to return the strays, but none came to help.

Most Crows wanted to divide the herd pro rata. Long suggested selling the herd and dividing the proceeds because the War required the meat. The proceeds might be lost by the Indians, but at least the cattle would be saved for the Nation. If the cattle were turned over to the Crows, Long predicted they would all be ruined in about two years.
"Indifference" toward the I D herd was so high that Boos had trouble obtaining Indian assistance. Hence no full-bloods were on the crew. (124) Supervisor Long also reported much of the allotted lands were being fenced, taking in the water-holes and main streams. The I D herd was congested in a few small watering places. Long thought the best thing or the only thing left was to purchase the allotments for the sake of preserving the Tribal lands. Some squawmen and mixed-bloods were running cattle belonging to other people on tribal lands and on grazing districts. A few produced bills of sale, but they could not possibly have bought them. (125)

On the 20th of May 1919, Commissioner Sells advised buying and reserving watering places for the Tribal herd on Tribal lands along Rotten Grass and Lodge Grass Creeks. (126)

The Department Circular for May 2 set forth a contradictory policy making it difficult to know whether it was trying to solve the problem or aggravate it. Section one called for developing water to make the ranges more useful, and it stipulated the lessees should be required to develop water supply in cases where it would increase the carrying capacity of the range. But section two required lessees to fence boundaries of grazing districts and also allotments within the districts. (127)

Early in 1920 Superintendent Asbury cooperated with detectives "interested on wholesale cattle stealing from the reservation." (128) One detective headed for Chicago. For two months Asbury cooperated with Tongue River Agency. The Superintendent also cooperated with the Spear
Cattle Company "having sent some men somewhat under cover and at one time arranged for a man to go into a certain locality as a trapper to camp and live about and follow the trapping business ... "(128) Then reports from St. Joe, Missouri, indicated three men shipped Tribal cattle and individual Indians' cattle from Lodge Grass late in November 1919. Involved in this transaction were Oliver P. McKinley, Cole Powell, and Charles C. Blankenship. McKinley had land east of the Crow Reservation and a home at Lodge Grass. He was arrested immediately. Powell was a cowboy who worked for the I D outfit in the season of 1919. Blankenship ran a rooming house in Hardin until he sold out and went east. Blankenship had shipped twenty-four I D cattle and fifty head belonging to Spear. The cattle were returned except for one belonging to an Indian.(128)

By July Blankenship and McKinley were acquitted in the State Court. They claimed they owned eighty-one head of cattle in the car and the rest were in there by mistake.(129)

An aftermath of the case popped up when on the 20th of June 1926 Superintendent of Livestock on the Tongue River Reservation, Clyde Patton, and the Montana State Inspectors H. C. Brown and J. K. Marsh found thirteen hides on McKinley's place. Some of the meat was given to a Crow, Clifford Takes His Horse, as pay for a lease on his allotment.(130)

Frank Yarlott reported that McKinley butchered I D cattle from the Cheyenne reservation, held Crow horses, and was branding I D calves.(131)

McKinley was indicted by Federal Grand Jury in 1927, and the case went under U.S. Attorney Wellington D. Rankin who had a dubious reputation
not only as a criminal lawyer, but also as a cattleman. (132) Thus McKinley was not found guilty in the U.S. Court by 1928. (133) In April McKinley was at his tricks again; he submitted a lease proposal. But the Indian Office decided not to permit him to lease any land on the Crow Reservation. (134)

A year later Superintendent Asbury was surprised to come across the story of picking up 60 or 80 head of stray cattle in driving a bunch of 80 and being unable to cut them out, although the statement shows they were able to cut out the calf that belonged to McKinley, and were inadvertently loaded at the stockyards and could not get them off the cars, and after shipping them to Omaha, they diverted the shipment to St. Joe. . . . (135)

At the time of this shipment in 1919 the Agency did not know St. Joe had no Montana inspector, and some of the cows shipped out went to ranches in Texas. (135)

In 1920 Commissioner Cato Sells extended the leases to the Dana Cattle Company on district 3, the lease to J. B. Long Company on 4, and the Spear-Zimmerman lease on land 2, so that all the leases would terminate at the end of November 1922.

The Commissioner thought he had acted in accordance with the acts of Congress and with the Crow Tribal Council of July 29, 1915. (136) But the Council of February 25 failed to approve the extensions; the Crows wanted to send a delegation to Washington. (137) Commissioner Sells authorized the delegation of seven to come. (138) The delegation included Ben Spotted Horse, Ties His Knees, Russell White Bear, Frank Yarlott, Fred Old Horn, Hartford Comes Above, and the Superintendent. (139) On
March 6, the delegation signed approval for extending the leases. (139)

Regarding the winter of 1919 to 1920, Superintendent Asbury wrote:

Old stockmen say that they have never known so long or hard a winter
before. It began to storm in October and the winter was extremely
severe up until the middle of December, making it necessary to put a
great many stock on feed and thin cows and young stuff could not be
gotten off feed after that time. There is something about the long
seige in the feed yard that does not agree with range cattle . . .
and good many stock have died. (140)

About twelve percent of the ID cattle, according to Asbury, had been lost,
and most of the lost stock were calves. Asbury believed the cowboys
would very cheerfully turn over the responsibility of the ID herd to
Robert [Yellowtail] or any body else just about this time . . . but if
we should so turn it over, we would want to be relieved of the bonded
responsibility.

We have had a lot of Indians hired this winter, we have repeatedly
begged other Indians to work for us, including Frank Yarlott himself;
winter work with cattle is extremely responsible and it has been the
experience of not only our cowmen but others, that the average Indian
fails him in time of greatest need and that he cannot be depended upon
to take the hard stunts that come in the winter. . . . This is not
true of all of them. . . . I notice that the Indian stock owners often
hire white men to work for them and the Crow Indians generally, when
they want real work done on their ranch, hire Cree Indians to do the
work and very seldom hires a Crow. . . . (140)

At last, in spring of 1921, the Agency was authorized to distribute
the Tribal herd in accordance with the Act of June 4, 1920. Each Indian
was to decide whether he wanted his share in stock or in cash. (141)
The Act also allotted Tribal land, thus spelling the end of Tribal grazing
leases.

Indian horses came to a head in the 1920's. Excluding the Five
Civilized Tribes, the Indian population of 200,000 owned 500,000 horses
by 1912. 300,000 were wild horses, while 200,000 were domesticated and
of varying values. Commissioner Valentine thought an effort should be made to "upbreed" the Indian horses. (142) In the following year, Supervisor of Farming Charles L. Davis reported on Crow horses.

The 2903 horses are fairly well distributed among the several families, though there are a few large herds. Most of these horses are small, the native pony blood predominating. . . . During the last spring months 13 high grade Percheron stallions were purchased by Supt. Scott and they have been distributed over the reservation. . . . The Indians are anxious to breed to the better horses and in about all cases have taken advantage of the opportunity where they could, but the prevailing spirit to control every thing purchased from tribal funds has operated to cause some trouble at a few places. . . .

I was told that there are large numbers of wild ponies on the range in the mountains in the western portion of the reservation, many unbranded. These ponies should be rounded up, the studs gelded and better stallions put on the range. . . . (143)

The Crows needed larger stallions for plowing their farming lands. In regard to cattle, Davis noted they were "not well distributed," and there was a shortage of bulls. (143)

Second Assistant Commissioner, C. F. Hauke, called the Superintendent's attention to the circular about rounding up wild Indian ponies . . . with a view of improving the grade of the animals running on the reservation, or disposing of the same so that the range may not be used up by animals which are practically worthless, and from which no income can be derived by the Indians belonging to the tribe. (144)

Then came the blow toward the end of the First World War. The Interior Department Circular of May 2, 1919, contained regulations on grazing. The section on "Wild or Worthless Horses" announced that the grass consumed would bring five times as much revenue if consumed by sheep or cattle. It was believed that the American Indians had 75,000 horses.
The extreme need of the country for meat and wool will not permit of any delay in working out the problem of ridding the ranges of those worthless horses. We must expect opposition from some of the older Indians, and from non-progressive Indians generally. . . .

If, after everything possible in the way of persuasion has been tried, the Indians still refuse to dispose of worthless stock, I believe the superintendents should be authorized to require that each Indian keep this class of horses within fenced enclosures, and that all such horses found on the open range should be seized and sold, the proceeds to be turned over to the owner of the brand, less the cost of capture and shipment. (145)

The cattlemen were instrumental in getting the Government to apply this circular even after the War was over. Inspector Samuel Blair, sent to the Reservation in 1925, mentioned the horse problem. The Crows claimed that whites measured their wealth by the amount of land possessed, while Indians measured their wealth by the number of horses. "It appears that on this reservation," Blair wrote, "and I presume on other reservations, it has been the policy of the Department to reduce the large number of horses belonging to members of the Indian Tribe for the reason that these horses destroy so much of the grass." (146) The cattlemen thought it was unfair to pay an annual rental only "to have the Indians' horses eat up the grass; therefore . . . the Indians who own horses were charged so much per acre for the horses which are permitted to run on the range." (146)

Thus the Indians were receiving less money from rentals. The Crows thought the cattlemen were being unfair as they let the horses stay on the range, then deducted acreage at rental time. The Crows also claimed the cattlemen were letting their herds roam at large on unleased land. "It appears to me," Blair added, "there is some justification for the Indians' complaint." (146)
In January 1926 Plenty Coos telegraphed Commissioner Charles H. Burke.

Crow Indians of the Pryor District lease number four ask that slaughtering horses be discontinued at once some fifteen men headed by Matt Tschirgy began this act west of the Bighorn River January Twelfth we feel we are not trespassers on said lease as payments are past due on present leases present lessees are not in favor of our stock running thereon without being gathered or disposed of in a rightful manner we ask that said lease be cancelled at once so we may lease to those whom our stock and interests will not hinder answer to Frank K Phelps by request of Chief Plenty Coos and each and all of the Pryor Indians.(147)

Superintendent Asbury doubted Plenty Coos had much to do with the telegram. "It evidently emanates from the Phelps family who have persisted in running their stock and other stock that they have taken to graze on Indian allotments on which the lessee is paying rental."(148)

The Agency Clerk, S. J. Shick, reported there was "no foundation for the charge" in Plenty Coos' telegram.(149) What happened was Heinrich held a horse round up, and his representative with some Indians took some horses to Hardin for a sale. One of Heinrich's men had a disagreement, so he told Phelps that Heinrich was killing horses. Assistant Commissioner Meritt replied to Plenty Coos:

Other correspondence received indicates that arrangements are being made by the Indians to dispose of the surplus horses running on the Crow Reservation. This is gratifying, as it shows that the Indians appreciate that the large number of worthless horses running on the range is detrimental to their interests and that they are now willing to take action which will improve conditions on the range and result in their lands being available for use for agricultural purposes or the raising of stock which has a marketable value.(149)

But "arrangements" proved to be a euphemism, according to Joe Medicine Crow.

When the Crows refused to lease land on account of their horses, the
stockmen protested to the Government. Horses were sold for $2.50 per head; the remainder were shot on the ranges and even in the hills. Crows were hired by the Government to help shoot horses. For the Tribe it was like the disappearance of the buffalo in the 80's. And, as Medicine Crow pointed out, a slump resulted in Crow interest toward ranching. (150).

By 1929 the men leasing most of the land in the Pryor district were Harry Snyder of the Snyder Sheep Company, F. M. Heinrich, and H. W. Willcutt, manager of the E. L. Dana Company. (151) Tribal grazing leases ceased, but not leasing problems. Superintendent Asbury got an agreement from the Indian Office in 1931 that Crows did not have a right to run stock on other Indians' allotments.

There was a time not long ago when the major part of the reservation was tribal land and the Indians had the habit of permitting their stock to run anywhere on tribal land, even though it was leased, but we have tried to impress upon them that since the land is allotted, they have no right to have their stock on someone's else allotment, nor upon their own allotment if they are getting money from someone else for the use of it. In fact, the larger lessees have been extremely lenient in this matter. (152)

Stockmen had been a full-time problem for the Indian Office, and the Office had little time for miners and prospectors. At length the Crows indicated it was time to deal with them, too. On the 23rd of April 1919, the Tribal Council requested the Superintendent to make leases of tribal lands for oil and gas mining purposes, in accordance with the Rules and Regulations of the Secretary of the Interior, and to sign such leases in his official capacity for and in behalf of the tribe. The revenue received from said leasing is to be paid to the members of the Crow Tribe. (153)

The resolution was signed by Plenty Cops, the chairman, George W. Hogan,
and the secretary, Russell White Bear.

As the Crow Act of 1920 to allot all Tribal land to the Indians was a threat to the cattlemen, William Heinrich, brother of Frank, decided to try his luck in petroleum. In July he sent an oil and gas lease covering 3834 acres of Zita Reed's land; on the 21st the first oil lease on the Crow Reservation was approved.\(^{(154)}\) On the 22nd of October the Secretary approved another oil and gas lease to Heinrich on John Alden's land.\(^{(155)}\) At the end of September the Secretary approved an oil and gas lease to M. H. Tschirgi.\(^{(156)}\) Several other oil and gas leases followed that year.

Superintendent Asbury on February 12, 1920, announced the first oil strike on the Crow Reservation; a well hit oil 1640 feet deep. Many prospectors wanted leases on grazing districts 3 and 4.\(^{(157)}\) The news was both good and bad. By March grazing lessees were wondering what to do about the prospectors' traffic on their ranges.\(^{(158)}\) Commissioner Meritt replied that oil leases required approval of grazing lessees as well as Tribal consent.\(^{(159)}\)

Eighteen oil lease proposals were presented to the Tribal Council on June 28. The chairman was Carpenter, the secretary was Hogan, and the crier was Bear Crane. The Council approved one lease and sent the others to an oil committee. The committee selected to deliberate on oil included Plenty Coos, Big Medicine, Old Horn, Ben Spotted Horse, Hold the Enemy, Jacob Wood Tick, Old Coyote, Yellow Brow, Ties His Knees, Coyote Runs, Door, and also educated Indians D. Pease, P. Scott, Luke Rock,
The race for land on the Crow Reservation in 1909 was an exciting one. The Office of Indian Affairs controlled the situation marvelously except for one mistake. The Office forgot to obtain Tribal consent. The game would have been spoiled if everything had to be done over and done correctly. So the Commissioner wrote the approval himself and asked the Superintendent to get Crow signatures. The trick came too swiftly, and an Inspector had to be sent to the Reservation. This time the trick was conducted smoothly, and nobody complained. The gun fight of 1910 looked bad for the Crows, but they won the case in court. The investigations of 1914 showed that the Crows had learned a few tricks too. The tricks were small and could well have been attributed to the hysteria over the threat of opening the Reservation. But the news clipping from the Hardin Tribune in 1917 demonstrated that the Indian tricks had taken on a new level of complexity. The depth was unknown until the F.B.I. report of the next year. Russell White Bear contributed to a conspiracy which removed three cattlemen from the game, brought three more into it, and attempted to replace the superintendentcy with another cattleman. When
Ite Bear tried to collect for his services, he lost the first round in court. The Government took each cattleman to court and sometimes succeeded in obtaining money. The golden age of the cattle barons reached its climax prior to the Crow Act of 1920. As the curtain was being lowered on the me, the cattlemen were forced to lease Crow allotments. The rest shifted oil and gas leases.
CHAPTER XIV

CONSTRUCTIONS AND SCHOOLS

The Burlington Railroad was the last to seek right of way across the Crow Reservation; the last railroad was the first to become obsolete. A few more irrigation ditches were constructed; one in particular affected the Crow Reservation. Day schools rivaled the boarding schools, and public schools replaced them.

On the 15th of June 1909, Two Leggins filed a complaint against the Two Leggins Land and Improvement Company for damage to timber on his allotment. The Two Leggins Company was brought to the immediate attention of the Indian Office and information was collected. The president of the Company was R. E. Shepherd, the sheepman Charles M. Bair was vice president, and ex-Agent J. E. Edwards was attorney for the company.

Shepherd had made the first proposal on the 10th of October 1906. After the completion of the ditch, the Indians would pay maintenance for two years, then they would pay rental. The Indians could also buy water rights in ten years. Bair requested right of way for the proposed canal through part of the Reservation and through part of the ceded portion in the north.

The Indian Office drafted the first agreement with the Secretary
Seven dollars were to be paid per acre, or $15 were to be paid for water rights on land owned. The agreement was sent to Superintendent Reynolds, but a bond from Shepherd and Bair was never sent, and the agreement was never returned. So the Office announced that there was no authority for construction of the ditch.

After the canal was completed in 1909, Shepherd sent another proposal. But the Department wrote to Shepherd early in 1910 that the agreement could not be modified. An agreement between the Two Leggins Company and the Crows was signed February 12. The Office made a few corrections and sent it back, but again it was never returned. Instead, the Company sent another agreement. The Office informed the Superintendent that the original agreement must be used.

The canal crossed seven allotments causing damages. When the Company did not settle the price, the Office threatened to authorize construction of a ditch parallel to the Two Leggins ditch and put the Company out of business. The Act of 1904 reserved the right to construct and operate irrigation ditches to the Secretary. Indian consent had no weight in this matter. Hence the Department felt no need to buy water rights from the Company.

Two Leggins and forty-six Crows signed a petition on October 11, 1911, requesting the Commissioner to use Tribal funds to purchase permanent water rights from the Two Leggins Company. The Eagle, however, wrote Mrs. Helen Grey that the headgate of the Two Leggins ditch was on her father's allotment, and thus three allotments received no benefit from the
By the agreement of April 12, 1912, the Two Leggins Company sold water rights on trust patents to the Department. The Two Leggins Water Users Association was organized in Hardin in 1913. In 1922 another dispute developed between the Government and the Two Leggins Company. The Government paid for water rights on 4768 acres of trust lands. A survey conducted after the purchase showed some of the land had washed away and some was not irrigable. The Government then claimed the Company was obligated to issue water rights for a total of 4768 acres; whereas, the Company believed the water rights designated certain areas and no deduction was possible. At length the Company agreed to issue water rights on other lands to make up the difference.

The Act of June 10, 1922, provided the Secretary could use up to $24,000 to purchase water rights along the canal.

By 1923 J. E. Edwards was president of the Commerce Bank in Forsyth as well as president of the Two Leggins Company. He insisted the Commissioner purchase more water rights with the funds from the Act of 1922. But Supervising Engineer Wilbur S. Hanna indicated that Edwards' insistence was a little out of place until the disputed rights were settled. The Department contemplated taking the case to the Justice Department. Commissioner Burke drafted a statement that the Government would not pay for more water rights until land had been issued for the disputed rights, and in the meantime $5000 was fixed for damages against the Company. Secretary F. M. Goodwin approved the draft. But Edwards was
not to be out-done by a couple of officials. Agreement was reached on November 20, and Hanna was sent to make the settlements.(10)

In September 1911 the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions requested authority for Father Thomas Grant, Superintendent of St. Xavier, to open a day school. He already had consent from the Crows to use the dance hall for a school building. In October the Bureau of Catholic Missions wanted to open another day school in the Big Horn valley at the mouth of Two Leggins canal.

The Commissioner wired for objections, and on the 12th of October the Office granted authority for the Catholic Mission to set up their day schools.(11) A week later the Black Lodge Crows protested against the Catholics building a church on Two Leggins canal. They wanted a Protestant day school. Old Horn, Crooked Arm, Daylight and twenty-three Crows signed the petition.(12) In November the Black Lodge Indians completed a day school to be run by the American Mission Association.(13)

The Pryor Indians held a council on the 30th of October. Plenty Coos, Bell Rock, and forty-nine Crows signed a request to retain Pryor Creek Boarding School and not to make it a day school.(14) But boarding schools were too expensive.(15) Although Plenty Coos sent another request, Commissioner Abbott replied that in changing the school into a centralized day school he "had the best interests of the Indians in mind . . ."(16)

In 1912 the Pryor School was closed for a while.

It was impossible "to haul coal to Big Horn as roads were practically impassible except with saddle horse or light buggy."(18) Some of
the bridges were washed out, in other places there were no bridges. Thus authority was granted in December to spend $20,000 of Crow money "to construct and repair roads and bridges . . . on the Crow reservation." (18)

Having been unsuccessful at getting Congress to open the Reservation, C. W. Fowler, as secretary of the Billings Chamber of Commerce, decided the site of Old Fort Custer should be turned into a park or a reserve. The site, by no coincident, was on the allotment of Three Wolves. A sale was held in 1917, but no bids came in. (19)

Then there was the case of "the rotten meat" brought to the attention of the Senate Committee by Plenty Coos. Superintendent Estep paid a visit to the principal of Pryor School.

Mr. Laverty says the discovery of the meat was made on January eight or nine by Mrs. Lion Shows, who was acting as temporary cook at the time. . . . The piece of meat was discovered on the top shelf of the pantry in the school kitchen and it was believed that some of the girls had placed it there, probably with the intention of later getting it for some purpose, but were prevented from doing so for the reason that they were not able to get to the pantry when there was no employee present, and the meat had gone bad by reason of being in the pantry, and was, in fact, in pretty bad shape. All of the other meat was kept in a meatbox out of doors and was frozen at the time, and this was all the spoiled meat on the place. It is further reported that when Mrs. Lion Shows discovered this meat, she called on the other employees of the kitchen to see it, and when they advised her to throw it away and say nothing about it, she refused to do so and called Plenty Coos, Bird Hat, and possibly some others, and showed it to them. It was later thrown in the garbage can, but apparently was dug out and taken down to Pryor sub-Agency about January tenth. In addition to the letter which the Principal transmitted in explanation of this matter, I have also received a letter from the matron under the same date, explaining the incident in practically the same manner and saying that the piece of meat in question was very small, not more than enough for about two pieces of steak, had it been cut. She was of the opinion that the kitchen girls had put the meat in a pan and set it on the shelf where it was later found. The matron advises that she asked Mrs. Lion Shows to burn the meat when it was discovered, but that she
refused to do so, got mad about it, had Plenty Coos call a meeting of the Indians and advised them that was the kind of meat which was furnished to the children in the school.

I am of the opinion that it is true that there was a small piece of meat which was probably pretty rank; that it was not used for food and under most any other circumstances there would have been no hubbub about it; that the meat spoiled for the reason that some of the children had cached it inside the warm building for the purpose of using it themselves or giving it to some outsider, and that they were prevented from doing so by reason of employees being present all times, and that it spoiled because it was kept inside the warm building too long; . . . (20)

By 1918 there were various highway proposals which affected the Crow Reservation. There was the military interstate proposal from Canada to Mexico. There was also the State road from Hardin to Sheridan. (21) On the 20th of May, authority was granted for the Superintendent to employ Indians to construct a road from the Agency south through the Reservation as part of the main county road. (22)

Clearly railroad expansion had ceased by 1919. The Burlington Railroad abandoned the branch via Pryor, and, Senator Henry L. Myers requested permission for W. B. Vaughan of Billings to use the abandoned right of way between Tolucca and Warren, Montana for truck traffic. (23)

In the conference with Commissioner Meritt on the 24th of May, 1918, Plenty Coos complained against Leon R. Laverty, Superintendent of Pryor School. Plenty Coos said the school was dirty and run down, and the children were bruised and roughly handled. He said the Pryor Indians wanted a day school for the little children as they were not fed well at the Boarding School. He did not want a missionary school, neither Catholic nor Protestant. (24) The School needed repairs, but the Principal was
unable to find some one to fix them. Superintendent Asbury believed Plenty Coos' statement about the abuse of the children was over-stated. Asbury said Plenty Coos agreed to cut down Tribal expenses by turning the Pryor Boarding School into a day school and sending the older students to the Crow Boarding School. (25) But by 1919, Plenty Coos changed his mind or Asbury got his story straight.

I discussed with Chief Plenty Coos, . . . and he spoke of the fact that the larger amount of tribal money was expended on other portions of reservation in ditch construction, road work, school maintenance, etc., and he thought that their boarding school should be maintained in order to spend more of the money there. This attitude indicates that Plenty Coos does not differ very much from the average white politician in state and county affairs. (26)

There was a public school in Pryor filled with mixed-bloods, and Asbury argued that as the Crows became fee patent Indians, they could turn over their children to the public system. (26)

There were 110 students in the Government Boarding schools, 70 at the Agency school, and 47 at Pryor. There were 198 in private and missionary schools, 22 in off-Reservation schools, 48 in public schools, and 14 children not eligible to attend school at all. (27) Commissioner Sells desired Superintendent Asbury to check on the Indian sentiment more closely before shutting down the Pryor Boarding School. (28) Plenty Coos wrote to Asbury saying the Crows agreed it would be cheaper to close the Boarding School and send the older students to Crow Boarding School. (29) Asbury forwarded the letter to the Commissioner. (30) Commissioner Cato Sells replied, "You are advised that after careful consideration I have decided
to discontinue the Pryor Creek Boarding School at the close of the present fiscal year."(31)

Senator T. J. Walsh, acting for the Committee on Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Department, forwarded the petition of August 3 from Father Aloysius Vrebosch. The Catholic Indians of Pryor Creek protested against the closing of the Pryor Boarding School.(32) If it was not possible to continue the School as a Boarding School, then they wanted it turned into a day school for all the children in the area. It was signed by Bird Hat, Pretty Coyote, Plain Feather, and a total of sixty-one Crows.(33) Father Vrebosch thought the discipline problems at the Pryor Boarding School were due to the lack of employees at the School. He suggested up-grading the employment by hiring Catholics.(34) As the Congregationalist schools were to be closed at the Agency, Commissioner Sells ordered the re-opening of Pryor Boarding School.(35) The Baptists were opening a day school in Pryor which left only thirteen pupils for the Pryor Boarding School.(36) Analysis of the Catholic petition showed that only nineteen out of the sixty-one persons who signed the petition had children in school, and forty-two had no children. Plenty Coos and other leading names were not on it.(37)

The scuffle was not over yet. Bishop Mathias O. Lenihan reported to Commissioner Sells that there were "a large number of full blooded Crows at Prior and are most anxious to have their boarding school continued." He added, "They are all Catholics and request a Catholic school superintendent."(38) Assistant Commissioner Meritt replied to the
Right Reverend that the Indian Appropriation Act closed all schools, with less than forty-five pupils. Pryor Boarding School had far less than forty-five.\(^{39}\)

The Act of 1920 reserved land for public schools on the Crow Reservation providing Indian students could enter them. By 1921 Government schools had seen their last days. Supervisor James H. McGregor reported on the situation in October. The public school at Crow Agency had a modern brick building and 5 teachers teaching "all of the grades of the Common school subjects and two years of regular High School Course."\(^{40}\) In the first grade McGregor found 20 Indians, 21 whites, and one Japanese. In the third and fourth grades he found 12 Indians and 20 whites. In the fifth and sixth grades there were 10 Indians and 20 whites. There was one Indian in junior high, and 3 in the high school, but they were all mixed-bloods. At the Black Lodge there was a private institution wholly supported by the Crows. There were 24 Indian students taught by a mixed-blood Pine Ridge Sioux. The students were riding ponies to school, so McGregor thought the school should be discontinued at the end of the year. There were 3 Indians at Dunmore Public School, 3 at Ogborn. The Big Horn Mission Day School, run by the Baptists, had 19 students and there was "a general air of good feeling."\(^{40}\) St. Xavier School only had one mixed-blood, but the St. Xavier Mission School had 24 Indians and 5 whites. It was no longer a boarding school, and the teacher did not seem to have much ability. The Bird Horse school, also Catholic, had 10 Indians studying under an unqualified teacher. "The school is merely a make shift and is little better
St. Ann's School of the Catholic Mission had 16 students and a Crow teacher, Barney Old Coyote. Wyola Public School had 24 Indians and 40 whites under 2 teachers. The teachers had white students tutor the Indians who were behind. The Upper Little Horn school had 5 Indians and many white students. Lodge Grass had a grade school and a high school. McGregor thought the worst teacher on the Reservation was teaching third and fourth grades at Lodge Grass. At the Sand Creek School there were 7 Indian students. The Lodge Grass Mission School, run by the Baptists, had 15 small students. Garryowen Public School had 24 Indians, 7 whites, one Japanese, and one Mexican studying under 2 teachers.

The War, as McGregor put it, "brought about conditions that lowered the efficiency of the Government boarding school." The State agreed to allow Indians into their schools. The Crow Boarding School, though not "officially closed," had no students, and most of the Indians did not want their children in the Boarding School. McGregor concluded:

Whether these Indians are willing to undergo the inconvenience and the added cost that will result by keeping their children at home remains to be seen. If they send their children to the public school, it will be necessary for the parents to stay at home more of the time, they will have to get up earlier in the morning than has been their custom and many of them will have to take their children to school from one to three miles when the weather is below zero. They will have to furnish all of their clothing and food . . . The children will have to be bathed . . .

In 1922 Superintendent Asbury suggested using the school rooms and assembly hall of the discontinued Boarding School to "supplement" the public school system. He also suggested using the Girls' and Boys' dormitories as an old people's home to solve a problem which, as elsewhere,
had been growing since the early 1900's. But the elder Crows did not want an old folks' home, and the younger Crows did not wish to send the older ones there. On the 19th of May, as the Crows opposed using the Boarding School as an old people's home, the matter was closed.

In 1908 the Two Leggins canal was completed, and in the next year the first man to file a complaint against the canal was Chief Two Leggins, himself. As attorney for the Two Leggins Company, ex-agent Edwards met his match with the Government. By 1911 the Catholics and the Protestants were competing with each other to locate areas for day schools. The Pryor Boarding School had to be closed in 1912 for a while. In 1918 to 1919 it was opened again, then closed due to lack of students. In Pryor already a public school was established. The Act of 1920 reserved land for public schools, so that by 1921 the Crow Boarding School was empty, and the Government withdrew from educating the Indians. In 1919 the abandoned railroad right of ways were turned into highways. Buggies gave way to automobiles. The industrial revolution, which began over a century before, was transformed into a new age of technology.
CHAPTER XV

WAR, DEPRESSION, AND PROHIBITION

Since 1890 the war days became a verbal activity among the Crow Indians. But in 1917 war days were heard of again. World War I was a different kind of war than the Crows had witnessed before. There was no war-whooping, no thundering hooves, and little time for counting coups. War days were no longer for stealing horses. In the 1860's liquor, which had become a problem for many Indian tribes in Montana, remained untouched by the Crows. Liquor did not become a major tribal problem until 1915. The real penalty was worse than the one prescribed by law. Surely Prohibition would have an effect on the Crow Reservation. It did—an unintended one. The Crows had had few enjoyable experiences with money. But along with many new problems, economics presented an uncertain situation.

E. A. Richardson, as president of the Richardson Mercantile Company, commented on the inspection by Z. Lewis Dalby in 1907. Dalby had asked the traders on the Crow Reservation "for a strict observance of a regulation framed for the conditions existing years ago when no competition was encountered by Indian Traders, namely, the fixing of a stated per cent of profit to be charged on all merchandise."(1) Where before the regulation still brought profit, now it forced the traders out
of business because of competition with stores just off the Reservation which did not have to follow such regulation. The Indian traders sold goods for lower prices than Billings or Sheridan; Richardson wanted the prices equal.(1)

The Daily Gazette ran the following lines in October, 1909:

EDUCATED CROW DIES IN JAIL

Lying cold in the icy grasp of death and with the blood bespattered walls and floor of his cell telling the story of an unexpected hemorrhage, Alexander Upshaw, perhaps the best educated Indian of the Crow nation, was found in the city jail yesterday morning. Upshaw was arrested late Monday night at the request of Dr. Miller who had answered a call sent in by a Billings hotel where the Indian was stopping and who declared that the man was suffering from a protracted spree and that the only way to keep him from further drinking would be to lock him up . . . (2)

Upshaw died on the 19th; both the city of Billings and the County of Yellowstone looked for the man who sold him the liquor. Upshaw was only thirty-seven when he died. He was a teacher at Pryor School, and he created what the clipping called "quite a sensation" when he married a white woman after graduating from Carlisle.

Superintendent Reynolds wrote the Commissioner that the death was a disaster, that Upshaw had been an educated leader of the Crows, and that he had helped Edward Curtis collect information on the background of the Crows.(2) Commissioner F. H. Abbott wrote "To the Young Men of the Crow Agency" that he was

grieved to hear of his death. Especially do I feel grieved because of the disgraceful manner and place in which the death occurred, and I want to ask each of you hereafter to refrain from drinking intoxicating liquor, and to assist the Superintendent and police in apprehending the people who violate the laws by selling whiskey to Indians.(3)
At Crow Agency E. A. Richardson and Company had a general store, and Harry Clifford had a butcher shop. A. M. Stevenson had a general store at Lodge Grass. At St. Xavier the general store was run by H. C. Lobdell, a squaw man. Jon Date ran the general store at Pryor. All the traders followed the regulations, according to Superintendent W. Scott in 1911.(3)

Assistant U.S. Attorney, Homer C. Murphy, claimed there was a rise in liquor cases and arrests in the last quarter of 1916. Superintendent Estep believed it was a result of the constant agitation which has been carried on by Helen Pierce Gray and politicians boosting the opening of the reservation and stockmen knocking each other and endeavoring to get Indians to consent to this, that, or the other plan of doing things.(5)

Liquor continued as a major problem when on the 31st of March 1917 another prominent Crow leader, Chief Spotted Rabbit, died under its influence. His son, Joe Spotted Rabbit, and his brother, Little Hawk, denied the cause and telegraphed the Commissioner that Spotted Rabbit had been murdered.(6) The Commissioner ordered an investigation.(7) Superintendent Estep, exhibiting his usual witty attitude, said Spotted Rabbit obtained a pint, a quart, and a jug of "refreshment," got drunk with Old White Man, and fell off his horse while trying to cross Pryor Creek. He was bruised from "collision with floating ice," swam across the Creek, and died on the other side from chill.(8) Commissioner Meritt overlooked the peculiarities of the report.(9)

On the 2nd of April, President Woodrow Wilson declared War in his
speech before Congress, and General John Pershing was pulled out of Mexico where he had stamped out a rebellion. Superintendent Estep wrote the Commissioner in June.

At the earnest request of Sees With His Ears, who styles himself "Chief of the Black Lodge Indians", and personally known to you, I am advising you that Sees With His Ears desires the Present [President] to know that he is perfectly willing for his Indians to register for army service under the law but that he does not want them to go to Germany but desires that they go to the Mexican Border; that he does not desire that they be drilled in the white man's tactics, but that they be allowed to fight according to the old methods of the Indians. I explained in minute detail to Sees With His Ears that it would be impossible for the Government to make any change in the law or the plans; that in accordance with the general average of drafts no more than five or six Crow Indians would be selected for the first army; that all people except colored Recruits would be mixed up promiscuously in the army and that there would be no units composed entirely of Indians and that when the Ex-President of the United States was not allowed to organize a separate unit of the army, it was not likely that the President would pay much attention to any request from a few Indians to be set apart as a unit from the general plan. However, Sees With His Ears was of the opinion that it would do no harm for the President to have his views on the subject and insisted that they be communicated to him and I told him that I would place his wishes before the Office in order that you might convey them to the President if you saw fit. If any answer is deemed necessary, make it to Sees With His Ears direct which would probably swell his head a little bit more than it is now.(10)

C. R. Wanner telegraphed from the Agency, "Crow Indians agitated regarding draft for military service and have consulted local attorneys with view of resisting draft by legal proceedings . . ."(11) Commissioner Sells replied:

Advise Indians that exemptions must be allowed by regular boards appointed by President for reasons given in War Department regulations but that you are hereby again instructed to appear on behalf of drafted Indians and see that they have benefit of exemptions under law and regulations. Advise them that non-citizen Indians are exempt and that doubtful citizenship should be resolved favorably to Indians on account of peculiar status as former wards. . . .(12)
Superintendent Asbury sent a list of non-citizen Indians that had been drafted that should have been exempted. Sixty-six names on the list had either trust patents and were not declared citizens under the Burke Act of May 8, 1906. But the Crows were not the only ones to resist the draft, and in the minds of several writers U.S. involvement in the First World War could have been replaced with U.S. mediation.

Early in 1918 President Wilson presented his fourteen points for world peace. Congress vetoed the League of Nations in 1920. As the soldiers returned home, the post-War depression commenced, and eventually even the Crow Reservation was affected. General Hugh L. Scott met with the Crows at the Agency on September 10. White Arm, Ben Spotted Horse, Crooked Arm, Sits Down Spotted, Sees-With-His-Ears, Door, Eagle, Charges Strong, Curley, Big Medicine, Barney Looks Back, Thomas Medicinehorse, Richard Littlelight, Dick Bushy Head, Comes Up Red, Looks At Ground, and Russell White Bear were present. White Arm of Lodge Grass remarked that when there were buffalo, there were no worries. Things had now changed, and they dressed differently. There were no Tribal funds, and they had had a dry year in 1919, followed by harsh winter storms. Prices in the stores were high, while the prices for their farm products had gone way down. Chief Crooked Arm, speaking for the Black Lodge Crows, explained that stores had stopped giving credit to the Crows. Door, who was the second chief of Reno, said that $10 in 1920 was like $1 a few years before. Ben Spotted Horse thought there must be a lot of money somewhere as beef prices were high. Amos Spotted did not see why the Crows had to
reimburse the Tribal fund for irrigation projects. When the complaint session was over, General Scott said the whole world was changing, and everybody would have to change with it. On behalf of the whites, the General expressed gratefulness to the Crows for fighting the Germans with the U.S. Army in the same manner as they had fought the Sioux with the U.S. Cavalry. (14)

The Volstead Act of October 28, 1919, more commonly known as the National Prohibition Act, became effective on the 16th of January 1920 as the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. From the date of its passage, which was done over President Wilson's veto, the Act created more trouble than it set out to solve. In many places the bootlegger became a hero. The effect of the Prohibition era on the Crow Reservation was somewhat different than its effect on other parts of the Nation. By 1921, Superintendent Asbury reported that the "use of peyote seems to be on the increase here. It is unfortunate that we have no strict statute that would assist in suppressing this habit." (15) Asbury discovered the sender of the "bean" was Mr. B. Rams of Texas. (15) In the meantime, Sheriff John McLeod and Deputy Sheriff Carl Long of Big Horn County were commissioned to search for liquor, stills, and violators of "the Prohibition Laws on Indian Reservations." (16)

Superintendent Asbury forwarded two petitions from the Crows. Thomas and Frank Gardner, Holds the Enemy, Old Elk, Bull Don't Fall, and thirty St. Xavier Indians requested Government assistance in keeping peyote off the Reservation. Plenty Coos and 110 Pryor Crows signified that
"the State gone dry" had made great improvements, but that peyote was creating an evil worse than liquor.(17)

The field matron at St. Xavier, Mrs. Bridgett C. Keough, wrote to Superintendent Asbury,

that there has been a revival of the "beaver dance" one of the "give away" dances in which those who take part receive great amounts of various articles.

But more dangerous than the dances are the peyote meetings held for two or three days weekly, usually from Saturday until Monday. These meetings are said to be scenes of debasing orgies and are a very great menace to the health and morals.(18)

Mrs. Keough said young boys were taking part in the peyote services, and two pregnant women had died from the meetings. She found eight "dazed" men in the camp and several addicted Indians. "There are misguided people," she wrote, "who believe that it is a religion of the Indians and therefore they should be free to use it and nothing should be done to prevent the holding of the meetings."(18)

In 1922 Superintendent Asbury and Plenty Coos drew up a petition requesting steps be taken to eliminate peyote on the Crow Reservation. They sent the petition to all the districts, and on August 8 Asbury forwarded the petition and the signatures.(19)

The Montana State legislature passed "An Act to Prohibit Possession or Traffic in Lophophora Williamsii or Peyote (Pellote) and Agava Americana (Sometimes Known as Mescal Buttons) and Providing Penalties for Its Violation."(20) It was signed by Calvin Crumbaker, speaker of the Montana house, by Nelson Story Jr., president of the State senate, and approved by Governor Joseph M. Dixon on the 24th of February 1923.(20) But the
State law applied only to citizens.(21)

Special Supervisor F. E. Brandon reported in 1923 that liquor on the Reservation was "confined chiefly to 'Home Brew' and that has not given serious trouble."(22) Peyote was discouraged but not prohibited. In St. Xavier peyote was actually indulged in; whereas, in Pryor, the Indians and employees joined together and forced out the "peyote missionaries."(23)

The State of Montana decided to try its luck at applying the peyote prohibition law to the Crow Reservation. Big Sheep was charged with violation of the law on the 9th of November 1924. Big Sheep's argument, that he was on the Reservation when he violated the law, was over-ruled in the county court because he was also standing within the borders of Big Horn County. Big Sheep argued that peyote was part of the worship in the Native American Church, but his argument was denied and so was his plea for a new trial. He was declared guilty and sentenced to pay a fine. Big Sheep appealed his case. The case went to the Montana State Supreme Court in Helena in 1926, and, on the 26th of January, it was decided. Big Sheep had been caught on the allotment of Austin Stray Calf, and the State never proved whether Stray Calf was a fee-patent or patent-in-trust Indian. Article III of the Bill of Rights stated religious practices are free so long as they do not disturb peace or safety. The Court felt the State must define "disturbance." Consequently the judgment was reversed and a new trial ordered in the district court.(23)

In 1933 the Eighteenth Amendment was rescinded, and the so-called
Prohibition era came to an end. Probably one of the worst cases on the Crow Reservation occurred on the 11th of January 1938 when William and Edmund Spotted obtained liquor from a bootlegger named Harvey Cline. William's wife, Susie Wallace Spotted, realized trouble was starting, so she sent Frank He Does It to break it up. But William and Edmund attacked him with fists, a stick of wood, and an axe. Then Susie stopped two truckers on the highway to rescue Frank He Does It. They saved He Does It, but they could not break up the fight between the two brothers. Everyone left the scene while William proceeded to shoot his brother several times. Then William tried to set the house on fire, burning part of his face in the process. That night he was arrested. At the Grand Jury case in Great Falls Spotted pleaded guilty, and he was sentenced to six months at the Big Horn County Jail in Hardin.

In the early 1900's the owners of stores on the Crow Reservation saw their businesses going down hill. As the Indians began to travel more freely, on the Reservation and off, competition played more of a role. Some of the traders quit. But hard times were not known in business until after World War I. Little did the Crows realize they had been hitched to the world and all its problems. Economics became an uncertain plague as the Crows entered the 20's and 30's. The hysteria over the threat of opening the Reservation took many adverse forms. By 1915 drinking mounted and liquor cases aggregated. When Prohibition came, many of the Crows gave up the bottle, and they switched to peyote services by 1921. At first peyote was resisted in the Pryor district. The St. Xavier Indians
opposed it on account of the influence of the Catholic Mission. But even
the Montana State laws could not shut out peyote from the Crow Reservation.
CHAPTER XVI

CHIEF PLENTY COOS

In 1921 Brigadier General William Lassiter informed Plenty Coos that he was to decorate the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on Armistice Day, but only the President was to speak. (1) However, on the 11th of November, Plenty Coos did speak. His statement was translated:

For the Indians of America I call upon the Great Spirit of the Red Men with gesture, and change, and tribal tongue: That the dead should not have died in vain; That war might end; That peace be purchased by the blood of Red Men and White. (2)

In 1908 Plenty Coos, Spotted Rabbit, Big Medicine, and Alexander Upshaw went to Federal Grand Jury at Helena as witnesses in the trial of Mrs. H. P. Grey and Mr. M. K. Sniffen. (3) In 1917 Father L. Taelman baptized Plenty Coos at St. Xavier. (4) In November 1921, while he was representing all of the American Indians at the service for the Unknown Soldier, Plenty Coos adopted Marshal Ferdinand Foch of France and General Diaz of Italy. (5) After falling out of a window in 1923, Plenty Coos took Communion in the Catholic hospital. (4) On the 2nd of May 1924, Plenty Coos became an honorary member of the Kiwanis Club. It was a "tribute to the peaceful relations" between whites and the Crows. (6) Plenty Coos requested the Kiwanis Club to select a member for adoption. George E. Snell, a lawyer, was adopted by Plenty Coos on May 13. Goat Head Pretty and Simon Bull Tail were the singers, while William Big Day
and George Goes Ahead were the dancers. The Reverend John Frost, Baptist, was the interpreter.\(^5\) In June Plenty Coos was confirmed by Bishop Crimont of Alaska who conducted classes for a few Crows.\(^4\)

In 1928 Major General James G. Harbord received forty acres of land at the foot of the Pryor Mountains from Plenty Coos. The ceded land was to be a park with the 160-acre allotment for its support. Plenty Coos also adopted General Harbord.\(^7\)

On the 7th of November 1931, Plenty Coos at the age of 83 made one of his last statements through his interpreter Eugene Long Ears to local attorneys, C. C. Guinn and Dan W. Maddox. He wanted the land in the Pryor and Big Horn mountains reserved, leased to the highest bidders, and the timber left uncut. He wanted the allotments held in trust for another twenty-six years and not sold. He thought the Pryor School should be modeled into a hospital as it was not being used any more. Finally, he wanted the proceeds from the Crow Claim distributed among the children of the Tribe.\(^8\) Assistant Commissioner J. Henry Scattergood replied to Guinn and Maddox that the 1920 Act reserved the mountains for leasing. The Crow Boarding School had been considered for a hospital, but it was never used so. The trust patents were extended on December 30, 1931. And the proceeds from the Crow Claim would be disposed by an Act.\(^9\)
GENERALIZATIONS AND SPECULATIONS

The policy of selling Crow land for money to run the remaining Reservation began in 1882 when Congress ratified the Agreement of 1880. The Crows ceded land west of the Boulder River for an annual sum of $30,000 for twenty-five years. The money was used to build houses on the Reservation and to start Indian farm programs. The next stretch of land to be ceded lay between Boulder River and Clark Fork. The non-Indians argued that the western portion of the Crow Reservation was no good for agriculture, and hence no good for the Indians. As a matter of fact, though, the western portion was useless to the Crows only because the Indian Office never trained them to be miners. The Act of 1891, which ratified the Agreement of 1890, invested most of the funds from the cession of land in the Crow Irrigation Survey. By passing the Act of 1904 the Government did not actually "break" the Agreement of 1899 with the Crows. The Government had to modify the Agreement ceding the northern portion of the Reservation because of the 1902 homestead laws for disposing land. There was no legal way the Government could have ratified the 1899 Agreement except to have it done prior to the Reclamation Act of 1902. The Government was at liberty to change the Agreement as the Lone Wolf case indicated in 1903. The mistake made was not informing the Crows of the necessary modification. Besides, the 1904 Act was a poor one; the funds were allocated to the annoyance of those who desired them for cattle, and
the land was never entirely sold.

The day of employing Indians in the Agency office was too long delayed. The Indian Office should have recognized it was merely a temporary administrative body for the Indians, and its white employees should have given way without resentment to Indian replacements. By the early 1900's the Crows had only been taught how to plow fields, how to run cattle, and how to dig ditches. The Indian Office had neglected to teach them land-management and money handling.

In the 1880's and 1890's there was no question who ruled the Crow Reservation. The agents had most of the power, and the chiefs barely represented the Indians. After the turn of the Century, authority on the Crow Reservation disintegrated. The Indian Office competed with Tribal lawyers for ultimate protection of the Crow Indians, while the Crow Council competed with the Business Committee for ultimate authority in the matter of Crow consent. The Crows played off the Indian Office against the Congress, while the Indian Office and Congress played off the Business Committee against the Crow Council. The desire of a few Crows to assume self-government in 1912 and 1913 paralleled the mounting hysteria toward the threat of opening. In 1914 some of the Crows engaged in cattle crimes. Liquor violations backed up in the courts starting in 1915. The opening of the Reservation could have been conducted totally or in piece-meal fashion. Instead, the Indian Office, Congress, the Crow Council, the Business Committee, and unofficial Tribal attorneys all fought each other until the 1920 Act opened the Reservation in a disorganized manner. The
commission provided for by the Act was to appraise competency, not land. Competency, which commenced with the Burke Act of 1906, became a compromise between those who wanted the Crow Reservation opened and those who opposed opening. For, it authorized the sale of allotments.

Congress preferred to deal with the Crows through the Business Committee rather than through the Indian Office. The Committee eventually became the most easily manageable group the Indian Office could depend upon for Crow consent. But once the Committee was established in 1921, the direction of authority still descended from the Interior Department to the Crows, and not from the Crows to some half-way point or from one equal to another.

The Indian Office should have been congratulated on its success in handling the leases. Leasing portions of the Crow Reservation commenced in 1882 because one cattleman would not, or could not, keep his cattle off the Reservation. The Government policy toward leasing evolved by constant attempts to overcome the surprises and loopholes invented by the cattlemen. Agency corruption so preoccupied people on and near the Crow Reservation in the 1890's that the surrounding, off-Reservation culprits escaped with their loot. Then, in 1901 Agent Edwards caught Sam Garvin. Leasing became complicated in the early 1900's. By 1914 the Indian Office began to look for the Crows who were slaughtering lessees' cattle. The greatest conspiracy, involving both Crows and cattlemen, came to light in 1917 when Russell White Bear attempted to collect his bribe fee. After the Crow Act of 1920, the Tribal grazing leases were allowed to terminate, and the
big time cattlemen began to lease allotments.

From 1884 to 1919 the Government wondered what to do with Indian horses. Cattlemen protested against Indian horses running on the grazing districts. As a War-time measure to save the world's beef supply, the Government issued the Circular of 1919 which resulted in the shooting of many horses in the 1920's. The Circular touched off such violent action that the Crows were prepared for little else than sudden reaction.

The Indian Office argued for the economic value of bringing railroads through the Reservation and thought railroads would expand the market for Crow farm products. The Crows welcomed the arrival of the Northern Pacific in 1881. By the late 1880's they became skeptical toward railroads for reasons not brought out well in the documents. Railroads, however, were of more economic value to non-Indians than to Indians. Settlements sprang up along the railroads, and cattlemen made extensive use of them, even after the railroads stopped expanding in the 1900's.

Agent Armstrong advocated big Government spending as early as 1885, long before there was any John Maynard Keynes theory. Such spending was not realized on the Crow Reservation until the authorization of the Crow Irrigation Survey in 1891. The Irrigation Survey proved to be one of the greatest adventures in organized Indian labor. From 1892 to 1906 the Crows used Tribal funds to pay themselves to work on the irrigation construction. After the first system was completed, the Crows used Tribal funds for further construction and reimbursed the funds by money earned from farming. Neither method made much sense when examined closely.
Beginning in 1883, development at the Crow Boarding School was considered by the Indian Office a mark of material progress at Crow Agency. Lack of social progress in Indian students was measured by the amount of regression from white man's culture upon leaving school. In a sense, the Crow Boarding School never accomplished its goals—it never could. In 1920 the Government ran out of funds; so the Crow Boarding School was closed in 1921.

The agents could punish the Indians for their lack of farm activities by preventing Crow visitations to other reservations or other visitations to the Crow Reservation. In 1886 visitations required consent of the agencies to be visited. By the following year visitations required consent from the Indian Office. Indians who visited the Crows in the 1880's and the 1890's often came to trade for horses. The agents at Crow Agency during this period prevented the Crows from visiting other reservations.

Little could be made of the causes for the Crow uprising in 1887. Only the Crows could explain the true underlying causes. The Court of Indian Offenses, provided by the rules of 1884, must have been disbanded temporarily by Agent Williamson after the troubles of 1887. Perhaps the Crows themselves shirked judging for fear of being judged.

Pie-cutting the Reservation in 1891 for leasing, irrigating, and ultimately farming seemed to transform the Tribal units from bands into districts. The threat of smallpox in the early 1900's sent the Crows into the hills in bands, but Agent Reynolds broke up all Indian camps in 1905. Indian tribes of the southwest were noted for their crafts, but other
tribes envied Crow horses. There were Christmas celebrations on the Crow Reservation, and many Indians went to the Fourth of July celebrations. In 1904 the first agriculture fair was held on the Crow Reservation. The tradition soon became the annual Crow Fair. Other Indian tribes were famous for their dances, but in the early 1900's the Crows were outstanding for their ability to perform and act. In the end of the nineteenth century, the Indian Office associated Crow customs with political troubles; with the turn of the century, however, Indian customs were associated with sanitary disaster.

The First World War linked the Crows into the world situation. The post-War depression of the 1920's proved the link was intricate.

Liquor brought death to prominent and brilliant Crow leaders. But during the Prohibition era, the whiskey bottle was replaced by the peyote bean.

Chief Plenty Coos, who lived before the Reservation was established and for fifty years afterwards, saw more change and transition take place among the Crows than they ever underwent before or since. It took white men many thousands of years to develop agriculture, but it took Plenty Coos and a few Crows less than a decade to learn how to farm. In out-living all the other Crow chiefs, Plenty Coos passed from a horse-stealer and a buffalo hunter to a scout for the Army, to a negotiator for treaties, to a farmer, to a store owner in Pryor, to a Crow delegate to Washington, to a Business Committee representative, and eventually to a nationally known Indian leader. Although later forgotten by non-Indians, Plenty Coos
symbolized the mission of the Crow Indians to the world, a message which
the world must learn from the Crows, namely—the need for generosity.
APPENDIX A

MAPS
CROW AGENCY

1893-5

MAP 7
MAP 8
RAILROADS AND GRAZING DISTRICTS
1909

ADAPTED FROM
41014/08 Pt. 2
CROW A. (321) (46594)
and also
41014/08 Pt. 4
CROW A. (321) (71115)

GRAZING DISTRICT

RAILROAD

(Transcribed text is not provided as the content is graphical and not descriptive text.)
APPENDIX B

LISTS
LIST I

AGENTS AND DATES OF THEIR ADMINISTRATION

19 January 1888 Henry E. Williamson resigned; his resignation was accepted 24 February.

8 March 1888 E. P. Briscoe was commissioned as agent; 11 May Williamson was relieved, and on 12 May Briscoe assumed charge.

13 April 1889 Moses P. Wyman was commissioned as agent; on 15 April Briscoe was removed, on 30 June Briscoe was relieved, and on 1 July Wyman assumed charge.(1)

14 December 1893 Wyman was removed.

27 January 1894 Lieutenant W. Watson became acting agent; on 1 March he was assigned charge.

22 January 1897 Charles H. Barstow (clerk) was in charge.

17 November 1897 Captain George W. H. Stouch was transferred to Crow Agency; on 1 January 1898 Stouch was assigned charge.

17 February 1898 F. Glenn Mattoon (clerk) was in charge; 1 June he was in charge again.

3 June 1898 Edward H. Becker was commissioned as agent; 2 June he relieved Stouch, and on 1 July Becker was assigned charge.

12 December 1898 F. G. Mattoon was in charge.

10 June 1899 John E. Edwards was commissioned as agent; Becker was removed, and 16 June Edwards was assigned charge.

27 June 1899 Mattoon was in charge.

4 September 1899 Edwards was authorized to be agent.(2)

14 May 1902 Samuel G. Reynolds was commissioned as agent, and on 1 July he was assigned charge.(3)
# LIST 2

THE RATIO OF INDIAN AND WHITE AGENCY EMPLOYEES

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<th>Year</th>
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Reynolds 4
### List 3

#### The Ratio of Indian and White Irrigation Employees

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### LIST 4

**APPROVED RELINQUISHMENTS ON THE WESTERN PORTION CEDED IN 1891**

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<td>1906</td>
<td>5 and 33 on the northern portion ceded in 1904 (6)</td>
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REFERENCES CITED
REFERENCES CITED

THE CLOSING OF THE OLDEN DAYS: AN INTRODUCTION


4. Ibid., pp. 9-11.


7. Ibid., p. 3.

8. Ibid., p. 5.

9. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

10. Ibid., pp. 7-8.

11. Ibid., p. 8.

12. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

13. Ibid., p. 9.


15. Ibid., p. 10.


18. Ibid., pp. 18-22.

19. Ibid., p. 22.

20. Ibid., p. 40.

21. Ibid., pp. 47-49.

22. Ibid., pp. x-xii.


CHAPTER I

1. 6912-CC-86, H. E. Williamson, Agent, March 1, 1886. The Letters received by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs are filed in the Social and Economic section of the National Archives in Washington, D. C. The letters between 1881 and 1907 were filed by their receiving number, plus by categories (abbreviated by initials standing for Agency, Councils, Education, Finance, Land, and Miscellaneous), plus by the year (condensed into the last two digits), plus sometimes by enclosure number. Some groups of related letters have been placed into Special Cases, abbreviated (SC). After 1907 the filing number expanded to include the case number, plus the year, plus the agency, plus the code number, plus occasionally the receiving number.

2. 17284-L-86 (SC 133), H. E. Williamson, June 26, 1886.

3. 23557-L-86, Williamson, August 31, 1886.

4. 33574-L-86, Henry Blakeley, North Western Express Stage & Transportation Co., December 15, 1886.

5. 5196-L-87, Williamson, February 18, 1887.
Chapter I (Cont.)

6. 20210-L-87, L. Q. C. Lamar, Secretary of Interior, July 30, 1887.
9. 15605-L-89, Briscoe, June 7, 1889.
10. 3719-L-89, J. R. Howard, Allotting Agent, February 9, 1889.
11. 4888-L-89, Briscoe, February 14, 1889.
13. 5134-L-89, Briscoe, February 16, 1889.
15. 8549-L-89, Briscoe, March 28, 1889.
16. 15604-L-89, Briscoe, June 6, 1889.
22. 5643-A-90, Junkin, February 18, 1890.
23. 34589-F-89, Moses P. Wyman, Agent, November 26, 1889.
24. 2920-LC-90, Wyman, January 18, 1890.
25. 7053-L-90, Plenty Coos, Chief, February 5, 1890.
26. 29336-E-90, Wyman, September 16, 1890.
27. 30455-A-90, J. G. Hatchitt, Allotting Agent, September 27, 1890.
28. 31073-A-90, Hatchitt, October 1, 1890.
31. 30877-F-90, Wyman, September 30, 1890.
33. 27715-L-90, John P. Brown, Surveyor, August 29, 1890.
34. 39207-L-90, Anonymous, December 15, 1890.
35. 1892-L-91, Cisney, January 2, 1891.
36. 13271-L-91 (SC 147), John W. Noble, Secretary of Interior, April 9, 1891.
37. 15910-L-91, Wyman, April 25, 1891.
38. 17547-L-91, Maggie E. Garrigus, Crow Squaw, May 9, 1891.
39. 12709-L-92 (No. 1), John Tinkler, Notary Public, ?.
40. 19912-L-91 (SC 147), Wyman, May 28, 1891.
41. 20934-L-91, Hatchitt, June 8, 1891.
42. 5316-A-92, Wyman, February 5, 1892.
43. 6631-A, F, & E-92, J. A. Leonard, Special Agent, February 12, 1892.
44. 25709-L-92 (SC 190), Walter H. Graves, Superintendent of Crow Irrigation Survey, July 9, 1892.
45. 28667-L-92 (SC 190), Graves, July 28, 1892.
46. 34315-M-92, Wyman, ?.
47. 38068-L-92 (No. 3), ???? Mandler, Acting Secretary of Interior, October 20, 1892.
48. 854-F-93, Wyman, December 28, 1892.
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Chapter I (Cont.)

49. 30776-A & E-93 (Nos. 8, 3, 7, ?, ?), Thomas P. Smith, Special Agent, August 12, 1893.
52. 8211-F-94, Watson, February 21, 1894.
53. 1988-F-95, Watson, January 7, 1895.
54. 6748-L-95, P. McCormick, January 28, 1895.
55. 32281-L-95, Watson, July 29, 1895.
56. 5269-E-95, Watson, January 29, 1895.
57. 35987-F-95 (No. 1), ?, Secretary of Interior, August 29, 1895.
59. 13398-F-96, Owen J. Sweet, Captain at Fort Custer, April 4, 1896.
60. 48010-A-96 (No. 1), Watson, December 17, 1896.
61. 14875-L-97, W. H. Hay, 1st Lieutenant of the 10th Cavalry, April 13, 1897.
63. 12991-A-98 (No. 1 & 36), Captain George W. H. Stouch, Agent, February 16, 1898.
64. 20143-A-98 (No. 1), Stouch, April 27, 1898.
65. 20995-L-98 (SC 147), C. N. Bliss, Secretary of Interior, May 6, 1898.
66. 23315-L-98 (SC 190), Stouch, May 18, 1898.
67. 33595-F-98, E. H. Becker, Agent, July 20, 1898.
68. 38140-F-98, Becker, August 16, 1898.
69. 41696-F-98, Becker, September 8, 1898.
Chapter I (Cont.)

70. 47854-F-98, Becker, October 17, 1898.
71. 11526-F-99, Becker, March 6, 1899.
73. 2765-F-99, Becker, January 14, 1899.
74. 9818-F-99, Becker, February 25, 1899.
75. 3053-F-99, Becker, January 17, 1899.
77. 13878-L-99, Becker, March 22, 1899.
78. 17134-L-99, Becker, April 4, 1899.
82. 24774-A-99, Dickson, May 22, 1899.
85. 27761-A & L-99 (Nos. 1, 2, & 3), Arthur M. Tinker, Inspector, June 7, 1899.
86. 27841-A-99, Dickson, June 1, 1899.
88. 35211-A-99 (No. 1), Becker, July 19, 1899.
89. 36451-M-99, Dickson, July 26, 1899.
90. 20618-M-00, John E. Edwards, Agent, April 23, 1900.
Chapter I (Cont.)

91. 37331-A-99, Dickson, July 29, 1899.
92. 16417-L-01 (SC 147), E. A. Hitchcock, Secretary of Interior, March 26, 1901.
93. 37827-L-01 (SC 147), John K. Rankin, Allotting Agent, July 10, 1901.
94. 24571-L-02 (SC 147), William Cary Langer, Secretary of War, April 23, 1902.
95. 72322-L-01 (No. 6), Hitchcock, December 12, 1901.
96. 13505-L-02, Edwards, November 30, 1901.
97. 5128-F-02, Edwards, January 17, 1902.
98. 3067-F-02, Edwards, January 10, 1902.
99. 45644-F-02, Samuel G. Reynolds, Agent, July 29, 1902.
100. 62216-F-02, Reynolds, October 14, 1902.
101. 2118-A-03, Frank M. Conser, Special Agent, January 5, 1903.
103. 7204-L-04, Reynolds, January 25, 1904.
104. 29130-L-04, Reynolds, April 25, 1904.
105. 22495-7-05 (No. 5) (SC 133), Hitchcock, March 24, 1905.
106. 2382-L-05 (No. 1), Reynolds, January 6, 1905.
107. 13118/08 Crow Agency (308.1), James McLaughlin, Inspector, February 17, 1908.
110. 26740-F-05, Reynolds, March 30, 1905.
111. 27198-A-05, Reynolds, April 5, 1905.
CHAPTER I (Cont.)

112. 50219-M-05 (No. 1), Reynolds, June 26, 1905.
113. 36168-L-05, ?, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 11, 1905.
114. 14926-?–06, McLaughlin, February 8, 1906.
117. 18919-L-06, Reynolds, February 23, 1906.
118. 13846-L-07 (SC 147), Reynolds, February 5, 1907.

CHAPTER II

2. 3647/85 (SC 133), Henry J. Armstrong, Agent, February 10, 1885.
3. 8728/85 (SC 133), Armstrong, April 15, 1885.
4. 9249/85 (SC 133), Granville Stuart, President of the Board of Stock Commissioners, Montana Territory, April 18, 1885.
5. 10657/85 (SC 133), Armstrong, May 6, 1885.
6. 21816/85 (SC 133), Armstrong, September 12, 1885.
7. 5215/86 (SC 133), Henry E. Williamson, Agent, February 10, 1886.
8. 11032/86 (SC 133), Williamson, April 17, 1886.
9. 21118/86 (SC 133), L. Q. C. Lamar, Secretary of Interior, August 7, 1886.
10. 24960/86 (SC 133), Williamson, September 11, 1886.
11. 31508/86 (SC 133), Williamson, November 19, 1886.
Chapter II (Cont.)

13. 13816-L-87 (SC 133), Williamson, May 23, 1887.
14. 15620/87 (SC 133), Lamar, June 20, 1887.
15. 18588-L-87 (SC 133), Williamson, July 9, 1887.
16. 21371-L-87 (SC 133), James R. Howard, Allotting Agent, August 7, 1887.
17. 29926-L-87, Frank C. Armstrong, Inspector, October 27, 1887.
18. 29800-L-87, Armstrong, November 7, 1887.
19. 29804-L-87, Armstrong, November 8, 1887.
20. 365 (Interior Department), 793-L-88 (No. 10), Williamson, January 2, 1888.
23. 3898-L-89, W. F. Vilas, Secretary of Interior, February 9, 1889.
25. 23024-L-89 (SC 133), George Chandler, Secretary of Interior, August 16, 1889.
26. 24225-L-89 (SC 133), Moses P. Wyman, Agent, August 23, 1889.
28. 2802-L-90, Alex Fraser, ?, Billings, January 16, 1890.
29. 7432-L-90, Wyman, March 3, 1890.
30. 8274-L-90, Wyman, March 8, 1890.

32. 13134-F-90, Wyman, April 5, 1890.

33. 9604/90 (SC 133), Wyman, March 22, 1890.

34. 15835-L-90, Pease, Stillwater, May 7, 1890.

35. 18025-L-90, Wyman, June 4, 1890.

36. 24801-L-90, Wyman, August 7, 1890.

38. 35015-L-90, Wyman, November 4, 1890.

39. 34383-L-90 (No. 1), Nelson and Walter D. Story, Cattlemen, Bozeman, November 7, 1890.

40. 35017-L-90, Wyman, November 8, 1890.

41. 35083-L-90, Wyman, November 13, 1890.

42. 36142-L-90, James Cisney, Inspector, November 20, 1890.

43. 36848-L-90, Cisney, November 29, 1890.

44. 37496-L-90, Wyman, December 5, 1890.


46. 8484/91 (SC 133), Wyman, February 27, 1891.

47. 10073-L-91 (SC 133), Wyman, March 10, 1891.

48. 26188/91 (SC 133), John W. Noble, Secretary of Interior, March 20, 1891.

49. 16696/91 (SC 133), Wyman, May 1, 1891.

50. 21118-L-91, Chandler, June 12, 1891.

51. 19533-L-91, Wyman, May 18, 1891.
Chapter II (Cont.)

52. 20464-L-91, Wyman, June 3, 1891.
53. 10476-L-92 (No. 1), Wyman, March 14, 1892.
54. 30776-A & E-93, Thomas P. Smith, Special Agent, August 12, 1893.
55. 25154-F-95, Lieutenant J. W. Watson, Agent, June 12, 1895.
56. 27651-L-95, Watson, July 6, 1895.
57. 38012-L-95, Watson, September 13, 1895.
58. 4665/96 (SC 133), Watson, January 28, 1896.
59. 18998/96 (SC 133), Hoke Smith, Secretary of Interior, May 16, 1896.
60. 32564/96 (SC 133), Smith, August 24, 1896.
63. 36670-L-97, Watson, August 28, 1897.
64. 23673/98 (SC 133), C. N. Bliss, Secretary of Interior, May 24, 1898.
65. 29549/98 (SC 133), Captain George W. H. Stouch, Agent, June 30, 1898.
66. 31408/98 (SC 133), Thomas Ryan, Secretary of Interior, July 12, 1898.
67. 35090/98 (SC 133), E. H. Becker, Agent, July 29, 1898.
68. 882/99 (SC 133), Ryan, January 6, 1899.
69. 8688-A-99, Becker, February 18, 1899.
70. 13880-A-99, Becker, March 22, 1899.
71. 33858/99 (SC 133), Charles H. Dickson, Clerk of the Indian Office, July 12, 1899.
72. 34680-L-99, John E. Edwards, Agent, July 18, 1899.
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Chapter II (Cont.)

74. 41085/99 (SC 133), Edwards, August 26, 1899.
75. 46748/99 (SC 133), E. A. Hitchcock, Secretary of Interior, September 30, 1899.
76. 49519/99 (SC 133), Edwards, October 14, 1899.
77. 61360/99 (SC 133), Edwards, December 22, 1899.
78. 65583/00 (Authority), received May 9, 1900.
79. 66047/00 (Authority), W. A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 15, 1900.
80. 31426/00 (SC 133), Hitchcock, June 30, 1900.
81. 33732/00 (SC 133), Ryan, Acting Secretary of Interior, July 11, 1900.
82. 14493-F-01, Edwards, March 12, 1901.
83. 15943-L-01, Edwards, March 21, 1901.
84. 69756/01 (Authority) (SC 133), Hitchcock, March 23, 1901.
85. 17433/01 (SC 133), Edwards, March 29, 1901.
86. 34966-L-01, Edwards, June 28, 1901.
87. 74484-L-01, Edwards, December 25, 1901.
88. 4063-L-02, Edwards, January 16, 1902.
90. 53418-A-02, Samuel G. Reynolds, Agent, September 1, 1902.
91. 50792-L-02, Reynolds, August 25, 1902.
92. 53732-A-02, Reynolds, September 8, 1902.
93. 80922/03 (Authority) (SC 133), Hitchcock, April 4, 1903.
Chapter II (Cont.)

94. 1668/04 (SC 133), Reynolds, January 4, 1904.
95. 32749-F-03, Reynolds, May 20, 1903.
96. 32508-F-03, Reynolds, May 17, 1903.
97. 36757-F-03, Reynolds, June 9, 1903.
98. 93299/05 (Authority) (SC 133), Reynolds, February 20, 1905.
99. 40964-L-05, Reynolds, April 17, 1905.
100. 60009-L-05, Reynolds, July 25, 1905.
101. 30963/05 (SC 133), Reynolds, April 18, 1905.
102. 34827/05 (SC 133), Hitchcock, May 5, 1905.
103. 38250/05 (SC 133), Reynolds, May 15, 1905.
104. 40348/05 (SC 133), Reynolds, May 22, 1905.
105. 41348/05 (SC 133), R. V. Belt, Attorney, May 31, 1905.
106. 42220/05 (SC 133), Levi Chubbuck, Special Inspector, May 20, 1905.
107. 49615/05 (SC 133), Reynolds, June 23, 1905.
108. 51443/05 (SC 133), Reynolds, June 29, 1905.
110. 23394-L-06, Reynolds, March 10, 1906.

CHAPTER III

1. No Number/80 (SC 82), Pollock, Inspector, September 26, 1880.
2. 451/80 (SC 82), Frederick Billings, President of Northern Pacific Railroad, September 28, 1880.
Chapter III (Cont.)

3. 2241/80 (SC 82), H. ? Crosley, Clerk for the Secretary of War, October 21, 1880.
4. 1351/80 (A) (SC 82), A. R. Keller, Agent, October 22, 1880.
5. 1249/80 (SC 82), Keller, October 4, 1880.
6. 1315/80 (SC 82), Keller, October 23, 1880.
7. 519/81 (SC 82), Billings, December 1, 1880.
8. 7728/81 (SC 82), S. J. Kirkwood, Secretary of Interior, May 9, 1881.
9. 9744/81 (SC 82), Keller, May 28, 1881.
10. No Number/81 (SC 82), Hiram Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 8, 1881.
11. 16006/81 (No. 1) (SC 82), Keller, August 27, 1881.
12. 16380/81 (SC 82), Llewellyn A. Luce, William H. Walker, Charles A. Maxwell, Special Agents, August 23, 1881.
13. 20171/81 (SC 82), ?, Secretary of Interior, November 16, 1881.
15. 5396/82 (SC 82), Armstrong, March 6, 1882.
16. 5580/82 (SC 82), ?, Secretary of War, March 20, 1882.
17. 5578/82 (SC 82), Armstrong, March 10, 1882.
18. 8402/82 (SC 82), ?, Secretary of War, May 4, 1882.
19. 6068/82 (SC 82), Armstrong, May 17, 1882.
20. 10983/83 (SC 82), Armstrong, June 12, 1883.
21. 6246/83 (SC 82), M. W. Joslyn, Secretary of Interior, August 16, 1883.
22. 1724/84 (SC 82), J. M. Hannaford, General Freight Agent, Northern Pacific Railroad, January 19, 1884.
Chapter III (Cont.)

23. 10704 (SC 82), T. F. Oakes, Northern Pacific Railroad, May 15, 1884.
24. 19820-L-87, Land Division of Interior Department, July 27, 1887.
25. 10799-L-87, Rocky Fork and Cooke City Railway Company, April 23, 1887.
26. 13149-L-87, L. Q. C. Lamar, Secretary of Interior, May 19, 1887.
27. 15186-L-87, Henry E. Williamson, Agent, June 7, 1887.
28. 18670-L-87 (No. 2), G. A. Knowlton and Williamson, July 11, 1887.
29. 25992-L-87, Rocky Fork and Cooke City Railway Company, September 28, 1887.
30. 6533-L-89, Counsel of Northern Pacific Railroad, March 7, 1889.
34. 23418-L-88, George V. Sims, Vice-president of Billings, Clark Fork, and Cooke City Railroad Company, September 14, 1888.
35. 31265-L-89, ?, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1888.
36. 26431-L-89 (SC 153), T. C. Power, President of the Big Horn Southern, September 9, 1889.
37. 7245-L-89 (SC 153), John W. Noble, Secretary of Interior, March 18, 1889.
38. 33477-L-90 (SC 153), Noble, October 29, 1890.
39. 2613-L-91 (SC 153), M. P. Wyman, Agent, January 14, 1891.
40. 32049-L-91 (SC 153), Wyman, August 29, 1891.
41. 26507-L-92, Wyman, July 19, 1892.
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Chapter III (Cont.)

42. 13665/15 Crow Agency (371), C. F. Hauke, 2nd Assistant Commissioner, February 3, 1915.

43. 16247-L-93 (SC 153), Wyman, April 28, 1893.

44. 17694-L-93, Wyman, May 8, 1893.

45. 35370-L-93 (SC 153), Thompson and Slater, Railroad Agents, May 23, 1893.

46. 4212-L-00, Thomas Ryan, Secretary of Interior, January 22, 1900.

47. 15678-L-00, E. A. Hitchcock, Secretary of Interior, March 29, 1900.

48. 23652-L-00, J. E. Edwards, Agent, May 11, 1900.

49. 29123-L-00, Hitchcock, June 16, 1900.

CHAPTER IV

1. 9175-L-84 (SC 190), H. M. Teller, Secretary of Interior, December 6, 1884.

2. 22905-L-84 (SC 190), H. J. Armstrong, Agent, November 22, 1884.

3. 21738-F-90, M. P. Wyman, Agent, July 11, 1890.

4. 16268-L-91 (SC 190), John W. Noble, Secretary of Interior, May 5, 1891.


6. 27794-L-92 (SC 190), Graves, July 26, 1892.

7. 32088-L-92 (SC 190), Graves, August 29, 1892.

8. 39670-L-92, Graves, October 25, 1892.

9. 1138-F-93, Wyman, January 3, 1892.

10. 22111-L-93, Plenty Coos, Chief, June 10, 1893.
Chapter IV (Cont.)

11. 24454-F-93, Graves, July 6, 1893.
12. 26026-F-93; Graves, July 15, 1893.
13. 30378-L-93, Thomas P. Smith, Special Agent, August 7, 1893.
14. 39981-L-93 (SC 190), Graves, October 8, 1893.
15. 41274-L-94 (SC 190), Graves, October 17, 1894.
17. 45807-L-95 (SC 190), Graves, November 1, 1895.
18. 45680-L-95 (No. 1) (SC 190), Graves, August 9, 1895.
19. 35299-L-95 (SC 190), Graves, August 20, 1895.
20. 11543-L-96 (SC 190), Graves, March 21, 1896.
21. 45098/95 (SC 190), Hoke Smith, Secretary of Interior, November 4, 1895.
22. 35775-L-96 (SC 190), Graves, September 1, 1896.
23. 15010-L-97 (SC 190), Graves, April 15, 1897.
24. 23187-L-97, Lieutenant J. W. Watson, Agent, June 8, 1897.
25. 14162-L-98 (SC 190), Graves, March 10, 1898.
26. 17719-L-98 (SC 190), Graves, April 16, 1898.
27. 18471-L-98 (SC 190), Captain George W. H. Stouch, Agent, April 16, 1898.
28. 32961-L-98 (SC 190), C. N. Bliss, Secretary of Interior, July 19, 1898.
29. 34383-L-98 (SC 190), Graves, July 24, 1898.
### Chapter IV (Cont.)

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<td>31.</td>
<td>12395-L-99 (SC 190)</td>
<td>Thomas Ryan, Acting Secretary of Interior</td>
<td>March 16, 1899</td>
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<td>34213-L-99 (SC 190)</td>
<td>Graves, Inspector</td>
<td>July 7, 1899</td>
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25. 13118/08 Crow Agency (308.1), McLaughlin, February 17, 1908.
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44. 14818/08 Crow Agency (308.1), A. N. Yoder, Secretary of Montana Legislature, February 19, 1909.
46. 110155/17 Crow Agency (125), Calvin H. Asbury, Superintendent, November 22, 1917.
47. 6905/08 Crow Agency (127), Jesse E. Wilson, Assistant Secretary of Interior, November 14, 1907.
48. Ibid., Samuel G. Reynolds, Agent, December 4, 1907.
49. Ibid., Wilson, January 29, 1908.
50. Ibid., Reynolds, June 11, 1909.
51. 85964/10 Crow Agency (127), R. G. Valentine, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 19, 1910.
52. Ibid., Winfield W. Scott, Superintendent, October 24, 1910.
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55. *Ibid.*, Kappler and Merillat, March 6, 1911.

56. 28953/13 Crow Agency (056), F. H. Abbott, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 21, 1913.

57. 69724/13 Crow Agency (308), Winfield W. Scott, Superintendent, June 1, 1913.


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72. Ibid., p. 84.
73. Ibid., pp. 88-91.
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85. Ibid., Evans, July 25, 1917.
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88. 88406/19 Crow Agency (308.1), S. 2890, August 27, 1919.
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96. No number/22 Crow Agency (308.1), F. M. Goodwin, Assistant Secretary of Interior, November 11, 1922.

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103. Ibid., July 17, 1912.

104. Ibid., F. H. Abbott, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 14, 1913.
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6. Ibid., Abbott, January 6, 1911.

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17. 50682/12 Crow Agency (059), Scott, May 16, 1912.

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23. 107916/15 Crow Agency (054), General Crow Council, July 29, 1915.


25. 100059/17 Crow Agency (054), Calvin H. Asbury, Superintendent, October 24, 1917.

26. Ibid., E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 7, 1917.

27. Ibid., Asbury, December 14, 1917.

28. Ibid., Meritt, December 24, 1917.

29. Ibid., Asbury, January 2, 1918.

30. 19739/18 Crow Agency (056), Crow Business Committee, January 8, 1918.

31. 100059/17 Crow Agency (054), Asbury, January 10, 1918.

32. Ibid., Meritt, February 9, 1918.

33. Ibid., Asbury, April 6, 1918.

34. Ibid., ?, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, ?

35. Ibid., H. W. Shipe, ?, April 19, 1918.

36. Ibid., Asbury, November 13, 1918.

37. 8275/19 Crow Agency (054), Crow Tribe, January 22, 1919.

38. 100059/17 Crow Agency (054), Asbury, April 3, 1920.

39. Ibid., Ralph Saco and Russell White Bear, October 14, 1920.

40. Ibid., Saco and White Bear, October 14, 1920.
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41. Ibid., J. B. Payne, Secretary of Interior, October 23, 1920.
42. Ibid., James Carpenter, Chairman, and George W. Hogan, Secretary, Crow Business Committee, and Plenty Coos, November 13, 1920.
43. Ibid., Secretary of Interior, November 13, 1920.
44. Ibid., Memorandum, December 6, 1920.
45. Ibid., Carpenter and Hogan, January 2, 1921.
46. Ibid., Asbury, January 15, 1921.
47. Ibid., Pryor District, February 24, 1921.
48. Ibid., Meritt, April 6, 1921.
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51. 100059/17 Crow Agency (054), Asbury, January 3, 1922.
52. 103860/20 Crow Agency (155), Asbury, December 21, 1921.
53. Ibid., Asbury, January 19, 1922.
54. Ibid., Meritt, February 13, 1922.
55. 100059/17 Crow Agency (050), Asbury, January 31, 1922.
56. Ibid., Asbury, February 6, 1922.
57. Ibid., Burke, May 22, 1922.
58. Ibid., Crow Business Committee, May 9, 1922.
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3. Ibid., Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 5, 1907.
4. 91960/07 Crow Agency (731), Samuel G. Reynolds, Agent, November 2, 1907.
5. 16586/08 Crow Agency (73l), F. M. Conser, Chief Clerk, Indian Office, March 17, 1908.
6. Tuberculosis/08 Crow Agency (732), Reynolds, July 3, 1908.
7. 71748.1/10 Crow Agency (732), Ferdinand Shoemaker, Physician Expert, January 2, 1911.
8. Ibid., Winfield W. Scott, Superintendent, June 8, 1911.
10. Ibid., Richard C. Adams, Great Sachem, and Joseph Craig, Secretary of Brotherhood of North American Indians National Organization, October 29, 1911.
11. 105346/11 Crow Agency (054), Adams, also representative of Delaware Indians, November 20, 1911.
15. 28953/13 Crow Agency (056), ?, March 7, 1913.
18. 70435/13 Crow Agency (731), Scott, June 11, 1913.
21. Ibid., Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 12, 1916.
22. 96316/17 Crow Agency (301), Plenty Coos, October 10, 1917.
25. Ibid., Calvin H. Asbury, Superintendent, September 10, 1917.
26. Ibid., E. B. Meritt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 28, 1917.
27. 44039/18 Crow Agency (056), Hearings before Meritt, May 24, 1918.
28. Ibid., Asbury, June 18, 1918.
29. 41271/18 Crow Agency (062), Asbury, July 18, 1918.

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1. 21704/11 Crow Agency (321), C. F. Hauke, Second Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 23, 1911.
2. Ibid., Winfield W. Scott, Superintendent, March 29, 1911.
3. Ibid., Scott, May 26, 1911, and 26112/11, Hauke, May 1, 1911.
4. 39559/11 Crow Agency (321), Scott, May 3, 1911.
5. Ibid., Hauke, May 20, 1911.
6. 40641/11 Crow Agency (321), Hauke, May 17, 1911.
7. 82192/11 Crow Agency (308.2), Scott, September 19, 1911.
8. Ibid., November 1, 1911.
9. Ibid., C. A. Thompson, Assistant Secretary of Interior, December 5, 1911.
10. Ibid., F. J. Kearful, Assistant Attorney General, January 12, 1918.
11. Ibid., S. G. Hopkins, Assistant Secretary of Interior, May 11, 1918.
12. Ibid., Calvin H. Asbury, Superintendent, March 14, 1918.
13. Ibid., Kearful, May 16, 1918.
15. Ibid., Assistant Attorney General, April 9, 1919.
16. Ibid., Hopkins, May 19, 1919.
17. 97045/19 Crow Agency (301), Assistant Attorney General, November 8, 1919.
19. Ibid., W. D. Riter, Assistant Attorney General, December 31, 1923.
20. 41014/08 Part IV Crow Agency (321), Scott, May 13, 1912.
22. 13753/13 Crow Agency (155), Scott, November 23, 1913.
23. Ibid., T. J. Burbank, District Farmer, Crow Reservation, November 24, 1913.
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24. Ibid., Scott, December 4, 1913.

25. Ibid., E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 19, 1913.


27. Ibid., Meritt, December 27, 1913.

28. Ibid., Little Nest, December 13, 1913.

29. Ibid., Meritt, January 4, 1914.


32. Ibid., B. A. Achenbach, August 9, 1916.

33. Ibid., Bo Sweeney, Assistant Secretary, November 10, 1916.

34. Ibid., Chief Clerk, ?, December 7, 1916.


37. 33059/19 Crow Agency (321), Calvin H. Asbury, Superintendent, April 12, 1919.

38. 130523/16 Crow Agency (308.3), Meritt, December 19, 1916.


42. Ibid., William A. Petzoldt, Lodge Grass, Montana, January 3, 1917.
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43. Ibid., Meritt, February 9, 1918.
44. Ibid., April 27, 1918.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., Douglass, April 30, 1918.
47. Ibid., G. A. Vennink, American Mission Association, January 22, 1919.
48. Ibid., Asbury, January 2, 1919.
49. Ibid., Hopkins, June 9, 1919.
50. Ibid., Wilbur S. Hanna, Supervising Engineer, January 22, 1919.
51. Ibid., Felix Bear Cloud, February 7, 1919.
52. 8065/20 Crow Agency (301), Asbury, January 23, 1920.
53. Ibid., Sells, February 27, 1920.

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3. Ibid., R. G. Valentine, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 24, 1909.
4. Ibid., Reynolds, March 27, 1909.
5. Ibid., Carr, private secretary, April 15, 1909.
6. Ibid., Reynolds, April 27 and 30, 1909.
8. Ibid., Reynolds, Superintendent, May 19, 1909.
10. Ibid., Charles M. Bair, May 28, 1909.
12. Ibid., Valentine, June 5, 1909.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., Crow Tribe, June 1, 1909.
15. Ibid.; Reynolds, June 17, 1909.
17. Ibid., R. A. Ballinger, Secretary of Interior, July 13, 1909.
19. 41014/08 Part III Crow Agency (321), Frank M. Heinrich, August 8, 1909.
20. Ibid., ?, Conference with F. H. Abbott, Plenty Coos, Coyote That Runs, and Alexander Upshaw, ?
21. Ibid., Valentine, ?
22. Ibid., Part IV, Reynolds, September 30, 1909.
23. Ibid., F. H. Abbott, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 9, 1909.
24. Ibid., Valentine, October 9, 1909.
25. Ibid., Reynolds, October 13, 1909.
27. Ibid., Earnest P. Holcombe, Chief Supervisor, October 25, 1909.
28. Ibid., October 26, 1909.
29. Ibid., ?, bill, October 28, 1909.
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31. Ibid., December 1, 1909.
32. 89840/10 Crow Agency-(308.2), Winfield W. Scott, Superintendent, November 8, 1910.
33. Ibid., November 20, 1910.
34. Ibid., November 22, 1910.
35. Ibid., Plenty Coos, November 30, 1910.
36. Ibid., Scott, December 6, 1910.
37. Ibid., Scott, December 6, 1910, and Ballinger, December 13, 1910.
38. Ibid., Scott, December 29, 1910.
39. Ibid., February 4, 1911.
40. Ibid., February 10, 1911.
41. Ibid., J. A. Fowler, Acting General, February 10, 1911.
42. Ibid., George W. Wickersham, Attorney General, March 23, 1911.
43. Ibid., Scott, March 24, 1911.
44. Ibid., April 7, 1911.
46. 28039/10 Crow Agency (321), Scott, December 27, 1910.
47. Ibid., G. F. Hauke, Second Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 11, 1911.
48. Ibid., Crow Business Committee, April 19, 1911.
49. Ibid., Scott, April 24, 1911.
50. Ibid., Hauke, June 10, 1911.
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51. 100049/11 Crow Agency (059), Notes of a Council with Valentine on the Crow Reservation, November 13, 1911.

52. 41014/08 Part IV Crow Agency (321), Minutes of Hearings, March 27, 1912.

53. 25400/12 Crow Agency (308.2), Gros Ventre, March 11, 1912.

54. Ibid., Hauke, April 9, 1912.

55. 28953/13 Crow Agency (056), Conference between Abbott and Crow delegates, March 2, 1913.

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57. Ibid., March 15, 1913.

58. Ibid., March 17, 1913.

59. 85595/13 Crow Agency (301), A. A. Jones, First Assistant Secretary of Interior, July 12, 1913.

60. Ibid., Assistant Attorney General, August 18, 1913.

61. Ibid., Scott, August 20, 1913.

62. Ibid., Assistant Attorney General, April 8, 1915.

63. Ibid., F. J. Kearful, Assistant Attorney General, April 18, 1917.

64. Ibid., June 13, 1918.


66. 47164/10 Crow Agency (321), Scott, June 3, 1913.

67. Ibid., Hauke, August 26, 1913.

68. No number/14 Crow Agency (054), Frank M. Heinrich, December 30, 1913.

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70. Ibid., Helen Pierce Grey, Memorandum, May 4, 1914.
71. No number/14 Crow Agency (054), E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 9, 1914.
72. 78567/14 Crow Agency (175), J. E. Jenkins, Livestock Inspector, July 8, 1914.
73. Ibid., Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 24, 1914.
74. No number/14 Crow Agency (054), Evan W. Estep, Superintendent, August 5, 1914.
75. Ibid., Notes by M. K. Sniffen, Indian Rights Association, September 29, 1914.
76. Ibid., Council minutes, October 1, 1914.
77. Ibid., Lottie Shell Bird statement, ?
78. Ibid., Mrs. George Thomas statement, October 13, 1914.
79. Ibid., Shot In The Nose or Ties His Knees statement, October 14, 1914.
80. Ibid., Scratches His Face statement, October 14, 1914.
81. Ibid., Little Nest statement, October 15, 1914.
82. Ibid., Bird Faraway statement, October 15, 1914.
83. Ibid., Progressive Lodge of Ten statement, October 16, 1914.
84. Ibid., Dick Wallace, Memorandum, ?
85. Ibid., Knows the Ground statement, October 16, 1914.
86. Ibid., Barney Old Coyote statement, October 16, 1914.
87. Ibid., Heinrich statement, Lodge Grass, October 16, 1914.
88. Ibid., John L. Waddell statement, October 17, 1914.
89. Ibid., John M. Lee statement, October 17, 1914.
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90. 123829/14 Crow Agency (175), Estep, November 14, 1914.


92. 107916/15 Crow Agency (054), Joe W. Cooper, Chairman, and Plenty Coos, Tribal Resolutions, July 29, 1915.

93. 110002/16 Crow Agency (321), Russell White Bear, October 17, 1916.

94. 37084/17 Crow Agency (321), Munro, Clerk at Crow Agency, November 11, 1916.

95. 127735/16 Crow Agency (056), Estep, January 3, 1917.

96. Ibid., Crow Tribe, January 8, 1917.

97. 23116/21 Crow Agency (056), Conference between Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Crow Delegates, February 7, 1917.

98. 98158/17 Crow Agency (056), Meritt, December 6, 1917.

99. 37084/17 Crow Agency (321), Sells, April 19 and June 1, 1917.

100. Ibid., Munro, May 31, 1917.


102. Ibid., J. B. Long and Company, August 17, 1917.

103. Ibid., Estep, August 18, 1917.

104. Ibid., Sells, August 27, 1917.

105. Ibid., Crow Delegation, September 1, 1917.

106. No number/17 Crow Agency (056), Crow Delegation, August 27, 1917.


108. 101890/17 Crow Agency (175.2), Calvin H. Asbury, Superintendent, October 30, 1917.

109. 96316/17 Crow Agency (301), Plenty Coos, October 10, 1917.
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110. 19739/18 Crow Agency (056), Sells, March 11, 1918.


112. 19739/18 Crow Agency (056), Asbury, June 15, 1918.

113. 78575/18 Part I Crow Agency (175.2), M. C. Masterson, Special Examiner, August 24, 1918, pp. 143-145.

114. Ibid., Part IV, Sells, October 28, 1918.

115. Ibid., Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of Interior, December 18, 1918.

116. 102309/18 Crow Agency (175.2), O. M. Bogess, Clerk in Charge, Crow Agency, December 23, 1918.


120. 1021/21 Crow Agency (175.2), W. D. Riter, Assistant Attorney General, May 28, 1921.

121. 19739/18 Crow Agency (056), Walter Jack Rabbit, March 11, 1918.

122. Ibid., Asbury, March 30, 1918.

123. 44039/18 Crow Agency (056), Hearings before Meritt, May 24, 1918.

124. 19739/18 Crow Agency (056), H. F. Long, Chief Supervisor of Live Stock, August 14, 1918.

125. Ibid., August 20, 1918.

126. Ibid., Sells, May 20, 1919.

127. 4146/18 Crow Agency (301), Circular #1432, Interior Department, May 2, 1919.
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130. Ibid., C. B. Lohmiller, Lame Deer Superintendent, December 9, 1926.

131. Ibid., Charles H. Burke, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 14, 1927.

132. Ibid., Charles Tompkins, Sheriff, March 29, 1927.

133. Ibid., Lohmiller, January 7, 1928.

134. Ibid., Meritt, April 20, 1928.

135. Ibid., Asbury, November 9, 1929.

136. 37084/17 Crow Agency (321), Sells, February 12, 1920.

137. Ibid., Asbury, February 25, 1920.


139. Ibid., Crow Delegation, March 6, 1920.

140. 46979/20 Crow Agency (301), Asbury, April 3, 1920.

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142. Ibid., Valentine, June 28, 1912.

143. 90886/13 Crow Agency (301), Charles L. Davis, Supervisor of Farming, July 18, 1913.

144. Ibid., Hauke, August 22, 1913.

145. 4146/18 Crow Agency (301), Circular #1432, Interior Department, May 2, 1919.

146. 29467/25 Crow Agency (155), Samuel Blair, Inspector, April 11, 1925.

147. 2847/26 Crow Agency (155), Plenty Coos, January 13, 1926.

148. Ibid., Asbury, January 14, 1926.
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149. Ibid., S. J. Shick, Chief Clerk, Crow Agency, January 25, 1926.


151. 57460/29 Crow Agency (155), Asbury, December 12, 1929.

152. Ibid., January 10, 1931.

153. 59640/20 Crow Agency (322), Asbury, April 23, 1919.

154. 59124/20 Crow Agency (322), Meritt, July 20, 1920.

155. Ibid., October 21, 1920.

156. Ibid., September 22, 1920.

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158. Ibid., March 8, 1921.

159. Ibid., Meritt, March 22, 1921.

160. Ibid., George W. Hogan, Secretary of Crow Tribal Council, August 6, 1921.

161. Ibid., Asbury, September 12, 1921.

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1. 96327/06 Part II Crow Agency (Two Leggins Canal Project), R. G. Valentine, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 19, 1910.

2. Ibid., Acting Chief of Land Office, Memorandum, September 1, 1911.

3. Ibid., ?, Memorandum, March 1, 1911.

4. Ibid., Winfield W. Scott, Superintendent, October 11, 1911.

5. Ibid., The Eagle, December 2, 1911.
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11. 100049/11 Crow Agency (059), ?, Memorandum, July 5, 1912.


13. 94645/11 Crow Agency (806), Scott, November 4, 1911.

14. 100049/11 Crow Agency (059), Scott, October 30, 1911.


17. 66119/12 Crow Agency (321), Abbott, July 6, 1912.

18. 105543/10 Crow Agency (375), ?, Authority, December 12, 1912.


21. 31654/18 Crow Agency (304.2), Calvin H. Asbury, Superintendent, April 9, 1918.


23. 65493/19 Crow Authority (731), C. F. Hauke; Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 5, 1919.
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24. 44039/18 Crow Agency (056), Hearing before Meritt, May 24, 1918.
25. Ibid., Asbury, June 15, 1918.
26. Ibid., April 11, 1919.
27. Ibid., ?, Memorandum on Pryor Creek Boarding School, ?
28. Ibid., Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 14, 1919.
29. Ibid., Plenty Coos, June 3, 1919.
30. Ibid., Asbury, June 5, 1919.
31. Ibid., Sells, June 21, 1919.
32. Ibid., T. J. Walsh, Senator of Montana, August 9, 1919.
33. Ibid., Petition, August 3, 1919.
34. Ibid., Aloysius Vrebosch, Rev., August 6, 1919.
35. Ibid., Sells, August 13, 1919.
36. Ibid., O. M. Boggess, Agency Clerk, August 25, 1919.
37. Ibid., Asbury, October 13, 1919.
38. Ibid., Mathias C. Lenihan, Bishop, June 3, 1920.
40. 92523/23 Crow Agency (160), James H. McGregor, Supervisor, October 17, 1921.
41. 10715/22 Crow Agency (130), Asbury, February 3, 1922.
42. Ibid., May 8, 1922.
43. Ibid., Meritt, May 19, 1922.
1. 82444/07 Crow Agency (124), E. A. Richardson, President of Richardson Mercantile Company of Forsyth, October 8, 1907.

2. 85350/09 Crow Agency (732), Samuel G. Reynolds, Agent, October 21, 1909.


4. 10878/11 Crow Agency (124), Winfield W. Scott, Superintendent, January 1, 1911.


6. 38708/17 Crow Agency (175), Joe Spotted Rabbit and Little Hawk, April 19, 1917.

7. Ibid., C. F. Hauke, Acting Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 19, 1917.

8. Ibid., Estep, April 20, 1917.

9. Ibid., E. B. Meritt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 12, 1917.

10. 56598/17 Crow Agency (125), Estep, June 6, 1917.

11. 71618/17 Crow Agency (125), C. R. Wanner, ?, July 26, 1917.

12. Ibid., Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 26, 1917.

13. 110155/17 Crow Agency (125), Calvin H. Asbury, Superintendent, November 22, 1917.


15. 8534/21 Crow Agency (126), Asbury, January 27, 1921.

16. 12964/21 Crow Agency (126), Meritt, February 19, 1921.

17. 16864/20 Crow Agency (126), Asbury, February 24, 1921.
18. 44980/21 Crow Agency (126), Mrs. Bridgett C. Keough, Field Matron at St. Xavier, May 23, 1921.

19. 104476/21 Crow Agency (126), Asbury, August 8, 1922.

20. Ibid., February 27, 1923.

21. Ibid., Meritt, October 28, 1922.

22. 15378/23-160.2 Crow Agency (126), F. E. Brandon, Special Supervisor, June 23, 1923.

23. 7583/26 Crow Agency (126), ?, Clerk of Montana State Supreme Court, February 10, 1926.

24. 8631/38 Crow Agency (175), Robert S. Pinkerton, Special Officer, February 17, 1938.

25. Ibid., August 16, 1938.

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2. Ibid., Plenty Coos, November 11, 1921.

3. 44039/18 Crow Agency (056), Montana Independent, May 21, 1924.

4. Ibid., Promoter, Havre, June 13, 1924.

5. Ibid., Billings Gazette, May 14, 1924.

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8. 71482/31 Crow Agency (308), C. C. Guinn and Dan W. Maddox, Lawyers, Hardin, December 22, 1931.

9. Ibid., J. Henry Scattergood, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1932.
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6. 1355-L-95, 8389-L-95, 29705-L-95 (No. 1), 42002-L-95 (SC 147), 44000-L-95 (SC 147), 20487-L-96 (SC 147), 27297-L-96 (SC 147) (No. 1), 30202-L-96 (SC 147) (No. 1), 26969-L-96 (SC 147) (No. 1), 24390-L-96 (SC 147), 29342-L-96 (SC 147), 41809-L-96 (SC 147), 1990-L-97 (SC 147) (No. 1), 5141-L-97 (SC 147), 18600-L-97 (SC 147), 34302-L-97 (SC 147), 5485-1097 (SC 147), 16441-L-97 (SC 147), 16442-L-97 (SC 147), 16443-L-97 (SC 147), 17098-L-97 (SC 147), 18235-L-97 (SC 147), 21910-L-97 (SC 147), 22516-L-97 (SC 147), 25117-L-97 (SC 147), 31571-L-97 (SC 147), 31935-L-97 (SC 147), 32105-L-97 (SC 147), 32221-L-97 (SC 147), 32223-L-97 (SC 147), 32224-L-97 (SC 147).
Appendix B (Cont.)

6. (Cont.) 33067-L-97 (SC 147), 35691-L-97 (SC 147), 38496-L-97 (SC 147), 38645-L-97 (SC 147), 38928-L-97 (SC 147), 46199-L-97 (SC 147), 50769-L-97 (SC 147), 53970-L-97 (SC 147), 10024-L-98 (SC 147), 10056-L-98 (SC 147), 13585-L-98 (SC 147), 14206-L-98 (SC 147), 19510-L-98 (SC 147), 20397-L-98 (SC 147), 23431-L-98 (SC 147), 23479-L-98 (SC 147), 24795-L-98 (SC 147), 41869-L-98 (SC 147), 45248-L-98 (SC 147), 49792-L-98 (SC 147), 57449-L-98 (SC 147), 21076-L-99 (SC 147), 21081-L-99 (SC 147), 33056-L-99 (SC 147), 3590-L-00 (SC 147), 31890-L-00 (SC 147), 39846-L-00 (SC 147), 45452-L-00 (SC 147), 49792-L-00 (SC 147), 50594-L-00 (SC 147), 52441-L-00 (SC 147), 4171-L-01 (SC 147), 6750-L-01 (SC 147), 18697-L-01 (SC 147), 19062-L-01 (SC 147), 20848-L-01 (SC 147), 28495-L-01 (SC 147), 29429-L-01 (SC 147), 31785-L-01 (SC 147), 34359-L-01 (SC 147), 38279-L-01 (SC 147), 42667-L-01 (SC 147), 43318-L-01 (SC 147), 43368-L-01 (SC 147), 44723-L-01 (SC 147), 44804-L-01 (SC 147), 62085-L-01 (SC 147), 65370-L-01 (SC 147), 66811-L-01 (SC 147), 68079-L-01 (SC 147), 24528-L-02 (SC 147), 32641-L-02 (SC 147), 32642-L-02 (SC 147), 34064-L-02 (SC 147), 37631-L-02 (SC 147), 42647-L-02 (SC 147), 43612-L-02 (SC 147), 53808-L-02 (SC 147), 54244-L-02 (SC 147), 54523-L-02 (SC 147), 67593-L-02 (SC 147), 69231-L-02 (SC 147), 3767-L-03 (SC 147), 38577-L-03 (SC 147), 77794-L-03 (SC 147), 81294-L-03 (SC 147), 81317-L-04 (SC 147), 11788-L-06 (SC 147), 24129-L-06 (SC 147), 3634-L-06 (SC 147) (No. 1), & 110671-L-06 (SC 147).