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NOWHERE LEFT TO GO

MONTANA'S CREES, METIS, AND CHIPPEWAS AND THE CREATION OF ROCKY BOY'S RESERVATION

LARRY BURT

In the last third of the nineteenth century, the federal governments of Canada and the United States asserted their jurisdiction over the Great Plains through a series of treaties that established reservations for the various Indian tribes of the area. By the turn of the century, three small native groups found themselves homeless relics of a distant past long after other peoples had moved to their reservations. Several bands of Cree Indians and a number of mixed-bloods, who called themselves Métis, had used lands on both sides of the line that had become the border between the state of Montana and the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The confusion over the national identity and governmental responsibility for these two groups was exacerbated when members of both joined a rebellion against the Canadian government. At about the same time a band of Chippewa Indians migrated

into Montana from the Dakotas after they had failed to conclude satisfactory treaty arrangements with the United States. Many members of these three groups were united in a prolonged struggle for a place to live and for a life to be lived as much on their own terms as possible.

The Crees had a long history of relations with whites. About the time of European arrival, they had inhabited much of east central Canada. In 1670 Britain established the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Crees quickly became middlemen in the company's fur trading activities. As the focus of fur operations shifted westward and southward throughout the 1700s, many Crees slowly migrated in response. Eventually they reached the end of the woodlands, turned to the buffalo as their primary food source, and adapted the characteristics that thereafter marked them as Plains Crees. By the 1800s they had penetrated as far west as the area north of present-day Montana. Their migration continued, although it was stimulated by a couple of new factors. The buffalo were already being hunted out, especially in the northern portion of their range. The Crees sometimes crossed the forty-ninth parallel and

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hunted on lands also used by the Piegans, Gros Ventres, and Assiniboines, but they generally stayed close to the Canadian trading posts where they obtained the European goods that had already become indispensable to their life-style. Then the Americans set up fur posts in Montana. Crees occasionally came to trade at Fort Union in the late 1820s and at Fort Sarpy and Fort Benton several decades later.¹

The final destruction of the buffalo in southern Canada forced the Crees to negotiate treaties with the Canadian government. Most Plains Crees submitted at Fort Qu'Appelle in 1874 and at Fort Carlton and Fort Pitt in 1876. They then moved onto reserves and depended on support from the government. But a headman in the River People band named Big Bear rejected treaty arrangements and led a faction that continued to practice a traditional life-style by hunting the last of the remaining buffalo in northern and central Montana Territory. Another earlier offshoot of the River People band, called the Cree-Assiniboines because of a close relationship with Assiniboine bands, at first agreed to a treaty, but many of its members eventually migrated farther south as well after becoming disillusioned with the scanty provisions forthcoming from the Canadian government.²

Thus, Cree presence in north central Montana Territory was becoming increasingly common by the 1870s. Beginning in 1871, small and hungry bands occasionally came in to the U.S. Indian agency on the Milk River (named Fort Belknap in 1873) for emergency relief. A few skirmishes occurred between the Crees and white settlers in the Marias and Teton river valleys in 1874. The next year a U.S. special Indian agent, William Fanton, discovered stolen horses in Montana among some Crees and north Assiniboines, who he reported had "heretofore but seldom come to the vicinity of Fort Belknap." And in 1875 the Fort Benton military headquarters for the first time listed the Crees as among the surrounding tribes in its annual report to the army's Department of Dakota.³

The Crees often traveled and lived with the

Métis, another group whose life-style and range were being undercut by the elimination of the buffalo. Countless unions between European fur post employees (usually French, sometimes Scots) and Indian wives (usually Cree, sometimes Chippewa) in Canada had resulted in a mixed-blood population and a unique culture that combined both Indian and European characteristics. These Métis hunted buffalo, selling the robes to fur posts and dried pemmican to government facilities such as military forts or Indian reservations. In their famous Red River carts the Métis crossed the border with even greater frequency than the Crees. As early as 1810 they had made parts of North Dakota and Minnesota regular stops in their hunting and trading routes.⁴

Beginning in the 1860s, many Métis from the Turtle Mountain area on the border between Canada and North Dakota moved westward into Montana Territory after game became scarce in their old homeland. They settled in some of the best remaining hunting grounds in the northern Plains of the U.S., along the Milk, Teton, Missouri, and Judith rivers. One of the largest Métis communities was on a portion of the Milk River known as the Big Bend, or Medicine Lodge, near where Frenchman's Creek enters the Milk and north-east of present-day Malta, Montana. It is difficult to ascertain exactly when the settlement originated, but the army first took note of it in the 1870s. The Crees were most likely there at the same time since that is when both civilian and military records first mention a significant Cree presence in north central Montana Territory. As the army prepared for what would become the Sioux war of 1876, officials became concerned about the Métis' alleged trading of arms to the "hostile" Sioux. Therefore, in the spring of 1875 General Alfred Terry ordered Colonel John Gibbon to break up the mixed-blood settlement.⁵

The Métis returned, however, as soon as the troops left the Frenchman's Creek area. By 1878 they were joined by some Lakota Sioux who had escaped into Canada with Sitting Bull following the Sioux war of 1876. The

Sioux refugees, finding buffalo scarce in Canada, moved gradually southward until they were encamped near the mixed-bloods along Frenchman's Creek on both sides of the line. Concern turned to paranoia as officials feared that Sitting Bull would attract disgruntled elements from many groups on the Plains and spearhead a concerted action against either whites or reservation Indians such as the Gros Ventres. In 1878 Congress quickly appropriated money for the construction of Fort Assiniboine in the Bear's Paw Mountains near the Milk River. And since it was still assumed that Sioux arms came from the Métis, General Nelson Miles moved against the mixed-bloods in the summer of 1879, sending them northward across the border.⁶

General Miles withdrew to the Missouri shortly after chasing the Métis out of the Big Bend area because government officials feared precipitating an episode that might further strain relations with Canada. The two governments did not agree on Indian policy in general nor on the appropriate way of dealing with Sitting Bull's Sioux in particular. Moreover, Canadians were suspicious of any hint of American northern expansion after earlier signs of U.S. interest in taking parts of Canada, evidenced by invasions during the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, as well as private adventures later in the century.⁷

But the Métis moved back into the Milk River area almost immediately and were soon joined by other groups as well. The land between the Milk and Missouri rivers on reservations for the Gros Ventres, the Assiniboines, and a few bands of Lakota Sioux contained some of the last remaining buffalo. Neither the Canadian nor the U.S. government was making adequate preparation and provision for the sustenance of plains Indians as the buffalo disappeared. Many nearby groups descended in desperation upon the area. In the fall of 1879 the Fort Belknap Indian agent, William L. Lincoln, and the Fort Peck Indian agent, Ned Porter, began alerting the military to a dramatic increase in the number of Métis, Blackfeet, Bloods, and

Crees, migrating out of Canada in destitute condition and searching for buffalo to keep from starving. Big Bear's band of more than three hundred Cree lodges encamped near Carrol, a steamboat station on the Missouri River. The Crees and Métis both negotiated with the agents, requesting permission to hunt on the reservation. Although a few mixed-bloods had been granted permits earlier, all were now denied. The agents were concerned that the outside Indians would obliterate the buffalo that they zealously guarded for the sole use of their charges and insisted that all of the intruders were Canadian, had no right to be south of the boundary, and should be run out by the military.⁸

Higher-ranking officers at newly constructed Fort Assiniboine were far less certain that a campaign of removal was necessary or appropriate. Lieutenant Colonel H. M. Black noted that the military itself indirectly approved of a Métis presence by purchasing goods from them and by hiring them to perform various tasks from woodcutting to transporting supplies. He also submitted to his superiors a letter from a Frenchman's Creek mixed-blood named Charles Freschie, who maintained that most of the Métis families had been born in the U.S. Freschie argued that this was not the same gun-trading group that Miles had run out earlier. He described his people as increasingly desperate as the buffalo steadily disappeared. The Métis had nowhere else to go, and Freschie pleaded that they be permitted to stay. But the fear that the Métis or their well-armed Cree allies might supply the Sioux undoubtedly tipped the balance in arriving at a decision. The annihilation of Lieutenant Colonel George Custer and his men at the Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876 had shaken the pride and confidence of a nation in the midst of a patriotic celebration of its centennial and had discredited the Peace Policy of a few years earlier. Politicians and the military dared not risk another embarrassing defeat by the Sioux, and so the assistant adjutant general ordered troops at Fort Assiniboine to expel the intruders.⁹

It was a relatively simple matter to chase the Pieguns, Bloods, and Blackfeet back to their reservations, but the Crees and the Métis had nowhere to go. Scouting reports in the spring of 1881 indicated unusually large numbers of mixed-bloods close to the Fort Peck agency and Crees along the Milk River and in the Little Rockies south of that river. Hungry and disillusioned treaty Crees migrating out of Canada constantly supplemented the ranks of Big Bear's following. About the same time many Montana ranchers began pressuring the Department of the Interior to remove the Crees. All of this prompted the first of the Milk River campaigns. Soldiers set out in the fall of 1881, equipped with cannon and Gatling guns, but only a few confrontations occurred. The Crees and Métis usually succeeded in keeping ahead of troop movements and in escaping across the border when chased. The government ordered soldiers simply to put "foreign Indians" across the line and not to fight unless fired upon because it wanted to avoid anything that might further sour relations with its neighbor to the north. Canadian officials questioned the assumption that all Métis and Crees were Canadian and complained that U.S. Indian groups were allowed to hunt freely north of the border, while the U.S. tried to prohibit the reverse. Whereas some of the highest ranking officers doubted the need for the action at all, many soldiers and officers in the field resented the restrictions that they felt emasculated them and wanted a free hand to end the Cree and Métis affair quickly.¹⁰

When weather permitted travel in the spring of 1882, the campaign began again with more vigor. A few gun battles led to some fatalities, but for the most part the Crees and the Métis still preferred escape over challenging the well-equipped soldiers. The action was quickly diminishing the already seriously depleted resources of the Indians and mixed-bloods. Troops began burning Métis cabins and the buffalo robes they sold for a living. Occupants were given only a short time to gather their belongings, vacate, and turn



FIG. 1. *Little Bear*. Photo courtesy of the Photo Archives Department, Vande Bogart Library, Northern Montana College.

themselves in to the custody of the soldiers. The mixed-bloods naturally objected, maintaining that the area was theirs and even holding U.S. Deputy Marshall J. J. Healy hostage for a while in March 1882. Soldiers realized that the matter of nationality was not as simple as the solution of ejection across the border would suggest. One later noted that "army officers knew they were here when the whites first came and no one knew how long before. Many were born south of the recently surveyed boundary line."¹¹

In the spring of 1882 Big Bear and most of his band went back to Canada, where the old leader was under intense pressure from many of his people to sign a treaty. He finally relented in December 1882, but some of his band continued to resist and rallied around the leadership of one of Big Bear's sons, Little Bear, or Imasees. Meanwhile, the Crees under

Little Bear intensified horse raiding against both whites and reservation Indians in Montana Territory. In late 1882, for example, some Crees stole all of the horses belonging to a band of Gros Ventres camped on Big Birch Creek. The same Crees then went on to steal all of the horses at a Beaver Creek sheep ranch owned by some army officers from nearby Fort Assiniboine. Early the next year the Crees struck the Gros Ventres again, taking sixty-seven horses from a band on People's Creek. In May the Crees captured some Piegan horses, and a fight between the two groups ensued when the Piegans gave chase. At almost the same time some Crees ran off with thirty-three horses from the Benton and St. Louis Cattle Company.¹²

In response, the military began focusing more attention on the Crees. It set up temporary posts close to the border at the Big Bend of the Milk River and in the Sweetgrass Hills northwest of Fort Assiniboine. Captured Crees were usually held at nearby forts until they could be escorted to the border. In a typical instance, Lieutenant John Anderson and twenty men found eighty-one Crees in the Bear's Paw Mountains in April 1883. The soldiers confiscated nine rifles and twenty ponies and then brought the Indians to Fort Assiniboine. The next month troops captured fifty-two Crees south of the Missouri near the Musselshell River. The Indians were disarmed and all of their belongings burned before the soldiers took them to Fort Assiniboine to await the journey to Canada. All of this military action contributed to the further impoverishment of the Crees. Not many years earlier they had been described by Indian agents as strong with many horses and new carbines and by one soldier as "the best fighters on the plains." But by 1883 rifles were scarce, and many Crees captured were on foot.¹³

Other problems plagued the Crees as well. Alcohol was readily available from any of the numerous traders in Montana Territory, and the Crees consumed a great deal of it after coming into the area. Cree women prostituted

themselves to pay for increasingly scarce necessities or for liquor. A general breakdown of traditional social structures resulted from both alcoholism and increased internal squabbling over how to respond to the dramatic crises that the group constantly faced. Many younger warriors wanted to confront the military more aggressively than did most headmen.¹⁴

In the spring of 1885 Crees under Big Bear took part in the North West Rebellion in which Métis under Louis Riel rose up in arms against the Canadian government. Little Bear returned to Canada and, along with the war chief Wandering Spirit, played a key role in the killing of several settlers in an episode known as the Frog Lake Massacre. After the general collapse of the uprising, Big Bear's band was thus wanted by Canadian authorities. Sources disagree on how many Crees escaped southward, but Canadian officials alerted Colonel Brook of Fort Shaw on the Sun River west of Great Falls that twenty-five lodges of insurrectionary Crees under a son of Big Bear were heading toward the U.S. That number corresponds to the twenty-four lodges captured in late December 1885 by Lieutenant Robertson and thirty-five soldiers at Rocky Point, a spot in the rugged breaks country along the Missouri River.¹⁵

Troops also took Crees into custody from seventeen lodges near Fort Belknap. They found some items among these people that they believed linked them to the Frog Lake Massacre and thus to the North West Rebellion. As part of their larger assumption that all Crees were Canadian, after 1885 American authorities tended to believe that all Montana Crees were Riel rebels, even though Crees had been found in that area for over a decade. Nonetheless, all of the Indians captured near Fort Belknap were taken to Fort Assiniboine. The military immediately requested authority from the State Department for deportation, but it was denied. There were questions about the legality of deporting people who in some cases were citizens and had undoubtedly been born south of the line. The primary stumbling

block, however, was the fact that Canada had never filed the necessary request for such action. Canadians believed that many of the Indians were American wards not being properly cared for. They viewed the situation as another reflection of a long-standing U.S. record of mistreating the Indians. But even if the American version was accepted, Canadians saw a double standard. Escapees from Indian uprisings in the U.S., such as the Iroquois after the American Revolution and the Sioux after warfare in Minnesota in the 1860s, had been treated in Canada as permanent refugees and given reservations, while the U.S. turned away people in similar situations.¹⁶

With deportation out of the question for the time, bands of Crees quickly scattered to several different locations in Montana Territory and began a several-decades-long struggle to survive and find a home. Some stayed near Fort Assiniboine and farmed or worked for either the military or private businesses in tasks such as wood chopping, hunting, or—for women—doing laundry. In 1886 a group under Little Bear headed southwest toward the Crow Reservation but was turned back by soldiers from Fort Maginnis south of the Missouri River near Lewistown. The band then went west through Fort Benton and made winter camp on Willow Creek, fifteen miles west of Augusta, one-quarter mile from a camp of mixed-bloods on Breed Creek, and very near a rancher named Samuel Ford, who was well known for his friendship toward Indians.¹⁷

The Indians experienced severe deprivation that winter. A few drifted in to nearby Fort Shaw, where the army fed them, while Samuel Ford provided some food for the rest. The military contacted the commissioner of Indian Affairs, who drew up a bill to relieve the Crees, but Congress made no appropriation. That spring the band traveled to the Flathead Reservation, and in August 1887 a council was held in an unsuccessful attempt to convince the Indians there to make room for the homeless Crees. Mixed-blood Pierre Busha acted as spokesman, indicating that by this time (and probably long before) a number of

Métis had become thoroughly integrated into the group. Busha also worked through Flathead Indian agent Peter Ronan in soliciting help from the commissioner of Indian Affairs in finding a home, but the government would make no promises.¹⁸

The same group returned to Willow Creek for the winter and suffered even more than the year before. The winter of 1887–88 was the hardest in memory with heavy snow and temperatures of thirty and forty degrees below zero. The band found itself with only ten emaciated ponies, inadequate clothing, no firearms with which to hunt, poor lodges, and little food. A few local settlers had hired some Crees to do odd jobs earlier, but by winter the money was used up. Samuel Ford again helped as much as he could, but the starving and freezing Indians were dying off. A handful of residents in the Augusta area eventually took action. John Watson and Elizur Beach wired \$100 to Phil Manix of Augusta for immediate relief. Others petitioned the territorial governor, who in turn telegraphed Washington. Finally on 11 February the president signed legislation allowing the War Department to draw \$500 out of a distress fund for the emergency relief of the Indians.¹⁹

Another group of about two hundred Crees encamped along the Milk River did not fare much better that winter. Only the carcasses of several hundred coyotes poisoned by cowboy employees of the nearby Home and Land Cattle Company of St. Louis saved the Indians from starvation. Thereafter, this episode, together with the common assumption that the Crees had survived on winter-killed game and range cattle, would be used by local newspapers as examples of how “the only earthly good the Crees are known to be is as scavengers, for they eat everything from a mouse to a dead horse, and they are not very particular how long it has been dead.”²⁰

In 1888 the government cut down the huge northern Montana reservation, and the migration of cattlemen into the area north of the Missouri River dramatically accelerated. By the early 1890s they had joined other white

Montanans in petitioning Governor J. K. Toole to work toward Cree deportation. Most complaints came from the west central part of the state where Little Bear and his followers continued to roam in search of game, a home, or ways of earning money. In June 1890, for example, Little Bear made another futile attempt to talk Indians on the Flathead Reservation into allowing the Crees to stay there. The next year a small group established itself on Dog Creek, or Wolf Creek, near Craig, Montana, where Indians dressed deerskins and polished horns from old buffalo skulls, selling the horns and buckskin garments to tourists at the nearby railroad depot. For several years there was a market for buffalo bones in making fertilizer, and some of the Indians used rickety old wagons or Red River carts to gather the tons of bones that littered the plains to sell to dealers near rail lines.²¹ The passage of state game laws made traditional hunting illegal, and ranchers urging deportation frequently pointed to the Crees' slaughter of scarce wildlife. They also complained about the alleged depredation of cattle and plundering of whites, but no Cree was actually convicted of crimes against property or people. Army officers often defended them as usefully employed during warm months and as surprisingly well conducted, considering their starving condition in the midst of vast herds of cattle and horses.²²

The prevailing attitude among most settlers was far more harsh. In 1890 the *Fort Benton River Press* editorialized that "the day has about passed when these lazy, dirty, lousy, breech-clothed, thieving savages can intrude upon the isolated households and nose around in the backyards of private residences in communities of civilized beings with impunity."²³ As the campaign for deportation intensified, the Canadian press struck back, objecting to the American habit of considering the Crees strictly Canadian. In early 1891 the *Calgary Herald* described them as "probably American Indians who have not been properly looked after by the U.S." To that, the *Fort Benton River Press* indignantly responded, "We

know they are Canadian Crees."²⁴

In 1892 Secretary of State James G. Blaine answered demands from white Montanans by opening a dialogue with Canadian authorities on deportation. The Crees, desperately fearing any such action, made two separate moves to avoid a forced return. A sympathetic Great Falls attorney, John Hoffman, helped several Crees request "declaration of intent" papers that would lead to U.S. citizenship. Clerk of the Court William Cockrill was reluctant, so he sought the advice of U.S. District Attorney E. D. Weed, who at first ruled that the Crees were within their rights. Cockrill issued the forms, but when Weed learned that Hoffman intended to bring more Crees in, he instructed Cockrill not to issue any more. The Crees would thus have to go to court merely to acquire forms, something they had neither the time nor the money for. The Indians also asked the new Montana governor, J. E. Rickards, for help in convincing the federal government to set aside a reservation. Rickards petitioned the Department of the Interior on the matter, but no action was taken.²⁵

In the spring of 1894, Little Bear initiated a money-making venture that the Crees would turn to again on several occasions. Through interpreters, Little Bear talked the Great Falls Chamber of Commerce into endorsing a sun dance at the fairgrounds as part of the county fair. When local ministers led a campaign to forbid the dance, arguing that any such display of "barbarism" would hurt the city's reputation, the Crees encamped next to the fairgrounds and invited the press and ministers to witness parts of the activity. The controversy stirred considerable interest among a population for whom the Indians represented a curious reminder of the past. The press described the Crees in typical frontier stereotypes. The men were "stoical and indolent," the women formed "as complete an aggregation of perfect ugliness as can be found on any spot on the face of God's green earth," and the children were "fat, rugged, dirty, and hungry and will readily absorb anything from a section of barbed wire fence to the internal arrange-

ments of a deceased canine—and prosper on the diet.” But the dramatic self-torture portion of the sun dance never took place in Great Falls because Governor Rickards issued a proclamation banning it. Little Bear, however, was able to thumb his nose at the governor when Helena invited the Crees to perform the ceremony as part of the Independence Day celebration in the state capital, the governor’s own backyard.²⁶

A number of Crees joined a Wild West Show in 1895 and toured parts of the East before the show disbanded near the end of the year. When the Indians returned early the next year, rumors of pending deportation abounded. By early spring most Crees had scattered, fearing retribution stemming from participation in the North West Rebellion. Indeed, the deportation campaign had proven effective, and arrangements had been worked out between the U.S. State Department, Canadian Indian Commissioner A. E. Forget, and Little Bear, allowing the Indians to transport their belongings free of duties and thereafter to live on reserves in the Saskatche-

wan River area. Most important, Canada agreed not to prosecute for activities during the uprising. Little Bear then traveled throughout Montana in a largely unsuccessful attempt to convince the dispersed bands not to resist.²⁷

Major J. M. J. Sanno of the Third Infantry arrived in June 1896 to investigate and organize the deportation. Over the next two months Fort Assiniboine troops led by Lieutenant John J. Pershing gathered bands from locations near Great Falls, Havre, Malta, Glasgow, Missoula, Butte, Crow Reservation, and Piegan Reservation. No fighting broke out, but the Crees often attempted to escape capture. The Indians were collected in Great Falls and then transported by rail to Coutts Station on the border, except for the group near Missoula that was marched on foot after appropriations for the project had nearly run out. Attorney John Hoffman tried to stop the procedure by obtaining a writ of habeas corpus in a state civil court, but it was dismissed when the U.S. district attorney appeared and successfully argued that the matter was out of the jurisdiction of a state court.²⁸



FIG. 2. *Deporting the Crees to Canada, Havre, Montana, 1896.* Photo courtesy of the Photo Archives Department, Vande Bogart Library, Northern Montana College.

Both Canada and the U.S. violated the deportation agreement from the start. Canada agreed to accept only Cree Indians, but many others were caught in the dragnet. The military took enrolled members of the Fort Belknap Reservation and some Turtle Mountain Chippewas into custody but later released them. Others could not convince the soldiers of the mistake until it was too late to avoid the move northward. Governor Rickards had pressured the Department of War to include mixed-bloods, and Canadian officers later told a number of hardship stories of people, usually Métis, who were forced to leave their homes and families behind. For example, an American mixed-blood who owned a ranch at the mouth of the Musselshell River was taken while he was cutting wood to sell to steamboats on the Missouri River.²⁹

As the army was about to take the Crees across the border, rumors spread that Little Bear and his followers would be arrested. Little Bear then became reluctant and would not board the train until Canadian authorities produced an actual copy of the amnesty proclamation. Upon reaching Lethbridge, the Indians' fears were realized when Little Bear and Lucky Man were arrested on a murder charge based on the killing of several priests near the end of the North West Rebellion. The two were soon released, since the sole witness to the alleged crimes would not identify them, but the breach of the amnesty proclamation undoubtedly contributed to the quick return to Montana of most of those deported. This breach was not the only reason because some of those questioned upon their return also noted that Canada did not provide enough food and that they were too far from centers of population to make a living by selling polished horns, moccasins, and leather clothing in the way that had become common in Montana.³⁰

Before the end of 1896 bands of Crees were once more scattered throughout Montana. Groups usually wintered on the outskirts of towns, where white residents complained of their living out of city dumps or on offal from local slaughter plants. During warm months



FIG. 3. *Rocky Boy*. Photo courtesy of the Photo Archives Department, Vande Bogart Library, Northern Montana College.

the Crees hunted (always at the risk of arrest for violating game laws) and sometimes held sun dances with an admission fee or sold Indian-made goods. Life increasingly became a struggle for the unwanted Crees. A few members of a group staying on the Flathead Reservation in 1901 contracted smallpox, and the band was driven off the reservation and quarantined north of Kalispell. A crowd of whites ran another group out of the Billings area the next year.³¹

At about this time, Little Bear and his people came into close contact with a similarly homeless band of Chippewas, a group historically close to the Crees. Not much is known about the origins of the roughly 110 Chippewas under the leadership of Rocky Boy, but some evidence suggests that they may have

been loosely associated with various Cree and Métis bands for many years. They migrated into Montana about the mid-1890s from the Pembina, or Turtle Mountain, district of North Dakota. That area had for decades been a crucible where Chippewas, Crees, and Métis mixed. In 1892 the government attempted to negotiate a treaty and create a reservation but experienced great difficulty, in large part because of problems between the Chippewas (many of whom were mixed-blood and carried French surnames) and the Métis, who had established themselves in the area sometime after the Chippewas. In the midst of this confusion and stalemate, some of the Chippewas, especially the most traditionalist elements who wanted no part of a reservation, moved westward in search of better hunting grounds.¹²

After several years of wandering around Montana and struggling to live, like the Crees, Rocky Boy in 1902 consulted Anaconda attorney J. W. James, who helped write a letter to President Theodore Roosevelt asking for a reservation. At James's urging, Rocky Boy also conferred with Montana Senator Paris Gibson, whose requests prompted the Department of the Interior to launch an investigation. Because the Chippewas usually camped near Helena or Anaconda and because the Flathead Reservation was nearest those locations, the matter was handled by Flathead agent Thomas Downs. Downs recommended that room be made on the Flathead Reservation, and the Department of the Interior prepared a bill to that effect, which Senator Gibson introduced in Congress in early 1904. But Flathead opposition and a lack of enthusiasm from the Montana delegation in the House of Representatives doomed the measure to failure in the lower body of Congress.¹³

Meanwhile, moves were again underway to deport the Crees. Little Bear negotiated with Canadian authorities and U.S. War Department officials, but limited interest by both the Crees and the Canadians dictated that the effort this time would not get beyond the talking stages. Moreover, Little Bear was

beginning to see another opportunity. Sometime shortly after 1905 Rocky Boy and the Chippewas moved to Birdseye, about ten miles northwest of Helena, and Little Bear and some of his followers located in Montana City, about seven miles southeast of Helena. The Chippewas and Crees mixed and intermarried, and the two leaders struck a lasting alliance. Rocky Boy continued his quest for a reservation, pleading his case before Senator Joseph Dixon, Senator Gibson's successor. His efforts were made more difficult by the association in the minds of many Montanans between the Chippewas and the "foreign" Crees. Newspapers frequently referred to the Crees as Chippewas and vice versa. Little Bear, on the other hand, understood the advantages offered by linking with the less tainted Chippewas and wisely deferred to Rocky Boy in what became a joint effort to win a reservation for Indians who were quickly merging into a single tribe.¹⁴

Rocky Boy's efforts eventually drew more sympathetic attention in some quarters as reports of starving and helpless people slowly replaced images of fierce and threatening foes. The Indians gained powerful allies when Helena judge James Hunt, *Great Falls Tribune* editor William M. Bole, and Helena insurance man Frank Linderman began petitioning the Montana congressional delegation and the Department of the Interior. In 1908 Senator Dixon won an amendment to an Indian Department appropriations bill for \$30,000 to find a home for the Chippewas (not the Crees) on an existing reservation. Indian Office inspector Frank Churchill investigated the Blackfeet (Piegan), Crow, Fort Belknap, and Fort Peck reservations, but Indians on all of them voiced strong objection. Churchill concluded that the only feasible alternative was to set aside a reservation in Valley County, where lands were scheduled to be opened soon for homesteading as a result of a reduction of the Fort Peck Reservation in 1909. The Department of the Interior then withdrew a portion of the old reserve and forbade filing until the issue could be settled.¹⁵

Everyone involved in the effort understood

that haste was paramount if the Chippewas were to receive a part of Valley County. The plight of the Indians at times reached emergency proportions, and supporters knew that unless they hurried they might have no one to give a reservation to. For example, disaster was averted among the Chippewas camped near Helena during the winter of 1908–9 only when residents led by the local Commercial Club, by artist Charles Russell, and by William Bole volunteered emergency supplies and began a fund for the starving Indians. That, in turn, prompted the Department of the Interior to investigate and provide government assistance, but all such aid was temporary. Supporters also anticipated the intense opposition that would certainly develop among white residents to the Valley County proposal. Senator Dixon was under great pressure to work for reopening the withdrawn lands. He publicly supported that move but privately urged the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to hurry the process of creating a reservation before opposition made it impossible.³⁶

Winter arrived early in the fall of 1909 as the BIA made plans to move the Chippewas to Valley County. Rocky Boy tried to keep the band assembled, but his eroding control over the group and the fear of having too many people to feed in one place during cold weather led many to scatter in the way that had become typical by this time. Moreover, people in the Valley County area were openly hostile, and railroad and homesteading interests throughout Montana, North Dakota, and Minnesota raised an overwhelming protest. The Great Northern Railroad delayed the move by quoting unusually high rates to transport the Indians to their destination. This forced the BIA allotting agent in charge of the operation to request new authorization to pay the higher than expected costs. In addition, the president of Great Northern, Louis W. Hill, had recently committed about two million dollars toward the construction of a branch line through the contested area and was counting on new white homesteaders to make his investment pay off. While attending

a dry farming congress in Billings in October 1909, Hill, representatives of local railroads and agricultural industries, and local land speculators shot off a protest to President William H. Taft and the Department of the Interior, demanding that the lands be reopened.³⁷

The document referred to “Rocky Boy Indians, a Canadian band of renegade Crees,” even though the government at this point was trying to exclude the Crees. Deliberate or not, the mistaken association worked to create an image of giving land to totally undeserving foreign Indians that was very effective in influencing public opinion. William Boles’s *Great Falls Tribune* supported the Valley County reservation plan, but nearly every other newspaper joined the opposition. The *Havre Plaindealer*, for example, attacked the *Tribune* for defending the “rights of Rocky Boy and the wasted band of his savages” and sarcastically suggested that “the government could better afford to take Rocky Boy and his whole band to the Waldorf Astoria in New York and feed them until disease completes its labor.”³⁸

The government backed down near the end of October, reopened Valley County to homesteading, and decided to ship the Chippewas to an unused portion of the Blackfeet Reservation near Babb, Montana. The Indians were loaded onto railroad cars in mid-November and arrived in Browning in the midst of a snowstorm. Within a few months the BIA started to distribute land allotments to individuals, attempting to include only the eligible Chippewas. But this proved impossible. Crees and Chippewas, along with a number of Métis, had by this time so intermarried that distinctions were blurred. Moreover, Rocky Boy had sent word to Crees as well as Chippewas to join him. Cree bands arrived on the Blackfeet Reservation throughout the spring and summer of 1910 with Little Bear joining the group in July.³⁹

The move failed for other reasons as well. The reception given by the Blackfeet was less than cordial. They immediately lodged pro-

tests through their agent. Some of the new arrivals tried to farm and soon became discouraged with the results on infertile, high-altitude land in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Others complained bitterly about inadequate food provisions and forced assimilation programs of the BIA and the missionaries. By early 1911 most Chippewas were back near Helena, Little Bear was once again in Great Falls, and other bands were dispersed to various locations, including Havre and Ravalli. The Blackfeet Indian agent, A. E. McFatridge, made several attempts to convince the Indians to return, even promising aid to Little Bear and his neglected Crees. But few Indians agreed, and thus the BIA found itself starting over in the search for a reservation. The only difference was that the government gave up trying to exclude the "foreign" Crees, and the problem finally became one of how to deal with a landless tribe made up of Chippewas and Crees.⁴⁰

In 1912 the commissioner of Indian Affairs handed the difficult task to the supervisor of Indian schools, Fred Baker. In a conference with Baker, Rocky Boy suggested a site in the Bear's Paw Mountains where he knew that lands once a part of the Fort Assiniboine military reserve would soon be thrown open to homesteading. Baker then recommended that the BIA ask Congress to set aside the northern portion of the reserve where buildings already stood and where the land was most suited for agriculture. Baker, along with Blackfeet agent McFatridge, soon became a key proponent of the idea within the BIA. Other supporters around the state included former U.S. Senator Paris Gibson, Great Falls Postmaster E. H. Cooney, William Bole, and Frank Linderman, who had recently taken on the role of publicizing the continuing desperate plight of the Chippewas and Crees. The Indians were allowed to occupy the land in 1913 while Congress deliberated.⁴¹

Opposition to the plan was less intense than it had been earlier since more and more Montanans simply wanted an end to the troublesome problem. But residents of Havre,

the city nearest Fort Assiniboine, rose in vehement protest. The Hill County commissioners journeyed to Washington D. C. to lobby against the idea. Havre officials promoted a scheme of turning the old fort into an industrial school instead and sent an angry petition to Washington that described the Indians as "a most serious menace to our city, spreading disease, exciting immorality by their improvidence, becoming destitute, as heretofore, and requiring provision throughout the winter months, adding an obnoxious and offensive element to our community, appropriating the most valuable lands adjacent to our city, discouraging settlement in communities near to them." The *Havre Plaindealer* raised the old issue of Canadian Indians and criticized William Bole and his *Great Falls Tribune* for defending the "trifling, lazy, renegade Chippewa Indians."⁴²

Proponents and the Havre opposition finally reached a compromise early in 1915. When U.S. Senator Henry Myers informed Havreites that a bill opening Fort Assiniboine lands without a provision for a reservation faced a presidential veto, prominent business leaders decided in a meeting at city hall not to jeopardize the boom that would follow the homesteading of lands outside the reservation. And in a deal worked out with William Bole, Havre won a change in the measure that confined the reservation to a couple of townships in the mountainous southern part of the military reserve where the Indians would be farthest removed from Havre, from the best agricultural lands, and from most streams running out of the Bear's Paw Mountains. A bill carrying those provisions passed Congress and was signed by the president on 11 February 1915.⁴³

Upon learning that they were to receive only two mountainous townships, Rocky Boy and Little Bear began firing letters to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, requesting additional adjoining townships to the north that were more suitable for agriculture. U.S. surveyor Robert Livingston, who had worked in the area, jumped in to defend the Indians,

convincing the Department of the Interior that the group could not support itself on the two southern townships. Congress thus passed an amendment to the original bill on 7 September 1916, adding portions of adjacent townships to the north.⁴¹

The settlement represented a major victory for the Chippewa-Crees but fell far short of eliminating the many serious problems that Montana's landless Indians faced. Establishing a tribal roll was extremely difficult because the group had evolved chaotically, and thus membership was always ill-defined, and because many Indians and Métis descended upon Fort Assiniboine as word spread that a reservation was being created. Moreover, Rocky Boy and Little Bear disagreed on the makeup of a membership roll. Little Bear wanted to include most of the Métis, while Rocky Boy favored a more restrictive policy. In the end Little Bear prevailed, and many mixed-blood names appeared on the official roll. But they still represented only a small percentage of the state's Métis population. The rest continued to lack a land base, a foundation for rebuilding after the destruction of their life-style and economy. In addition, confusion over their national identity and over whether or not they should racially be considered Indians meant that the government did not officially recognize them and therefore did not extend aid. Most, although not all, Crees and Chippewas became enrolled members. Life for those Indians certainly improved, but government assistance was sparse for decades and existence still a struggle. Little Bear spent much of his time before his death in 1921 traveling to the larger cities of Montana and collecting donations from old supporters to purchase the necessary equipment for setting up farm operations. Rocky Boy died in April 1917, having lived just long enough to see the fruits of his relentless quest in the form of a homeland that would bear his name.⁴²

NOTES

1. The question of how far south Cree territorial range extended before about 1870 is a difficult

one and open to debate. Floyd W. Sharrock and Susan R. Sharrock in "A History of the Cree Indian Territorial Expansion from the Hudson Bay Area to the Interior Saskatchewan and Missouri Plains," *Chippewa Indians IV*, ed. David Agee Horr (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), conclude that the Crees were the dominant power in north central Montana for roughly the first half of the nineteenth century. After about 1860 they moved farther north because of disease epidemics and competition from the Blackfeet and Sioux. Most other sources acknowledge some Cree trading at American posts close to the border and occasional hunting and raiding south of the border but give less credence to claims of actual residence south of the line. See John C. Ewers, "Ethnological Report on the Chippewa Cree Tribe of the Rocky Boy Reservation and the Little Shell Band of Indians," *Chippewa Indians IV*, pp. 24-82, and David Mandelbaum, *The Plains Cree*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History (New York, 1940), vol. 37, Part 2, pp. 166-67. For references to Cree trading at Montana fur posts, see James H. Chambers, 21 June 1855 entry in the Fort Sarpy Journal, *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, vol. 10 (1940; reprint Boston: J. S. Canner and Co., 1966), p. 130, and Edwin Hatch, entries for 26 June, 5 July, and 6 July 1856, Edwin Hatch Diary, Montana Historical Society Library (MHSL).

2. Hans Peterson, "Imasees and his Band: Canadian Refugees after the North-West Rebellion," *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 8, no. 1 (1978): 23; George F. G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellion* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), pp. 220-25; Mandelbaum, *Plains Cree*, pp. 166-67, 185.

3. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1871, p. 140; descriptions of fights between Crees and whites in Montana Territory in 1874 appear in *Montana News Association Inserts*, 12 September 1932, p. 1, and 3 July 1939 (2), p. 1; the William Fanton quotation can be found in William Fanton to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 17 July 1875, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs (LROIA), 1824-81 (microcopy 234), Montana Superintendency (MS), roll 503, Record Group (RG) 75, National Archives (NA); Fort Benton Headquarters Annual Report to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of Dakota, 6 August 1875, U.S. War Department, District of Montana, Records 1867-1874, General Correspondence, Reports, and Special Orders from Fort Benton Post, MHSL.

4. D. Bruce Sealy and Antoine S. Lussier, *The Métis: Canada's Forgotten People* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation Press, 1975), pp. 20-21.

5. Joe Holland, "Two Accounts of the Long

Journey" and Mrs. Clemence Gourneau Berger, "Métis Come to Judith Basin," in *The Métis Centennial Celebration Publication, 1879-1979*, ed. Bill Thackeray (Missoula: Montana Committee for the Humanities, 1979), pp. 11-16; Reminiscences of Eli Gardipee, 27 September 1940, pp. 1-3, MHSL; D. W. Buck to Edwin P. Smith, 15 December 1873, and William W. Anderson to Edwin P. Smith, 1 May 1874, LROIA, 1824-81 (microcopy 234), MS, roll 497, RG 75, NA; General Alfred Terry to Commanding Post, Fort Ellis, 23 March 1875, LROIA, 1824-81 (microcopy 234), MS, roll 503, RG 75, NA.

6. H. M. Black to Assistant Adjutant General, Department of Dakota, 28 January 1880, and H. M. Black to C. H. Potter, 26 November 1879, LROIA, 1824-81 (microcopy 234), MS, roll 518, RG 75, NA; *Montana News Association Inserts*, 31 May 1937 (1), p. 4; Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1890* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), p. 287.

7. Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, p. 287; S. F. Wise and Robert Craig Brown, *Canada Views the United States: Nineteenth Century Political Attitudes* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967), pp. 14, 98, 124; Kenneth M. Curtis and John E. Carroll, *Canadian-American Relations: The Promise and the Challenge* (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1983), pp. 5-6.

8. Hugh A. Dempsey, *Big Bear: The End of Freedom* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), p. 96; H. M. Black to Headquarters, Fort Custer, 5 December 1879, LROIA, 1824-81 (microcopy 234), MS, roll 518, RG 75, NA; name missing at Fort Belknap to General Thomas Ruger, 23 September 1879, folder 1, box 1, Fort Assiniboine Records (FAR), MHSL; Black to Assistant Adjutant General, 28 January 1880; for a discussion of conditions among northern plains Indians, especially the Blackfeet, from the late-1870s through the mid-1880s as the buffalo disappeared, see John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwest Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 289-96.

9. Black to Assistant Adjutant General, 28 January 1880; Black to Potter, 26 November 1879; Major Ruggles to Thomas Ruger, 6 November 1879, LROIA, 1824-81 (microcopy 234), MS, roll 517, RG 75, NA.

10. Thomas Ruger to Commanding Officer, Fort Assiniboine, 14 September 1881, folder 2, box 1, FAR, MHSL; name missing to Thomas Ruger, 13 May 1881, folder 3, box 2, FAR, MHSL; *Montana News Association Inserts*, 5 September 1932, p. 2; Dempsey, *Big Bear*, pp. 94-95, 100-101, 104; Sir Edward Thornton (British minister to the U.S.) to William Evarts, 15 November 1879, LROIA,

1824-81, (microcopy 234), MS, roll 517, RG 75, NA; attitudes of soldiers and lower-ranking officers can be seen in many of the letters written by Glen Doane, an officer in the Milk River campaign, to his wife, found in the G. C. Doane Papers, MHSL.

11. Entry for 31 March 1882, Fort Assiniboine Post Returns (FAPR), National Archives Film (NAF) 617-42, MHSL; the quotation can be found in C. W. Duvall, "Few Dull Days for Early Soldiers," *Great Falls Tribune*, 17 November 1935, rep. in "North of the Missouri: The History of Hill County and Northern Montana," suppl. to the *Havre Hi-Line Herald*, 1971, found in Special Editions: Havre, MHSL.

12. Dempsey, *Big Bear*, pp. 109-13; *Fort Benton River Press*, 13 December 1882, p. 3, 11 April 1883, p. 6, and 9 May 1883, p. 5; *The Benton Weekly Record*, 5 May 1883, p. 4.

13. Entries for 31 July 1882, 30 April 1883, 31 May 1883, and 31 August 1883, FAPR, NAF 617-42, MHSL; *Benton Weekly Record*, 26 May 1883, p. 5; the quotation from the soldier describing the Crees came from Frank Burke to his father, date missing, 1882, Patrick Francis Burke Papers, MHSL.

14. Dempsey, *Big Bear*, pp. 94, 96-97, 99.

15. Peterson, "Imasees and his Band," pp. 24-27; *Great Falls Tribune*, 23 July 1885, p. 1; *Fort Benton River Press*, 30 December 1885, pp. 1, 5.

16. *Fort Benton River Press*, 30 December 1885, p. 5, and 6 June 1888, p. 1; *Great Falls Tribune*, 1 August 1901, p. 1; an example of Canadian views concerning U.S. treatment of Indians can be found in Wise and Brown, *Canada Views the U.S.*, p. 98.

17. *The Helena Independent*, 9 January 1887, p. 1; *Montana News Association Inserts*, 27 June 1932, p. 1; Pam Phillips interview with Mary Houle, 24 August 1983, p. 3, transcript in author's files; Raymond Gray, *History of the Cree Nation*, 1942, unpub. MS in the Chippewa-Cree Archives, Rocky Boy's Reservation, p. 23.

18. Gray, *History of the Cree Nation*, p. 25; U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Relief for the Cree Indians, Montana Territory*, Ex. Doc. 341, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1888, p. 2; *Fort Benton River Press*, 24 August 1887, p. 1; Verne Dusenberry, "Montana's Displaced Persons: Rocky Boy Indians," *Montana Magazine of History* 4 (Winter 1954): 3-4.

19. *The Helena Independent*, 27 January 1887, p. 1, and 2 February 1887, p. 4; House, *Relief for Cree Indians*, p. 2.

20. *The Anaconda Standard*, 19 January 1896, p. 7; Ewers, "Ethnological Report," p. 109.

21. Complaints about Crees by Montanans appear in the *Official Correspondence of Governor Joseph K. Toole*, 1892, pp. 83-85, MHSL; Gray, *History of the Cree Nation*, pp. 52-53, 67-69; Ewers, "Ethnological Report," pp. 122-23.

22. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Refugee Canadian Cree Indians*, S. Rept. 821 to Accompany H. R. 8293, 54th Cong., 1st Sess., 1896, pp. 5–7.

23. *Fort Benton River Press*, 28 May 1890, p. 2.

24. Both quotations can be found in *Fort Benton River Press*, 11 February 1891, p. 2.

25. *Great Falls Leader*, 20 July 1893, p. 1, and 27 July 1893, p. 4; *Fort Benton River Press*, 18 October 1893, p. 1.

26. The quotations describing the Crees appear in *Havre Advertiser*, 7 June 1894, p. 1; Thomas Wessel, *A History of the Rocky Boy's Indian Reservation*, unpub. MS, pp. 13–15, MHSL.

27. Raymond Gray, *History of the Cree Indians*, 1942, unpub. MS in the Chippewa-Cree Archives, Rocky Boy's Reservation, pp. 8, 32; *Great Falls Leader*, 12 June 1896, p. 4.

28. Gray, *History of the Cree Indians*, pp. 3–8; *Montana News Association Inserts*, 16 August 1937 (1), p. 1; entries for 4 July 1896, and 3 August 1896, FAPR, NAF 617-43, MHSL; *Helena Independent*, 26 June 1896, p. 8; Ewers, "Ethnological Report," pp. 120–21.

29. *Helena Independent*, 26 June 1896, p. 8; Raymond Gray, *History of the Montana Cree Indians*, 1942, unpub. MS in the Chippewa-Cree Archives, Rocky Boy's Reservation, pp. 8–9; Dusenberry, "Montana's Displaced Persons," pp. 6–7.

30. *Great Falls Leader*, 3 July 1896, p. 4; Gray, *History of the Cree Indians*, pp. 12–13; *Great Falls Leader*, 18 October 1897, p. 4.

31. *Montana Daily Record*, 1 August 1901, p. 1; Gray, *History of the Montana Cree Indians*, pp. 19, 37; Dusenberry, "Montana's Displaced Persons," pp. 10–11.

32. Ewers, "Ethnological Report," pp. 62–68; Gray, *History of the Montana Cree Indians*, pp. 19–22.

33. Ewers, "Ethnological Report," pp. 128, 132; Gray, *History of the Montana Cree Indians*, pp. 37–39; U.S. Congress, Senate, *Wandering American-Born Indians of Rocky Boy's Band*, Montana, S. Rept. 1020 to Accompany S. 2705, 58th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1904, p. 2; Wessel, *History of Rocky Boy's*, pp. 22–23.

34. *Great Falls Tribune*, 1 August 1901, p. 1, and 12 October 1905, p. 3; *Havre Plaindealer*, 30

September 1905, pp. 1, 6; Gray, *History of the Montana Cree Indians*, p. 37; Ewers, "Ethnological Report," p. 123; Wessel, *History of Rocky Boy's*, p. 23.

35. Ewers, "Ethnological Report," pp. 136–37; Raymond Gray, *Landless Indians*, 1942, unpub. MS in the Chippewa-Cree Archives, Rocky Boy's Reservation, p. 5; Wessel, *History of Rocky Boy's*, pp. 25–26.

36. *Great Falls Tribune*, 12 January 1909, pp. 2, 5; *Helena Daily Independent*, 10 January 1909, p. 5; Wessel, *History of Rocky Boy's*, pp. 27–28.

37. Wessel, *History of Rocky Boy's*, pp. 28–30; *Great Falls Daily Tribune*, 3 November 1909, p. 4, and 7 November 1909, p. 1; *Great Falls Leader*, 26 October 1909, p. 1.

38. All of the quotations are found in *Havre Plaindealer*, 13 November 1909, p. 2.

39. *Great Falls Daily Tribune*, 12 November 1909, p. 1; Gray, *Landless Indians*, pp. 17–22.

40. *The Conrad Observer*, 1 February 1912, p. 1; Gray, *Landless Indians*, pp. 25–28; Wessel, *History of Rocky Boy's*, pp. 35–36.

41. Wessel, *History of Rocky Boy's*, pp. 38–39; Gray, *Landless Indians*, p. 34.

42. The quotations can be found in *Havre Plaindealer*, 29 November 1913, p. 1, and 11 January 1913, p. 4, respectively; see also *Havre Plaindealer*, 27 December 1913, p. 1, and 27 June 1914, p. 4.

43. *Havre Plaindealer*, 13 February 1915, p. 1; Wessel, *History of Rocky Boy's*, pp. 47–48.

44. Rocky Boy to Cato Sells, 29 November 1915, and Little Bear to Cato Sells, 29 November 1915, File—Indians, Rocky Boy, box 85, RG 75, Fort Belknap Agency (FBA), Seattle Federal Records Center (SFRC); Robert Livingston to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 14 June 1915, File—Letters Received from Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1915–16, box 12, FBA, RG 75, SFRC; U.S. Congress, Senate, *Fort Assiniboine Military Reservation*, Montana, S. Rept. 347 to Accompany S. 3646, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., 1916, pp. 2–4.

45. Rocky Boy to Frank Linderman, 1 April 1916, Linderman Papers, Museum of the Plains Indian, Browning, Montana; Gray, *Landless Indians*, pp. 75–79.