

Anticipated Futures: Children at Crow-Flies-High Village (32MZ1)

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Introduction & Background

The archaeological study of children began in the 1980s but did not become popular until the 1990s. Thus, it is understandable that Missouri River Basin Survey archaeologists did not analyze evidence of children at sites like Crow-Flies-High Village (32MZ1) during their 1950s excavations.

Mid-to-Late 19th Century Life

In 1845, the Mandan and Hidatsa left the Knife River region and jointly established Like-A-Fish-Hook Village near Fort Berthold. The Arikara moved into Like-A-Fish-Hook in 1862 after their settlement, Star Village, was attacked in the winter of 1861. The resulting settlement was comprised of the three tribal entities and their subgroups.

In 1866, Like-A-Fish-Hook became a year-round settlement, and the relentless Lakota and Dakota raids prompted the arrival of the U.S. military. The Office of Indian Affairs became a permanent presence in 1868 leading to overt government supervision and control, which only worsened in 1870 after an executive order officially established the Fort Berthold Reservation. Around this time, Crow-Flies-High, a Hidatsa-Propser man left Like-A-Fish-Hook Village over a leadership disagreement. He and his followers established Badlands Lodge (or Badlands Village), known to archaeologists as Garden Coulee (32W118). The community was eventually pressured in 1884 by the military to leave Garden Coulee. They moved back east and established Stream of the Badlands Band, or Crow-Flies-High Village (32MZ1) near the mouth of the Little Knife River. They remained at this settlement until 1893 when they were forced back onto the reservation by military escort.

20th Century Salvage Archaeology

Before the construction of the Garrison Dam, the Inter Agency Salvage Program conducted archaeological surveys, indicating over 150 sites within the Garrison Reservoir area alone. Crow-Flies-High Village was one such site.

Construction began in 1949 without the consent of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara population living within the flood zone on the Fort Berthold Reservation.

Crow-Flies-High Village was excavated by Carling Malouf during two field seasons between 1952-1954, and he barely finished before the site flooded.

Theory

Survivance

Gerald Vizenor describes survivance as an active sense of presence, or the continuance of Native stories (Vizenor 2008). Archaeologists have applied this idea to their analysis and define survivance as “creative responses to difficult times,” and “agentive actions through struggle” (Kretzler and Gonzalez 2021; Silliman 2014:59). This uproots the tendency to argue any evidence of change as inauthentic Indigeneity (Cipolla 2013; Cipolla 2021; Lightfoot 1995; Panich 2021).

Practice

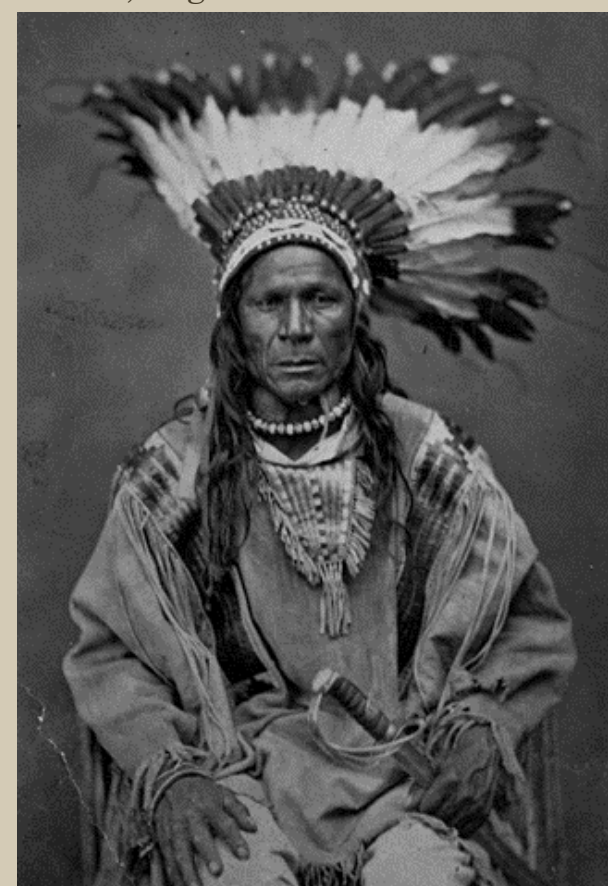
Practice theory in archaeological analysis re-centers human action and agency in the past. It operates on the premise “that the ordering of daily life serves as a microcosm of the broader organizational principles and cultural categories of individuals” (Cipolla 2014; Lightfoot et al. 1998:201). The actions of individuals and the things they make are active areas of “social and cultural reproduction” (Cipolla 2014:1). Therefore, practice can be thought of as an active point of human connection, contextualization, and existence, all embodied in objects produced by practice (Silliman 2009:216).



Source: State Historical Society of North Dakota



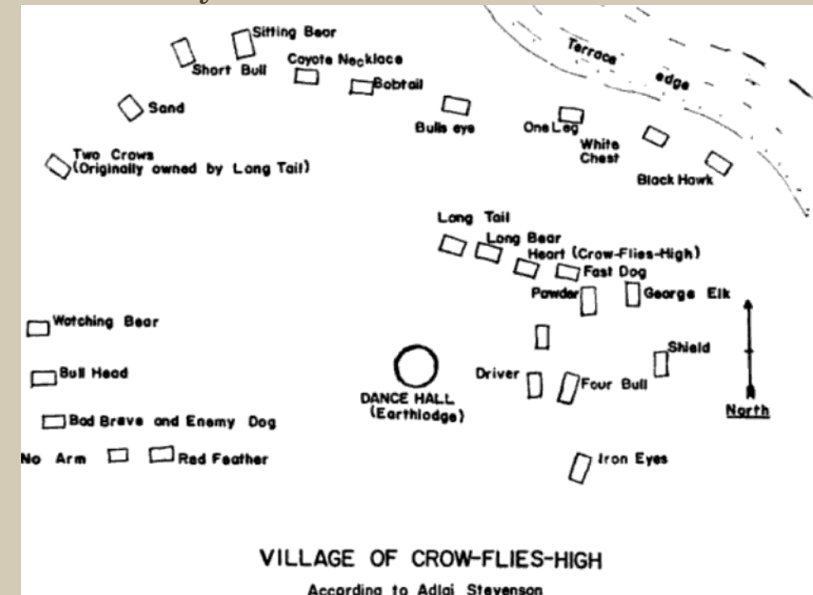
Issuing annuities at Fort Berthold Reservation, 1872. Source: State Historical Society of North Dakota, Digital Horizons



Crow-Flies-High, ca. 1880. Source: State Historical Society of North Dakota, Digital Horizons



Tribal Chairman, George Gillette, weeping at the signing that authorized construction of the Garrison Dam, 1948. Source: www.history.com



Map of Crow-Flies-High Village, drawn by Bear-In-The-Water (Adlai Stevenson). Source: Malouf 1963: Figure 24

Futurity

Futurity is rooted in understanding the archaeological record as the lived experiences of historical subjects and tries to understand how humans conceptualize their futures (Voss 2018:289). Humans frame their lived experiences “in reference to their pasts and their anticipated futures” (Voss 2018:289). In other words, feelings about the future combine with knowledge drawn from the past to make decisions, and these decisions generate the archaeological record. Archaeologists study a future that has already happened, enabling us to reconstruct the futures experienced by past peoples.

Children

The consideration of children in archaeology followed feminist critiques of the discipline. Archaeologists like Joyce, Conkey, Gero, Spector, and others in the late 1980s and 1990s, critiqued androcentrism, argued for the study of gender, and pushed for the acknowledgement of past women’s contributions (Conkey and Gero 1997; Conkey and Spector 1984; Joyce 1999; Lillehammer 2010; Moore 1997). Not only did archaeologists fail to consider women by only focusing on men in the past, but they also failed to consider children by only studying adults (Lillehammer 1989, 2010).

The Presence of Children



(Left) Nailed sole
11 cm / 4.33 in

(Below) Sewn sole
11 cm / 4.33 in



Table of shoe sizes based on Richardson 1858. Source: Stevens and Orondez 2005:20 Table 4

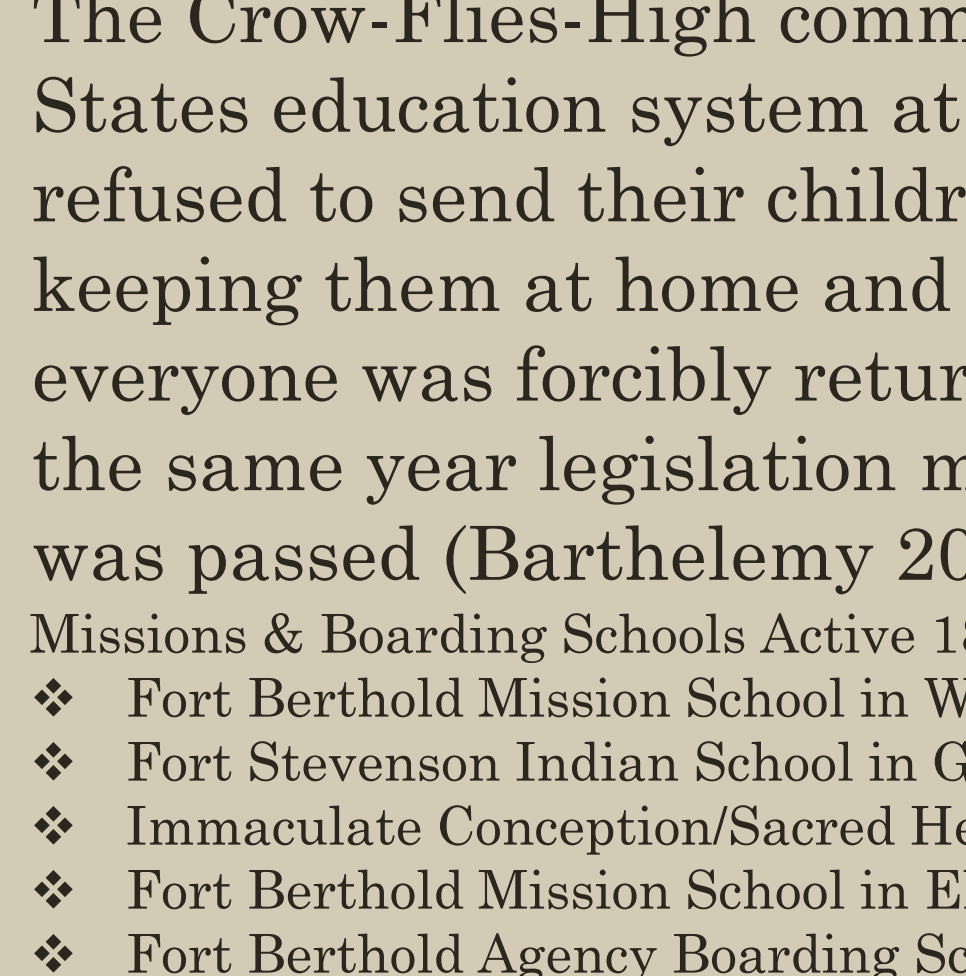
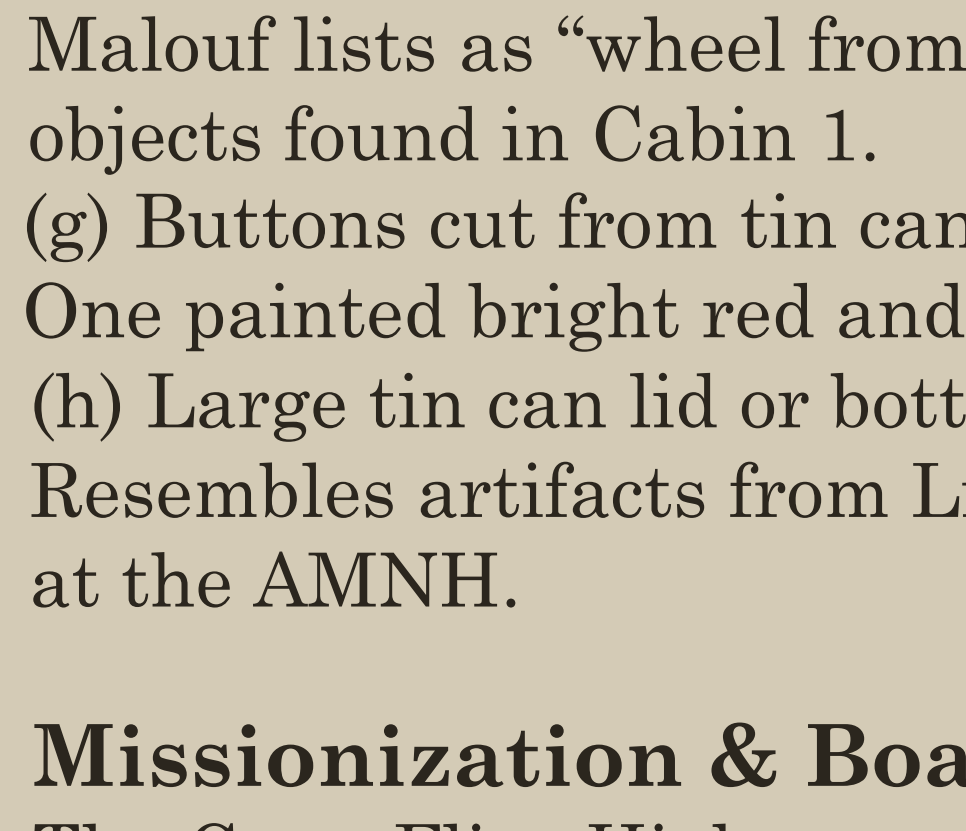
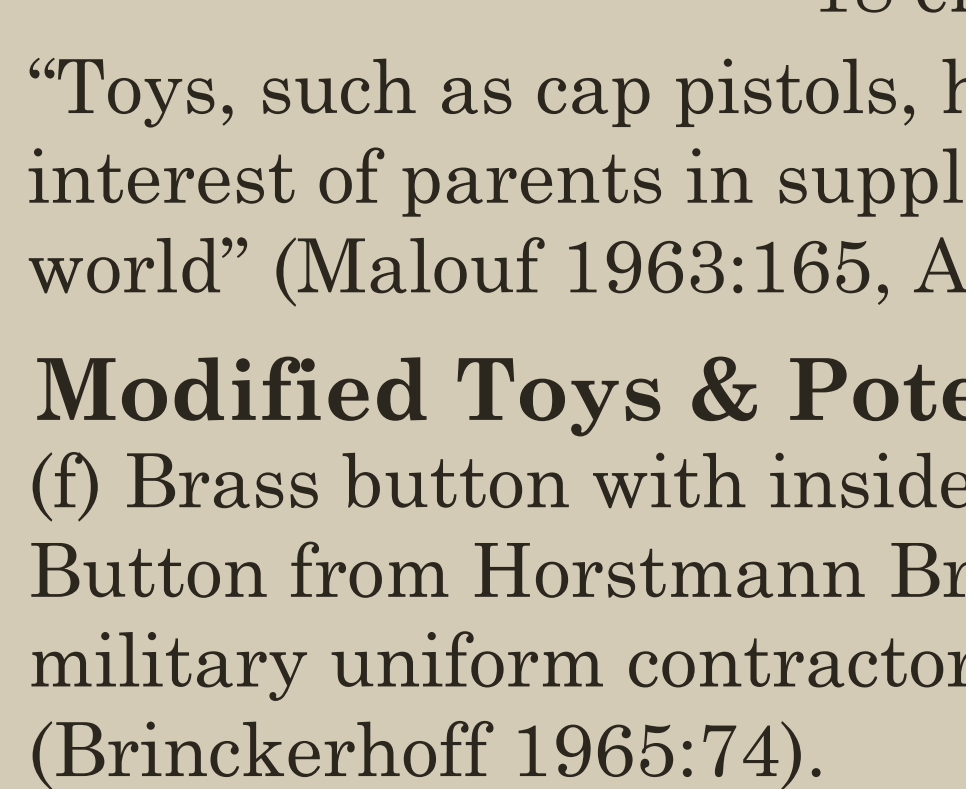
Size name	Size number	Inches
Child	0-10	4-7 1/3
Youth	9-13	7-8 1/3
Misses'	10-2	7 1/3-9
Boy	1-5	8-2 3/10
Ladies	3-7	9 1/3-10 2/3
Men	6-11	10 1/3-12

Table of modern shoe sizes and corresponding ages. Source: Google

	US	INCHES	CM	APPROX. AGE
NEWBORN	0	3	7 5/8	0-12 MONTHS
	1	3 1/3	8 5/8	
	2	3 2/3	9 1/2	
	3	4	10 1/8	
TODDLERS	3.5	4 1/8	10 3/5	1-4 YEARS
	4	4 1/3	11	
	4.5	4 5/8	11 3/7	
	5	4 2/3	11 6/7	
	5.5	4 5/8	12 2/7	
	6	5	12 2/3	
	6.5	5 1/8	13 1/8	
7	5 1/3	13 5/8		
7.5	5 5/8	14		



“Long Tail with daughters Edna and Sara and girl in a tipi encampment,” photo taken by Gilbert L. Wilson in 1907. Long Tail was a resident of Crow-Flies-High Village. Source: State Historical Society of North Dakota, Online Photobook



Mass-Produced Toys

(a) J&E Stevens Company VOLUNTEER cast-iron cap pistol, missing trigger and hammer. Patented April 22, 1873. Malouf lists as “toy cap pistol” in Appendix B – objects found in Cabin 1.

(b) Pewter creamer or sugar bowl from toy tea set. Malouf lists as “ornamental cup” in Appendix B – objects found in Cabin 1.

(c) Porcelain doll appendages. Tagged as in Cabin 1 Level 2. Malouf lists as “China leg from small doll” in Appendix B – objects found in Cabin 1.

(d) Harmonica. Malouf lists as “harmonica” in Appendix B – objects found in Cabin 1.

(e) White ball, rubber? 18 cm / 7 in circumference.

“Toys, such as cap pistols, harmonicas, wheeled vehicles, and dolls, attest to the interest of parents in supplying the children with such items from the white man’s world” (Malouf 1963:165, Appendix B).

Modified Toys & Potential Toys

(f) Brass button with inside area cut out, possibly a wheel. Button from Horstmann Bros & Co. Philadelphia, a major military uniform contractor, likely made between 1867-1893 (Brinkerhoff 1965:74).

Malouf lists as “wheel from toy vehicle” in Appendix B – objects found in Cabin 1.

(g) Buttons cut from tin cans and punctured with two holes. One painted bright red and white.

(h) Large tin can lid or bottom, perforated in center. Resembles artifacts from Like-A-Fish-Hook Village at the AMNH.

Discussion

Missionization & Boarding Schools

The Crow-Flies-High community avoided the United States education system at both settlements. They refused to send their children away, successfully keeping them at home and within the community until everyone was forcibly returned to the reservation the same year legislation mandating school attendance was passed (Barthelemy 2016; Meyer 1977).

Missions & Boarding Schools Active 1880s-1890s:

- ❖ Fort Berthold Mission School in White Shield (1876-1892), Congregationalist.
- ❖ Fort Stevenson Indian School in Garrison (1883-1894), Government.
- ❖ Immaculate Conception/Sacred Heart Mission, Elbowoods (1889-1963), Catholic.
- ❖ Fort Berthold Mission School in Elbowoods (1892-1940s), Congregationalist.
- ❖ Fort Berthold Agency Boarding School, Elbowoods (1895-1953), Government.

Conclusion

Many of the toys discussed are said to be from Cabin 1. The owner of Cabin 1 can be narrowed down to three likely individuals: One Leg, White Chest, or Black Hawk.

Survivance - creative responses to difficult times.

The construction of toys from military buttons and tin cans requires creativity and vision to plan and execute.

Practice - actions & objects active areas of cultural reproduction. Toys suggest play; objects used by Native children are Native objects regardless of the culture of origin.

Futurity - anticipated vs actualized futures

Anticipated future was away from boarding schools, where children remained at home in the community.

Actual future involved forced relocation back to the reservation and mandatory school attendance.

