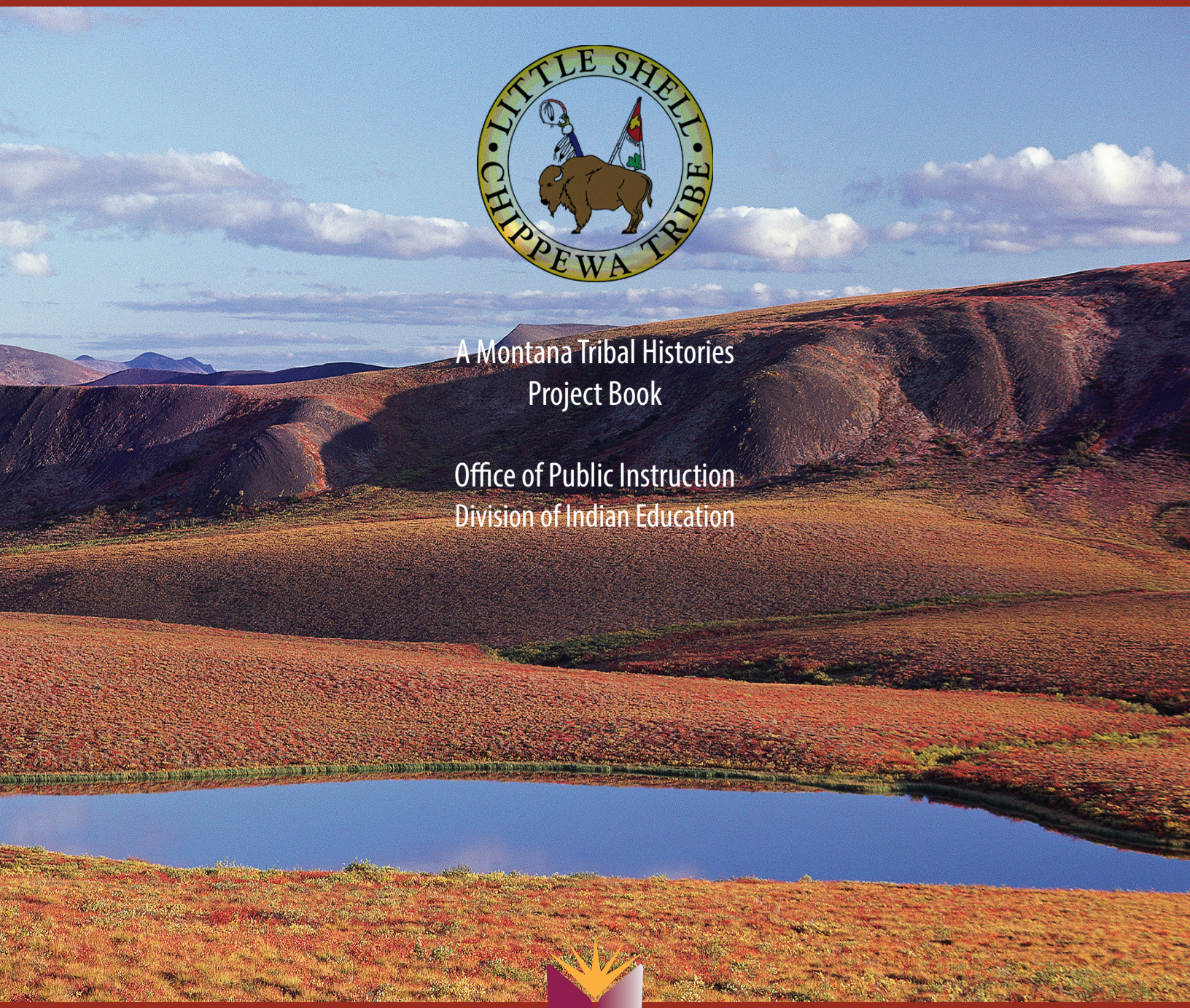
Study Guide and Timeline for

"The Whole Country Was…One Robe": The Little Shell Tribe's America



A Montana Tribal Histories Project Book

Office of Public Instruction
Division of Indian Education

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"The Whole Country Was…One Robe": The Little Shell Tribe's America

A Montana Tribal Histories Project Book

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Overview

Note: The terms Aboriginal, American Indian, Indian, Indigenous and Native American are used throughout this guide when referring to issues that impact all Indian Nations/Peoples.

Please accept, with our compliments, this study guide designed to accompany the Montana Tribal Histories Project book, *"The Whole Country was . . . 'One Robe'": The Little Shell Tribe's America.*

The *"One Robe"* book is about the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana, a disfranchised society of indigenous North Americans known as "Landless Indians." But more fully and accurately this book is about those Aboriginal peoples who live along what became the Canada and United States border between Lake of the Woods (MN) and the Rocky Mountains (MT) who did not fit as part of either national project in the reconfiguration of the North American West. The Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana is part of this culture-group.

During the last third of the 19th century, as the new nation-states of Canada and the United States sought to exert effective control of the northern Great Plains and their "borderlands," and those pre-existing Aboriginal societies within that geography, they made critically incomplete, ill informed, and disastrous decisions concerning "who was who, who was whose, who was in, and who was out." Those choices gave form to the relationships between the First Peoples of the borderlands and the federal governments of the United States and Canada today. The book integrates American and Canadian history, is groundbreaking in its interpretation of Aboriginal society and the reconfiguration period, and is innovative in its style.

The production of this book was funded by the State of Montana and administered by the Montana Office of Public Instruction as part of their Montana Tribal Histories Project. It supports Montana's Indian Education for All constitutional mandate (Article X, Sec. 1) stating that: "It is the constitutionally declared policy of this state to recognize the distinct and unique cultural heritage of American Indians and to be committed in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural heritage" (MCA 20-1-501). It also serves in recognition of the Supreme Court of Montana, Koke v. Little Shell Tribe, 2003, MT 121 decision affirming that the Little Shell Tribe meet all the criteria for federal acknowledgement as an American Indian tribe.

The Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana contracted with Nicholas Vrooman and Northern Plains Folklife Resources to write and manage the production of their contribution to the Montana Tribal Histories Project.

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Content Standards Connections

Services to gifted students must be consistent, planned, and College and Career Readiness Anchor Standards for Reading - Grades 6–12 standards

Key Ideas and Details

1. Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.

2. Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.

3. Analyze how and why individuals, events, or ideas develop and interact over the course of a text.

Craft and Structure

4. Interpret words and phrases as they are used in a text, including determining technical, connotative, and figurative meanings, and analyze how specific word choices shape meaning or tone.

5. Analyze the structure of texts, including how specific sentences, paragraphs, and larger portions of the text (e.g., a section, chapter, scene, or stanza) relate to each other and the whole.

6. Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.

Integration of Knowledge and Ideas

7. Integrate and evaluate content presented in diverse formats and media, including visually and quantitatively, as well as in words.

8. Delineate and evaluate the argument and specific claims in a text, including the validity of the reasoning as well as the relevance and sufficiency of the evidence.

9. Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.

Range of Reading and Level of Text Complexity

10. Read and comprehend complex literary and informational texts independently and proficiently.

Social Studies Standards – Grades 9-12

Standard 1, Benchmark 2 - apply criteria to evaluate information (e.g., origin, authority, accuracy, bias, and distortion of information and ideas.)

Standard 2, Benchmark 5b - analyze the impact of the Constitution, laws and court decisions on the rights and responsibilities of citizens.

Standard 2, Benchmark 6 - analyze and evaluate conditions, actions, and motivations that contribute to conflict and cooperation within and among groups and nations, including tribal nations.

Standard 4, Benchmark 6 - students will investigate, interpret, and analyze the impact of multiple historical and contemporary viewpoints concerning events within and across cultures.

Social Studies Standard 4, Benchmark 7 - analyze and illustrate the major issues concerning history, culture, tribal sovereignty, and current status of the American Indian tribes and bands in Montana and the United States.

Essential Understandings Regarding Montana Indians

The Little Shell Tribe has a distinct and unique cultural heritage that contributes to modern Montana. They have their own language(s), culture, history and government. The seven Essential Understandings (EU) cover, but are not limited to: EU 1 Reservations; Tribal Groups; EU 2 Diversity of the American Indian; EU 3 Ideologies of Native traditional beliefs and spirituality and oral histories; EU4 Lands reserved by the tribes; EU 5 Federal Policy Periods; EU 6 Indigenous perspectives of History; and EU 7 Tribal sovereignty.

Conceptual Framework

This OPI *"One Robe"* study guide seeks to provide a way to utilize the book as a reference source on not only the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana, but also the whole reconfiguration period on the northern Great Plains (including Montana) during the period of transition from an Aboriginal to an Anglo EuroAmerican-based society. The "gist" of this story covers the 19th and 20th centuries.

This guide offers a look at the conceptual framework of the book, a synopsis of salient points of Little Shell Tribe identity, three models of interpretive analysis for accessing the content of the text, and a chronology of Little Shell Tribe history.

The analytical models are designed to show the craft of the historian at work. Through the models, the reader sees how a historian draws intellectual relationships between primary sources and secondary sources, and develops new interpretation of those materials.

- **Primary sources** are the materials that hold information about a time and place, created in thatS time and place. New items of primary sources may be found, uncovered, discovered and added to the collective "archives" of a time and place, but there is a finite amount of material from any given time and place that can be a "primary source." Only materials of that time about that place qualify as primary sources.

- **Secondary** sources are materials about a time and place, created from a review of the primary sources of that time and place, and an interpretation of their relative meaning of that time and place for the contemporary society in which the secondary source is being written.

- **Interpretation** of primary and secondary sources is the work of historians. Primary sources never change. That is to say, once a time and place is defined as an area of study is over – let's say 1877 in Montana along the Milk River – nothing else can be created about 1877 that is a primary source. Secondary sources (i.e., the interpretation of primary sources) constantly change with each succeeding generation of scholars. Indeed, it is the job of each new generation to reinterpret the primary sources of a given time and place, along with all prior generational interpretations of those materials, and come to an understanding of what those materials (or, what that time and place) means to the current generation. Earlier interpretations become the

secondary sources for the following generations. They tell us what others who have gone before us thought of that specific time and place, as an area of study and meaning, for their time and place. It is the job of historians to interpret the past for what it means to the era in which they are contemporaries. Thus, "history" is fluid and ever changing. Said in another way, history seeks to understand and find meaning in the past, as it applies to the present.

The following instructional activities address the Montana Common Core Standards for English Language Arts and Literacy to promote close analytic reading and responses to text-dependent questions.

Summation of "One Robe" Synopsis

The narrative timeline and detailed synopsis of the book are presented to show a preponderance of evidence that affirms the following:

- the ancestral group of the Little Shell Tribe, i.e., the historic *Nehiyaw Pwat* (comprised of the Cree, Assiniboine, Chippewa, and Métis), have been allied since the 1650s;
- have been in Montana since the 1730s;
- are also related to the Blackfeet, Crow, Cheyenne, and Flathead Tribes;
- have continuously inhabited Montana since the 1790s;
- were recognized and courted by the U. S. government and business interests since Lewis and Clark;
- were never brought into treaty with the U. S. government, i.e., the Cree and Plains-Ojibwa;
- were mistakenly named "Canadian" Indians following the Civil War;
- were forcibly removed from their traditional historic transnational border homeland;
- that Rocky Boy's Band was a sub-band of Chief Little Shell's Turtle Mountain Pembina Chippewa;
- were partially attended to through the creation of the Rocky Boy's Reservation, (answering the critique of "a lack of external, contemporaneous, identifications of the group for a much more extensive period, 1900 to 1935");
- were again partially dealt with by the U. S. government through the Indian Reorganization Act land adhesion and family adoptions (enrollments) to Rocky Boy's Reservation in 1939-40;
- have been in the state of continual and consistent petition to the federal government for full recognition of their Aboriginal rights since the early 1920s; and,
- remain unreconciled in their just relationship to the United States government.

Student Activities

Getting to Know the Book

"One Robe" is a large book, dense with information. It is accessible, however. There are a few key avenues into the text that allow entrée to various topics and issues at the heart of the story of the Little Shell people, beginning with an overview of how the book is constructed. Understanding the book structure allows the reader to frame the book content as a whole. Direct students to:

- First, look at the cover of the book. What connection can be made between the title, the cover's image, and the "blurbs" on the back cover? What is unusual about the cover's image? What does the "status" of writers of the "quips" say about the book? What does the title say about the "story" of the book?

- Now, let's analyze **the structure of the text.** Following the **title page**, the first item is **a map** which gives the geographic context for the story. Notice the map does not emphasize political boundaries, rather geographical features and place names. There are some familiar place names, but there are many small and obscure names, too. They range from Minnesota in the east, to Washington and Idaho in the west (and south), the Prairie Provinces in the north, to Wyoming and South Dakota to the south, with Montana in the middle of it all. What does this tell the reader to be aware of as the story unfolds?

- Next, is the **publisher's page**. This information documents the bibliographic information placing the production of the book in the historical context of its own making. Who is responsible for producing the book? When was it produced? What do the author and publisher want the reader to know about the book? Who was the team that did the actual work to produce the book? Where was it actually produced? What can this information tell the reader about the book?

- The **dedication page** follows. This is when and where authors (as their special privilege) give personal acknowledgement to individuals or groups that hold distinct meaning in association with the writing of the book. What can this tell the reader about the author? The names are people associated with the book who died during the period of writing, three sets of couples who held particular importance to the author, and the whole of the now past generations of people about whom the book is written. Although a bit obtuse, by the context of usage, the reader understands that Sky Dancers refer to those who have passed into the spirit world; that for the people about whom the book is written, the "shimmering boreal shine" refers to the Northern Lights, and is the (historic) place where reside the ancestors of the Little Shell people.

- The **Acknowledgments** serve a couple of purposes. It give a sense of who the author needs to thank for the actual "existence" of the book, i.e., who is responsible for the resources making the book possible. Who is that? Acknowledgements also allow the author to express gratitude to those who either participated in some way with the production of the book, or were instrumental in the author's learning that served the writing of the book. What can be garnered from this information? If one was to research the names of peoples listed, they would gain a sense of the content-realm, knowledge, skills, and authority of the sources and ideas that influenced the author in writing the book. Acknowledgements also give authors the opportunity to thank those close at hand during the writing of the work, as well as their family.

- Looking now to the **Table of Contents**, the reader sees an outline of all that is to follow.

- The **Preface** is where the author has the opportunity to present a personal statement about how the project of writing the book originated. The author's personal meaning reflects on the larger work to follow.

- The **Introduction** is where the author develops the broader context within which the body of the story fits. It frames the story by giving a narrative outline of the "who, what, where, when, and why" to be laid out in the detail of the upcoming story.

- **Chapters I – II**, you will notice, The Context and The Traditional Historic Homeland, are essentially a continuation of the Introduction. This indicates that the Little Shell story is very complex, and requires a context for understanding the larger frame of reference to understand the story.

- **Chapters III – XXVII** are written chronologically. They begin by framing the story just as Europeans began showing up in Aboriginal territory. They move through eras of relative growth, wealth, and balance to times that define simultaneously the increase of Euro American/Euro Canadian expansion and Aboriginal destabilization and dispossession of land and resources in the geography of the Northern Great Plains (including Montana), up until the 1970s.

- **Chapters XXVIII – XXIX** cover the contemporary existence of the Little Shell Tribe, sum up the larger story, and tell of the current status of their fight for justice in the American project.

- **Bibliography** is very important. This is where the reader sees what the author has read and researched to gain understanding and build corroboration for the points of view expressed throughout the story. In a very real way, the book in hand fits right in the middle, as a composite, of all the sources articulated in the bibliography. The sources for all footnotes given to support statements made throughout the text should be listed in the bibliography. Any point of interest a reader may have, rising from within the text and footnoted, can be referred to the bibliography for full bibliographic citation (that is to say, how to access that source material for further investigation). This allows the reader to search out in more detail any aspect of the story for clarification.

- The **Index**, used with the table of contents, footnotes, and bibliography, is the key tool for accessingthe contents of the book. Fundamentally, an index is a list of significant nouns (person, animal, place, thing, or idea) occurring in the text. An author may spend pages writing on a topic that an indexer sums up with a list of nouns. Reading an index (at least a good one) is a synthesis of the content/subject matter of a book, allows access to the particular and specific, and expresses the breadth of subjects that comprise the book. The succinctness, thematic organization, and detail of an index offer an overview of topics and help clarify the text.

The Historian's Craft: Interpretive Analysis – Model 1 Activity

Model 1. First, let's identify the kinds of information a historian uses. We are going to look for what is a primary source, secondary source, image as document, and interpretation source materials. Working through this series of questions highlights how a historian works.

Turn to page 175. We are into the story of Sitting Bull and the relationship of the "Sioux" with the Red River Métis (Milk River *Nehiyaw Pwat* [Cree Assiniboine, meaning the Iron Alliance, or, Cree, Assiniboine, Chippewa, Métis Confederacy], i.e., the ancestral Little Shell community).

Where are the members of the ancestral Little Shell community located at that time? Look back to the map at the front of the book. Find the Cypress Hills. Fort Walsh is at the west end of the Cypress Hills in present day Saskatchewan, Canada, just north of the Montana border.

Read the last paragraph on page 175. Who is Stillson? Notice and read "footnote 3." See Exhibit #1. How does the author's "interpretation" differ from the information in the New York Times article?

Turn to the next page (176). Read the first quote. Who is speaking? Read footnote #5. Now refer to Exhibit #2 *(Helena Independent, Oct. 24, 1877)* How do these two accounts match-up with the author's perspective?

Continue reading page 176. Contrast the actual newspaper article (Exhibit #2) with the quote on the page. What role do "brackets" and "ellipses" play in quotations? How do they affect the overall quote?

What is this quote saying? Who is Charlie Jacobs? What does this quote, taken from an 1877 newspaper article, say about the "myth" of the "noble savage" and the "mystic warrior of the Plains?"

Read the author's interpretive paragraph following the quote (it continues on page 178).

Now, referring back to the *"One Robe"* book, look at the front page of the December 8, 1877 *Harper's Weekly.* The *Harper's Weekly* was the widest read periodical publication in the United States at the time. Its reputation was impeccable (that is not to say it was without errors). What do you see? What does the title of publication imply?

This is where we study "image as document." Re-read (on page 178) what is said about the image? What is the author's summation on the issue of Sitting Bull and his relationship to the ancestral Little Shell community?

Author summation….

"…while Jerome B. Stillson was at Fort Walsh reporting on the negotiations, he drew not only the first portrait ever made of Sitting Bull, but also his travelling outfit. This image, which consists of four Red River carts parked in front of his lodge – is more culturally aligned with the very contemporary new amalgam Nehiyaw Pwat Aboriginal society of the times than with the classic "Mystic Warrior of the Plains" or "noble savage" that Sitting Bull came to represent for the dominant white American society."

The Historian's Craft: Interpretive Analysis – Model 2 Activity

Teacher note: This activity could be structured as a jigsaw exercise, with small groups of students assigned certain passages to summarize, word meaning, etc.

Model 2. In this exercise, we are going to see how a historian constructs a case, develops a thesis i.e., his/her point of view (POV), and makes interpretive statements through a close examination of text. Read the chapter from page 207-212, next to final paragraph. Notice that all footnotes substantiating the materials presented (except for footnote 1 & 5) are "primary sources" coming from military records.

In the course of this reading you will see these words: ethnic cleansing; hegemony; parlance; *personae non gratae*; ameliorate; polyethnic; predate; cohesive; enclave; schism; vilify; deprecate; miscreant; illegitimate; pogrom. You may be familiar with them in various contexts. As you come across these words in the reading, make an educated guess as to the meaning in this context. Then look up the words to see if you anticipated correctly.

Read the last paragraph on page 212, continuing to page 213. Read the left column, including quote, and complete the paragraph in the second column. (The first full paragraph in the second column begins another topic.) This is the summation of the story of the "clearances" along the border. Notice, after using all primary sources to describe what occurred, how the author uses the words of another contemporary historian (Foster, Martha Harroun. *We Know Who We Are: Métis Identity in a Montana Community*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.) to reaffirm and support his delivery of the information, analysis, and interpretation of the primary source material. This is a key device used by historians to show that their point of view, or conclusions, are in line with other contemporary thinking on the subject within the discipline (i.e., this interpretation is not coming from left field, far fetched, or radical). The author then makes a concluding statement about the events described in the first half of the chapter, placing them in a broader context of judicial, racial, and global politics.

Based on the statements from the first paragraph on p. 207 that the Little Shell Tribe yet suffers "ethnic cleansing" and the effects of FUD (fear, uncertainty, doubt) imposed on them in the early 1880s, and that there is a direct relationship between what happened in the 1880s and the current state of the Little Shell to as *persona non gratae*, in the eyes of the government, now, ask the question: "Is the use of the terms 'ethnic cleansing,' 'FUD,' and 'personae non gratae' appropriately applied in this chapter?" Is the author's assessment fair?

A final piece to this exercise: look up in the index, "Cree Deportation Act of 1896." There are four (4) citations for the topic. Look them up. Conduct a search for "Cree Deportation Act of 1896." How does this Act of Congress relate to the issues covered in Chapter XVIII? Can this be considered the culmination of the military "ethnic cleansing" of the ancestral Little Shell? Discuss and conclude.

The Historian's Craft: Interpretive Analysis – Model 3 Activity

Model 3. This exercise has us continuing to engage the index as a key tool for access to topical information held in the book. "Topical information" is another way of saying a "specific subject" in the book.

This lesson hopes to show the degree of complexity that is found when working with Aboriginal peoples and materials. It serves to demonstrate how hard it is to get history "right," and why so many previous histories are incomplete, full of misunderstandings, misleading, and lacking veracity (and, this is not to say this book is thoroughly exempt or free of those conditions).

Go to the index. Look up the name, "Broken Arm (and band)." Including "Broken Arm," how many other names or spellings of names is this man known by in the historical literature? 25!

Analyze the relationships between the various names and spellings.

"Ah áh to wish kin e sic" is the same as "Eeh-tow-wées-ka-zeet," "itawuskiji," "Itawuskiyik," and "Yetaweskezhick." They are either dialect or spelling differences in pronunciation of Broken Arm's name spoken in both the (very similar Algonkian) Cree and Ojibwa languages. So, when whoever first wrote down this name, they wrote what they heard, from however the person spoke the name. The name means, "Eyes in Front and in Back," or, "Eyes on Each (Either) Side," "He Who Has Eyes Behind Him," "Two Eyes," and "Double Eyes." So, these names represent the various translations of Broken Arm's name, as spoken by some unknown interpreter, to some unknown scribe (or perhaps known, in some cases) in different places where Broken Arm is named in written documents. The name, "Istowerahan," is the same name spoken in Nakoda (i.e., Assiniboine).

Now, for Broken Arm's other names. "Mackipictoon," "Maschkepiton," "Maski Pitonew," "Maskipitoon," and "Muske-pe-toun" each mean, "Broken Arm" in both Cree and Ojibwa. "Bras Casse," "Bras Croche," and "Bro-cas-sie" are each French vernacular terms for the name Broken Arm.

"Nichiwa" means, "friend" in both Cree and Ojibwa. This was the name Broken Arm was called by John Palliser, leader of the Palliser Expedition of 1857-60, which was a Canadian equivalent of the American Isaac I. Stevens Northern Railroad Survey Expedition of 1853. Broken Arm was his chief guide for a period of time.

The name "Peacemaker" was given Broken Arm in the 1860s as he sought to negotiate peace among the tribes on the Northern Plains, as it became obvious the buffalo culture days were numbered. "Mon-e-guh-ba-now," meaning "The Young Chief," was the name the Blackfoot Confederacy used to refer to Broken Arm.

It took years of reading primary sources, and spending time in native communities, to realize all these names referred to one person. Of course, all together here, you can see the relationships. But, they are not so evident when seeing them in disparate sources covering decades of time, over vast territory. Only after learning the various meanings of the names in six distinct languages – Cree, Ojibwa, Nakoda, French, English, and Pikani(Blackfeet) – was the author able to piece together that all this history was about one man.

And now, for that history. Here is the exercise. *Teacher note: It may be necessary to provide access to the book for students over the course of several weeks, or assign groups of students or individuals to research references.* Look at the list of topics Broken Arm is associated with in the text. Thirty-one separate topics! Starting with "American Fur Company," and ending with "wives," write down all the page numbers listed following each topic-area. Then, arrange the list of page numbers in chronologic order: lowest to highest. (FYI: "n" = footnote; "pl" = plate, or color image.)

Go to the book. You now have quick access, through your chronology of pages, to read everything on Broken Arm from beginning to end. Who was this man? What are the images that exist of him? What are the time-periods they represent? Where was each image made? Where do primary source documents place him in geography at different periods of his life? Find those places on a map of North America. Who did Broken Arm meet during the course of his life? What was Broken Arm's relationship to Chief Little Shell?

Exhibit #1.

Teacher note: These are transcriptions of the originals, which you can find under "Primary Source Materials" in the Table of Contents.

"Death of Jerome B. Stillson"

> James B. Stillson, one of the best known journalists in this City, died at the St. Denis Hotel yesterday afternoon at 2:30. He had been suffering from Bright's disease of the kidneys since last June, and was confined to his room for three to four weeks past. His body was taken to Merritt's undertaking establishment, in Eighth-avenue, preparatory to its removal to Buffalo to-day. Mr. Stillson was born in Buffalo in 1841. During the latter part of the war he became a special correspondent for the *World* of this City, and rapidly rose to distinction as a journalist. When peace returned to the country he was made correspondent of the *World* in Washington, and in 1874 served as a managing editor of that paper for a short term. He then became the Albany correspondent of the *World,* filling that position until 1875, when he went to Denver, Col., where he engaged in business attached to the staff of the *Herald*, his first notable productions in this capacity being a series of letters from Utah describing the evils of Mormonism. While engaged in this work he was shot at and wounded in Salt Lake City. Since then he has remained on the *Herald* staff, his last work having been done in Indians during the campaign of last September. Mr. Stillson leaves no family. He was married about ten years ago to Miss Bessie Whiton of Piermont, N.Y., but she died a few years after the marriage. *The New York Times, Published December 27, 1880*

Exhibit #2

Teacher note: These are transcriptions of the originals, which you can find under "Primary Source Materials" in the Table of Contents.

"Sitting Bull. The Total Failure of the Negotiations. Speeches in the Council. 'Go Home; You Come Here to Tell Us Lies.' A Squaw's Speech. The Insult Offered to the Commission."

The Terry Commission arrived at Fort Walsh on the evening of the 16th. The Indians were badly scared, and Major Walsh had all he could do to keep them at the fort until morning. During the night there were very

uneasy, and seemed firmly convinced that a trap has been laid for them. The illness of one of the Indians was said to be caused by the bad medicine of the Yankees.

The council met at three o'clock in the quarters of Major Walsh. United States officers present: General Terry, General Lawrence, Colonel Smith and Major Freeman. Canadian officers present: Colonel Macleod, Major Walsh, Captain Crosier, Captain McIlree, Captain Allen, Dr. Kittson, Captain Frechette and Dr. Nevitt. Bear's Head, an Unkpapa chief, first came in, shook hands with Generals Terry and Lawrence, and then sat down. Sitting Bull and Spotted Eagle came in next. They did not shake hands, and objected to anyone being present at the council except the officers and members of the press. Flying Bird, Whirlwind Bear, Medicine Turns Around, Iron Dog, The Man Who Scatters Bears, The Crow, and Little Knife, chief of half the Unkpapas, were introduced to one another. None of them shook hands with the Commissioners, and all seemed very angry. They sat down in a circle and General Terry addressed them as follows:

General Terry's Speech.

> We are sent here as commissioners of the United States, at the request of the Canadian government, to meet you (interrupted by Sitting Bull, who objected to a table in front of the speaker. The table was removed). The President has instructed us to say to you that he desires to make a lasting peace with you and your people, and that all the people of the United States may live in harmony. He wishes it for your sakes as well as that of the whites, and if you will return to your country and leave your hostile life, a full pardon will be given you for any wrong you may have done in the past. You, or any man among you, shall be forgiven and permitted to enjoy all the liberties of any other Indians at the different agencies. We will now tell you what the President means by saying he will give you a full pardon. Of all the bands of Indians, yours among them, who were at war about a year ago, yours is the only one that has not come into the agency. Of those bands that have come in, not one has been punished, and every man, woman and child has been furnished food and clothing. It is true, these Indians have been required to give up their arms and ammunition, which were all sold and the money applied for their benefit. We have already sent 650 cows to one of the agencies, for the use of the Indians. This has been done to get you to leave your wild life and to help you support your self. The President will not consent to have you return unless you consent to give up your arms and horses, but he invites you to come to yours and his country, give up your arms when you cross the line, thence go to any agency he may assign you to, there give up your horses (except such as you need for use in civil life), which will be sold, and the money applied to buy cows, which will support you after the game has left the country. You will also receive clothes the same as other Indians. We have come many hundred miles to bring this message. Too much blood has already been shed. It is time war should cease. You cannot return to your country and your friends unless you accept these conditions; otherwise you will be treated as enemies of the United States. Think well of these things, and when you have fully made up your minds we are ready to hear your reply.
>
> The Indians were asked if they wanted to retire and hold a council among themselves, but they said their minds were already made up and they were ready to reply.

Sitting Bull's Speech.

> For sixty-four years you have kept us and treated us bad. What have we done? Your people are the whole cause of the trouble; we could go no place but to this country. Here is where I learned to shoot, and that is the reason I came here. What did you come for? I did not give you the country, but you followed me and I had to leave. You took my country from me. I was born and raised with the Red River half-breeds

> and wanted to come back. (Sitting Bull here shook hands with Col. Macleod and said we would live with him.) You may think I am a fool; but you are a bigger fool than I am. This house is a medicine house. You come and tell us lies in it. We don't like it. Don't say two words more, but go back where you came from. I shake hands with these people, (shakes hands with Col. Macleod), so say no more. You gave that part of the country and then took it back. I want you to go home and take it easy as you go.

The Ree's Speech

> Look at me. Seven years into the country. For the last sixty-four years you have treated us bad. I don't like you. You tell lies. I will keep peace with these people as long as I live. I shake hands with them. You come over and tell us lies. Go home, and take it easy as you go.

Speech by a Yankton who was in the Minnesota Massacre

I don't wear the same clothes as you do. You come to tell us lies. You have treated us bad for sixty-four years, and have been fighting us all the time. There were seven different tribes of us. You promised to take care of us when we were over there, but you did not do it. We like these people and intend to live with them. I don't intend to kill anyone. (Shook hands with Gens. Terry and Lawrence.)

Speech by a Squaw

> You would not give me time to raise children, so I came over here to raise children and live in peace. (To allow a squaw to speak in council is one of the worst insults that an Indian can offer.)

Crow's Speech

> After kissing all the English officers he said: What do you mean by coming over here and talking this way to us. We were driven out of your country and came to this one. I am afraid of God, and don't want to do anything bad. For sixty-four years you have treated us bad. These people give us plenty to eat. You can go back and go easy. I come to this country and my grandmother knows it, and is glad I came to live in peace and raise children.

After the Crow had spoken, he sat down and they were done. Gen. Terry then stated that the Commissioners had nothing further to say. The Indians then left, after shaking hands with the English officers.

"One Robe" Detailed Synopsis

As you read through this synopsis, discuss terms, names, and places with your students; refer to the book index for all nouns needing deeper explanation.

Preface

A whole system has been built by the government in the 19th century for its dealings with Aboriginal Americans that was and continues to be based on assumptions of who are American Indians that are either highly misunderstood, misleading, or outright false. The circumstance of the Little Shell Tribe of Montana is a result of that blunder.

Who were the Little Shell people, on their own terms? Where did they come from? Why were they dispersed over such a huge homeland? And how did some make it to reservations while others fell outside the settling of Aboriginal accounts at the Turnerian "closing of the American Frontier" in the late nineteenth century?

Prior decisions affecting the Little Shell people had been muddled by the term "Halfbreed" and its connotation of illegitimacy in our society; they were further confused by the term "Cree" as a distinction between who is American and who is Canadian con-cerning Aboriginal peoples (Cree were considered to be "Canadian"), and who gets to decide. Those in authority demonstrated a devastating failure to understand and justly amend critical mistakes made as the American government imposed economic, political, military, and social hegemony over the northern Great Plains in the 19th century. Fundamentally, there was no political will within the government to get "it" right.

Admittedly, through this "waiting for the day that never comes", the Little Shell story is a complex one whose actuality has become mired over generations in misrepresentation, misunderstanding, and misanthropy. It is exactly this complexity, though, that comprises a more diverse and true America than the simplistic myth of an ultra-patriotic manifest destiny still espoused by numerous political and economic elite who uphold the colonialist ethic that commandeered this land from Aboriginal peoples.

Unlike other Aboriginal tribes of North America, and the United States specifically, the Little Shell have no history or anthropology books written about them. American Indians, as a whole, have shelves in libraries, archives, bookstores, and homes in their honor. The Little Shell, *mistahi kitimakisiwak ta masinahikan* (Cree: they are very poor for books). Until now, the only in-depth history of the Little Shell has been cloistered in the legal files compiled through their petitions to the federal government for recognition of their Aboriginal rights. The general public has had no authoritative reference for who the Little Shell are. Many of the Little Shell people themselves have lost hold of the umbilical cord that tethers them to their history. Thus, multiple misconceptions of who the Little Shell are have run rampant for over a century from Montana to Washington, D.C. and back.

Introduction

The dominant American nation-state mythology still professes an inevitability of what occurred in the supplanting of Aboriginal Turtle Island with an Anglo-rooted America. It does so because it continues to need to affirm the composition, purpose, and destiny of our national existence. The survivors of a predecessor America remain marginalized as minorities who are only recently listed on our federal census form. Yet things as they are never represent the fullness of things as they were and might very well have been, or indeed, could yet be. There was a time in our history, little known to most because it counters the Anglo-based origin story, when the intrinsic and pervasive mélange of America's making – that aesthetic and social distinctiveness that made of us something different than warmed-over Europeans or recombinant Indians – was the essential, au fond substance, form, and style of our identity. Yet on the Northern Plains, during that consolidating period of Anglo-Protestant nationalism prior to the Civil War, there remained a thriving, polymorphic, outlandish, phoenix-like, protean society. It was a halfbreed, i.e., métis or hybrid, society with a spe-cific historical legacy, intra-group criteria for recognition, and distinct long-term political relationships with other Aboriginal societies, pre-dating Canada and the United States. They were the Vision-Questing, Mystic Traveler, Tartan-Wearing, Beadwork, Cart Train, Cattle-herding, China Plate, Tea Drinking, Hymn Singing, Medicine Song, Sun Dance, Genuflecting, Fiddle Jigging, Moccasin-footed, Bouillabaisse, Pemmican Stew, Buffalo Pony, Celtic Cowboy Indians. And they were citizens of "The New Nation," a true amalgamation of Aboriginal and EuroAmerican peoples. The capital city of this new North American society was called Red River Settlement and is today's Winnipeg, Manitoba. Its homelands encompassed the whole of today's Anglo North American borderlands from Lake of the Woods in the east to the Rocky Mountains in the west. By the time of the American Civil War, these people were the largest sovereign group throughout the northern Great Plains. Today, in the term so well articulated by author Peter Matthiessen, they are part of the epic American Shadow Country, their history lying behind the silhouette on the shade of our collective memory.

In 1861, an anonymous journalist from England visited Red River Settlement. His description, even from Eurocentric eyes, offers us a unique glimpse into a world that once was and (then) might yet have been. The easy integration of a natural duality in life shows a deep contrast to the America that was then applying apartheid and being segregated in the United States. This amazing description belies the supposed inevitability of America's origin story over the Aboriginal lands of this continent. Unruly at their best (such is the way with those who own themselves), there is an unbounded eloquence and beauty to the freedom of these people who spread out over the plains, from Red River to the Rocky Mountain Front, and overflowed into the Columbia Basin. These are the ancestral Little Shell in all their confidence, élan vital, à joie de vivre.

> *The population is of the most motley sort – English, French, Highland Scotch, Lowland Scotch, Orkney Isle men, Chippewas, Crees, Assiniboins, English Cree Halfbreeds, French Cree Half-breeds, Scotch Cree Half-breeds, French Chippewa Halfbreeds, English Chippewa Half-breeds, Scotch Chippewa Half-breeds, Scotch Assiniboin Half-breeds, English Assiniboin Half-breeds, French Assiniboin Half-breeds, Orkney Isle Assiniboin Half-breeds; and so on through every possible permutation of the series of white and red races.*
>
> *The people . . . they "speak a various language." English, French, Gaelic, Cree, Chippewa, and Assiniboin are the principal. Nearly everybody speaks two or three languages. If a boy's father is Scotch and his mother Cree, he will learn Gaelic from his father, and Cree from his mother, and English from others. Some children prattle innocently in five languages, I believe. The English of the lower classes is called "Red River English," and is a strange jargon.*

> The *l'histoire* of the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana is far more than the telling of a group of American and Montana First Peoples and their connection to America's Aboriginal past. Because of intense historical prejudice, the members of the Little Shell Tribe of Montana live today in a very distinct and critical conundrum within the greater society. They are some of the most misunderstood, reviled, marginalized, poverty-stricken, and neglected people in America. The grand narrative of the Little Shell is also one of immense courage, fortitude, resilience, perseverance, hope, and love. It is a story that comprises the deeper, truer telling of our continent's history. The Little Shell story is one that provides an alternative reading of American history that shows our country to be, as a people, more diverse, complex, and Aboriginally rooted than portrayed in the standard mythology of United States nationhood. The story of the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana – heretofore understood to be one small leftover issue unresolved as a local Montana-situated in-state dilemma (if it's acknowledged at all) – really belongs to the broader telling of not just American Indian, but North American history.

The Little Shell Tribe is a polyethnic group of Aboriginal Americans that came to existence on the northern Great Plains before the nation-states of America and Canada gained hegemony over that part of the continent. As a polyethnic people, the Little Shell Tribe of today are descendants of those earliest encounters when diverse tribes of Aboriginal Americans took European men into their world, gave them the advantages of life in what was to the foreigners an unknown world, mixing worldviews, lifeways, mentalities, and materialities to form a new and original society of Native Americans. Named in French as "Métis" (mixblood) and in English as "Halfbreeds," the mixed culture of the Little Shell remains formatively Aboriginal American because the mixing occurred within the Aboriginal sphere, and the descendants of those first and subsequent marriages have proudly maintained their foundational identity as Aboriginal peoples.

Who are these people, and why do they persist in their request for federal recognition? Many ask, Indian and non-Indian, about the veracity of their claims and wonder about their "Indianness." Why don't they just let it go, many people wonder. The Little Shell don't even look like Indians, some say. And they never did perform ceremonies and do Indian stuff, say others. Questions and statements such as these only exist because there is no "story," no grand narrative, documenting who the Little Shell are and placing them within the larger telling of the reconfiguration of the American West, from Aboriginal to Anglo-American territory. And why is that?

The worst form of oppression is to wipe out a people's story and replace it with a "culture of silence," wherein dominated individuals and groups lose the means by which to critically respond to the culture that is forced on them by an over-bearing political superstructure. The most effective way to accomplish that end is to ignore those oppressed people. Since the Indian Wars of the nineteenth century, the Little Shell have been subject to an active campaign of elimination from the culture-scape of Montana. This writing's purpose is to bring to light why the Little Shell have pressed for broad public and legal acknowledgment of who they are, what their story is, and why it matters to set the record straight.

That said, the Little Shell story is in great part the story of how America (mis)understood Aboriginal peoples on the Northern Plains during the nineteenth century. In learning about the Little Shell people, this small, distinct, and – to many – mysterious society within the larger Montana and American citizenry, we concurrently gain significant new pieces about who we were as an American people during the takeover of the American West from our nation's First Peoples.

In addition, new scholarship places the Little Shell people as centrally located within the *Nehiyaw Pwat* Confederacy, a major Aboriginal "League of Nations" on the northern Great Plains, unseen and generally overlooked by U.S. scholars. The rise in awareness of the Métis in American history over the past thirty years has brought to light much needed new scholarship that applies directly to the Little Shell story. Additionally, the family heritage and genealogy movement in America over this last generation has filled in many salient gaps

of Little Shell and grassroots American history. The advent of all this new work, coupled with digital access to primary sources in archives all over the continent, now makes it possible to construct a more full and credible telling of a very complex American story: *"The Whole Country was . . . 'One Robe'": The Little Shell Tribe's America*.

The people of the *Nehiyaw Pwat* Confederacy, essentially Cree, Assiniboine, Ojibwa, and Métis relatives (i.e., predominantly French and Scots intermarried with those tribal peoples), were "polyethnic" (Look up!) traveled extensively, and intermarried among all the peoples represented at both the 1851 Fort Laramie and the 1855 Blackfoot Treaties (Look up! What tribes were at both treaties?). Indeed, polyethnicity was a hallmark of Northern Plains tribes and foundational to intertribal conceptions of land use, economics, warfare, and sovereignty, predating and outside of EuroAmerican nation-state and cultural understanding.

The Context

The main Aboriginal genealogical thread of the Little Shell Tribe is a historic people called the Pembina Band of Chippewa Indians, a name decided upon by the federal government to describe the peoples who converged at what is now Pembina, North Dakota, at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. Other Aboriginal people in today's United States who descend from the Pembina Chippewa are the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa of North Dakota, the Red Lake Band of Chippewa and White Earth Band of Chippewa, both in northwestern Minnesota, and the Rocky Boy's Chippewa Cree in Montana.

The name "Chippewa" is preeminent in the naming of the Rocky Boy's Reservation, it being created for the "Chippewa" Chief Rocky Boy and his people in 1916. Actually, Rocky Boy was half Assiniboine, and his band possesses the same mixed heritage as all the Pembina-rooted tribal people, who were from Pembina's inception more diverse than just Chippewa. Indeed, in Montana the ancestral peoples who comprise today's Little Shell Tribe and the Rocky Boy's Chippewa Cree Tribe were, from 1885 to 1916, known as one and the same people.

Compounding the difficulty in searching for an overarching understanding of "who are the Little Shell?" – and where do they come from? – is the United States–Canada border. From the beginning, the United States government lacked an overarching federal policy for dealing with Indians whose traditional historic homelands transcended international boundaries.

The LST, although self-named as Chippewa, are truly polyethnic in Aboriginal nature – as are all the Northern Plains tribes from historic times, if the adversarial veil between the government and Aboriginal peoples is lifted. The propensity of the government, from historic times, to codify Indian groups into mono-ethnic identities belies a complex Aboriginal reality, obfuscates comprehensive understanding, and creates (for the government) sufficient grounds for questioning legitimacy, i.e., non-recognition. As noted, the LST are part of a culture-group named the *Nehiyaw Pwat*, comprised predominantly of Cree, Assiniboine, Ojibwa, and Métis. The direct lineage of the LST today traces directly back to the *Nehiyaw Pwat* Confederacy and intermarriage since the 1650s among (predominantly) the Cree, Assiniboine, Ojibwa (i.e., Chippewa), French, and Scots along the Great Lakes and on the Northern Plains borderlands of today's United States and Canada.

The LST also have had, since the early nineteenth century and, in many cases, before that time, strong historical and contemporary ties with the Gros Ventre, Blackfeet, Crow, Sioux, Salish, Kootenai, Pend d'Oreilles, Nez Percé, Shoshone, and many Columbia River tribes in the U.S. today.

The Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana have been known through time within the geography

of the United States Northern Plains, as (from the most recent naming as the LST): Plains Ojibwa (by the ICC); Montana Breeds; Landless Indians of Montana; Montana Landless Indians; Non Treaty Chippewa Cree Indians of Northern Montana; Turtle Mountain Abandoned Chippewa Indians; *"such other homeless Indians in the State of Montana;"* Landless Cree; Montana Chippewa; Montana Cree; Montana Chippewa Cree; Montana Band; Wandering Cree; Red River Métis/Halfbreeds/Hunters; Little Bear's Band; Rocky Boy's Band; Little Bear's and Rocky Boy's Band; "federated tribes of marauding Indians;" Canadian Cree; Renegade Cree; Canadian-born Cree; Riel's People; Dumont's Band; Bobtail's (Piché's) Band; Little Shell's Band; Red Bear's Band; Nakawiniuk's (Wilkie's) Band; Big Bear's Band; Maskipitoon's (Broken Arm's) Band; L'Ours Fou's (Fools Bear's) Band; Turtle Mountain Chippewa; Turtle Mountain Michif; Turtle Mountain Métis; Red River Pembina Mixbloods; and Pembina Chippewa. All are part of the *Nehiyaw Pwat* Cree, Assiniboine, Chippewa, and Métis Confederacy (which, after 1862, also included the Gros Ventre). This confederacy is also known as the "Iron Alliance," a name that, as with *"Nehiyaw Pwat,"* remains obscure (if recognized at all) in most scholarly understanding. The Iron Alliance refers to the early leverage the Cree, Assiniboine, Chippewa, and Métis – as amalgamated peoples – held in the newly forming market economy controlling access to and trade for metal products between Euro and Aboriginal North Americans (1680s–1840s). The main distinction of the *Nehiyaw Pwat* was that it incorporated multiculturalism and technological innovation to form a new compound community and material culture synthesis. This gave rise to a successful contemporized Aboriginal society competitive with EuroAmerican interests.

What distinguishes the Little Shell Tribe today from the Turtle Mountain Chippewa, Fort Peck Assiniboine, Fort Belknap Gros Ventre and Assiniboine, Rocky Boy's Chippewa Cree, and the Blackfeet (as well as Cheyenne, Crow, Kootenai, Pend d' Oreille , Salish, and Shoshone) is that this cohesive group (clearly and distinctly identifiable since the 1820s) is recognized by everyone who lives with them (including the State of Montana and their relative and neighbor tribes that are federally recognized) – but not by the United States government. All of these groups call for the federal recognition of the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana.

Traditional Historic Homeland

The *Nehiyaw Pwat* followed the north and south branches of the Saskatchewan, Assiniboine, and Red Rivers, out to the Missouri, Yellowstone, Milk, Marias, and all the Front Range Rivers of Montana. It was there that the Cree Assiniboine met the Blackfoot who became, first, by the early 1700s, allies forming a powerful and unbeatable force on the Plains, and then, at the end of the eighteenth century, enemies. Initially the *Nehiyaw Pwat* alliance with the Blackfoot Confederacy was reinforced by the mutual support each gave during conflict. Nehiyaw Pwat assistance in the Blackfoot campaign against the Shoshone in 1723, and again in 1732, represent examples of this support and early *Nehiyaw Pwat* presence in Montana.

During the earlier trade period (1680s–1760s), the timing of access to and transfer of goods from Hudson's Bay among Europeans, the *Nehiyaw Pwat*, and other tribes of the Plains was critical. Most significantly, the Cree, Assiniboine, Plains Ojibwa, Métis "Iron Alliance" served simultaneously as traders and hunters. They played a supply role on one hand, and a middleman role on the other. That fact gave them a unique status among other western Plains tribes in the area during the eighteenth century. By the 1780s, though, that had all changed. Small pox decimated the people living on the northern Great Plains in 1780-82. This some tribes fared better than others. New alliances were made of survivors; a reconfiguration of power and resources realigned the human landscape.

At that time, the *Nehiyaw Pwat* came to realize that more profit was to be garnered by supplying pemmican to the British and U.S. trade forts. It was from that time that many Cree and Assiniboine core groups put their efforts solely into buffalo hunting and turned away from the fine fur trade. The Red River Pembina Plains Ojibwa

and other recent arrivals from the Great Lakes and Mississippi Basin converged to occupy the territory left by the Cree Assiniboine as they moved farther out on the Plains to pursue the buffalo trade. That area (or zone) of ethnic, social, cultural, political, and economic realignment and amalgamation of numerous people, pushed west-northwest from the Great Lakes, Illinois County, and the Mississippi Basin, is the Red River Settlement Zone. This cohe-sive Aboriginal area constitutes the core of the traditional historic *Nehiyaw Pwat* homeland. We know the Cree Assiniboine Confederacy (with the addition of these new arrivals) made their way as far west as the Rocky Mountains in Montana and Alberta by the late eighteenth century. In 1796, whites noted that some Ojibwa could be found farther west, in the Upper Missouri country of Montana, on the Souris River (northwestern North Dakota), and on the Saskatchewan River, in present-day western Saskatchewan.

The people centered at Pembina and within the Red River Settlement Zone were a reconfigured group. Alexander Henry, part of the Anglo fur trade leadership at Pembina, described them as Cree, Assiniboine, freemen, Ottawa, and "my Saulteaux" (Ojibwa, or, Chippewa). Among these peoples were also some Great Lakes and Mississippi Basin mixed peoples. But the area remained dominated, on the Aboriginal front, by the *Nehiyaw Pwat*/Cree Assiniboine and the polyethnic people already integrated into their sphere coming from the earlier Hudson's Bay Company and La Vérendrye period. Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de La Vérendrye, with his sons and expeditionary force, represented New France. In 1728 he was made the commandant of Fort Kaministiquia (Thunder Bay, Ontario, near the Minnesota line). Relying on Cree sources, in 1731 through 1744 they explored and opened up for French trade the continental interior of the northern Great Plains, including the territory of the Red River Settlement Zone. Indeed, as historian John Perry Pritchett writes in his remarkable 1942 study, *The Red River Valley, 1811–1849*, "There is certain proof that there was a prairie Métis population in existence before the year 1775. And there are good grounds for believing that it originated as early as the 'forties and 'fifties of the eighteenth century." That *bouillabaisse* of peoples became known as the Pembina "Chippewa" Band. To differentiate the Pembina Chippewa, who ventured out onto the Plains as buffalo hunters, from the Great Lakes Woodlands Ojibwa, scholars developed the term "Plains Ojibwa" in the 1950s, and it remains in use. All Plains Ojibwa have roots among the Pembina Chippewa, including all the polyethnic peoples who converged at Pembina at the turn of the eighteenth to nineteenth century. **The Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana are Plains Ojibwa of this new amalgam of peoples.** Not all Pembina Chippewa, though, are Plains Ojibwa. The Red Lake and White Earth Chippewa of today's Minnesota society are examples of Pembina Chippewa who are not Plains Ojibwa. They chose to remain in the Woodlands.

Between 1801 and 1803, the Red River Pembina Plains Ojibwa mixed peoples developed their inspired revolutionary piece of technology, the Red River cart. The Red River cart brought an astounding advantage to the *Nehiyaw Pwat* as a whole and became emblematic of this new Aboriginal polyethnic, mixed-culture people. The Red River cart afforded new terms of inclusion and deeper alliance among the Cree, Assiniboine, and those inventive Red River Pembina Plains Ojibwa. With the advent of the Red River cart, each branch within the *Nehiyaw Pwat* Confederacy became heavily involved in buffalo hunting, for the most part abandoning the fine fur trade by 1810. That *Nehiyaw Pwat* Iron Alliance, with its technological superiority, gained ascendancy over all the Northern Plains tribes in the supply of buffalo meat, hides, and robes to the fur trade.

The Little Shell Tribe descends directly from this group, the buffalo hunters who realigned around Pembina, centered within the Red River Settlement Zone at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, who were also part of the larger *Nehiyaw Pwat* Confederacy. The buffalo hunting culture was an independent, self-sustaining lifestyle, requiring subservience to no one. The Cree, Assiniboine, Ojibwa, Métis amalgam, in the form known as both the ***Nehiyaw Pwat*** **Confederacy** and the **Iron Alliance,** was from that time able to control its own economy, trade on its own terms, and recast a transformative modern Aboriginal society that it was well prepared to protect and enhance. In short, they became a new culture, ethnicity, and society – indeed, a "new nation."

The *Nehiyaw Pwat*

The history of the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana is enwombed in that of the Pembina Band of Plains Ojibwa. Up to 89 percent of Little Shell tribal members of today trace their ancestry to the Pembina Band. As discussed, the Pembina Band originates from primarily the Ojibwa and post-New France mixed-Aboriginal peoples of the Great Lakes region. Understanding how the Pembina Band formed is critical to the larger story of who is the Little Shell Tribe.

The *Nehiyaw Pwat* traded with both the French and English. In the 1730s, the Cree Assiniboine out on the prairie, coming from both the east with French goods and the north with British goods, allied with the Blackfoot Confederacy from Saskatchewan and Alberta deep into Montana. Mixed bands, presumably including Ojibwa, participated in those *Nehiyaw Pwat* excursions. By the mid 1700s through the end of the eighteenth century, several thousand children of mixed Indian-European parentage had probably been born in that region the Great Lakes and in Rupert's Land (including Montana and North Dakota). By the late 1780s at least, and probably before that time, it can be documented that the Cree, with their mixed relatives, were inhabiting the area of the Saskatchewan and Montana border region. They occupied this land jointly with Assiniboines, Blackfeet, Atsina, Piegans and Bloods.

It was at this time (1780–82) that the devastating Pox Americana converged on the Northern Plains, causing immense catastrophe. For the Assiniboine and Cree, the plague claimed as much as half of their population. In 1781, a Cree, Assiniboine, Ojibwa, Métis war party attacked a Gros Ventre village on the upper Missouri (North Dakota/Montana border region), contracting smallpox. They brought the disease back to their villages around the Forks of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers. The Ojibwa and Ottawa people from Lake Superior and throughout the regions of northern Minnesota lost between 50 to 70 percent of their families to the epidemic.

Following the epidemic, at the Pembina Hills (later St. Joseph, Dakota Territory, and now Walhalla, North Dakota), Chippewa and Métis relatives were ritually brought into alliance with the Cree and Assiniboine and invited to live out on the Plains with them fulltime. Ojibwa Chief Peguis told that, "after smoking and feasting for two or three days . . . [we] were formally invited to dwell on the plains – to eat out of the same dish, to warm ourselves at the same fire, and to make common cause with them against their enemies the Sioux." Thus became, by the 1780s, in Aboriginal terms, the Plains Ojibwa (a people whose cultural identity includes the spectrum from those who self-identify with "drum dance" to those who hold "fiddle dance" Indian mores and customs, i.e., Chippewa and Métis), from whom the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana is directly descended. In addition, by the ceremony described by Chief Peguis, being told by the Cree and Assiniboine that, "[y]our presence will remove the cloud of sorrow that is in our minds and strengthen us against our enemies," the Plains Ojibwa formally entered the Nehiyaw Pwat Confederacy/Iron Alliance.

The Ojibwa and Cree Assiniboine bands had long-term relations with each other through trade and intermarriages and, since the middle seventeenth century, as allies against the Sioux. Ojibwa people often were bilingual in Cree, a trade language or lingua franca in the areas north and west of the Great Lakes. The strengthened alliance, following the smallpox epidemic of the early 1780s, between the Plains Ojibwa, Cree, and Assiniboine often had them living together in one camp as a singular polyethnic, co-residential confederated people. By 1800, Chippewa Michif (i.e., Plains Ojibwa) were integrated within Cree and Assiniboine society and territory, which spread from Manitoba and North Dakota west into Montana, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, along the borderlands of today's United States and Canada.

The *Nehiyaw Pwat* had alliances with Slave, Beaver, and Dogrib people bordering the tundra, as well as the Kootenai, Pend d'Oreilles, Salish, and Shuswap west of the divide in the Columbia Plateau, and later on, the Shoshone and Nez Perce in the northern Great Basin, bordering Idaho and Montana. By 1810, the Cree Assiniboine Confederacy, in its ability to expand and control its domain, was by all accounts a dominant force across the Northern Plains and well into Montana. Throughout the 1810s, Americans actively sought to recruit trade with the Iron Alliance, née *Nehiyaw Pwat*, as a whole.

Group distinctiveness was cultural; that is to say, there were those who self-identified as Cree, Assiniboine, Chippewa, or Métis specifically, through their customs, ceremonies, and traditional lifeways. Métis was an identity that embodied a blending of each of the Aboriginal and European backgrounds in a family's specific mixing. As a whole this evolved into a characteristic new culture sharing predominantly Cree, Assiniboine, Chippewa, French, and Scot heritage. There came to be Cree Assiniboine bands, Cree Chippewa bands, Assiniboine Cree, Métis Chippewa, Assiniboine Métis, Cree Métis, and Chippewa Métis bands – all within the *Nehiyaw Pwat*. The Little Shell ancestral group intermarried pervasively with Cree and Assiniboine family lines, as well as with the full host of Northern Plains tribal peoples, but remained predominantly Plains Ojibwa. Those Plains Ojibwa were a large mixed-culture recombinant group of people from the transformed Great Lakes and former New France continental interior, who coalesced around Pembina and throughout the Red River Settlement Zone,and included the identity ofbeing Métis.

Conclusion

The understanding that the Little Shell Tribe exists within the larger *Nehiyaw Pwat* Confederacy expands the conceptualization of the Little Shell's traditional historic homeland and places them in Montana far earlier than previously acknowledged. It also helps to further explain the polyethnic composition of the tribe and answers questions of nationality (i.e., being named both "Cree" and "Canadian," thus foreign, by the U.S. government) in the Little Shell history. Shedding new light on these elements of the Little Shell history serves to reinforce the significance and legitimacy of the Little Shell people's place in Montana and American history.

In understanding the Little Shell history within the notion of the "Borderlands," this story demonstrates that the inclination to exclude the "Canadian" experience of the Little Shell is a spurious application of nation-state interests over pre-existing Aboriginal reality and rights. This is especially so, when considering the active United States government strategy that encouraged the Little Shell ancestral group to breach the border to further U.S. political and economic interests, in the antebellum and post–Civil War era of the nineteenth century.

The Little Shell ancestral peoples actively assisting the federal government's efforts to colonize the American West, show not only that the Little Shell have historically helped further the government's interests, but were indeed in Montana much earlier than understood. This new evidence also reveals that the U.S. government understood that the *Nehiyaw Pwat*, including the Little Shell ancestral group, had Aboriginal claim to much of the Upper Missouri country and were party to both the 1851 and 1855 treaties.

Operating contrary to that explicit understanding, the federal government – as this book shows – actively sought to remove Little Shell ancestral people and their relatives from the borderlands of Montana in the late 1860s–1890s, in many instances under the pretense that they were "Canadian" (see chapter XXIII). Given the need for the government to coalesce its borders, the process engaged by federal forces seriously fractured, damaged, and denigrated the Little Shell ancestral peoples and negatively affected their reputation among the new white society, an effect that continues to this day. This has had a huge

consequence on all subsequent petitions for recognition by the Little Shell Tribe. The U.S. government's action worked to hinder and nullify political cohesiveness among the Little Shell ancestral group for many years. Despite that, the Little Shell Tribe has maintained political influence among and the support of its citizens.

Another significant body of new evidence irrefutably shows that the Little Shell ancestral group had developed communities in western Montana far preceding previously known information. The Fort Owen, Fort Connagh, Frenchtown, and the Johnny Grant colonies west of the continental divide dating to the 1840s and 1850s, along with Front Range communities in the 1840s, 50s, and 60s, dramatically express how pervasive and profoundly immersed the Little Shell ancestral group was in Montana history.

Upon the demise of the traditional political and economic solvency of the Little Shell ancestral group after 1885, this work presents an example, through the Butte, Montana experience, of how they maintained cohesiveness in their customs, ceremonies, livelihood, and political expressions. Research answers the question why they became dispersed throughout Montana and settled in and around white communities. This book also incontrovertibly relates the contemporary Moccasin Flats Archipelago of Little Shell tribal life to earlier manifestations of like settlement patterns, including the Red River Settlement Zone and the Milk River/Wood Mountains/Poplar River corridor. To that point, this story shows that the current Little Shell archipelago tribal community formation is, in fact, a traditional *Nehiyaw Pwat* Plains Ojibwa expression of appropriate response to environmental and social conditions of the wider Montana and American society.

Finally, this story looks at the Little Shell Tribe's contemporary political circumstance in light of the Turtle Mountain and Rocky Boy's Pembina Chippewa peoples, to whom they are closely related. Once again, this new evidence and alternative interpretation hold information that clarifies the legitimacy of the Little Shell Tribe and their place within Montana society. Through decisions made by the government that excluded the Little Shell people from the Turtle Mountain and Rocky Boy's settlements, the federal government did not complete its job in attending to the rights of all the Red River Pembina Plains Ojibwa people. That is to say, this book emphasizes that the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana, as acknowledged legitimate heirs of the 1863 Pembina Treaty, and arguably heirs of the 1851 Fort Laramie and 1855 Blackfoot Treaties, has always been and remains an identifiable tribe whose members are yet to be accorded their full and inalienable Aboriginal rights as American Indians within the American project.

In summation, this book affirms that: the ancestral group of the Little Shell Tribe, the historic *Nehiyaw Pwat* (comprised of the Cree, Assiniboine, Chippewa, and Métis), has been allied since the 1650s; the ancestral group of the Little Shell Tribe has been in Montana since the 1730s; they are also related to the Assiniboine, Blackfeet, Cheyenne, Chippewa Cree, Crow, Flathead Tribes, Gros Ventre, and Sioux nations of Montana today; they have continuously inhabited Montana since the 1790s; they were recognized and courted by the U.S. government and business interests since Lewis and Clark (1804); they – i.e., the Cree and Plains Ojibwa – were never brought into treaty with the U.S. government; they were mistakenly named "Canadian" Indians following the Civil War; they were forcibly removed through ethnic cleansing from their traditional historic transnational border homeland; Rocky Boy's Band was a sub-band of Chief Little Shell's Turtle Mountain Pembina Chippewa; they were partially attended to through the creation of the Rocky Boy's Reservation; they were again partially dealt with by the U.S. government through the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) land adhesion and family adoptions to Rocky Boy's Reservation in 1939–40; they have been in the state of continual and consistent petition to the federal government for full recognition of their Aboriginal rights since the early 1920s; and, finally, the Little Shell Tribe remain unreconciled in their just relationship to the United States government. All this demonstrates that, in a preponderance of evidence, the *"One Robe"* for the Little Shell tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana is alive and remains very much a part of Montana's traditional Aboriginal historic homeland.

Chronology of Little Shell Tribe History in Montana

This is a narrative timeline and, as such, serves as a representative overview, not a comprehensive listing of available supportive primary and secondary source documentation. It provides additional new evidence and interpretation.

Although including the surrounding culture region at times, this work concentrates on the Little Shell Tribe's ancestral community historic precedent in Montana. This information affirms the LST's longtime habitation and establishment of a traditional historic homeland, therein. Indeed, it provides information that extends the historic timeline and previous understandings of how long the Little Shell Tribe have lived in Montana in unbroken lineage. Furthermore, it confirms the place of the Little Shell tribe, along with the Rocky Boy's Chippewa Cree, within the 1855 Stevens Blackfoot Treaty.

As a narrative timeline, it offers key understandings to make more cohesive and accessible the LST's history and relationships.

***1000-1600**: Cree and Assiniboine archeological evidence places them in Red River Settlement Zone (RRSZ). "[T]here is an indication that they were in Manitoba before 1350, and that they moved westward [i.e., along the borderlands] after that date."

***1600**: Cree and Assiniboine alliance (the *Nehiyaw Pwat*) and intermarriage firmly established in the Red River Settlement Zone.

***1650s:** Ojibwa make alliance with the Cree and Assiniboine in the Red River Settlement Zone [Rainy Lake]. "Here they first came in contact with the Assiniboins . . . and from that point, after entering into a firm and lasting peace with the Assiniboins and Knis-te-nos [Cree], they first joined their brethren . . ."

***1670s**: Hudson's Bay Company begins operations on the shore of The Bay down flow from the RRSZ. Cree and Assiniboine begin as primary trade partners with the Hudson's Bay Company, from The Bay and throughout the Northern Plains. The "Cree-Assiniboine Confederacy" (*Nehiyaw Pwat*, including the Ojibwa) becomes evident in the journal records.

***1690-92**: Henry Kelsey, of the Hudson's Bay Company, travels with Cree and Assiniboine along what is now the U.S. – Canada border of Montana, North Dakota, and Saskatchewan, i.e., the Milk River/Wood Mountain/Poplar River Corridor.

***1700s**: By the beginning of the 18th century, the Cree and Assiniboine were regularly accepting Ojibwa from the Sault Ste. Marie and southern Great Lakes region (some of them already intermarried with the French), as well as men from the HBC, into their families. During the 1720s–40s, they took in Frenchmen who came to the Red River area with the LaVerendryes, as also, the *coureur de drouine* (itinerant traders) and the *l'homme libre* (freemen) influence (i.e., singular men of European heritage trekking inward from HBC and New France spheres) of the 17th and 18th century.

***1730s**: LaVerendrye sells weapons to the Cree, Assiniboine, and Ojibwa alliance in the Red River Settlement Zone. Cree Assiniboine out on the prairie allied with the Blackfeet, from Saskatchewan and Alberta, deep into Montana. Presumably, mixed bands, including Ojibwa, comprised those *Nehiyaw Pwat* excursions.

***1750s**: By the mid-1700s through 1820, "several thousand children of mixed [Indian-European] parentage had probably been born in that region [the Great Lakes] and in Rupert's Land [including Montana and North Dakota]."

***1775**: Historian John Perry Pritchett writes in his remarkable 1942 study, The Red River Valley 1811-1849; that "There is certain proof that there was a prairie Métis population in existence before the year 1775. And there are good grounds for believing that it originated as early as the 'forties and 'fifties of the eighteenth century."

***1780s**: "Thus, by the late 1780s at least, and probably before that time, it can be documented that the Crees were inhabiting . . . the area downstream from the elbow of the South Saskatchewan [i.e., the Milk River/Wood Mountain/Poplar River Corridor into Montana]. They occupied this land jointly with Assiniboines, Blackfeet, Atsina, Piegans and Bloods."

***1781**: Cree-Assiniboine-Ojibwa war party attack Gros Ventre village on the upper Missouri (North Dakota/Montana border), contracting smallpox. Following the epidemic, at the Pembina Hills (now Walhalla, North Dakota), the Ojibwa were ritually brought into alliance with the Cree and Assiniboine and invited to live out on the Plains with them fulltime. Ojibwa Chief Peguis told that, "after smoking and feasting for two or three days . . . [we] were formally invited to dwell on the plains – to eat out of the same dish, to warm ourselves at the same fire, and to make common cause with them against their enemies the Sioux." Thus became the Plains Ojibwa.

***1789-93**: Alexander Mackenzie places the *Nehiyaw Pwat* – Cree Assiniboine Ojibwa alliance – in the Upper Missouri country.

***1790s:** John Tanner tells of Plains Ojibwa (i.e., Chippewa and Métis) war parties fighting Atsina (Gros Ventre) into Montana as far as the Rocky Mountains.

***1796**: The Spanish complain that Plains-Ojibwa are already further west in the Upper Missouri country. In regards to the Plains-Ojibwa/Red River Hunters community on Frenchmen's Creek (Milk River/Wood Mountain/Poplar River Corridor), a U. S. Army soldier serving at Fort Assiniboine in the 1880s wrote that, "the army officers knew they were here when the whites first came and no one knew how long before. Many were born south of the recently surveyed boundary line."

***1800**: Cree, with their allies the Assiniboine, live a "full-fledged Plains way of life," inhabiting northern Montana, and throughout the Missouri Basin. "[B]y 1800 the Plains Cree [with 'Souties (Saulteaux, i.e. Chippewa mixbloods), Markigoes (Muskegoes, i.e. Ojibwa) and Assinipolis (Assiniboine)'] inhabit the areas from the Assiniboine River at Brandon House [just north of the Turtle Mountains], at least, across the plains to the upper North Saskatchewan and the mid- and lower South Saskatchewan [i.e., the Milk River region of Montana]. This area they share somewhat with other tribes, but it cannot be said that it was not Cree Territory."

***1802**: Within the polyethnic *Nehiyaw Pwat*, each of the four main groupings had its own core identity as Cree, Assiniboine, Chippewa and Métis. Alexander Henry wrote in 1802 that the "Assiniboine and Crees here ... appear now well reconciled to the Saulteaux [Red River Pembina Plains-Ojibwa, including mixbloods] and the latter equally to them." In 1805 John Tanner related the story of a war party of 400 Assiniboines, Crees, and Plains-Ojibwas setting out to seek revenge for the killing of Henry's father-in-law. The Anglos noticed this alliance of confederated interests between these tribes.

***1804**: Seventy lodges of Cree, Assiniboine, and Chippewa are at the Mandan Villages with Lewis & Clark in November of 1804. The Corps of Discovery places the Nehiyaw Pwat in the Upper Missouri and Milk River/Wood Mountain/Poplar River region, as well as Pembina. Lewis and Clark described the Cree and Assiniboine in detail. They also stated that "the place best suited for commerce with the Cree [i.e., Nehiyaw Pwat] was suggested to be at the mouth of the Yellowstone River," deep into American territory. Regis Loisel, who was commissioned by the Spanish government in St. Louis to investigate intrusions into their territory, was with Lewis and Clark in 1804 and served as an informant for them. He stated that the Assiniboine and Cree, along with the Blackfeet, "hunt upon the east bank of the Missouri, more or less above the Yellowstone River."

[Kenneth McKenzie] to build." McKenzie, who previously worked for the British, set up Fort Union for the Americans. When he was settled, messengers were dispatched "inviting all Assiniboines, Crees, and Chippewas to the Missouri. When it was learned that Mr. McKenzie was there it was not long before a large number of these Indians came over, together with many half-breed families."

***1810**: Alexander Henry, the Younger, wrote in his journal for October 6th, 1810, while in the Columbia Country, which included western Montana, that the "Flat Head had killed sixteen Peagans, and that all the relations of the deceased were crying in the Plains, that no Crees should go there in future to take them [the Flatheads] supplies of Arms and Ammunition." The next day, Henry found two bodies of Cree men, "who had been buried here some years ago." Henry is the same man who first wrote about the Pembina Chippewa, Cree, and Assiniboine while stationed at Pembina 1799-1808. Now he is describing those same people being in the Flathead country of western Montana.

"[T]here was at this time no artificial boundary between the Americans and British west of the Great Lakes. The Louisiana Purchase had not specified a northern boundary to the purchased land other than limits of the Missouri drainage. The natural boundaries to Cree and Assiniboine expansion were enemy-controlled territory and/or major natural feature such as the Missouri River, which was a major obstacle and the south bank of which was effectively controlled by other groups." By 1810, the Cree Assiniboine alliance, in their ability to expand and control their domain, was obviously a dominant force across the Northern Plains and well into Montana.

***1810s**: Americans seek and recruit trade with the Cree and Assiniboine, née, *Nehiyaw Pwat* as a whole.

***1817**: Red River Métis Hunter, Louis Goulet, stated in his 1930s memoirs that the Upper Missouri wintering cabins he lived in during his youth in Montana (c.1867) were already at that time 50 years old.

***1820s**: The Little Shell ancestral community of mixbloods of the Pembina Band, and their *Nehiyaw Pwat* Cree and Assiniboine relatives, had established communities along Frenchman's Creek where it flowed into Milk River and, just to the east, throughout the Wood Mountain/Poplar River region of Montana. They had regularly wintered there at least as early as the 1820s. This area is called Cree Crossing today. The whole area was a cohesive, integrated settlement zone. It was the "Milk River/Wood Mountain/Poplar River Corridor." It was the middle route of the three primary north/south passages for the Nehiyaw Pwat within their traditional historic homeland of the Saskatchewan and Missouri River Basin. Also, "From the 1820s on, many of the families wintered together with full-blood Pembina Chippewas in the Pembina Mountains or Turtle Mountain and later farther west at Wood Mountain and the Milk River." This area, in its entirety, is that claimed by the Little Shell and Rocky Boy's people in their Indian Claims Commission suit of 1974. Much of it is known, today, as the Fort Peck Reservation.

***1825**: Henry Atkinson, representing the U. S. government, made two expeditions up the Missouri to the Yellowstone River, in 1819 and 1825. He reported back to Congress that the territory controlled by the Assiniboine (and their allies the Cree), covered the land from the headwaters of the Milk River (in Montana) all the way east to Pembina on both sides of the border, and down to Lake Traverse (headwaters of Red River). He also commented on their frequently being on the Missouri River.

***1827-29**: The United States actively courted the *Nehiyaw Pwat*. In 1827 the American Fur Company (AFC) set up the White Earth River Post between today's Minot and Williston, ND. In 1828, the U. S. government assigns J. F. A. Sanford to be Indian sub-agent for the Upper Missouri Agency. He hires Red River Pembina Métis, Michael Gravel, as interpreter for the Cree. Then, in 1829 at the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers, the AFC built Fort Union, in American territory. Those posts ended the ancient continental trade entrepôt of the Mandan and Hidatsa at Knife River. They were built specifically for trade with the *Nehiyaw Pwat*. Indeed, the fort was placed "where the chief of the Rocks [Stoney, i.e., Assiniboine] had desired himn per lodge. Actually, the Cree were living as a whole community there, and obviously were comprised of whole families, as his closer description shows. More likely, with a factor of five per lodge generally accepted for Plains Indian census, the number of Cree near the future Fort Benton is closer to 4,00 people. And that's not including the Assiniboine, whom Maximillian says numerous bands showed up on June 26th 1833. Maximillian then describes a battle between the Nehiyaw Pwat and the Blackfeet on August 28th at Fort MacKenzie. The Blackfeet were soundly defeated. Who controlled territory, in the Indian way, was whose territory to whom it belonged. At least at that time, well south of the border into Montana, and as far west as the foothills of the Rockies, was Cree Assiniboine territory.

***1830**: Indian Agent John F. A. Sanford writes a letter to William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis, that he believes a delegation of all the Upper Missouri River tribes within the U. S. sphere would benefit from a diplomatic journey to Washington to meet President Jackson. He says that he "would recommend a deputation from the following tribes and bands Viz: The Arickaras, Mandans, Gros Ventre [Hidatsa], Crows, *Assiniboins, Knistineaux* [italic mine], and from bands of the Yanctonies . . . whose friendship is indispensably necessary in order to an extension & profitable prosicution [sic] of the Indian trade." The Cree, et al., are considered within the jurisdiction of the Upper Missouri Agency.

***1831**: In December of 1831, *Nehiyaw Pwat* Cree chief Maskipitoon (Broken Arm), an Assiniboine named The Light, and an unnamed Plains Ojibwa and Yanktonai traveled with Indian Agent Sanford from Fort Union to St. Louis, Missouri and on to Washington, as part of a small group from the Upper Missouri country traveling to meet with President Andrew Jackson. It is telling that from all the tribes Sanford wanted to accompany him to Washington, it was the *Nehiyaw Pwat* that made a showing. Broken Arm's father-in-law was the Red River Métis man Kakakew LaRocque; Kakakew's father, Asini, was the Métis nephew of Francois LaRocque, the Nor'Wester who wintered with Lewis and Clark at the Hidatsa Mandan Villages. His wife, Maria LaRocque or Kawakachuse (Very Boney). She was a Red River Plains-Ojibwa from the Red River Settlement Zone. Broken Arm was also Chief Little Shell III's uncle. Scholar of Aboriginal history of the borderlands, Michel Hogue, tells us that, "[i]n 1831-1832 the U.S. government granted the Crees a measure of recognition when officials invited Chief Broken Arm (Maskepetoon) and representatives from other tribes living near Fort Union to meet President Andrew Jackson in Washington D.C."

Also from 1831, comes an early reference to Cree being south of the Missouri River in the Rocky Mountains. Working for the American Fur Company, Warren Angus Ferris was in present day southeastern Idaho when he experienced two separate attacks by a Blackfeet and Cree war party. The

event occurred on the Blackfoot River and Gray's Creek, close to Idaho Falls. "The Indians finding that they should get nothing by fighting resolved to try what could be affected by begging. A party then marched coolly up to camp and announced themselves Creas . . . We ascertained from them that the party was composed of one hundred Blackfeet and thirty-three Creas." Ferris' recounting corroborates Chief Little Bear's story (told in Butte, MT in 1913) of his father Big Bear being in southern Montana and Idaho in his youth: "The Cree Indian came first to Montana with the Assiniboines away long ago; my father [Big Bear] was a Cree that lived on the Snake River [which the Blackfoot River runs into] with Moose and Two Horns, and they came here – in Butte – long ago when we hunt buffalo and deer here on this hill, where now these big mines send black smoke to kill the game and the birds."

***1832-33**: The U. S. government, through the offices of William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis, issued official trade licenses to businessmen desiring to trade with Indians. In 1832, Clark issued one to Pierre Choteau, Jr. Choteau's license gave him the right to trade only in prescribed places with prescribed tribes. His extended up the Missouri all the way to the Marias River, near present Fort Benton, Montana. The only tribes on Choteau's list in the Marias country were the Cree and Assiniboine. Blackfeet were not included on his license.

Maximillian, Prince of Weid-Neuweid, writes that "The Cree live in the same territory as the Assiniboins, that is, between the Saskatchewan, the Assiniboin, and the Missouri." Maximillian wrote his description from Fort MacKenzie, which was just east of today's Fort Benton, Montana. The Cree there had 600-800 lodges at the time. Maximillian reckons that to be 1,800-2,400 men, at three me***1805**: Alexander MacKenzie was at the Hidatsa and Mandan Villages and wrote that, "Several bands of Assiniboines, Crees and Sauteaux [Chippewa] visited the villages."

***1833**: Catlin places the Assiniboines, Cree, and Chippewa inclusive of northeast, north, and northwest of the mouth of the Yellowstone. That is to say, from Fort Union, up and over to the Turtle Mountains, then west to (the future) Fort Benton, Montana, and back southeast to Fort Union. Kenneth MacKenzie wrote to Indian trader, James Kipp to say, "I expect a good many Crees to trade here this winter, M. Gravell is engaged as interpreter."

***1834**: In response to a request by one of his traders, Kenneth Mackenzie (Chief factor at Fort Union) wrote in early 1834 that "I have no half breeds but men with families, they could not conveniently transport them to you, or with satisfaction leave them behind." The family names of employees and freemen mentioned in the Fort Union letters include Kipland [Kipling, Keplin], Beauchamp, Laderoute, Labombarde, Brazeau, Lafontaine, Gladue, and Laframboise. Also, in 1834, MackKenzie instructed one of his employees "to go when the time should come . . . to the place where the Assiniboine was to be moored for the winter and there to establish a trade with the Crees and Assiniboines at the mouth of Poplar Creek." The mouth of Poplar Creek is located at today's Brockton, Montana, on the Fort Peck Reservation, with Nehiyaw Pwat yet living there.

***1835**: In the spring of 1835, Indian Agent J. F. A. Sanford oversaw the disbursement of Indian presents from the U. S. government to tribes at Fort Union, "Les Cree" among them. "The effects of the U. S. government policy of enticing Assiniboines and Crees to the Missouri River posts is indicated in a letter from Kenneth MacKenzie sent from Fort Union 10 December 1835 to Major (William N.) Fulkerson at the Mandan Subagency in an apparent plea for government gifts to be distributed as the last agent, Sanford, had done." The letter referred to says that, "those chiefs especially who have been more particularly noticed or have been to Washington City [including Broken Arm] say their great Father assured them they should never want for ammunition & Tobacco, so long as they trade on this side of the lines, and behaved well to whites, nor can they believe their great father would tell a lie."

On the same day that MacKenzie wrote to Major Fulkerson, he wrote another letter to Pratte Choteau, for whom he worked. He told Choteau that, "last year these Upper Indians [Cree Assiniboine] received from the Government 1000 lbs. Tobacco, 40,000 Balls & powder 75 doz. Knives besides cloth blanket etc etc and getting nothing this year they are careless and indifferent and they say they are without Tobacco & ammunition and consequently cannot go out to hunt." Even Fulkerson decried the condition. His work was made very difficult by having to explain the government's position of reneging on fulfilling what was understood to be promises by the Nehiyaw Pwat, saying that, "The Assiniboine and Crees, who have regularly received presents from the Government, I am informed are becoming very much dissatisfied at not having them still sent as usual."

The government used presents to the *Nehiyaw Pwat* to keep them from going to the Canadians. The Americans wanted the Cree Assiniboine. The Cree Assiniboine said that as long as Americans made it worthwhile they would be loyal. The presents made it worthwhile. The U.S. government cultivated the Cree Assiniboine, then they left them out to dry. They trekked hundreds of miles believing there would be resources for them when they arrived at Fort Union in 1835. But there were none. They were left out to dry. The American government failed them. This set a pattern for including then excluding the *Nehiyaw Pwat* by the government over the following decades.

***1837**: The smallpox epidemic hits the Upper Missouri. Assiniboines, near Fort Union, suffer heavy losses. The Cree are to the north, disperse into small bands and survive with fewer losses.

In 1837, the realigned boundaries of the Upper Missouri Agency were set. Its northern border was the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. The Indians of the region included the Assiniboine, Cree, and Blackfeet. Thus, the Cree and Assiniboine, along with the Blackfeet, were known to be, and accepted by the U. S. government, to reside in lands including south of the Missouri River.

***1840**: Alexander Ross, of Red River Colony, traveled from Pembina with a band of Red River Plains-Ojibwa Hunters in 1840. He describes their summer hunting harvest in detail, including this quote of their going to Fort Union and deep into Montana: ". . . the animals having left us, we raised camp to follow them, which led us far south to the elevated plateau, which divides the waters that debouch into Hudson's Bay, from those that flow into the Missouri. On the 16th we encamped on the bank of the latter river, when about forty of our hunters went on a visit to the American trading post, called Fort Union. Here they were kindly received, and bartered away furs and provisions for articles they either fancied or were in actual need of. . . After passing a week on the banks of the Missouri [at Fort Union], we turned to the west, where we had a few races [hunts] with various success. We were afterwards for some time led backwards and forwards at the pleasure of the buffalo, often crossing and recrossing our path, and we had travelled to almost every point of the compass…"

***1841**: There was a fully developed colony of Red River mixbloods, settled near Father Jean-Pierre DeSmet's mission in the Bitterroot Valley of western Montana. In *Wilderness Kingdom*, the journals of DeSmet's assistant, Father Nicolas Point, S.J., Point describes an event in December of 1841 in the newly formed community: "What was still more remarkable was the apparition of St. Francis Xavier seen by a catechumen of the tribe of Crees [to be understood as *Nehiyaw Pwat*], a man named Michael." That year of 1841, as the priests missionized, Point drew a picture of the construction going on. Clearly, he depicts a Red River cart and mixblood people actively engaged in daily chores. Again, in 1842, while the priests visited Flathead Lake, he painted Indians gathered around the missionaries. Prominent in the image is a Red River cart. Important to gaining the full meaning of these images is that the Red

River Pembina Nehiyaw Pwat held proprietary rights to the construction and predominant use of the Red River cart. Indeed, the Red River cart was a preeminent cultural identifier of the *Nehiyaw Pwat*. Red River Pembina Plains-Ojibwa innovated the cart, and shared its technology guardedly to only with their Cree and Assiniboine relations.

***1840s**: There were Red River mixbloods not only at Fort Owen (John Owen bought DeSmet's mission at Stevensville after the mission moved to St. Ignatius), but at Hell Gate and "Frenchtown" (present-day Missoula area), and Fort Connah (an HBC trading post at the southern tip of Flathead Lake). Bercier, LeClair, LeGris, Decoteau, Descheneau, Broun, DuCharme, Reeves (Revais), Peletier, Deschamps, Lucier, Boyer, Hameline, LaPlante, Montour, as well as Finlay, McDonald, McKenzie, Stuart, and Ashley were among the family names in these communities: all of them having a foundation in the Red River Settlement Zone.

***1843**: Jean Baptiste Moncravie, who befriended John James Audubon at Fort Union, painted a full genre depiction of Fort Union. He clearly shows Red River Plains-Ojibwa carts in the image. Audubon hires Red River Plains-Ojibwa hunter and guide Alexis Labombarde (who is married to Red River Pembina Métis Nancy Kepling, née Keplin), while at Fort Union.
Also, in 1843, the Hudson's Bay Company finally turned from the fine fur trade and gave orders to its leadership to increase the trade in buffalo robes to compete with the Americans at Fort Union. The new call from the HBC expanded the buffalo harvest by the Red River Plains-Ojibwa and the *Nehiyaw Pwat* as a whole. "This demand drew increasing numbers of Métis [Plains-Ojibwa] from Red River to the plains in the winter, when the buffalo skins were prime, and as the buffalo were further south and west [into Montana] at that time of year, they spent longer periods away from the settlement. Robe manufacture required at least as much female labour as the meat trade, and therefore entire families accompanied the male hunters, as they had for the meat, subsistence and fur hunts."

***1844**: The Sioux, having missed the epidemic of 1837-40, and flourishing in population, push north into the Upper Missouri. The Cree Assiniboine used to serve as the impenetrable barrier to Sioux expansion, but a shift in the bison economy causes movement angling westward out of the Dakotas for larger portions of the Nehiyaw Pwat population. The Sioux move in.

In February of 1844, Broken Arm and his band are wintered in the Wood Mountains. Alexander Culbertson, head of the American Fur Company's Upper Missouri division at Fort Union, sent his clerk Charles Larpenteur "to Woody Mountain, to a camp of Crees and Chippewas, who have plenty of robes, and have sent for traders from both companies. The Assiniboines have also sent for traders…" Upon his arrival around the 6th of February, Larpenteur sent a messenger from his party to, "… go into the camp and tell Broken Arm, the chief of the Crees, that I wished him to prepare me a large lodge and make ready for a big spree to-night." Larpenteur stayed about six weeks in the camp and traded for 230 robes in that time. His memoirs of the visit also refer to a "breakfast . . . served by the wife of Mr. Broken Arm, the great chief of the Crees, who had been to Washington …"

***1845**: *Nehiyaw Pwat* Métis Johnny Grant travels to western Montana and Idaho to be with his father, the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Hall, ID. With Red River Métis already deeply involved in the fur trade of the region, Johnny Grant saw the perfect opportunity to develop his business interests.
While in Montana, Father Pierre-Jean De Smet wrote in 1845 that the main American trading "forts" east of the Rockies (in Montana), including Fort de Corbeaux or Alexander on the Yellowstone, Fort Pied-noir or Lewis on the Missouri at the mouth of the Marias River, and Fort Union, noting that "the greater number of persons employed [at these forts] are Canadian Catholics or French creoles." The "Canadian Catholics or French creoles" of whom he writes are Red River Plains-Ojibwa Métis.

***1845-46**: Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet traveled with some Kutenais and half-breed Crees whom he baptized in 1840. They wanted to escort him to the entrance of Flathead Lake. On August 4th, he "left Kettle Falls accompanied by several of the nation of the Crees to examine the lands they have selected for the site of a village . . . Several of the buildings were commenced; I gave the name of St. Francis Regis to this new station, where a great number of the mixed race & beaver hunters have resolved to settle, with their families." The station of St. Regis, near today's Colville, Washington, "cared for the band of Crees resident in the Rocky Mountains."

The government went back and forth on cracking down on the liquor trade on the Upper Missouri country. After 1842 they were on crack down mode; many Indians went north to trade in the Canadian sphere. In 1846, Indian Agent Thomas P. Moore, at Fort Union, wrote that, "This is the country of the Assiniboines, and they ordinarily trade at this post; but since our government has very properly prohibited the introduction of liquor, they have been induced to trade with the British, who procure their liquor from the Selkirk settlement, from Fort Hall, on the Columbia." This quote succinctly gives the range of the *Nehiyaw Pwat* at this time: from Winnipeg to Pocatello, Idaho.

Nicolas Point gives us wonderful genre views into Red River Pembina life in western Montana. At Fort Lewis, the precursor to Fort Benton, MT, he painted J.B. Champagne, Michel Champagne, Augustine Hamel, and Jacques Berger. He also limned vernacular scenes around the fort depicting the Red River Pembina Plains-Ojibwa fur trade life.

***1849**: In the winter of 1849, Johnny Grant located in the Beaverhead and Deer Lodge country of Montana. The Grant place became a well-developed and significant community. The whole of Montana's Deer Lodge Valley was at that time fundamentally a fully developed Red River Settlement Zone transplanted community. By 1861, the Grant colony moved from their first settlement at the confluence of the Little Blackfoot and Clark Fork Rivers (at what is now Garrison, MT) to a few miles south at Cottonwood, now Deer Lodge, MT. The colony built a large and sophisticated ranching operation, what was in fact the first major cattle enterprise in the Northern Rocky Mountain region.

***1850**: In 1850 Thaddeus Culbertson, brother of Alexander, the chief executive of the American Fur Company in the Upper Missouri Country, wrote of Fort Union that, "The Assiniboines and Crees [i.e. the *Nehiyaw Pwat*] are the people principally trading here." He also describes the Milk River country (in Montana) where there is a lake whose "woods [around which] are known as the places where the free men (those not in the employ of the company [i.e., the Red River Plains-Ojibwa Hunters]) built themselves a fort, and lake is sometimes called Freemens' Lake from that circumstance."

***1850s**: On the Rocky Mountain Front Range, there were Red River Pembina Plains-Ojibwa Métis camps and wintering enclaves that were established as early as the 1850s as a result of the Red River cart traffic from Fort Edmonton to the Johnny Grant colony in the Deer Lodge Valley and Fort Hall, as well as to Fort Owen and Fort Connah. The following anecdote describes this traffic. Henry A. Kennerly served as assistant secretary to Superintendent Colonel Cumming for the Blackfoot Treaty in 1855. Cumming sent Kennerly to visit with the Blackfeet prior to the October gathering. As he was returning from Chief Lame Bull's camp, he "discovered quite a large party of people traveling in a southerly direction and, being curious to whowho they were, started in pursuit. We overtook them near Chief Mountain [on today's Blackfeet Reservation] and found it to be a party of half-breeds and Indians that were accompanying Father LaCom [LaCombe], a Catholic missionary priest." They camped together that evening on the shores of what they named "Lake St. Mary." This is today Babb, Montana, and was in the 19th century a Little Shell ancestral community. Father Albert LaCombe was based out of Fort Edmonton at that time. LaCombe

previously ministered with the Red River Pembina Métis in the Red River Settlement Zone. These Front Range communities were an array of settlements "from the Blackfeet reservation boundary at Birch Creek, south to Dupuyer Creek, the Teton River, the Sun River and Dearborn River and Canyon."

Fort Benton, Montana also had many ties to "the British possessions." Hugh Munro and "Mr. Burd" (Jemmy Jock Bird) were employed by chief trader Andrew Dawson in the mid-1850s as traders with the Blood, Blackfoot, Piegan and Gros Ventres. These men and their families also hunted and trapped beaver in the Bear's Paw Mountains (where today's Rocky Boy's Reservation resides) and along the Missouri River. Dawson employed "Cadot" as a trader, wagon-driver, and hunter. Cadot hunted for the fort on the Teton River [where the Little Shell community at Choteau, MT is located], the "Mountain", the Bear's Paw Mountains (with Bird) and the Judith Basin. "Baptiste [Champagne]," "Revais [Rivet]," and "Bercier" were employed in similar roles.

***1851**: At Fort Laramie in 1851, where the first boundaries were superimposed on the Northern Plains by the U.S., the Chief *L'Ours Fou,* or Crazy Bear, though described in American documents as representing "Assiniboine" interests, actually spoke for the *Nehiyaw Pwat* as an ambassador for the whole Confederacy. Broken Arm also attended the treaty-making as a tribal delegate, but Cree, i.e. the wider *Nehiyaw Pwat*, are not articulated in the negotiations.

Traveling back from the Fort Laramie meetings, in October of 1851, the Cree Assiniboine stop at Fort Union. The artist Rudolf Kurz draws a picture of the chiefs, including Broken Arm, with the Fort's administrator, Edwin Thompson Denig. Kurz also journalized his experience with the Cree Assiniboine. He wrote that a "Chief of the Cree, 'Le Plumet Caille'. . . said to me, looking northward and describing with his hand a semicircle from the point of sunrise to that of sunset: *'Tout ca a moi'* [all that is mine]. He repeated these words several times in the presence of Assiniboine who might well understand his signs." This was said by a leader of the Nehiyaw Pwat coming fresh from the Fort Laramie Treaty. Kurz' journal is full of references for Cree, Assiniboin, Chippewa, and Métis being at Fort Union, as well as deep into Montana.

Also in 1851, DeSmet's mission in the Bitterroot Valley of Montana relocates to St. Ignatius in the Flathead Valley. Red River half-breeds are part of the community.

***1853**: Upon Crazy Bear's death (1853), Broken Arm took leadership of Crazy Bear's Assiniboine Cree band and assumed chieftainship of the *Nehiyaw Pwat*.

In 1853, Isaac I. Stevens, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory, traveled from St. Paul, heading through Montana, for Puget Sound with orders to map the most effective route for the eventual Northern Railroad. Stevens hired Métis Pierre Bottineau (father of Little Shell tribal attorney), "a competent Red River guide," to lead the expedition to the Upper Missouri. In Stevens' report to Congress on his successful endeavor, he describes how he quickly learned from the Métis that their Red River carts were much better adapted to Northern Plains travel than any other vehicle. He quickly outfitted his exploratory party with les charettes. His journal states that he "Procured several more Pembina carts. . . . It may be observed that the Pembina train, managed entirely by voyageurs, invariably moved by itself, crossed all the streams without additional assistance, gave us the least trouble in supervision, and was altogether the most economical and effective transportation we had."

Again, in 1853, Governor Isaac I Stevens, then doing his mapping of the northern railroad route, stopped at the former St. Mary's mission, now Fort Owen, in the Bitterroot Valley of Montana, vacated by DeSmet in 1850. He wrote that "[i]n the St. Mary's Valley [the Bitterroot] there has been considerable progress made in the settlements by the half-breeds and retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company [i.e., Red River Plains-Ojibwa/ancestral Little Shell]."

The Red River Plains-Ojibwa Métis played an extremely significant role in the success of Isaac Stevens's survey of the northern U.S. route for a transcontinental railroad. Not only did they provide the manpower as the guides and grunts of the expedition, and the superior Métis technology in the form of the carts, but the diplomacy negotiated by the Métis with the tribes was crucial to the expedition. Stevens' ideal route went between the James and Sheyenne Rivers to the Big Bend on the Missouri, to the confluence of the Yellowstone, then between the Missouri and Milk Rivers to Havre and Fort Benton. From Fort Benton, the Mullan Road went over the Divide just northwest of Helena, to Walla Walla, Washington. The very routes Stevens lined out, which subsequently became the routes of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railroads, were built on Red River cart roads that were, themselves, etched over animal and Indian roads from time immemorial. The very first trains across the Northern Plains were Red River Plains-Ojibwa cart trains. There is credit due to the Little Shell ancestral community, given the fact that the man who plotted the northern railroads' paths for the United States used their intelligence, routes, and cart trains to accomplish his task.

Also in 1853, as part of the Stevens' Survey Expedition, the famous roadbuilder John Mullan met Johnny Grant's family. He saw that Red River carts were traversing the Divide, and had been, for over a decade. Mullan returned to the Northwest in 1859 to construct the military road that would bear his name. He hired Métis Gabriel Prudhomme as his guide. Prudhomme was the same man who in 1841 met Father De Smet at Fort Hall, ID and brought him in his cart to Montana. The Red River Plains-Ojibwa guides, and more importantly, the well-worn trails they followed, helped establish the system of roads we use even today in parts of Montana and the Northwest.

***1855**: Crees are listed among those living with the Salish, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kootenai at St. Ignatius Mission in western Montana. Indian Agent Alfred J. Vaughn states in his reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the Cree and Chippewa tribes "have been obliged to hunt on the tributaries of the Missouri. The migration of both Indians and buffalo is westward, and the few herds of these animals left are surrounded and killed in the winter on the banks of the Missouri."

Broken Arm (*Maskipitoon*), along with his brother/uncle, Many Eagle Set, and band are residing within the Milk River/Wood Mountains/Poplar River region, now known as the Fort Peck Reservation. Many Eagle Set is also the principal chief of the *Nehiyaw Pwat* at Pembina and in the eastern Northern Plains region, mentioned by both Henry and Tanner during the early years of the 19th century. He and *Le Petite Coquille* (Little Clam, i.e. Little Shell I) were cousins.

Broken Arm is next accounted for at Fort Benton, MT on September 28th of 1855.

At the 1855 Stevens Blackfoot Treaty, Broken Arm was front and center at the treaty proceedings on October 16th and 17th, 1855. Governor Isaac I. Stevens said at the proceedings, "And we have the Cree sitting down here from the North and East. ... There is Peace now between you all here present. ... With the Crees and Assiniboines. ... And the Great Father has said, 'Peace with the Crees and Assiniboines, the Crows and all the neighboring tribes.'" Commissioner Col. Alfred Cummings then spoke, saying to Broken Arm, "I wish you to say to the Blackfeet and the other Indians, that the Cree here present, who

came up with the "Little Dog [a Blackfoot chief]," is with him, a witness to the friendly spirit manifested by the Assiniboines and Crees, and their sending by me some tobacco as a token of their friendship and desire for peace, and I will now distribute it. (The tobacco was given to the Cree, who accompanied by "Little Dog," gave it to the principal chiefs present.) Thus you have the message from the Assiniboines ..." Broken Arm is acknowledged at the proceedings, in the name of the Cree and Assiniboine (i.e. the Nehiyaw Pwat, including the Plains-Ojibwa which also comprise the Red River Métis), by the co-commissioners Isaac I. Stevens and Alfred Cummings, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for Nebraska Territory.

At the treaty the Flathead (Salish), Pend d' Oreille, and Kootenai, as *Nehiyaw Pwat* allies, contested their being limited to the west side of the Continental Divide. They had historic precedence to hunting and living throughout the regions of the Upper Missouri, Milk River, and Yellowstone watersheds. The contested territory was eventually named "Common Hunting Ground" and accepted by the U.S. and each tribe as legitimate lands to be mutually occupied by all the Upper Missouri Aboriginal interests. This included the *Nehiyaw Pwat* Cree Assiniboine, as acknowledged by the U. S. government's representatives, Stevens and Cummings. A huge section of territory in southwestern Montana, and a significant piece located in northwestern Montana, along side what was reserved for the Assiniboine (i.e. N*ehiyaw Pwat*) at the Fort Laramie Treaty, were thus named.

***1857**: In 1857, there was another outbreak of smallpox on the Upper Missouri. "The upper camps of Assiniboine have not suffered so great a loss as the lower Camps; they are also greatly scattered and do not work. The consequence will be, that Fort Union, will not make more than half its usual trade. The Crees are nearly all gone; we heard of one camp of 80 Crees, and a single man was all that was left after the smallpox passed through it." Although hit hard, the American Cree were still very much alive.

"[B]y the 1850s, the major body of Crees had moved up river and were trading with the "opposition" – Harvey-Primeau [who were American] or the Hudson's Bay Company. Hence, the American Fur Company (therefore, the Indian Agents) were not aware of their location or numbers. However, American records indicate a peripheral awareness of the Cree and their location – but, only in relation to the governmental dealings with the Blackfeet who in the 1850's were ascending to power in the Plains and encroaching eastward into what had been Cree territory in the heyday of the Cree."

***1860**: John Owen, owner of the fur trade Fort Owen in the Bitterroot Valley of western Montana (formerly DeSmet's St. Mary's Mission of 1841), met "a Small party of ½ breeds from Red River" in northwest Montana near the Idaho border.

***1861**: The mixblood community [DeSmet's St. Mary's, now Fort Owen] grew to such a proportion that a "school teacher was employed in the winter of 1861 to train the half-breed children of Major Owen's employees, the first public school in the Territory." Many Red River Pembina Plains-Ojibwa ancestral lines are today intermarried with the Salish, Kootenai, and Pen d'Oreilles of Montana's Flathead Reservation.

***1862**: This period also saw the beginnings of mass white immigration, beginning with the overland trail route to the gold fields of the Northern Rockies. That first train, called the Thomas Holmes Train, left St. Paul in May of 1862. They used a train of ancestral Little Shell Plains-Ojibwa Red River carts that followed the Stevens Expedition route of 1853. They followed the classic Plains-Ojibwa cart route from St. Paul to St. Josephs, Dakota Territory, the Métis capital, across the Souris River and over to Fort Union. From there they continued along the Milk River to Ft. Benton, where the Mullan Road began.

Simultaneously, the United States government subsidized the colonization of California, Oregon and Washington and assigned a superintendent of emigration to take a train from Ft. Abercrombie, Dakota Territory, on the Red River, to Fort Walla Walla, at the west end of the Mullan Road. The superintendent, Captain James Fisk, led four trains across the Northern Plains over the following four years. Fisk's most important hire was his guide, Pierre Bottineau, the well-known Red River Plains-Ojibwa who also guided the Stevens Railroad Survey Expedition of 1853 and the William Nobles Expedition of 1857. Red River carts were the preferred mode of transport for Bottineau and he knew the entire territory intimately. The Fisk Expedition was comprised of at least 130 people, including women and children. Upon arrival at the Continental Divide, 82 of that group chose to remain in the Prickly Pear Valley, today known as Helena, Montana.

***1863**: An important corroboration of Broken Arm is found with James L. Fisk, a captain in the U.S. Army, who led the four northern overland emigrant trains to the Rocky Mountain under orders from the U.S. Congress. On the second expedition, in 1863, guided by Red River mixblood Antoine Frenier, and protected and fed by many Plains-Ojibwa Red River Hunters with whom he traveled much of the way through their territory with the wagon train, Fisk met and describes *Nehiyaw Pwat* Chief Broken Arm. Broken Arm said to Fisk that, "My grandfather was born on these plains, like a wolf; he owned this land, . . . I now claim this country. I and my band wish to live here ... I want you, chief soldier, to tell the Great Father of all these things." Fisk spoke of Broken Arm participating in both the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty and the 1855 Stevens Blackfoot Treaty. He said, Broken Arm "produced a treaty made at Fort Laramie in 1851 with the Assiniboines, Rees [Arikara], Crows, Blackfeet, and Gros Ventre, fixing their hunting grounds and guaranteeing them certain annuities. . . . I advised the chief to send one of their number to Washington; he would be well received. . . . Broken Arm afterwards stated that he remembered Governor Stevens very well, and that the Governor had said that no more white men would be likely to come into this country. . . . I told the chiefs, in conclusion, that I would report to the Great Father at Washington all that they had said to me."

***1864**: The Red River Plains-Ojibwa were among the *Nehiyaw Pwat* actively trading at Fort Union from its inception in 1829. Indeed, the ancestral Little Shell Chippewa Métis comprised not only the workforce to build the fort, but, served as workers in the fur trade at the fort throughout its history. On June 20th, 1864, shortly be fore the closing of the fort, the only known census taken at Fort Union was made by long-time employee, Charles Larpenteur. He recorded a "census of half Breed families" that "included fourteen men, sixteen women (two men each had two wives), and nineteen children ranging four months to fifteen years of age," that is to say, 49 Red River Plains-Ojibwa Métis. And that's just those people directly attached to operations at the fort in its waning years.

On an 1864 map of Montana Territory, at the north end of Flathead Lake, there was noted a "Half-Breed Settlement."

***1865-69**: In 1865, Benjamin Kline, born in Devil's lake, North Dakota, "made a . . . trip to Montana and was so well pleased with what he had seen, that he returned in 1866. He traveled by the way of Minot, Culbertson, Poplar, Wolf Point and Glasgow, following the Missouri River. With his companions, he selected a camping site between Malta and Glasgow, on the Milk River, where cottonwood log cabins were at once erected." In 1867, "X. Bidler, United States Marshal, having heard that Canadian Traders were transacting business in that part of the U. S. Territory, came from Helena, went among them, gathered the evidence, confiscated their complete stock of goods, valued at not less than $15,000.00, set fire to their cabins . . .

"In March of 1869 or 1869, Frank Ouellette and his brother crossed the boundary line from Canada with supplies which they wished to exchange for buffalo hides. They had acquired a good supply of these, when X. Bidler suddenly came upon them . . . arrested Frank Ouellette, confiscated his supplies and hides . . .

"During the next few years, Ben, and the others (25 families) continued to live in this vicinity, never going further than the Little Rockies, hunting Buffaloes, dressing hides, which they sold to the T. C. Power Company.

"It may be mentioned here that the leader of this little band of hunters was Pierre Berger; but, Ben, being the only one who could speak English, was second in command and practically transacted all the business of the camp . . .

"Among the other members of this party were Isidore, Jack, Isaie and John V. Berger, brothers of the leader, Pierre Berger, Vital Turcotte, and Frank Ouellette, all half-breeds of French-German-Cree-Chippewa and Assinaboine origin…" Indian and Métis families were left destitute for the winter.

"He [Ben Kline] met Mr. Juneaux at Fort Stevenson… They arrived in Montana and in groups went hunting buffalo. They had been directed to a group of breeds somewhere on the Milk River, one of whom had a trading establishment. They arrived at the scene which consisted mainly of just tents… in the early morning after they arrived they were searched by Deputy U. S. Marshalls…They were intending to deprive the breeds of their ammunition as they had been accused of trading with the Sioux. They plead with [Biedler], stating that they would starve without ammunition, and finally it resulted in Juneaux, who was in charge of the breeds at this place, being granted a license to trade with the breeds……for some three or four years the breeds followed the buffalo in different sections of the Milk River valley or northern Montana without any particular place or establishment or any permanent buildings, using the tent and sometimes crude log cabins. Finally, in probably the early seventies, Juneaux built what was known as Fort Juneaux on Frenchmen's Creek…Kline was one of the clerks. They traded mainly with the breeds…

Also, in 1867, because of extreme prejudice towards "Halfbreeds," Johnny Grant relocates to St. Francois Xavier in the Red River Settlement Zone, affirming the maintenance of ties with the core of the *Nehiyaw Pwat* and Red River Plains-Ojibwa homeland. He recounted that when he, "started for Red River quite a number of people came with me from Montana. Some were going to the States and others to the Red River. There were sixty-two wagons and twelve carts with about five hundred head of horses, two hundred of which were mine. There were one hundred and six men besides the women and children. I fed about sixty of the men and furnished most of them with horses and some with rifles. ... I was the leader of the party, the men being divided into squads of ten with a captain over each squad."

For that same year, Red River Hunter Louis Goulet says, in his 1930s memoirs, that the upper Missouri country of Montana where he lived in his youth (c.1860s) included "Havre, Fort Benton, Kalispell, Great Falls, Missoula, Tongue River, Yellowstone, Lewistown, [and the] Judith Basin."

***1869**: Broken Arm killed by the Blackfeet.

***1870s**: Samuel O'Connell, was the bookkeeper at Fort Juneaux, on Frenchmen's Creek. He made critical notes of life at the Milk River Red River Hunter's community:

"Situated at Mouth of Frenchman's Creek on Milk river…

"There was six half breeds employed as guards. They occupied the bastions.

"The trade was for Buffalo robes Pemmican Dried meat and fur of all kinds.
"The Indians were mostly renegades from the [illegible] and upper Missouri river Agencies and about one hundred families of Red river half breeds

"The half breeds were called the Red river half breeds of the North and were far more than semi civilized.

"Among them were some able men and women…[illegible] of the wild life they led on the prairie in those days…a generation ago.

"…[The women's] garb was quite picturesque always clean and neat. They wore dark colored dresses and double width broadcloth cloaks with black handkerchiefs around their raven black hair. The younger women and girls wore head gear of brighter colors.
All Roman Catholics they always wore insignia of their faith a german silver cross about 5 inches long…

"It seems their names were very pretty. Those were the La Fourneaux Lavalier Guardapies Gagnon Pr[illegible] Gran[illegible] Suser Wilkey Pelletier +c . . .

"They had a code of laws and were governed by a council of twelve, under their chosen chief Gabriel Husier [Azure]…

"For winter quarters they built log cabins along the banks of the Milk river They were musical Their were many who played the violin and mouth harp. The favorite dance was called the french [illegible]…"

***1870**: In retribution, the Battle of Belly River between Blackfeet Confederacy and the *Nehiyaw Pwat* Confederacy, occurs. It's the single most devastating Aboriginal fight of the 19th century on the Northern Plains. Though Cree instigated, they loose terribly. This happens just over the Montana line in Alberta.

***1870-71**: Father Lestanc traveled to the Milk River/Wood Mountain/Poplar River Corridor to minister to the Red River Plains-Ojibwa families. He found about 100 families from Pembina, St. François Xavier, St. Joseph (Walhalla, North Dakota), and St. Boniface living in five villages along the Porcupine Creek (on today's Fort Peck Reservation) and Frenchman's Creek. They hunted buffalo into the Little Rockies (today's Fort Belknap Reservation). The group swelled to about 200 families [well over 1,000 Plains-Ojibwa], gathered for the harvest. They visited Fort Benton for trade. The letters of Father Lestanc documenting the Red River Hunters in Montana during this period form a "remarkable series of documents, unparalleled since [Father] Belcourt's time with the Pembina/Red River hunting groups in the 1840s, plots in detail the locations and activities of a Métis hunting camp. Between Wood Mountain and the Rocky Mountain foothills, they had crossed and recrossed the invisible international boundary with little concern except to locate the buffalo. They had been on the alert for the Blackfoot, especially around the Sweet Grass Hills, but the Blackfoot had been deterred by the "formidable" look of the large,

well-armed, highly-organized and well-equipped camp. The "caravan" had been on the move for at least five or six months. Among the names mentioned by Lestanc in this series of letters were Urbain Delorme, J. H. and Edward McKay, Poitras, Augustin Brabant, Gabriel Hamelin, Baptiste Trottier, Pierre St. Germain, J. H. Gosselin, and Angus McGillis."

***1871**: In response to the increasing violence of the Plains, a Aboriginal peace council is called on the Turtle Mountains, in the *Nehiyaw Pwat* RRSZ core homeland. The group who later comprises much of the Montana landless Indians, post-1885, attend the gathering. "In the summer of 1871, [Chief] Bobtail [related to Big Bear] led [his son] Coyote and [cousin] Little Poplar on the long trek to Rocky Boy's original home, the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota. They formed a significant part of a large band of Cree, Chippewa, and Assiniboine intent on concluding a multilateral peace treaty among most of the major Plains tribes. For Bobtail [aka, Alexis Piché, father of Coyote and grandfather of Marie Smallboy, and whose family is ancestral Little Shell in Montana], these peace talks among First Nations were of much greater importance than the concurrent treaty negotiations with the Queen's representatives in Edmonton, led by Sweet Grass, the Cree chief the white negotiators regarded as most influential. The climax of the peace talks in the Turtle Mountains came with the arrival at the Chippewa reservation of a large contingency of Blackfeet, including Peigan and Siksika families, along with representatives of the Cree, Assiniboine, Crow, and Sioux nations." Rocky Boy and his wife, *Miỳweỳihtakwan* (Pleasant One, who is a sister of Big Bear's), along with his father, *Nawaswâtam*, travel with Bobtail's Band to their tribal homeland at Turtle Mountain.

***1871-76:** By 1871 the U.S. Army regularly patrolled the Milk River region looking to roust the Red River Hunters from their settlements. The "troops were ordered to destroy all trade goods and drive the Métis out of the country." On November 1 of that year, soldiers from Fort Shaw, west of today's Great Falls, Montana, attacked the same (only now rebuilt) Métis town on Frenchman's Creek. The *Nehiyaw Pwat* Métis community consisted of log homes and businesses, bison skin lodges, and canvas wall tents. The troops burned the town center of the community and all their trade goods and supplies. They destroyed over $10,000 worth of trade goods. Hundreds of Métis were ordered to leave the territory, never to return. They argued their right to be there and were finally allowed to stay to rebuild.

From 1872-74, the British-Canadian and American International Boundary Commissions engaged in surveying their national boundaries. Although two independent commissions, both teams traveled and worked together. They surveyed from Lake of the Woods to Pembina from 1872-73. Red River Pembina Maxime Marion was hired as Chief of the Red River Pembina Chippewa and Metis serving as guides and laborers for that leg of the expedition. Over the next year they surveyed from Pembina to the Rocky Mountains. They used Red River Pembina Plains-Ojibwa men. For security, the British-Canadians contracted with William Hallett as Chief Scout, who hired 30 Red River Pembina men specifically as the "49th Rangers." The deputy commander was Adam McDonald, and sub-chiefs were Francois Gosselin, Guillaume Lafournaise and William Gaddy. The Americans used 160 men of the 7th Calvary from Fort Lincoln in Dakota Territory. The "49th Rangers," familiar with the country and its inhabitants, smoothed much of the path before the commissions. Little trouble occurred. Pascal Breland was sent out in front of the boundary teams to inform the tribal peoples what was happening. As an example, in April of 1873, in the Milk River/Wood Mountain/Poplar River Corridor, he met with Pierre Berger, leader of a large band of Red River Pembina Plains-Ojibwa, as well as a Dakota band led by Struck by the Ree. Joseph Mitchel and Jacques Hamelin, two Metis, acted as interpreters. There was camaraderie between the two commissions. The 49th Rangers, given their heritage, were fundamentally citizens of both nations, as well as holding pre-existing Aboriginal status. They knew the ground the commissions were

traversing intimately. It was, in fact, the Métis 49th Rangers who led both expedition parties, marking the trails, setting up campsites, facilitating the making of astronomical observations that mapped and marked the exact 49th parallel defining the two great North American nations.

The Americans have as much history on the Canada-side of the border as the Canadians have on the U. S. side. Father Lestanc estimated that as many as 60 American traders had established themselves in fortified whiskey trading posts in the Cypress Hills in the winter of 1872. Many Red River Plains-Ojibwa Métis families were living in the Cypress Hills in 1873 (just north of Milk River). Fear of violence was everywhere. Red River Hunters tried to warn a band of *Nehiyaw Pwat* Assiniboine relatives. On June 1st fears of violence came to life. A party of Americans, pursuing some horses that they believed had been stolen and taken to the Hills, stopped at one of the traders and became fiercely drunk. They decided to go over to a nearby Assiniboine encampment to find their horses, but found only sick, very poorly-equipped, and elderly men, women and children, sleeping off the effects of liquor. Shots were fired, and a number of Assiniboine variously estimated at from twenty to eighty were killed. Some bodies were mutilated and women were repeatedly sexually assaulted and left to die. Some destitute and traumatized survivors made it to the Métis encampment "at the end of the mountain": "they treated us kindly, giving us dogs, kettles and other things." The next day, the two closest American traders quickly left the area, and the Assiniboine camp and the two trading posts were burned to the ground. The bodies of the Assiniboine were left until the Mounted Police gathered up the bones and buried them a couple of years later. This event, known as the Cypress Hills Massacre, and the previous years' violence in the Milk River country, was what led to the creation of the Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP).

In the fall of 1874, at the close of the Boundary Commission's work, the British party passed on Milk River "a large camp formed by the Half-breeds from . . . the valley of Frenchman's Creek. They were about 200 teepees or tents, each containing a family, and it was estimated that there were 2000 horses, ponies, etc. belonging to this band." This band was on their way to the Sweet Grass Hills. Standing on top of one of the Sweet Grass Hills just south of the boundary in Montana, the chief astronomer of the U. S. boundary survey party watched a huge buffalo herd migrating south: "The number of animals is beyond estimation. Looking at the front of the herd from an elevation of 1,800 feet above the plain, I was unable to see the end in either direction. The half-breeds, Sioux, Assiniboines, Gros Ventre of the prairie, and Blackfeet, all follow the outskirts of this herd; but with all their wasteful slaughter, they make but little impression upon it…" This quote from an American army officer witnessing the event, places the Red River Hunters, i.e., the Little Shell ancestral community, in extraordinary and undeniable Aboriginal context, one and the same as their fellow American tribes-people.

The introduction of the NWMP was only one part of Canada's plan to bring order to the borderlands. In the fall of 1874, Canada made a treaty with the Crees and Saulteaux west of Manitoba at Lac Qu'Appelle, just north of Montana. The substantial Métis population of Lac Qu'Appelle presented a petition to Manitoba Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris at Qu'Appelle as negotiations got underway: "The half-breeds of the Lakes Qu'Appelle and environs . . . submit to you the following petitions, which they present in their name and in the name of all their brethren scattered all over the prairies [including the Milk River/Wood Mountain/Poplar River Corridor], and beseech you to give them a favourable hearing, and to remember them in the various arrangements that the Government may make with the Indians."

They presented a petition to the government to be included in the agreements being worked out for Canadian nation-building. Among the names of the signatories to this petition were Fisher, Desjarlais, Klyne, Flammand, Ouellette, Delorme, McKay, and Poitras. The Lac Qu'Appelle Métis were

predominantly from Red River and Pembina, and made up a large proportion of the buffalo-hunting convoys travelling west and south of the Cypress Hills and wintering at Rivière Blanche (Frenchman's Creek) in Montana.

One of the chiefs present at the negotiations, called "The Gambler," objected the next day to what he perceived as Morris' failure to recognize the Métis: "you see sitting out there a mixture of Half-breeds, Crees, Saulteaux [Ojibwa] and Stonies [Assiniboine] [i.e., the *Nehiyaw Pwat]*, all are one, and you were slow in taking the hand of a Half-breed." Morris replied, "We have here Crees, Saulteaux, Assiniboines and other Indians, they are all one, and we have another people, the Half-breeds, they are of your blood and my blood. The Queen cares for them, . . . and you may rest easy, you may leave the Half-breeds in the hands of the Queen who will deal generously and justly with them…"
"Saulteaux" from the Milk River region who were there, included Rocky Boy and his father, *Nawaswâtam*. Not ready to give up their pursuit of freedom, Nawaswâtam said they would not sign, "that they had plenty of friends on the plains." Their friends were, of course, Big Bear's Cree, and other *Nehiyaw Pwat* also intent on maintaining their freedom.

But again, through 1874 and 1875, the military harassed the *Nehiyaw Pwat* in their communities along the Milk River/Wood Mountain/Poplar River Corridor, accusing them of continuing involvement in an illegal weapons and whiskey trade. In March of 1875 the Army gave orders to "break up … the halfbreed settlement." Following the Battle of the Greasy Grass in 1876, wherein Custer was defeated, the Army increased its presence in Montana almost five-fold from 700 to 3,300 troops to squelch the Sioux resistance. The *Nehiyaw Pwat* along the Milk River/Wood Mountain/Poplar River Corridor took the brunt of this new attention over the next couple of years, in part because some were supplying the Sioux with weapons.

***1876-77**: From the obituary of John Lafromboise, born at Red River/Pembina in 1848, died, 1944: "In 1876 he was one of the scouts on a punitive expedition under General Nelson A. Miles of the United States Army, their quarry being Sitting Bull . . . He was also the scout that located the camp of chief Joseph, the noted chief of the Nez Perce, on Beaver Creek, south of where Fort Assiniboine was built three years later . . . John also worked for the U. S. government about eight years after the building of Fort Assiniboine in 1879 in Montana territory, 17 miles south west of the present town of Havre."

***1877**: Little Shell Band, camped at Chinook, MT, aids Nez Perce survivors of the Battle of the Bear's Paw to make their way across the border to Canada.

***1879**: On August 10, 1879, the Butte Daily Miner reported that General Miles, at Fort Peck, "captured all the Half breeds between this point [Frenchman's Creek] and [the American side of] Wood Mountain." General Miles "made prisoner of about 300 families. . . . [He] released 130 families who requested to go north . . . 60 families were sent to Judith Basin and 70 families to Turtle Mountain, both under escort of U.S. troops."

In the fall of 1879, new reports were sent to the army by Indian agents who claimed that destitute "Canadian" Indians were traveling across the border searching for buffalo. Included among the Indians were Cree and Métis, as well as Blackfoot and Bloods. The Cree and Métis, though, were considered more difficult to deal with because they had no reservation to chase them back to. The Frenchman's Creek community represented a greater threat to white administration and settlement of the region because it was more permanent. The local Indian agents on Fort Peck and Fort Belknap guarded the

remaining buffalo as theirs, and thus claimed that all Cree and Métis were Canadians infringing on American resources. It became the "standard assumption" at that time, that all Cree and Métis were Canadian, allowing them to be rousted. The *Nehiyaw Pwat* Cree and Métis even submitted a statement to U. S. Army officials at Fort Assiniboine testifying that most of their families were born in the United States, and were not the same group General Miles had run out of the area that summer.

Lt. Col. H. M. Black, at Fort Assiniboine, acknowledged there were inconsistencies in the removal policy of the Cree and Métis, and wrote to the Assistant Adjutant General about his qualms. "For example, the military itself indirectly approved of a Métis presence by hiring mixed-bloods to perform various tasks from wood cutting to transporting goods near frontier forts. Also, such a policy would be a selective one, punishing only the Métis [and Cree]. Canadian officials even complained of a double standard in that U. S. native groups were allowed to freely hunt in Canada, while the U. S. tried to prohibit the reverse."

***1880**:The Red River Hunters in Montana petition the U.S. government to create a reservation for the Red River Pembina peoples in Montana Territory, expressing the need for schools, agricultural equipment, seeds and farm animals. In return he offered the mixbloods to serve as intermediaries in white negotiations with the Indians.

***1881**: Even after Lt. Col. Black's letter seeking to ameliorate the border dilemma, the Assistant Adjutant General ordered Fort Assiniboine to oust the Cree and Métis across the border. The Assistant Adjutant General did recognize that some of the Cree and Métis were "American" and had relatives among the Fort Peck and Fort Belknap Reservations. Orders specified that those people could remain on those reservations; while those "American" Cree and Métis without relatives on reservations were to be driven away. But the army had no way to deal with the complexity of making those determinations. As soon as weather allowed, in 1881 troops once again when on their ethnic cleansing expedition to Frenchman's Creek and throughout the Milk River/Wood Mountain/Poplar River Corridor. "But the process of removal proved to be quite uncomplicated. When their cabins were located, the occupants were given only a short time to gather their belongings, vacate and join the troops in custody. Cabins were then set on fire. The mixed-bloods naturally objected, maintaining that the area was theirs. Despite protests, however, they were taken to the line and given a harsh warning about the consequences if they returned." There was no attempt to separate the American from Canadian, as false a construct as that may be when dealing with an Aboriginal people whose sovereignty and traditional historic homeland predate the nation-states of both The United States and Canada.

***1882-83**: As reported in the Helena Independent newspaper on the 7th of April 1882, troops from Fort Assiniboine under a Major Kline, once again scattered and drove from their Milk River colony over 200 families of "Halfbreeds, Soto and Bungee Indians" toward the Canadian border. In the next two days, the troops then "burned something like 300 shacks," and over 50 lodges, totally destroying the *Nehiyaw Pwat* and ancestral Little Shell settlement.

The new white arrivals in Montana believed (in that they were told the Cree and Métis were "Canadian") that there was an increased presence of these people in Montana. In the Judith Basin, Frank Burke, who was stationed at Fort Maginnis, wrote that, "Small parties are constantly making raids through the country. They always strike where least expected and then scatter and are off over the line before the troops can follow." What the newcomers didn't realize was that the Cree and Métis had been part of the Aboriginal landscape in Montana from the 18th century.

The U. S. Army continued chase the Cree and Métis, setting up encampments in the Sweet Grass Hills and on the Big Bend of the Milk River. The most devastating aspect of the army's actions was that when they captured their adversaries they confiscated and destroyed their possessions, causing additional impoverishment of the Cree and Métis – on top of the decline of the buffalo. In April of 1883, Lt. John Anderson, with his men, was scouting the Bear's Paw Mountains. They captured and imprisoned 81 Cree [and Métis], confiscating nine rifles, and 20 ponies. The following month, a detachment from Fort Assiniboine captured 52 more Cree [and Métis] south of the Missouri River along the Musselshell River. Their guns and all their domestic and camp property was burned before them. They were escorted back to Fort Assiniboine and then Canada.

***1885**: In the late summer of 1885, Canadian officials sent word to Col. Brooks at Fort Shaw (west of Great Falls, MT) that 25 lodges of "insurrectionary Cree under the son of Big Bear" were fleeing Canada following the Northwest Resistance and culminating Battle of Batoche. In late December of 1885 Lt. Robertson and 35 soldiers captured 24 lodges on the Missouri River at Rocky Point. That band of *Nehiyaw Pwat* was led by Big Bear's son, Little Bear, and his cousin, Little Poplar, and Lucky Man. Other headmen of the band were Kingbird (Little Bear's brother), Coyote (son of Chief Bobtail), Rocky Boy, and Rocky Boy's son, *Apitchitchiw* (Young Boy). There were 137 [Note the biased language in reference to Indian men and women] refugees: "62 bucks, 50 squaws, 25 children." An additional 17 lodges were taken close to Fort Belknap at that time. Although the army was ready to deport the group back north of the line, Canada never made a request for their return. Thus, they remained under military guard Montana.

The Northwest Resistance (or, Rebellion, from the Canadian perspective) effectively marked the end of the border wars between the nation-states of the United States and Canada, and Aboriginal peoples. Stated in more accurate terms, the last of the Indian Wars of the 19th century played out on the U.S./ Canada border in Montana with the *Nehiyaw Pwat* Plains Cree and Plains-Ojibwa. Those dispossessed peoples were unified within the *Nehiyaw Pwat,* but (in the U. S. government's need to sort out who they thought were Canadian and who were American) came to be known as Little Bear's Band of Cree (who were arbitrarily determined to be Canadian) and Rocky Boy's Band of Chippewa (who were accepted as American), and later, collectively, as Montana's Landless Cree (when, in 1896, the government decided to deport them all). As a whole, they were comprised of today's Little Shell tribal ancestors.

***1886:** President Grover Cleveland personally orders the release of Little Bear's Band from containment at Fort Assiniboine. Even so, the *Nehiyaw Pwat* refugees from the ethnic cleansing of the border wars remained under close supervision of the army, and stayed near Fort Assiniboine. They set up camp at Box Elder and hired out to the army doing day labor, as well as working for local white entrepreneurs doing work. "The Crees expectancy to find a home in Montana was not unreasonable. In 1885, when Little Bear arrived in Montana, most of the area north of the Missouri River remained Indian land. In the western part of the state, the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai still occupied portions of the Bitter Root Valley. That somewhere on the vast expanse of land the Cree and Chippewa might find a permanent home, did not require an exceptional imagination." But there wasn't enough work to support the whole group. The winter of 1886-87, they camped on the South Fork of the Sun River, near present day Great Falls. They were destitute. So began a 30 year plight to create a permanent home for themselves in Montana that continued until 1916, with establishment by Executive Order of the Rocky Boy's Reservation.

***1887-88**: Many of the Chippewa Cree Métis had relatives on the Flathead Reservation. Pierre Busha (Bouché, Boucher, Berger, Bercier, Bercee, Boushie, Booshee), who was a Headman of Little Bear's Band and an ancestor of many of today's Little Shell, met in council on the Flathead Reservation with Salish, Pend d'Oreille, and Kootenai leaders in August of 1887. He made his plea to them to accept 60 families from the refugees to settle among them. Chief Michelle of the Pend d'Oreille, a relative of Little Bear and the Smallboy family (aka, Piché) among those landless Cree Métis, spoke for the Flathead Reservation leadership dismayed that they were unable to offer sanctuary to the Cree Métis. The federal government was just then forcing Chief Charleaux's Salish Band in the Bitterroot Valley onto the reservation, and there was little enough room for them.

Pierre Busha, bearing critical responsibility for his people, continued his diplomatic mission. He conferred with the Flathead Reservation's Indian agent, Peter Ronan. In October, Ronan agreed to send a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington outlining his plight. The letter reads: "Pierre Busha of Cree refugees is now at this agency, will leave for Cree encampment in three days from date. He is desirous to learn if encouragement be given to Crees by government either to settle upon public lands or give them homes on some reservation, the Blackfeet reserve would suit them if they cannot move to this reservation. He waits an answer if he can encourage his people to this effect." The Commissioner wired agent Ronan to tell Busha "that the Indian department can make no promises in regards to land for British Cree refugees." Busha then traveled to Dupuyer Creek on the Rocky Mountain Front, just south of the Blackfeet Reservation border, where his people were camped. Pierre Busha's leadership is testimony to the pervasive polyethnic make-up of the "Cree," and how deeply integrated the Red River *Nehiyaw Pwat* mixbloods were within that group of people.

At the same time Pierre Busha was communicating with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, his band, with Little Bear in charge, was being shaken down by a detachment of troops who sought to winnow out the "Canadians." In great part because of the harsh conditions facing all non-reservation-based Indians and Métis, and there were many, they gravitated towards the strong leadership of Little Bear. The group became comprised of not only refugees from the Northwest Resistance, but also, the disfranchised, straggler, indeterminant, cast-off, and other non-status Indians and mixbloods – many of whom were born in and never left Montana. Indeed, many who were more closely related to the Turtle Mountains and Milk River were part of this new amalgam. The troops from Fort Assiniboine tallied 133 whom they suspected of being "Canadian." They were put across the border.

Along the Montana Hi-Line, the army maintained their campaign to round-up Cree. They had no idea, or intention of finding out, who was American-born and who was Canadian. By 1888, the government had shrunk the Fort Peck, Fort Belknap, and Blackfeet agencies, making their policing more manageable. All other Indians in Montana except the "Cree" were contained on reservations. They wandering Cree became a target of deep prejudice and antipathy, their freedom framed as a threat to the new white agricultural and mercantile society.

There were at least two other groups besides the Little Bear Band identified by the army, one close to the Fort Belknap agency, and another living between the forks of the Sun River along the Front Range. During the winter of 1887-88, those close to Fort Belknap, about 200 ancestral Little Shell Cree Métis were camped in 40 lodges between the Missouri and Milk Rivers along Rock Creek (close to present day Hinsdale). It was traditional historic homeland, but now they were camped on what became, in 1886, the private ranch of the elite rich Niedringhaus Brothers of St. Louis, Missouri. The ranch was named the Home Land & Cattle Co., otherwise known as the legendary N–N Ranch. The proto-Little

Shell community was on the verge of starvation. "The cowboys poisoned several hundred coyotes and threw the carcasses into the ravines where the Indians found them and devoured them and seemed to grow fat on the poisoned meat." That incident was used by the media in the future as an example of the lack of worth of the Chippewa Cree Métis. In January of 1896, the incident was repeated in the state's largest newspaper, The Anaconda Standard, saying, "the only earthly good the Crees are known to be is as scavengers, for they eat anything and everything from a mouse to a dead horse, and they are not very particular how long it has been dead."

That same winter of 1887-88, the Sun River group were starving, freezing, and dying off. Local ranchers tried to help, and appealed to the territorial government, who in turn approached the federal government. Congress appropriated $500.00 in emergency funds, and the group's demise was averted. Such was the circumstances of those Little Shell ancestor Cree Métis, living where they had lived since the 1820s, and do so yet. Most remain in poverty to this day.

***1890-93**: The ancestral Little Shell Chippewa Cree Métis continued to suffer extreme prejudice throughout Montana. The press was unrelenting, saying of them that, "the day has about passed when these lazy, dirty, lousy, breech-clothed, thieving savages can intrude themselves upon the isolated households and nose around in the backyards of private residences in communities of civilized beings with impunity." The new State of Montana government began direct talks with Canada seeking agreement to deport the ancestral Little Shell. Knowing sentiments of the white society, and that the new state government sought deportation, the Little Bear, Rocky Boy, Pierre Busha, and other chiefs among the Chippewa Cree Métis tried to go through the legal channels to gain citizenship. The District Attorney of Choteau County (Great Falls) made headlines saying that the Indians are "Not Desirable Citizens and Advises the Clerk Not to Issue Any More First Papers to Crees." All further requests by the Indians for citizenship were denied. The impetus from the white community was non-accommodation. Any energy spent on the Indian problem was to purge them from Montana.

***1894**: The summer of 1894, ancestral Little Shell Chippewa Cree Métis hold Sun Dances in Havre, Helena, and Butte, charging admission to earn money to live. Huge crowds attend.

***1895**: In 1895, two Montana businessmen created the "Montana's Wild West Show." The landless "Cree" were the attraction. The band was advertised as the "only people in the United States without a country." Leaving Montana in April of 1895, incredibly, the troupe played Joliet, Chicago, New York, and New Orleans. When they got to Cincinnati, their promoters absconded with all the tour's proceeds and left Montana's landless Chippewa Cree Métis stranded. The famed Cincinnati Zoological Gardens invited the group to camp on their grounds until they could earn enough money to get back to Montana. In a picture almost too surreal to bear, the ancestors of today's Little Shell were then an exhibit next to the elephants, giraffes, and tigers at the Cincinnati zoo. The Montana Cree were able finally to leave town in the spring of 1896.

***1896**: While the Cree were yet a zoo exhibit in Cincinnati, the United States Congress succumbed to the pressure of Montana's businessmen and politicians, passing the Cree Deportation Act of 1896. The Act fit neatly into the sense of American exceptionalism of the time, which then also included the more well-known Chinese Exclusion Act of 1892. Montana cities were bent on cleaning up their towns of left-over riffraff from the former Frontier Era.

The demoralized Montana *Nehiyaw Pwat* Chippewa Cree Métis continued to disperse and circulate throughout the state in their traditional strategy for survival. Missoula, Helena, Great Falls, Chinook,

Glasgow, Augusta, Choteau, Dupuyer, Billings, and Lewistown all had encampments. But Butte was home to the largest number of lodges, forty, representing between 160 and 240 people. Butte also possessed the strongest political sway, and it would have its way. The Cree Deportation Act of 1896 was the result.

Ironically, while the Cree Deportation Act was being crafted in Washington, Chief Little Shell, from the Turtle Mountains, was there appearing before the House Committee on Indian Affairs, trying to sway Congress not to ratify the McCumber Agreement of 1892. His point was that the Turtle Mountain Pembinas (including those in Montana among the Chippewa Cree Métis) needed more land to accommodate all its citizens. But before the ink was dry from signing the Cree Deportation Act, the U.S. Army out of Fort Assiniboine, near Havre, mobilized. As soon as those Chippewa Cree Métis stuck in Cincinnati made it back to Havre on the train later that spring of 1896, they faced an assault on their dignity and human rights. Beginning in June, and completing their task in August, a full complement of Buffalo Soldier cavalry, led by a young Lieutenant John J. Pershing, either shipped in cattle cars or herded well over 500 "Crees" to Alberta, Canada. They were dispatched to reserves throughout the Province. Many immediately snuck back across the border into Montana and hid out. To this day, at Hobbema, in Alberta, there remains a group of those ancestral Little Shell called the Montana Band, descendants of that legacy.

***1897-1898**: The Chippewa Cree Métis (i.e., the Little Shell ancestral peoples) persisted in Montana, hiding out while hunting in the coulees and draws of the Front Range, getting pick-up work on the ranches of the Hi-Line, and scavenging in the dumps of the cities. In the spring of 1898, Chief Little Bear returned to the United States from the Montana Band at Hobbema, Alberta.

In March of 1898 a delegation of Chippewa, Cree, Métis, led by Buffalo Coat and his cousin, White Snake, along with Harry Denny, went to Helena seeking an official meeting with the Montana state government. Buffalo Coat said there were 300 members of their tribe scattered around the state. Little Bear's family and band were near Billings, another group was in the Flathead country, another was near Butte, another near Judith working for a rancher clearing sage brush, and finally, Buffalo Coat, his two wives and his 84-year old mother with 60 others stayed all winter near Virginia City living on the offal from the slaughter houses.

Buffalo Coat was quoted as saying that the reason they left Alberta was that "they would not do anything for us . . . I asked the Indian Agent to give me a reservation for my people, but he would not do it. He put us with another tribe and we had no place of our own. He [the Agent] didn't want us anyway. "Well," I said to him, "I and my people go back to America," and he said, "Go on, you no good; we don't want you. We want a home of our own. I would go to the great father but I have no money. My people they go hungry. I'm pretty poor; that is why I want to talk to the governor." The newspaper article from which this quote comes went on to say, "It may be cheaper to keep them on a reservation than to support them while they are wandering in Montana and frequently deport them, and Buffalo Coat wants to stay in this country and says that his people will not remain in Canada."

***1901**: Chief Little Shell died in 1901, unsuccessful in his quest to bring his Montana brethren into Turtle Mountain. Some began intermarrying back into their tribal relatives on the Flathead, Crow, Fort Belknap, and Fort Peck Reservations.

***1902**: In 1902, following Chief Little Shell's death the year before, Chiefs Little Bear and Rocky Boy had a falling out and lived in tension from that time.

Little Bear was the son of Big Bear, who was in turn the son of *Mukatai* (Black Powder), a Pembina Plains-Ojibwa chief from the Red River Settlement Zone. Black Powder's wife (Big Bear's mother) was also Plains-Ojibwa, whose name was *Ocepihk,* or Root. She was also Chief Rocky Boy's mother-in-law. Root was also the grandmother of *Apitchitchew*, making him and Little Bear cousins. She lived with her son-in-law and grandson among the Montana Chippewa Cree Métis. Additionally, Little Bear's and Rocky Boy's second wives, *Mâyihkwew* (Bad Face) and *Pekiskwewin* (Voice), respectively, were both cousins. Little Bear's daughter, Liza Buffalo Girl, was married to Patrice LeMire, a Turtle Mountain Pembina mixed-heritage man born in and raised in the Milk River region.

Big Bear, although a Chippewa, became a Chief of the Cree, and later, Head Chief of the *Nehiyaw Pwat* Cree, Assiniboine, Chippewa, and Métis. In 1885, after the debacle of the Northwest Resistance, he sent his followers, under the leadership of his son Little Bear, into Montana. He stayed in Saskatchewan to face the music. One of his sub-bands was led by Chief Bobtail (Alexis Piché). Piché's daughter, Isabelle, was married to Rocky Boy's son, *Apitchitchiw* (who came to be known as "Shorty" Young Boy in the U. S. and Small Boy in Canada). Isabelle and her family, along with her brother, Coyote and his family, traveled and lived in Montana with Little Bear and Rocky Boy. They, as children of Chief Bobtail, who chose to keep north of the Medicine Line, show how integrated those bands were, and are.

Rocky Boy's mother was an Assiniboine named *Nahkawewin*, meaning "Chippewa Speaker," married to a Plains Chippewa named *Nawaswâtam* (The Chaser). They were associated with Turtle Mountain Chippewa. They named their son, Asinikosisan, meaning in Cree "Stoney's Son," i.e., Son of the Assiniboine. The Stone Sioux, or Stoney, is the English translation of the Chippewa word, Assiniboine. With life in the Turtle Mountains being hard, and the free roving life there coming to an end, they aligned themselves with Big Bear's Band in 1874. Big Bear, while being Chippewa himself from the RRSZ, led a Cree band, while serving as Head Chief of the full *Nehiyaw Pwat*. The Turtle Mountain Chippewa among his Cree band were considered a minority group. That status continued even as they came to Montana under Little Bear.

With the U. S. choosing not to recognize (at that time) Cree as an American tribe, Little Bear's leadership had its limits to American officials. Putting Rocky Boy forward as Chippewa, a recognized U.S. tribe, was a good strategic move. Little Bear perceived it as expedient; Rocky Boy as destiny. Although approximately the same age, Rocky Boy was Little Bear's uncle by marriage. He could pull rank on Little Bear, which at time rankled Little Bear.

In January 14, 1902, Rocky Boy's sent a letter to President Theodore Roosevelt asking for aid for his people. He was speaking, on Little Bear's behalf, for all their people. That the letter came from a Chippewa Chief, it seemed to officials that all of a sudden there was a new Chippewa band in Montana, led by a chief who "came from Wisconsin." This designation began the U. S. government's bureaucratic machinery to find a home for our American Chippewa, thus creating a larger divide between all the other sub-bands that comprised Little Bear's Chippewa Cree in Montana and Rocky Boy's sub-band.

***1908**: In 1908, Congress appropriated $30,000.00 "for the purpose of settling Chief Rocky Boy's band of Chippewa Indians, now residing in Montana, upon public lands, if available . . . or upon some existing Indian reservation in said state." Congress left it up to the Secretary of Interior to figure it out. In July of 1908, U. S. Indian Inspector Frank C. Churchill was sent to Montana to make something happen. The Flathead and Crow Reservations turned down the request. Churchill approached both the Blackfeet and the Fort Peck Reservations. If that didn't work, the plan was to select suitable public lands.

Thus, late in 1908, the Secretary of the Interior "ordered the General Land Office to set aside 1,400,000 acres of land in Valley County, Montana, thenceforth to be known as the 'Rocky Boy Indian Lands.'" Rocky Boy was not informed of this action. While the Indians were uninformed, the residents and businessmen of northeast Montana knew all about it. Their uproar, back and fueled by James J. Hill, owner of the Great Northern Railway, created such a political backlash that the government withdrew the land from use by any other Indians.

Also that year, Rocky Boy was asked by Frank Churchill to provide a census of his people. That census listed only his sub-band, including 100 names. Little Bear was left off the list. Churchill collected the list from Rocky Boy and sent it to Washington. He added to his report, that, "He is evidently a self-appointed 'Chief.'" Churchill also stated that it is "the common understanding that chief Little Bear and some fifty persons are part of this group of roving Indians that for many years have been camping near the larger towns of the state, particularly Garrison, Anaconda, Butte, Helena, Great Falls, Havre, and Cut Bank." Rocky Boy got wind of Churchill's note about Little Bear. He immediately wrote to Churchill and said, "I cannot due to take Little Bear's Band at all."

***1909**: With the recognition and appropriation of monies for settling "Rocky Boy's Band" came increased pressure from Little Bear's larger band. Included in Little Bear's larger band were Métis and "Canadian" Cree, along with some Chippewa. Their names, they said, should be included in the "Rocky Boy" census. In 1909 Thralls W. Wheat, acting for the government, was sent to Helena to "compile an accurate census of Rocky Boy's band." Indeed, even on Rocky Boy's census there were people who were "Canadian" Cree, along with Métis, Sioux, Assiniboine, and Blackfeet. The Cree were x-ed from the census, although the others were allowed to remain, because they were American, if not Chippewa. Interestingly, Rocky Boy had "many families of half-breeds included – among them the Denny, Momy [Nomee], Mosney, Papin, Peletier, La Fromboise, Smith, and three Guardipee families." In truth, Rocky Boy's Chippewa were deeply intermarried with the Cree and Métis, and other Montana tribes. So really, what Rocky Boy's census represents is, more accurately, those who were followers of Rocky Boy. John Ewers states that, "Rocky Boy's people [in Montana] were not distinguishable from the 'British Cree' [i.e., Little Bear's Band] until he made himself known in his letter to President Roosevelt of January 14, 1902."

***1911**: In 1911, Chief Little Shell's and his tribe's attorney, John B. Bottineau, who was also a Turtle Mountain tribal member, requested a copy of Rocky Boy's census (presumably both the 1908 and 1909 lists) from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his continuing work on getting Little Shell's people in Montana included on the Turtle Mountains. He stated that for him to complete the rolls of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa he needed Rocky Boy's enumeration "[f]or the purposes of identification and completion of the rolls of my kinsmen." Bottineau asked for "access to the Roll of Chief Rocky Boy's Band of Chippewa Indians, comprised of a great number of Turtle Mountain and Pembina Bands of Chippewa Indians of North Dakota and their descendents, who have wandered away from their old home with the Tribe, at different times since about 1870, and scattered; seeking a livelihood in the West and Northwest country, and now located under the leadership of Chief Rocky Boy, upon the Blackfeet Reservation of Montana."

***1912**: In June of 1912, plans were for Rocky Boy's Band to be placed on the Blackfeet Reservation. Fred A. Baker, Supervisor, said that, "As usual in all such cases when reservations are to be allotted or tribal funds divided there were on hand a large number of interlopers, half-breed Canadian Crees and Chippewas who claimed membership in Rocky Boy's Band." An "Identification Committee" consisting of Rocky Boy and elders of his group were said to be "exceedingly liberal in their decisions as to who

were members of the band and great difficulty was experienced in arriving at the correct conclusions." Their numbers had grown three-fold, to 386, since the Wheat census in 1909, indicating the pressure on Rocky Boy to bring in Little Bear's larger band was successful.

***1913-15**: Fort Assiniboine had been transferred to the Department of Interior. The Secretary of Interior saw the decommissioned fort as the perfect home for Rocky Boy's people. While encouraging Congress to pass a bill that would establish these Indians on the old military reservation, he allowed the mixed bands under both Rocky Boy and Little Bear bands to camp there. In May of 1915, the Indian Office hired Roger St. Pierre (a Turtle Mountain Halfbreed) as the government farmer with responsibility to teach agriculture to Little Bear's and Rocky Boy's people. "The apparent rivalry between Rocky Boy and Little Bear intensified the difficulty of transition. Although the two bands lived and traveled together, the two old chiefs held tenaciously to what remaining authority they possessed. Little Bear was at a disadvantage in the contest. The years had not completely removed the stigma of his Canadian birth and whenever he behaved too independently, government officials were quick to remind him of his tentative status. At the same time, Rocky Boy complained that Roger St. Pierre ignored him and spoke only to his rival, although it was he who was supposed to receive the land and not Little Bear." St. Pierre was not a nice man, and lorded it over the two chiefs with the attitude of "a plague on both your houses."

***1916**: Two weeks before Rocky Boy dies, on April 18, 1916, he wrote a letter to Frank B. Linderman a friend and critical ally in the creation of what was to become the Rocky Boy's Reservation. Rocky Boy was still disturbed by the pressure Little Bear and his main councilor, Kenewa, exerted trying to get some Métis onto the rolls for the imminent reservation. He wrote that, "Little Bear and Kenewa . . . are trying hard to get the half breeds in this reservation. The Half-breeds took homesteads like the white man some of them sold their rights[,] their land. Then Little Bear trys [sic] to get them in here although he has no right to do this. I am the one that have to let them on if my tribe of Indians want them."

This quote is a very important piece of information. First, it shows that Rocky Boy is still affected by and holds onto the tension between he and his nephew Little Bear. Rocky Boy wants to be in charge, and believes he has the right to determine who is on the rolls, because his "Chippewa-ness" is what gave the federal government their needed entrée into doing something about Montana's landless Indians. But there is something much deeper going on here – and has been since the first showing of the schism between the two men in 1902. It lies in remembering that Rocky Boy is from the Turtle Mountains, and that his band is a sub-band of Little Shell's Turtle Mountain Pembina Chippewa.

The language that Rocky Boy uses in describing his reasoning for always being hesitant in including the "Halfbreeds" is exactly that language used by Chief Little Shell and the Turtle Mountain Tribe attorney, John B. Bottineau, in describing the mixbloods who were OK'd by Senator Porter J. McCumber to comprise the "Committee of 32" (16 fullbloods and 16 halfbreeds), who (acting under McCumber's direction) determined who were to be enrolled members of the Turtle Mountain Reservation. Little Shell and Bottineau said their were 3,200 people who made up the Turtle Mountain Tribe, "including those who are now living away from the Turtle Mountains . . . numbering in all about 500 individuals, the majority of whom are in Montana." When Little Shell would not agree to McCumber's mandate to cut the numbers of tribal citizens, McCumber appointed his own tribal leadership, who did his bidding. That "Committee of 32" came up with the number of 1,759 individuals as tribal members.

Chief Little Shell, "hereditary chief," along with "Red Thunder, Yellow Bird, Young Man, and others, complained bitterly of the action of the committee of thirty-two and the commission in cutting down the membership roll, and it required some little time [for McCumber] to convince them that the act of the commission would not be open for discussion. . . . Little Shell and his adherents then declared that if this was the decision of the commission, that they agreed that further discussion was useless, and that they would leave." The "Committee of 32" went on to agree to McCumber's suggestions to diminish the Turtle Mountain Pembina lands to its current size, and leaving off the rolls close to half their population.

A key point of understanding is that the Chairman of the "Committee of 32" was Little Bear's main councilor, Kenewa, i.e., *Ka-kinawash*, as signed on the McCumber Treaty. A good deal of the suffering occurring to Montana's landless Indians, especially those of direct Turtle Mountain lineage, was due to the fact that the Turtle Mountain Reservation, and its potential to accommodate all its tribal members, was emasculated by the McCumber Commission. The traditional and historic government of the Plains Chippewa peoples, under the leadership and protection of Little Shell, was subverted and nullified by the "Committee of 32," under the influence and pressure of Senator McCumber. Rocky Boy knew Kenewa, along with the mixbloods who comprised the "Committee of 32," subverted Little Shell. Loyalties were stressed between traditional Nehiyaw Pwat values, the suffering of all the peoples, not only in Montana, but back at the Turtle Mountains, and the anger that was brought on by people succumbing to external pressures and making decisions that represented loss of autonomy and freedom for a way of life. All this played out between Rocky Boy and Little Bear.

Later that year, on September 7, 1916, Public Law 261 established the Rocky Boy's Reservation for "Rocky Boy's Band of Chippewas and such other homeless Indian of the State of Montana." The Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association stated that, "Four townships of the old Fort Assiniboine military reservation were set aside recently fore their permanent home. For some years these Indians were a homeless band, wandering about Montana, usually in destitute circumstances. They claim to be Chippewa, but it is believed that they are Crees, who come from Canada. However, they were on United States soil, and their needs were so urgent and apparent that Congress appropriated $5,000 for their relief. At present there are about 300 of them, but the prospect of an allotment of 160 acres of good land is bringing in 'all sorts and conditions,' who claim they belong to the Rocky Boy clan. A committee of the original band is to be selected to pass on the merits of each claimant, with a view to eliminating all those whose claims are not well founded."

Shortly following Rocky Boy's death in April of 1916, Little Bear submitted a list of 658 names as their enrollment. Roger St. Pierre then "whittled down with the blessing of the superintendent of the Fort Belknap Agency [under which the Rocky Boy's Reservation was placed administratively], Charles Rastall. Friction between Little Bear and St. Pierre had existed since St. Pierre's arrival at Fort Assiniboine in May 1915, although until the formal opening of the reservation two years later, the government farmer prevailed in virtually every argument." St. Pierre was removed, finally, as farmer in charge in 1917 as unqualified, although he remained as a tribal member through his wife's lineage.

***1917**: Even so, the new farmer in charge, John B. Parker, relied on St. Pierre. Parker's primary job was to construct a roll for the tribe. With St. Pierre as his adviser, Parker took Rocky Boy's 1908 list and Little Bear's list of 1916 and proceeded to create an official enrollment document. Little Bear was outraged that St. Pierre tampered with his list. In June of 1917, the government sent a seasoned Indian Agent, James McLaughlin, to "complete an official enrollment list." McLaughlin, through Parker, relies on the "rigid attitude" of Roger St. Pierre for the "histories" of the families being enumerated. The question arises once again, who are "Canadian Indians?" McLaughlin "narrowed" the enrollment list to 425 people.

McLaughlin produced a role that "included all Chippewa living at Fort Assiniboine in the previous three years and those Cree who could demonstrate their association with Little Bear. The elimination of so many people from the enrolment list created a base of a large floating landless Indian population in Montana that plagued the Indian Office over the next years." All others were closed out. How many additional landless Indians resided in the state no one knew, but there were many. The difference between the 658 family names included in Little Bear's original Rocky Boy's roll, and the 425 (Ewers says 451, Botting, 452) that were finally approved, comprise over 200 names, a significant portion of whom are the families of today's Little Shell Tribe, that "large floating landless Indian population in Montana that [has] plagued the Indian Office over the next years."

One of the techniques St. Pierre used to misconstrue the enrollment data was through the arbitrary assignment of ages. As an internationally renown legal scholar of "border law," as well as a scholar of Canada's Chippewa Cree, Gary Botting analyzed the Rocky Boy rolls and found that a disproportionately high number on the 1917 roll were said to be 50 years old or younger. That means they would have been born after Canadian Confederation in 1867, making them "Canadian." St. Pierre's hoped this would stand out under policy review of the rolls, with more people being turned away. This shows St. Pierre's strategy to eliminate as many people from the rolls as possible, "leaving more land for American-born people of Chippewa ancestry – including St. Pierre and his wife." What occurred to the over 200 who were eliminated from Little Bear's roll can only be conjectured.

Botting continues with his analysis, stating that it was not just a manipulation of the enrollment data in which St. Pierre meddled. "St. Pierre's resentment against Little Bear and his band shows through his derogatory translations of their names. If he had an axe to grind with the male leaders of the band, he had taken it out on the names of their women, probably without their being any the wiser. Whether it was St. Pierre's bizarre sense of humour or a genuine mean streak, how was John Parker, who could speak no Cree, to know which names were genuine translations and which were thinly veiled insults?"

What begins to become clear is that in constructing the official enrollment for Rocky Boy's Reservation, a personal vendetta interjected itself into the process, unknown to the U. S. government officials charged with the task.

The enabling legislation creating Rocky Boy's Reservation had the language that gave the latitude to the Secretary of the Interior to include "Rocky Boy's Band of Chippewas and *such other homeless Indians in the State of Montana as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to locate thereon* [i.e., potentially any and all the homeless Indians] and the said Secretary is authorized, in his discretion [italics mine], to allot the lands within the reservation hereby created under the provisions of the General Allotment Act." The government, in its effort to accomplish its task, apparently and inadvertently, relied on the worst possible person to accomplish the job, with tragic consequences for the "large floating landless Indian population," including many who never made it to Fort Assiniboine in 1916 to be counted, of Little Shell's people.

John Ewers makes the point that the number of the final official enrollment of 451 is "more than four and one-half times the number of members Rocky Boy himself claimed for his band in 1908, was also nearly four times as many as appeared in Wheat's census of Rocky Boy's Band in 1909. That it reflects Little Bear's more liberal policy than Rocky Boy's of including half-breeds is apparent in the large number of Indian families with white admixture whose names appear on this list but neither the Rocky Boy or Wheat census of 1908 and 1909 – such families as Allery, Anderson, Belcourt, Bushie,

Courchane, Caplette, Deschamp, Demontyne, Favel, Hamline, Houle, Henderson, Jackson, Ladue, Larance, Morrisette, Oats, Parker, Sutherland, Sangray, Valle, Watson, and Walls." Perhaps so, but more likely, in 1908 and 1909, Rocky Boy was thinking of his personal interests, and within a micro-strategy for those closest to him. Little Bear, all along, was a thinker for the greater good of all the disfranchised Indian people in Montana. Ewers sentiment does arouse the issues of who determines citizenship of a sovereign people.

That being said, in 1900, Chief Little Shell's attorney, John B. Bottineau, wrote in his appeal to Congress not to ratify the 1892 McCumber Agreement that stripped the Turtle Mountain Tribe's of its membership and all its land (save a pittance, for a pittance, i.e., the "Ten Cent Treaty"). In his summation he spoke of the "half-breed and full-blood Indians" as always loyal to the Government of the United States. "From this fact may be seen that gross injustice has been done by the Government's agents in denying the rights and privileges of said half-breed Indians, in common with said Turtle Mountain band, upon the presumption that they are mostly, if not all, British Indians. I submit that it is the chief and his councilmen who are competent to judge and say who is a member of his tribe, and not the Government's agent nor his petit committee, so called."

These words apply equally to the Rocky Boy's Reservation debacle of 1917, well intentioned as was the creation of the reservation. They reverberate tellingly over the decades. Indeed, those words of Bottineau's conform to contemporary standards of law for sovereign nations, in having the inherent authority to determine their citizenship. The McCumber Agreement, ratified in April of 1904, eliminated any chance of Little Shell's Montana people being included in their rightful homeland settlement. Then, in 1915-17, a similar snafu occurred in Montana, once again leaving many of Little Shell's people literally out in the cold. Those disfranchised citizens, whom their "chief and his councilmen who are competent to judge and say . . . is a member of his tribe," are today's Little Shell tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana. And they know who they are.

***1921**: After World War I had concluded, the first documented meeting was held to address the inequity of the remaining landless Indian dilemma of Montana. A young man named Joe Dussome found his voice at the gathering of between 50 and 60 people at the home of Jacob Berger in the Judith Basin. The Berger family retained a leadership function in the community from the time the Milk River Displaced Peoples (DPs) were force-marched to the Judith Basin by the U.S. Army in 1879–80. By 1924, Joe Dussome recognized the need to formalize an organization to press for their rights. "[I]t was the rejection of the descendants of Little Shell's band from the rolls of the Rocky Boy's Reservation after 1916 which prompted Dussome to form an organization." This is the beginning of what would become the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana.

***1924**: Great Falls had become a center for Hi-Line DPs, it being the largest city in northern Montana. Hill 57 was the main community, but there were others. The calls for the removal of the people on Hill 57, to be subsidized at Box Elder, arose only one month after the option was first mentioned in the news on December 28, 1924, by "Stewart Haslett of this city, who has been in the Indian service for years." The "sub-agency" community that ore), past residence and record, which should reflect somewhat, the worth of the family as a future risk to the Government. settled at Box Elder fulltime, while trying to attend to the huge dilemma of survival, did not come close to covering all in need on Hill 57, "principally because many of the Indians claim they belong to tribes other than Rocky Boy." The removal from Great Falls of this unsubsidized Box Elder group is discussed further ahead in the story. Suffice it to say, there was a significant population of Chippewa Cree *Nehiyaw Pwat* living on the edge of the Rocky Boy's Reservation, related to the enrolled members of the Rocky Boy's people, but who were not included. There remained a significant population in Great Falls and in cities and towns around Montana.

***1934**: On February 20 of that year, seventeen people representing the "members of the Indian nations residing near Hill 57" presented a petition to the city council. The petition was "for installation of the water mains to Seventh avenue northwest and Eleventh street."

***1934**: That spring, Joe Dussome and Fred Nault, another important Little Shell leader, were in Great Falls, pressing the Bureau of Indian Affairs in their quest for a reservation as the only solution to the dilemma "for the nontreaty, or homeless, Indians of northern Montana." The message that Dussome and Nault brought to the BIA was that there were 4,000 of these Indians (mostly Chippewa Cree) in Montana, and it was critical for the bureau to form a new reservation. Dussome "said he had been assured it will be granted." With a byline of Landusky, Montana, Dussome's home, the *Billings Gazette* reported, with a beautiful quote from Dussome:

> These Indians claim a large territory between the Missouri river and the Canadian boundary "by right of occupancy and possession" at the time the northwest was being explored by white men.
>
> "This country," Dussome said, "has been taken from us without our consent and without com-pensation. Our people have been jailed for hunting. Our horses have been rounded up and sold, for which we receive nothing, all of which is in violation of treaty stipulation.
>
> "As the country settled, need for our services (as scouts, hunters and interpreters) no longer existed, leaving us stranded and helpless among a people who do not understand us. There has been no provisions made for us to change our natural habits and customs. Our children, in some places, are not wanted in public schools. "We have asked little and received nothing and we believe the best solution of our problem both for ourselves and the whites is a reservation with the same rights as other Indians."[148]

***1935**: In June of 1935, Earl Wooldridge, Superintendent of Rocky Boy's Agency, received a letter from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Washington mentioning that a census of Montana homeless Indians (i.e., the ancestral Little Shell) with "one-half or more Indian blood who may be entitled to benefits under the Indian Reorganization Act" would be necessary. The letter went on to say,

> From this census or list, when approved by the Secretary, you should pick the families to be settled on new land, giving preference to those of most Indian blood and other qualifications, such as general character, needs of the family, etc. These families should make application to you for settlement and rehabilitation on a suit¬able application blank showing family history, degree of blood (which must be one-half or more), past residence and record, which should reflect somewhat, the worth of the family as a future risk to the Government.[149]

***1936-37**: This effort resulted in the Roe Cloud Roll of 1936–37, named after Dr. Henry Roe Cloud (a Winnebago), a Department of Interior official who worked on the critical Merriam Report that essentially put an end to the Dawes Act and the wholesale appropriation of tribal lands into Anglo hands. Doctor Roe Cloud came to Montana and conducted interviews with "landless Indians" and others, and constructed the locally famous "Roe Cloud Roll." The Roe Cloud Report to the Department of the Interior clearly stated that the purpose of the roll was to settle the Little Shell people and bring them under federal jurisdiction. The Roe Cloud Report states:

> In dealing with the Rocky Boy Indians, in relation to the Chippewa-Cree landless Indians of Montana, certain factors must be recognized. They are not separate and distinct peoples, but belong to the same tribe. Their language is identical; their historical background is the same. There can, therefore, be no clashes between the two bands in their social, religious, or economic relationship, save that of personal animosities and jealousies which are characteristic of all people. Therefore, it is believed that if the two

> groups are now given the understanding that they are to be treated as separate bands, it may give rise to a feeling of hostility, and as time goes on cause a rift between them instead of bringing them together. With these factors in mind, it is felt that if we adhere strictly to the language of Office letter of June 12, 1936, and set aside for the benefit of the Rocky Boy Indians a distinct and specific tract of land, and similarly reserve a definite area of land for the present landless Indians, the result would be a division between the two, which would increase with the years and make administration of the groups increasingly difficult.

The joint statement and recommendations of the Roe Cloud Report oversight group to attend to the landless Indians of Montana situation boil down to these main points: 1) the landless Indians and the people on Rocky Boy's Reservation are essentially the same people; 2) to create a separate reservation for the landless Indians would cause a rift between the two groups that would eventually be a problem for the government to admin-ister; 3) attaching all new lands to the existing Rocky Boy's Reservation and having Rocky Boy's Tribe adopt all the landless Indians is the best solution; 4) in order to accommodate all the additional landless Indians within the Rocky Boy's Tribe (given the carrying capacity of the land) would require 656,000 additional acres; 5) there are not enough acres as it is (one-half what's necessary) to handle the already existing population of Rocky Boy's Reservation; 6) that "selected families of qualified landless Indians of Montana be initiated at once"; and 7) any "further settlement" of landless Indians would have to wait until additional lands could be acquired.

***1939-40**: Twenty-three heads of families and ten unmarried persons (from the Box Elder community, coming from the 1924-25 Hill 57 move) were adopted into the Rocky Boy's Tribe of Chippewa Cree, along with a 35,500 acres of land adhesion to the Rocky Boy's Reservation.

There were 623 families initially enumerated by the Roe Cloud Report Commission. The overwhelming number of those who were adopted were people listed on the Henry Roe Cloud Rolls of 1936–37. That is to say, those families were part of the root enumeration that comprises the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana today. They were brought into the tribe, i.e., their relatives, because they lived in one of the Moccasin Flats communities that had long been a wintering camp site on Box Elder Creek, alongside the Rocky Boy's Reservation (the Box Elder sub-agency). That policy move by the federal government exhibits a continuity of responsibility the government held to attend to "*such other homeless Indians in the State of Montana*." The IRA allowed for the land they were "squatting" on to be purchased and incorporated into the reservation, bringing those essentially Little Shell families into the Rocky Boy fold. This represents clear indication by both the Rocky Boy's Tribe and the U.S. government of the relationship of those groups and the purpose of the reservation.

***1940**: That spring, a new voice of leadership – that of Raymond Francis Gray – rose from the discontent within the landless Indian fold. In 1900, Gray was born in Choteau, one of the western Front Range Nehiyaw Pwat communities. Hired by the Federal Writer's Project during the Great Depression, he researched and collected the stories of his people from around the state and honed his skills as a representative of his people to the non-Aboriginal society. The plight of his people politicized him. On behalf of "*every now landless Indian in this state*," Gray took on the Rocky Boy's land acquisition, believing that the interests of his people were not being served by the solution put in place by the federal government – indeed that that land purchased under the IRA was for "*every now landless Indian in this state,*" not the Rocky Boy's Reservation.

Raymond Gray became the leader of a new organization, the Montana Landless Indians (MLI). This group of younger Little Shell ancestral peoples sought new solutions and used new tactics, in contrast to Joe Dussome's group of older tribal members, the Landless Indian of Montana (LIM). All of a sudden, the new Front Range group of "Montana Landless Indians" ascended, stating that they represented the

dispossessed Indians in Montana. Joe Dussome's group, the "Landless Indians of Montana," was taken by surprise. Whether the players in Montana's state government or the general public distinguished between the two groups, or cared about the internal distinctions between the Front Range and the Milk River orientations of the two groups, is unclear. What was clear: Joe Dussome was not happy with the young upstarts from the Front Range. Thus, the two-party dialog entered a new, more intense phase of Little Shell politics.

***1945**: World War II was just as much a turning point for Indian America as it was for the rest of the world. Those Aboriginal peoples in the American West were especially affected. The military draft tossed reds in with whites, blacks, and browns from other parts of the nation. Indians saw that America was more diverse than just their local experience with dominant whites. They experienced cities like never before and saw occupation options that broadened their horizons. Indians learned the unifying power of American nationhood and saw themselves as part of something larger than solely their local tribal circumstance. The war was deep immersion into being American like they had never before experienced. The poverty of their homelands stood in stark contrast. New opportunities for making it on an individual basis appealed to many Indians who had had enough of their poverty-stricken homeland. And now they had skills learned in the armed forces and factories that were marketable across the broad landscape. Many optioned out, never returning to their reservations or, in the case of the Little Shell, their Moccasin and Buckskin Flats and Breedtown homes across Montana.

Besides, a new generation had come of age. There were precious few still alive who had themselves, or their parents, lived the pre-reservation, free buffalo roaming life. The post WWII United States belonged to a more integrated generation of American Indians. It was the beginning of what has been termed the American pan-Indian movement, wherein a new age was both able and desiring to get along as participants in the rising postco-lonial, nuclear family society, and hopefully to share in the relative prosperity of 1950s America.

***1949**: Headman Dussome, named as president of the "Landless Indians of Montana," called the meeting with Montana Governor John W. Bonner to ask for the governor's support "that lands be granted them by the federal government to care for the 4,000 to 5,000 Chippewas now living at several places in Montana." The plan, this time, was for the acquisition of three tracts of land, in Phillips and Blaine Counties, and near Great Falls.

Governor Bonner put his attorney general, Arnold H. Olsen, to the task of finding out just what responsibility the State of Montana had for its landless Indians. A new generation of Montana politicians in charge needed to learn the landless Indian story. (In 1947, the federal Office of Indian Affairs changed its name to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). They also restructured their command hierarchy, placing a regional office in Billings to oversee both Montana's and Wyoming's Indian populations.) Olsen wrote to Regional BIA Director Paul L. Fickinger on June 7, with four questions: "No. 1, Who is the legal representative of these people?; No. 2, Have allotments ever been paid to these Indians?; No. 3, Have these Indians, or any legal representatives thereof, ever filed a claim with the Indian Claims Commission, as provided for under Public Law 726 of the 79th Congress?; and in your item No. 4 you state that you would appreciate a complete and detailed sketch of the history of the above-described Indians as may be contained in the files of the Indian Service."

Regional Director Fickinger's reply to Montana's attorney general is revealing. What we see is a profound change in the understanding of the history of the ancestral Little Shell case in the eyes of the federal government. The connection of the ancestral Little Shell with the history of the American West is gone.

Fickinger says (to summarize), that the wandering, landless Indians of Montana are largely Chippewa-Cree; we don't really know who they are or where they come from; and it is "generally known and accepted" that they come from Canada and/or are "renegade" Indians from the Turtle Mountain band in North Dakota who were involved in the Riel Rebellion. In addition, they refused to take treaty with the United States government, and "it appears that those who participated with Reil [sic] and his compatriots [in the rebellion] were not included in the distribution of lands." Bands of these "renegade" Indians wandered over North Dakota and Montana, and the "[p]redominant bands were those of Little Shell and Rocky Boy, the latter having already banded themselves together as a group of wandering Chippewas and Crees." This truncated history diminishes the complex story of the ancestral Little Shell into a minor glitch and nuisance in the larger American origin story.

BIA administrator Fickinger reveals himself in his closing statement to the Montana Attorney general, when he writes,

> I personally, of course, question the federal Government taking responsibility for such groups for whom we have never had responsibility when proper provisions are not now being made for enrolled Indians clearly recognized in many respects as a responsibility by the Federal Government to constructively better their social and economic status. For example, the Rocky Boy's band, many of whom reside on the Rocky Boy's Reservation, have resources that will support on a minimum economic level only about one-third of the population of the reservation.

This is when, where, and by whom the trust responsibility for the Little Shell was dropped.

***1950**: The Little Shell begin the process to file a case before the newly formed Indian Claims Commission for their rights as Pembina Chippewa and the settling of the 1863 Old Crossing Treaty.

***1951**: On June 5, 1951, the Montana Landless Indians submitted their petition before the Indian Claims Commission.

***1955**: Montana congressional delegation of Senators Mike Mansfield and James E. Murray and Representative Lee Metcalf submitted a joint resolution to Congress to "resume and initiate an adequate program of recognition, education, and rehabilitation [for the] descendants of Chief Little Shell's Band of Chippewa Indians." Later that summer, in July, Representative Metcalf introduced another rehabilitation bill in Congress. Metcalf's bill sought immediate aid for education and welfare services, most especially for the Hill 57 community that was becoming even more stressed because of an influx of Indians from Fort Peck, Rocky Boy's, and the Turtle Mountain Reservations.

The Department of the Interior opposed the bill. Indeed, they were in the midst of implementing the new Termination Policy across the country, seeking to eliminate reservations and Indian nations from the American milieu. The new wave of Indians flocking to Great Falls was in large part due to the new government policies of Termination and Relocation that interjected a sense of restlessness, need to fend for one's self, and go it on your own.

As well, a baby boom was manifest in Indian Country no less than in the rest of the nation. The population explosion had to go somewhere. An increase of people in the urban Indian communities of Montana led to new complexities in the Little Shell story. New options for marriages presented themselves that would later affect the content and cohesiveness of Little Shell heritage.

***1956**: Hill 57 got electricity in September of 1956, but it wasn't due to the efforts of the federal government. A local church cosigned with community members to guarantee the service.

***1957**: Montana Senators James E. Murray and Mike Mansfield, in May 1957, announced through state newspapers that their attempt to attain a new reservation for the Little Shell people had been turned down, saying that "Indian Commissioner Glenn L. Emmons has disapproved establishment of a ninth [sic] Montana Indian reservation at Hill 57 near Great Falls." The 1950s was the U.S. government policy era of tribal termination and individual Indian relocation. Emmons, a banker from Gallup, New Mexico, was hired by President Dwight D. Eisenhower to effect relocation of Indians from their homelands to urban circumstances. He suggested to Montana's Senators Murray and Mansfield that there might be money available for the Hill 57 residents through the relocation program. The senators replied that, "while we support the program, relocation in itself is no answer to the problems on Hill 57 and on the reservations in Montana and other states." Our way or the highway seemed to underlie the government's position, i.e., nothing happened for the residents of Hill 57.

***1958**: The spring of 1958, the Indian Claims Commission made a finding of fact, opinion, and order in the claim by the Pembina Chippewa descendants against the United States government for additional and just compensation for the 1863 Old Crossing Treaty land cessions. The Pembina petitioners' claim prevailed; the U.S. government owed the descendants more compensation for all the 1863 land cessions. As descendants of the Pembina Band, many Montana Little Shell were eligible as individuals – not as a tribe – for sharing in the compensation. It was good news for the Pembina and Little Shell people. They were on the right course. Justice could be known. The particulars of ascribing values to the land in question, in 1863 dollars, and allowable government costs to be subtracted from the principal compensation payment, were yet to be worked out. Years would "run away like wild horses over the hills."

***1961**: Raymond Francis Gray died.

***1963**: Joe Dussome died.

Following Joe Dussome's death, George St. Clair of Chinook became the traditional leader of the Little Shell. George St. Clair had long been involved in the struggle for justice for the Little Shell people. He was vice-president and councilman of the tribe for over twenty years as one of Joe Dussome's closest advisors. His leadership maintained continuity for the tribe, with the beginnings of the new phase of its fight for inclusion within the Aboriginal settling of accounts for the Little Shell's traditional historic homeland of Montana and North Dakota.

***1965-66**: In 1965–66, in "preparations for payment of the 1863 treaty award," the Turtle Mountain Tribe, as the largest and most powerful group of the Pembina Chippewa descendants, began a process to add new enrollees to its tribal membership. Who initiated the process, the motives underlying this move by the Turtle Mountain Tribe, and the effect on the Little Shell Tribe, are areas in need of further research and interpretation. Suffice it to say, "thousands of individuals were added to the Turtle Mountain rolls" at that time. Some of those who were enrolled at Turtle Mountain at that time were of the Little Shell Tribe. This is another example (along with the creation of the Rocky Boy's Reservation and the 1939 adhesion and Roe Cloud Rolls enrollees to Rocky Boy's rolls) of the federal government (the Turtle Mountain Tribe could not enroll new members without the oversight and imprimatur of the BIA) recognizing Little Shell people as legitimate descendants of the Pembina Plains Ojibwa and Turtle Mountain people. The key understanding here, in the government's strategy, was that they intended to deal with Little Shell people individually, not as a tribe. In 1966, the Little Shell received a letter from Turtle Mountain "asking if anyone wanted to enroll at Turtle Mountain Reservation" as individuals. 54 By dividing the tribe's membership, the government sought to diffuse and water down the claims of

the tribe. Through consistently not recognizing the Little Shell as a tribe, the government effectively subverted their collective tribal nature.

***1969-72**: From 1969 to 1972, the two parties of the Little Shell, the Landless Indians of Montana (LIM), and the Montana Landless Indians (MLI), communicated with each other about reaffirming their common mission and goals as the Little Shell Tribe. Members of each group attended meetings of the other. This was seen as a positive move. At a 1970 meeting, "it was proposed that the landless Indians unite and form a single group, and that they spend their claims money as a group on education grants and services. The group was also concerned with updating the enrollment to include people who had been missed." By 1971, the Indian Claims Commission had submitted to Congress a formula for distribution of the 1863 Old Crossing Treaty payments. It was a comeuppance for the Little Shell Tribe. Projecting all this time that the payment would go to the tribe, as was the case for the Turtle Mountain, Rocky Boy's, and Minnesota Chippewa tribes, Little Shell leadership learned that only recognized tribes would receive payments. All of the Pembina descendents would receive individual payments. Chairman St. Clair asked that a small amount of the "award" ($7,000) be given to the tribe to help with funding its government. His request was "rejected because the band was not a recipient, as a group, under the 1971 act [passed by Congress]. Little Shell members could only be paid as individual descendants." Once again, the "divide individuals from the group, negate the group's existence" strategy was at play. In 1971, George St. Clair was working with Senator Lee Metcalf of Montana. Together they sought options for maneuvering the federal bureaucracy to gain incorporation and, at least, tacit recognition of the Little Shell's existence by the federal government. Metcalf introduced two bills (S. 287 and S. 522) that would formally designate their name as the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana and allow them to organize under the Indian Reorganization Act. "The Department of the Interior opposed S. 287, in part on the grounds that these Indians were largely 'alien' Indians deriving from Canada and that 'there is among the group no common bond of ancestry entitling them to recognition as an Indian tribe or band.'"56 It's unfathomable, but the same racist language that was used to write the Cree Deportation Act of 1896 by Congress, was still being used by the government in 1971.

In 1972, Ed Belgarde and Robert Gopher, leaders of the MLI, attended the LIM annual meeting. "The minutes included an opinion that the attendance of Gopher and Belgarde was seen as a positive step. This was the last mention found in the available documentary record of the Montana Landless Indians."57 The tribe banded together to help its members wade through the process of filing application for their individual payments from the 1863 settling. It was a huge task. It became evident that reorganization of the tribe was necessary to accommodate the growth of the tribe with the baby boom generation and the new way of business that was required to operate in contemporary society.

It was at this time, as a consequence of reframing Little Shell identity in the new Self-Determination policy era that the name "Little Shell Tribe" became predominant in reference to the tribe. "Landless Indians of Montana" and "Montana Landless Indians," as names, came to an end.61 The Indian Claims Commission work was about to conclude as a result of the new governmental policy era. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was poised to take on the work left unattended as it affected the Little Shell Tribe. But the ICC had a couple more decisions to make before the federal reorganization of its Indian affairs was complete.

***1974**: On April 5, 1974, the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) rejected the claim of the Little Shell Chippewa and the Rocky Boy's Chippewa Cree Tribes that they, too, held Aboriginal title to lands included within the 1855 Stevens Blackfoot Treaty. In light of today's scholarly knowledge, four decades later, the preponderance of data supports the Little Shell and Rocky Boy's claim.

***1978**: In the fall of 1978, the Department of Interior (DOI), Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), created new regulations outlining a federal recognition process. The BIA became and remains the arbiter of tribehood. It formed the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR) to attend to the overwhelming number

of claims for federal recognition by Indian tribes, bands, peoples, and consortiums that remained from the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) days (1946–78).

The Little Shell Tribe petitions the federal government for recognition under the new BIA regulations, administered by their Bureau of Research and Acknowledgement.

***2000**: BIA issue a "Proposed Finding for Federal Acknowledgment of the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana." The "Proposed Finding," authored by Assistant Secretary of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Kevin Gover, in favor of federal recognition, departed "from practice in previous acknowledgment deci-sions in certain respects, principally in giving different amounts of weight to various types of evidence than had been done in prior determinations. Precedents from earlier decisions are not binding on Department conclusions, but are useful as guidance for interpreting the regulations." The government showed itself as flexible and, finally, was going to do the right thing concerning the Little Shell.

***2005**: The LST, with the Native American Rights Fund, writes and submits to the BIA the "2005 Submission in Further Support of Proposed Findings in Favor of Federal Recognition." This document was requested to enhance the 2000 "Proposed Findings."

***2009:** On October 27, 2009, the BIA issued its "Final Determination Against the Federal Acknowledgment of the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana." As a "Final Determination," it could only be contested on two grounds: new evidence, and, new interpretation of existing evidence.

***2010**: The LST submitted its official "Request for Reconsideration" to the Department of the Interior Board of Indian Appeals (IBIA), an independent panel of federal judges. It was accepted by the IBIA.

***2013**: In June of 2013, the IBIA ruled in favor of upholding the BIA's "Final Determination," with the caveat that it did not have jurisdiction over five central issues of the case. Because of this, the IBIA deferred the LST case directly to the Secretary of the Interior (SOI), who had 60 days to respond.

Simultaneously, the BIA began a review the regulation criteria and process for federal recognition of American Indian tribes. This is in direct response to the issue raised by the IBIA's that are beyond their jurisdiction.

On September 16, 2013, the Secretary of the Interior sent an official Memorandum to the Assistant Secretary of the Interior – Indian Affairs (AS – IA), stating that she was, "exercising my discretion to request that you reconsider the Little Shell Final Determination." The AS – IA has 120 days (from the receipt of the memorandum) for reconsideration of the matter (which is January 14th, 2014).

***2014**: On January 14th, 2014, the Assistant Secretary – Indian Affairs "suspended until after enactment of any new regulations governing acknowledgment of Indian tribes" the Final Determination of the Little Shell Tribe's petition for federal recognition. At such time that "any new regulations" are published in the Federal Register, the Tribe has the option to inform the BIA that it will reapply for acknowledgement under the new regulations, or that it chooses to re-activate the current petition (the Tribe can decide which option holds the best chances for recognition). In the meantime, the legislative strategy remains viable. If Montana's congressional delegation can garner enough momentum and support, Congress may preëmpt the administrative strategy (the DOI/BIA) and acknowledge the Little Shell Tribe. In all, the Little Shell Tribe's fight for justice remains alive, though another generation has now passed, "waiting for the day that never comes."

Department of the Interior, Assistant Secretary – Indian Affairs Kevin Washburn to Chairman Gerald Gray, Jr., Little Shell tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana, letter of January 14th, 2014.

Primary Source Materials

Exhibit #1.

Death of Jerome B. Stillson

Jerome B. Stillson, one of the best known journalists of this City, died at the St. Denis Hotel yesterday afternoon at 2:30. He had been suffering from Bright's disease of the kidneys since last June, and was confined to his room for three or four weeks past. His body was taken to Merritt's undertaking establishment, in Eighth-avenue, preparatory to its removal to Buffalo to-day. Mr. Stillson was born in Buffalo in 1841. During the latter part of the war he became a special correspondent for the *World* of this City, and rapidly rose to distinction as a journalist. When peace returned to the country he was made correspondent of the *World* in Washington, and in 1874 served as managing editor of that paper for a short term. He then became the Albany correspondent of the *World*, filling that position until 1875, when he went to Denver, Col., where he engaged in business in connection with Western lands. In 1877 he became attached to the staff of the *Herald*, his first notable productions in this capacity being a series of letters from Utah describing the evils of Mormonism. While engaged in this work he was shot at and wounded in Salt Lake City. Since then he has remained on the *Herald* staff, his last work having been done in Indiana during the campaign of last September. Mr. Stillson leaves no family. He was married about 10 years ago to Miss Bessie Whiton, of Piermont, N. Y., but she died a few years after the marriage.

The New York Times, Published December 27, 1880
http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=FA0D10F9395B1B7A93C5AB1789D95F448884F9

SITTING BULL.

The Total Failure of the Negotiations.

SPEECHES IN THE COUNCIL

"Go Home; You Come Here to Tell Us Lies."

A SQUAW'S SPEECH.

The Insult Offered to the Commission.

The Terry Commission arrived at Fort Walsh on the evening of the 16th. The Indians were badly scared, and Major Walsh had all he could do to keep them at the fort until morning. During the night they were very uneasy, and seemed firmly convinced that a trap had been laid for them. The illness of one of the Indians was said to be caused by the bad medicine of the Yankees.

The council met at three o'clock in the quarters of Major Walsh. United States officers present: General Terry, General Lawrence, Colonel Smith and Major Freeman. Canadian officers present: Colonel Macleod, Major Walsh, Captain Crosier, Captain McIlree, Captain Allen, Dr. Kittson, Captain Frechette and Dr. Nevitt. Bear's Head, an Unkpapa chief, first came in, shook hands with Generals Terry and Lawrence, and then sat down. Sitting Bull and Spotted Eagle came in next. They did not shake hands, and objected to

They did not shake hands, and objected to any one being present at the council except the officers and members of the press. Flying Bird, Whirlwind Bear, Medicine that Turns Around, Iron Dog, The Man Who Scatters the Bears, The Crow, and Little Knife, chief of half the Unkpapas, were introduced one after the other. None of them shook hands with the Commissioners, and all seemed very angry. They sat down in a circle and General Terry addressed them as follows:

GENERAL TERRY'S SPEECH.

We are sent here as commissioners of the United States, at the request of the Canadian government, to meet you (interrupted by Sitting Bull, who objected to a table in front of the speaker. The table was removed). The President has instructed us to say to you that he desires to make a lasting peace with you and your people, and that all the people of the United States may live in harmony. He wishes it for your sakes as well as that of the whites, and if you will return to your country and leave your hostile life, a full pardon will be given you for any wrong you may have done in the past. You, or any man among you shall be forgiven and permitted to enjoy all the liberties of any other Indians at the different agencies. We will now tell you what the President means by saying he will give you a full pardon. Of all the bands of Indians, yours among them, who were at war about a year ago, yours is the only one that has not come in to the agency. Of those bands that have come in, not one has been punished, and every man, woman and child has been furnished food and clothing. It is true, these Indians have been required to give up their arms and ammunition, which were all sold and the money applied for their benefit. We have already sent 650 cows to one of the agencies, for the use of the Indians. This has been done to get you to leave your wild life and to help you to support yourself. The President will not consent to

have you return unless you consent to give up your arms and horses, but he invites you to come to yours and his country, give up your arms when you cross the line, thence go to any agency he may assign you to, there give up your horses (except such as you need for use in civil life), which will be sold, and the money applied to buy cows, which will support you after the game has left the country. You will also receive clothes the same as other Indians. We have come many hundred miles to bring this message. Too much blood has already been shed. It is time war should cease. You cannot return to your country and your friends unless you accept these conditions; otherwise you will be treated as enemies of the United States. Think well of these things, and when you have fully made up your minds we are ready to hear your reply.

The Indians were asked if they wanted to retire and hold a council among themselves, but they said their minds were already made up and they were ready to reply.

SITTING BULL'S SPEECH.

For sixty-four years you have kept us and treated us bad. What have we done? Your people are the whole cause of the trouble; we could go no place but to this country. Here is where I learned to shoot, and that is the reason I came here. What did you come for? I did not give you the country, but you followed me and I had to leave. You took my country from me. I was born and raised with the Red River half-breeds and wanted to come back. (Sitting Bull here shook hands with Col. Macleod and said he would live with him.) You may think I am a fool; but you are a bigger fool than I am. This house is a medicine house. You come and tell us lies in it. We don't like it. Don't say two words more, but go back where you came from. I shake hands with these people, (shakes hands with Col. Macleod), so say no more. You gave that part of the country and then took it back. I want you to go home and take it easy as you go.

THE REE'S SPEECH.

Look at me. Seven years in the country. For the last sixty-four years you have treated us bad. I don't like you. You tell lies. I will keep peace with these people as long as I live. I shake hands with them. You come over and tell us lies. Go home, and take it easy as you go.

SPEECH BY A YANKTON WHO WAS IN THE MINNESOTA MASSACRE.

I don't wear the same clothes as you do. You come to tell us lies. You have treated us bad for sixty-four years, and have been fighting us all the time. There were seven different tribes of us. You promised to take care of us when we were over there, but you did not do it. We like these people and intend to live with them. I don't intend to kill any one. (Shook hands with Gens. Terry and Lawrence.)

SPEECH BY A SQUAW.

You would not give me time to raise children, so I came over here to raise children and live in peace.

(To allow a squaw to speak in council is one of the worst insults that an Indian can offer.)

CROW'S SPEECH.

After kissing all the English officers he said: What do you mean by coming over here and talking this way to us. We were driven out of your country and came to this one. I am afraid of God, and don't want to do anything bad. For sixty-four years you have treated us bad. These people give us plenty to eat. You can go back and go easy. I come to this country and my grandmother knows it, and is glad I came to live in peace and raise children.

After the Crow had spoken, he sat down and said they were done. Gen. Terry then stated that the Commissioners had nothing further to say. The Indians then left, after shaking hands with the English officers.

Helena Independent.24 Oct 1877

Notes

"Recollections of Manitoba [in 1861] from An American Point of View," *Once A Week*, *New Series,* (London: Sweeting and Company), 13 (August 3, 1874), 701–03.

[2] See Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Seabury Press, 1970).

[3] The *Nehiyaw Pwat* Confederacy (meaning Cree Assiniboine) was comprised of the Cree, Assiniboine, Ojibwa, and Métis (and after 1862 included the Gros Ventre). It is similar to how we think of the Blackfoot Confederacy, comprised of numerous independent tribal groups allied in common purpose. The term "Nehiyaw Pwat" derives from "nehiopwat," which historically referred to one of the oldest bands of polyethnic origins within the larger group. Today's usage expands the term to express the historic polyethnic nature and political configuration of the larger group. It is used among the *Nehiyaw Pwat* when referencing their heritage, and more recently by scholars in Canada and the United States. It is also the Aboriginal form of stating "Cree Assiniboine," as short form for saying "Cree, Assiniboine, Ojibwa, and Métis," both terms used throughout the primary sources for the fur trade era of the Northern Plains and by scholars. See Patricia C. Albers, "Changing Patterns of Ethnicity in the Northeast Plains, 1780–1870"; Jonathan D. Hill, ed., *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1489–1992* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996), 117; Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvest: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993), 45; see also Paul A. H. Chartrand, "Niw-Hk-M-Kanak ('All My Relations'): Métis–First Nations Relations," National Centre for First Nations Governance, Vancouver, British Columbia, June, 2007; William A. Fraser, "Plains Cree, Assiniboine and Saulteaux (Plains) Bands, 1874–84," 1963, 4–6, Collection M4379, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta; Aun nish naubay (Patrick Gourneau), *History of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians*, (Belcourt, North Dakota: self-published, 1971), 5; Reuben Gold Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 1610–1791*, Vol. LXV, 1696–1702. (Cleveland: The Burrows Bros. Co., 1901), 193–199, 213, 217, 227–243; Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company During 1867–1874* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 289, 297, 302–03; and especially Robert A. Innes, "The Importance of Family Ties to Members of Cowessess First Nation," PhD dissertation, University of Arizona, American Indian Studies Program, January 2007. Citations for the *Nehiyaw Pwat* are presented in full in the upcoming discussion of their confederacy and throughout this text.

[4] The title of this book comes from a quote by Eli Guardipee, who as a boy in 1868 remembers life in Montana when "Grass was plenty, buffalo were so numerous that *the whole country was*, as the Indians say, *'one robe.'"* "Eli Guardipee's Reminiscence," as told to John B. Ritch, September 27, 1940, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena (MHSA), Small Collection (SC) 772, 1–10.

[5] Many Ojibwa, Cree, and Nakoda bands in Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan also have Pembina heritage

[6] Brenden Rensink, "The Transnational Immigrant-Refugee Experience of the Mexican Yaquis and the Canadian Chippewa-Crees in Arizona and Montana," *Journal of the West* 48, no. 3 (Summer 2009), 18.

[7] Gerard Ens, "Fatal Quarrels and Fur Trade Rivalries: A Year of Living Dangerously on the North Saskatchewan, 1806–07," in Michael Payne, Donald Wetherell, and Catherine Anne Cavanaugh, eds., *Alberta Formed, Alberta Transformed*, Vol. 1 (Calgary and Edmonton: Universities of Alberta and Calgary Presses, co-published, 2006), 139. The enmity began when the Nor'West Company opened shop in the region during the late eighteenth century, undercutting the role of middleman the Cree Assiniboine had played for over a hundred years. Only then did the Blackfeet understand the mark-up the Cree Assiniboine had exacted on both ends. Also, as the buffalo declined in numbers, there was more competition for survival.

[8] Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775–1782* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 167–95. See also David Thompson, *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916), 336.

[9] Elliot Coues, ed., *The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson, 1799–1814* (Ross & Haines, Inc., Minneapolis, 1965), Vol. I: 5, 19, 21, 25, 37, 70, 73, 80–81, 90, 94, 96, 104–06, 117–30, 135–36, 140–41, 147–49, 155–59, 164, 168–69, 173–75, 179, 182, 191, 196, 228, 295, 298, 300, 319, 321–22, 324–26.

[10] Patricia C. Albers, "Changing Patterns," 107; and Tanis C. Thorne, *The Many Hands of My Relations: French and Indians on the Lower Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996), 6–8.

[11] Russell Reid, "Verendrye's Journey to North Dakota in 1738," *North Dakota History* 32, no. 2 (Summer 1965), 117–29.

[12] John Perry Pritchett, *The Red River Valley, 1811–1849: A Regional Study* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), 14.

[13] Laura Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780–1870* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press; St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1994), 21; Brown, "History of the Canadian Plains," 304–05; and Innes, "The Importance of Family Ties," 46–68. To reiterate, the name "Plains Ojibwa" includes and refers to those related Ojibwa and Métis who moved out onto the Northern Plains in the late eighteenth century.

[14] Joachim Fromhold, *The Western Plains Cree* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, forthcoming), 87, 131. Manuscript excerpts in author's possession. Over half of the Aboriginal peoples mentioned

by Fromhold are American, i.e., on the U.S. side of the border. See also John C. Ewers, "Intertribal Warfare as the Precursor of Indian-White Warfare on the Northern Great Plains," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (October 1975), 397–410.

[15] Refer to Chapters VII–XII.

[16] Walter M. Hlady, "Indian Migrations in Manitoba and the West," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series 3, 1960-61 Season, 1, 8.

[17] Jennifer S.H. Brown, "History of the Canadian Plains Until 1870," in, Raymond Demallie, William Sturtevant, *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol.13, Plains* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 302.

[18] William Warren, *History of the Ojibway People* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1884), 82-84.

[19] Floyd W. and Susan R. Sharrock, "A History of the Cree Indians Territorial Expansion From the Hudson's Bay to the Interior Saskatchewan and Missouri Plains," in, *Chippewa Indians VI* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 206-08. This work was prepared for the Indian Claims Commission,
Docket 221b-191.

[20] Brown, "History of the Canadian Plains," 301.

[21] Pierre Gaultier de Varenness et de La Verendrye, *Journals and Letters of La Verendrye and His Sons* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927), 61, 108, 248–49; Patricia C. Albers, "Changing Patterns of Ethnicity in the Northeast Plains, 1780-1870," Jonathan D. Hill, ed., *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1489-1992* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996), 106; and, John E. Foster, "Wintering, the Outsider Adult Male and the Ethnogenesis of the Western Plains Metis," in, Binnema, Theodore, Ens, Gerhard J., & MacLeod, R. C., eds., *From Rupert's Land to Canada* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001), 179-80. Also, Brown, "History of the Canadian Plains," 303.

[22] Brown, "History of the Canadian Plains," 304; Gary Clayton Anderson*, Kinsman of Another Kind: Dakota-Whiter relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 41, 43; Sharrock, "A History of the Cree Indians," 209.

[23] Brown, "History of the Canadian Plains," 306.

[24] John Perry Pritchett, *The Red River Valley 1811-1849, A Regional Study* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), 14.

[25] Sharrock, "A History of the Cree Indians," 228-29.

[26] Brown, "History of the Canadian Plains," 304-05.

[27] Alexander Mackenzie, Voyages front Montreal Through the Continent of North America (Toronto, 1911), Vol. 1, p. ciii; also, Hlady, "Indian Migrations," 9.

[28] John Tanner, *A Narrative of the Adventures of John Tanner (U.S. Interpreter at the Sault de Ste. Marie) During Thirty Years Residence Among The Indians in the Interior of North America* (London: Baldwin & Cradock, 1830), 57-58; and, Howard, *The Plains-Ojibwa*, 18.

[29] A. P. Nasatir, "The Exploration of the Missouri, 1673-1804," *Before Lewis and Clark*, *Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri 1785-1804* (St. Louis: St. Louis Documents Foundation, 1952), 391; Howard, *The Plains-Ojibwa*, 17-18. And, C. W. Duvall, "Few Dull Days for Early Soldiers," *Great Falls Tribune*, Nov. 17, 1935.

[30] David G. Mandelbaum, *The Plains Cree: An Ethnographic, Historical, and Comparative Study* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1979), 39; and, Sharrock, "A History of the Cree Indians," 197-98, 201, 217, 234.

[31] Alexander Henry, *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger, 1799-1814*, Vol. 1, (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1988), 135. Tanner, John, A Narrative of the Adventures of John Tanner (U.S. Interpreter at the Sault de Ste. Marie) During Thirty Years Residence Among The Indians in the Interior of North America (London: Baldwin & Cradock, 1830), 125-30.

[32] Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, Vol. I (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1904), 221-22; and, Gary Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition August 25, 1804-April 6, 1805, Vol. 3* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 433; also, Sharrock, "A History of the Cree Indians," 241, 243.

[33] quoted in, Sharrock, "A History of the Cree Indians," 244.

[34] Alexander Henry, *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger, 1799-1814*, Vol. II (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1988-1992), 480-81.

[35] Sharrock, "A History of the Cree Indians," 248.

[36] Guillaume Charette, *Vanishing Spaces: Memoirs of a Prairie Métis, Louis Goulet* (Winnipeg: Editions Bois Brûlés, 1980), 41.

[37]Wynne Paasch, "Buffalo Gone East for Good," *North Dakota History, Journal of the Northern Plains*, Vol. 71, No. 3-4, 2004, 27-30. This important article documents a pictograph in the State Historical Society of North Dakota collections of Chief Little Shell's (II) band on a hunting trip from the Turtle Mountains to the Wood Mountain/Poplar River Corridor and Milk River country in Montana. An analysis of the technology utilized by the band shown in the depiction dates the occurrence between 1820-1830.

[38] The other two being the easterly Red River Cart Trails from St. Paul to Winnipeg, and the westerly Old North Trail along the Front Range from Edmonton to Pocatello.

[39] Albers, "Changing Patterns," 106-08.; and, 2005SFS, p.52.

[40] Henry Atkinson, "Expedition Up the Missouri, 1825," 19th Cong., 1st Sess., 1825-26, HD 117, Serial Set 136, 12.

[41] Sharrock, "A History of the Cree Indians," 258; Charles Larpenteur, *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri: The Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833-72* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 92; and, Barton H. Barbour, *Fort Union and the Upper Missouri Fur Trade* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 40.

[42] Sharrock, "A History of the Cree Indians," 260-62.

[43] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians*, Vol. I (New York: Dover Publications, 1973), 55, 57; George Catlin, *The Adventures of the Ojibbeway and Ioway Indians,* Vol. 1 of 2*,* (London: By the Author, 1852), 268. Francis Cree Family Genealogy, Turtle Mountain Agency BIA Records, Belcourt, ND. Copy received from the family, in author's possession. Also, Nicholas C.P. Vrooman, from: "Real Life Narratives with Francis Cree," audio tapes with full transcripts at *Institute for Regional Studies*, North Dakota State University, Fargo, 1980, 1983, & 1989: #1-3, collected by the author. Also, Albers, "Changing Patterns," 108; J.B. Bottineau, *Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians*, Senate Document 444, 56th Congress, 1st Session, 99; and, James E. Howard, *The Plains-Ojibwa or Bungi, Hunters and Warriors of the Northern Prairies with special reference to the Turtle Mountain Band* (Lincoln: Reprints in Anthropology, Vol. 7, J&L Reprint Co., 1977), 5-12. It should be noted here, J.B. Bottineau, who was the attorney for the Turtle Mountain Pembina Chippewa (from 1876-1918), was named as a nephew of Chief Little Shell. See, Houghton, *The French-Indians*, 170-72. Also, Keith Steven Richotte Jr., "We the Indians of the Turtle Mountain Reservation…" Rethinking Tribal Constitutionalism Beyond the Colonialist/Revolutionary Dialectic," (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 2009), 71. And, Michel Hogue, "Disputing the Medicine Line: The Plains Crees and the

Canadian-American Border,1876-1885," *Montana The Magazine of Western History*, 52 (Winter 2002), 3.

[44] W. A. Ferris, "Life in the Rocky Mountains: A Diary of Wanderings on the Sources of the Rivers Missouri, Columbia, and Colorado, from February, 1830, to November, 1835. (By W. A. Ferris, then in the Employ of the American Fur Company)," *Western Literary Review*, (Buffalo, NY: J. S. Chadbourne & Co.), May 31, 1843 [available at: http://www.xmission.com/~drudy/mtman/html/ferris.html]; and, "Sad Is the Story of the Crees," *Anaconda Standard*, March 30, 1913.

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LITTLE SHELL CHIPPEWA TRIBE

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