ON- AND OFF-RESERVATION LIFE: A REEXAMINATION OF SALVAGE ARCHAEOLOGY FROM CROW-FLIES-HIGH VILLAGE

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Abstract:

Crow-Flies-High Village (32MZ1), occupied between 1884 and1893, was the second locale of the Crow-Flies-High band of Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara that resisted reservation life for over two decades. Due to the construction of the Garrison Dam in 1949, the site was excavated by the Smithsonian's River Basin Surveys, part of their Interagency Archaeological Salvage Program, before it was inundated by what would become Lake Sakakawea. Though this research relies heavily on the River Basin Surveys, they are now problematic historical documents and must be recognized as such. Salvage archaeology operated within ongoing settler colonial structures and used acculturation as the theoretical foundation for the analysis of historic Native sites. The subsequent reports have left lasting implications for descendent communities still mourning the loss of these ancestral sites. This research reexamines the River Basin Survey report on Crow-Flies-High Village and its excavated materials using contemporary theoretical concepts such as survivance, residence, practice, memory, and futurity to provide a more comprehensive and complex understanding of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara experience.

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INTRODUCTION

Research Problem

After the Second World War, development projects threatened archaeological sites across the country prompting the creation of the Interagency Archaeological Salvage Program or IASP (Banks and Czaplicki 2014). The River Basin Surveys Program was created within the IASP to specifically conduct salvage archaeology before sites were destroyed by construction of dams along the country's major rivers (Govaerts 2016; Lawson 2009). In the Missouri River basin, the reports contributed to an increased interest in and the professional development of historical archaeology on the Plains (Lees 2014).

Though the reports are foundational to modern archaeological analysis, they are accepted without questions. I argue this is due to the lack of consideration of settler colonialism's effects on Native American lives at these sites *and* its influence over their excavations. We must treat the River Basin Survey reports themselves as historical documents. They were created at a specific moment by individuals entangled in settler colonial structures.

Contemporary Plains archaeologists must revisit these reports and critically review their interpretations. We can build from the data collected using contemporary method and theory. This research aims to accomplish both by situating salvage archaeology done in the Garrison Reservoir within the framework of settler colonialism and reexamining the excavated materials from the River Basin Survey site known as Crow-Flies-High Village (32MZ1). The story produced by salvage archaeology's acculturative approach will be deconstructed, and the reanalysis of the artifacts using contemporary theory in historical archaeology, settler colonial studies, and Indigenous studies, will provide new complexities and possibilities, suggesting a different story altogether.

Reflections on the River Basin Surveys

Few connections have been made between settler colonialism and the River Basin Surveys in Plains historical archaeology. Scholars increasingly situate the reports as historical documents, and rightfully so, since they are over fifty years old. Despite this, the outdated findings are dismissed as products of their time (see Lees in Banks and Czaplicki 2014). Some go so far as to argue that it is "unfair" to "complain that those working then did not share current predispositions" (Lees 2014:161). This may be so, but what is also unfair, especially to descendent communities, is that after accepting the reports as problematic, archaeologists continue to regard them as essential to current work and leave them alone. This cannot continue. We have a responsibility to keep interrogating them, especially when we draw on their data.

This is also true for later historic sites, which were not given proper attention then and are still not afforded much research value now. For example, the River Basin Survey's contribution to the scholarly knowledge on Crow-Flies-High Village (32MZ1) is underexplained and dismissive. For over fifty years, the River Basin Survey's 1963 report was the only study focused on the site and its community (Malouf 1963). Thankfully, Michael Barthelemy Jr., a descendent of the Crow-Flies-High community, added his 2016 oral history thesis to the literature (Barthelemy 2016). It directly challenges many of the 1963 report's findings. Most notably, Barthelemy argues for a continuance of Native American religious and cultural practice whereas Malouf argues for their absence, using what he identifies as Euro-American objects as proof (Barthelemy 2016; Malouf 1963).

Barthelemy's conclusions demonstrate how oral histories and Indigenous knowledge add complexity and nuance to stories that were previously flattened by historians and archaeologists. I view a reexamination of Malouf's excavated materials along the same lines: the use of

contemporary theory regarding concepts such as Native survivance, residence, practice, memory, and futurity within the framework of settler colonialism can only provide more complexity and nuance. Furthermore, since these objects are the only materials that remain, we, as archaeologists in the 21st century, continue the harm done by the Garrison Dam (Figure 1) when we leave these problematic representations of the past as our contribution to Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara culture history. The importance of our contributions is beautifully summed up in the words of Gerard Baker:

> "We look at that archaeological work today and understand that those excavations are part of our history and the tribal members born after the dam see these reports as a partial view into our past, one that will be complete with the addition of our oral history." (Baker 2014:204)

In this instance it is the opposite, the oral history provided a more complete history than the previous archaeology. Now is the opportunity to amend the information archaeology offered and move toward a more complete understanding of the past. But before I begin, I must provide some background for not only the site, but also salvage archaeology on the Plains.

Figure 1: George Gillett, Chairman of the Fort Berthold Indian Tribal Business Council, weeps as Secretary of Interior J.A. Krug signs a contract whereby the tribe sells 155,000 acres for the Garrison Dam Project, 1948. Image courtesy the Associated Press.

BACKGROUND

Mid-to-Late Nineteenth Century Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Life

In 1845, the Hidatsa and Mandan left the Knife River region due to external hardships including smallpox, unceasing raids, a lack of timber, scarce game, and the shifting of fur trade interests northwest (Hollenback 2012). They jointly established *Mua-Iruckphe-Hisha-Adiish*, Like-A-Fishhook Village (32ML2), near Fort James, later known as Fort Berthold (Gilman and Schneider 1987; Smith 1972).

Around 1860-1861, the Arikara abandoned their village, which was originally established by the Mandan called *Mitu'tahakto's*, meaning First Village or East Village (Figure 8), but known to archaeologists as Fort Clark (32ME2), and established Star Village (32ME16) directly across the river from Like-A-Fishhook (Gilman and Schneider 1987; Metcalf 1963). They moved into Like-A-Fishhook the following year after an attack by the Lakota, specifically the Hunkpapa and Oglala (Barthelemy 2016:42; Gilman and Schneider 1987; Metcalf 1963). The result was a settlement comprised of three tribal entities and their subgroups. Though culturally similar, each had distinct identities which created a complicated social environment that was exacerbated by a number of changes to village life. The two most important were decreased mobility and increased government involvement.

Prior to the 1860s, for the most part, the Hidatsa and Mandan wintered in separate winter villages, but in 1866, Like-A-Fishhook became a year-round settlement (Gilman and Schneider 1987; Smith 1972). The relentless Lakota and Dakota raids prompted the arrival of the military in 1864 and their permanent residence at Fort Berthold II in 1867, marking the beginning of overt government paternalism (Smith 1972). Finally, the establishment of the Office of Indian Affairs agency at Fort Berthold II in 1868 led to even greater supervision and governmental control of payments, land rights, and rations (Smith 1972). In 1870, President Ulysses S. Grant

signed an executive order establishing the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, with land holdings significantly smaller than those outlined in the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie (Felter 1972:30; Senate Committee on Indian Affairs 1870:883). Henceforth the reservation impacted daily life more than ever before.

As these external events unfolded, internally, traditional Hidatsa and Mandan forms of leadership were at odds. Among the Hidatsa-proper and Awaxawi, the owner of the Earthnaming Bundle is the civil leader and peacekeeper with the authority to decide their second in command as war leader (Barthelemy 2016:50). According to Barthelemy 2016, when the Hidatsa consolidated, two Earthnaming bundles were present at Like-A-Fishhook: one owned by the older Poor Wolf (Awaxawi) and the other by the younger Bobtail Bull (Hidatsa-proper) (Barthelemy 2016:50-51). In addition to multiple bundles, the Hidatsa-proper were moving away from formalized bundle rites for some time, and instead, were making personal bundles from vision quests and hosting elders rather than paying for rites (Barthelemy 2016:47-48). Crow-Flies-High (Figure 2) was one such Hidatsa-proper man who made his own personal bundle, and despite being young, not having paid proper dues, and not having acquired proper credibility to lead, Bobtail Bull appointed him as war leader (Barthelemy 2016:49-51). This led to a split amongst the three Hidatsa subgroups and the two Mandan (Nuptadi and Nuitadi) subgroups (Barthelemy 2016:53). The Nuitadi Mandan preferred Poor Wolf, because he also owned the rights to one of their Corn Ceremony Bundles, a bundle of similar importance to the Earthnaming Bundle (Barthelemy 2016:51).

The situation reached a breaking point when Crow-Flies-High publicly accused Poor Wolf and his war leader, Paunch, of giving unequal shares of meat rations to members of their faction (Barthelemy 2016:54). Due to Crow-Flies-High's blatant disregard for age-grade norms,

there was a plan to assassinate him, but before an attempt was made, Bobtail Bull and Crow-Flies-High left with between 120 to 140 Hidatsa-proper and Nuitadi Mandan who were similarly disrespected by the Nuptadi, and disillusioned Awatixa and Awaxawi (Barthemely 2016:54, 56).

This backstory, albeit simplified, is necessary to establish the important factors which drove Crow-Flies-High and his followers away from reservation life—limitations on mobility, increased government oversight, and differing religious understandings—all of which played a continuous role in the group's decisions.

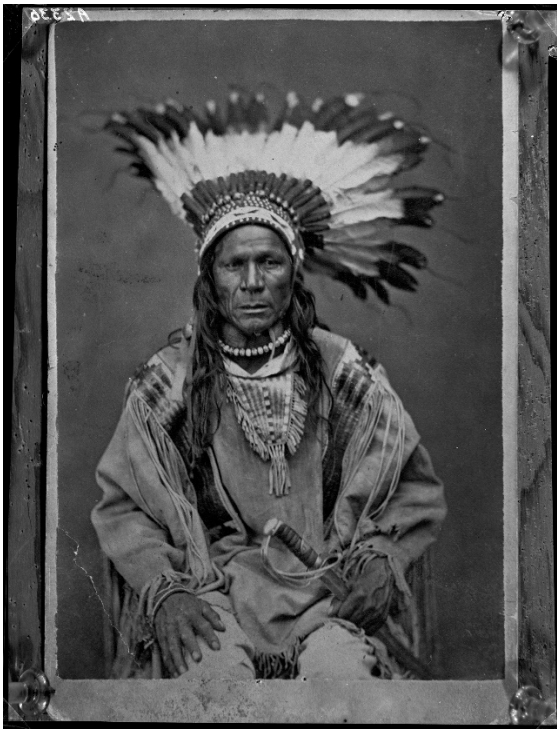


Figure 2: Crow-Flies-High ca. 1880. Image courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota's Digitized Images Collection.

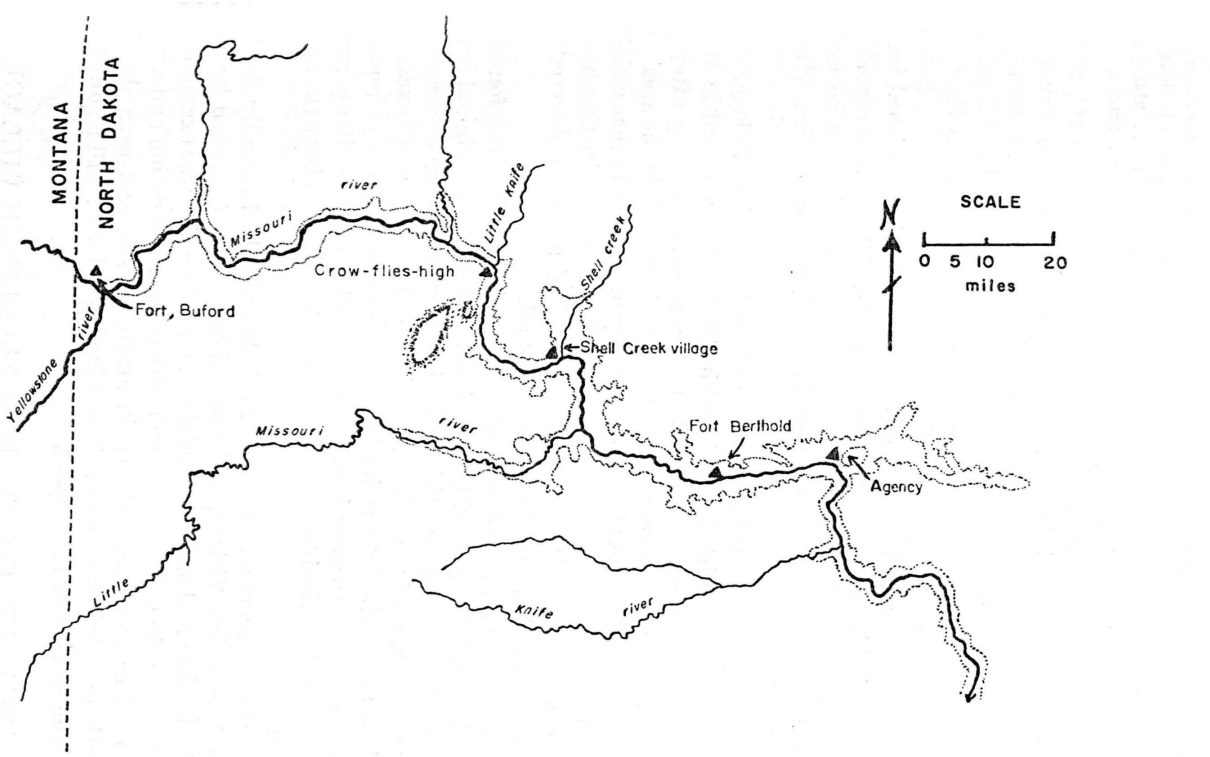
Settlements Established by Crow-Flies-High

Before settling at Crow-Flies-High Village, or better known as *Hushgah-eeda-Adiish,* Stream of the Badlands Band, (Barthelemy 2016:86) the group settled near the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers (Figure 3) in close proximity to Fort Buford (Barthelemy 2016; Fox 1988). This first settlement is known to archaeologists as Garden Coulee (32WI18)

and to descendants as *Hushgah-Adiish,* Badlands Lodge or Badlands Village (Barthelemy 2016:57). Little is known about the relationship between the sites besides the fact that Garden Coulee was occupied between 1868-1884 and Crow-Flies-High Village from 1884-1893 (Barthelemy 2016:2; Fox 1988; Malouf 1963).

Gregory Fox excavated and conducted geophysical investigations at Garden Coulee in the 1980s and published his 1988 Master's thesis on the site (Fox 1988). The site falls within the National Parks Service's land and the collections are housed at Fort Union. The site's materials were not reviewed for this project, mainly due to time constraints and accessibility issues, but the site is said to have had twenty-three earthlodges and seven log cabins, housing around one-hundred-fifty people consistently throughout the village's history (Barthelemy 2016:71).

Fort Buford was an important military location during the Great Sioux War, and the community's proximity prompted the officials to hire men from the Crow-Flies-High community as couriers (Barthelemy 2016:85). After the surrender of Sitting Bull at Fort Buford in 1881, all Plains tribes were confined to reservations, except the followers of Crow-Flies-High (Barthelemy 2016:86). They were eventually pressured by the military to leave the Fort Buford area in 1884, and subsequently established Crow-Flies-High Village (Fig. 3) near the mouth of the Little Knife River (Barthelemy 2016:87). Barthelemy suggests the Crow-Flies-High Village site's gardens were farmed by women while the group still lived at Garden Coulee, and that Garden Coulee was a winter encampment for hunting and eagle trapping (Barthelemy 2016:87).



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

Figure 3: Map depicting locations of villages along Missouri River and area eventually flooded by Garrison Dam (Malouf 1963:139).

SALVAGE ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology's connections to colonialism have been critiqued and theorized countless times in the past fifty years. However, there are a few important concepts that are foundational to my evaluation of salvage archaeology. First, there is a tendency to not critique the founders themselves; this rings especially true in American anthropology (Asad 1979; Simpson 2007, 2018). Influential figures like Lewis Henry Morgan and others have been critiqued, but Franz Boas, often taught as the father of professional academic anthropology, is held in such high esteem that it is taboo to criticize his work and that of his immediate students (Simpson 2018:167). Thus, there are two versions of American anthropology, the "disavowed but nonetheless living form (Morgan) or [the] celebrated form (Boas)" (Simpson 2018:167). Additionally, we often forget that the United States continues to implement colonial policies, whereas colonial endeavors in the rest of the world are believed to have ended after World War Two.

As a result of these factors, we give Boas much more credit than he is likely due. Though his foundational principals of historical particularism and cultural relativism are essential to anthropological theory and methodology, we must critically examine his contributions, especially his and his students' salvage ethnographies, for ignoring the colonial situation. We need to demystify Franz Boas's legacy because even he could not escape the salvage slot (Simpson 2018).

Asad (1979) identifies five areas to consider when examining British social anthropology and colonialism (Asad 1979). They are as follows: the preconditions that made anthropology possible, the use of anthropological knowledge for colonial purposes of domination, the ways in which colonial interests shaped theoretical topics, the objectification of the other, and the

assertion of political neutrality and scientific objectivity (Asad 1979). By applying these to American salvage anthropology and archaeology, I hope to emphasize that the disciplines are so deeply entrenched in U.S. settler colonial frameworks, they cannot be effectively understood apart from settler colonial structures. Salvage anthropology and ethnography have been examined to some degree, but salvage archaeology is severely lacking.

American Salvage Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter

The settler colonial state made it possible for missionaries and military officials to become some of the first ethnographers in America. Furthermore, the federal government played an important role in the establishment of anthropology as a discipline. The Bureau of American Ethnology was created in 1879, instigating some of the first widespread studies of Native peoples, with the primary goal of gaining insight for more effective removal and control (McManamon 2014). Even today, anthropological analyses of Indigeneity still occupy the BAE's documentary and salvage slot of analysis due to the endurance of culture-contact categories perpetuating the myth of the vanishing Indian (Simpson 2007).

Topics such as sociopolitical organization and religious belief were important to early ethnographers because this information helped guide the federal government in their construction of various strategies of assimilation. Because of the impending extinction of Native cultures, ethnographers often ignored assimilation, and instead, created static portrayals of Native communities frozen in the past (Simpson 2018). When assimilation was considered, it was always measured by estimating how much cultural knowledge was lost or was soon to be lost. Furthermore, salvage ethnographies objectified American Indians by focusing on what made them different and strange. Depending on the policy platform and general attitude of the public,

ethnographers either presented Native peoples using the noble savage or savage trope (Simpson 2018:173).

Boas and his followers separated the settler state from their studies and claimed to focus on what was being lost: culture (Simpson 2018). In reality, culture was not the primary resource being lost by Native peoples; it was their land (Simpson 2018). Moreover, in Boas's failure to consider the political consequences of his writing, he perpetuated the practice of reframing Native groups "as populations to be managed rather than nations to be treated with" (Simpson 2018:172). His ethnographies were of a timeless people destined to disappear if not already disappearing. His settler colonial mindset is present in the instances where he is seemingly delighted by the complexity and civility he encounters among people he assumed were fundamentally savage (Simpson 2007, 2018). Nor would he have wanted to change this thinking. Boas benefitted from the settler colonial system, acknowledging Native sovereignty would mean acknowledging the U.S. was the villain in this story, something Boas was not willing to consider.

American Salvage Archaeology and the Colonial Encounter

Salvage archaeology built on late 19th and early 20th century salvage ethnographies. Like anthropology, salvage archaeology was also made possible by the actions of the settler colonial state, particularly the processes of removal that took place over centuries that dispossessed Native populations from their homelands and sites of cultural importance. The United States began claiming lands as 'national' in 1872 with the creation of Yellowstone National Park (McManamon 2014). This only increased after the 1891 Forest Reserve Act created the system of national forests we still have today (McManamon 2014). The dispossession of land was an important precondition for salvage archaeology.

Archaeological investigations were sponsored by the federal government as early as 1848 by the Smithsonian Institution (McManamon 2014:326). However, the first major salvage archaeological effort began in the 20th century. Though the data were not directly used for purposes of colonial domination, the salvage archaeologists used the differences observed between past and present to alienate contemporary Native communities from their heritage, justifying excavation and analysis (Lightfoot 1995). Additionally, prehistoric sites were prioritized over historic sites, and historic sites related to America's settler colonial past were prioritized over other historic sites, especially those from the more recent past (Lightfoot 1995; Panich and Schneider 2019; Rubertone 2000).

The Works Project Administration (WPA), part of New Deal relief efforts, led to a boom in archaeology across America (Means 2013; Regnier et al. 2019). The WPA archaeological projects created many of the tools and techniques used in the field of cultural resource management today (Means 2013). These include foundational field methodologies and survey techniques, the Smithsonian trinomial site-naming system, and the standardization of site forms (Means 2013; Reginer et al. 2019). Salvage archaeology also led to the establishment of many university programs and the beginning of problem-oriented archaeology as opposed to antiquarian archaeology solely interested in collecting beautiful objects (Potter et al. 2014). The uniformity and academic nature of the discipline led many to consider the reports as unbiased, objective, and scientific, speaking to the reality of past life.

Due to these many factors, salvage archaeology is often looked at fondly, with little acknowledgement of its participation in the destruction of Native heritage (Means 2013:9). Indigenous presences were excavated, extracted, placed in collections facilities, and the government declared the land *terra nullis:* suitably barren to be used for the purposes of settler

colonists. The very act of salvaging culture depends on culture disappearing, suggesting assimilation was working, and there would soon be no difference between a White and Native Americans.

Salvage Archaeology on the Plains

As previously mentioned, a wave of infrastructure projects accompanied the end of the Second World War. Dam construction for the purposes of flood control, reservoir creation, and the generation of hydroelectricity is discussed in this paper, but other major projects included the laying of pipelines in the southwest, Eisenhower's interstate system, and the expansion of cities (Barnes et al. n.d.). These initiatives led the National Parks Service, the Smithsonian, and later the Bureau of Land Management to establish the Interagency Archaeological Salvage Program or IASP (Banks and Czaplicki 2014).

After the passage of the Flood Control Act in 1944, which authorized the implementation of the Pick-Sloan Plan, a combination of two reports, one from the Army Corps of Engineers' Chief Engineer General Lewis Pick, and the other from the Bureau of Reclamation's Assistant Regional Director W.G. Sloan, the IASP established the River Basin Surveys Program (House Document 475 1944; see also Govaerts 2016; Lawson 2009). Operating mainly from the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology, the River Basin Surveys salvaged sites all along the country's major rivers (Govaerts 2016; Lawson 2009).

In the Missouri River Basin, these dams were: the Garrison Dam in North Dakota; the Oahe, Big Bend, and Fort Randall dams in South Dakota' and the Gavins Point Dam on the South Dakota-Nebraska border (Govaerts 2016; Lawson 2009). All were constructed so that reservation lands would be the primary land inundated by the resulting lakes (Govaerts 2016; Lawson 2009). Additionally, the dams were constructed without prior consultation and without

the consent of the Native populations living within the flood zones on the Fort Berthold, Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Lower Brule, Crow Creek, Yankton, and Santee Sioux Reservations (Govaerts 2016; Lawson 2009).

Among the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara, the lack of consultation combined with the forced relocation of the populations, the abandonment of the primary settlements in the area, and the inundation of sacred sites and landmarks has left these communities with significant trauma of loss and grief (Fig. 1) which they still deal with to this day (Baker 2014; Govaerts 2016; Lawson 2009; Murray et al. 2011; Murray and Kroupa 2018).

Archaeologists also feel as though they have suffered a loss (Banks et al. 2011). Surveys indicate that within the Garrison Reservoir area alone, there were over 150 archaeological sites, the majority of which were associated with the Mandan and Hidatsa (Govaerts 2016). Unfortunately, only a handful of these sites were given full excavations, later reported in River Basin Surveys' Papers No. 19-20, 26-29, and in separate National Park Service publications (Govaerts 2016; see tDAR, Lehmer 1971, and Smith 1972). Crow-Flies-High Village was one such site, surveyed in 1947 by the River Basin Survey team, and later excavated by Carling Malouf in 1952 (Malouf 1963).

After the inundation of these sites, it was concluded "that the Garrison region was mainly an area of hunting camps and other temporary settlements, with very few permanent villages," and that "the lower Garrison region was a refuge area for the village tribes during the last years of their long history" (Lehmer 1971:38-39). These statements indicate a disconnect between the archaeological and ethnographic records; the former, even after consulting the latter, argues for complete assimilation and a loss of Native culture (Lehmer 1971; Malouf 1963; Smith 1972).

Beginning in the 1980s, the injustices resulting from the Garrison Dam began to be discussed by historians, fand focuses on testimonies and oral histories from tribal members (see Lawson 2009; VanDevelder 2004). However, until very recently, within the field of Plains anthropology and archaeology, the cost of dam construction has been evaluated from the point of view of the archaeologists, not the Native communities. When they were included, it was minimal. For example, in a 2011 article, archaeologists emphasize the economic cost of mitigation and the cost to Middle Missouri archaeology, leaving just three paragraphs devoted to "social impacts" (Banks et al. 2011:82). The single sentence acknowledging "the impact on the tribes of the destruction of ancestral sites reaches far beyond the destruction of sites and the loss of data," is vastly overshadowed by the article's main concern for the losses archaeologists experienced (Banks et al. 2011:382).

Furthermore, archaeologists need to address their own positionality. They too bring with them their own sets of biases, and we are still operating within a settler colonial nation that continues to dispossess Native communities of their lands and cultural heritage. I myself am of Euro-American descent, from an upper middle-class background, studying anthropology at an Ivy League school. I by no means am attempting to speak for the Native community. I only wish to become an anthropological historical archaeologist. Specifically, an archaeologist that acknowledges and interrogates the inherited canon using collections to revisit and understand the significance of previously excavated sites.

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

The United States as a Settler Colonial Nation

To begin, settler colonialism differs from other manifestations of colonialism primarily in how the main objectives lead to different treatments of an area's Native inhabitants (Lightfoot et al. 2021). The goal of settler colonialism is to create permanently settled areas that are indistinguishable from the source society (Kretzler and Gonzalez 2021:454; Lightfoot et al. 2021:134; Veracini 2011:4). This is accomplished by removing Native inhabitants instead of building relationships with and working alongside them (Lightfoot et al. 2021:134). The dispossession is the primary difference between settler and other kinds of colonialisms (e.g. mercantile, missionary) (Lightfoot et al. 2021:134). Successful settler colonists tame unruly 'wildernesses,' become their own independent nations, destroy alternative Native worlds, and manage ethnic diversity (Kretzler and Gonzalez 2021:454-455; Veracini 2011:3).

This is one of the trajectories followed by the United States. Although there are many regional differences, and not all areas fit exactly within a settler colonial framework such as this, major trends into the 19th century lean toward settler colonialism (Kretzler and Gonzalez 2021; Lightfoot and Gonzalez 2018; Olster 2019). Ultimately, the United States of America is a semi-successful (semi because it failed to completely extinguish Indigenous peoples) settler colony turned colonial power that should be studied as such Kretzler and Gonzalez 2021; Lightfoot and Gonzalez 2018; Lightfoot et al. 2021; Olster 2019; Veracini 2011).

It is therefore no surprise that anthropology and archaeology in the United States are deeply tied to colonialism. As I mentioned in the previous section, the beginnings of anthropology as a discipline were almost always colonial, and every interaction was tinged with inequalities.

Just like salvage anthropology, the salvage archaeology done in the 1950s cannot be separated from the settler colonial society of the United States. First and foremost, the River Basin Survey program was a federal program, run by the Smithsonian Institution, which has deep ties to the systematic study of Native peoples to strategize proper ways of governance, and the National Parks Service, which has its roots in the sectioning off of lands, many of which were significant to Native identity, for the enjoyment of White Americans (McManamon 2014; Simpson 2007; see also Smithsonian's website). The interactions were also primarily colonial—the majority of archaeologists were White men, and the majority of the sites to be destroyed were Native sites (Govaerts 2016; Lawson 2009; Means 2013; Potter et al. 2014; Regnier et al. 2019).

Situating the River Basin Surveys within larger trends in federal Indian policy further emphasizes the colonial undertones. The period between 1946 until 1959 became known as the Termination Era because of the "[f]ederal efforts to assimilate Indians by terminating their services and special status under trust" (Fixico 1990:35). This was accomplished with a variety of acts and reforms. The passage of the Indian Claims Commission Bill in 1946 and the Zimmerman Plan in 1947 both shared the goals of assimilating Native Americans into mainstream society and decreasing the federal government's financial burden (Fixico 1990:29-33). These policies reduced the Department of the Interiors' budget for the Bureau of Indian Affairs by half, which cut funding to reservation schools, hospitals, and other basic infrastructure, under the assumption tribes will become self-sufficient from money made via the Claims Commission (Fixico 1990:35). In reality, this led to a loss of land, as many individuals were forced to sell due to dire economic circumstances (Fixico 1990).

The Termination Era is often described as a repeat of the assimilationist policies of the late 19th century that prompted salvage anthropology (Fixico 1990). This new land loss prompted

archaeologists to salvage what material culture they could, assuming these tribes would soon be modernized Americans. Additionally, the 1940s and 1950s went beyond simple settler encroachment, they combined with the purposeful destruction of land that ultimately benefitted the settlers.

With the notion that Native Americans would eventually become indistinguishable from White Americans, living successfully without government assistance in a capitalist society, it is unsurprising that the archaeologists at this time operated with assimilationist and acculturative models of culture change. When River Basin Survey archaeologists were conducting fieldwork on reservation land, they must have encountered the results of termination and relocation—the selling of tribal land and individuals leaving the reservation for vocational training, better education, and employment. This likely absolved some White settler guilt (if there was any) and justified the dispossession, appropriation, and destruction of Native land. Furthermore, English-speaking Indians dressed in modern clothing reinforced the differences observed in the archaeological record between present-day Native populations and those that created it.

During this time nearly all post-1492 archaeology operated according to the paradigm known as the direct historical approach, "in which researchers attempted to trace historically documented tribal groups pack to precontact times" (Panich and Schneider 2019:652). Among its many issues, the direct historic approach conflated chronology with identity (Panich and Schneider 2019:654). Following this logic, archaeological sites were given ethnicities (Panich and Schneider 2019). This led to a binary association that still haunts the discipline today: Indigenous sites and artifacts are prehistoric and Euro American sites and artifacts are historic (Lightfoot 1995; Panich and Schneider 2019). By assigning Indigeneity to the distant past, any evidence of the more recent past at sites was considered inauthentic Indigeneity and disregarded,

"support[ing] the mistaken notion that Native Americans vanished early in the colonial period" (Cipolla et al. 2013; Panich and Schneider 2019:654). Much like salvage ethnographies, salvage archaeologies were recovering the culture of the vanished Indian that was otherwise thought to be completely lost.

In summary, it is imperative that all subfields of anthropology operating within the United States consider the ongoing effects of American settler colonialism in their analysis. That being said, an overly pessimistic view of settler colonialism reduces past human agency, so there is a thin line all anthropologists must walk between ignoring and focusing too much on negative settler colonial encounters. Settler colonialism is very much a process and a structure, not a singular event, so it must be treated as ongoing. Therefore, Native peoples must also be treated as ongoing and living. They continue to adapt in ways that ensure their survival and connection to the lands they have occupied since time immemorial.

Reservations and Governmentality

From the limited archaeology that has been done on reservations, archaeologists have defined them as a "means of maintaining power over Native American groups" by limiting access to outside traditional resources and thereby making self-sufficiency increasingly difficult (Cipolla et al. 2007:43; Gould et al. 2020; Greene 2009; Kretzler and Gonzalez 2021). Non-archaeologists have similarly defined reservations as a system of confinement and punishment, executed by administrative figures in the face of any and all noncompliance (Bilosi 2018:42). The Office of Indian Affairs and the subsequent Bureau of Indian Affairs punished Native groups by controlling access to food and abusing their status of legal trustees over individual and tribal property (Bilosi 2018:41). These actions created and maintained the Bureau of Indian Affairs' authority over matters of daily life on reservations (Bilosi 2018:43).

Reservations were an attempt to achieve settler colonial goals (Kretzler and Gonzalez 2021). Not only did they accomplish the goal of land appropriation, but they also were viewed as "a politically expedient, ostensibly philanthropic project of cultural uplift" (Kretzler and Gonzalez 2021:455). Scholars of settler colonial studies generally refer to this notion as governmentality. Processes of governmentality can be likened to enculturation, or how "government imposes itself over individuals, and ultimately acts to subordinate forms of culture" (Asch 2007:282). Governmentality also "works on the 'souls' (or, in this case, the *character*) of individuals, and recruits them to work on their own characters," usually through the adoption of superior Anglo-European technologies, gender norms, and religion (Bilosi 2018:44). It is important to emphasize that the state and federal government were not the only actors exercising governmentality; there were many parties involved including missionaries, activists, and scientists, like anthropologists (Li 2007:276).

Despite every force working to destroy Native peoples, they maintain reservations as Native spaces. "There is the tease of irony here: spaces designed to eradicate Native peoples also serve as platforms upon which these nations assert sovereignty and self-determination," and reservation archaeology investigates this irony (Kretzler and Gonzalez 2021:452). It is not:

> "Simply to research on reservation-era Native histories, nor [is it] research taking place on reservations but focused on pre-reservation histories… reservation archaeology pairs an examination of the material expressions of US settler colonialism with a commitment to addressing the legacies of colonialism through collaborative research with Tribal Nations." (Kretzler and Gonzalez 2021:449-450).

Unfortunately, this research lacks collaboration. I will be honest, a multitude of factors contributed to my lack of communication with the MHA community and Michael Barthelemy

Jr., but they are excuses. Moving forward, I will prioritize collaboration and communication. Learning what they know about the site, what they think of Malouf's report, and the contemporary significance of Crow-Flies-High are all critical to overcoming the injustices suffered at the hands of the Garrison Dam and ongoing cultural erasure.

Survivance and Residence

It is important to establish reservations as oppressive systems, but it is also important to note, they often failed more than they succeeded in suppressing Native culture and identity (Bagley et al. 2014; Gould et al. 2020; Kretzler and Gonzalez 2021; Law Pezzarossi 2014; Silliman 2014). For example, survivance, arguably one of the most influential concepts to emerge from Indigenous critiques of literature, history, anthropology and other disciplines, exemplifies Native longevity. Gerald Vizenor describes survivance as an active sense of presence, or the continuance of Native stories (Vizenor 2008). Survivance goes beyond reaction and survival by acknowledging the dynamic and creative nature of Indigenous rhetoric (2008).

Building off of Vizenor, archaeologists apply survivance in a number of ways. Most definitions argue survivance is seen in the archaeological record as "creative responses to difficult times," and "agentive actions through struggle" (Kretzler and Gonzalez 2021; Silliman 2014:59). Survivance challenges previously held archaeological conceptions about change and continuity and forces us to see these concepts as our own projections onto the past (Silliman 2014:61). Those living at archaeological sites during their occupations likely did not view their actions in such a harsh binary (Silliman 2014:61). This challenges the archaeological tendency to argue that any evidence of change is emblematic of inauthentic Indigeneity (Cipolla 2013; Cipolla 2021; Lightfoot 1995; Panich 2021).

Another concept both similar to and intertwined with survivance is what has become known as residence (Silliman 2014). It assumes that past peoples' daily lives were conducted "in ways that enabled them to go on, to adapt, and to survive in oppressive situations" (Silliman 2014:62). Present-day examples of this include how reservations are distinctly Native spaces (Kretzler and Gonzalez 2021). Archaeologically, evidence for this can be found in community organization, as people tend to organize themselves around how they live and how their ancestors lived (Silliman 2014:63). In this way, the deliberate planning of a community serves as a reflection of how the community positions themselves within the larger world (Preucel 2000). Residence also allows us to analyze changes in dwellings and subsistence strategies for how they added to community values instead of how they prove or disprove a loss of Indian culture (Cipolla 2013:16-17; Panich 2021). Archaeologists are beginning to realize change is constant, and the incorporation of new practices and technologies were active choices (Panich 2021:203). In this was, "acts of residence permit stories of survivance" (Silliman 2014:70).

Practice and Social Memory

Incorporating aspects of practice theory into archaeological analysis re-centers human action and agency into understandings of the past. Practice theory in anthropology 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 which can all be embodied in objects produced by practice (Silliman 2009:216). Archaeologists employing practice theory therefore

investigate objects for their deeper meanings because objects "are the arenas in which cultural change and continuity take form" (Cipolla 2014:1; Silliman 2009).

The majority of these deeper meanings draw on social memory, or the wealth of knowledge individuals use to situate themselves within their worlds (Silliman 2009:222). Thus, practice is the actions done in the past, and social memory is the explanation behind how those actions were done, why those actions were done, and what they meant for an individual in a specific place and time (Cipolla 2014; Silliman 2009). This adds complexity to how archaeologists conceptualize continuity and change, what these processes look like in the archaeological record, and the way they were experienced by individuals in the past (Lightfoot et al. 1998; Silliman 2009).

Futurity

The last concept comprising my theoretical framework is futurity. Building from practice and memory, futurity tries to understand how humans conceptualize their futures. Archaeologically, to incorporate futurity into analysis, we must first understand the archaeological record as the lived experiences of historical subjects (Voss 2018:289). The goal of archaeology then is to make sense of how past peoples understood their lived experiences (Voss 2018). Most humans, past and present, usually understand their present, lived experiences "in reference to their pasts and their anticipated futures" (Voss 2018:289). The anxiety and excitement we feel about our futures combines with the knowledge we accumulate from past experiences to help us make decisions in the present and assess their possible outcomes (Voss 2018). These decisions are what generate the archaeological record (Voss 2018:291). So, we as archaeologists, are studying a future that has already happened, enabling us to reconstruct the futures experienced by past peoples through their material culture (Voss 2018:299). The future

that happens does not always align with the anticipated future, but by examining artifacts, historical records, and oral histories, we can try to ascertain what both futures—the one imagined and the one realized—were. Essentially, humans think of themselves within the context of their pasts, presents, and futures, so by including future in archaeological analysis, we can gain further insight into deeper meanings beyond assimilation and acculturation.

All of the above concepts comprise my theoretical framework for analyzing the artifacts from Crow-Flies-High Village. I employ residence and survivance, practice and memory, and futurity as the guiding principles behind my analysis. Additionally, I understand the reservation system as a restrictive institution which the Crow-Flies-High community were neither operating within nor completely outside of—they were on the fringes and moved between. Most importantly, my goal is to rethink, reanalyze, and reinterpret the archaeology that has been done in the past.

THE SITE

Crow-Flies-High Village (32MZ1) or Stream of the Badlands Band, was located on the southern bank of the Missouri River across from the mouth of the Little Knife River (Figure 4). It was identified in 1947 by a River Basin Survey party led by Marvin F. Kivett, and it was mentioned in a 1948 publication by Waldo Wedel, where he described it as "another earth-lodge village (32MZ1), opposite the mouth of the Little Knife River. Known as Crow-Flies-High Village…Metal, glass, and other recent materials were plentiful, but there was little of native origin" (Wedel 1948:23 in Malouf 1963).

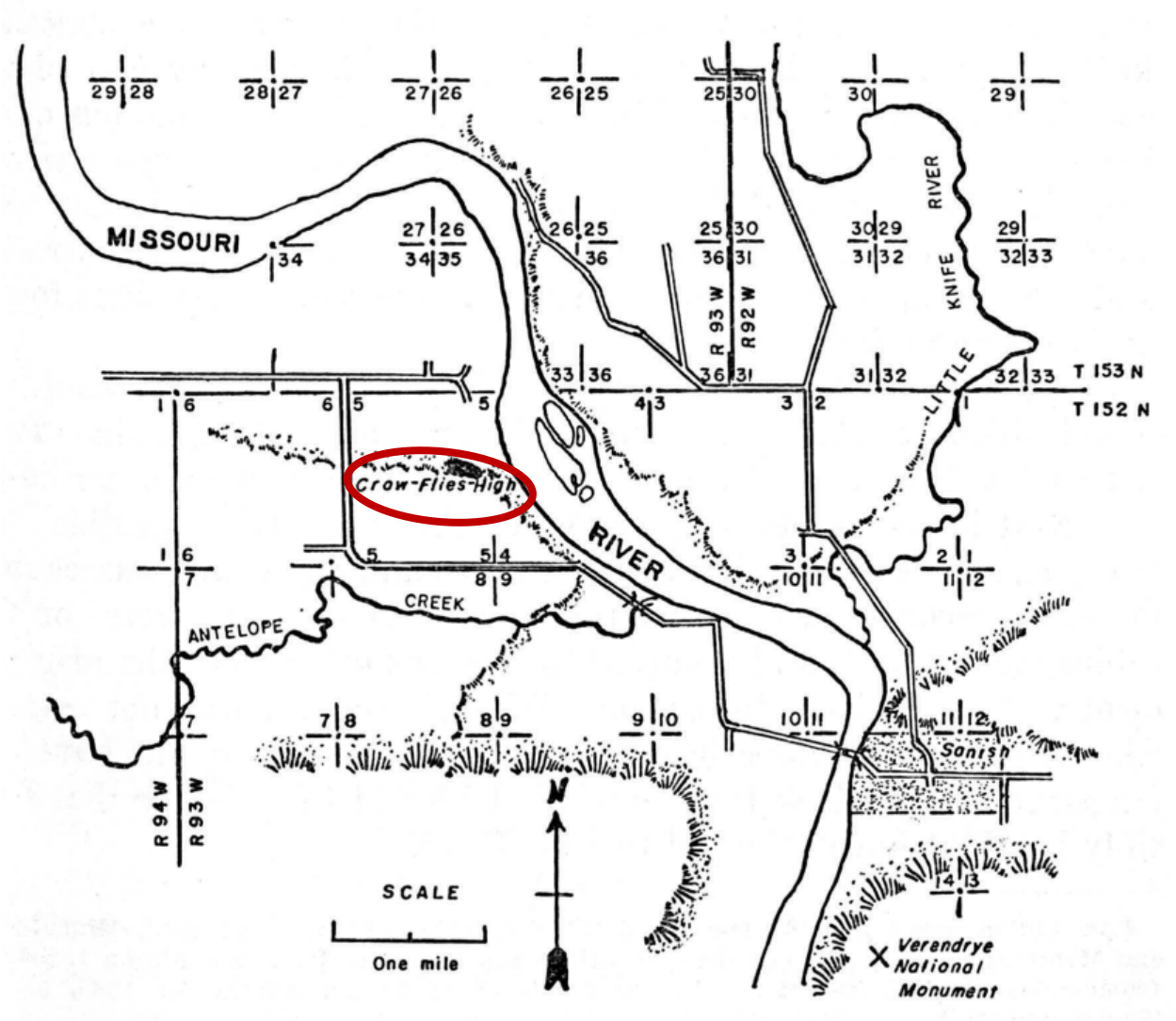


Figure 4: Map of Crow-Flies-High Village or Stream of the Badlands Band (Malouf 1963:141).

In 1952, Malouf was only able to locate two cabins and a few cache pits that were undisturbed by plowing (Malouf 1963:142). However, after examining the different densities of surface artifacts scattered around the site, he was able to map (Figure 5) where he believed cabins were located (Malouf 1963:149). His map was supported by a later map drawn by Bear-In-The-Water or Adlai Stevenson (Figure 7), a former resident of the village (Malouf 1963:149). There was one earthlodge, which Malouf noted "had been so badly disturbed that excavation was regarded as fruitless" (Malouf 1963:147).

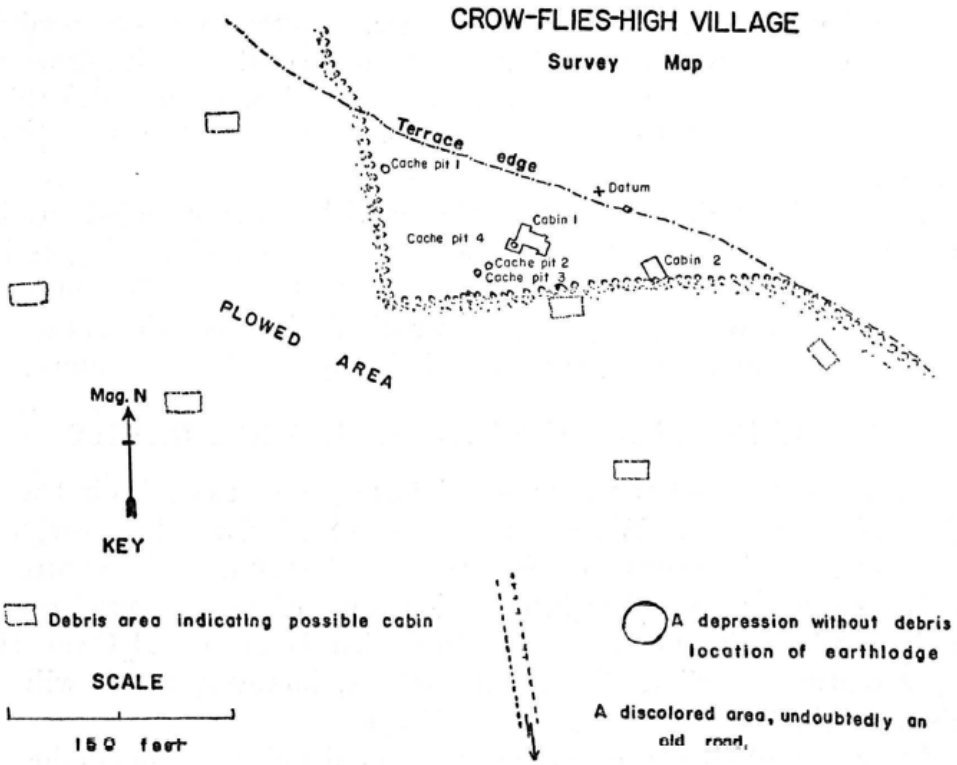


Figure 5: "Crow-Flies-High Village plan as determined by archaeological studies" (Malouf 1963:147).

Site Location

The positioning of the village was deliberate, so it is imperative that its location within the Hidatsa world be examined. First and foremost, Crow-Flies-High Village along with the entire reservation, are all within the traditional Hidatsa homeland outlined by the Earthnaming bundle, the most sacred Hidatsa bundle (Barthelemy 2016:39). Crow-Flies-High Village itself is

located within traditional eagle-trapping territory (Barthelemy 2016). Malouf mentions that there are various eagle-trapping pits close to the site but does not elaborate:

> Several of these [eagle] pits, incidentally, are still located in the vicinity of Crow-Flies-High Village. One, for example, is in Verendrye National Monument across the Missouri River a few miles downstream from the village. (Malouf 1963:152).

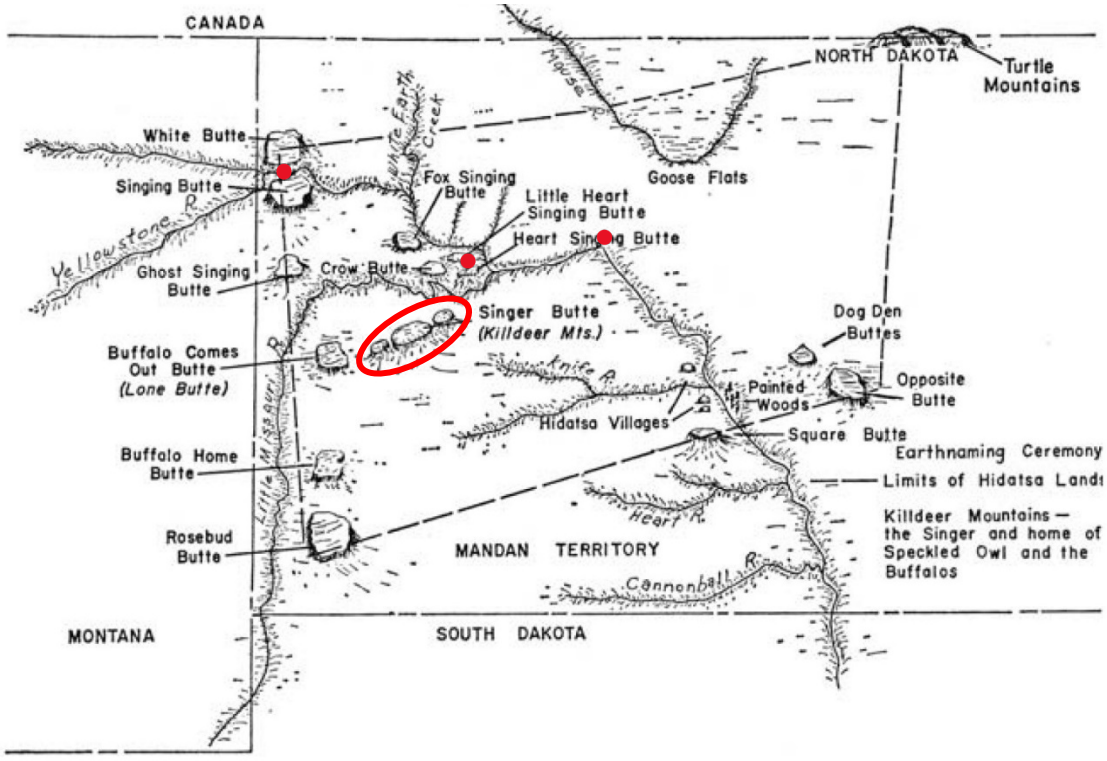


Figure 6:The Hidatsa homeland and important landmarks outlined in the Earthnaming bundle. Represented by the red dots—from west to east are the sites: Badlands Village, Stream of the Badlands Band, and Like-A-Fishhook Village. Encircled in red is Bah-heesh, Singing Hills/Buttes (map courtesy Bowers 1992:12).

For both the Hidatsa and Mandan, eagle-trapping was a right obtained by bundle ownership, which passed from father to son, and traditional camp areas were maintained through family lines (Barthelemy 2016; Wilson 1928). The importance of eagles to Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara cosmology cannot be understated; they were one of the most sacred animals, equal to buffalo, and were gods of thunder and lightning (Barthelemy 2016). They assisted women in

their gardens and had the power to bring rain (Barthelemy 2016). The village is incredibly close to the mythical Brown Bear site of Thunder Butte Trapping Camp, the fifth of seven Black and Brown Bear eagle pits, established when they caught eagles before passing that knowledge to humans (Barthelemy 2016:63; Bowers 1992:215).

Also, of great importance are the Killdeer Mountains (Figure 6), where *Ba-heesh,* or the Singing Hills, the center of the Hidatsa cosmos, were located (Barthelemy 2016:39). The Fort Berthold reservation was cut off from the Singing Hills in 1880 when the land outlined in the 1870 executive order containing the Killdeer Mountains was sold to the Northern Pacific Railroad without consent (Barthelemy 2016; Felter 1972:30; Senate Committee on Indian Affairs 1870:883). Around this same time, traditional religious practices, especially those that involved self-marring, like vision quests, the Okipa and Sun Dance, and eagle trapping, were strongly discouraged by missionaries on the reservation and in some instances outlawed (Barthelemy 2016:87). Unlike those living on the reservation, the Crow-Flies-High community did not experience the surveillance or accessibility problems to the same extent. Indicating that like all Native villages in this region, the chosen location of Crow-Flies-High Village was strategic: just close enough to the reservation to visit their families but far enough away from regulation and situated near the center of the Hidatsa cosmos. All of this is missed in Malouf's report.

Village Plan

The village was oriented on an east-west axis, and cabins formed a semi-circle around the central earthlodge, leaving space for a plaza (Fig. 7). The dwellings were located on the terrace above the Missouri, and there were gardens one mile north in the bottomlands along the Missouri and a half-mile south around Antelope Creek (Malouf 1963:149).

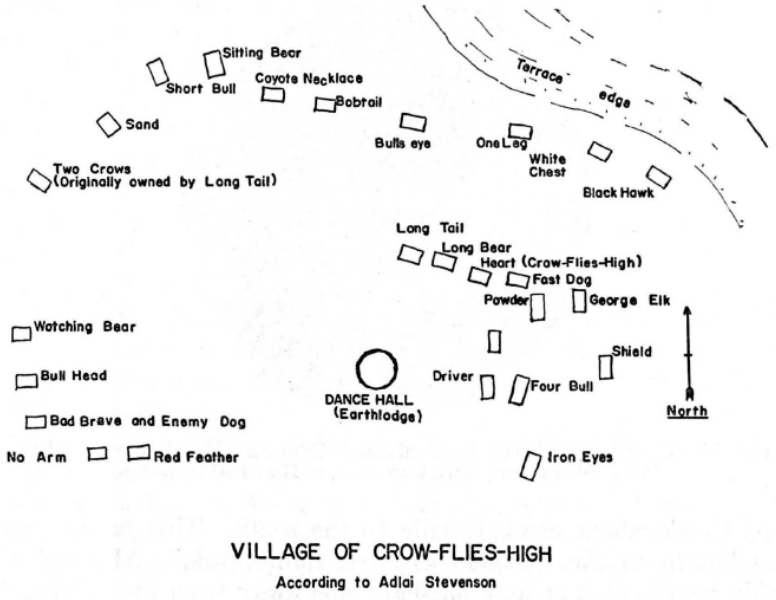


Figure 7: "Village of Crow-Flies-High according to a Hidatsa occupant, and informant, Adlai Stevenson, or Bear-In-The-Water" (Malouf 1963:149).

Though Malouf describes the spatial layout of the village, he does not connect it to earlier sites on because of the Euro-American style cabins. In doing so, he assumed assimilation where there were material signatures of resilience.

As mentioned above, the deliberate planning and organization communities serves as a reflection of how the community sees itself and their place within the larger world (Preucel 2000). Mandan life is centered around their most sacred ceremony, the Okipa, which takes place annually in the summer (Bowers 2004). For example, Mandan earthlodges traditionally circle around a central plaza (Fig. 8): lodges of families "intimately connected with the Okipa ceremony selected lodge sites adjacent to the open circle," while the rest radiated outwards (Bowers 2004:25). Mandan Clans split between east and west moieties, which directly reflected where clans sat during the Okipa (Bowers 2004:29). The Hidatsa were not known to have central ceremonial lodges or plazas within their villages (Bowers 1992). Instead, they appointed "four 'protectors of the people' representing the four sacred directions" (Bowers 1992:275).

Figure 8: George Catlin's 1832 painting of the central plaza at the Mandan village of Mitu'tahakto's near Fort Clark. Image courtesy the Smithsonian American Art Museum.

Crow-Flies-High Village's plaza and central lodge are obvious from the map, but the relationship between the clustering of the houses is less obvious. The densest cluster of cabins is the cluster containing Crow-Flies-High's cabin, and this cluster is very close to the central lodge. The proximity to the central lodge and plaza could reflect the earlier Mandan organization of important religious figures, who were often sociopolitical leaders as well, that lived immediately adjacent to the central lodge while everyone else radiated outwards (Bowers 2004:25).

From oral histories, we know the central lodge was built by the community as a whole and supervised by the Grass Dance Society (Barthelemy 2016). The Grass Dance Society were responsible for its maintenance, since they had purchased the rights to the Grass Dance either from residents of Like-A-Fishhook who had bought it from the Santee Sioux, or directly from the Santee Sioux (Barthelemy 2016). Regardless, the Okipa ceremony and the Sun Dance were both

vehemently persecuted during this time, so the Grass Dance, a warrior's dance, may have represented a compromise (Barthelemy 2016; Gilman and Schneider 1987).

Artifacts supporting the importance of the Grass Dance to members of the community at Crow-Flies-High Village include four sleigh bells found at the site (see Figures 9 and 10 for Grass Dance ceremony and performance). Wolf Chief, a resident of Like-A-Fishhook, described the outfits worn by Grass Dancers: "The outfits consisted of head dresses, sleigh bells for the garters, otter skins for the head, armlets of bead work, yarn belts, and the like" (Wilson 1914:83). The four sleigh bells were unprovenienced, but three of the four appear to be machine-stamped, a technology not widespread until the mid-to-late 1870s (Gilman and Schneider 1987).

Figure 9: "Pan ready to blow grass dance whistle." Pictured here is Pan, a member of the Crow-Flies-High community, participating in the Grass Dance sometime between 1910-1915. Image courtesy of the State Historical Society's Fort Berthold Photo Collection

Figure 10: "Indian Grass-Dance at Elbowoods, N.D., Ft. Berthold Reservation, by Fred Olsen." This Grass Dancer wears garters adorned with sleigh bells likely taken between 1910-1920. Image courtesy of North Dakota State University Libraries' Ronald Olin North Dakota Postcard Collection.

THE COLLECTION

The excavated materials from Crow-Flies-High Village are located at the University of Montana's Anthropological Collection Facility in Missoula, Montana. I am incredibly grateful for the access granted to me. Malouf's field notes were not among the documents housed at the University of Montana. They may be at the Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archives, but due to COVID-19, they were unable to confirm this.

In total there were over 1,500 artifacts; around half were faunal remains, the rest were comprised of lithic, ceramic, glass, leather, and metal (see Table 1 and Figure 11). Other artifacts too fragmentary to count include shell, wood, and what I believe to be rubber.

Table 1: Data Summarization by Artifact Material Type

Material	Count	% Total
Lithic	121	8%
Faunal	728	48%
Ceramic	117	8%
Glass	250	17%
Leather	44	3%
Metal	232	15%
Other	13	1%
TOTAL	1505	100%

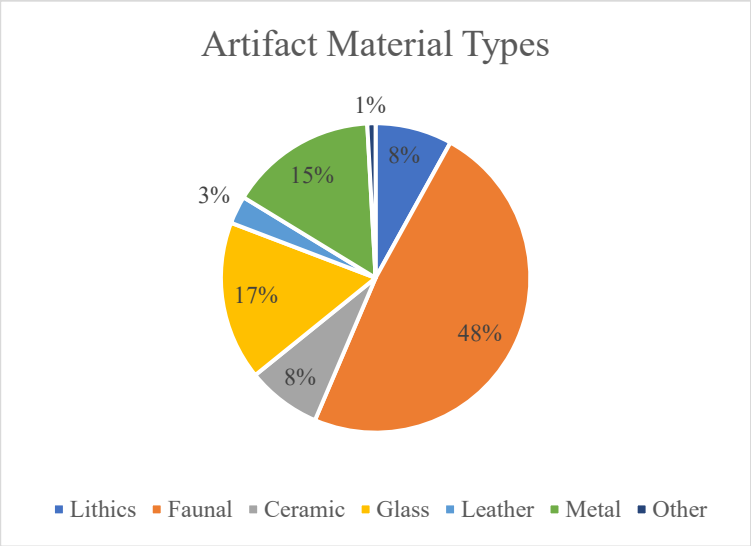


Figure 11: Data Summarization by Artifact Material Type, percentage of total

Only 340 artifacts had explicit provenience information written on tags associated with them, and 174 lacked a catalog number. But the missing catalog numbers were irrelevant because there was no catalog explaining the numbers, the artifacts, and their contexts (hopefully the Smithsonian has this information). Regardless, Malouf's report mentions artifacts within excavation areas, and from these descriptions, I was able to place quite a few objects into specific locations.

Due to the sheer amount of data, I will only focus on a few artifact types, mostly what Malouf did not include, dismissed, or might have misinterpreted. I also reanalyze some artifacts simply listed in the report that offer new and interesting stories.

FINDINGS

What is Missing and What was Missed

Ceramics

For reasons unknown, Malouf omitted the presence of seventy Plains Village pot sherds from his report. Malouf states: "No pottery from either the prehistoric level, or the historical Hidatsa was found here. The Hidatsa by this time discontinued pottery making" (Malouf 1963:141). Whether Malouf willingly excluded the sherds from his analysis is unclear, but they complicate his analysis, which may have factored into their omission.

Unfortunately, the sherds were too fragmentary to visually determine their wares. Based on visual analysis alone, a few exhibited simple stamped decoration (Figure 12), and there was a wide range of colors, with the majority being dark brown or gray, a few oxidized sherds (unknown at this time if this is due to paste or clay oxidation), and a few buff (Figures 12 and 13). Additionally, 4 rims were present, but they lacked the distinctive elements that could differentiate them as straight or S-rims.

Due to the small size of the sherds, I was unable to draw firm conclusions about them. However, ceramics from contemporary sites such as Like-A-Fishhook, are known to have been poorly compacted with larger pieces of temper and lower firing temperatures (Hollenback 2012). The sherds found at Crow-Flies-High Village, if they are indeed from the site, are better compacted and have finely ground temper. Some even resemble pre-1837 epidemic vessels. Therefore, though I cannot conclusively say, the sherds may pre-date the occupation of Crow-Flies-High Village.

Because the sherds appear to be older, and there was no evidence of pottery making at the site, one of the explanations I propose is that these sherds are from vessels that were possibly

passed down generationally, like heirlooms, or acquired when visiting traditional sites and brought to the village (Silliman 2003).

This speculation is inspired by artifacts considered "Native" or "traditional" found within undisturbed contexts at much more recent sites (Bagley et al. 2014; Silliman 2003). The legacy of archaeologists' designation of Native artifacts as prehistoric and Euro-American as historic is completely disrupted Lightfoot 1995; Panich and Schneider 2019). The "simple notion of change and continuity" is turned on its head (Panich 2021; Silliman 2003:224). Because of the undisturbed context, the presence could not be dismissed by archaeologists or forced to fit into a change/continuity framework; archaeologists had to think critically about these artifacts (Silliman 2003). One hypothesis attempting to explain this situation is that the artifacts were "reincorporated into practices that summoned deeper social memories" (Silliman 2003:224).

If these sherds were indeed collected from earlier sites or passed down, their presence at Crow-Flies-High could be an example of reincorporation and social memory. Without provenience information there is no way to confirm the context of these sherds. Additionally, with older collections such as those from the River Basin Surveys, especially those that were hurried due to rising waters such as this, it is not uncommon for artifacts from a completely different sites to be thrown into one box and put away. These sherds, found in a plastic bag, with no other accompanying information, could very well be from an older Plains Village site somewhere else along the Missouri River, and were stored with the Crow-Flies-High Village collection by accident. Moreover, there were almost fifty sherds belonging to mass-manufactured, high-fired, Anglo-American ceramic vessels and forty pieces most likely belonging to tin containers. The presence of these other artifacts used for serving and dining are

yet another factor in this confusing equation. The exact meaning of these sherds is only speculative at this time, however, their presence certainly complicates acculturative narratives.

Figure 1213: Close up of simple stamped buff sherd

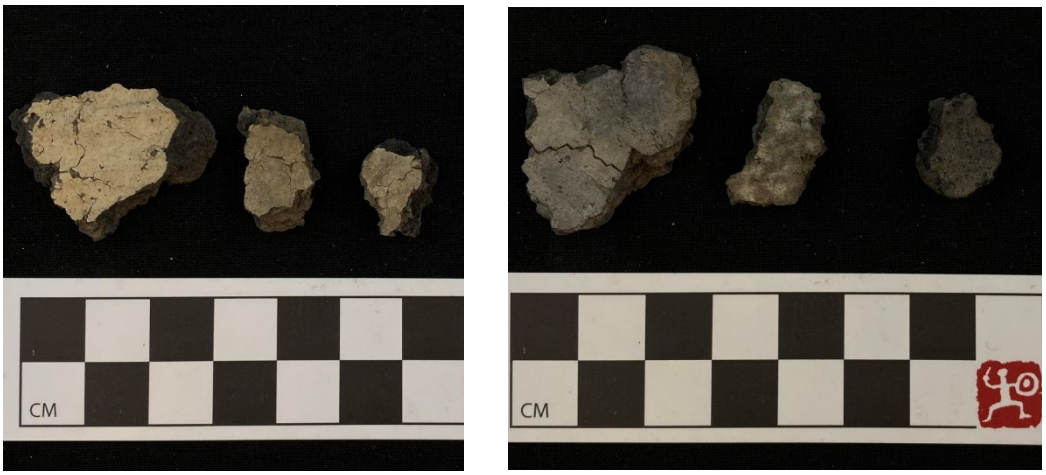


Figure 12: Sherd from Figure 12 alongside two others from same bag

Lithics

Malouf also found a significant amount of lithic materials, some of which were found inside cabins and a cache, that can be reevaluated in a similar manner. The majority of lithic materials either had no provenience or were surface finds which Malouf deemed "evidently from a prehistoric level." In this instance I do not disagree—the various flakes and two projectile points were likely churned up along with other artifacts when the site was plowed by farmers (Malouf 1963). His other claim about the surface finds: "…evidently the location of the village had been a favorite occupation ground in prehistoric times," which is made solely on the presence of Knife River Flint and the abundance of lithics, is less convincing. More oral historical work about Hidatsa and Mandan use of the area needs to be examined in order to confirm this suspicion (Malouf 1963:141).

However, a few of the lithic artifacts (Figure 14) were found inside one of the cabins and two of the cache pits: Cabin 1, Cache 2, and Cache 4. Malouf makes several confusing and sometimes contradictory statements throughout the report about possible disturbances to the cabins and caches. Overall, it seems that the excavation took place in an unplowed area, but there was some evidence for looters, especially in Cabin 1 (Malouf 1963:142, 146).

More comprehensive analyses will be possible once I have access to Malouf's notes, but the provenience of these lithics in the report raises some interesting questions. To begin, a large patinated flake of Knife River Flint was found in Cabin 1 Level 2. There were also five large flakes of heavily patinated Knife River Flint found with a tag that read: "burned area in the southside of the southeast wing of Cabin 1." In Cache 2, rocks were said to have been laid atop "a cover [that] had been placed in the neck," beneath the cover, there was evidence of a fire due to oxidized earth, and a partially dismembered calf (Malouf 1963:146). The only rocks that were

specifically provenienced by their tags to Cache 2 were an incredibly smooth river rock and a piece of sandstone. The river rock resembles burnishing stones and whetstones, both used by women in the creation of traditional pottery and hide preparation (Gilman and Schneider 1987).

Finally, the most compelling find was a broken projectile point in Cache 4 amongst porcelain doll legs, white, blue, and red glass beads, and tin cans. This prompted Malouf to conclude: "The single projectile point in the midst of such recent material must have come from an older occupational level through which the pit had been dug" (Malouf 1963:146). Again, without Malouf's fieldnotes, there is no way to confirm the context of these lithics. However, his immediate dismissal "runs the risk of swamping the complexity of the context and the historicity of material practices and misrepresenting the nature of cultural traditions, persistence, and survival" (Silliman 2003:222).

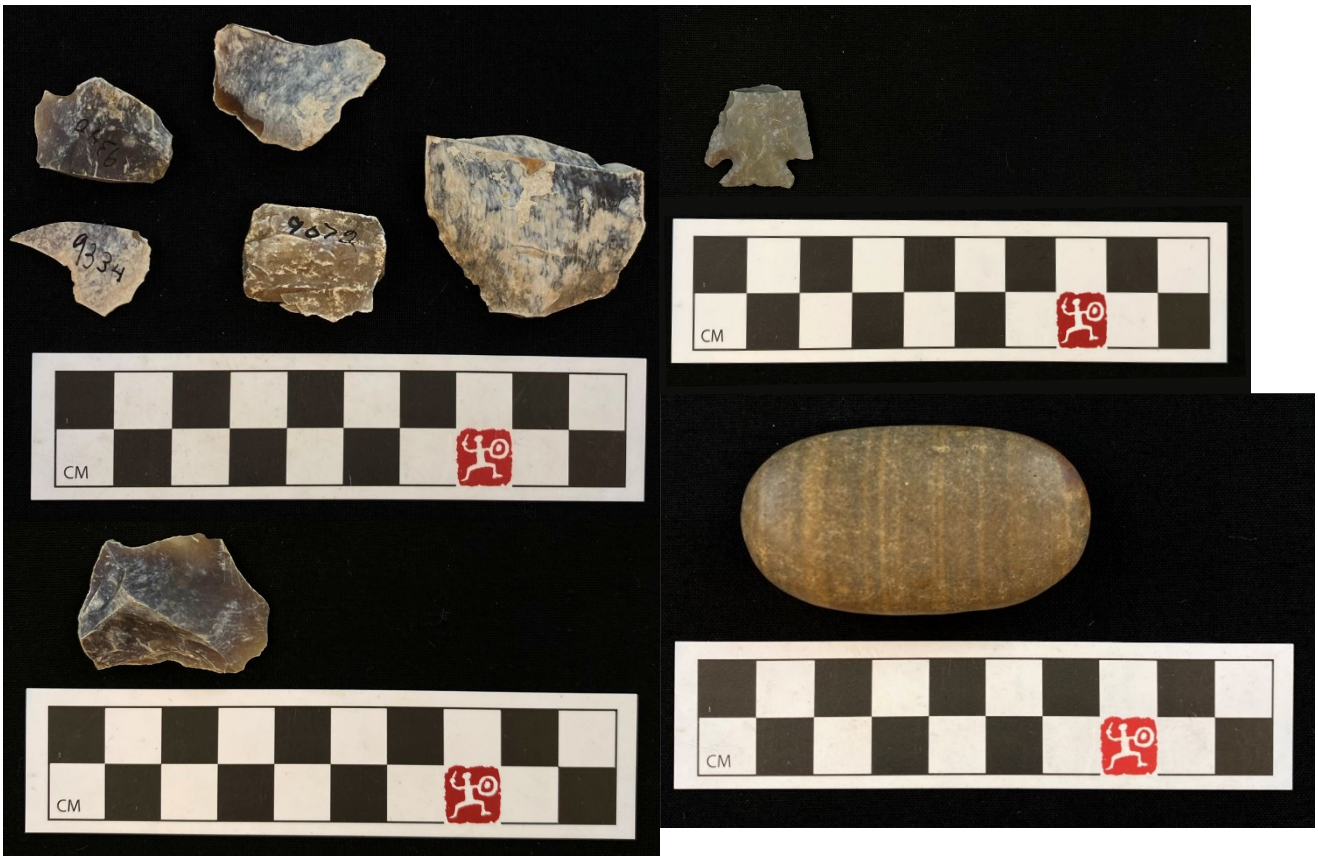


Figure 14: The only lithics with provenience. Top to bottom and left to right--five flakes from "Burned area Cabin 1," 1 flake from Cabin 1 Level 2, 1 broken projectile point from Cache 4, and smooth river rock from Cache 2.

Artifacts Indicating the Presence of Children

There were many artifacts which likely belonged to children living at Crow-Flies-High Village. The preservation of leather was remarkable, and as such, there were three soles of shoes and parts of boots, all barely larger than the 10 cm scale photographed alongside them. These included typical American-style footwear (Figure 16), but there appeared to be at least one partial moccasin (Figure 15) with stitch marks still visible. There were also toys, including a Stevens 5" VOLUNTEER cast iron cap pistol first patented in 1873, three porcelain doll legs which were found in Cabin 1 Level 2, and a white ball that is a little smaller than the size of a modern lacrosse ball.

Figure 15: Possible leather sole of moccasin, size suggests child's shoe

Figure 16: Leather sole of child's Anglo-American style shoe

In addition to the manufactured toys, there were quite a few examples of modified artifacts that could have been created for and used by children. Multiple large buttons, around 4.5 cm in diameter, cut from tin can lids and punctured with two holes were found. One of which was painted bright red. Another modified tin can lid with its lip still intact and a singular puncture (Figure 18) resembles artifacts found at Like-A-Fishhook Village that were used as wheels (Figure 19) on a toy car (Gilman and Schneider 1987). Finally, there was a brass button

engraved with “Horstmann Bros & Co. Philadelphia,” with four cut-out areas (Figure 17), possibly resembling a wheel with spokes. Horstmann Bros & Co. was a company which produced military uniforms, and buttons with the particular engraving: “Horstmann Bros & Co. Philadelphia,” date between 1867 and 1893 (Brinckerhoff 1965). It is unknown if this company was contracted to produce uniforms for Indian Scouts, but there are a few known members of the Crow-Flies-High Community, including Malouf’s informant, Adlai Stevenson or Bear-In-The-Water, who served as Indian Scouts and made up part of the military escort that brought the band back to the reservation (Barthelemy 2016; Malouf 1963). The button-wheel is possibly small example of resistance, whether intentional or not, and is worth further inquiry.

Figure 17: Horstmann Bros & Co. military button with areas removed from the center

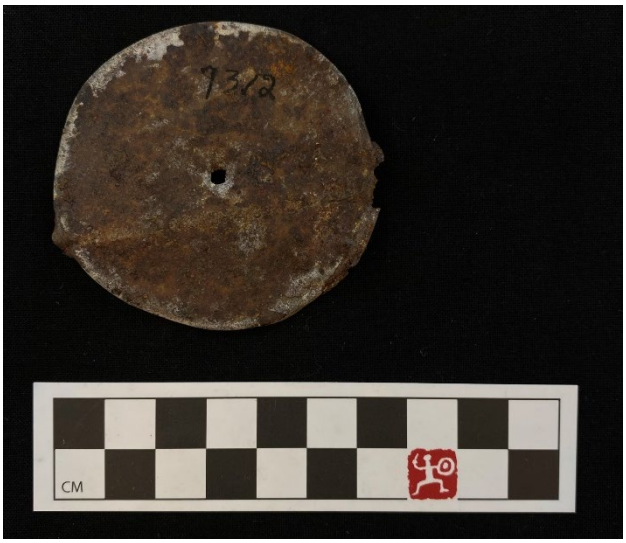


Figure 15: Perforated tin can lid resembling wheels from toy car found at Like-A-Fishhook

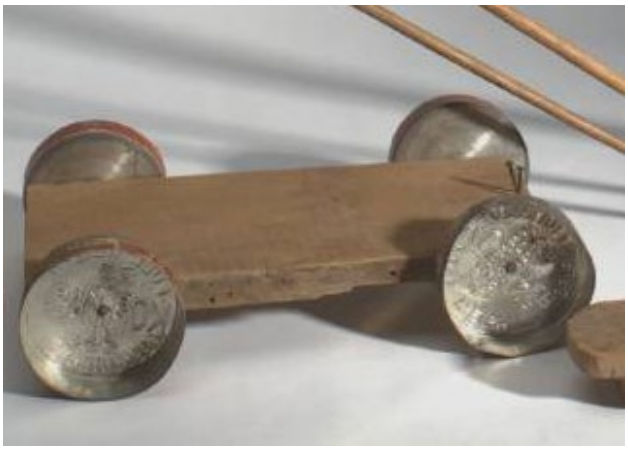


Figure 1914: Toy car collected by Gilbert Wilson from Like-A-Fishhook and given to the American Museum of Natural History. Image courtesy the American Museum of Natural History

Though these artifacts are relatively mundane, their presence at Crow-Flies-High Village, especially during the late 1880s and early 1890s is compelling when contextualized alongside the federal assimilationist policies bearing down on Native communities. A school near Like-A-Fishhook was established as early as 1876 and 1877, one Christian and another government, but both day schools (Gilman and Schneider 1987; Meyer 1977). The Crow-Flies-High community avoided the United States education system at both settlements, until in 1890, the Bureau for Catholic Indians established a school near Crow-Flies-High Village (Barthelemy 2016; Meyer 1977). However, the community refused to send their children there, 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). Meaning, these children were socialized, enculturated, and educated within their community, away from the reservation and government schooling.

Malouf likely dismissed the toys and other evidence of children because it was not popular, especially among male archaeologists, to center women and children in their analysis

until the 1980s (Gero 1985). However, children are incredibly important when examining evidence of futurity in the archaeological record. The children at Crow-Flies-High Village bridge the generations having grown up without the constraints of the reservation system and those having known no other way of life. The adults at Crow-Flies-High Village did not envision their children attending any formalized school; they were raising them away from the settler colonial and Anglo-Christian world. This is reflected in the toys—their purpose was to keep the children entertained and fulfilled at home like Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara children had always been raised. Their futures included modern mass-produced toys, but also included toys of the community's own creation, a testament to the creativity and will of the community to persist.

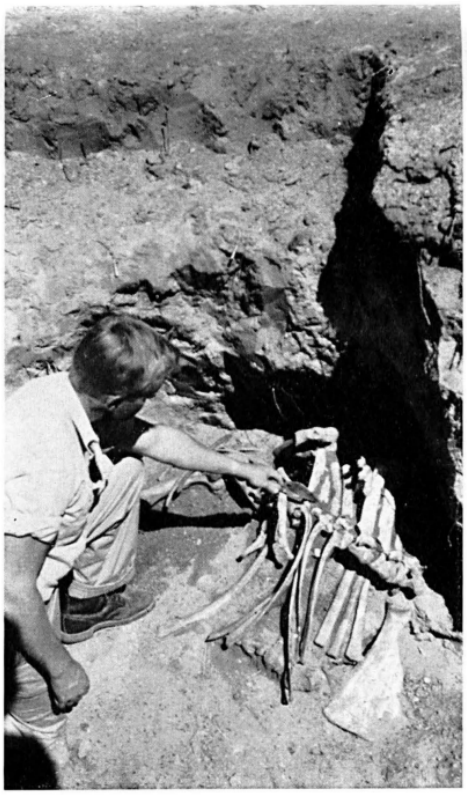
Traditional Food Storage and Preparation

Malouf provides minimal interpretation on the enormous amount of faunal remains, which included one complete and another nearly-complete calf found in the bottom of Caches 1 and 2 (Malouf 1963:144-146). Both had wood beneath them, so they were found resting slightly above the floor of the bell-shaped pits (Figure 21) (Malouf 1963:144-146). Bell-shaped pits are common at sites dating throughout the Plains Village Period, between 900-1780 (Lehmer 1971:32). Bell-shaped caches were present at the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara villages pre-dating the establishment of Like-A-Fishhook, are present at Like-A-Fishhook, and were present at Crow-Flies-High Village, demonstrating continuity regarding food storage practices throughout the centuries (Lehmer 1971; Smith 1972; Malouf 1963).

The cow found in Cache 1 (Figure 20) was "a large calf, complete and unbutchered," and "a heavy green canvas had been wrapped around the animal before it was deposited" (Malouf 1963:144). From the way the bones were positioned he concluded that the pit filled with earth after the community was forcibly removed, and that it took quite a long time to fill with dirt

(Malouf 1963:144). Cache 2 contained "a skeleton of a partially dismembered calf" (Malouf 1963:146). From the faunal remains with provenience information, I was able to discern that the majority of the Cache 2 calf (Fig. 20) is present, but it is notably missing its skull. Additionally, although not mentioned in the report, there was an incredibly fragile bison horn with a tag indicating it was found on the surface of Cache 2. By surface it is unclear if it meant the ground surface or the occupational surface approximately one foot below. The horn and a few samples of hair were the only evidence of bison in the excavated materials, but their presence, despite the near extinction of bison in this area in the early 1880s, demonstrates the continued importance of bison in Mandan and Hidatsa lives.

Upper, South end of Cabin 2, with test pit extending below floor level. *Lower*, Cow skeleton, stored in cache pit 1.



Right, Cow skeleton in cache pit 1.

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Figure 20: Complete, unbutchered, calf skeletons found in bell-shaped caches. Cache 2 pictured above and Cache 1 to the right (Malouf 1963:Plates 22-23)

These calf burials are intriguing, in addition to the bell-shaped caches, similar burials of bison have been noted at the Plains Village sites of Menoken (32BL2), occupied by the Hidatsa between 1400-1700 AD, (Personal communication) and Greenshield (32OL17), first established by the Mandan, but taken over by the Arikara in the 1790s (Nicholas and Johnson 1986). Site reports for Menoken are not readily accessible, but I was able to locate a report from an excavation conducted at Greenshield (Nicholas and Johnson 1986). The report describes:

> "A partially articulated bison skeleton was near the floor of Feature 1 (see Figure 22), the bell-shaped pit in Test 2… The entire mass rested on several large branches or small logs, laid on or near the floor of the pit…It is hypothesized that the legs were removed by the Indians to facilitate placing the animal in the pit… The rationale for interring the bison may be that the occupants of the site shared the Mandan fondness for 'aged meat.'" (Nicholas and Johnson 1986:196)

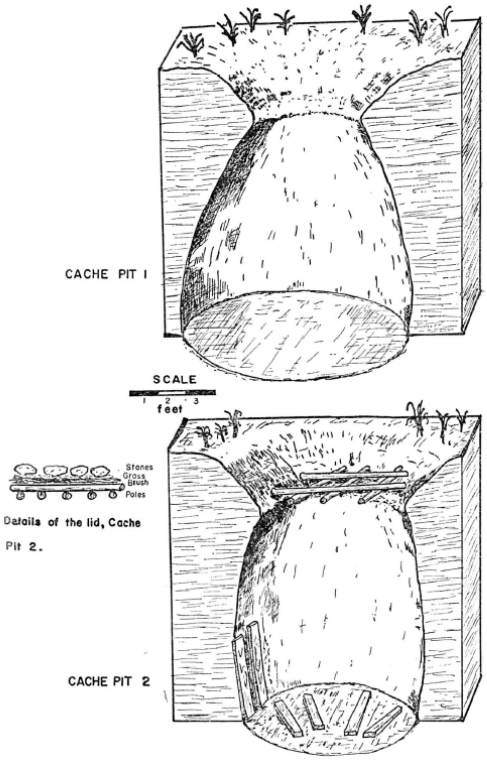

Figure 21: Bell-shaped caches containing calf burials at the Crow-Flies-High Village site (Malouf 1963:145).

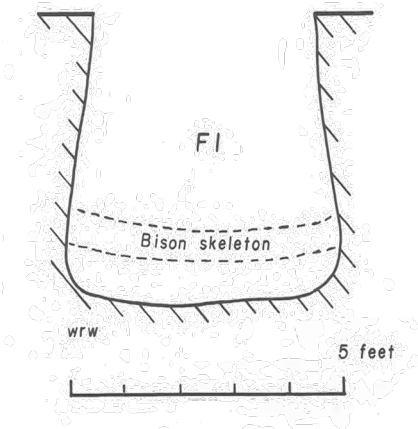

Figure 22: Cache excavated at the Greenshield site with similar burial similar to those found at Crow-Flies-High (Johnson 1986:189).

Malouf is quite positive that, based on the presence of maggot larvae and no signs of butchering, the calf in Cache 1 was placed in the cache where it then decomposed (Malouf 1963:144). The cow remains from Cache 2 showed no signs of burning, indicating the fire in Cache 2 which oxidized the soil must have taken place before the calf was deposited. This supports the idea that the cows were placed in the caches while 'raw,' possibly indicating a practice similar to that of the Greenshield burial regarding a preference for aged meat.

Furthermore, the presence of cattle at the site itself indicate ongoing trade relationships, most likely with kin and clan members on the reservation. Residents of Fort Berthold were given cattle in 1891, and though it is clear Crow-Flies-High residents did not receive annuities and rations from the government, it is unclear whether they utilized social and kin networks or other sources to obtain them anyways (Meyer 1977). Regardless, calves, likely government-issued, were present at the site (Felter 1972:81). Additionally, if the burials at Crow-Flies-High Village are in fact evidence of aging meat, this may indicate the continuance of traditional food preparation methods indicative of social memory and survivance.

Malouf does not mention anything about potential areas for cattle grazing near the site, so the likelihood of the community officially pursuing ranching is unlikely, which further supports the idea of calves acquired through social networks. Cattle for the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara were obtained specifically by the Indian Agent for ranching and selling. If the Crow-Flies-High community acquired these cattle but used them for other purposes, like the making of aged meat, this is a possible act of futurity. To explain, the futures the Crow-Flies-High community envisioned for themselves were not the same as what was imagined for them by the Indian Agent. The cow burials indicate that before their removal and return to the reservation in the

winter of 1893, they incorporated new source material into a past practice; both a reference to the past and to an anticipated new future without bison, making do with cattle.

In addition to the two complete calves, there was a considerable amount of deer and/or antelope bone. The presence of deer and antelope is significant at the site because it indicates a continuance of hunting, a practice that became increasingly difficult for those living on the reservation when game moved westward in the 1870s and 1880s (Barthelemy 2016; Gilman and Schneider 1987). Following allotment, which began in 1885 at Like-A-Fishhook, and was official in 1889, the issuing of cattle in 1891 prompted the construction of fences, limiting movement across private properties (Barthelemy 2016; Gilman and Schneider 1987). In addition to those factors, the portions of cattle ranchers did not sell at the market were for personal consumption (Felter 1972). Therefore, the likelihood of deer being hunted on the reservation dramatically decreased after the mid-1880s, but Crow-Flies-High Village was not on the reservation. They were close, but still far enough away, positioned near the Missouri River, the Little Knife River, and Antelope Creek, allowing access to more game than any area on the reservation (Malouf 1963).

The hunting of antelope and deer was not only a continuation of cultural practice indicative of survivance. Oral histories also mention that men living at Crow-Flies-High Village engaged in trade with a local American rancher, John Goodall, exchanging hides for other materials (Barthelemy 2016; Malouf 1963:138). The participation in an economy outside of government regulation and oversight also speaks to survivance and social memory. The Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara had traded with Euro Americans for over a century to acquire goods, and the trade with John Goodall was no different.

Table 2: Deer & Antelope Minimum Number of Individuals

Element	Left	Right	Undetermined	Total
Scapula	5	2	2	9
Humerus	4	3	2	9
Radius	-	3	2	5
Ulna	1	2	2	5
Femur	-	-	1	1
Tibia	3	2	1	6
Metatarsals/Metacarpals	2	3	1	6

Table 3: Deer & Antelope Number of Identified Specimens

Element	NISP	%NISP
Mandible	3	4%
Vertebrae	2	2%
Scapula	9	13%
Humerus	9	13%
Radius	5	7%
Ulna	5	7%
Femur	1	1%
Tibia	6	9%
Metatarsals/Metacarpals	6	9%
Talus	2	3%
Calcaneus	5	5%
Tarsals/Carpals	2	3%
Phalanges	13	19%
TOTAL	**68**	**100%**

DISCUSSION

In this paper, I approached the materials from Crow-Flies-High Village from a very different point of view and with very different goals than Carling Malouf back in the 1950s. He examined the archaeological record for change and interpreted the change as a loss of Indigeneity (Cipolla 2013:12; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Silliman 2009:214). I also looked for change, but instead of considering change as the rejection of past traditions, I conceptualized change as essential to keeping traditions alive. No society can endure without changing, and it does not make Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Indigeneity any less authentic (Cipolla 2013; Lightfoot et al. 1998). And after reexamining the collection, I suggest a different narrative of life at the site. The following sentences summarize my findings, and offer an alternative narrative of the Crow-Flies-High Village community. The following sentences summarize my findings.

To begin, though location of the village was off the reservation and away from the primary settlement of Like-A-Fishhook, it was still within traditional Hidatsa territory (Barthelemy 2016). In fact, it is at the center of Hidatsa territory, close to the Singing Hills and surrounded by eagle trapping locales (Barthelemy 2016; Malouf 1963). Instead of earthlodges there were rectangular cabins, which could be for any number of practical and material reasons. But more importantly, regardless of their dwelling's shape, those living at Crow-Flies-High Village organized their community the same way they had done for centuries.

Next, even if the ceramic and lithic materials I encountered during my research are older than the Crow-Flies-High Village's 19th century occupation, their presence in the collection suggests they were at the very least beneath the ground while the site was occupied. Their existence demonstrates the continuing presence of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara in this

specific area from time immemorial, into the 20th century when Malouf found them, and now beneath Lake Sakakawea.

Crow-Flies-High Village was not a settlement of elder traditionalists dissenting against reservation life. The presence of children at the site indicates it was a community determined to live on their own terms. The adults were teaching the next generation their ways of life by refusing to send their children to school (Meyer 1977). From all accounts, children grew up, played, and assisted the community in their maintenance of autonomy until the very end.

The bison were essentially extinct in North Dakota by the time Crow-Flies-High Village was first occupied in 1884, but the faunal data show hunting continued, nonetheless. Although deer did not hold nearly the same religious esteem as bison, the activity of hunting helped the village maintain self-sufficiency and maintain traditional ways of food acquisition and processing. Furthermore, the culturally specific taste for aged bovine may have persisted, changing the bovine from bison to domesticated cow. Although the source of the meat changed, the food preparation and desire for traditional cuisine continued.

Malouf's goal was to excavate and salvage the materials as fast as he could, racing against the rising Missouri waters. My goals were to take another look at the only remaining evidence of a site that had sat on a shelf for far too long. My goal was also to interrogate the archaeological interpretations made by Malouf and offer new ones. And finally, my goal was to acknowledge the ongoing process of settler colonialism, my positionality as an archaeologist operating within that system, demonstrate how the historical archaeology of the more recent past can move forward critically using the River Basin Survey data to generate new narratives of the past.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I demonstrated how approaching old archaeological work with new ideas and theoretical frameworks provides a far more nuanced view of the past. Though the majority of my analyses are different possible explanations, by allowing different interpretations, I leave room for complexity and break free from the settler colonial biases of strict categorization and concrete conclusions.

The Crow-Flies-High Village report is just one of many River Basin Survey reports that remain fundamental to the historic archaeology of the Plains but remain unquestioned. However, they must be questioned. Archaeological writing has serious consequences for the present, and it is a disservice to descendent communities who lost their heritage to the Garrison Dam when all that is left of their material culture was dug up and summarized in a report like Malouf's.

We must consider the different encounters that took place and continue to take place between settler colonialism salvage archaeology. Additionally, Plains historical archaeologists, especially those working on sites dating from the mid-19th century on, must consider settler colonialism's processes and effects on the Native inhabitants of this area. Colonialism did not end with the fur trade; it continued in a different form unique to the United States. If we do not consider this impact on Native peoples, it makes it far too easy to dismiss change as assimilation instead of change as evidence of survivance, residence, practice, memory, and futurity.

Ideally, future research on the site will include analysis of Malouf's fieldnotes to glean more provenience information and context for the artifacts. A reexamination of Garden Coulee's materials is also necessary to paint a full picture of life among the Crow-Flies-High community across their two-decade span of off-reservation life. And finally, but most importantly, more collaboration is necessary.

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