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One man's valiant efforts to negotiate for his Crow people: The outcomes in decades to follow

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The University of Arizona, 1991
ONE MAN'S VALIANT EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE FOR HIS CROW
PEOPLE: THE OUTCOMES IN DECADES TO FOLLOW

by

Philip Beaumont Jr.

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Awekualawaachish, a Crow leader, negotiated the treaties of 1851 and 1868 with the U.S. Government. The purpose of this study was to investigate this leader's family background, war deeds, and political record.

A review of documents and oral history of the Crow people revealed that this Crow Chief loved his people and negotiated to reserve land and a decent livelihood for future generations. It was evident that he had a role in shaping Crow political and social history and these are summarized.

The study revealed that in spite of his valiant attempts to negotiate a fair deal for the Crow people government schemes such as Treaties, Agreements, Executive Orders, Laws, and Court Decisions have undermined what was originally negotiated. His negotiations and subsequent legislation are summarized.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Need for Study

The clan system is the cultural/traditional backbone of the Crow tribe. By adherence to the protocols (values and traditions) embodied in the clan system, Crow oral history, world views and traditions have survived over the years. However, though many tribal values and traditions continue to be practiced, the Crow language which ensures their survival is in gradual decline. Because of the evident decline in the number of Crow speakers, the Crow perspective of history, values, and practices usually passed down orally from one generation to the next are in danger of being lost.

According to a study done by Little Big Horn College (LBHC) at Crow Agency, Montana less than 50% of the Crow continue to speak their ancestral language (Little Big Horn College, 1989). In another study done by Hardin School District 17H (Dracon, 1985), the statistics are worse, only one out of every five Crow children speaks the Crow language. Even though older Crow tribal members are fluent in the Crow language, there is a gradual decline in numbers placing the perpetuation of Crow knowledge and ways in jeopardy.
In addition to the decline in the number of speakers not much of the Crow oral history, values, and practices have been recorded. There is very little on films, audio cassette tapes, or video tapes except, for example, those at the Little Big Horn College archives, the National Archives in Washington D.C., and the Montana Historical Society in Helena, Montana. While many are exposed to traditional values and practices because of their participation in various activities, oral history, on the other hand, reaches only a small audience, that is, only those who are fluent Crow speakers and who have access to oral historians or to recorded media. The main source of historical information for many young Crow people then probably comes from history books. These are more often than not written by non-Crows and probably presented through personal interpretations based on own world views and values and the whole context is probably not taken into consideration. Also, meaning could be distorted in translation.

Besides reading history that may be distorted or incomplete, students may only be exposed to what the non-Crow writers consider significant. For example, Chief Plenty Coups (e.g: Dockstater, 1977; Evers, 1971; Edwards, 1948; Linderman, 1953, and Whittsey, 1963), was widely written about while other Crow leaders were ignored, even though they may have helped to shape Crow history. While
entire books are written on some leaders, only scattered anecdotal references are made to others such as Awekualawaachish (Chief Sits In The Middle Of The Land). Because the younger people do not see the total picture, the contributions of some Crow people may be overlooked and eventually forgotten. Because Awekualawaachish is unfamiliar to the younger people, he may become merely a mythological figure (BearClaw, 1990).

Other than the problem of younger people not receiving the Crow perspective on their own history, there are also problems of access to even the written history. Too often, whatever has been written is only in archival records or government documents seldom accessed by the average person. To find anecdotal references about the Crows in these types of documents is a time consuming and tedious process. There is a need for researchers to compile this written data into comprehensive documents to make this history more readily available.

Unless more oral history, values, and practices are recorded soon, Crow points of view are in danger of being lost as we continue to lose more (elder/Crow translators) oral historians. The young Crow readers will probably rely more heavily on history written by non-Crow historians and will miss out on the rich oral information of the Crow people. Crow scholars, themselves, need to write more
about the history and traditions of the Crow tribe, and soon, before this information source is forever lost.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this paper was to address some of the problems previously mentioned in the need for this study. Part of the study was to document Crow oral knowledge with the focus on one Crow leader, Awekualawaachish, also known as Blackfoot (1851-1877 Government Documents) according to the whites. One of the reasons for choosing to write about this Crow chief was that this writer has heard this leader's name mentioned at Crow tribal council meetings over the years, and even though the name is mentioned there are no comprehensive documents on him. Another reason is that the name was bestowed on this author so there is a certain obligation to preserve the memory of the namesake (more information on significance of names in Chapter II).

Another purpose of this study was to record Crow practices and protocols that survive to this day perhaps because of Awekualawaachish's determination to preserve Crow ways.

In summary the purposes of this study were:

1. To document Crow Oral history on Awekualawaachish so that the Crow perspective on this leader will be preserved.

2. To summarize anecdotal records from various documents on Awekualawaachish to make this information more
readily available to students of Crow history so that they will come to know about this great leader who has not been widely recognized by other writers.

3. To provide an overview of Crow Indian historical background including information before the leadership of Awekualawaachish (such as early Non-Indian contacts and the treaty period) and information subsequent to the leadership of Awekualawaachish (outcomes of treaties). This information serves to document some oral accounts of the Crow on their early history.

4. To document some Crow protocols and traditions that are still practiced today possibly because of the influence of Awekualawaachish. Documenting this oral information will preserve this knowledge for future generations.

All of this information was gathered to put to print some Crow oral historical information and to contribute to an understanding of the role of Awekualawaachish in Crow history and his continuing influence to the present day.

Research Questions

The following research questions were addressed to meet the stated purposes of this study.

1. What is the Crow historical background before the leadership of Awekualawaachish?

2. What was the family background of Awekualawaachish such as clan membership and descendants?
3. For what is Awekualawaachish remembered by Crow oral historians and what has been documented about him such as his War deeds and political record?

4. What role did Awekualawaachish play in the shaping of Crow history; in other words, what were the outcomes in the decades after his tenure as leader of his people?

5. What Crow protocols and traditions continue to be practiced today?

Research Methods and Procedures

Various documents, such as government documents, personal letters of Agents, and other archival information, were reviewed to obtain information about Awekualawaachish. Some of the literature also provided information about legislation affecting the Crows before and after the time of Awekualawaachish's leadership. In addition, to obtain other information about this leader, eleven Crow speakers were interviewed who are descendants or clan relatives or scholars of Crow oral history. Although a questionnaire was initially prepared to use as an interview guide, it was not functional in the typical research sense because an attempt was made to follow Crow principles of acquiring information.

The interviews were informal and conducted according to Crow protocols for story telling. The custom is that a person is asked to tell a story; a site is chosen, usually at the house of the host (the person requesting the story),
and a meal is provided. The story teller selects his own story to tell, and money or gifts are offered for the storyteller often amounting to tremendous expense. This custom is practiced to this very day (Beaumont, 1990). Because storytellers select their own stories, it is hardly appropriate to ask questions on a different topic.

For this particular study people were selected based on their willingness to provide information after deciding that the topic was important. The information was memory stored as paper and pencil and audio and video equipment made some of the people nervous. Notes were recorded after the interviews.

Several problems were encountered in attempts to collect oral historical data. Crow people have respect for people that have passed away and it is uncomfortable, or offensive to make reference by name to that individual; secondly, oral history of family members is often honorably kept within the family history; thirdly, not every Crow tribal member is a storyteller because it requires a keen memory to remember oral history and there are only a few tribal members with that gift (Beaumont, 1990). The power of the word is sacred among the Crow people and because the customs of story telling must be honored (the offering of food, honor, and gifts), it is not always a simple exercise to collect or record oral information. Another difficulty
encountered in this particular study is that some of the information that was shared was privileged and not meant for print at this time.

Even with the difficulties often encountered in collecting oral information, it is nevertheless the intent of this study to influence other Crows to begin gathering and recording oral historical information in some manner to share with future generations. Even if the information cannot be recorded at this time, more people must take the time to listen so they will have something to pass on orally. As in any history of people worldwide, substantial knowledge can be gained from understanding the past.

Scope of Paper

The data collected for this study are presented under different chapters. Chapter two presents the period before Awekualawaachish including early Crow history before contact with non-Indians and early contacts. Chapter three provides a biography of Awekualawaachish including information on his personal life, his war deeds which earned him his chieftainship, and his political involvements resulting in the genesis of legislation affecting the Crow right to the modern day. Chapter four covers the decades subsequent to the life of Awekualawaachish including the political and social life of the Crow tribe. Chapter five gives the summary of the study.
CHAPTER II

LIFE BEFORE THE LEADERSHIP OF AWEKUALAWAACHISH

Crow Tribe Historical Background

This chapter covers the early history of the Crow before Awekualawaachish. Because this study is in part an oral history project, this section will start with the Crow perspective of their Creation. Included will be early demographic information, such as the migration of the Crow to what became their territory. Also included will be background information on their traditional economic livelihood and early social dynamics such as the significance of the clan system. The chapter will end with how life began to change with the coming of the white man.

Creation Story

The Crow's version of their creation is that there was already an earth with water, and Akbaatatdia, the creator (Old Horn, 1990). There was Isaikebuattee, or Old Man Coyote, the mythological/trickster to the Crow Indians (Lowie, 1935). Numerous variations of the Creation story exist. In detail one of the accounts of the Crow's creation is as follows.

According to Crow accounts the creation of the Crow Indians begins upon the earth. God made the earth and as He sat in the middle of this land surrounded by water, He called forth some ducks
swimming in the great Waters. God called out to these ducks and asked who was the strongest of the ducks, for there was a task to be done. God wanted the strongest of the ducks to dive into the water to get some fine clay. Upon this request one of the ducks came forth and dove to the depths of the sea and came up with some fine clay. When receiving this clay the Creator shaped it into a figure—a human figure. After he made this human figure, it was placed on the earth and God blew a breath of air into the nostrils and body of the human figure. This breath of air brought the human figure to life, God called this human figure a human being. God continued to make men. He made men and through an act to determine the bravest he came upon the Crow Indian. First-maker through an act of courage placed the Crow in the middle of the land because he was the bravest. Crows were placed in the center of the land and his enemies were placed around him. Of the many men God made, some were different and they were many. God said, these are different, I will place them elsewhere and then threw them across the oceans into different lands. First-maker continued to make more men and then women, but he asked the super-natural beings; Old Man Coyote and Red Woman "Chilabe" to help create the mountains, trees and animals...it was then that the horse was also created. It too came from the Great Water. This were the Crow word "bimmuniichile" comes first. (note: translates; cold water)

After Red Women made lakes and rivers, Old Man Coyote walked along the shores and river beds there...upon seeing driftwood...seeing how they clung together...Old Man Coyote made the Driftwood clan for the Crow and Crows believe as long as they have a Crow Mother with a Clan they are Crows. So, some elders say that as long as there is one Crow living, we will live in this land of itcheckaashe. (Flat Lip, 1989, pg. 2).

Crow Migration

Through oral history the Crows have their accounts of how they came to their present territory. According to Medicine Crow (1939) the migration of the Crow occurred
nearly five hundred years ago. Joe Medicine Crow is the tribal historian appointed by tribal council resolution.

During a class discussion, Medicine Crow (1990) outlined the migration of the Crow Indians. A condensed version follows. The ancestral tribe of the Hidatsa and the Crows once lived toward the east in the "tree country," believed to be the western end of the great lakes. The tribes moved westward and caught up with the buffalo herds and assumed a more leisurely way of life. In about 1550 this ancestral tribe moved southwestward and stopped somewhere at Sacred Waters (Devil's lake in North Dakota). The journey continued until two chiefs, No Vitals and Red Scout both fasted and sought the Great Spirit's guidance on their journey. Each then received a vision: first Red Scout received an ear of corn and was told to settle down and plant the seed for his subsistence. No Vitals received a pod of seeds and was told to go west to the high mountains and plant the seeds there. The great spirit promised No Vitals that his people would someday increase in numbers, become powerful, rich, and own a large, good, and beautiful land. The tribes settled in the vicinity of the Knife/Missouri River. Medicine Crow emphasised that probably between 1600 and 1625 No Vitals finally decided to continue westward and plant the sacred seeds and look for the promised land. The tribe lived for a while in the
Cardston, Alberta country and eventually continued southward to find a better place to live. The nomadic tribe wandered into present day Utah, north Texas and Oklahoma. The tribe eventually journeyed north and west following the Platte River and eventually entered into what is now northern Wyoming and southern Montana. At the turn of the 17th century the sacred seeds were entrusted with the care of Running Coyote. The migration was purposely made. It was motivated by the promise of a good land.

There are other Crow stories that the elders tell to young ones of where the tribe once roamed. The following was stated by Beaumont (1990), "My grandmother told me a story about when the Crow were living in the land of many lakes (bileskaaho). A tortoise was traveling overland from one lake to the next and encountered a number of Crow children who were playing and frolicking in the field. The children began to jump on the back of the tortoise, ride for awhile and jump off. One young girl told the others not to bother the tortoise because, "the elders have taught us that the Great Spirit (Egichbalelish) has given the living things of the water, certain powers. Leave it alone!" She pleaded to no avail. As the tortoise neared the second lake, there were four of the young people that were now stuck to the shell and could not escape. They begin to cry and messages to their loved ones were given to the faithful girl who gave
the warning to deliver. The tortoise went under water with the children and great grieve came upon the Crow tribe. To this day, the Crow respect the living things of the land and water. This story indicates that at one time the Crows lived in a land of lakes.

According to different sources the traditional territory before confinement to the reservation included the mountains, valleys, and vast plains of present day northwest United States and Canada. One source mentions that, "The Crow who called themselves Absaroke (the name of a bird no longer found in the region) were a Siouxian tribe living in southwest Montana and northern Wyoming in the 18th century (Lowie, 1935). The Crow call themselves "Apsalooka" as listed in a Crow dictionary (Tuska, 1979, p. 5) and not "Apsaroke".

Another source mentions that archaeologists have found evidence that the Crow Indians lived as far north as southwestern Alberta, Canada; northeast to lake Winnipeg, Canada; southeast to Arkansas and Canada Rivers; west to the great Salt Lake; and south to New Mexico (Medicine Crow, 1990).

The Crow had visited neighboring tribes and others had roamed further. Oral stories still exist today of these places. In the language of the Apsalooka there are descriptive words for these distant places. The Navaho are
called akbishxassilia or "wears stripped blanket" (Tuska, 1979 p.151).

**Early Crow Livelihood**

These people of the northern plains were a small, nomadic tribe and their livelihood was based on hunting small and large game animals and plant gathering. Early oral stories of the Apsalooka tell about how life was before the coming of non-Indians. These included: camp life, hunting and gathering of food, tool and weapon making, social lives of both man and woman, and warrior exploits. Some archeological and historical records support the oral historical accounts.

The livelihood of the Apsalooka was not easy. The Apsalooka had to deal with the natural forces, such as some weather conditions (severe blizzards, droughts), natural disasters (earthquakes, tornadoes, grasshopper infestations, timber and range fires, and so on). Other forces beyond their control were: lack of small/large game to kill, early frost and no berries to pick, and lack of wild turnips to gather.

The Apsalooka traded with other neighboring tribes for clothing, weapons, and food that they needed. These included: pipestone, flint, salt, tobacco, corn, squash. They traded for domestic dogs for guarding camps and to pack belongings when traveling.
The Apsalooka gathered, herbs and plants from the land for medicine which they administered to tribal members that needed doctoring. The role of man or woman in the capacity of administering medicine to the sick was either inherited or bestowed when fasting. The medicines were stored in buffalo hide parfleche bags or wrapped in "medicine bundles". The objects were kept in a special place in the tipi's. Great care was administered to these "medicine bundles". A virtuous woman within the man's lodge was appointed to be keeper of the medicine bundle (Frey, 1987).

The Apsalooka practiced religion with the natural forces. The Creator took care of the Apsalooka as they lived in this vast country. The Apsalooka took care of the land, and did not disturb the environment. They accepted and adapted what the four seasons had to offer. The calendar of the Apsalooka and the other natives consisted of keeping track of the passing of winter seasons and the new moons. Each moon had a name and the number of moons represented a new season. This the Apsalooka anxiously awaited. According to Crow sacred beliefs, the creator bestowed upon the Crow people the gifts of tobacco seeds to plant; sundance; sweat lodge; and sacred rocks. These four gifts if the Crow practiced they would live forever (Medicine Crow, 1990).

In the past they were blessed with memories of hardships and good times. In the present they made do with
whatever it had to offer, and the future will come. This was the way before the coming of non-Indians.

The following excerpt provides a concise summary of the early life of the Crow.

The days before the extermination of the buffalo the Crow Indians were the plains Indian par excellence. They were the wealthiest and the best dressed Indians in the entire upper Missouri region...they were well renowned both for their steadfast friendship toward the whites and for their courageous struggle to preserve their fine hunting grounds and large herds from the hostile incursions of the aggressive and more numerous Blackfeet tribes from the North and the powerful Teton Dakota from the east (Ewers and Wildschut, 1959 p. 4).

Another excerpt states that, "The Crows before the invasion of the foreign white people were considered an industrious and peaceful tribe. When any neighboring Indian tribes killed or inflicted harm to any tribal member, only then would the Crows seek revenge" (Voget, 1984, p. 54).

The tribe consisted of two main groups called the Mountain Crow and the River Crow. They were at one time divided into 13 (thirteen) matrilineal clans (Voget, 1984). There were two smaller groups that played major roles in the Crow tribe, the Kick-In-The-Belly and Dries His Fur Band. Both continued to hunt and camp with the larger principal groups (Old Horn, 1990).

The hunt for food was the principal reason the Apsalooka (Crows) were separated into these groups. It was
economical to move smaller camps to various hunting territories. The different Apsalooka groups got together for socializing or war against other neighboring tribes.

Crow Social System

The social organization of the Crow was based on the clan system. The clan system of the Crow tribe is a very complex system (Medicine Crow, 1990). "The clan system represents the social side of the tribal organization... neither political nor governmental" (Medicine Crow, 1939, p. 38).

The system consists of the matrilineal and patrilineal system. A Crow child born into this world automatically belongs to the matrilineal clan, however, by adoption or choice the child can be a member of another clan (Frey, 1987, p. 26). Lowie's (1935) research supports this, "the system was matrilineal since the children of a family all took their mother's clan name; and it included not only individuals related by blood through their mothers, but also unrelated folk reckoned as kin by a legal fiction" (p. 9).

A Crow child is always associated with a clan and never is without a clan; in other words, never an orphan. The child's mother's or father's clan automatically takes care of his or her education, socialization and livelihood.

Description of Clans

According to Crow oral tradition the Crow clan system
was originated by the First Creator. The clans as documented by the Bilingual Materials Center (1986) at Crow Agency, Montana, are described below. The majority of the material about clans was gathered from interviews with Crow elders over the years and some have since passed away.

1. He said these are the Greasy Mouths (Uuwuutasshe)- When they go hunting and bring in meat, their meats are fat and good. From eating fat meat, their mouths are greasy that's why I call them Greasy Mouths.

2. Sore Lips (Ashshiooshe)- They are called Sore Lips because they are traveling and moving all the time and live outdoors mostly so their lips are sore from the wind, dust and sun. They are outdoorsmen.

3. Well Off Prairie Dogs (Chipawaaitsche)- They are rich and well off. Sometime, later on, one of the clan members married one of his clan sisters and this has made confusion amongst the clans and later on were called Whistling Waters.

4. Whistling Water - They have disappeared into the woods near rivers because of the insult which one of the members of the clans committed by marrying a sister. Through this confusion they have taken into the woods near rivers and talking along by the side of the river, as if whistling in their talk or words spoken, and some of their language has been changed and cannot be understood by members of the other different clans. This is one of the reasons why they are called Whistling Waters (Bilikooshe).

5. Bad War Deeds (Askapkawia)- There were very few in numbers, and their warriors are all bad in some ways, when they go off to war or battle, they usually committed something had or insulting things being committed by the warriors at war and coming back from war or battle. This is why they are called Bad War Deeds. Their deeds at war are always bad.
6. Treacherous Clans (Ashbatshua)- They are mean and treacherous. Fighting all the other clans and were very treacherous. This is why they are called the treacherous clans.

7. Piegans (Ashkamne)- They are like the Piegan tribe of Indians. Member of the clan called, One Eye, has fought against the Whistling Waters and that is why they are called Piegans, Ashkamne, by members of the Crow tribe.

8. Ties The Bundle (Xuhkalaxhe)- They are always late and slow in everything they do. Whey they are moving, they tie everything, their belongings, all together in one bundle in a hurry to move on. So this is why they are called Ties the bundle.

9. Filth Eaters (Ashpaanduushe)- One of the members of this clan's wife has run off with another man, and this woman's husband went after and took her back again. Other clans have made a song for this man and in the song they said he was a filth eater, so this is why they called them Filth Eater from the song.

10. Get Game Without shooting (Uhssoowatche)- When other members of the tribe go on a hunting party for meat, these clans are always slow and late for their hunting for meat. By the time they arrive the other tribe or clans have already killed their games and would be all through butchering so they always get their meat from the other hunting parties without killing any games. This is why they are called Gets Game Without Shooting.

11. Big Lodge, also referred to as thick lodge (Ashshitchite)- These clans are big and heavy. The women and men were built in their structures of their body, big and heavy, so this is why they are called Big Lodge.

12. New Lodge (Ashhilalio)- After he named all the other clans he forgot this clan because they are new and were reorganized from the other clans. They drifted from the other clans and were reorganized later on by themselves and were fairly new clan.

13. Streaked Lodge (Ashxatche)- These clans' tepee or lodges were made out of hides which the hair of the buffalo were not scraped off completely so
their tepee were streaked with hair.

According to the research of the BMDC, as most of the original organized clans diminished and vanished away, the tribe got together and re-established the clan system. The following are the reorganized clans.

1. The Greasy Mouth and Sore Lips were combined into one clan known today as Greasy Mouth, Uuwuutasshe.

2. The Well Off Prairie Dogs, Whistling Water and Bad War Deeds were all combined together. Today they are known as the Whistling Water, Bilikooshe.
3. The Treacherous Clan and Piegans were also combined and known as the Piegans, Ashkamne.

4. The Ties the Bundle, Filth Eaters and Gets Game Without Shooting were all combined into one clan known as the Ties the Bundle, Xuhkalaxche.

5. The Big Lodge and New Lodge were also combined and known as the Big Lodge, Ashshitchite.

Today, the five reorganized clans in the Crow tribe continue to exist. According to the Bilingual Materials Center Development (1986) the, "Streaked Lodges vanished. Not one was known or existed among the tribe. This was a lost clan in our tribe".

Many Crow values and practices are reinforced through the clan system such as respect for the elders of one's clan. The significance and importance of the clan system must be understood by the younger generation because the Crow tribe's survival depends on the perpetuation of this system. The Crow's livelihood is based on the clan system
from day to day.

Up to now many Crows still practice the protocols instituted by the traditional clan system. The respect for one's clan continues to be handed down from generation to generation. The Crow elders orally share the tradition and culture with children. Some of the protocols that continue to exist in the present day are discussed in chapter IV.

Treaty of 1825

Crow life began to change with the coming of non-Indian people. The government began to seek ways to accommodate the foreigners, such as the signing of treaties.

The first Crow treaty with the United States government, the Peace Treaty of August 4, 1825, established official peace and a pledge of friendship between the Crow Indians and the United States (Kappler, 1904, pg. 244-46). This treaty was signed at a Mandan village in the upper Missouri river country. A total of six articles were in this treaty. The main purpose of the treaty was to establish United States' supremacy and peace, regulate trade, regulate trading licenses, establish military posts, and ensure safe passage of citizens and no war with United States.

The famous Crow Chief Long Hair was a signer of this peace treaty along with fifteen other prominent head men. The following excerpt indicates that Chief Long Hair was the
first to describe the boundaries of Crow territory using the analogy of the four main poles of the tepee lodge (BearClaw, 1990).

"When we set up our lodge-poles, one reaches to the Yellowstone; the other is on White River; another one goes to Wind River; the other lodges on the Bridger Mountains" (Brunot Report, C.R. 1873, p. 128).

Later in negotiating Crow boundaries Awekualawaachish used this same quote of Chief Long Hair in the Treaty of 1825 (BearClaw, 1990).

The next passage describes what the Crow country meant to the people.

After a luscious meal of barbecued buffalo meat, Chief Arapooish puffed leisurely on his calumet and said in soliloquy: "The Crow country is a good country. In it roam the elk, deer, buffalo, and small animals that are fat and good to eat; in it grow sweet berries, plums, cherries and roots. The Great Spirit has put it in the right place. To the north, it is too cold; to the west, too rough and rocky; to the east, too flat; and to the south, too hot" (Medicine Crow, 1939, pages VII-VIII).

Reference to the Peace treaty of 1925 was mentioned in this chapter to describe the political climate before the leadership of Awekualawaachish. The Crow Indians stated clearly what they considered to be their nomadic and hunting grounds, but they did not realize that the considerable portions of these lands were dwindling away because of pressure groups against the U.S. government for land.
This chapter described the early history of the Crows to provide an understanding of the environment into which Awekualawaachish was born. The next chapter describes the life of Awekualawaachish.
CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND ON AWEKUALAWAACISH

The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings to Research Questions two and three which relate to the life of Awekualawaachish. The questions are:

1. What was the family background of Awekualawachish (such as clan membership and descendants)?

2. For what is Awekualawaachish remembered for by Crow oral historians and by other writers, such as his war deeds and political record?

The information is presented under the following sections: the family background of Awekualawaachish, the war deeds of Awekualawaachish, and the political record of Awekualawaachish.

Family Background of Awekualawaachish

Awekualawaachish was born about 1795 and died in the fall of 1877 (Curtis, 1909; Keller, 1878). This establishes that at the time of his death he was eighty-two years old. The accounts of his clan membership differ. According to Old Horn (1990) his maternal clan was the Ashshitchita (Thick Lodge) clan. Leforge, an early interpreter among the Crows, mentioned that he was a member of the Burnt Mouth clan (Leforge-Marquis, 1928), while Curtis (1909) wrote that
Blackfoot was a member of the Sorelips clan. Based on personal interviews and the Curtis information it is likely that the Sorelips and Burntmouth clans merged or were of one clan. The question of Awekualawaachish's maternal and paternal clan affiliation lingers with skepticism. Government officials did keep records on offspring and land holdings, but not clan systems.

Awekualawaachish was a member of the Mountain Crow Band (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986; Commissioners Report, 1873). This band was considered the largest band. The Kick-In-The-Bellies, a sub-group, hunted and roamed with the Mountain Crow (Taylor, 1981).

He had at least four different wives including a Sioux woman (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986; Shields, 1990). It was mentioned that he had a son and some daughters, but his son did not inherit the chieftainship since this was an earned position (Old Horn, 1990).

Awekualawaachish described what life was like in his childhood by the following passage:

When I was a boy, we had no iron to make arrowheads, knives, or axes; and we would roam the prairie and pickup old shoulder blades to make all the things we needed. Then we had no white man among us. We would pick up flints to make a fire and to make arrows and knives. My grandmother used to take a tripe and make a kettle out of it to cook in and also to carry water with. (DeMallie, 1975, page 88).
War Deeds of Awekualawaachish

To become a chief of the Crow tribe, a warrior must accomplish the four valor deeds: steal a horse from an enemy camp, strike an enemy, take an enemy's weapon, and save a Crow from a battleground (Medicine Crow, 1990; Beaumont, 1990; Old Horn, 1990; Lowie, 1935). The chieftainship was not an inherited position but an earned position.

In one of his battles near Wyola, Montana, in a hand to hand combat Awekualawaachish subdued an enemy and wrestled his weapon away at the same time. Since he counted coup and captured a weapon at the same time, he achieved two of the four war deeds necessary to become a chief (Apsalooke Bachacheem, 1986). According to Old Horn (1990) in another battle with an enemy in the vicinity of Fly Creek (between the present Billings and Hardin, Montana) Awekualawaachish persuaded his fellow Crow warriors to get away while they could, and in the meantime he and another companion remained behind to slow the enemy. During the encounter with the enemy Awekualawaachish killed one enemy warrior and the other remaining enemy group members were alarmed and stopped chasing the Crows. He was said to have had strong medicine (Old Horn, 1990). From another source it was mentioned that, "His medicine was the wild goose. He wore the head and tail of the goose on his head with two attached thin strips of flannel going down his back" (Apsalooke
From the evidence provided it is clear that Awekualawaachish accomplished whatever was necessary to become a leader. "Through warfare and capturing many horses, he accomplished the four deeds necessary to achieve chieftainship" (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986, p. 38).

**Political Record of Awekualawaachish**

This section covers the political background of Awekualawaachish. Included is a summary of his qualities as a leader and a summary of some of the terms included in his treaty negotiations. This section ends with a chronological summary of his political activities.

**Awekualawaachish's Qualities as a Leader**

Awekualawaachish rose to become a great chief and what distinguished him and set him above the other chiefs were his statesmanship (including oratory) and foresight (Apsalooke Bachacheem, 1986). It is important to note that the statesmanship and peace-making abilities of Awekualawaachish were not just limited to his negotiations with the United States, but involved dealings with other tribes and his own people as well (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986).

There are many references to his statesmanship and foresight in anecdotal records. For example, it was mentioned that it is in negotiations with the United States
where one can really see the strength, power, and foresight of Awekualawaachish as a Statesman (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986). Even though he had the unpleasant task of relating how the government had not met treaty promises he remained diplomatic, as shown by this own words.

> We came here to shake hands with you; and we wanted you to think well of the Crows. We mean to do right, and we will listen to what you say to us (Commissioner Reports, 1873, p. 124).

Besides evidence of his willingness to negotiate he also exhibited concern for the physical comfort of the other party as shown by this citation.

> I was raised and born on the dust, but I shake hands with you all. I am glad to see you. I come a long way. (presenting a robe to Commissioner Taylor). I make you a present of this robe, it is cold. Take it to cover yourself (Demallie, 1975, p. 88).

Awekualawaachish appeared to be a great Statesman not only in his dealings with the government but in dealings with his own people; for example at one time when the government wanted to negotiate separately with the Mountain and River Crows he said, "The River Crows belong to me, and I want you to treat us all alike" (Commissioner Reports, 1873, p. 124).

Although Awekualawaachish was the leader he did not have dictatorial powers. Being the statesman that he was he allowed others to have their say. Before the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty 1851, Awekualawaachish gathered Crow leaders
and as each talked he gathered important issues to negotiate with the Peace Commission. This strategy was later used in the 1868 Treaty and 1873 Agreement meetings.

When dealing with other tribes, Awekualawaachish gave evidence of strong foresight and wisdom concerning the future of the Crows. In one instance he went into the Sioux camp alone and they had made an offer to give the Crows 260 horses and mules to join them (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986).

However, this he refused. Although the Crows had been pressed by both the whites and the Sioux, Awekualawaachish knew that if the Crows had to make a choice, it would be best to aid the whites or at least stay friendly to them. It was evident that they were much more numerous and powerful than the Sioux. Therefore, Awekualawaachish probably helped his tribe to retain their friendship with the whites so that the Crows may keep their land (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986).

He tried to be a negotiator between the Sioux and the government. He stated,

There are hard feelings between you and the Sioux and it is better to wait until spring, when you will meet them, and you can ascertain their feelings towards you. We will wait until you come to Phil Kearney and you can see all the Indians together. We will then sign the treaty. (DeMallie, 1975, p. 91).

Another example in his dealings with other tribes had to do with the Shoshones. The Crows had both traded with
and warred against the Shoshones for decades, and the Sioux and Cheyennes also fought the Shoshones. Awekualawaachish, encouraged by the United States government to make peace, saw his opportunity. With the Sioux and Cheyenne increasingly encroaching on both Crow and Shoshone land, it would be good to make common cause against the invaders. (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986).

The Crow and Shoshones were only weakening themselves by fighting each other. In about 1869, Awekualawaachish proposed to Chief Washakie of the Shoshone that they make peace with each other and create an alliance against the Sioux and Cheyenne, joining the whites against them. This was accepted. Thus, Awekualawaachish again showed his brilliance in adopting another strategy to help protect Crow country and people (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986).

Because of his statesmanship, he could be called a policy maker, politician, and forceful diplomat, but he was also known for being a long-winded, persuasive, eloquent, and powerful orator (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986). There are many examples of his tremendous stamina as a speaker: at one point in the 1873 negotiations regarding the possible move of the tribe to the Judith Basin, he stated that, "we have talked three days, and my tongue is not tired" Commissioners Report, 1873, p. 130).

In communicating with the government representatives,
he used his oratory skills to recite a long list of the friendliness and cooperation of the Crows with the whites and then contrasted this with the treatment that the whites had given to the Crows (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986). For example, Awekualawaachish when discussing the outcomes of the 1868 treaty stated:

We told them (government negotiators) there were many bad Indians, but that we would hold on to the hands of the white man, and would love each other. We told them the Piegans, the Sioux, and other tribes have killed whitemen. The treaty, you say, has bought all our land except on this side of the river (south bank of the Yellowstone), and what do we get for it? I am ashamed about it. We sell our land, and what do we get for it? We get a pair of stockings and when we put them on they go to pieces. They (government agents) get some old shirts, and have them washed, and give them to us; we put them on, and our elbows go right through them. They send us tin kettles; we get to get water to carry to our lodges; we dip the water up, but it all runs out again. That is what we get for our land. (Council Report, 1873, p. 138).

Negotiations on Behalf of the Crow Tribe

This section presents some of what Awekualawaachish negotiated on behalf of the Crow Tribe and some of what were articles of the treaties he was involved in. Even after the treaties he continued to make appeals on some of the terms that had not been met. Reports show that he was quite concerned that what he thought he negotiated did not appear in the treaty, for example, in his 1873 testimony he said,

The first time I went to Fort Laramie and met the peace commissioners, what each said to the other, we said "Yes, yes. " The second time we went, we signed the treaty; but neither of us, my white
friends nor the Indian chiefs, said "Yes, yes,"
to what is in that treaty. What we said to them,
and what they said to us, was "Good." We said,
"Yes, yes," to it; but it is not in the treaty.
(Council Report, 1873, p. 136).

We told the peace commissioners at Laramie we
would hold on the white man's hand always. It was
put on paper there; we have a copy and I will show
it to you (Commissioners Report, 1873, p. 134).

The following is a summary of some of what was included
in the negotiations between the government and the Crow
tribe during his tenure as leader of his people.

1. Peace. One of the terms that Awekualawaachish
negotiated (1851 Treaty Article I and 1868 Treaty Article I)
was peace in exchange for land set aside for the Crows. The
following expresses his commitment to peace.

If you wish to have peace with all the Indians get
them all together and make peace with them. Then
I will make peace with them, too (Commissioners
Report, 1873, p. 127).

We went to Laramie the commissioners asked us to
make peace with the Snakes. We did so and love
them; we know and like Wash-a-Kie, and we made
peace with him..., as long as there are Crows, and
that is what we want for our piece of land.
(Commissioners Report, 1873, p. 131).

2. Land and Boundaries. The traditional territory was
important to the Crow. Their former Chief No Vitals, saw in
a vision a great land for the Apsalooka. He saw in his
vision that as long as the Crows plant the tobacco seeds,
they will live in this great land (Frey, 1987). The
government increasingly saw the need to establish boundaries
for Crow land. They did live in this great land until Awekualawaachish and the other Crow leaders negotiated eight Articles including 38 million acres in the 1851 treaty.

A few years after this treaty in 1864 the government approved a plan to link the railroads from the east coast to the west coast. There was constant pressure from cattlemen, miners, settlers, and other Indian tribes for Crow hunting grounds. Twelve Articles in the 1868 treaty were negotiated reducing the land to 8 million acres. After the initial negotiations Awekualawaachish continued to make pleas to the government to have promises regarding land be upheld. He was concerned that others did not observe the boundaries that were established. He stated,

On this side of the Yellowstone there is a lake; about it are buffalo. It is a rich country; the whites are on it they are stealing our quartz; it is ours, but we say nothing to them. The whites steal a great deal of our money (Commissioner Report, 1873, p. 128).

He was also concerned that what he thought he had negotiated regarding the Powder River road was not in the Treaty.

We ask that the white man's road along Powder River be abandoned, and that the grass be permitted to grow in it. They said "Yes, yes;" but it is not in the treaty. (Sec. Cree, Report of Council to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873, p. 136).

The following he continued to stress to the Commissioners:
When we set up our lodge-poles, one reaches to the Yellowstone; the other is on White River; another one goes to Wind River; the other lodges on the Bridger Mountains (Commissioners Report, 1873, p. 128).

3. Agency and Buildings. In the negotiations between Awekualawaachish and the government there was mention of the provision of an agency and buildings (Article II, 1868). A fort for protection had been previously mentioned in the 1825 treaty.

An agency was to be built for storage of records, and annuities, and for accommodations for government employees. The agent and employees were housed in this agency. When the agency was eventually built, it included a general store, blacksmith shop, school house, and lumbermill. The Crow Indians did trading at the store.

The agency was not built immediately. Thomas Laforge a government employee reported to an agent in the 1870's of his misconduct while he was an employee for the government. He and a group of Crow Indians he recruited were supposed to obtain logs for a new building at the first agency. They apparently spent most of their time enjoying themselves. He reported mostly "dancing and leisure" (Laforge and Marquis, 1974).

The first agency was built in a valley near the present site of Livingston, Montana. Awekualawaachish was unhappy
about the location. He said:

The agency buildings were burned up; they ought to be built somewhere else very strong; where there is plenty of wood and water and good farming land, and where the Indians can stay in the winter without having their heads blown off by the wind. (Commissioners Report, 1873, p. 134).

4. Right to Hunt. In any territory of the reservation as long as there no settlements, the Crow people were free to hunt and fish (Article IV, 1868). Also, they could hunt in any of the territory they gave up as long there was no settlement in the area. In other words they could hunt in any part of the thirty-eight million acres originally negotiated with the government.

5. Good Agents. Awekualawaachish negotiated for good agents (Article V, 1868). The Crow Indians became attached to new found friends whom they trusted. In his negotiations the Chief said,

We were told at Laramie I have in my heart. They told us to look out for a white man with a good heart for our agent. We have found him. Here is Pease. (Commissioners Report, 1873, p. 131).

New administrations with new policies appointed agents at a rapid rate. The Crow Indians were concerned about losing their present agent Pease. The lack of trust of some agents and the appeal to keep Pease is expressed by the following statement,

When Major Camp came here as agent, we gave him a present of a large number of robes to send to the Great Father. We never heard that the Great Father got those robes; we would like to hear
about them. The Crow tribe want Major Pease to remain with us as our agent. (Commissioner Report, 1873, p. 137).

It appeared that the Crows desires were not met as the following quotation shows. "Having received orders, I accordingly turned over the Crow agency and all property, and appurtances..., to James Wright" (Agent Pease Report to Commissioner, dated 1973, p. 249).

6. Allotments. According to the negotiations if a Crow head of household decided to farm or ranch the agent in charge at the agency set aside land (Article VII, 1868). The land recorded for the Crow farmers by the agent was an allotment. A smaller acreage was recorded for the dependents. The agent then was to provide farm implements, seeds, wagons, horses, domestic livestock, and farming instructions for Crow families. Along with this program, each Indian was to receive monetary rewards for prized crops. It did not appear that Awekualawaachish was all that enthusiastic about the new farming economy about to be introduced. He stated,

You speak of putting us on a reservation and teach us to farm. We were not brought up to that and are not able to do it. That talk does not please us. We want horses to run after the game, and guns and ammunition to kill it. I would like to live just as I have been raised. (DeMallie, 1975, p. 38).

The Crow way of life was to hunt and enjoy what nature provided. Each family was more interested in social
activities rather than farming the land.

7. **Education.** One of the provisions in the 1851 and 1868 treaties was education (Article VII, 1868). The new government program of education did not fare well with the Crow Indians in the beginning. The Crow Indians were a hunting tribe and with each new season the camp was moved to better supplement their food provisions. Many Crow Indian families did not want to be separated from their children for very long and as a result, the youngsters did not attend school.

Agent Pease reported to the Indian commissioner by a letter dated September 28, 1873:

In regard to the progress of the schools, I have to report the same old story; the constant warfare between the Crows and Sioux, and the unsettled condition of this agency..., the Crows have not yet been agency Indians long enough to see and understand the necessity of an English education, or the benefits derived therefrom..., the only way to educate is by having a series of books published in their own language (Commissioners Report, 1873, p. 249).

The necessity of education was not important to the Crow. The constant warfare of neighboring tribes made it impossible for Indian families to settle in one place for very long.

8. **Provisions for Farming Economy.** According to the Article XII (1868) the government agent was to reward Crow farmers for good crops.
9. **Annuities.** Article IX of the 1868 treaty, was the most sought after provision by the Crow Indians. The government promised them annuities for forty years. The annuities were part of the price of the land the government took. The Indians were in great need of the annuities as a main source of food, shelter, and tools.

It appeared that the government bought the land and was in business to sell to private organizations and in doing so the railroads, gold prospectors, settlers, cattlemen, religious sects and small businesses were rapidly settling in the ancestral country of the Crow. This drove out the game and the greed for hides brought about a mass slaughter of the buffalo. The neighboring tribes who continued to invade the Crow also contributed to the disappearance of the buffalo.

This was a term (provision of annuities) of the treaty that apparently was not upheld. Awekualawaachish said,

> A long time ago a treaty was made with us. Our agent told us the great Father wanted to see us. We had an enemy's country to go through, but we went. We sold them the California road. They were to give us goods for fifty years. One of our men went to the States some sixteen years ago. We want to know where he is, and to get everything he may have. We did not get the goods promised to us for fifty years. We only received them once (Demallie, 1975, p.88).

Even though they did receive some of the goods, Awekualawaachish was not pleased with what they got, and he
wanted a better deal. He said,

A long time ago we were rich in horses. Now we have but few. When we get back to camp, what we have will die, Give me some horses to go to my camp. Last summer a lot of goods were promised me. All I received was damaged flour which killed a good many of us. My father told me a big lie. (Referring to Judge Kinney.) I think the words of the Great Father will come to me straight now this time, as General Harney is a good man, and I see him here (DeMallie, 1975, p. 89).

10. Professionals. According to Article VII and X of the 1868 Treaty, quality teachers, blacksmiths, millworkers, carpenters, and so on, were to be furnished by the government.

Some of the main terms included in the discussions between the government and Awekualawaachish have just been described. The following sections put it all in perspective in terms of time.

Chronology of Awekualawaachish's Political Activities

This section summarizes the political involvements of Awekualawaachish. Because of his statesmanship and foresight Awekualawaachish accomplished a great deal as Chief of his people. The following is a chronology of his political activities:

1. 1851 Treaty at Fort Laramie. The Ft. Laramie Treaty of September 17, 1851 was of great significance as it confined the territory of the Crow to 38 million acres (Kappler, 1904, p. 594-596). A total of eight articles were
in this Treaty. The government emphasized that peace be established among all the tribes that signed the treaty. The land boundaries of each tribe were established. The Crow Indians received 38 million acres of prime hunting/plant gathering land. These mountains, valleys, plains, rivers, lakes were the original lands that the Crows claimed earlier in the 1925 Peace treaty. Other 1851 treaty articles provided for building of roads, the protection of the people, the empowerment of chiefs as heads and annuities including annuities suspended by violation of treaty.

Awekualawaachish mentioned this treaty in his speech with Brunot in 1873. His comment on these treaties were referred to in the previous section of this chapter.

This treaty established the initial boundaries of the first Crow Reservation for thirty-eight million acres. According to the Absalooka Bachacheem documents (1986), Awekualawaachish was credited for negotiating this treaty. According to documentation about the treaty such as a Fay's (1982) summary of treaties, agreements, and other legislation involving Indian tribes, it might not appear that Awekualawaachish signed the treaty because his name is misspelled as "Arra-tu-ri-sash". The name although misspelled reveals that he was involved (Kappler, 1904, 1972; Fay, 82). Also, in Commissioner Reports (1873), Awekualawaachish is quoted as referring to his participation
in the discussions.

2. **1867 Negotiations for Fort Laramie Treaty.**
Attempts were made by the government to negotiate with the Crow tribe. The Peace Commission was unable to meet with the Crow tribe the previous November 1867 (DeMallie, 1975).

3. **1868 Treaty at Fort Laramie.** The second treaty of Ft. Laramie of 1868 reduced the original 38 million acres of Crow land to only 8 (eight) million acres (Fay, 1982, p. 9-27; Kappler, 1904, p. 1008-1011). A total of twelve articles were in this treaty.

The government reduced the land base and wanted the Crows to become landowners and productive farmers and ranchers. Heads of Crow families were eligible to select up to 320 (three hundred twenty) acres for themselves and an additional 80 (eighty) acres for other family members and claim this land as long as they continued to cultivate it (land). A land book was to be established by the agent in charge.

This was the beginning of allotment and of a new way of life forever. The Crows were still nomadic and did not care to cultivate the land and remain on the reservation.

Other articles of the 1868 treaty included: peace; the establishment of boundaries; agency buildings; the reservation as their permanent home; an agent to live among the Crows; land allotment and a land record book; education
for Crow children; the cultivation of the land and obtain seeds and implements; annuities for 30 (thirty) years; furnishing professionals, for example, teachers, and blacksmiths; dealings only with the United States; and cash for most valuable crops.

Awekualawaachish was a signatory of the 1868 treaty. Because of his involvement in these negotiations, the Apsalooka Bachacheem document states that he became "Chief of All Chiefs". Medicine Crow wrote:

"true there were many Chiefs in the tribe at a given time but surprisingly there were no overt controversies over status and rank. One chief, however, would be more prominent because of his military deeds and more outstanding because of his natural leadership capabilities. It was such a man who achieved the rank of Band chief (Owner-of-a-Camp)." (Medicine Crow, 1976, p. 1).

4. 1869 Alliance with Chief Washakie of the Shoshone.

The fear of a great Sioux/Cheyenne war spurred the leaders, including Awekualawaachish to combine forces with their allies. Gold discoveries in the Blackhills of South Dakota and southern Montana led to the invasion of foreigners into this country. The government's obligation to the citizens was to establish forts and protection. The result was broken treaties, which led the bands of Sioux and Northern Cheyenne to the warpath. The cavalry was to return these Indians to their respective reservations. This was a good time for the Crows and allies to help the cavalry
pursue its goals and drive the enemy out of its hunting grounds.

5. 1872 Trip to Washington D. C. Awekualawaachish personally led a delegation of Crow chiefs to the United States Capital in Washington, D. C. in 1872 (LaForge Marquis, 1974, p. 99; photos in National and Little Big Horn Archives; and Agent Fellow Pease report, 1873).

It was evident that the Crow wanted to see the President of the United States and the nation's Capital. Other tribes made this trip and now the Crows wanted to make their problems known and to resolve these problems.

The Chairman of the Peace Commission, Felix R. Brunot, stated that he was unable to see Awekualawaachish due to extreme unfavorable weather conditions (Commissioners Report, 1873, p. 123).

6. 1873. All treaty-making ended in 1871 with a law established by the United States, however, legislation continued to reduce the land base of Indians across North America (Jackson, 1964). This did not exclude the Crow as has already been mentioned and as evidenced again by the following,

Felix Brunot, Chairman of the Peace Commission negotiated a treaty with the Crow Indians in 1873 (Commissioners Report, 1873, p. 249). In this work of reducing the Indian's Reservations, Brunot..., played a large part working toward an end that pleased the westerners who were avaricious for the Indian lands. (Purcha, 1976, p. 109).
Hearings were held at the first Crow Agency, near present day Livingston, Montana, with an appointed Presidential Peace Commission to relocate 1868 lands to Judith Gap, Montana. Awekualawaachish and fellow tribesmen made this trip in hopes of peace from waring tribes, and to negotiate for weapons and annuities.

After carefully reading correspondence from the Commissioner of Indian affairs, agent F. D. Pease arranged meetings for the Mountain and River Crows to gather at the Livingston area Crow Agency to start negotiations to exchange their present reservation for land in the vicinity of present day Judith Gap, Montana. Agent Pease send out interpreters. Although considered a good agent by the Crows, Agent Pease nonetheless faithfully followed government orders, which were sometimes counter to Crow interests. The following excerpt aptly demonstrates this.

On the 31st of July 1st, Hon. F.R. Brunot, Gen. F. Whittlesey, and Dr. James Wright, arrived at this agency with the instructions from the Hon. Secretary of the Interior to negotiate with the Crows for their present reservation. After fully understanding their business and instruction, and the wishes of the government in regard to them, the Commissioners on the 16th of August, completed an agreement with them to cede all their present reservation, and to take in lieu thereof what is known as the Judith Basin, comprising about one-third the extend of territory as that of the Judith basin, and lying on the south side of the Missouri River (letter dated, September 28, 1873, F. D. Pease, p. 249, Commissioners Report, 1873, p. 249).
Congress never ratified the 1873 Agreement. Several prominent Crow Chiefs negotiated this Agreement, including Awekualawaachish. Several days of negotiations took place and Brunot persuaded the Crows to relinquish their lands for another reservation. A majority of the tribe, including Chiefs settled the matter with the Commissioners. Awekualawaachish was out-voted in the decision to remain in the present area (Commissioners Report, 1873).

7. **1876 Battle of the Rosebud.** In the Sioux uprising of 1876, the Crows and Shoshones joined together with General Crook at the Battle of the Rosebud, near Busby, eight days before the Little Big Horn battle. The battle was considered a draw but was actually a defeat because the soldiers retreated afterward to their base camp near Sheridan, Wyoming. However, it could have been much worse were it not for the aid of the Crows and Shoshones. It also cost the Sioux and Cheyennes more ammunition and thus contributed to their eventual defeat in 1877. (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986).

8. **1876.** Awekualawaachish tried to dissuade Crow tribal members from participating in the Battle of the Little Big Horn. He was concerned that the cavalry "may mistake the Crows for Sioux and shoot them" (Laforge and Marquis, 1974, p. 206). After the battle, when the cavalry were in pursuit of the Sioux and Cheyenne, Awekualawaachish
said, "young men, we do not send you. But if you want to do so, you may go" (Laforge and Marquis, 1974, p. 258).
Awekualawaachish was growing old, and war did not seem to be the answer.

Summary on life of Awekualawaachish.

Because of Awekualawaachish's involvement in treaty negotiations with the United States Government his name is remembered by each generation as a great Crow leader. He is quoted at council meetings as the following excerpt shows.

At the time that the treaty meeting at Fort Laramie was held the Crows were headed by Awekualawaachish. He made a statement for the Crows describing the boundaries of the Crow country. Awekualawaachish stated at that time that any questions effecting us the decision of that question should be decided only on the majority of consent or approval by the tribe. Awekualawaachish said that under this Government and under the Stars and Stripes that we should not take anything from each other arbitrarily- that we should meet and agree on any question, but today these men have gone ahead without permission from us and made roads over that canyon. They should have gotten our permission first (BearGround, Crow Council meeting minutes, 1944).

The strategy of Awekualawaachish involving tribal members is deemed to be an earlier version of the present "Crow Council" concept (more details in chapter IV).

"This great Crow Chief will always be remembered most for the treaty boundaries that he established while negotiating treaties with the United States Government" (Beaumont, 1990). There was evidence that in the
negotiations, he stressed the importance of keeping their homeland by stating that, "If there is one Crow Indian left, I want him to have a place to come home to" (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986).

He negotiated in earnest, often mentioning the injustices that had occurred after earlier negotiations. According to the following citation, he talked of how they never received gifts promised:

When we were in council at Laramie, we asked whether we might eat the buffalo for a long time. They said yes. That is not in the treaty. We told them we wanted a big country. They said we should have it; and that is not in the treaty. They promised us plenty of goods, and food for forty years--plenty for all the Crows to eat; but that is not in the treaty. Listen to what I say. We asked, "Shall we and our children get food for forty years?" They said "Yes;" but it is not that way in the treaty (Commissioners Report, 1873 p. 136).

The following excerpt aptly summarizes the outcomes of his negotiations a few years later, and his continued valiant attempts to improve the plight of the Crow. Furthermore, the excerpt is yet another example of his long winded oratory abilities. In talking about the harsh conditions under which they were now living, he said,

We have nothing now, not even a knife. We are very poor and keep getting poorer. The great spirit has forgotten me. We are being surrounded by the whites and by other nations. Our country is getting smaller and smaller. The whites have made two branches of a road besides the California and have cut up the best game country we have. I suppose my great Father was brought up to the use
of all good things. I was born and raised naked. He has put his heart to mine, I want you to protect me and to let me live as long as yourselves. I love my children and want them to love you strong, and not a little. Do the same by me. You would be mad if I were to go into your country and kill your stock. I cannot go anywhere without coming on some of your people. What have we done to be served in that way? I would like to have them called in and the Road stopped. (Meaning the Powder River Road.) Your people do not make anything by that Road that I can see. (DeMallie, 1975; Commissioner Reports, 1873, p. 88).

He also stated,

I am in earnest with you. All the Indians have been trying to make me fight you and join them. Your people going through the Country looking for gold are the ones who cause us much trouble. When I go to any traveling party of your people and ask for food, they strike me on the head with a club and run me off. When our nation was first called to meet the Commission, we wanted to go to Phil Kearney. We were told you could not go there so we agreed to come here. Up to this time we have been told nothing but lies and we hardly believe not. Give us a good agent. Give us a copy of the treaty that you will make with us. Our present agent is a good man and will not fool us. The food of the white man is not good for us. It makes us sick. (DeMallie, 1975, p. 89).

Because the Crows neither spoke nor read English, the tribe was not aware of all the treaty provisions and their full implications. This is especially apparent in regard to land reduction. Awekualawaachish and the other Crows probably knew that the tribe was giving up some land, but nowhere near to the amount specified in the Agreement document (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986).

Awekualawaachish lived just long enough to witness the
defeat of the Sioux and Cheyenne, and did not have to live through the shock of the end of the buffalo days. While on a hunting trip near Meeteetse, Wyoming, in the fall of 1877, he developed pneumonia and died (Apsalooka Bachacheem, 1986; Keller, 1877).
CHAPTER IV

CROW LIFE AFTER AWEKUALAWAACHISH

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to address research Question four which asks, "What role did Awekualawaachish play in the shaping in Crow history, what were the outcomes in the decades after his tenure as leader of his people?" Awekualawaachish had a role in shaping both the political and social history of the Crow people; these will be presented in a separate section of this chapter. The first section will cover some important pieces of legislation and activities related to those treaty items that Awekualawaachish negotiated in the treaties of 1851 and 1868. Part of the first section will also be devoted to a discussion of the Crow Government structure and Awekualawaachish's influence on this. The second section will describe some of the elements of the early social system of the Crow which survive to this day.

Politics After the Life Of Awekualawaachish

Outcomes of Treaties and Negotiations

Fay (1982) compiled a document including a total of twenty-one different Treaties, Agreements, and Executive Orders relating to the Crow tribe, many of these subsequent
to the 1851 and 1868 treaties. Commissioners' reports on a yearly basis since 1868 provided details on many other activities. These Commissioners' reports provided information on land that was ceded, allotted, leased (competent or incompetent, see "allotment" in this section) or sold to individuals or the government; railroads; irrigation projects; cattle/horse herds; distribution of capital funds; fiscal activities; tribal funds for delegation to Washington, D. C.; taxation; title of buffalo; prohibition of liquor; and appropriations of tribal funds. Seventy-four different pieces of legislation were passed by Congress between the dates of 1868 through 1959. Included were numerous amendments to these. How these activities relate to some of the items included in the negotiations between Awekualawaachish and the government are discussed below.

1. Peace. One of the major items that Awekualawaachish had negotiated was peace. The Crow did retain peace with the United States government through the years that followed (Article I, 1825). In 1886 an Executive Order based on agreements between the government and the Crow tribe set aside certain lands within the Crow Reservation for Fort Custer, now the national cemetery at Custer battlefield. In 1935 an Act was passed authorizing payment to compensate for lands taken from certain tribal
and allotting lands for the Custer Battlefield National Cementary (46 Stat 168). Retirement pay was set aside for Crow scouts who served with the United States government. In regard to another fort, Crow Indian families were allowed to remain on ceded lands at Fort C. F. Smith.

2. Land and Boundaries. Initially Awekualawaachish negotiated 38 million acres which was reduced to 8 million by 1868. After the tenure of Awekualawaachish, although he had tried to preserve a large portion of land, the reigning Chiefs, a majority of male adults, and more recently adults that consisted of the tribal council; had sold lands on the western (1882) and eastern (1904) portion of the reservation. Also, individual allotted lands have been sold by Crow owners. The Crow reservation boundaries land have been reduced from 38 million acres (1851) to 2 1/2 million acres. Within this area private and tribal ownership is less than 50% in the present day (1991). The Crow land is being sold at a fast rate. The Crow people are a minority in land ownership on their reservation.

3. Agency and Buildings. The first agency was built near Livingston, Montana and it was reported engulfed by a fire in 1873 (Pease, 1873). The second was moved to Rosebud Creek near the present townsitie of Absarokee, Montana. That portion of the Crow reservation was later sold and the agency was relocated to the present site at Crow, Agency,
Montana. The government has kept its end of the bargain on providing for the agency because a present agency remains at Crow Agency, Montana.

4. Reservation a Permanent Home and Right to Hunt.

Awekualawaachish had negotiated for the reservation as a permanent home and he negotiated for the right to hunt, but subsequently the government has made efforts to remove the Crow from their lands.

In the 1950's the government and the BIA had an experimental employment training program entitled "relocation". The government sent Crow tribal members, preferably married couples, to major cities and they trained in specific trades. The main purpose of the program was to educate and train individuals in courses such as: welding, heavy equipment, cooking, hotel management, and meatcutting. The participants developed severe social problems or found little employment. This program was never successful and was abandoned in the 1960's.

Although many Crows remain on the reservation today, the tribal members that own land are selling at a fast rate. Only a small portion of the reservation is tribally owned and this can only be sold with the consensus of the tribal council. The Big Horn and Pryor mountain ranges are not allotted but the Wolfteeth range is allotted.

The tribal members are still allowed to hunt and fish.
From a major court decision, Montana v. United States (1982), the Crow tribe and the State of Montana have concurrent jurisdiction on the Big Horn river and Non-trust land owned by Indians and non-Indians.

5. Agents. Due to legislation enacted by Congress, and rules and regulations of the Department Of The Interior, the BIA agents never remained long at Crow Agency due to transfers or promotions. Agents have also left because of isolation or to move to other jobs.

There were several fraud and corruption charges brought about involving different agents and employees. Several investigations were conducted by special commissions or federal regulators at Crow Agency. The cases were eventually dissolved with no severe punishment.

6. Allotments. Nearly two decades after the treaty of 1868, and several years after the end of treaty making (1871) the government passed legislation called the "Dawes Act" or commonly known as the General Allotment Act (1887, 25 Stat 388). This was later amended in 1891. This amendment allowed the Secretary Of The Interior to lease the lands of any allottee who in the opinion of the government is "incompetent". In effect this gave government authorities dictatorial powers over the use of allotments (Deloria, 1983). The Dawes Act provided for survey and allotment of Crow lands for agricultural and grazing
purposes. Each tribal enrolled individual selected his own allotment for which the Secretary Of The Interior issued a trust patent. The allotments were issued as follows: to the head of family, one quarter of a section; to each single person over eighteen, one eighth section; to each orphan child under eighteen years, one-eighth section; and to each single person under eighteen living, or who may have been born prior to the date of the order, one-sixteen section (Deloria, 1983). Medicine Crow (1990) points out this created chaos and hardship for the Crow Indians and forced them to adjust to confinement on a smaller reservation. The first allotments were in the Pryor area where Chief Plenty Coups lived (Agent report, 1887).

In April 27 1904 the government ceded a portion of the Crow reservation (2,273,803 acres). Proceeds from this sale were credited to the Crow or expended for the following: an irrigation system, the purchase of livestock, fencing, school building, a hospital, and per capita for individuals.

The Act of 1920, also, known as the Crow Act was yet another vehicle which the government employed to decrease Crow lands. The heirs of enrolled Crows that died (between 1905 and 1920) were given 160 acres; 160 acres were also, given to the head of a family who had not received allotment. The remaining allotments (640 acres) were to be shared evenly among all tribal members. The Secretary of
the Interior had the authority to approve sales up to 320 acres. There was also a restriction (Section II) on the ownership of the number of acres that individuals could own on the Crow reservation. There were provisions for townships, provisions for irrigation payments and certain school lands were granted to the State of Montana. There were numerous amendments to the Crow Act.

The Allotment Act was a source of several important inequities. For example, it breached numerous treaty provisions; and, under orders from Washington D.C. the agents in-charge refused to issue rations and annuities to Indians unwilling to work their allotments (Deloria, 1983).

7. Education. The education of Crow children (ages 6-16) was compulsory (1868, Treaty). However, many did not receive an education because of various factors. The agent did not enforce these rules. The isolation of schools did not attract teachers. Finally, the agent in charge was in full control of monies ($2500.00) allocated to education and the money may not necessarily have been spent on education.

Later, church groups, contracted schools and boarding schools appeared on the Crow Reservation. Also, new legislation (Crow Act of 1920; 1926, 44 Stat 251) eventually granted land to the State of Montana for education in public schools on or near the Crow reservation (80,000 acres). The Johnson O'Malley Education Act was introduced in the 1930's
to help fund public school systems. There were other federal funding programs in the 1950's for school construction.

Despite all of these agreements, acts, and legislation for education there is still not enough to educate the Crow Indians. To this day the government officials control the money and it will be years from now before any real progress can be evaluated although education was one of the terms that Awekualawaachish negotiated.

8. Farming. Awekualawaachish had not been enthusiastic about Crows becoming farmers but the government did not relinquish the idea of introducing Crow Indians to farming and ranching. The idea behind farming and ranching was that it would make the Crows productive citizens. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 established a revolving credit and loan program for the Crow Indians. These were incentives for tribal governments to establish their own programs. Very few Crows became farmers.

9. Annuities. The government did issue annuities, at least for a number of years after Awekualawaachish's negotiations. The expense of the annuities shipping and distribution was a great hindrance to the U. S. government. Also, the Crow Indians tired of receiving clothing. Gradually, this shifted to food rations and the Crows also tired of food rations and beef. The entire procedure of
picking up distributions was more trouble than it was worth. Then came distribution of per capita payments which became the route for the government to take. It appeared that the government sought ways to break its promises. To this day there are per capita payments. However, now the money is from revenue generated from the lease, rental or sale of natural resources.

10. Professional. Congress did not appropriate enough money to the education of Crow Indians although there was a provision for teachers in the treaties. The education of the Crow Indian children was a slow process. A number of individual Crow Indians did get an education in the three "R"s. But this treaty item was never fully enforced by the agent in charge.

The isolation of the agencies and the constant warfare of tribes were not factors to lure teachers, especially women. Other professionals promised, however, such as blacksmiths, storekeepers, carpenters, and millworkers were in demand and these were always provided for.

Even during the leadership of Awekualawaachish a lot of the promises in the treaties were not kept in spite of his valiant efforts to convince the government to live up to what they had promised. In the decades to follow there were many more changes.
The Crow Political Structure

During the Roosevelt administration there were several social programs for the Crow Indians, e.g. Civilian Conservation Corps., revolving credit programs, and student loans.

Since the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, Indian tribes have actively participated with the Bureau Of Indian Affairs in political and economic activities for the Crow people, such as, control of land and resources. There is an evident need for tribal leaders to be educated so as to be able to handle daily government affairs; budgets, electoral processes, social services, health care, civil rights, water rights, and so on.

The IRA legislation was important for Indian tribes. It was a giant step forward for two reasons. First, it provided for tribal constitutions to be adopted reaffirming a government to government relationship between the tribe and the United States government. Second, these constitutions provided the tribes with ways to select leaders and make laws to govern themselves.

The Crow Tribe never organized under the 1934 IRA legislation (Philp, 1977). After much debate a Crow Constitution and By-Laws were eventually established in 1947 by a Crow general council. After final approval of the Secretary Of The Interior, the Crows tribal business council
began to conduct business. The following describes the present day government:

The Crow tribal government, as defined in the tribal Constitution, is an Athenian style democracy similar in structure to the traditional New England town meeting. Participation on the Crow Tribal Council is open to all females over the age of eighteen and all males over the age of twenty-one. Matters are decided by a simple majority vote of council members present. Regular Tribal council meetings are held quarterly, although additional meetings can be called as tribal business may require. The tribe elects a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Vice-Secretary for two year terms. In the off year, the tribe elects an Executive Committee consisting of two members elected from each of the six districts on the reservation and two members are elected by off-reservation Indians. It is the responsibility of the Chairman and the Executive Committee to set the Agenda for the council meetings. Other issues may be placed on the agenda by the BIA's Superintendent of Crow Agency or by petition of one-hundred council members (Purkey, 1988, p. 4).

Although the Constitution and By-Laws of the Crow Indians are somewhat weak, they are rich in that now every adult Crow Indian is able to participate in tribal business decisions. The Crow council meetings and business are always conducted in the Crow language. The Crow people are able to retain the tradition to this very day (Frey, 1950, p. 50).

It is important to note that the Crow council concept of everyone having a say is attributed to Awekualawaachish. This was his style of conducting meetings.
The Crow Social System After Awekualawaachish

Although the economy and livelihood of the Crow changed drastically some aspects of the social system remained in tact. Awekualawaachish and other past Crow leaders were exemplary figures of conduct to their Crow people. They were role models to be emulated by the Crow people. For example, Awekualawaachish told Brunot about the presence of liquor on Crow lands and asked that the government do something about the problem (Commissioners Report, 1873). Another concern that Awekualawaachish pointed out, was that the off-spring of Crow women who married white men, must be loved. Awekualawaachish and the other Crow leaders gave gifts to the Peace Commission. The behavior of Awekualawaachish confirms his adherence to Crow social protocols dictated by the clan system. He wanted the Crow to live as the Crows had always lived in the system and he encouraged it. To this day many of the protocols continue to be followed and those that have survived to this day are described in the following section.

Protocols of Clans

1. The Role of Maternal Clans. Crow children become members of their respective maternal clans. For economic reasons it is the duty of this clan to help raise the children. The Crow children call uncles as brothers and aunts as sisters (1935, Lowie, p. 20).
If Crows marry outside of the tribe, the maternal clan of the mother adopts the children. Also, a child orphaned at an early age remains a member of the mother's clan. Occasionally a first child will be adopted by its maternal or paternal grandfather and grandmother. Because of the adoption practices, there are really no orphans within the Crow tribe. Many couples who are childless are more than happy to adopt children of other clans. In this case the individual will claim maternal and paternal adopted clans.

2. Protocol Relating to In-Laws. "Held in connection with a marriage, is a system of exchanging of gifts, between the members of the family concerned" (Medicine Crow, 1939, p. 46). The mother, maternal aunt(s), and sister(s) of a Crow bride will make a complete buckskin outfit for the son-in-law including the complementary beadwork, that is, a belt, arm bands, gloves/cuffs, and moccasins. The maternal clan then hires a campcrier to honor the man in public and bestow the gifts on him.

The maternal brothers and uncles will give their clan sister's husband: horses(s), guns, a saddle, a bridle, hats, boots and other gifts. This is in respect for their sister and to encourage the new husband to provide for his family.

In return the women in the man's maternal clan will give the bride a fully beaded dress, belt, leggings, moccasins, blankets, and a silk scarf.
In any competition (for example, hand games, arrowthrowing, footraces) clans respectfully allied themselves. In the case of adoption the individual can choose clans.

3. Role of Paternal Clans. The father's clan provides the spiritual guidance. Elder paternal clan members are honored with the naming of children. A name is selected often through dreams or deeds that one wishes to preserve; the name is so chosen so that the child will live up to the name given.

For the naming, the family of the man will get together and invite paternal elders to a feast, involving gifts and socializing. The invited guests, either men or women suggest names and the parents select from these suggestions. These names sometimes come from visions, or outstanding names in the tribal history of the paternal clan. These names usually suggest strong traits which will produce a strong character. A Crow will have two or more names by adulthood. The Crow are called by their most recent names. An example of a naming is as follows. During Crow fair (1976) the parents of this author invited paternal clan members, Joe Morrison, John Holds Enemy, Henry Old Coyote and Joe Pickett. The four Crow men selected two names and out of the two Awekualawaachish was chosen. The name was bestowed by the late Simpson Sings Good of Pryor, Montana.
This name came from his paternal clan the Askapkawia (Bad War Deeds). This is an indication that Chief Awekualawaachish came from this paternal lineage. These patterns of naming are consistent (Beaumont, 1990).

Paternal clan members offer prayers for nephews and nieces. For example, when one departs for the armed forces prayers are said for a safe return. Another example of a ceremony is seen when John Holds The Enemy gave Dennis Beaumont the name of "Three Stripes". Several years later, after Dennis enlisted into the armed forces a ceremony was conducted. Paternal clan uncle John Holds The Enemy prayed to the creator for his safe return from any battle. In later life Dennis did return safely from the Viet Nam war. During the ceremony of naming or asking for luck, the receiving party provides gifts: pendleton blankets, shawls, cloth, or money.

Paternal uncles and aunts act as public spokesman. During public or private gatherings blankets and other gifts will be given and in return the clan elders pray that a Crow child will have good luck, will live to an old age and will own many horses, cattle, and land.

Traditionally a nephew will give to the paternal aunt game from a successful hunt. In return the paternal aunt will pray for the nephew and a meal or meals will be provided periodically (Beaumont, 1990).
4. **Campcrier Status.** Not just anyone among the Crow tribe is eligible to speak in public. This is a rite that must be bestowed. The honor of the campcrier status is given from a paternal clan uncle to a paternal clan nephew. It is a gift handed over in public or witnessed by a number of elders. A praise song or songs usually accompanies this honor. Again, there is an exchange of valuable gifts by the parents or respective clan members in honor of the nephew. For example, John Holds The Enemy gave Dennis David Beaumont the honor of speaking in public (Campcrier) as well as giving him an honor song for his use (Beaumont Video, 1991).

Paternal clan uncles give nephews paint for their faces so that it will bring them good luck in competition or warfare. Ernest Holds The Enemy gave Kenny Shane the face decoration that will bring him honor and luck in dancing (Beaumont, 1990). As a descendent of Chief BellRock, Dennis Beaumont paints red stripes on the side of his temple.

5. **Teasing Clans.** The offspring of the male members of the paternal clan are known as the teasing clan. The clan brother and sisters are allowed to tease in public so that they will not step out of line. The teasing of each other prevents social disorder. A Crow might tell a lie and the teasing clan will ridicule the person in public. If a Crow man courts a woman of the same clan, the teasing clan
will ridicule the man and woman so that they will end the relationship. One of the purposes of clans was to prevent incest.

**Summary of Clans**

The Clan system of the Crow has been practiced since creation and continues to the present day. The practice of various ceremonies that involve maternal and paternal clans is reflected in contemporary culture and traditions. As a role model, Awekualawaachish encouraged adherence to this system as others after him will encourage it, particularly if the language survives.
The purpose of the study was to collect data on Apsalooka history; Awekualawaachish's family background; his War deeds and political involvements and their present day influence; and the Crow protocols and traditions that continue today because Awekualawaachish wanted Crows to live as Crows have always lived.

This chapter serves as a summary of the findings to the research questions formulated to address the purposes of the study.

**Summary of Findings**

**Research Question 1.** What is the Crow historical background before the leadership of Awekualawaachish?

Numerous written and oral history can be found on the Apsalooka. The English scholars have done extensive research relating to the Apsalooka people. Various academic thesis continue to be written in English. The Crow speakers continue to exchange oral material.

Presently, only a few Crow scholars are writing oral history in Crow orthography. The material is updated with various interviews. This written, audio, and video material is preserved in the archives at Little Big Horn College.
Included in these collections are rare photographs from Apsalooka and non-Crow family collections.

The written and oral history of Crow people is significant and much more work is needed to preserve it for our children and future generation.

**Research Question 2.** What was the family background of Awekualawaachish such as clan membership and descendants?

Material gathered in the research reveals that Awekualawaachish belonged to a large maternal clan, (Ashshitchite, Big lodge, maternal clan) and if clan naming patterns are consistent his paternal clan is Askapkawia, Bad War Deeds. This material is significant because at family, social gatherings, Apsalooka people need to explain to younger tribal members the significance of great Crow leaders such as Awekualawaachish.

**Research Question 3.** What is Awekualawaachish remembered for by Crow oral historians and what has been documented about him such as his War deeds and political record?

This leader will long be remembered for military exploits in trying to preserve his ancestral lands. The 1873 negotiation records demonstrate his great leadership and wise negotiations.

Today there are still numerous oral stories of Awekualawaachish that need to be told and recorded.
Therefore, the Crows need to contribute more to Awekualawaachish's personal records.

**Research Question 4.** What role did Awekualawaachish play in the shaping of Crow history, in other words, what were the outcomes in the decades after his tenure as leader of his people?

The sizeable ancestral land that Awekualawaachish was able to negotiate with the government will always be remembered by his people. For a man who spoke no English and used translators to negotiate with experienced government personnel, the Apsalooka people have much to be proud of.

Crow people to this day still try to live up to his philosophies of mediation. The tribal government officials and tribal council still continue to settle differences in quarterly council meetings by involving all adults.

**Research Question 5.** What Crow protocols and traditions continue to be practiced today?

Many clan system protocols continue to be practiced on a daily, weekly, monthly and seasonal basis. The Apsalooka continue to practice the ancestral gifts from the Creator. With respect the Apsalooka are generous with Clan traditions.

At the annual Crow Fair many of the practices of Clans are practiced. The general public notices the traditions
that still continue by the Apsalooka.

Limitations

A few factors prevented the collection of more detailed information for this study. Storytellers select own stories to tell therefore they did not necessarily cover the questions I sought answers to. Furthermore, many are forgetting some of the stories and could not share them at the time of my visits.

More oral information material needs to be made available to the Crow tribal members. As was hoped much oral data was collected, however, much of what was gathered is not ready for print but lives on as oral history. Some who shared information said it was just for Crow people.

More archival data could have been collected but it was too costly to visit the National Archives in Washington D. C. and Heye Museum in New York City, New York. Limited visits were made to the Montana Historical Society at Helena, Montana and Buffalo Bill Museum, at Cody, Wyoming. This author did benefit from the recently donated collections from these Institutions to the Little Big Horn Archives.

Recommendations

Based on this study the following recommendations are made. Crow tribal members must preserve more oral stories. Educational organizations, such as the Bilingual Materials
Development Center, have done some research and gathering of oral stories and should encourage scholars to write more oral stories.

The author recommends that at family reunions there be appointed recorder(s) of oral stories.

Institutions such as schools, and Little Big Horn College should make material available to those interested.

The elders and story tellers should team teach with regular instructors to teach Apsalooka history and culture. While the private and public district school curriculums contain history of the Apsalooka, classroom teachers also should receive oral history training.

Most of all, parents/guardians should continue to be role-models in the telling of oral history.
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