

CROW ARCHAEOLOGY AND ORAL HISTORY: THE ILLUSTRATIVE STORY OF  
ARROW SHOT INTO ROCK AND THE LITTLE PEOPLE OF THE PRYOR  
MOUNTAINS

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by

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May 2017

**AUTHORIZATION TO SUBMIT THESIS**

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## ABSTRACT

Arrow Shot Into Rock, located in the Pryor Mountains of southern Montana, is a place for travelers to offer gifts in return for their safe passage through the Pryor Gap. These gifts have mostly been left by members of the Crow Tribe and meant for the *Awa-Kulay*, or Little People, living in the mountains. The Little People are described as dwarves that are both human and supernatural beings that can act as spiritual guides for the Crow Tribe. Based on Crow oral histories Arrow Shot Into Rock is the place where the Crow encountered the Little People for the first time. The story of Arrow Shot Into Rock has continued to be told since their first meeting. The Little People have become very important for many Crow people and they are seen across Crow Country, visiting individuals during vision quests, and at larger social events. Arrow Shot Into Rock has been known to people off the reservation as well, resulting in two archaeological excavations in 1939 and 1941. In full collaboration with the Crow Tribe, this thesis is a unique project incorporating ethnographic, archival, and archaeological research related to Arrow Shot Into Rock. The historical and archaeological aspects are reevaluated through multiple retellings of the Arrow Shot Into Rock story, with the goal of creating a more complete history of the sacred place within past and current Crow culture.

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### **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my fiancé, Vik Savani. Through everything you were going through, thank you for still finding the energy and love to support me. I would not have gotten through it without you.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

On a sunny summer day in 2010 I enjoyed an afternoon of reading on my little floral couch in the living room of my rented duplex in Bozeman, Montana. With my roommates out for the day, I took full advantage of the quiet house and dedicated my time to reading a borrowed book from my supervisor, that would end up being my inspiration for my thesis research. At that time, I worked as a student research assistant in the national office for the heritage education program, Project Archaeology in Bozeman, Montana; since we often worked with indigenous and local communities, one of my superiors suggested I read a book written by a Crow Elder who had previously worked with Project Archaeology. Upon opening *Counting Coup: Becoming a Crow Chief on the Reservation and Beyond*, written by Joseph Medicine Crow, I could not put it down, reading it entirely in one sitting. Medicine Crow's stories about his childhood, service in World War II, and traditional Crow stories passed down for generations, held my undivided attention and left me wanting to know more. More about him, more about Crow culture, and more about a specific traditional story he told.

After reading Medicine Crow's book, I wrote down three areas of interest I had on a sticky note to remind myself to do more research on them; I wrote "1730", "Pryor Gap", and "Little People." These came from a story he told about supernatural dwarves known as Little People and a place called Arrow Rock in the Pryor Mountains on the Crow Reservation in Montana. That sticky note was placed on my desk at home as a constant reminder to investigate the Little People when I had more time.

During that time, I was in the process of completing my bachelor's degree in Anthropology, with a Museum Studies minor, at Montana State University (MSU), Bozeman, Montana. The following spring semester, I had two internships with the Museum of the Rockies at MSU to fulfill my minor's requirements. As required for the simultaneous internships, I worked with the registrar of the museum and two advisors from the MSU Anthropology Department to inventory an archaeological collection, research the background of the excavation, investigate meanings of items in the collection, and to present the research to my advisors, as well as at the Montana Archaeological Society's annual conference.

Prior to my arriving at the museum for my first day of the internships, all three advisors met without me. They chose a collection none had worked with before or knew anything about for me to work with. The collection was donated to the museum in 1991, and was as part of a much larger donation containing material from hundreds of sites from the American Northwest. They selected the site for me while reviewing a ledger donated with the collections containing information about each excavated site. When I saw the site was called Arrow Rock, and was the location where people would leave offerings for "benevolent dwarves," I immediately thought it must be the same place from Medicine Crow's story (Cramer Lewis Collection 1991). I was shocked my advisors unknowingly chose a site I already had knowledge of and wanted to learn more about; I felt a connection to this place and knew I was meant to work with this collection. I had never shared my interest of Arrow Rock after reading Medicine Crow's book, thinking it would lead to a personal project when time permitted after the completion of my degree; instead the site

assigned to me evolved into the thesis for my master's degree. The way this project began has caused it to become very important to me, I have dedicated years to the research, and will continue to work with the Crow Tribe to create a final product for the Crow people after the requirements of this thesis are met.

### *The Little People of the Pryor Mountains*

Deep within the Pryor Mountains on the Crow Reservation, supernatural dwarves are known to live and interact with the local community, and visitors to their mountains. The Little People of the Pryor Mountains have been known to the Crow for generations; to many they are spiritual guides and helpers of the Crow, to others they are considered mischievous and are to be avoided. Regardless of how they are thought of, the Crow teach respect for these powerful beings; they are to be treated as Elders. The Crow met the Little People prior to European contact and settlement of the West. The Little People adopted a Crow boy at a very young age when he was lost in the Pryor Mountains, separated from his Crow family. The Little Mother and Little Father raised the Crow boy as their own son and gave him valuable knowledge about the land they lived on, and supernatural powers so that he would be strong and a great hunter. The Crow boy grew up healthy and happy with his Little Parents, until discovering they were not his real parents. A time came when he had grown into adulthood, that his Little Parents believed he had enough knowledge and medicine to return to his people and instruct them with the lessons he had learned.

When the now grown Crow boy returned to his original people, and told his story of being adopted by Little People and growing up content and strong, they accepted him back

and called him Sacred Arrows. In addition to the lessons Sacred Arrows gave his people about the land and his medicine, he also gave them instructions on how to interact with the Little People. He explained that they can pray to the Little People for guidance when they are in need, and must stop at the base of a specific cliff in the mountains to pray as they passed through the Pryor Mountains. They were told to shoot arrows at the face of the cliff, giving the place the name Arrow Rock, as they passed by for safe passage to their final destination. They were also instructed to pile rocks at the base of the cliff as prayer offerings, leave meat for the Little People to eat, and women were told to leave beads and jewelry for the Little Women to find and wear. The Crow accepted Sacred Arrows back into the Tribe as a great leader, and since that time they have retold his story including his instructions, so every new generation of Crow can pray to the Little People and find guidance when they are in need. This is one of many versions of how the Crow met the Little People for the first time.

### *The Apsáalooke and Pryor Mountains*

Evidence of human occupation in the Pryor Mountains can be dated as far back as 10,000 years ago, and represent multiple Tribes throughout generations. Although the Crow have lived in the area for hundreds of years, their history begins well before moving to their current lands. Before settling in the traditional lands of the Crow Tribe, as they are known today, they were part of one ancestral tribe with the present-day Hidatsa people. The tribe “lived in a land known as the ‘tree country’ or ‘land of the many lakes,’ the Winnipeg country of southeastern Manitoba” (Frey 1987, 8). The tribe left their original

lands because of possible enemies in the area or to search for better hunting grounds. Without a planned final destination two chiefs fasted for wisdom and guidance on where to lead their people. One of the chiefs, Red Scout, was given a kernel of corn in his dream with instructions to plant the seed so his people could produce their own food. A pod of tobacco seeds was given to No Vitals, the second chief. In No Vitals' dream he was instructed to continue their migration until they found the western mountains; then they were to plant the sacred seeds. The tobacco was not for smoking, instead the seeds were harvested each year; "when the harvest was bountiful and the tobacco flourished, so too would No Vitals' people flourish" (Frey 1987, 11). When it was realized Red Scout and No Vitals would separate, the ancestral tribe became two, the Hidatsa and Apsáalooke. The group of people related to No Vitals planted the tobacco seeds near Cloud Peak in Wyoming and after many generations became known as the Apsáalooke by the Hidatsa (Frey 1987). Although called the Crow when European settlers began to settle the West, their traditional name is the Apsáalooke, meaning "children of the large-beaked bird" (Frey 1987, 11). It is unknown when the Hidatsa and Apsáalooke separated en route to their different destinations, however, people have suggested different times between 400 to at least 500 years ago (see Frey 1987, Davis 1979, Hoxie 1995).

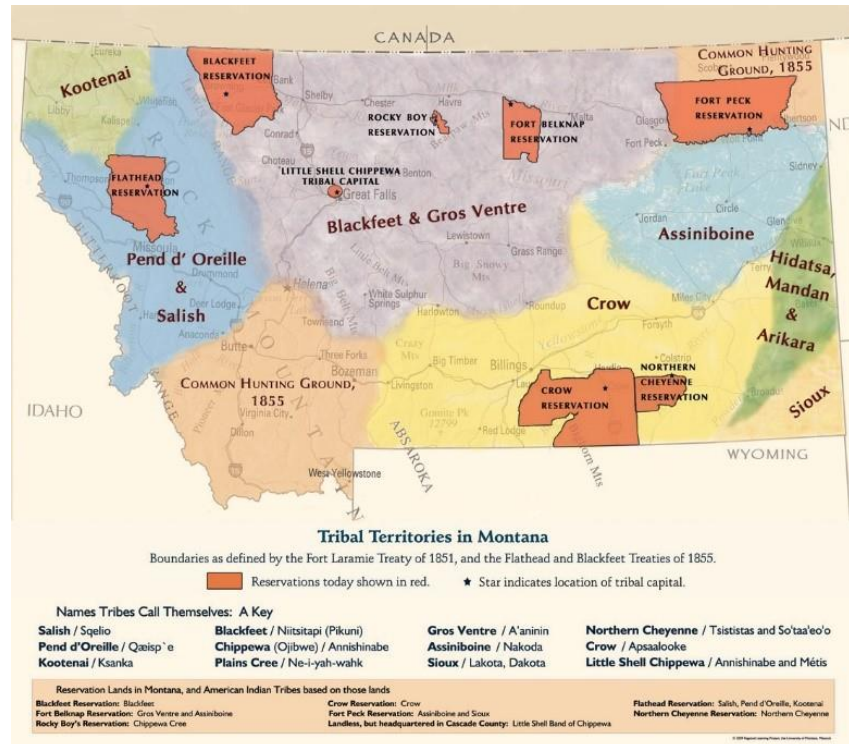
Within the traditional lands of the Apsáalooke people, in what is now known as Montana and Wyoming, is the Pryor Mountain range. The lost boy in Medicine Crow's story was lost and adopted by the Little People in the Pryor Mountains. The majority of the range is still located on the Crow Reservation today. The Pryor Mountains are located approximately 60 miles south of Billings, Montana in the southcentral portion of the state.

The mountains reside partially on the Crow Reservation, within Custer National Forest, and contain privately

owned parcels. The nearest towns to the mountain range are Pryor, Montana north of the range and Lovell, Wyoming to the south. The

northern half of the mountain range, and the town of Pryor, are located on the Crow

Reservation and are home to generations of Apsáalooke families who have lived there from Pryor's establishment with the reservation. The Pryor Mountains, although not a large range compared to others in the area, offer topographical diversity from low drylands and grasslands to juniper forests and conifer slopes. The highest peak in the Pryor Mountain Range is recorded at 9,000 feet with a wide variety of geological features and vegetation in between. A U-shaped valley, commonly known as the Pryor Gap, breaks up the range with smaller valleys and canyons branching off from there. Evidence of human occupation can be found throughout the Pryor Gap on the canyon floors and in caves high on the slopes.



**Figure 1: Tribal Territories in Montana**  
([http://www.montanatribes.org/learning\\_activities/maps.html](http://www.montanatribes.org/learning_activities/maps.html))

### *Terminology*

Although Apsáalooke is the traditional name for the Tribe, Crow will be used throughout the rest of this thesis. Crow is the term I have known for the Tribe since I began researching this sacred place, as well as worked on other projects related to Crow culture. Additionally, Medicine Crow uses the term Crow in his book, even after explanation about the use of Apsáalooke in traditional times. Crow is the well-known, modern term for the Tribe and the name of the Reservation, therefore, to maintain consistency it will be used from this point on.

Another change in terminology is in the use of Arrow Rock. When I began working on the collection as an intern, I always used the name of Arrow Rock because of the use of the name in Medicine Crow's book and in the information donated with the collection (Cramer Lewis Collection 1991). However, after speaking with Crow Elders for this thesis, I learned there are multiple names for this place; the more direct translation and traditional name is Arrow Shot Into Rock. After being told this at a Crow Cultural Committee meeting early on in my research, I decided to switch to using the full name. As it is more accurate to the original name and description based on the story, Arrow Shot Into Rock will be used throughout the rest of this thesis.

Finally, Little People have multiple names in the Crow language. Medicine Crow uses the term "Awa-kulay" and "Awa-Koley" (Medicine Crow 2006, 84). The meanings of these names are "keepers of the land" and "those who live in the earth" (Medicine Crow 2006, 84). Little People became the common term in English because of the stature of



these powerful beings. They have been described as being between twenty inches and 4 feet in height and look like adults in miniature size, hence the name Little People. As a result of the common name Little People being used throughout all avenues of research for this thesis, it will be the commonly used term. Although some Crow people dislike the term, the Elders I interviewed and worked with for this research use the name Little People and do not find it disrespectful (personal communication 2015). There have even been stories told of how Little People visiting members of Crow Tribe have told the Crow person to call them 'Little People;' as they identify with the name, I will continue to use it (personal communication 2015).

#### *Investigation of Crow Culture, Arrow Shot Into Rock, and the Little People*

In order to discuss the importance of Arrow Shot Into Rock to the Crow people, multiple avenues of inquiry were needed. Medicine Crow's book represents one of two publications containing the full story of Arrow Shot Into Rock, published decades apart. The archaeological collection at MOR, is one of two housed in different museums in the United States, as a result of two separate archaeological excavations. Additionally, the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock can still be heard while in Crow camps during special events or around the dinner table today. Therefore, the modern oral tradition is significant for understanding how the story is told today and what that means for current Crow culture and lifestyles. The written, archival, oral, and archaeological records are all used in the investigation of Arrow Shot Into Rock in this thesis; together, they allow a more complete history of this place to be presented.

In the following chapters, previous accounts and recent research conducted about Arrow Shot Into Rock are outlined and thoroughly discussed. The two archaeologists that excavated at the site and established separate museum collections, are introduced and their work analyzed based on publications and archival material provided by the museums. Finally, interviews with current Crow Elders are used in comparison to the stories recorded by Montana authors and to analyze the archaeological collections. Completing an archaeological analysis of the museum collections was not the goal of this thesis, instead emphasis is placed on the traditional knowledge provided by Crow Elders.

The main purpose for this thesis research is to create a more complete record of the history of Arrow Shot Into Rock with current oral histories. The excavations at Arrow Shot Into Rock were conducted in 1939 and 1941 by two different archaeologists. Although permission was given to the second archaeologist by the Superintendent of the Crow Tribe at the time, it is unlikely many members of the Tribe, especially in the local Pryor community, approved of the excavation of such an important place. Therefore, members of the Crow Tribe today are often surprised by the news of two museum collections containing items taken from Arrow Shot Into Rock. One important goal of conducting interviews with Crow Elders and living at the Reservation for this thesis, was to spread awareness about the two collections.

The knowledge I have been given, and experiences I have gained over many years, are all gifts. Many people have taken me in and shared not only sacred information, but their own personal stories of great importance. I would not have a thesis if not for these

people; the Little People, previous archaeologists, or the sacred place that continues to bring us all together. These are our stories.

## CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

The diverse components of this thesis research make it a unique project within anthropology and indigenous studies. The three major methods of research employed throughout this thesis include ethnographic, archival, and archaeological; however, all elements work together under a specific overarching approach. I take pride in framing my research within the Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) approach, as outlined in Sonya Atalay's book *Community-Based Archaeology: Research with, by, and for Indigenous and Local Communities* (2012). This approach can be used for numerous types of research, as long as the local or descendent community is involved and collaborated with from the beginning. I am drawn to Atalay's approach because it emphasizes the importance of including traditional knowledge alongside the anthropological. CBPR also "requires that scholars and community members develop equitable partnerships. Their projects must be community-driven and must address concerns that matter to members of descendent and local groups" (Atalay 2012, 4). Even as an undergraduate intern at the Museum of the Rockies, working with the archaeological collection from Arrow Shot Into Rock, I was determined to include at least one member of the Crow Tribe who could elaborate on the cultural significance to the Crow. It was also important to me for Crow people to know the collection existed and that I was working with it. During the course of my semester-long internship, I conducted two interviews with Crow Elders to gain more insight and a better understanding of the significance of the sacred place. In addition to the two interviews, I created an object level inventory of the collection and conducted

background research on Crow history and what limited information I could find on Arrow Shot Into Rock.

As my research evolved into a master's thesis, it was incredibly important to not only gain Tribal support, but also to include the Tribe in the development of goals and outcomes. As education and preservation of knowledge are very important to the Crow Tribe, my research material will be made accessible, and it will also include a separate project completed after the thesis. With education for younger Crow generations in mind, development of a children's book has been discussed, as a way to keep young people engaged with the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock and the Little People.

Prior to conducting fieldwork on the Crow Reservation during the summer months of 2015, the Tribe's Cultural Committee, a thesis committee at University of Idaho, as well as the Institutional Review Board approved my submitted research proposal. This proposal outlined the importance of the research to be conducted, the goals for the fieldwork, and how ethical issues would be resolved if any were to occur.

#### *Crow Cultural Committee*

On Wednesday February 18, 2015, I presented my research proposal to the Crow Cultural Committee, at the Cultural Office in Crow Agency, Montana. The cultural office is located in the heart of the reservation, and housed in an old, historical building. When I walked into the office for the first time, my only contact on the committee was not present. The room was small and contained a large table with approximately eight office

chairs, numerous desks along the opposite wall, and a number of file cabinets scattered throughout the room. As I stood in the doorway taking in the small room and looking for my friend, I was invited to sit down by the head of the committee. Five of the committee members were present when I arrived, and as I sat waiting for the room to fill and the meeting to begin, conversation was scarce and mostly in the Crow language, of which I knew none. A male Elder sitting to my left, sensing my nervousness, took pity on me and struck up a conversation. Even the small talk we engaged in, about the particularly warm weather for February in Montana and where I drove in from, was enough to ease my nerves slightly and make me feel more comfortable about my presentation. All eight committee members were in attendance which included six men and two women. After the meeting began, they waived the reading of the last minutes; then the head of the committee gestured to me with both hands signaling me to begin my presentation. As this was my first experience with the Crow Cultural Committee, I did not expect to present immediately and without an introduction from my contact on the committee. I hesitated for a moment, desperately attempting to remember all of the things I planned to say.

For my presentation to the Cultural Committee, I did not write a speech or develop a visual presentation. I intended to keep my proposal brief, clear, and to the point, with the hope it would be more conversational. I began by thanking the committee for welcoming me to their meeting and introduced myself. Then I briefly explained how this research project was created, why I am passionate about it, and the future I saw for it. At first it was very quiet and although I left plenty of pauses for questions and comments, there was silence from the committee members. After what felt like a lifetime, but what was

probably only minutes, three members of the committee started to ask questions and engage in conversation. At this point I asked for permission to interview willing Elders of the Crow Tribe. Interviews would be conducted in order to discuss Crow stories about Arrow Shot Into Rock and the Little People in the Pryor Mountains. I stressed the purpose of my research was to preserve the stories, as traditional knowledge, with the history of the archaeological collections. The anthropological interpretation of the stories and analysis of the archaeological collections were not the goals of the research. Instead, I was determined to assess the collections by emphasizing the purpose of the objects being left for the Little People. In order to accomplish this, Crow stories and culture are the main forms of investigation, rather than archaeological analysis of artifacts. The outcome is intended to be a body of work providing a more complete story of this sacred Crow place.

In order to describe the type of work I intended to execute, I presented each committee member with a letter of intent, as well as copies of the informed consent form participants would be required to sign prior to an interview. Approximately an hour and a half later, the members of the committee and I were in agreement that I would conduct interviews about Arrow Shot Into Rock, learn the Crow language if possible, and present the information back to the committee when complete. Additionally, all stories and knowledge recorded during my research remain property of the Tribe with permission for it to be used in my thesis, but any other project would require further consultation with the committee. As protocol dictates, the committee voted and unanimously agreed to approve my research.

### *Archaeological Research Methods*

The archaeological methods used for this thesis did not include excavations or traditional analysis of artifacts. Instead of investigating the artifacts as part of the archaeological record, I planned to employ Crow traditional knowledge and oral histories as the main tools for analysis. The objects left at Arrow Shot Into Rock were intended to be offerings for the Little People; therefore, they have even more meaning when considered gifts, rather than artifacts. Often archaeologists study items lost, thrown away, and long forgotten by the associated people. The gifts at Arrow Shot Into Rock are neither lost nor forgotten; they were left with purpose and strong faith they would always be there for the Little People. Arrow Shot Into Rock, although visited less today than in traditional times, is considered a sacred location for the Crow people; therefore, the tradition of leaving gifts is still taught and practiced among the current population. The archaeological collections are included in this thesis in order to provide physical examples of actual gifts left for the Little People. By including tangible examples of the gifts, stronger connections may be made between the oral stories and the corresponding gifts. Neither the ethnographic nor archaeological elements are used to prove the validity of the other; they are used together as one project to complete a full story of this sacred place.

Throughout this thesis the term 'gifts' will be used rather than 'artifacts.' The decision to avoid use of the word artifact is out of respect for Crow tradition, as well as for the Little People. Objects were left at Arrow Shot Into Rock as gifts for the Little People, and were never meant to be moved by anyone other than for whom the gifts were



intended for. Therefore, they remain gifts for the Little People even after removal from Crow country so long ago.

Using traditional knowledge from Crow Elders, including oral histories, as a way to analyze the museum collections from Arrow Shot Into Rock, does not mean there is a complete lack of archaeology in the analysis. The archaeological methods relied on deal more with the investigation of the archaeologists who excavated at this sacred place, in addition to the identification of specific objects in order to compare them to the ethnographic research. My investigation of the Arrow Shot Into Rock collections was completed through a different lens than the archaeologists who excavated the site in 1939 and 1941. Their methods and research outcomes will be presented in conjunction with all known information about the collections. In order to compile a comprehensive history of Arrow Shot Into Rock, with preservation and educational goals in mind, recognizing and including all possible avenues of knowledge are important. The goal of the archaeology is to spread awareness that these collections still exist in museums and to have tangible examples of the gifts left for the Little People without further disturbance at the site.

#### *Archival Research Methods*

After gaining permission to conduct research on Arrow Shot Into Rock from the Crow Cultural Committee, I focused on acquiring travel funds so I could visit the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), New York City. The purpose of this research trip was to investigate the second museum collection created by Nels C. Nelson, and obtain copies of any written documents associated with his work in Montana. The trip was made possible

after the University of Idaho awarded me one of the two annual Don Crabtree Scholarships for Lithic Studies. Based on the requirements of this scholarship the time spent at AMNH was focused on the lithic technology in the collection and how that related to the overall purpose of Arrow Shot Into Rock. The archival research was a necessary step in understanding Arrow Shot Into Rock because every collection and visitor to this sacred place is now part of the story and needs to be considered in the overall history.

While at AMNH I photographed each object in the collection and obtained copies of chosen documents from Nelson's field notes, publication notes, publications, correspondences, and photographs. Initially I investigated Nelson's work within the entire Pryor Mountains to establish the background leading up to how he came to excavate at Arrow Shot Into Rock. I completed this research prior to conducting the fieldwork on the Reservation in order to have the full archaeological story together before I began speaking with Crow Elders.

#### *Ethnographic Research Methods*

I completed the ethnographic research during the summer months of 2015, while living near the Crow Reservation. Approval by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Idaho was required before I was able to conduct interviews with Crow Elders. The IRB provides confidentiality rights to human participants and ensures the correct storage and usage of data. After receiving full support from the Crow Cultural Committee, I submitted an IRB protocol for approval, outlining my research goals and assuring the safety of the participants and the data collected. Interviews with Crow Elders was the most

invasive aspect of the research and there was no risk of harm to the participants. The IRB approval was the final requirement before I conducted fieldwork.

I worked on several ethnographic and archaeological projects related to Crow culture beginning in 2010, and as a result I had many contacts within the Crow community. These contacts were helpful in acquiring housing for my time on the reservation and for initial consideration of potential Elders to interview. Due to the specific subject of the research, interviewees would be Elders with shareable stories directly related to Arrow Shot Into Rock and the Little People. As a result, the interviewing technique I employed is referred to as snowball sampling, or chain-referral sampling. This method requires networking within the community to meet individuals with the necessary knowledge; as more contacts are made within the right group in a society, the researcher can ask for recommendations on who to speak with next (Bernard 2006). This technique works well with small populations, but does not always allow for random sampling if all interviewees are connected. My use of the snowball method was slightly altered, resulting in a more random selection of interviewees, without each participant knowing who was included in the project. The interviews I conducted resulted from relationships I built through participant observation at community events. Although I did not actually participate in any ceremonies or special events, being present at them, and experiencing the ceremonies as an observer, taught me valuable lessons and provided a wealth of networking opportunities with a great number of people.

The two most important events I attended while on the Reservation were the Sun Dance and Crow Fair. The Sun Dance consists of a series of ceremonies performed mostly by Plains Indian Tribes. Many small ceremonies are carried out throughout the year, but the Sun Dance itself is held in the summer. Before the budding of the trees in spring, a tree that naturally has a two prong fork is chosen to be the center pole for the Sun Dance lodge later in the summer. The tree chosen is typically cottonwood and approximately 50 to 60 feet high (Frey 1987). For the construction of the lodge, the center pole is joined by a ring of shorter poles which will act as foundation for the circular wall of the lodge and to hold twelve poles overhead, also supported by the center pole. Between the poles on the perimeter of the lodge willow branches are placed as the walls of the lodge with one opening facing the east towards the rising sun. During this ceremony, individuals enter the lodge for three days of fasting, prayer, and dancing to the drum. The goals of these individuals are to pray for a specific purpose, such as to help a family member, healing for themselves, or in search of medicine and a vision with their role in this world. Outside of the lodge, the rest of the Crow community live in temporary camps, pray, support the dancers in the lodge, and prepare to care of them after exiting the lodge. As a spectator, the Sun Dance is an extremely powerful experience; the energy of the dancers and the lodge is felt by all in attendance, and prayer can be a powerful tool even if you are not participating in the sacred lodge.

Crow Fair, considered to be the “Tipi Capital of the World,” is hosted annually in Crow Agency in August. During this six-day event, approximately 1500 tipis are built in hundreds of family camps. The festivities include a daily parade, pow wow, and rodeo; food

and merchandise vendors travel from around the country to attend. The Crow Tribe invites other tribes to attend, especially from the Plains, and it is open to the public. For the Crow people, it is a time of celebrating being together for another year. Often at the end of the fair 'happy new year' will be heard among friends and relatives. Blessings are wished upon each other for a healthy and prosperous year, until they see each other at the next Crow Fair.

One member of the Crow Tribe, who has been a close friend of mine since 2010, in addition to providing me with housing for the summer, also introduced me to his cousin, who invited me graciously into his camp during these events. This family was incredibly kind to me; they taught me so much about Crow culture, how to network within the Tribe, and protocol for attending events such as the Sun Dance. Although the Crow Sun Dance was not the topic of my research, it was a life-changing event and my experiences will always influence my research, and life. The Little People are known to visit dancers and spectators during the Sun Dance. Despite knowing of the presence of the Little People, I respectfully chose not to conduct interviews while camping at the Sun Dance. I did, however, meet three of the Elders whom I interviewed well after the conclusion of the ceremony. While sitting around camp in the evenings, I heard many stories about the Little People. These stories are not included in my thesis but they reiterated an important lesson; the Little People are real in Crow country and encounters can occur anywhere. I was warned many times not to go searching for the Little People and to always have respect for them. Throughout the duration of fieldwork on the Crow Reservation and completion of

this thesis, I have and will continue to respect the Little People as real beings in this world and as spiritual guides to the Crow people.

In order to fund my ethnographic fieldwork on the Crow Reservation, I acquired funding through the John Calhoun Smith Memorial Fund at University of Idaho. Funds from this grant went towards purchasing traditional gifts for interviewed Crow Elders, per diems for time in the field, travel funds for getting to and traveling within the Crow Reservation, and finally travel funds and per diems for the 2015 Society for American Archaeology conference to present on my research. Each Elder I interviewed received a wool blanket, handmade tobacco pouch, braid of sweet grass, and dried sage. Each of these gifts have deep meaning for the Crow and are still useful today. I gave four different gifts to each Elder because traditionally in Crow culture, when giving a gift the number four is significant. For many indigenous peoples four symbolizes the four directions on this earth, the four major elements: water, fire, rock, and air and other connections depending on the tribe. As a result, performing tasks in four cycles, giving four gifts, or repeating a song four times is very important to the Crow. The tobacco pouches given as gifts, I made by hand; I was taught to make them by a colleague during my years at Montana State University. The tobacco pouch is a way for me to add a very personal aspect to my gift giving. When making the pouches I often had a specific person in mind, creating a bond between us through the pouch I gifted. Giving gifts to the Elders was a simple, meaningful way to show my appreciation for the time they spent with me and the stories they shared, in addition to showing my respect for who they are and the culture they come from.

*Living in Crow Country*

While living in Crow country, I faced many challenges and plans were constantly changing, sometimes resulting in alterations to my research goals. Due to unforeseen personal events, I was delayed leaving for Crow, resulting in only two months at the reservation to conduct my research. Although less time than desired, I gained many new contacts and conducted five interviews with Crow Elders. The amount of information and experiences I gained during those two short months was more than enough to complete this thesis when used with archival and archaeological information.

A major goal related to my Arrow Shot Into Rock research, which I have had since I began the research as an undergraduate, was to visit the sacred place. I felt it was important for me to see where these objects were left for the Little People and experience the sacredness for myself. I also thought it important to have current photographs to demonstrate the changes that have occurred to the cairn and mountain road. Unfortunately, access by two different dirt roads from the town of Pryor into the Pryor Gap are no longer available, resulting in my inability to visit the site. One of the roads to Arrow Shot Into Rock was washed out due to a flood in the canyon years ago; the other road has been blocked off by a local non-Crow rancher, who does not want people near his land. Although I have heard there is another route from the south, it is difficult to confirm the condition of that mountain road without physically traveling on it. Since this route would require driving around the Pryor Mountains into Wyoming and then coming up through the

Gap, if able, and driving the long route home again, time did not permit this adventure during my 2015 field season on the Reservation.

Although unable to visit Arrow Shot Into Rock I was able to spend an enjoyable afternoon in the Pryor Mountains with a Crow Elder and Tribal historian. While with this Elder, we drove as far as we could on the northern road that a flood washed out almost entirely. This Elder informed me that if I had horses or hiked in on foot, Arrow Shot Into Rock was probably another five miles away. However, due to the number of bears in the area, and other potentially dangerous animals, extreme care and expertise was needed for staying safe in an unknown area. If time had permitted that summer, I would have organized a pack trip into the Pryor Mountains with skilled friends in the area, but unfortunately that was not possible. Although the goal to visit Arrow Shot Into Rock is left unaccomplished, spending time in the Pryor Mountains was enough to get a strong sense of the importance of this place and to enhance my understanding of its significance to the Crow people, particularly in the Pryor community. Even though people do not visit this sacred place as frequently as they once did, it remains a sacred and important place for them.

Another challenge that affected multiple project goals while in the field, was how far I lived from the main towns on the Reservation. A Crow mentor from Montana State University, and his wife, invited me to live in their home in Ranchester, Wyoming, just south of the reservation. I lived there alone during my time at Crow, as it is a second home for winter when the road to their ranch on the reservation is not passable. Living in



Ranchester meant I was approximately 23 miles south of Wyola, the nearest Reservation town; 57 miles from Crow Agency; and 107 miles from Pryor (refer to Figure 2). The

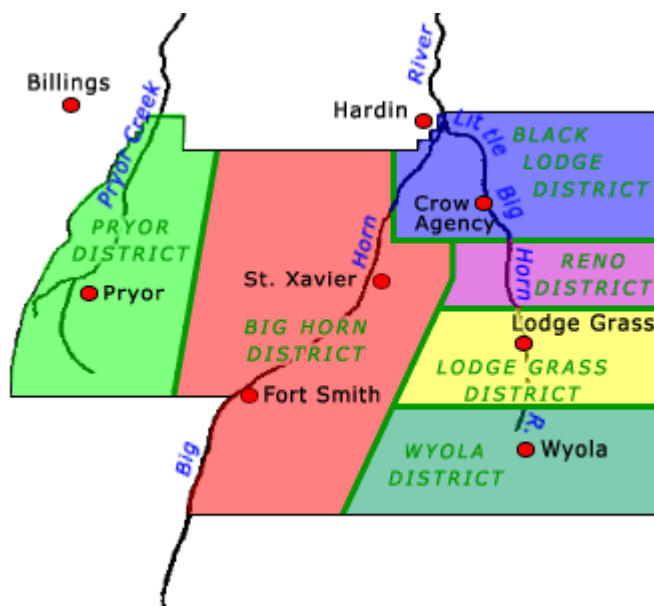


Figure 2: Crow Reservation Districts (McCleary 1997)

distances to these more populated towns, especially those where my participants lived, meant that I mostly went to these towns when I had someone to meet or a specific event to attend. It was difficult to know when the smaller community events were held

because I lived so far out and on my own. Living alone also prevented me from experiencing more day-to-day activities of Crow Tribal members and I did not learn the language as planned. Although perfectly aware I would not fully learn the Crow language in one summer, I was determined to study and learn as much as I could. By not living with a Crow family speaking the language, I unfortunately did not learn any of the language.

Besides the inconvenient distance between my housing and the majority of the Crow community, there were other obstacles that affected the number of interviews I was able to conduct. The summer months are busy on the reservation; children are home from school and must be cared for while parents work full time, there are community events, both big and small, that must be organized and attended, and sometimes travel takes people away from the community. Many times when attempting to interview members of

a certain family, they were too busy to speak with me. It was also challenging when I was given contact information by the willing participant but then could never get ahold of them again. This happened with no less than five individuals. I am appreciative of all the support given to me during this research and respect each individual's decision to speak with me, or not. I adapted my schedule and goals as best as I could and was still able to interview five prominent Elders, fulfilling my desire to work on the history of this place through the Crow culture rather than through an archaeological analysis. The final reason why some interviews were not possible was due to deaths within the Crow community. Tragically, during my time at the reservation I knew of five deaths from my small network of people; there were possibly more during that time. Of course, after hearing of a death I would respect the grieving family and not pursue interviews with them at that time. However, more than once this ended in me not getting an interview with them at all.

When conducting anthropological fieldwork, it is difficult to anticipate how the research will turn out and what will happen in the community while there. It is the responsibility of the researcher to adapt to their surroundings and continue their research in an appropriate manner. I adjusted my goals and methods when needed due to deaths in families, busy schedules, and my own unexpected schedule. My ability to adapt and cope with situations as they developed, resulted in a strong thesis, which is dedicated to the investigation of a sacred place, through the lens of Crow oral traditions.

### *Writing Methodology and Organization*

Considering the multiple components to this thesis, attention to detail and organization were important aspects to manage. Presenting archival, archaeological, and ethnographic research in one thesis requires strategy and the ability to keep the totality of details organized. Throughout this thesis, the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock will be told many times, due to the number of storytellers. Different versions of this story can be found in written accounts and oral histories, in addition to within notes included with the archaeological collections. The amount of unique sources results in the need for the story to be retold multiple times, the way they are told by the individual storytellers. Since each retelling of the story is unique to the storyteller, every story is significant on its own and deserves to be told.

When writing about each research element it was important to analyze them individually before discussing the overall themes together. Each chapter is a line of investigation on its own, but the goal of this thesis was to tie all elements together to gain a full understanding of this sacred place and its importance to the Crow people since its origin.

### *Conclusion*

The majority of Crow people who talk about Arrow Shot Into Rock emphasize how difficult it is to visit the sacred place today, which unfortunately prevents ongoing visitation to it. This substantiates the meaning of this research and need for a history of it to be

available. The continued use of the oral history related to Arrow Shot Into Rock and importance of the site without regular visitation, demonstrates the significance it still holds in the lives of Crow people today. For younger generations who have not been to Arrow Shot Into Rock, but hear the stories and have their own experiences with the Little People, a visual history of this place may prove helpful for them to build a stronger connection to it. Through my thesis, the history of this sacred place will be recorded in one place and made accessible to the entire Tribe. More importantly, a supplemental piece of work will be completed with the Tribe using my thesis research, to create a meaningful educational product that current members and future generations of the Crow Tribe can use and enjoy.

### CHAPTER 3: SELECT PUBLICATIONS ABOUT CROW CULTURE: WRITTEN ACCOUNTS OF THE ARROW SHOT INTO ROCK STORY

The Crow Reservation has been home to numerous outside researchers throughout its existence. Often times, Crow people have welcomed the guests, offering assistance; however, some avoid the strangers. The countless publications from academic articles and books to biographies and historical fiction novels related to Crow people and culture demonstrate the magnitude of work that has accumulated about the Crow. For the purpose of this chapter, three authors, one of Crow lineage, will be discussed along with their published work. The first, although included without direct knowledge about Arrow Shot Into Rock, is a famous anthropologist with numerous publications dedicated to field work among the Crow. The second, non-Indian author to gain publishable information about the Crow, lived among them most of his life and is praised for his accuracy and passion for collecting different versions of the same stories. Lastly, a Crow War Chief's life story and book is included as expertise about Crow culture and the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock. These are not the only authors, anthropologists, or researchers to publish about the Crow; they are specifically included in this thesis based on their contributions to the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock and how modern research is now conducted in collaboration with the Crow Tribe.

*Robert Lowie*

One of the best known anthropologists to conduct research among the Crow Tribe was Robert Lowie (1883-1957). He began his fieldwork on the Crow Reservation in 1907,

for the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH); he mainly focused on the social and religious aspects of Crow culture (Hoxie, 1995). As a student of the famous anthropologist Franz Boas, Lowie learned from Boas that in order to study a culture, one must live within it during the duration of the research. However, Lowie did differ from Boas, in that he relied more heavily on interviews rather than on participant observation. Lowie would interview Crow men and women across the Reservation about specific traditions of interest to him. Throughout his various publications from journal articles to books, his methodologies involved providing as much descriptive information about Crow culture as possible. Lowie's inclusion of copious quantities of information on Crow culture was a direct result of his research method, salvage ethnography. This type of research required anthropologists to record any and all information about a culture because they believed that those cultures were at risk of dying out; therefore, they believed their research could salvage what traditions were left and preserve it for the wider world to learn about. Since Lowie also worked under the theoretical approach of historical particularism, he believed that every culture maintains its own historical background, which is needed in order to understand the current culture. Therefore, it was important to him to collect traditional knowledge from different cultures in order to preserve them in their own historical context, before it was too late. The concept of salvage ethnography is not considered a valid method today. Even if Tribes recognize changes to their lifestyle and traditions they are still thriving people today, who survived many troubles and did not lose their cultural roots.

Although Lowie did not record the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock, it is still necessary to recognize his work when conducting current research with the Crow Tribe. Lowie

recorded a lot of useful information during his time with the Crow; his book, *The Crow Indians*, published in 1935 still remains an important publication today. In this book, Lowie recorded interviews he conducted with numerous Crow Elders between 1907 and 1931 and covers topics from religious beliefs and ceremonies to kinship and war. This book and others by Lowie remain models of what classic ethnographic work looked like at the time he was conducting research. Lowie's work, however, was not without shortcomings; he left many gaps throughout his research and many questions unanswered. He did not accurately record the modern worldviews and lives of the Crow at the time of his research, which was just as important as the traditions he thought he was salvaging. Unfortunately, the Crow people have not had many anthropologists accurately tell their entire story without major inadequacies. Therefore, as new researchers arrive to work with the Crow Tribe, they must take away positive aspects of the research done by Lowie and grow where he did not.

#### *Frank Linderman*

During the same time period as Lowie's work, a Montana author published work about the Crow as well. Frank Bird Linderman (1869-1938) originally born in Cleveland, Ohio, arrived in Flathead country of Montana to be a fur trapper in 1885. Throughout his life he also worked as an assayer, politician, and writer published between 1915 and 1935. His most popular written works include stories told to him from members of the Cree, Chippewa, Blackfeet, and Crow Tribes. Linderman wrote in a variety of styles ranging from retelling the stories of Indian Elders, to poetry and novels based on his experiences in the West.

Among Linderman's work, two of the most well-known were the autobiography, *Plenty-coups, Chief of the Crows* (1930) and biography, *Pretty Shield: Medicine Woman of the Crows* (1932). Having spent so much time living with the Crow Tribe, Linderman was well versed in Crow customs and traditions. Crow people have praised him for his ability to keep "the story as true as possible by acknowledging the multiple accounts he hears" (Bauerle 2003, xxi). Linderman was interested in hearing many versions of the same stories in order to preserve the greatest truth he could. By doing this, he demonstrated his recognition of the oral tradition system; one family is often not the sole keeper of a story, and unlike other non-Crow authors, Linderman used more than a single source for his work and kept his writings as accurate as possible to the originals (Bauerle 2003, xxi).

#### *Joseph Medicine Crow*

Crow War Chief, Joseph Medicine Crow (1913-2016), was one of the most widely recognized and respected Crow Elders. Medicine Crow was raised with many traditional values outside of Lodge Grass, Montana on the Crow Reservation. Although mostly raised by his grandparents and mother, whom he called "pre-reservation Indians," he was also raised to be a Christian and attended a Baptist school in Lodge Grass on the reservation (Medicine Crow 2006, 31). Medicine Crow attended public school off the Reservation during elementary and middle school, but decided an Indian boarding school for high school and junior college was a better situation than public schools. He attributed his switch in type of school to the conflicts he had with non-Crow students and staff at the public institutions he attended.



After junior college, Medicine Crow acquired funding and attended Linfield College in Oregon; he was the first member of the Crow Tribe to graduate college. After Linfield, Medicine Crow enrolled in the University of Southern California to study anthropology but did not complete his studies due to the Second World War. He entered the Army first as an office clerk and then was a foot soldier sent to Germany. Medicine Crow carried the label, the last Crow War Chief, due to his achievements during WWII. He was a Crow man, raised with traditional knowledge and succeeded in life outside of the Reservation. He was an inspiration to Crow people and all others who knew his work and life. In addition to Medicine Crow's title as a Crow War Chief, he had also been considered a Tribal Historian. This was a result of his traditional upbringing, which provided him with traditional knowledge and stories from his ancestors. His interest in anthropology also contributed to his research on Crow history for the sake of preservation. Medicine Crow has numerous publications related to his life story and Crow history, included in one book is the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock, as it was told to him by his grandfather.

#### *Written Accounts of Arrow Shot Into Rock*

There are very few written accounts of the Crow Tribe's first encounter with the Little People of the Pryor Mountains. This is mostly a result of the reliance on oral traditions for generations; it was only recent in their long history that Crow people began to write down their stories, permanently preserving them. The two authors relied on, for this thesis, share different aspects of the tale. Joseph Medicine Crow retells the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock, Arrow Rock as it is called in his book, as it was shared with him by his

grandfather, passed down through generations. Frank Linderman, on the other hand, published the story along with many other Crow narratives he learned as a result of his life among the Crow Tribe.

One of Medicine Crow's publications, *Counting Coup: Becoming a Crow Chief on the Reservation and Beyond* (2006), is dedicated to stories related to his life and how he became a modern war chief, the last Crow War Chief. This book also includes stories from his childhood and traditions still important in the lives of Crow people today. Medicine Crow recorded the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock in his book, even though he had not seen Little People himself. Arrow Shot Into Rock is an important place and he still believed in the Little People. Medicine Crow wrote about the Little People and Arrow Shot Into Rock in order to describe Crow culture and introduce spiritual beliefs shared by many members of the Tribe.

First, Medicine Crow introduces the Little People as supernatural dwarves that live in the Mountains, stating that they are not imaginary and even non-Indian people have stories of seeing Little People in the region. He explains that there are two names for Little People in the Crow language; "Awa-kulay, 'keepers of the land,' and Awa-kolay, 'those who live in the earth'" (Medicine Crow 2006, 84). In Medicine Crow's telling of the story, he begins by explaining it is the place where the Crow met the Little People for the first time, around 1730; before horses were introduced to the Crow.

In Medicine Crow's rendition, a group of Crow people traveled through the Pryor Gap, a vast network of canyons in the Pryor Mountains, when a little boy was lost. While

sitting on a travois pulled by a dog the boy fell from the contraption when the dog ran away, most likely chasing after a deer. Although the boy's family and related Crow band searched the mountains, they did not find any sign of him, and the family was forced to move on without their son in order to stay with their tribe. Many years had passed, before a grown man walked into a camp of the same band of Crow stating he was the missing boy. Even though the group were skeptical at first, his sister identified him as her missing brother based on a distinctive scar located on his leg.

The lost boy was named Sacred Arrows, also called Four Arrows, after telling his people the story of his lost years from his Crow family. Sacred Arrows explained to his people how two little dwarves in the mountains found him and adopted him. They took him to their cave lodge in the Pryor Gap and taught him "secret mysteries of the land, and gave him supernatural powers" (Medicine Crow 2006, 91). When he grew into manhood, Sacred Arrows was told it was time to return to his Crow people. He was instructed by his Little Mother and Father to tell his story to his tribe and share the teachings he was given. Before leaving the Little People, Sacred Arrows was allowed to choose a Medicine Bundle for himself; with help from a little bird, he chose, without knowing it, one of the most powerful bundles. When back with his Crow people, Sacred Arrows described the Little People and their home in the Pryor Mountains to his people. He advised them that when they travel through the Pryor Gap they must stop to place rocks at the base of a high cliff (where he was lost as a boy) as a prayer offering for their safe passage through the mountains to their final destination. Sacred Arrows instructed the men to "shoot arrows into the crevasses of the jagged cliff face for the Awa-kulay men to find and use, and they

should leave offerings of buffalo meat and elk meat for them to eat” (Medicine Crow 2006, 91). He also relayed the women’s instructions: to leave beads and jewelry for the Awakulay women to find and wear. The Crow people listened to Sacred Arrows and continued to pass his instructions on to all Crow generations. This is one version of many of how the Crow met the Little People of the Pryor Mountains.

Linderman’s book, *Old Man Coyote*, published in 1931, contains the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock as it was told to him by a Crow Elder. The entire book is a collection of stories told to Linderman by Elders he describes as Crow Warriors (Linderman 1931). As Linderman sets up his retelling of the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock he shares the setting: camping in the Pryor Mountains with the Crow warrior, Woodtick, whom the story came from. In the book, the story is written as Woodtick told it to Linderman. Since Linderman’s book was published in 1931 it means these stories could have been told to him that year or within the forty years he had been living with the Crow Tribe. He does not specifically state when he camped with Woodtick and heard the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock.

Before starting the story, Woodtick informs Linderman, and now readers of Linderman’s book, that the story took place before European settlement of North America and before the horse was introduced to the Crow. He states that it took place before his “grandfather’s grandfather was born” (Linderman 1931, 36). Considering this book was published in 1931 and the story came from an older member of the tribe, this possibly places the setting of the story to over two hundred years ago. It is unclear the precise time the Crow met the Little People, because the story predates the written record, use of

contemporary calendars, and an exact date is not included in the oral history. However, the importance of the story is still relevant today, as it has been passed down by so many generations and is still told today. This is the power of oral traditions.

Linderman's account of how the Crow met the Little People, started with a Crow family losing their young son while traveling through the mountains with their entire Tribe. Just as the group were entering a canyon within the mountains, a deer caused many dogs, with and without travois, to chase after it. At first, most people thought it humorous, until they took notice of one woman's crying; her son had been riding on one of the travois a runaway dog had been hauling. Since the Tribe did not believe it would take long to locate the boy, they moved on and left his parents alone to search for him. By nightfall on the day the boy was lost, the dog returned to the boy's parents with his travois but the boy was not upon it. Although they searched the entire vicinity for four days, no sign of their son had been found; the steep terrain would have likely meant death if the boy had fallen off in the mountains but still they found nothing to suggest their son had been there. After four days on their own, the couple returned to their people who were camped on the Plains, past the mountains, to ask for assistance in the search for their lost boy. For four more days and nights the Crow people searched for the missing boy, but still no sign of his existence in the mountains was discovered.

Years later when children from the same age group as the lost boy were adults, a Crow hunter witnessed an unexpected event. He saw another hunter in the mountains kill a large bull elk and then lift the animal to his shoulders and carry it off without any

difficulty. Skeptical at first about what he was seeing, the Crow hunter followed the mysterious man carrying a weight no normal man could handle. Upon following him to the top of the mountain, he reached Medicine Rock (a rock formation in the Pryor Mountains), to find the stranger nowhere to be found, just the rock, standing solidly where it always had been. Back at camp, the Crow hunter lost no time telling his people what he had seen; as a result, four warriors eventually went into the mountains in search of this strange man because many in camp feared such a powerful medicine man.

On the fourth morning the Crow warriors were in the mountains, they spotted the stranger walking quickly towards them, but they hid in time to keep their presence unknown to him. Although physically they noticed he looked no different than themselves, they recognized his strength when seeing him use a bow made from a bighorn sheep's horn. He stopped to shoot a blue arrow into the side of a rock and demonstrated, without knowing it, his strength when it traveled so deep into the rock that only the feathers were visible after impact. The four Crow warriors feared this man, knowing that no person would dare go against this powerful hunter. Finally, the four Crow men saw the mysterious hunter kill another bull elk and carry the body up the mountain to Medicine Rock, just as before. Upon following him to the rock at the top of the mountain, they discovered his moccasin prints looked as though they went into the rock face, as if he walked through it like a doorway. Although, still wondering who the strong hunter was, the Crow people went on with their lives assuming he was a great medicine man, and they avoided Medicine Rock knowing that was his home.

Four years later, the stranger walked into the same camp of Crow, stating he was Crow, knew his parents were among the people in that camp, but did not know who they were due to being lost in the mountains as a very small boy. He explained how he had been raised by Little People in the rock and until four days before he believed the Little Man and Woman were his parents. His Little Parents explained to him how the "War-eagle" had told them he would come to them, before he was even born to his Crow mother, so when they found him lost on the mountain they knew he was meant to live with them (Linderman 1931, 43). The hunter explained that he grew up happy and content with his Little Parents and that when he reached adulthood, his Little Father made him a bow out of the horn of a bighorn sheep but it was too strong for him to use. Only when his Little Father sang a song while pouring water on his hands was he given the strength to use the powerful bow; the increase in his strength was also the reason for his ability to carry the bull elk on his own.

With his new bow and ability to use it, the lost boy became a talented hunter for his Little Mother and Little Father; his Little Father also gave him handmade medicine arrows for hunting. The points of the arrows were made of colored stone, which matched the shafts of the arrows. He was given black, blue, red, and yellow arrows; with these arrows he never missed his target.

The lost boy would have stayed with the Little People in the mountains if it were not for an unfortunate meeting with a powerful person. He explained to his Crow family that one day while he was hunting he was approached by a person wearing a white robe, whom he learned was "The Morning-star" (Linderman 1931, 44). The lost boy's first

encounter with the Morning Star did not last long; Morning Star told him the next time he came to him he would tell him something he should know, and then he was gone. Although his Little Mother warned him not to listen to the Morning Star when he returned, the lost boy was not truly listening and when the Morning Star returned four days later he could not help himself but to listen to what he had to say.

When Morning Star returned to the lost boy, he told him that he was born to a Crow family and he knew where his real mother and father were. Morning Star told the lost boy that if he left his Little Parents to go back to his Crow people then he would give him powerful medicine. He did not want the boy to remain with the Little People as their hunter because they were the enemies of Morning Star, and he wanted them to hunt for themselves. Later the lost boy entered the lodge of the Little People with a sad heart, because of the truth he now knew. As soon as he returned home, his Little Mother instantly knew her son had listened to what the Morning Star had said. As a result, she instructed her husband to send him back to his people; he could no longer stay with the Little People.

Before the lost boy's Little Father would show him where his Crow family were camped, he needed him to complete an important task to help the War Eagle. The season was spring and the War Eagle's nest was inhabited with his young and each year a water creature climbs up the mountain to kill the young eagles. His Little Father instructed him that he must kill this creature to protect War Eagle's offspring because it was he who brought the lost boy to the Little People. So, the next morning they built a great fire at the



lodge of the War Eagle and placed a great number of stones in the fire to make them extremely hot. His Little Father explained to the hunter that when this water creature gets to the lodge of the War Eagle he will open his mouth and the lost boy must use a stick to roll the hot rocks into his mouth. As soon as the would-be killer arrived and the lost boy saw the water beast open his mouth confident he would succeed in his killings again that year, the lost boy started rolling the hot stones into his mouth as quickly as he could. Although strenuous work, the lost boy succeeded in killing the beast and saving the War Eagle's young. As a result, the eagle pulled a feather from his own tail and gave it to the lost boy, instructing him to wear the feather because it would prevent the wind from telling the animals his whereabouts. The War Eagle stated that this would enable him to become a great chief of his people someday.

Finally, as the lost boy's Little Father was showing him the way to his Crow people he gave him instructions on what to tell his tribe. His Little Father explained that "each year as they (Crow Tribe) pass through this canyon every grown Person must place a stone in a pile and pray that he may live to put another stone beside it another year" (Linderman 1931, 48). He also stated that the tribe must bring a buffalo bull to the Medicine Rock for the Little People each autumn. Finally, he told the lost boy to tell the women to "leave beads in the cracks in the Rock and that the men must shoot arrows there, if they would live and prosper" (Linderman 1931, 49). With that, the Little Father pointed to the Yellowstone River stating that was where the lost boy's family was camped and sent him on his way to find his original family. This is one version of many of how the Crow met the Little People of the Pryor Mountains.

### *Synthesis of Stories*

Although both stories are retellings of how the Crow met the Little People for the first time, there are many differences between Medicine Crow's and Linderman's versions. The account Linderman published included many details not found in Medicine Crow's. The reason for this is either because the story passed down to Medicine Crow differs significantly from Linderman's, or Medicine Crow retold the story with only the main facts he found important. Either way, it shows the variation that can occur when the story is retold through generations and by different families. After a person is given permission to retell a story given to them by an Elder, the story becomes theirs to interpret and retell as they see fit. There is no version more correct than another when a story has been passed down through so many generations. There are, however, different interpretations with emphasis on specific aspects important to the person or family. The story also changes with each telling; it is up to the storyteller to elaborate at certain points of the story if that is important for those listening; the listener of the story has just as much responsibility as the storyteller. If the audience is not engaged and interested in the story then it will not go on, therefore, the telling of the story may change as the story goes on, keeping all the facts true to the original but elaborating with details. This is why oral traditions often have more than one version of the same tale; the story can become very individual and personal to the family or storyteller.

### *Conclusion*

The three authors included in this chapter are representative of numerous publications about Crow culture. The use of these publications is to demonstrate how previous research has been conducted on the Crow Reservation, and how the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock has been recorded. Lowie, as a well-known and respected anthropologist, demonstrated the type of research that was being conducted among the Crow Tribe in early 1900s. Even though his work is considered to be less than accurate at times, he still collected a significant amount of information about Crow culture and is permanently part of the history of Crow research. It is important to take the accurate parts of Lowie's research into account when working on new projects with the Crow Tribe, while equally learning from his mistakes as to not repeat them.

Although the two tellers of the story come from different backgrounds, a prominent Crow War Chief and a non-Indian writer who lived among the Crow for decades, their stories contain the same foundation of the story. The main facts of a lost boy being adopted by Little People in the mountains and returning to his Crow people with the knowledge he was given was told by both authors, with different details. Since both stories come from the author being told the story by a Crow Elder, it shows how oral histories can differ based on the family. Although it is unclear when Medicine Crow first heard of the story, his book was published a significant length of time after Linderman's, therefore allowing changes to be made in the retelling with more time. Both accounts of how the

Crow met the Little People for the first time, and how the Crow tradition of leaving gifts at Arrow Shot Into Rock, are significant in understanding the history of this sacred place.

#### **CHAPTER 4: ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS FROM ARROW SHOT INTO ROCK**

Although unusual for a sacred place on the Crow Reservation to be excavated, Arrow Shot Into Rock was excavated by two separate archaeologists. Excavations occasionally take place on the Crow Reservation and many members of the Tribe work hard to preserve knowledge traditionally and through archaeology, but sacred sites are not usually involved in the archaeology. Although permission was given to the second archaeologist to dig on the Reservation, information about the first, an amateur archaeologist, is difficult to find and it is unknown whether or not anyone knew he collected objects from Arrow Shot Into Rock. This chapter will explore the archaeologists responsible for the two excavations and discuss a select number of gifts in those collections, as representatives of what was left for the Little People. Since the goal of this thesis is not to conduct an archaeological investigation of the collections, but to consider the entire history of Arrow Shot Into Rock with an emphasis on the oral histories still shared today, the entire collections will not be discussed or analyzed.

In 1939, Oscar T. Lewis (1890-1963) excavated at Arrow Shot Into Rock and recovered over 800 objects. As a result of his knowledge of the Pryor Mountains and Crow sites, it is likely he knew of Arrow Shot Into Rock and chose to dig there for its rich history, along with many other sites. Between 1920 to 1940, Lewis excavated professionally and collected privately throughout Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Nebraska (Cramer Lewis Collection 1991). Although without traditional training, he worked systematically and took vigorous notes while conducting research. He naturally possessed the attention to detail an archaeologist needs, therefore, landing him

professional jobs leading archaeological projects. In 1941, well-known archaeologist Nels C. Nelson (1875-1964) excavated throughout the Pryor Mountains for two months; Arrow Shot Into Rock was one of numerous sites excavated. At the time, Nelson held the position of Curator of Prehistoric Archaeology at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York City. He had permission from the federal government and the Superintendent of the Crow Tribe to dig on the Reservation. However, the initial permit to dig did not include Arrow Shot Into Rock; Nelson expanded his project area while in the field and it is unclear whether anyone in the Pryor community knew of his excavation at Arrow Shot Into Rock. Excavations by these two archaeologists resulted in collections at different museums in the United States, scattering the gifts originally left for the Little People of the Pryor Mountains.

#### *Oscar T. Lewis*

When Oscar Lewis excavated Arrow Shot into Rock, archaeology in Montana was still being developed as a professional field of study, rather than just the act of collecting. Lewis was originally an educator when he moved to Montana from the eastern United States. However, he did not teach for long, after realizing he could make a better living with the compensations provided by local ranchers for killing wolves in Southeast Montana; he became a 'wolfer.' This offered Lewis an opportunity to be on the landscape and gave birth to his interest in surveying the land for archaeological sites and collecting his discoveries. Even without thorough knowledge of the methods archaeologists use in the field, he was very accurate with his research by keeping detailed documentation of his

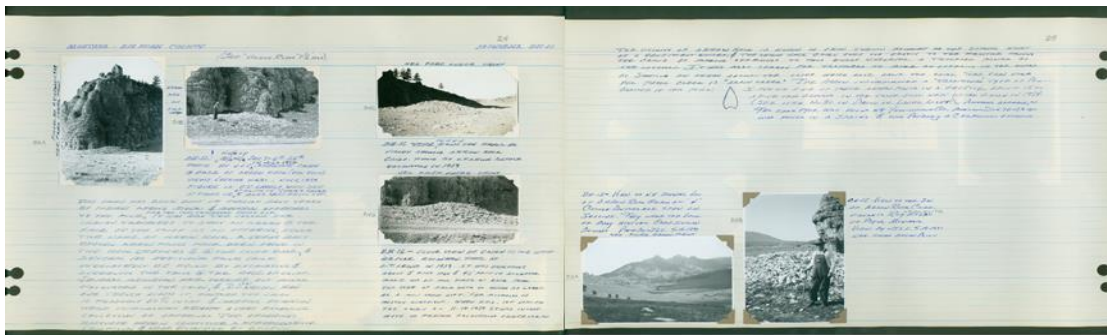
finds with notes, sketches, maps, and photographs. As a result of his natural skills in conducting archaeological research he was appointed foreman of the Works Project Administration's (WPA) excavations of Pictograph Cave and Ghost Cave in Billings, Montana in 1937. The WPA was attempting to create more jobs during the depression; archaeological excavations were a great way to employ a large number of people without the need for extensive training. During this time, Lewis also excavated Arrow Shot Into Rock, but on his own time. As his work in the formal world of archaeology took off, he continued to explore places on his own, and share his finds with others.

Years after Lewis' death his archaeological collections from decades of excavations were donated to the Museum of the Rockies (MOR) in Bozeman, MT in 1991. Lewis died suddenly, in 1963 after a car accident; long term plans for his collections were unknown. As a result, Lewis' wife gave the majority of the material objects he collected from all of the states he worked in, to Lewis' close friend, Joseph L. Cramer (1919-2013). When Cramer, a geologist, briefly lived in Montana, he spent a great amount time with Lewis visiting archaeological sites, including Arrow Shot Into Rock (Cramer Lewis Collection 1991). Even after Cramer moved on to Colorado, he built a strong relationship with Lewis and his wife and regularly visited the couple in Montana. Eventually Cramer organized Lewis' collections into one big donation to MOR. Cramer provided locations, notes about excavations, photographs with original negatives, and any other information known about the site, for each site excavated by Lewis. He organized all of the information onto oversized ledger pages and donated them to the museum as one large document, along with the artifacts. Very little of the overall donation has been studied; prior to this thesis the materials from

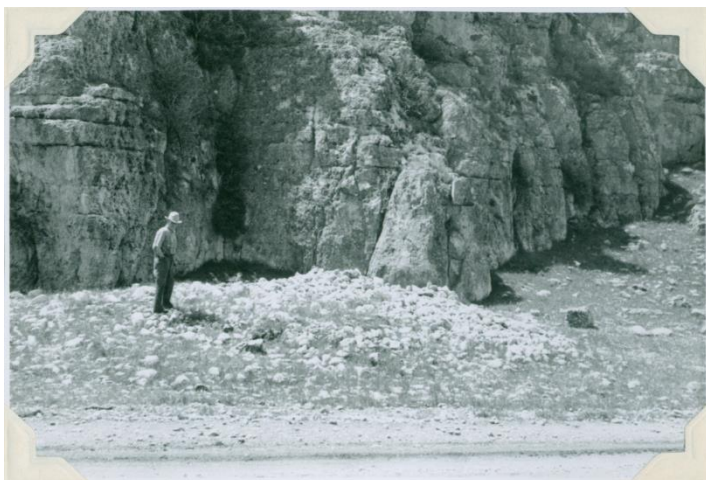
Arrow Shot Into Rock (Arrow Rock in their records) had not been researched using the MOR collection.

Within Cramer's notes about Arrow Shot Into Rock, it is clear some information came from Lewis; such as, dimensions of the cairn before the excavation. Other details Cramer included, however, could have come from a number of sources. For instance, on the ledger pages dedicated to Arrow Shot Into Rock (see Figure 3) Cramer references "Crow Indian Mythology" when describing what the site was (Cramer Lewis Collection 1991, 25). About Arrow Shot Into Rock, Cramer wrote "The vicinity of Arrow Rock is known in Crow Indian mythology as the special haunt of the benevolent dwarf; & the Arrow Rock cairn owes its origin to the practice among the Crows of making offerings to this dwarf whenever a traveler passed the location" (Cramer Lewis Collection 1991, 25). He went on to note that arrows were also shot into the face of the cliff as offerings. He gives no indication as to how he knew this information. It is possible that Cramer or Lewis heard the story from a member of the Crow Tribe, or read it in Linderman's book, which was already published by the time Lewis excavated. However, since Cramer wrote the ledger donated to MOR it is unclear whether Lewis knew the story, but with his experiences in the area, it is likely he at least had Crow acquaintances, making it possible he had heard the story. No matter how the information was gained it was insightful for Cramer to include it in the ledger donated to the museum; it is good information and a positive start for any researcher looking at the ledger and collection (refer to Figure 3).

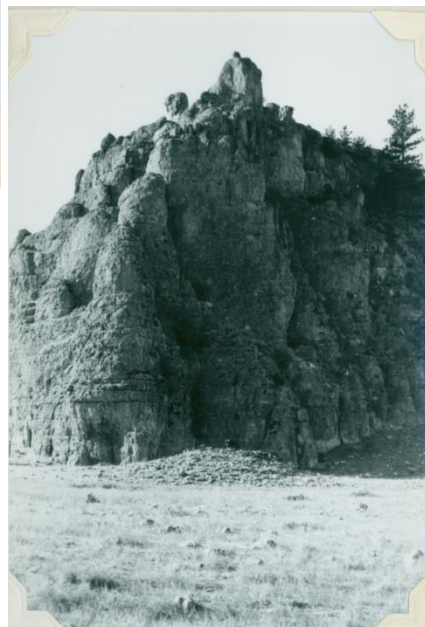




**Figure 3: Ledger Pages about Arrow Shot Into Rock donated by Joseph Cramer (Cramer Lewis Collection 1991, used with permission from Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana).**



**Figure 4: Photo of Oscar T. Lewis at Arrow Shot Into Rock in 1939, taken by Joseph Cramer (Cramer Lewis Collection 1991, used with permission from Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana).**



**Figure 5: Arrow Shot Into Rock, 1939, taken by Oscar T. Lewis (Cramer Lewis Collection 1991, used with permission from Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana).**

*Nels C. Nelson*

Due to Nels Nelson's well-known career as an archaeologist, much more information is known about him compared to Lewis. Nelson's path to archaeology took time and his contributions led to him being considered one of the fathers of modern American archaeology. Born to a Danish farming family in 1875, Nelson did not venture to the United States until 1892. While living in Denmark he only attended school long enough to successfully read and write (Mason 1966). When Nelson moved to Minnesota in 1892, he learned the English language, entered the first grade at age 17, and graduated high school at the age of 26 in 1901 (Mason 1966). By the time Nelson graduated high school most archaeologists that would become his contemporaries were finishing PhDs and starting their careers. However, that did not prevent Nelson from becoming one of the most influential archaeologists in America. Nelson worked hard to save money in order to attend Stanford University in pursuit of a philosophy degree. After attending for a short time Nelson transferred to the University of California at Berkeley with the same philosophy degree in mind, but quickly discovered his dissatisfaction in that field.

In 1906, Nelson finally discovered the field of archaeology through the invitation to assist with a shell-heap excavation by a friend in the graduate program at Berkeley. After transferring to an archaeology degree, it only took Nelson a couple of years to graduate with bachelor's and master's degrees and join the archaeology profession. Nelson held a number of positions before his career at AMNH started in 1912, where his research methods and publications became well known and influential. During the height of Nelson's career, archaeology and anthropology went through continuous changes based on

researchers' methodologies and development of new theories. Nelson's work became important as a result of the way he excavated sites. Nelson is described to be "the first man in America to demonstrate the value of careful excavation by artificial levels in determining chronological cultural changes" (Mason 1966, 394). In the Southwest region of the United States, where Nelson conducted the majority of his fieldwork, he focused on determining chronological change because of the magnitude of material and number of occupation periods that can be found at one site. His methodologies and research are still used today, due to the significant information he provided on cultures in the Southwest. Other influential archaeologists at the time benefited from visiting Nelson in the field and adopted many of his techniques into their own fieldwork methods (Mason 1966). Today this methodology seems trivial and commonplace in many excavation settings; however, at the time of Nelson's excavations many archaeologists dug without concern of archaeological stratigraphy or chronological order. Nelson's methods were revolutionary for his time.

Nelson is best known for his contributions to archaeology in the Southwest region of the United States, leaving his Montana project often unrecognized. The majority of Nelson's research and publications were completed before 1930; therefore, there is often little to no acknowledgement for the fieldwork he conducted in Montana in 1941, two years before his retirement from the museum. His Montana excavations were not part of an ongoing project, nor something he organized or intended to carry out. In 1940 the AMNH Curator of South American Archaeology, Junius Bird, investigated the excavation potential of two caves on the Crow Reservation while on a business trip to Billings,

Montana. Upon returning to the museum, Bird was successful in obtaining a permit from the Department of Interior to excavate on Federal lands and permission from Crow Superintendent Robert Yellowtail for excavations on the reservation (United States Department of the Interior Office of the Secretary to Dr. Clark Wissler, letter, 21 March 1941, Nelson Papers, American Museum of Natural History; United States Department of the Interior Office of Indian Affairs Robert Yellowtail to Dr. Clark Wissler, letter, 30 June 1941, Nelson Papers, American Museum of Natural History). The excavations were scheduled for the months of August and September of 1941; in June of that same year, Bird was replaced on the permit by Nelson, due to a project in South America that would occupy Bird's time from 1941-1942 (United States Department of the Interior Office of the Secretary to Dr. Clark Wissler, letter, 23 June 1941, Nelson Papers, American Museum of Natural History). Already well into the usual archaeological field season, Nelson struggled to find available museum equipment; most of the museum's supplies were already in use by other museum researchers scattered around the world. Nelson scrambled to obtain the right gear within a tight budget, find a local crew, and catch up on the logistics of a project he did not choose.

The original permit obtained by Bird only gave Nelson permission to dig two caves in the Sage Creek Canyon in the Pryor Mountains. In Nelson's report of his fieldwork he labeled the results of the two caves as being "so very meager, especially in view of the comparative wealth of stone artifacts found on the canyon floor," which caused Nelson "to take the liberty to try out some additional caves and shelters, with the idea – if they proved richer – to later ask permission to excavate them" (Nelson 1943, 164). Nelson and his crew

of four men excavated three additional caves and a rockshelter in the Sage Creek Canyon, as well as the Arrow Rock Cairn (Arrow Shot Into Rock), Elk Bone Cave, and tested three smaller caves in the Pryor Valley and Canyon (Nelson 1941a, Nelson 1941b). All material from these excavations are curated at AMNH, since Nelson completed the project the collection is rarely acknowledged.

#### *Excavations at Arrow Shot Into Rock*

The excavations at Arrow Shot Into Rock are now part of its history, along with the traditional stories told by the Crow; in order to study this sacred place it is important to know the entire history. Arrow Shot Into Rock has drastically changed since the traditional times of the Crow; looting, archaeological excavations, and environmental changes have all impacted Arrow Shot Into Rock. What remains in the archaeological collections, in addition to the stories recorded, are important to preserve for the education of future generations of Crow people, and all other interested persons.

Lewis excavated the rock cairn at Arrow Shot Into Rock in 1939; according to Cramer's notes, Lewis claimed there were no excavations done prior to his. Unfortunately, there are no field notes from Lewis when he excavated; any information from the excavation came from Cramer's notes in the donated ledger, which does not contain any citations for where he learned his information. From Cramer's notes, Lewis described the rock cairn to be five feet high and 45 feet in diameter prior to his excavation. Within Cramer's ledger, no other information is known about Lewis' excavation; it is unknown if he excavated alone, if anyone from Crow knew he was excavating, where in the cairn he

excavated, how much of the cairn or how deep his excavation went, or if he knew the Crow stories about the sacred place. Today, the collection is housed in the archaeology department of the Museum of the Rockies, available to researchers upon request of the registrar. The artifacts vary in typology and include stone tools, projectile points, pottery sherds, animal bone beads and pendants, animal teeth, shell beads, carved plum seeds, glass beads, and copper beads.

By the time Nelson excavated in 1941, the cairn had diminished in size, due to looting of the site from non-Indian locals and mountain travelers on the modern dirt road when it was still intact. Nelson recorded the cairn to be “nearly circular” with a diameter “ranging between 11 and 12 meters while the estimated height is about 1.50 meters” (Nelson 1941a, 17). In comparison to Lewis’ measurements of 45 feet diameter and five feet high, the height is the same after the conversion of 1.5 meters to be about five feet. The diameter, however, is listed by Nelson to be less, at about 36 to 40 feet. This shows the amount of looting that was already taking place at Arrow Shot Into Rock.

Since Nelson conducted the excavations in Montana as a curator for AMNH, the museum archived Nelson’s field journal, general notes of research, publications, correspondences, and report for the Department of the Interior; all are available at the museum to interested researchers. Nelson excavated at Arrow Shot Into Rock after expanding his project area; Lewis no doubt had an influence on Nelson excavating at the sacred place. When Nelson arrived in Billings, Montana he had few contacts from the archaeologist who originally planned the project; Lewis being one of those contacts, helped

Nelson hire local crew members for the excavation, drove Nelson around, and accepted mail at his residence for Nelson (Dr. Nels Nelson to Dr. Clark Wissler, letter, 13 September 1941, Nelson Papers, American Museum of Natural History; Nels Nelson's Field Journal, August/September 1941, Nelson Papers, American Museum of Natural History). Lewis joined Nelson in the Pryor Mountains occasionally, and directed Nelson to sites within the Pryor Canyon he knew about, including Arrow Shot Into Rock (Nelson 1941a; Nels Nelson's Field Journal, August/September 1941, Nelson Papers, American Museum of Natural History).

In order to test the rock cairn at Arrow Shot Into Rock, Nelson dug a two meter wide trench through the north edge of the cairn, running parallel with the cliff (see Figure

6) (Nelson 1941a). Nelson planned to excavate half of the trench to "full depth", meaning he would stop digging when cultural materials were no longer being found; while the second half he would only remove the top half of material (Nelson 1941a). He also explained the goal



**Figure 6: Nelson's excavation of the cairn at Arrow Shot Into Rock (American Museum of Natural History Archives .N457, The Papers of Nels C. Nelson, Montana, 1941; used with permission from American Museum of Natural History).**

was to dig in three equal layers, in an attempt to develop stratigraphy at the site (Nelson 1941a). Nelson stated in the report, however, that "it was soon apparent that the interior bottom half was sterile. Consequently, only two levels, each of about 35 centimeters

thickness, were obtained and these yielded mainly quantitative differences, the topmost being the richer” (Nelson 1941a, 17). From the relatively small excavation at Arrow Shot Into Rock, Nelson still recovered over 300 objects, comparable to the typology of gifts collected by Lewis.

*Publications from Archaeological Research at Arrow Shot Into Rock*

In addition to the report Nelson wrote for the Department of the Interior, he published two articles also based on his work in Montana. Although the excavations took place in 1941, the first article was completed in 1942, and a second article was published in 1943, the year he retired from the museum. Nelson’s report and publications included all of his work in the Pryor Mountains; research about cultural meanings of the sites were not adequately addressed, he mainly focused on the archaeological research he conducted. Since the report was written to wrap up a project permitted by the federal government, it is a longer document with more specific details about geographic location and environmental setting of the Pryor Mountains. The report included Nelson’s archaeological methods; explanation of surface finds and pictographs discovered; overall descriptions of the caves excavated, expanded project area, and descriptions of the artifacts collected; and brief conclusions by Nelson about the sites in the Pryor Mountains.

The first article pertaining to Nelson’s Montana work, was published for AMNH’s journal, *Natural History*. His article appears in the May 1942 edition and is titled, “Camping on Ancient Trails”. Throughout this publication, Nelson provides the public with photographs of his campsite in the mountains, select excavation sites with and without



crew members, pictographs on cave walls, and artifacts he collected. Nelson uses the article to tell a great story of his experiences in Montana; starting with how camping, although something he had done before, “was somewhat of a surprise after softening up in the Museum laboratory for fourteen years” then “suddenly to be sent to the Rocky Mountains to dig out some promising Indian caves” (Nelson 1943, 263). Based on Nelson’s conversations with Bird, the original archaeologist on the AMNH excavation permit, and correspondences with Lewis about Montana, he was confident that August and September would be idyllic for digging in the Rocky Mountains. On the third day of excavations, however, Nelson described the beginning of the seasonal, nearly daily thunderstorms until a couple weeks later when it turned into snow storms (Nelson 1942). Nelson admitted the discomfort and lack of preparedness he experienced camping at the 5,000-foot elevation. He also clearly stated that he and his crew could have moved to higher ground and camped in a cave but the idea of carrying the gear higher into the mountains was not appealing. In the article, Nelson jested, “besides, had we not been assured of ‘fine weather’? Still, we have decided that next time we go camping in Montana we shall bring winter garments, a big substantial tent, rubber boots and slickers;” wise advice for anyone adventurous enough to camp in the great wilderness of Montana (Nelson 1942, 263).

Besides Nelson’s camping experiences, he explained the archaeological work he conducted even in undesirable weather conditions. With limited page numbers in the article, Nelson quickly illustrates the scope of the project, deliberately stating that it was carried out with support of the Crow Reservation Superintendent at the time, Robert Yellowtail (Nelson 1942). Within the short article, Nelson managed to quickly compare

artifacts collected from a number of the caves he excavated with other collections. His article concludes that the sites are not likely related to the Crow because the few members of the Tribe he did speak with, never named by Nelson, did not know of the sites he spoke of in the Pryor Mountains (Nelson 1942). Nelson states about the sites that, “available information suggests that they were not the Crow Indians now dwelling on the Reservation” (Nelson 1942, 266). He goes on to say that “quite likely they may have been members of the Shoshonean tribes, who are thought to have ranged over the territory in early historic days” (Nelson 1942, 266). If Nelson had spoken to any Crow members in the Pryor community, he would have at least known how important the mountain range is to them, even if specific stories were not shared. If Crow people acted ignorant of sites in the Pryor Mountains, it is likely they did so in order to protect them from Nelson digging them.

Relationships between archaeologists and indigenous communities have not always been positive, and the Crow Tribe have had their fair share of disputes with archaeologists through the years (personal communication 2015; see Swindler, et al. 1997). Although Yellowtail gave permission to excavate on the Reservation, that did not mean that everyone in the Tribe agreed with the decision, or even knew about it. Also, Yellowtail did not originally give Nelson permission to dig the cairn at Arrow Shot Into Rock; Nelson took it upon himself to expand the project area first, before asking permission to do so. Protecting traditional knowledge, including stories about sacred places, has always been important to Crow people. Therefore, an unknown archaeologist on the reservation for two months to dig and take objects left by Crow people to a museum in New York, without

knowledge of the Crow culture, past or present, would no doubt cause dislike by the Pryor community, resulting in keeping knowledge of the sites to themselves.

Nelson's last journal article, involving his work in Montana, was published in 1943 in *American Antiquity*, from the Society for American Archaeology. Again, Nelson first states the project was carried out as a result of AMNH acquiring a permit to conduct excavations on the Crow Reservation. This article was much less comical about the environment compared to the last one; in fact, Nelson never even mentions the need for camping in this article. Since Nelson wrote it for *American Antiquity*, he likely focused on the facts about the archaeology, purposefully avoiding personal narrative. The first half of the article is dedicated to the caves within the Sage Canyon; then he discusses his work in the Pryor Canyon and Valley, including Arrow Shot Into Rock. Rather than using the phrase 'rock cairn' when describing Arrow Shot Into Rock, as he did in the report and the article in *Natural History*, Nelson calls it Arrow Rock, obviously showing his knowledge of the Crow name. Unfortunately, the name is all Nelson seemed to know about the site; he clearly states in both articles that the majority of the sites in the Pryor Mountains are not associated with Crow people but were more likely to be Shoshone. If he had known the Crow culture and stories of the mountains while he was conducting his research he would have known the connection the Crow have with the Pryor Mountains. Although, it is known Shoshone people traveled through the area and it is possible they knew of Arrow Shot Into Rock from the Crow people, (Little People are also known to the Shoshone) it is a very important, sacred place for the Crow, generations ago and today.

### *Gifts Left for the Little People of the Pryor Mountains*

Between the two archaeological collections from Lewis and Nelson, there are over 1,000 objects; Lewis' collection being the larger of the two with 877, while Nelson's has 367. The small amount of excavation they did compared to the size of the cairn, shows the magnitude of gifts that have been left at Arrow Shot Into Rock over generations, and how much has been lost. The majority of the items in each collection are similar in typology and fall within the same themes. When analyzing the archaeological collections together, two major categories separate the objects: utilitarian and decorative items. In both collections, the types of gifts in highest quantity include beads of all materials: animal bones or teeth, shells, glass, brass, and stone. Lewis' collection had a great amount of pendants, carved stones, and carved seeds, mostly plum. Although, all the objects represent what was left at Arrow Shot Into Rock, the preceding gifts have been specifically included in this section due to their unique qualities, correlation with the stories told, and significance to Crow culture.

Besides the notes Cramer included with the collection in his ledger, there are no publications or writings from Lewis about his excavation of Arrow Shot Into Rock. Lewis would show his collections to his friends but was more interested in the collecting aspect of archaeology rather than the historical research and reporting the results. Nelson, on the other hand, briefly described the objects he collected in his two publications about Montana. Although he did not include images of the gifts in the article in *American Antiquity*, Nelson did provide an inventory of everything that he and his crew found, but did not organize by site. Instead, he listed the total number of each type of gift found with

how many sites they were found in. Nelson did remark that all of the “potsherds, paint particles and nearly all worked bone items were found in the stone cairn” at Arrow Shot Into Rock (Nelson 1943, 166). After the inventory, Nelson went into detailed description of the pottery sherds from Arrow Shot Into Rock. He was interested in the grooved patterns found on the rims and body of the vessels, however, he did not mention a pottery style in which it was made; therefore, did not associate them with the Crow Tribe, nor with any group of people.

Pottery on the Plains is not common, especially compared to other regions such as in the Southwest, however, there are enough sites with pottery to demonstrate production techniques in the area. According to American archaeologist, George C. Frison, there are two types of pottery found in the archaeological record throughout the current reservation and traditional territory for the Crow. Frison has analyzed a number of sites located in northern Wyoming and Southern Montana, with Mandan tradition of pottery thought to be made by the Crow, and Intermountain pottery associated with the Shoshone people of Wyoming (Frison 1976). These two traditions are often discussed together and are difficult to identify at times, because there are many vessels that incorporate both techniques.

Frison discusses pottery sherds and nearly reconstructed vessels from eight sites in northern Wyoming, including one from the Pryor Mountains. One of the most common rim types in the Mandan tradition, includes “distinct paddle marks” and “the lip is flattened and between the neck and lip there are horizontal marks suggesting a paddle was dragged around the entire circumference” (Frison 1976, 36). When comparing the images Frison presented in the article, to images of pottery collected at Arrow Shot Into Rock by Lewis

and Nelson (see Figures 7, 8, 9), the markings were clearly made with the same technique. Additionally, the pottery from Arrow Shot Into Rock appear to be made of the same type of material Frison explained being typical for Mandan pottery (see Figure 10); material including small pebbles and particles of quartz (Frison 1976). They also shared the same black residue from firing. Therefore, the pottery sherds found at Arrow Shot Into Rock are to be associated with the Crow Mandan tradition of pottery, further confirming the site as an important Crow place, rather than having Shoshoni or other origins.

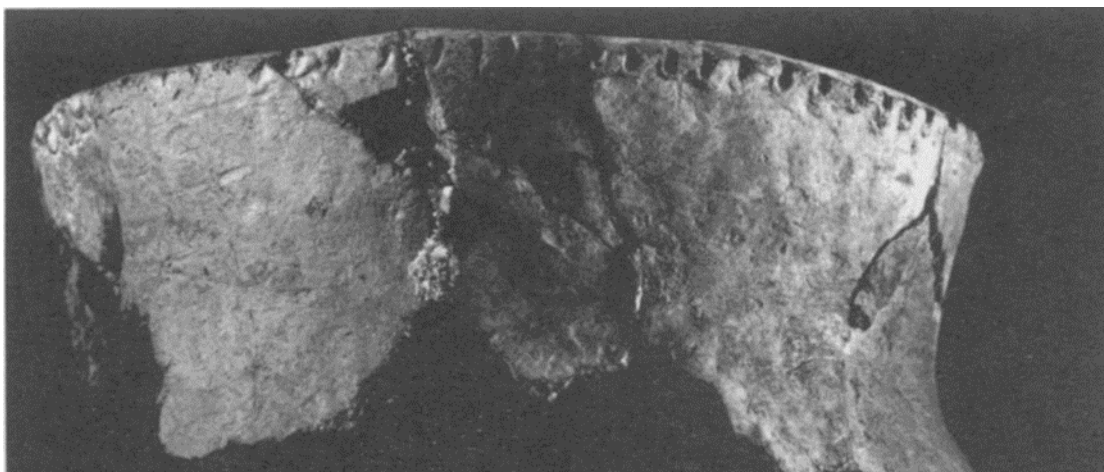


Figure 7: "Partially restorable Crow vessel from the Badger Basin site" (Frison 1976, 40).



Figure 8: Rim of pottery sherd removed by Nelson from the Arrow Shot Into Rock cairn in 1941 (Nelson Collection, American Museum of Natural History; photo taken by author, used with permission from American Museum of Natural History); enlarged for emphasis.

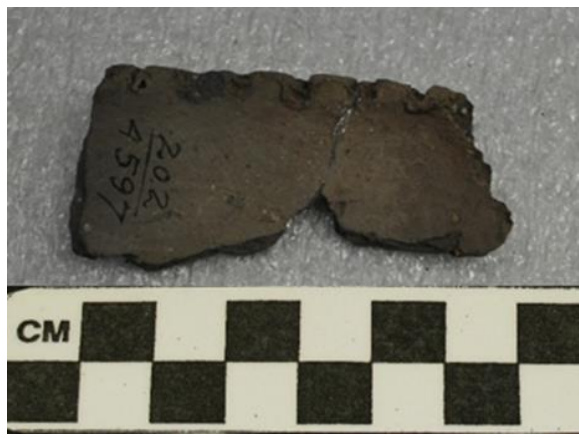


Figure 9: Pottery sherd removed by Nelson from the Arrow Shot Into Rock cairn in 1941 (Nelson Collection, American Museum of Natural History; photo taken by author, used with permission from American Museum of Natural History); enlarged for emphasis.



**Figure 10: Pottery sherd removed by Nelson from the Arrow Shot Into Rock cairn in 1941 (Nelson Collection, American Museum of Natural History; photo taken by author, used with permission from Museum of Natural History).**

In Nelson's article in the *Natural History* journal, he mentioned more objects specifically, with photographs, rather than an entire inventory. He did not go into substantial detail but did cover more than the other article. About the rock cairn at Arrow Shot Into Rock, Nelson mentions the presence of personal adornment objects, such as beads and pendants. He states that two carved stones (see Figures 11, 12) from Arrow Shot Into Rock are "dice or game pieces"; however, these labels are not fitting for the objects in question (Nelson 1942, 266). Although some gaming pieces are carved on both sides of the piece, the designs on these stones are far more intricate than is normally seen on Crow gaming pieces. Additionally, the stones have been rubbed with red material in order to stain the carved grooves, further demonstrating the detailed designs and meanings of the stones. Besides the stones in Nelson's collection, Lewis' excavation also turned up a pair of stones with the exact same designs on them. Gaming pieces certainly would not have two pairs of the same stones; it is likely these stones have a greater meaning, waiting to be

discovered again. Research on these stones is ongoing and will continue in collaboration with Crow Elders and the Crow Tribe.



**Figure 11: Side 1 of carved stones removed by Lewis from the Arrow Shot Into Rock cairn in 1939 (Cramer and Lewis Collection 1991, Museum of the Rockies; photo taken by author, used with permission from Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana).**



**Figure 12: Side 2 of carved stones removed by Lewis from the Arrow Shot Into Rock cairn in 1939 (Cramer and Lewis Collection 1991, Museum of the Rockies; photo taken by author, used with permission from Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana).**

In addition to beads and jewelry, a type of gift likely left for the Little People by women are carved plum seeds and small carved stones (Refer to Figures 13-16). The reason these gifts would have been left by women is because they were objects used by women. Small stones, bones, shells, plum seeds, and other seeds or pits, were carved, usually on one side but both are not uncommon, to make them into dice (Niethammer 1977). These dice were used in gambling games just played by women; men had games of their own. Each woman would have her own set of these carved objects to play with; they would often be carved with symbols important to her or her family. Although, gaming pieces were not specifically on the list of things the Crow were instructed to leave at Arrow Shot Into Rock for the Little People, many people would leave what they had with them at the time they were traveling through the Pryor Mountains. In addition, objects were left because they were important to the giver or relevant to something they were praying to the Little



People about. Every object at Arrow Shot Into Rock was left with a purpose, whether just to respect the Little People or as offerings so their prayers would be answered.



**Figure 13:** Side 1 of a carved plum pit, removed by Lewis from the Arrow Shot Into Rock cairn in 1939 (Cramer Lewis Collection 1991, Museum of the Rockies; photo taken by author, used with permission from Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana); enlarged for emphasis.



**Figure 14:** Side 2 of a carved plum pit, removed by Lewis from the Arrow Shot Into Rock cairn in 1939 (Cramer Lewis Collection 1991, Museum of the Rockies; photo taken by author, used with permission from Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana); enlarged for emphasis.



**Figure 15:** Side 1 of carved stone removed by Lewis from the Arrow Shot Into Rock cairn in 1939 (Cramer Lewis Collection 1991, Museum of the Rockies; photo taken by author, used with permission from Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana); enlarged for emphasis.



**Figure 16:** Side 2 of carved stone removed by Lewis from the Arrow Shot Into Rock cairn in 1939 (Cramer Lewis Collection 1991, Museum of the Rockies; photo taken by author, used with permission from Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana); enlarged for emphasis.

### *Conclusion*

The museum collections are rare gems in the archaeological record, allowing physical examples from a sacred Crow place. Although the archaeologists may not have had full support or permission to excavate at Arrow Shot Into Rock, the collections now exist. Only by sharing the information will more members of the Crow Tribe know of their existence. They will then have an opportunity to work with the museums to discuss the future of these collections. It is not uncommon for indigenous tribes to receive objects from museums that were collected generations before; the Crow Tribe is among many to do so. The Crow also have curated archival material and archaeological collections at the tribal college in Crow Agency. Although space is limited, the Crow are open to repatriation and preservation of cultural materials (personal communication 2015). The archaeological collections are exciting to study, and I am humbled to be among the few people lucky enough to handle these objects, but also recognizing they are items belonging to Crow culture, history, and traditions, and should be respected as such.

Unfortunately, Lewis and Nelson did not provide the full story of this sacred place when establishing their collections. Investigation of just the objects is not enough to understand why they were left at Arrow Shot Into Rock, or by whom. In one of Nelson's publications he wrote, "why these things were present in the cairn is difficult to say, but presumably they must have been left as offerings" (Nelson 1943, 166). Although correct in stating they must have been left as offerings, he did not know for what purpose. If he had established a relationship with the Crow Tribe and community in Pryor he would have

learned more about the sacred place. Even if interaction within the local community was not possible, Nelson and Lewis would have had access to publications by the Montana author, Linderman, whose 1931 book, *Old Man Coyote*, included the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock (see Linderman 1931). Research focused just on archaeological collections risks inaccurate conclusions and can easily be improved with historical and ethnographic research methods.

## **CHAPTER 5: ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH: LIVING ACCOUNTS OF THE ARROW SHOT INTO ROCK STORY**

The story about the Little People and Arrow Shot Into Rock is still heard around Crow camps today. As I sat in an Elder's camp one night at the 2015 Crow Fair, I heard him tell the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock without knowing I was researching the sacred place. He was merely telling me Crow stories because I was a guest at the Pow Wow, and a guest in his camp. This shows the importance of the story today; he shared the story in camp not because anyone asked to hear it, but because it is significant to him, the Crow people, and the Little People. Although I did not record the story that night, I was able to interview this Elder at a later date and hear the story again. While conducting my fieldwork on the Crow Reservation I completed five interviews with Crow Elders. Only two of whom shared the full story of Arrow Shot Into Rock with me, however, all the interviews are important and helpful for understanding more about Crow history, this sacred place, and the Little People. As a result of two Elders' wishes to remain anonymous, all identities will remain anonymous in this thesis. Reasons for any individual's desire to be anonymous varies; the Elders I worked with did not need to give me a reason. I am honored they met with me, shared their stories, and I am especially grateful they granted me permission to repeat what was said. The importance of the stories told to me are not weakened by the anonymity of the storytellers; it is important to note that these stories come from respected Crow Elders and their stories are to be respected as well.

My goal in listening to the Crow Elders tell the story of Arrow Shot Into Rock, is to analyze the stories and compare them with the previously written accounts and

archaeological collections. Since only two Elders shared the entire story of Arrow Shot Into Rock with me, I will retell them as they were told and discuss common themes gained from the interviews.

### *Story Telling from a Crow Camp*

The first Elder I formally interviewed about Arrow Shot Into Rock, is the one who shared the story with me when I visited his camp at Crow Fair. Although I did not record the story the first time I heard it, when I did officially interview him and record the story, he told the story the same way, with the same details. He chose to meet me at the same location as his Crow Fair camp. Even though the land was bare and without the excitement of the pow wow, being outside on the land of his ancestors for the second time that summer while hearing ancient Crow stories, was a remarkable experience. This is his story, retold.

Before the Crow had horses, they had wolves that would carry supplies on travois for them, or move with the Tribe as pets. During this time, the Crow Tribe were traveling towards the Pryor Gap, moving their camp. While traveling through the mountains a jackrabbit, fawn, or similar animal caught the attention of the wolves and many ran after it, with and without travois. One of the wolves that ran off after the animal had a small boy sitting on his travois, and lost the boy in the mountains. After four days of searching for the boy, the Tribe moved on to a new camp, while the lost boy's parents stayed behind to search longer for him. Eventually his parents also left the Pryor Mountains to join their people's camp; they had found no signs of the boy.

Years had passed since the boy had been lost, when some Crow hunters came to the area of Pryor Gap and saw a man walking in the mountains, shoot an arrow, and disappear into a canyon. As the man came back up from the canyon, the Crow hunters watched him carry an elk on his shoulders and keep walking, unaware the Crow hunters watched him. The hunters followed the man's tracks all the way to a large rock high in the mountains, where his tracks ended. Not knowing where the man went they returned to their camp and told their people what they had seen.

Years passed again before the Crow learned who the man in the Pryor Mountains was. He was the young boy lost in the mountains so long ago; as years passed, dwarves living in the rock raised the boy. When the dwarves found the boy in the mountains they took him into their cave and raised him. As the boy grew, the Old Man made him a bow from the horn of a bighorn sheep; he became so strong that he could easily use the bow and kill any prey.

Throughout his life with the Old Man and Old Woman, he thought they were his parents. The Old Man told him that when he went hunting there would be a little bird, the Meadowlark, that would harass him, he instructed the boy that he must ignore him and not shoot at the bird. He was told not to talk back at him, shoot at him, or anything else. And the bird did harass him. The Meadowlark was always around the boy when he hunted, he would mess around and annoy him. Finally, one day the boy got tired of always being harassed by the little bird. He got so mad that he threw a rock at the Meadowlark, causing

the bird to get mad as well. The Meadowlark retaliated by saying to the boy, 'you're not, you're not among us. You're not one of us. Why don't you go back to your people?'

Becoming saddened by what the bird had said, the boy returned to his dwarf parents' cave. Instinctively knowing something was wrong with the boy, the Old Man asked his son what had happened when he returned. He knew it must be something bad. After pausing for a short time, the boy told his father that he did what the Old Man instructed him not to do, he got angry with the bird and shot at him with a rock. He went on to explain how the Meadowlark told him he did not belong there, that he is not like the Old Man, he was from another tribe, another people. The Old Man agreed with the Meadowlark and told the boy the story of finding him lost in the mountains as a young boy. Because the boy now knew the truth, the Old Man said it was time for him to return to his people.

The Old Man gave his Crow son four arrows; white, black, yellow, and red, and instructed him to shoot the white one towards the north, the direction where his people were camped. Once he reached the white arrow he was to shoot the black one and so on with the yellow and red; this would show him the way to his people's camp. He was then told to tell his people that when they pass this area they are to shoot arrows into the large rock; they were also supposed to kill a young buffalo and leave it there for the Old Man and Old Woman. Therefore, the Crow people would shoot arrows at the rock, leave buffalo meat, and other offerings at the rock in the Pryor Gap for the Little People that once raised

one of their own. This is one version of many of how the Crow met the Little People of the Pryor Mountains.

According to this Crow Elder, they still carry out the tradition of leaving gifts today. He said every time he goes by the sacred place he leaves food there and prays to the Little People. The tradition has slightly altered from leaving a buffalo carcass to leaving modern food and other items but the meaning is still the same; traditions adapt from changes in the lifestyle of the Crow. For instance, besides leaving food other than buffalo at Arrow Shot Into Rock, he also said many people will leave money now, such as dimes or nickels. Many times people leave whatever they have on them at the time they are at Arrow Shot Into Rock, the important thing is to leave a respectful offering for the Little People, no matter how small or seemingly insignificant.

*Research from Plenty Coup State Park*

The second Crow Elder to tell me the story about how the Crow met the Little People for the first time is a volunteer at the Plenty Coup State Park in Pryor. He lives in the town of Pryor and while I was on the Reservation he invited me to the state park. We spoke in the basement of the visitor center where a small collection is housed and historic research related to the Crow Chief Plenty Coup is conducted. He spends the majority of his time at the state park transcribing and translating previous interviews conducted, decades ago, with Crow Elders. As with all the Elders I interviewed, he was incredibly generous with his time and resources while with me. In addition to telling me the story as he knew it, he also made copies of transcripts from past interviews conducted with Crow Elders about



Arrow Shot Into Rock and the Pryor Mountains, as well as photocopied chapters from books relevant to my research. This is the information he shared.

The story happened long before the Crows had metal and horses; when they relied on stone tools and use of the domesticated wolf. The story is about Sacred Arrow, or the Lost Boy and how the Little People adopted him. The boy was traveling on a travois pulled by a domesticated wolf, when the wolf ran after a deer or antelope, and the boy was never seen again. Two Little People, named Long Tail Magpie and Good Boy found Lost Boy and knew he was starving, so, they gave him meat, the sign for friendship, so he would know they were there to help him, and powers to strengthen him. Long Tail Magpie and Good Boy took Lost Boy to the lodge of the Little People in the rock, the Old Man was the Chief of the Little People and his name was Medicine Arrow. The Chief and his wife took in Lost Boy and raised him as their own son; he grew up not knowing he was human.

As Lost Boy grew up, he was given four colored arrows to use with his bow made from a horn of a bighorn sheep. The arrows he was given were green, red, white, and blue; the blue one was the most powerful. The Lost Boy's strength to use the sheep horn bow and use of the arrows resulted in his name, Sacred Arrow, given to him when he grew into adulthood. When Sacred Arrow would be out hunting in the Pryor Mountains on his own, two little birds, the Northern Meadowlark and the Chickadee would bother him. These birds would constantly tell him he was not Awa-kulay; this would confuse and upset Sacred Arrow.

One day while out alone, a ghost-like figure visited Sacred Arrow. He told the young man that his Little Parents were not his real parents; they were not human like him. This confused Sacred Arrow more. When he returned to the lodge of the Little People, his Little Mother knew he had become suspicious and told her husband it was time to tell him the truth. She believed they had given him enough powers and it was time for Sacred Arrow to return to his people and help them. Before Medicine Arrow showed Sacred Arrow how to find his people, he instructed him to tell the Crow that they must pray at the Little People's rock (Arrow Shot Into Rock) out of respect for the Little People. The Crow were told to pray to the Little People for protection when they traveled through the Pryor Gap. When Sacred Arrow left his Little Parents to find his original family, he looked back at Medicine Arrow and his wife walking away and saw that their feet were not those of humans; Medicine Arrow had the claws of an owl and his wife had antelope hooves. An owl and antelope are forms the Little Chief and his wife could turn into, in addition to their little human forms Sacred Arrow knew. Sacred Arrow then turned away from his Little Parents and joined his Crow family to teach them all he had learned, as instructed. This is one version of many of how the Crow met the Little People of the Pryor Mountains.

Another story this Elder shared during the interview took place after the Crow met the Little People. Because of Sacred Arrow the Crow knew of the Little People and about a cave they had used in the Pryor Mountains called Elk Bone Cave. This cave is named because of the large quantities of elk bones and horns that were placed in it over generations. Since the Crow already knew about this cave occasionally people would hang around near the cave to see who visited it. While several Crow hunters were in the Pryor

Mountains near the cave, they encountered two members of the Little People Tribe. They were hanging around close to the cave when they saw two little specks moving on the landscape. These two specks came walking around a ridge towards a herd of elk between the cave and where the Crow men hid. They saw the little specks shoot arrows into the elk herd, and suddenly two elk collapsed. The Crow, interested in how they would carry the meat out, continued to watch these Little People. These Little People turned out to be Long Tail Magpie and Good Boy, and the Crow men watched as they each lifted and carried an elk on their shoulders. The Crow men, hiding behind a pine tree, watched the two take a trail, made by the Little People, to the cave and leave only the elk horns behind, then continue with the rest of the elk on their way into the mountains. Elk Bone Cave has been known to the Crow since the time of Sacred Arrow and has been visited by many Crow people and non-Indians for decades.

According to the Elder I interviewed, when a few of his Elders were interviewed in the '60s they spoke of the cave and compared visiting it as children to the time of their interviews. He explained that in the transcripts curated by Plenty Coup State Park in Pryor, an interview with George Bull Tail was recorded where he described the mound of bones in the cave. Bull Tail talked about being at the cave around 1915; at that time, the mound of bones was approximately 20 feet high and 65 feet across. This cave has been so well known that it has even been explored by archaeologists and listed as an archaeological site; even Nelson excavated there during his research in Montana in 1941 (see Loendorf 1974 and Nelson 1941a, 1942, 1943). Therefore, the amount of horns and bones left in the cave has

diminished immensely. However, as with Arrow Shot Into Rock, the cave is still well-known and talked about among Crow people today.

*Dinner and Good Conversation in Pryor, Montana*

One summer evening in 2015, a Crow couple living in Pryor invited me to their home for dinner. I met these two Elders while in attendance at the Sun Dance, and knowing what my research was about they agreed to be interviewed and were kind enough to open their home to me. This couple lives in Pryor but only the wife grew up there with her family; her husband grew up on the other side of the Reservation closer to the Wolf Mountains. Since she grew up in Pryor, she heard many stories about the Little People in the Pryor Mountains, but they both have great knowledge about them as well as personal experiences. Although neither knew the full story of how the Crow met the Little People well enough to retell it, they did offer significant information for understanding more about the Little People and their relationship with Crow people today.

The first thing we talked about in relation to the Little People was that the Pryor Mountains are not their only home. It is well known among the Crow that the Little People living in the Pryor Mountains are the older, Elders of the Little People, while the ones living in the Wolf Mountains, also on the Crow Reservation, are the younger Little People, whom are advised by the ones in the Pryor Mountains. The Pryor and Wolf Mountains are not the only places they live, however, and they explained to me that Little People are everywhere, but the Pryor Mountains are their home base. Additionally, it was important to stress that

even if an individual has not personally seen a Little Person, they are still very real and only faith is needed to believe in them.

An important lesson they reiterated is that from the beginning, the Little People have been guides for the Crow. The Elder Little People in the Pryor Mountains have especially been there to direct the Crow with their prayers and help the Crow people. The Pryor Elder explained that because Crow children are taught to respect their Elders, respecting the Little People as Elders was as natural as respecting their own. She said the Little People Elders bring peace to the Crow and Pryor community, and if someone does not believe in them, they continue to exist but it is up the individual to pray to them, in order for them to help and be part of their life.

Additionally, the Pryor Elder discussed the meaning behind the piles of rocks found throughout the Pryor Mountains. Originally, the piles were made by warriors; they would place a rock on a pile or start their own before going into battle. The rocks would be placed with a prayer for their success in warfare and safe return. Once the Crow's traditional way of living changed and there was no longer need for warfare, men still placed rocks as prayers in the mountains but for other reasons, often for success on the hunt. Traditionally, and during modern times, women did not participate in the placement of rocks in these piles; since they did not go into battle or normally hunt, only the men would practice this form of offering and prayer. However, women did leave their own offerings and prayers for the Little People in the mountains without the need of creating rock piles. Often when someone wants to leave a gift for the Little People it would be left at Arrow Shot Into Rock,

or the individual would find their own place where they felt it was right to leave their gifts. Although these two Elders were taught many things about the Little People from their families, the power and relationship with the Little People must be felt and personally believed; leaving gifts and prayers is a personal act of respect that is unique to the giver.

*A Meeting in Crow Agency, Montana*

The final Elder I interviewed works in Crow Agency on the Reservation; our meeting was held in his office. Even though he did not share the origin story of Arrow Shot Into Rock with me, we had great conversations about the sacred place, personal stories about his family, and the medicine they have. When looking at the photographs of Lewis at Arrow Shot Into Rock, this Elder explained that the rock cairns were built by Crow people as a special prayer. Every time a member of the Crow Tribe is near the cairn at Arrow Shot Into Rock they would leave something and pray for their safe travel or other personal reasons. He talked about how the Little People are still seen in the mountains today, but not just the Pryor Mountains. The Little People are all over the reservation, such as in the Wolf Mountains, and off the Reservation in places like the Big Horn Mountains in Wyoming. The way he talked about them demonstrated the Little People's importance to him and the Crow people today.

When this Elder talked about Arrow Shot Into Rock, he mentioned the difficulty of getting to it and its current condition. He explained how a non-Indian rancher with property along the northern dirt road that goes to Arrow Shot Into Rock in the Pryor Gap, blocked public access to the road because he did not want people near his land and does

not have a positive relationship with the Crow people. The second road on the north side of the mountains, from the town of Pryor, is also no longer useable due to a flood that washed out most of the road years ago. He claims the only way to drive to Arrow Shot Into Rock now is through a southern route, which takes a significant amount of time to go firstly around the Pryor Mountains and then drive through the Pryor Gap from the south.

However, he did take this route, years before, and was able to make it there. Since so many things have been taken from the cairn at Arrow Shot Into Rock, and the roads are not maintained, he proposes acquiring funding to remedy this. If a fund could be established for Arrow Shot Into Rock, he would want to protect the cairns with fencing that would still allow people to pray there, but would not allow the public to disturb them as they have in the past. He also proposes putting in picnic tables, trash bins, bathrooms, and hiring a caretaker to maintain the land and amenities. His reasoning is to make the place comfortable for people visiting today. These changes could make it easier for Crow people to spend time there and develop a bigger presence at Arrow Shot Into Rock like there used to be. Although, not everyone may support these ideas, it still shows the importance of this place to Crow people today.

### *Common Themes*

Throughout the interviews I conducted, common themes emerged and work together in developing a more complete history of Arrow Shot Into Rock. In the two stories told by different Elders, parallel details demonstrate how within variation of individual stories, the major themes are still represented. For instance, each story described how the

lost boy was adopted by the Little People in the Pryor Mountains without knowledge by the boy that they were not his birth parents. As the boy grew up and hunted to provide meat for his Little Parents, he was harassed by the Meadowlark and in the second story an additional bird, the Chickadee. This harassment by the birds, correlates with the importance of these birds today, still being part of the lives of Crow people, sometimes as troublemakers, as in the stories. Although, the stories differ in how the lost boy began questioning his place in the Little Peoples' lodge, the fact remains that he was influenced by outside forces and did not discover the truth about his real parents until someone else suggested it. Additionally, in these stories the use of arrows given to the lost boy by his Little Father to find his people, is a powerful tie to the name Sacred Arrow he was given, the powers he possessed, and how the Crow were told to shoot arrows into the rock for the Little People. Arrows traditionally were important for the survival of the Crow people, they also have been given meaning through other means, such as offerings. The arrows will always be a powerful symbol and tool for the Crow.

Although it is unknown exactly when the Crow met the Little People for the first time, it is clear from the stories and discussion with Crow Elders, that it happened long ago. The closest description to when this meeting first happened, is based on knowing it occurred before the Crow had horses and metal. This knowledge allows it to be stated that the Crow met the Little People prior to European contact on the Plains. Knowing the exact time when the Crow met the Little People is not necessary for understanding the importance of this place; it is enough to know it took place prior to European contact, use of metal, and presence of the horse. The Little People have been guides for the Crow



people for a significant length of time, creating a strong bond with members of the Tribe today.

One of the most important connections between all of the interviews I conducted, is the respect everyone shows for the Little People, and the emphasis they placed on leaving gifts for the Little People. In the stories shared, the Crow were instructed to leave offerings for the Little People when they pray to them, in addition to shooting arrows at the face of the cliff of Arrow Shot Into Rock. Although the other Elders I interviewed did not tell the story, they still shared the importance of leaving offerings to the Little People. This shows that these instructions continue to be told to Crow people today, and are carried out as they were generations ago. The type of gifts left will be unique to the giver but often is related to food and trinkets left for the Little People to eat and use.

### *Conclusion*

Investigation of Arrow Shot Into Rock would not be complete without the current oral histories recorded. Although an incredible amount of information is provided by the written accounts of Arrow Shot Into Rock, and the archaeological collections contribute knowledge about the gifts left for the Little People, the interviews are what make this thesis contemporarily valuable. Presenting the stories as they are still told today, and the connections to the previously recorded stories, show the importance of the Crow oral traditions. This sacred place would not be the same without the knowledge still known and shared. Archaeologists would study the collections, without real conclusions about the purpose of the site because use of the archaeological record is not enough in this case. The

oral histories provide needed insight into the lives of the Crow people, past and present; they will continue to live on through Crow Elders still sharing stories, and through projects with the Crow dedicated to preserving knowledge and providing information for those not lucky enough to hear the stories from Arrow Shot Into Rock anymore.

## CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The number of different elements in this thesis required a great deal of organization and attention to detail. Although it could have been completed simply focused on one element of research the incorporation of ethnographic, archaeological, and archival components are what makes this thesis unique and useful for the Crow Tribe, as well as for future research. By examining the published stories about how the Crow met the Little People for the first time, by two different Montana authors, with the oral histories recently collected, it is clear to see the primary information that correlates to all of the stories and details unique to the individual versions. Discussion about the archaeological collections within an oral history lens, provides meanings for the items left at Arrow Shot Into Rock that would not be discovered through the archaeological record alone. In Nelson's conclusions he admits the reason "these things were present in the cairn is difficult to say, but presumably they must have been left as offerings," demonstrating the need for additional sources of information along with the archaeological record (Nelson 1943, 166). It is only through the information shared by Crow Elders, that knowledge about this sacred place is even known. Therefore, the oral histories are incredibly important when used in collaboration with the indigenous population, used respectfully and with full acknowledgement of where they come from, and discussed in conjunction with the archaeological and historical records.

### *Discussion of Stories*

Between the four stories retold by Montana authors and the oral histories recently collected, numerous similarities are present that strengthen the power of the details included within the stories. The foundation of the story remains the same throughout all of them; a boy was lost in the Pryor Mountains while sitting on a travois pulled by a dog, while traveling with his family and Crow Tribe. Although the family searched for the boy, no evidence of the boy was ever found in the mountains. It was not until many years later the boy's family and Tribe found out that he was adopted by Little People in the mountains. When he returned to his Crow people, he shared the story of his lost years after being separated from his original family.

The use of a name for the lost Crow boy, is mentioned in only two of the stories, but they are the stories still connected through his name. In three of the stories, the lost boy was given the strength to use a bow made of a bighorn sheep horn, to be used with powerful colored arrows made by his Little Father (Linderman 1931, personal communication 2015). Although the four colors of the arrows differ in each story, the purpose of the arrows are the same; with the bow and arrows the lost boy became a great hunter. The story provided by Medicine Crow did not describe a special bow or arrows for the boy, but he did include the name he was given as an adult, Sacred Arrows or Four Arrows (Medicine Crow 2006). The second Elder's story I collected, also called this Crow boy, Lost Boy and then Sacred Arrow as he grew into adulthood (personal communication 2015). The connection between the name and use of four powerful arrows brings all of

these stories together and demonstrates how important a given name can be, and there is often powerful meaning behind them.

An important difference between all of the stories is how Sacred Arrows found out he was not a member of the Little People Tribe but instead was born to a Crow family. In two of the stories told by the Elders I interviewed, the Meadowlark, and in the second story, the Meadowlark and Chickadee would harass Sacred Arrows as he hunted but was instructed by his Little Father to never lash out at the birds, even out of frustration towards them. In one story he threw a rock at the Meadowlark angering the bird and causing him to inform Sacred Arrows that he did not belong there and should return home to his people (personal communication 2015). The second story with the birds, also included a 'ghost-like figure' that came to Sacred Arrows to tell him he was not like his Little Parents (personal communication 2015). Linderman's story was similar to the ghost-like figure, Morning Star in a white cloak that told Sacred Arrows he was Crow and should return to his real parents (Linderman 1931). Although, the result of Sacred Arrow returning to his people is the same, it is interesting how much variation there is in the way it happened. In Medicine Crow's version Sacred Arrows' Little Parents, decided he had learned enough with them and was powerful enough to return to his Tribe and teach them all he had learned. That departure was about the wellbeing of his people and to help them prosper and learn new mysteries about the land (Medicine Crow 2006). The other stories suggest that the Little People were disappointed in their adopted son's discovery that he did not belong to them, forcing him to leave.

Since Sacred Arrows did return to his Crow people, the Little People became guides for the Crow and they were given instructions on how to pray to the Little People. In every story, Sacred Arrows is given instructions to relay to his people related to leaving offerings for the Little People in the Pryor Mountains. The most basic instructions given by Sacred Arrows, in one Elder's story, was to pray at Arrow Shot Into Rock (personal communication 2015). The rest of the stories had more detailed instructions. Included in these are the act of shooting arrows at the cliff of Arrow Shot Into Rock in the Pryor Gap, as they traveled by. Additionally, the importance of leaving gifts for the Little People were stressed with different directions given to men and women. For men, leaving an offering of meat besides the arrows was significant. Depending on the story they were instructed to leave a buffalo bull or young buffalo carcass, or more generally to leave buffalo or elk meat for the Little People to eat. Leaving an entire buffalo carcass was to be done once a year, whereas any meat could be left at Arrow Shot Into Rock for the Little People whenever they were traveling through the mountains. Finally, women were told to leave beads or jewelry for the Little Women to find and wear. These instructions are still carried out today, as proven by the oral histories collected; the Crow still tell the story of Sacred Arrows and share his instructions as they are still meant to be followed.

#### *Archaeological Collections Brought Alive by Oral Tradition*

The gifts left for the Little People are directly related to the stories told of how the Crow met the Little People for the first time. Based on the stories about Sacred Arrows and his instructions to the Crow to shoot arrows at the cliff face, the most obvious objects

expected to be found at Arrow Shot Into Rock, are projectile points. Within both archaeological collections there are 14 complete projectile points and nine in fragmentary form. When considered among the 1,244 items in the collections combined, projectile points comprise an extremely small percentage of the collections; less than 0.02%. This does mean that projectile points are not common at the site; in Cramer's ledger, he mentions finding 'arrowheads' within the cliff face and Nelson described the floor of the canyon to be rich in projectile points on the surface (Cramer and Lewis Collection 1991, Nelson 1941a). In addition to actual arrowheads at Arrow Shot Into Rock, Lewis and Nelson also recovered stone knives, scrapers, cores and flakes. Although clearly not arrows to be shot into the cliff face, they were likely left for the Little People to use as is or to alter in order to make a tool of their choice. The presence of arrows at Arrow Shot Into Rock demonstrate that Sacred Arrows' instructions to shoot at the cliff face while traveling through the Pryor Gap were carried out.

The type of gift left at Arrow Shot Into Rock with the highest representation in the two archaeological collections is beads. Within both collections there are over 700 beads made of animal bones, animal teeth, shell, seed, glass, and metal materials. The magnitude of gifts related to women's objects and what women were told to leave at Arrow Shot Into Rock suggests the importance and use of this sacred place for women. Other objects, such as a carved seed gaming pieces, small paint pot, small carved stones, and pottery sherds also indicated women were leaving gifts at Arrow Shot Into Rock. Even though these items were not specifically listed in the instructions for the Crow, these items were left as offerings and are items the Little People could use. The Crow were told to leave arrows and

jewelry for the Little People to find and use, therefore, it is possible these items were left for the Little People to use as well.

The two sets of identical carved stones (discussed in chapter 4) found in both collections, remain mysteries. They are still considered gifts for the Little People since they were recovered from the cairn at Arrow Shot Into Rock, however, their original use or meaning is unknown. During interviews, photographs of these stones were shown to the Crow Elders; none of them had definitive information about what the symbols on the rocks mean or what their function could have been. A couple of the Elders thought maybe they were of Shoshone design; after searching through Shoshone rock art images, nothing resembled the designs on the stones (see Greene and Thornton 2007). Although, it cannot be ruled out that the stones belonged to Shoshone travelers also leaving an offering to the Little People for their safe passage through the mountains, or were created by a Crow person with Shoshone design, more research is necessary to determine more about them.

### *Significance of Research*

As access to Arrow Shot Into Rock has been made difficult today, knowledge and access to the archaeological collections and stories about the sacred place becomes more important. Information about the existing museum collections are not well-known among members of the Crow Tribe, one of the goals for this thesis is to spread awareness of the collections. Since the Tribe has curated collections in the past and wishes to build a curation center for their cultural material, knowledge about what collections are already in museums is going to become more and more useful. This thesis and the continued project



with the Crow will allow information to be shared about the gifts taken so long ago and about the archaeologists who collected them.

Since this project was completed in collaboration with the Crow Tribe and individual communities on the Reservation, it represents the style of research that can be accomplished with the Crow people and other indigenous communities. Even when working with existing archaeological collections, collaboration is important with the cultural group the items belong to. Collaboration goes beyond the common courtesy of consultation, it means developing common goals, research methods, and outcomes together. The research available to anthropologists are direct results of these cultures and the individual people, therefore, living decedents should have a voice in the research being done and opinions about the management of the collections. I look forward to continuing to strengthen my relationships with Crow people, especially through ongoing research about the pairs of carved stones, and while completing a final product about Arrow Shot Into Rock that the Tribe can relate to and make better use of than an academic thesis. A children's book with the stories about this sacred place could potentially reach a great number of families on the Reservation, and for those living off the Reservation, but still want to share the importance of this place. A book could visually represent Arrow Shot Into Rock and the gifts for the Little People without invasive matters or worrying about visiting the place when the road is treacherous or unpassable.

### *Conclusion*

Although all the research goals were not completed through the duration of this thesis, a great amount of information was gained and it was successful in creating a more complete history of the sacred site, Arrow Shot Into Rock. Thankfully, the Crow language was not necessary in the research process, no matter how meaningful it would have been to me to have a rudimentary understanding of the language, especially as these stories would have normally been told in the native language. If a children's book is written, collaboration with the Tribe will be even more necessary in order to have a version completely in the Crow language and a second in English with use of Crow words, furthering the usefulness for education of younger generations of the Crow. The experiences I gained through participant observation and interviews with Crow Elders made this thesis possible and successful in the amount of information gained.

The sacred place of Arrow Shot Into Rock should not necessarily have been excavated, especially not without full permission from the Tribe and local Pryor community; it is unclear whether Lewis or Nelson had direct permission to excavated the cairn. Knowledge about the excavations and separate museum collections are not widespread across the Reservation, therefore, creating a disconnect between the original source and meaning behind the gifts and Crow people today. This document with the history of the place as a sacred location for the Crow, as an archaeological site, and a topic of Montana authors, is a first step for creating a connection to the museum collections for

the Crow Tribe, with the ultimate goal of starting a conversation about repatriation when a Crow curation facility is made a reality.

As a researcher, and person, I have grown immensely as a result of this thesis project. The experiences I had during my summer at the Crow Reservation taught me meaningful lessons I will carry with me through the rest of my life. As a researcher I strengthened the useful ability to be flexible when conducting fieldwork, and the skills to adapt research goals and methods when needed. Although easy advice to give prior to fieldwork, it is a completely different situation when conducting fieldwork alone with a limited amount of information. This is a lesson most researchers must learn for themselves and I am grateful I discovered my ability to overcome such difficulties while working with such gracious hosts, and was still able to work with people genuinely interested in my success. I made a great number of friends that summer, people I intend to keep in contact with, and ideally, visit yearly at the Sun Dance.

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A: Crow Cultural Committee Letter of Approval



## CROW TRIBE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Bacheitche Avenue  
 P.O. Box 159  
 Crow Agency (Baaxuwaaashe), Montana 59022  
 Phone: (406) 638-3732/638-3786  
 Fax: (406) 638-3773

**Darrin Old Coyote**  
 CHAIRMAN  
**Dana Wilson**  
 VICE-CHAIRMAN  
**Alvin Not Afraid Jr.**  
 SECRETARY  
**Shawn Back Bone**  
 VICE-SECRETARY

February 18, 2015

Victoria Bochniak

Please accept this letter of support from the Crow Cultural Committee for your research proposal on Little People. We are pleased to assist you in research. We also approve your research to interview tribal members for this project. All interviews are the property of the Crow Nation and are to be used only for your research purposes. Thank you and we look forward to watching your research expand.

Sincerely

Emerson Bull Chief  
 Crow Tribal Historic Preservation Officer

*The Great Apsáalooke Nation: "Teepee Capital of the World"*

APPENDIX B: *Internal Review Board Letter of Approval*

11/30/2016 Protocol Approval Notification for IRB project 'Crow Archaeology and Oral Histories: The Illustrative Story of Arrow Rock and The Little People of the Pr...

## University of Idaho

Office of Research Assurances  
 Institutional Review Board  
 875 Perimeter Drive, MS 3010  
 Moscow ID 83844-3010  
 Phone: 208-885-6162  
 Fax: 208-885-5752  
[irb@uidaho.edu](mailto:irb@uidaho.edu)

To: Rodney Frey  
 From: Jennifer Walker  
 Chair, University of Idaho Institutional Review Board  
 University Research Office  
 Moscow, ID 83844-3010  
 Date: 6/30/2015 12:57:41 PM  
 Title: Crow Archaeology and Oral Histories: The Illustrative Story of Arrow Rock and The Little People of the Pryor Mountains  
 Project: 15-637  
 Approved: June 30, 2015  
 Renewal: June 29, 2016

On behalf of the Institutional Review Board at the University of Idaho, I am pleased to inform you that the protocol for the above-named research project is approved as offering no significant risk to human subjects.

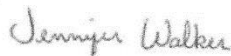
This study may be conducted according to the protocol described in the application without further review by the IRB. Every effort should be made to ensure that the project is conducted in a manner consistent with the three fundamental principles identified in the Belmont Report: respect for persons; beneficence; and justice.

This IRB approval is not to be construed as authorization to recruit participants or conduct research in schools or other institutions, including on Native Reserved lands or within Native Institutions, which have their own policies that require approvals before Human Participants Research Projects can begin. This authorization must be obtained from the appropriate Tribal Government (or equivalent) and/or Institutional Administration. This may include independent review by a tribal or institutional IRB or equivalent. It is the investigator's responsibility to obtain all such necessary approvals and provide copies of these approvals to ORA, in order to allow the IRB to maintain current records.

As Principal Investigator, you are responsible for ensuring compliance with all applicable FERPA regulations, University of Idaho policies, state and federal regulations.

This approval is valid until June 29, 2016.

Should there be significant changes in the protocol for this project, it will be necessary for you to submit an amendment to this protocol for review by the Committee using the Portal. If you have any additional questions about this process, please contact me through the portal's messaging system by clicking the 'Reply' button at the top of this message.



Jennifer Walker

University of Idaho Institutional Review Board: IRB00000843, FWA00005639



APPENDIX C: *Informed Consent Form***Informed Consent Form**

Project Title: **Crow Archaeology and Oral Histories: The Illustrative Story of Arrow Rock and the Little People of the Pryor Mountains**

Student Researcher: Victoria Bochniak

**1.** I, \_\_\_\_\_, the interviewee's full name, state that I am over 18 years of age, and freely and voluntarily wish to participate in the research being proposed above. **2.** I am aware that I will have an opportunity to review modify, and approve any information I share with the interviewer. **3.** I am also aware that the final use and disposition of any information I provide for this project will be subject to review and approval by the Cultural Committee before it is publicly shared.

The description of purposes and explanation of its procedures have been verbally provided by the interviewer to the interviewee:

- 1.) A statement that the study involves research.
- 2.) An explanation of the purposes of the research.
- 3.) The expected duration of the subject's participation.
- 4.) A description of the procedures (including methodology) to be followed.
- 5.) A description of any reasonably foreseeable risks or discomforts.
- 6.) A description of any benefits to the subject, or to others which may reasonably be expected from the research.
- 7.) A statement describing the extent, if any, to which confidentiality of data and privacy of subject(s) will be maintained.
- 8.) An explanation of whom to contact for answers to pertinent questions about the research, subject's rights, and research related injury to the subject(s).
- 9.) A statement that participation is voluntary.
- 10.) An explanation of how audio and photographic files (if obtained) will be used for the use of this research and project.

I acknowledge that the Principle Interviewer, Victoria Bochniak, has fully explained to me the purposes and procedures, and the risks of this research; he/she has informed me that I may withdraw from participation at any time without prejudice; and has informed me that I will be given a copy of this consent form. I freely and voluntarily consent to my participation in the above mentioned research project.

I waive \_\_\_\_\_ or do not waive \_\_\_\_\_ the right to confidentiality, i.e., my name may or may not be used in the research.

List any special stipulations or conditions established by the interviewee in the conduct or disposition of this project:

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Signature of  
Interviewee: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Student  
Researcher: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Victoria Bochniak  
University of Idaho  
708-228-9060  
boch0126@vandals.uidaho.edu

This project has been properly filed as required by Federal, State, and University of Idaho procedures, and has been reviewed and approved by the University of Idaho's Institutional Review Board (Office of Research Assurances). You can contact them at:

Institutional Review Board Chair  
University of Idaho  
208-885-6162  
irb@uidaho.edu

My sponsoring faculty advisor is Dr. Rodney Frey, Professor of Anthropology. He can be contacted at:

Dr. Rodney Frey  
University of Idaho  
208-885-6268  
rfrey@uidaho.edu

APPENDIX D: Donated Ledger Pages about Arrow Shot Into Rock by Joseph Cramer (Cramer Lewis Collection, 1991; used with permission from Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana)

24 MONTANA BH-12



NEG. FILED UNDER PENT

24C

BH-12 VIEWED DOWN THE PENTON DE VALLEY SHOWING ARROW-ROCK CANON. PHOTO BY O.T. LEWIS BEFORE EXCAVATION IN 1939



24D

BH-12 - CLOSE VIEW OF CAIRN TO THE WEST BEFORE EXCAVATION. PHOTO. BY O.T. LEWIS IN 1939. IT WAS ORIGINALLY ABOUT 5 FEET HIGH & 75 FEET IN DIAMETER. MADE UP OF ALL SIZES OF ROCK FROM THE SIZE OF 3/4" UP TO ROCK AS LARGE AS A MAN COULD LIFT. THE MATERIAL IS MOSTLY LIMESTONE. WHEN O.T.L. 1ST VISITED THE CAIRN ON 11-19-1939 IT WAS INTACT WITH NO PREVIOUS EXCAVATIONS MADE THEREON.

MONTANA - BIG HORN COUNTY

(SEE "CROOKED ROCK" 7 1/2 MI)



PHOTO BY O.T. LEWIS - 1939

24A

35MM NEG ON FILE

24B



VIEW OF NORTH SIDE OF CAIRN BY O.T. LEWIS IN JULY 1939 @ BASE OF ARROW ROCK (E.M. ROCK) VIEWS LOOKING WEST. JULY 1939

FIGURE IS O.T. LEWIS' BEST SIDE AT MOUTH OF SUMMIT CREEK OF PENTON CANYON 5 MILES NEAR PENTON GAP.

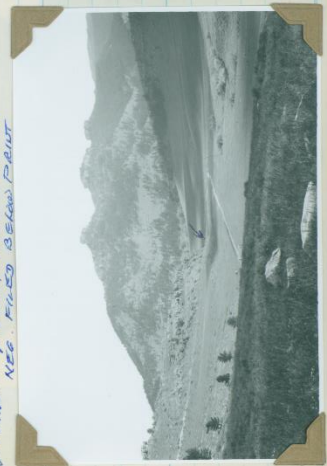
THIS CAIRN HAS BEEN BUILT UP THROUGH MANY YEARS BY INDIANS USING STONES & MATERIAL OFFERINGS TO THE PILE. EVEN THE TRAILERS BEYOND GAP INDIAN TRAILERS TO SHOOT AN ARROW @ THE FACE OF THE CLIFF AS AN OFFERING, HENCE THE NAME OF ARROW ROCK. A GREAT MANY BROKEN ARROW POINTS HAVE BEEN FOUND IN THE ROCK CREVICES @ THE CLIFF BASE, & SEVERAL 100 ADDITIONAL POINTS COULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE FOUND BY EXCAVATING @ SEVERAL INDIVIDUALS HAVE CARRIED OUT MINOR EXCAVATIONS IN THE CAIRN, & MICHAELSON RAN ONE TRENCH ACROSS IT. HOWEVER THE CAIRN IS PROBABLY 50% INTACT & CAREFUL EXCAVATION WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY REVEAL A VERY EXTENSIVE COLLECTION OF OFFERINGS. THE OFFERINGS PICTURED WERE CONSIDERED A REPRESENTATIVE COLLECTION & WERE EXCAVATED BY O.T. LEWIS.

THE VICINITY OF ARROW ROCK IS KNOWN IN CREW LITERATURE AS THE SPECIAL MOUNT  
 OF A BEHEMOTH BUT EARLIER THE ARROW ROCK GIVES ITS DESIGN TO THE PRECISE ANGLE  
 THE CROWS OR MAKING OFFERINGS TO THIS DWARF WHENEVER A TRAVELER PASSED BY  
 THE LOCATION. IT WAS ALSO COMMON FOR TRAVELERS TO MAKE AN OFFERING TO THE DWARF  
 BY SHOOTING AN ARROW AGAINST THE CLIFF WHICH ROSE ABOVE THE CANYON. THE CROW NAME  
 FOR PAYON CREEK IS "ARROW CREEK". THE ARROW INCORPORATED A "TRADITIONAL TYPE OF ARROW"  
 SHAPED IN THIS FORM:



I FOUND ONE OF THESE ARROW POINTS IN A CREVICE ABOUT 15 FT  
 ABOVE THE GROUND IN THE CLIFF JUST WEST OF THE CANYON IN 1954  
 (SEE ITEM No. 30 IN PHOTO TO LOWER RIGHT). ANOTHER EXAMPLE, OF  
 THIS SAME TYPE, WAS FOUND AT YOUNGSTONE CO. MOUNTAIN STATE 1928. IT  
 WAS FOUND IN A TRAILING & WAS PROBABLY A CEREMONIAL OFFERING.

BH-12 - View to NE. Joking Loc.  
 of Arrow Rock Cairn at "V".  
 CRISTAL ROUTES ARE SEEN ON  
 SKYLINE. THEY WERE THE LOCUS  
 OF MANY HISTORIC CROSSING  
 BEHINDS. PHOTO BY J.C. 5-19-1971  
 NEG. FILED BEHIND PHOTO



25A



BH-12 - View to the SW.  
 of Arrow Rock Cairn.  
 FINGER'S ROY MOUNTAIN  
 OF PUYUE, MONTANA  
 VIEW BY J.C. 5-19-1971  
 NEG. FILED BEHIND PHOTO

26

MONTANA BH-12. CONT.



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
35 ARTIF. IN FINE

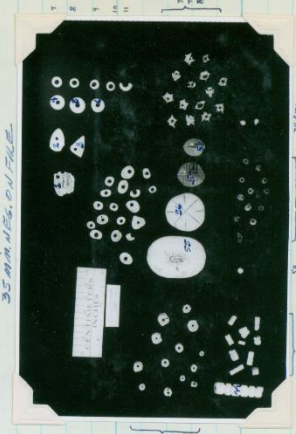


26A

EXCAVATED BY O. T. LEWIS  
FROM CAIRN. PHOTOS BY G. K. C.  
10 THRU 16 ← No. 11 & 21 & 28  
17 THRU 23 FOUND 6-22-1946

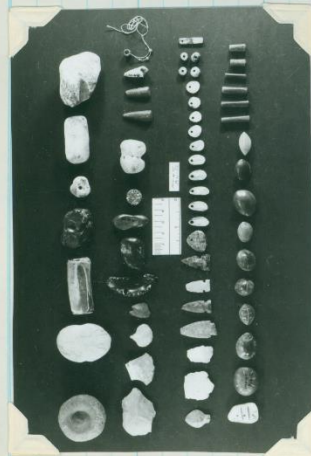
26B

12 THRU 24  
35 ARTIF. IN FINE



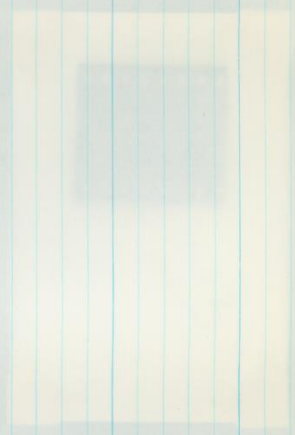
No. 30 FOUND BY J. L. C. IN 1954  
IN CLIFF CREVICE, JUST WEST OF CAIRN.

27  
MONTANA BH-12 cont



BH-12. Excavated by P.T. Fouts  
From Cache

27A

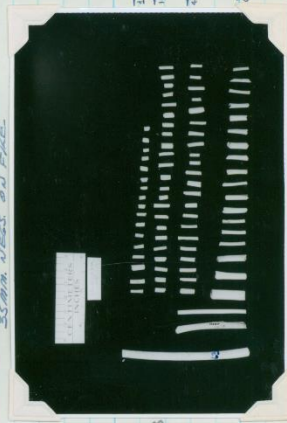


28

MONTANA BURIED

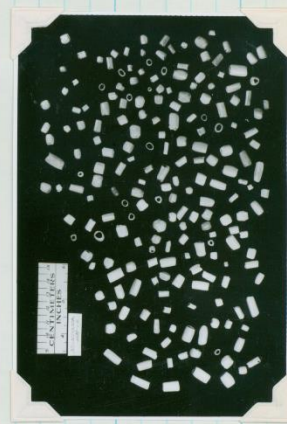


28C  
 1 through 17  
 18 through 40  
 41 through 62  
 63 through 83



SCAM BEGS ON FACE

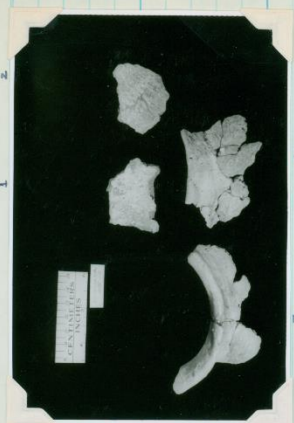
28B



28A

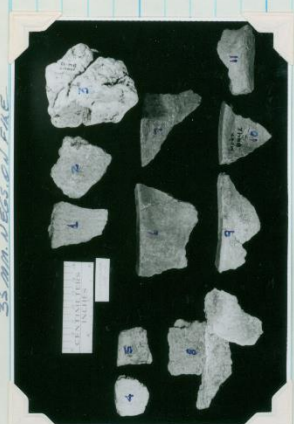
EXCAVATED BY D. I. LEWIS FROM CAVERN PHOTOS BY V.L.C.

29  
MONTANA BH-12 CAMP

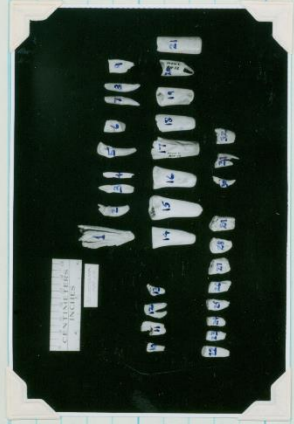


29C

3500-VEGETAL PAE



29B



29A

EXCAVATED BY ST. LEWIS FROM CAREN. PHOTOS BY V.L.C.