CHAPTER FOUR

Siouan and Other American Indian Occupation of the White River Badlands (AD 1770-1891)

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Introduction

The Spanish and Mexican presence in the American Southwest during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries spread northward, exposing the Plains Indians to European material culture, in particular the horse and gun, but also domestic items like iron hoes, axes, knives, and cooking pots among other items. These items began to influence the lifeways of the Plains Indian tribes prior to the more direct impact of their encounters with Euro-American fur trappers and traders in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As noted in the previous chapter, the importation of horses onto the Great Plains, combined with increasing population pressures, increased territoriality, and diminished agricultural supplies, as a result of deteriorating climatic conditions during the Neo-Boreal period, led to increased group movements and increased inter-group hostilities. Meanwhile, the westward expansion of Euro-Americans in Canada and throughout the Great Lakes region during the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century had repercussions across much, if not all, of the North American continent. It is during this time that many agricultural groups and woodland-oriented hunting and gathering tribes moved onto the Plains and adopted a fully nomadic, equestrian lifestyle predicated on bison and the hunting of other wild game, supplemented by the collection of wild seeds, berries, and nuts. Many American Indian tribes moved to lands west of the Great Lakes in an effort to escape population pressure, European disease, and warfare. At the same time, the allure of the fur trade and the desire to control it led many tribes to capture and enslave or exterminate their rivals and enemies, or any other group that threatened their role in the fur trade or encroached on their tribal boundaries. Participation in the Euro-American fur trade had unexpected negative results on American Indian tribes in terms of the displacement of indigenous populations, but also in terms of the devastation and decimation of entire Indian populations that had no immunities to combat smallpox, flu, measles, and other diseases introduced by Euro-Americans. Given these uncertain times, internal and external social and economic pressures and the deleterious effects of the Little Ice Age on agricultural groups, many tribes decided to become full-time equestrian bison hunters. The physical transition from fully sedentary agricultural groups (or even semi-sedentary hunters and gatherers) to nomadic, equestrian bison hunters appears to have been relatively swift, occurring within the space of a few generations. Identifying the social, religious, and political ramifications of such dramatic economic and cultural transformations are often difficult, if not almost impossible to detect in the archeological record or the documented history of European and American observers. Nevertheless, the following chapter attempts to illustrate the history of American Indian tribes' arrival in the project area and the ways in which they adapted in order to survive here.

This chapter is divided into seven sections. The first discusses the various Siouan groups and how and when they migrated to South Dakota. The second section focuses on the arrival of the Lakota to the White River Badlands, and the third section summarizes events and migrations among non-Lakota groups in the vicinity of the White River Badlands. Sections four, five, and six are organized chronologically, summarizing events that chronicle the deterioration of American Indian relations with military troops, settlers, and federal government representatives between 1840 and 1891. The final section presents a very brief discussion of sacred Lakota sites in or near the Badlands. This final section is based on the recent ethnographic overview prepared for the Badlands National Park by David White.

Literally thousands of books, journal and newspaper articles, and scholarly papers have been written on Plains American Indian tribes and their intertribal relationships as well as those with the United States. The information presented in this literature is almost exclusively presented from the perspective of white American males, and as such often contains inherent biases. The following text attempts to present a more factual perspective of American Indian events and relationships based on the review of a few objective sources that in turn relied on the extensive research and oral interviews of others. Recently, the National Park Service contracted Dr. David White of Applied Cultural Dynamics, Santa Fe, New Mexico to conduct extensive historical and ethnographic research, supplemented by interviews, all of which resulted in a comprehensive and detailed *"Ethnographic Overview and Oral History of the Badlands National Park."*[1] The text that follows relies heavily on Dr. White's lengthy and detailed report, but also takes into consideration the work of other such scholars.

Arrival of Siouan Tribes in South Dakota (AD 1700-1830)

The Siouan linguistic family includes a number of closely related tribes that through historical circumstances became geographically and, in some cases, socially separated, and in some extreme cases became bitter enemies. The Siouan nation originally contained seven council fires: the Dakota or Santee Sioux (which included the Sissetons, Wapakutes, Wapatons, and Mdewakantons); the Nakota or Middle Sioux (which included the Yankton Sioux and the Yanktonai Sioux); and the Lakota (also known as the Teton or Western Sioux). The Lakota, in turn, included seven groups: the Oglala, Hunkpapa, Brule, Minneconjou, Sans Arc, Two Kettle, and Sihasapa or Blackfeet.[2]

The various Santee (Dakota) groups were semi-sedentary agriculturalists that lived in the prairie peninsula area of southwestern Minnesota and northwestern Iowa and extended eastward to the Mississippi River. The Yankton and Yanktonai groups lived in eastern portions of North and South Dakota and at one time adjacent parts of Minnesota. Based on historical accounts written by French Jesuits and fur trappers, and some oral histories, the Dakota Sioux lived at the western end of Lake Superior in present-day northern Minnesota and Wisconsin when they were first encountered by Europeans in the mid 1600s. Robinson reports that in October 1700 Charles Pierre Le Seuer was informed by some Dakota warriors that the Blue Earth River in south-central Minnesota belonged to the Teton (Sioux of the West), Ioway, and Oto."[3] The Dakota also informed Le Seuer that the Lakota (Tetons) had about 1,000 lodges, and neither gathered wild rice nor used

canoes, but instead lived "entirely by the chase on the prairies between the Mississippi and the Missouri, and their lodges were made of buffalo skins and carried with them wherever they went."[4] Jesuit and other accounts from this period suggest that both the Lakota and Dakota Sioux were under heavy pressure from neighboring groups such as the Chippewa, Cree, Miami, Fox, Mascoutins, and Illinois. During the early decades of the eighteenth century, Dakota, and quite likely Lakota, groups slowly began to move (or were forced to move) south and west from the lake country of southern Ontario and Minnesota and onto the Plains of North and South Dakota.[5] These accounts and the linguistic similarities between the Lakota, Dakota (Santee), and Nakota groups suggest a Lakota presence west of the Missouri River by the early 1700s and possibly earlier. Their subsequent adaptation to a nomadic, equestrian lifestyle was a relatively late historical event.[6] Based on Le Seuer's account, the Lakota were already hunting bison and living a nomadic lifestyle in southwestern Minnesota and southeastern South Dakota by 1700.

Recent archeological and ethnohistorical research on the prairie-forest ecotonal boundary of Minnesota and eastern North Dakota has led some scholars to suggest that the adaptation of Lakota groups to the Plains lifestyle has greater time depth than originally postulated.[7] For example, archeological evidence has demonstrated a link between Late Woodland Sandy Lake pottery and the historic Santee (Dakota) in Minnesota. Since this discovery, other Late Woodland Sandy Lake wares have been recovered in the Red and James River valleys of eastern North and South Dakota.[8] According to some scholars, the presence of Dakota ceramics in eastern South Dakota necessarily implies that (1) prehistoric Lakota groups were already living to the west of the Santee (Dakota) during the Late Woodland period and (2) these Late Woodland "Dakota" groups were already adapted to the Plains lifestyle. Unfortunately, it is almost impossible, to ascribe historic cultural affiliation to an archeological population based solely on material remains. What is clear, is that the Sandy Lake ceramics are: (1) distinctly different from other Late Woodland ceramics in the area that are suggestive of Algonquian ancestors, and (2) that they are also different from other Siouan wares such as Oneota ceramics of the Orr phase (related to Ioway) and the Blue Earth phase (related to Oto). Hanson concludes that it may be best to interpret the Sandy Lake material as ancestral to the Dakota (Santee) Sioux, thereby giving the Dakota a presence on the Plains several centuries before European contact.[9] Thus, the question remains unresolved as to whether or not the Lakota were adapted to the Plains lifestyle several centuries before European contact.

Lakota (Teton) in the White River Badlands Region (1760-1840)

Between the 1760s and the early 1800s, Robinson, following Warren's History of the Chippewa, reports that the Chippewa and various Siouan groups were almost constantly at war across Minnesota and Wisconsin.[10] Many French accounts place the Lakota in various parts of Minnesota during the seventeenth century. Hall reports that the Lakota or Teton Sioux were forced to move from the headwaters of the Mississippi by the Chippewa and Cree, both of whom had obtained firearms from the French and English traders in the Great Lakes region.[11] Precisely when the Lakota first moved west of the Missouri River remains a matter of conjecture and dispute, but by the 1760s, and perhaps earlier, the Lakota had reached the Missouri River, where they encountered horse-

mounted Arikara warriors who temporarily halted their westward movement. Smallpox took a heavy toll on the Arikara in the early 1760s, and the Lakota, having acquired the horse from the Arikara, crossed the Missouri River and continued their westward movement.[12] According to a winter count, an Oglala war party (Oglala are one of the seven council fires of the Lakota) led by Standing Bull discovered the Black Hills in 1776.[13] Other Lakota tribes soon followed, and the Lakota began their short-lived dominance of the Plains.

The Lakota quickly adopted an equestrian nomadic lifestyle dependent on buffalo hunting. Although firearms, brought by French and English supported traders, were common on the Plains by the mid-eighteenth century, the bow and arrow, whether tipped with stone (lithic) arrowheads or arrowheads manufactured from glass, metal, and copper, were still the dominant weapon of the hunt. The transition to mounted hunter, as well as the establishment of a warrior class, dramatically changed the lifeways of Plains groups. The introduction of the horse and gun led to the development of a specialized bison/plains adaptation that diffused rapidly across the entire Great Plains. As pressure on herds increased, both bison and Indian populations migrated west across the Plains. At the same time, war parties constantly raided one another's camps for horses, wives, and food caches. Military prowess, that included mobility and numerical strength, was the key to survival and territorial expansion.

During the first decade of the 1800s, Robinson notes that an important political and economic division occurred between the Dakota (Santee) of Minnesota and the Mississippi River and the Lakota (Teton) of the Missouri River and their respective trading partners. The Dakota continued to trade with French, English, and Scottish fur trappers and traders, and therefore continued a greater allegiance to the English during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Conversely, the Lakota exchanged goods and ideas with American traders from St. Louis, who were licensed by William Clark, and thus the Lakota maintained a greater allegiance to the United States. These different allegiances put the Lakota at odds with their Dakota kin as well as the Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa groups during the War of 1812.[14] After its conclusion, the Dakota and the Chippewa resumed their mutual hostilities, which continued periodically for many years, while the Lakota continued to fight the Arikara and Crow. In 1822, the Dakota massacred an entire village of Chippewa, and in that same year the Lakota and Cheyenne joined forces against the Crow, the Rees (a group of Arikara), and the Mandans. The Lakota caught the Crow in an ambush, devastating them to such an extent that the tribe never fully recovered.[15] After defeating the Crow, Arikara, and Mandan, the Lakota proceeded to defeat the Cheyenne and the Kiowa, and they usurped the Black Hills from the Kiowa. The Black Hills became so sacred to the Lakota that as time passed the Kiowa were forgotten and these sacred mountains were said to have been given to the Lakota by the Great Holy (Wakan Tanka).[16] The Lakota victories gave them control of the Plains from the Minnesota River in the east to the Yellowstone River and the Big Horn Mountains in Montana in the west, and from the Platte River in the south to almost the Canadian border in the north. Clearly, the Lakota nation was expanding across the Plains during the first half of the nineteenth century.

By the mid-1820s, a number of fur companies had constructed forts at the confluence of the Missouri River and its principal tributaries, including Fort Brasseau at the mouth of the White River by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. In 1823, a large group of traders from the Missouri Fur Company ascended the Missouri River only to have their passage stopped by the Arikara. The group went downriver to Fort Kiowa, about 10 miles north of Chamberlain, where they split into three groups. One group, led by William Ashley, returned to St. Louis. The two other groups continued; one group of 13 men led by Andrew Henry continued up the Missouri River, while the second group, which included Jedediah Smith and 10 men, traveled across the prairie.[17] Later that summer, a military force led by Colonel Leavenworth returned to the land of the Arikara, and with the help of the Lakota, routed the Arikara.

Jedediah Smith and his party became the first group of Euro-Americans to record their observations of the White River Badlands. They traveled up the White River, perhaps as far as the mouth of Wounded Knee Creek, and spent the night with a group of Brule Sioux before heading northwest across the Badlands, probably passing south of Cuny Table, and then proceeding toward the northeastern portion of the Black Hills.[18] By the close of 1829, fur traders had established seven major wintering houses on the Cheyenne and White Rivers: four on the Cheyenne River and three on the White River. The Oglala Fur Post was established at the confluence of Rapid Creek and the Cheyenne River, near the Badlands. This post burned in 1832, but it was quickly rebuilt and trading continued without interruption. Outposts were built at the forks of the White River, just east of the Badlands; near Butte Cache, just above the mouth of Wounded Knee Creek; and further up (west) the White River on present-day Bordeaux Creek.[19]

In 1825, after the devastating battles between the various Siouan groups and their Indian enemies, Governor William Clark was determined to establish treaties between the various tribal groups and the United States and between the tribes themselves. Clark led a contingent up the Mississippi River, and selected General Henry Atkinson and Doctor Benjamin O'Fallon, his nephew and subagent for tribes within the Missouri River basin, to lead the delegation up the Missouri River. Atkinson's expedition included 476 men, many of whom had fought two years before in the retaliation against the Arikara. The Atkinson expedition went to great lengths to ensure that treaty signatories were actually the recognized leaders and chiefs of the tribes they claimed to represent. At the conclusion of the expedition, Atkinson was able to gain the signatures of over 62 Siouan chiefs on three treaties.[20] The treaties demonstrated to the Indian tribes the extent of US governmental power, and effectively removed all English presence from the western frontier. More importantly, the treaties established more equitable, albeit short-lived, trade relations between the United States and the Indian nations.

At this time in American history, Indian tribes were still considered sovereign nations, but the notion that Indian tribes were sovereign nations was seriously challenged less than six years later. The idea that Indian tribes were sovereign nations was reinforced in two rulings by Supreme Court Justice John Marshal: *Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester vs. Georgia* (1832). However, the failure of President Andrew Jackson and Congress to enforce these rulings led to the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes of

the South (Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole) from Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, and Tennessee and the establishment of Indian Territory in what was to become Kansas and Oklahoma. The government policy towards Indians established inherently contradictory conditions of sovereignty and wardship.[21] The contradictions in American policy became apparent in the aftermath of *Worcester vs. Georgia* when Presidents Jackson and Van Buren refused to uphold treaty guarantees with the Cherokee and other civilized tribes. One consequence of their actions was to confront these tribes with two unsympathetic alternatives: (1) they could remain in the South, at least temporarily, and retain their individual ownership of land but surrender their political identity, or (2) they could be removed across the Mississippi and retain their political identity but surrender ownership of their land.[22] The removal policy, coupled with Americans' greed for land (Manifest Destiny) and wealth (California gold rush), served notice that there was no room for an America that included independent sovereign Indian nations. In fact the notion of a permanent Indian country died in its infancy as American expansionism and racism spread across the Plains. By the beginning of the 1840s, the Lakota were widely recognized by other Indian tribes as well as the federal government as the most dominant and commanding tribe on the Plains. Their territorial range was vast, extending from the Missouri River westward into central Wyoming and Montana, and from the southern plains of North Dakota south to the Arkansas River.

Non-Siouan Tribes in the Vicinity of the Badlands (1750-1850)

Crow (ca. 1750-1850)

Various linguistic studies indicate the split between the Crow and Hidatsa occurred as early as the 1500s to as late as the 1770s.[23] The earlier date seems to be supported on the basis of ceramics recovered from archeological sites in northeastern Wyoming and southeastern Montana, while the later date appears to be unreliable since historical records place the Crow in the Black Hills region of Wyoming by 1740. Whatever time the split between the Crow and Hidatsa occurred, it is likely that the Crow migrated onto the Plains prior to acquiring the horse. However, in 1742, when the Crow were encountered in northeastern Wyoming, near the Black Hills, by the Verendrey brothers, they were nomadic equestrian bison hunters. Traditional Crow territory included lands east of the Rocky Mountains along the headwaters of the Yellowstone, Powder, and Big Horn rivers and extended south and east to the headwaters of the Platte.[24] The Crow encountered the Lakota and Cheyenne near the headwaters of the Cheyenne River and the Platte River in eastern Wyoming. The Crow continued to live in this area until about 1800 at which time they moved further north and west to escape the incursions of the Cheyenne and soon thereafter the Lakota. According to an 1845-1846 Crow winter count, the Crow claimed the Black Hills as their territory for a brief period.[25]

Kiowa and Kiowa/Apache (ca. 1740-1850)

As noted in Chapter 3, the Kiowa moved into the Black Hills area from the Yellowstone region of central Montana by the 1730s, and they were reportedly living in the Black Hills area with their Crow allies when they were first encountered by Spaniards.[26] At that time the Kiowa were known to have traded with the Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa tribes along the Missouri River, as well as tribes as far to the Northwest as the Sarsi in British

Columbia.[27] By the 1780s, pressure from the Cheyenne and shortly thereafter the Dakota Sioux forced the Kiowa to move further south onto the Plains, while the Crow moved further west and north.[28] Based on his discussions with elder Kiowa, Mooney concluded that the Kiowa parted with the Crow in the vicinity of Fort Robinson, Nebraska, sometime between 1775 and 1805.[29] By 1805, Lewis and Clark reported through second-hand Indian sources that the Kiowa lived along the North Platte and Loup rives, southeast of the Black Hills. Hughes reports that the Kiowa began to migrate even further to the south after 1803 and only returned to the North Platte area to trade with the Cheyenne and Arapaho. In 1815, the Brule Sioux attacked the Kiowa camp at a trade fair near the mouth of Horse Creek in the western Nebraska panhandle, but in 1821 the Kiowa returned to the trade fair with their new allies the southern Cheyenne and Arapaho.[30] Sometime between 1828 and 1832 the Kiowa moved to the Wichita Mountains of southwestern Oklahoma. The Kiowa primarily remained south of the Arkansas River after the 1830s, but in later years they were known to have traveled northward to trade with their old allies the Crow and the Arikara.[31] It appears that the Kiowa did not occupy the White River Badlands for any length of time, but they undoubtedly traveled through the area on their trading sojourns.

The Kiowa-Apache, Athabascan speakers, became affiliated with the Kiowa in the mid- to late eighteenth century when both tribes lived in the area between the Platte River and the Black Hills. They were reported by Lewis and Clark to be living near the Black Hills in 1805, but shortly thereafter the Cheyenne and later the Lakota forced the Kiowa-Apache from the Black Hills region and the land between the two forks of the Platte River. By this time, the Kiowa-Apache and the Kiowa were living and traveling together, forced by the Lakota and Cheyenne to move southward first across the Platte River and then, by the 1820s to 1830s, to an area south of the Arkansas River.

Omaha and Ponca (ca.1800-1860)

Archeological and historical records suggest that the Siouan-speaking Omaha and Ponca were living together in Big Bend Village on the Missouri River in the early 1700s, but by 1715 they had separated, with the Omaha moving back downstream and the Ponca moving westward toward the Black Hills.[32] Lakota winter counts and records from the Lewis and Clark expedition document a long history of enmity between the Lakota and the Omaha and Ponca tribes. In 1855, Oglala Sioux were joined by Cheyenne and Arapaho warriors to attack the "entire Omaha tribe: near the Loup Fork of the Platte River in central Nebraska."[33] In 1858, the Ponca laid claim to traditional lands between the White River in South Dakota and just south of the Niobrara River in northern Nebraska and from the southern Black Hills to the Missouri and James rivers in South Dakota.[34] This boundary was reaffirmed by Ponca testimony in an Omaha land claim. Thus, this area constitutes the traditional lands of the Omaha and Ponca tribes. Howard reports two Ponca villages in the vicinity of the White River Badlands: one is Big Bend Village on the west side of the Missouri and the other is between the southern Black Hills and the Cheyenne River.[35] The Ponca refer to the Badlands as the "Dusty Hills" and their oral tradition retains many memories of the White River Badlands and the Black Hills.[36]

Pawnee and Arikara (ca. 1750-1850)

Traditions suggest the Pawnee were comprised of four separate bands: Grand, Republican, Tappage, and Wolf or Skidi. As noted in Chapter 3, the Pawnee and the Arikara were at one time closely aligned before the Arikara moved north into the Middle Missouri region, leaving the Pawnee in the vicinity of the Lower Loup and Platte rivers in central Nebraska.[37] Smallpox epidemics were particularly devastating to the Arikara, who suffered three such epidemics prior to 1794. A deadly epidemic between 1780 and1781 decimated the Arikara in South Dakota and many either moved south to live with the Pawnee or north to live amongst the Mandan and Hidatsa. Around 1796, fearing Lakota attacks, the Arikara abandoned their settlements on the Cheyenne River, but by 1804 when Lewis and Clark traveled up the river they had returned.[38]

A 1796 map of the Mississippi and Missouri River valleys places the Grand Pawnee band near the mouth of the Platte River in eastern Nebraska. Based on a French expedition into the area from 1801 to 1803, Wedel maintains the Grand Pawnee were located on the south bank of the Platte River in eastern Nebraska, the Skidi were located some distance up the Loup River from its confluence with the Platte River, and the Republican band was located on the north bank of the Republican River in south-central Nebraska.[39] In 1804, Lewis and Clark reported the Grand Pawnee were some 45 to 50 miles upstream of the mouth of the Platte River, the Skidi band was some 90 miles west on the Loup River, and the Republican band had migrated north and joined the Grand Pawnee.[40] In 1806, Lt. Zebulon Pike recorded a Republican Pawnee village on the south bank of the Republican River in Webster County, and in 1819 Major S.H. Long reported that a village of Grand Pawnee existed at the mouth of Horse Creek and that a Republican band had formed a new village at the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.[41] Throughout this period, the Pawnee continued to hunt bison on the High Plains and trade with tribal groups that lived on the Plains.

In 1823, after attacks by American troops, fur traders, and a large contingent of Lakota warriors, the Arikara were forced to abandon their villages along the Missouri River in South Dakota. Through a series of migrations eventually the Arikara either joined the Pawnee along the Platte, Republican, and Loup rivers in central Nebraska, or they migrated north along the Missouri where they joined Mandan and Hidatsa neighbors. Hyde has suggested that the Arikara, in order to avoid conflict with the Sioux, moved north of the Black Hills, down the Powder River to the North Platte River, down the North Platte to the Platte River, and down the Platte to join the Pawnee.[42] Between 1823 and 1834, the Arikara lived in the Platte Valley between the forks of the Platte River and the headwaters of the North Platte. However, Hyde also reports that a major battle occurred in 1834 between the Arikara and the Oglala Sioux at Ash Hollow near the mouth of the North Platte. The victorious Sioux forced the Arikara to retreat to the aforementioned core area of the Pawnee in central Nebraska. White reports that the Arikara and the Skidi Pawnee split in 1835, at which time the Arikara abandoned their sedentary lifestyle in favor of nomadic bison hunting. Although the Arikara did not return to the Badlands or the Black Hills, they continued to have acrimonious relations with the Lakota well into the 1870s.[43]

Hidatsa and Mandan (1750-1850)

The Hidatsa and Mandan, both Siouan-speaking groups, were entrenched along the Missouri River in present-day North Dakota by 1700, and by the early 1700s, Lakota groups began encroaching on their territory. As early as 1738, La Verendrye brought the Mandan villages into contact with the French fur trappers and traders. Together, the Mandan and the Hidatsa established and maintained a major indigenous trade center that brought together nearly all of the major tribes on the Plains. Their early contact with the French allowed the Hidatsa and Mandan to play a prominent role in trade relations among Plains tribes for many decades. The Hidatsa and Mandan maintained close relationships with the Crow, which frequently put them at odds with the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho. The Mandan and Hidatsa later welcomed the Arikara after their numbers were decimated by several smallpox epidemics and the 1823 war with American soldiers. Neither the Mandan nor the Hidatsa have any close ties to the White River Badlands, and together they, along with the Arikara, constitute the "Three Affiliated Tribes." Today these three tribes live on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota.[44]

Plains Shoshone (ca. 1750-1850)

As noted in the previous chapter, Shoshonean groups, later referred to as the Plains or the Eastern Shoshone, migrated into Wyoming sometime after AD 1400. The Shoshone were one of the earlier tribes to acquire the horse, quickly adopting it and communal bison hunting into their nomadic hunting and gathering lifestyle. Archeological evidence (as discussed in Chapter 3) indicates Shoshone groups lived (or had lived) in most parts of Wyoming by the mid-eighteenth century. For example, Frison reports dates of AD 1700 and AD 1720 for the Eagle Creek site in southwestern Montana and the Eden-Farson site in the Green River Basin of southwestern Wyoming, respectively.[45] The Plains Shoshone, like the Kiowa, the Mandan, and Hidatsa, were close allies of the Crow, and bitter enemies of the Lakota. Although the Plains Shoshone made frequent trips onto the Northwest Plains and the Black Hills region during the eighteenth century, for the most part they lived in northwestern Wyoming and southwestern Montana in the Big Horn Mountains and the Big Horn Basin. The Shoshone were frequent traders across the Plains and Great Basin, and although they maintain the sacred traditions of Devils Tower in Wyoming and the Black Hills, there is no evidence that they were familiar with the Whiter River Badlands.[46]

For the most part the Shoshone remained in northwestern Wyoming and adjacent portions of Montana and Idaho during the first half of the nineteenth century. In the 1870s, the Plains Shoshone became known ethnographically as the Wind River Shoshone after they settled on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. The five other historic Shoshone groups lived in the Great Basin region and/or northern California. Thus, with the exception of occasional trips to the Plains for trading purposes or to procure bison or other special resources, the Plains Shoshone were not a significant factor in the Badlands region during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Arapaho and Cheyenne (ca. 1790-1850)

Historical accounts, coupled with migration myths, oral history, and limited archeological data, suggest that within roughly 100 years (ca. 1670s – 1790) the Cheyenne and Arapaho

had migrated from southwestern Ontario and northern Minnesota, respectively, to the central Missouri River area of North and South Dakota where they made the transition from a nomadic lifestyle of hunters and gatherers living in a forested environment to semi-sedentary agriculturalists on the Plains. Hughes reports that the Cheyenne lived in southwestern Minnesota in the 1680s, but by the early 1700s some groups had migrated to the Missouri River in North Dakota.[47] While living amongst the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara, the Cheyenne acquired the horse and presumably began hunting bison on the High Plains at least on a seasonal basis, and Hughes notes that at least some Cheyenne groups were penetrating the Black Hills area by the late eighteenth century.[48] At some time after crossing the Missouri, the Cheyenne began to associate with the closely related Suhtai, but, as late as 1830, the Suhtai lived apart from the Cheyenne and considered themselves a distinct tribe. The Suhtai eventually joined the Cheyenne sometime before 1850, but the move was primarily for survival in the face of challenges from the Lakota and the onslaught of American settlers and the United States military.[49]

By the early 1800s, Lewis and Clark reported the Cheyenne, Suhtai, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Arapaho, and Comanche occupied the Black Hills region. During the early 1800s, the Cheyenne presumably wintered in the southern Black Hills and moved north and east in the spring to trade with tribes living along the Missouri River.[50] Although Lewis and Clark noted the presence of some Cheyenne amongst the Arikara in 1804, they observed that their homeland appeared to be along both branches of the Cheyenne River on either side of the Black Hills.[51]

Mooney argued that the Arapaho lived in northeastern Minnesota and moved west with their traditional allies, the Cheyenne, in the late 1600s and early 1700s.[52] Trenholm refutes this notion and maintains the Arapaho lived on the Plains for centuries before they were joined by the Cheyenne.[53] Trenholm reports the Arapaho lived along the South Fork of the Cheyenne River in 1796 while the Cheyenne were camped at the forks of the river further to the east.[54] However, in 1804 and 1805, Lewis and Clark report the Arapaho lived southwest of the Black Hills, while the Cheyenne reportedly lived in the vicinity of the Black Hills.[55] During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Arapaho, for the most part, lived southwest of the Cheyenne. Slightly later, in 1816, the Arapaho reportedly lived along the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains near the headwaters of the North and South Platte rivers.[56] Hughes writes that trade fairs were held along tributaries of the North Platte at this time and Cheyenne traders traveled south to exchange European trade goods with Arapaho, Kiowa, and Comanche traders for horses and perhaps beaver pelts and bison skins. The Arapaho, like the Cheyenne and the Lakota, had acrimonious relations with the Crow, while maintaining, for the most part, close relationships with both the Cheyenne and the Lakota.

By 1820, or no later than 1825, it appears that the Cheyenne had abandoned the Black Hills region and moving south to the land between the North and South Platte rivers joined the Arapaho. According to Hughes, it is during this time that groups of Arapaho and Cheyenne either ranged, or moved, further south into parts of Texas, resulting in the northern and southern divisions of each tribe.[57] At this time, the division between the northern and southern Cheyenne became more pronounced. The main body of the

Cheyenne moved further south to the lands along the upper Arkansas River in southeastern Colorado, while some bands remained in the area along the North Platte River in the company of the Lakota. At this time, several forts were constructed in eastern Colorado and southeastern Wyoming (e.g. Bent's Fort, Fort St. Vrain, Fort Platte, Fort Laramie) with the intent of being accessible to the Northern Plains tribes, such as the Lakota, Northern Cheyenne, Arapaho, Crow and others. During the 1830s the Cheyenne and Arapaho frequently moved to lands south of the Arkansas River while others occasionally lived in the area north of the North Platte, with and without the company of Lakota.[58] During the 1840s (and before they were relocated as a result of treaties), most of the Cheyenne and Arapaho lived between the North Platte and the Arkansas rivers and east of the Rocky Mountains. However, some who were affiliated with the Lakota continued to live north of the North Platte in the vicinity of the Black Hills. Treaties and trade continued to move the main groups of the Cheyenne and Arapaho further to the south, leading to a wider geographical gap between the northern and southern division of the Cheyenne and Arapaho.[59]

American Expansionism, Broken Promises and the Beginning of Indian Wars on the Plains (1840-1864)

As noted previously, up to the 1830s, the United States accepted the notion of Indian sovereignty whereby Indian tribes in effect became nations within a nation. This approach to the Indian "problem" was effectively ignored by President Jackson and later President Van Buren when they refused to honor federal treaty commitments to the southeastern tribes, and illegally allowed the states to gain control over Indian relations.[60] The removal of eastern tribes to "Indian Territory" in the West created a paradox for eastern and western tribes. Whereas tribes in the West were superficially still considered sovereign nations, the eastern tribes were forcibly removed from their homelands and placed within what amounted to a large reservation. Unfortunately, by the 1840s it became apparent to all that the notion of "Indian Territory" was not a viable option. American emigrants constantly encroached on Indian lands and their livestock often trampled Indian agricultural fields. Conversely, Indians encroached on settlers' land during hunting or war parties or killed settlers' cattle during times of duress. These situations worsened during the 1840s with the opening of the Oregon Trail (via the Platte Valley in 1841), the Mormon migration in 1847, and the discovery of gold in California in 1848. This was also a time when fur companies continued to enter the region.

It is at this time that Americans first discovered the fossil beds of the White River Badlands; the first fossil discoveries were published in 1846. Subsequently, members from the Missouri Fur Company collected some fossils and sent them back to St. Louis where they were given to a physician who published the discovery in the *American Journal of Science* in 1847. These discoveries and their subsequent publication fueled an interest among paleontologists from the east coast in the fossil beds of the White River Badlands. The birth of American paleontology as a respected scientific discipline was born in the fossils beds of the White River Badlands in the mid-nineteenth century. As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, several fossil collecting expeditions occurred in or near the White River Badlands during the period from the 1850s to the 1870s.

Concurrent with the movement of Indian tribes across the Plains was the migration of thousands of Euro-Americans along the Oregon and Mormon trails. In 1850, Smith reports that 55,000 people and 65,000 livestock traveled and ate their way up the Platte Valley and across Indian country.[61] These emigrants left a path of disturbance, void of wood, grass, and game, 50 miles wide and 300 miles long through the southern reaches of Lakota territory. This environmental destruction, coupled with epidemic diseases such as cholera, smallpox and measles killed thousands of Lakota and other Plains Indians.[62] The encroachment onto Indian lands was further exacerbated by the California gold rush in 1849, the Colorado gold rush in 1858, and culminated in the Montana gold rush from 1862 to 1864. All this activity resulted in continual infringements into Lakota territory, especially their traditional hunting grounds, as settlers demanded extensive supply lines and military protection.

The events along the Oregon Trail, in particular, disrupted a tenuous peace between the various Plains tribes, the American settlers, and the federal government. Relations between settlers and Plains Indians worsened in 1849 and 1850 to such a degree that federal government agencies were prompted to intervene. In 1851, US government officials and representatives of the Lakota, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Crow, Shoshone, Assiniboin, Gros Ventres, Mandans, Hidatsa, and Arikara signed the Laramie Treaty. This treaty was also known as the Fort Laramie Treaty and the Horse Creek Treaty.[63] This treaty attempted to regulate commerce and travel through Indian country by establishing posts (forts) and roads (trails) across Indian country. It also established boundaries for each tribe, despite the fact that most of the tribes that signed the treaty were equestrian hunters that followed bison herds across the Plains. The Indians relied on the fact that it would seem obvious that the tribes needed large territories with plenty of fresh water, grass, and shelter in order to continue their lifeway and provide for their horses and families. By the 1851 treaty, the Lakota were confined to an area north of the Platte River, but after much protesting they were allowed to hunt buffalo south of the river. One of the more troublesome aspects of the treaty was the intention of the US government to hold each tribe responsible for any attacks on American settlers that occurred within their assigned territories. This soon emerged as a major stumbling block in efforts to ensure peace.

For their part, the Indians were to receive annuities for ten years as recompense for the loss of game and other damages that they had incurred from settlers crossing their lands. Initially the treaty stated that the tribes would receive annuities of $50,000 per year for 50 years, but prior to signing the treaty, US officials unilaterally changed the document to read for 10 years.[64] The federal government halted the annuities after only two years. US representative, Commissioner Mitchell, put the treaty aside, proclaiming, 'the previously warring tribes are now behaving toward each other like brothers, and nothing but mismanagement…can ever break it (this treaty).'[65]

As unfolding events attested, however, nothing could have been further from the truth. The 1851 treaty, and a subsequent similar treaty signed by the southern Plains tribes, failed to accomplish any of its goals. The treaties not only compromised the concept of sovereign Indian nations, but they also failed to secure either intertribal or Indian-

American peace. Furthermore, they failed to confine the tribes to their assigned territorial boundaries.[66] The hope of permanent Indian Territory and sovereign Indian nations west of the Missouri was short lived; it was replaced with the ill-conceived plan of confining tribes in Indian reservations. Although some envisioned the reservation system as the best alternative to extermination by soldiers and settlers, in reality,

> Reservations were sovereign remnants of Indian lands on which the federal government treated the Indians as virtually powerless wards. Reservations were paradoxical places where Indians were temporarily segregated in order to prepare them for ultimate integration into the larger society. Riddled with contradictions, reservations were to become the hallmark of American Indian policy in the west.[67]

Between the 1840s and 1860s, American Indian policy in the West resulted in unmitigated disaster that continually exposed government incompetence and corruption. As federal officials sought to limit Indian sovereignty and assert their own control and power, relations between the Indian tribes and the white man continued to deteriorate at an ever increasing rate. This period was marked by widespread violence and Indian uprisings throughout the country from the Seminole and Creek wars in Florida, to the Sauk and Fox wars in Illinois and Wisconsin, to the numerous Indian wars on the Plains. The wars proved both costly and embarrassing, serving little purpose and resulting in no clear resolutions. Continued Indian resistance to federal policies fueled the zeal and ire of government officials who were determined to crush and humiliate the Indians, if not exterminate them altogether.

White argues that Indian Wars of the 1850s and 1860s fall into three categories. The first group pitted the expanding American government against powerful Indian tribes that were also trying to expand their territorial range and regional hegemony. These wars were typified by the Lakota and their allies on the northern Plains and the Comanche and their allies on the southern Plains. The second group of wars centered on American attempts to control or suppress Indian raids on horses, crops and livestock, such as the Navajo and Apache raids in the Southwest. The third group of wars involved smaller and less powerful Indian groups attempting to maintain their independence from American expansionism.[68]

One well-documented event serves to capture how misunderstandings and poor communication led to rising emotions that quickly escalated into skirmishes and full-scale battles. The incident that finally tipped the scales in favor of decades of warfare, bloodshed, and perpetual mistrust occurred in 1854 and is often referred to as the "Mormon Cow Incident" or the "Grattan Massacre." In the summer of 1854, a Mormon wagon train and their scrawny, half-starved cattle were heading west along the "Holy Road" (Oregon Trail) on the North Platte. A stray cow was observed near a Brule camp where it was shot by a visiting Minneconjou, Straight Foretop. Mormon accounts state the Indians had stolen the cow, while Indian winter counts and oral history report the cow was acquired through trade.[69] However the cow arrived at its final resting place, the Mormon owner insisted on bringing the guilty party to trial, and he immediately went to

Fort Laramie to complain to the acting commander, Lieutenant Fleming. Conquering Bear, chief of the Brule, left the next morning to discuss the situation with the Lieutenant and to offer the Mormon gentleman the selection of not one but two of the finest horses in the Brule camp. The stubborn Mormon declined the restitution and continued to insist that the guilty person be brought to trial. Conquering Bear told the Lieutenant that although he was certain that the guilty Minneconjou, who was a guest at the camp, would not surrender; he was willing to return to the camp to try to persuade the guilty individual to turn himself in to the Army.

The next day neither Conquering Bear nor the Minneconjou returned to the fort. Throughout the morning and early afternoon, a young, inexperienced, and overly zealous Second Lieutenant (J.L. Grattan), fresh from West Point, continually badgered Lieutenant Fleming about how the military could not allow the Indians to think they were getting away with anything, and that if the Indians were unwilling to police themselves then it was up to the military to do the policing. Eventually, Fleming gave in to Grattan's request, and allowed him 29 volunteers, and a drunk, half-breed Ioway interpreter, with an intense disdain for the Lakota, to travel to the Brule camp to apprehend the guilty Minneconjou and bring him to the fort to stand trial for his actions.

Immediately upon arriving at the Brule camp, Grattan assembled his men in an offensive position and aimed his cannon at the camp. Conquering Bear tried to diffuse the tense situation and even offered five horses for the Mormon's cow, but Grattan refused the offer and demanded that the guilty party surrender and be taken to the fort to stand trial. When Straight Foretop heard this, he screamed that he would rather die fighting than return to the white man's fort to stand trial. Grattan ordered his men to open fire. Conquering Bear leaped forward to plead once again for a peaceful solution, but the soldiers continued fire. Conquering Bear was mortally wounded, and the guilty Minneconjou, Straight Foretop, was killed instantly. Unfortunately, in Grattan's haste to deploy his men and initiate a military solution to the problem, he neglected to notice that the men of the camp had surrounded his troops while the women and children had been moved from harm's way. The Brule warriors, aided by warriors from the nearby Oglala camp, quickly defeated and killed all of Grattan's troops. This unfortunate event set the tone for the next 35 to 40 years as all the various Lakota bands as well as all the other Plains tribes at one time or another engaged in violent conflicts with American soldiers and settlers.[70]

In 1855, the US Army sought retaliation against the Lakota for the Grattan massacre and extended that war to Lakota allies, like the Cheyenne and Arapaho, in 1857. These wars demonstrated to the Indians that the US Army was both powerful and determined, but little was resolved. In 1855, the US Army demanded that all "friendly Indians" must convene on the south side of the Platte River near Fort Laramie. Any Indians found on the north side of the river were assumed to be "hostiles" and dealt with accordingly. General W.S. Harney led a group of cavalry and infantry on a march throughout Indian lands on the north side of the Platte. Harney and his men encountered a Brule camp led by chief Little Thunder on Blue Water Creek on the edge of the Sandhills near Ash Hollow Cave, Nebraska. The troops opened fire on the unsuspecting camp, killing 86

people (mostly women and children) and capturing over 70 women and children.[71] Harney was infamously referred to thereafter as "Squaw Killer" for his role in the massacre.[72] In order to demonstrate his military power, Harney marched his troops from Fort Laramie to Fort Pierre through the Badlands and the heart of Lakota country on what was to become the Fort Laramie to Fort Pierre Road. The year ended with an uneasy and tenuous truce that lasted for the next several years with only a few minor conflicts. This period of tense, but relative peace, in Indian and American relations soon deteriorated as feelings of mistrust and suspicion gave way to outright fear, loathing, and hatred.

In 1862, two events transpired that affected the course of events for not only the Lakota, but for all tribes on the Plains. The Lakota and other Plains tribes were not responsible for either event, but they all suffered, both directly and indirectly. The first occurrence was the Minnesota Massacre initiated by the Dakota (Santee) against innocent farmers and shopkeepers. The Santee were starving, their crops were failing, and the government agency officials refused to allow them to hunt within their former reservation, yet at the same time they refused the starving Santee any aide or assistance. When the killing and raiding ended, the small bands of Santee warriors left "…nearly 500 settlers [were] killed and at least as many more [were] homeless."[73] This senseless and brutal act brought Indian and white tensions to an unprecedented height and eventually led to full-scale war in 1864. In the aftermath of this 1862 massacre, nearly 2,000 Santee were moved to the Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota and 300 were sentenced to death by hanging. President Lincoln intervened and only 38 men were convicted of murder and hanged. The arrival of the Santee along the Missouri coincided with additional government troops along the Missouri and Platte rivers.[74]

The second event in 1862 that had a profound impact on the course of future events in the Plains was the discovery of gold in Montana and Idaho. In 1863, John Bozeman prepared a trail from Fort Laramie through the heart of Lakota country to the gold fields of Montana. Once again gold-seeking whites invaded, showing little respect for Lakota property or culture. In addition, thousands of emigrants pushed through the northern Plains on their way to the gold fields of Montana and Idaho. By the spring of 1864, the Hunkpapa had tired of the constant stream of emigrants and soldiers, and they declared their land was off limits to whites. They declared that any white emigrant crossing their land would result in the death of all white emigrants. The federal government, in particular the US Army, was not about to be dictated to by the Indians, who, most whites felt, did not deserve the land they claimed to be their own.

During 1863 and 1864, the US Army deployed troops in the Dakotas under the direction of Generals Sibley and Sully for the sole purpose of exacting revenge on the guilty Santee (or anyone who may be related to the guilty parties).[75] These punitive expeditions, coupled with the establishment of military garrisons at the trading posts of Fort Union and Fort Berthold (along the Missouri River in North Dakota) brought tensions and mistrust to the boiling point. Thus, conditions were set for this powder keg to explode, and explode it did in the summer and fall of 1864.

Deterioration of Lakota and American Relations and War on the Plains (1864-1880)

In July of 1864 the US Army sent troops against the Hunkpapa, and the two sides met at the Battle of Killdeer Mountain. Although the US Army claimed victory, the whites still could not cross or settle Indian lands, so in actuality little was resolved except to confirm that the Hunkpapa were indeed at war against the whites.[76] The second incident in November of 1864, the Sand Creek Massacre, resulted in all out war across the Plains. The Sand Creek Massacre was instigated by two overly zealous and ambitious men, who both felt that the extermination of Indians from Colorado would be their ticket to Washington. Colorado Governor John Evans and Colonel John Chivington, a former Methodist minister, had nothing but contempt for Indians, and Chivington had a strong desire to bait the Indians into a position where he could attack and kill them. In May, a Cheyenne chief, Lean Bear, went to Chivington to demonstrate to the army his peaceful intent and show Chivington the papers he had obtained from the federal government while in Washington. Chivington ordered his men to kill the chief and fire their howitzers at Lean Bear's people.[77]

In a second effort to show his peaceful intentions, Chief Black Kettle, who was present at the murder of Lean Bear, brought his Cheyenne tribe to Sand Creek near Fort Lyon in order to hunt buffalo. On November 29, 1864, while most of the warriors were out hunting buffalo, Chivington ordered his 700 troops (many of them drunk) to open fire on the Cheyenne and burn their village to the ground. When the smoke settled, the soldiers had killed 105 Cheyenne women and children and 28 men. News of the massacre spread rapidly across the Plains, and the war that Evans and Chivington sought quickly engaged people on both sides. White reports that Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho tribes quickly retaliated, by "burning virtually all ranches and stage stations along the South Platte. They also killed a number of innocent men, women, and children."[78] The combined tribes of the Cheyenne, Sioux, and Arapaho attacked Fort Rankin killing 14 soldiers; they raided and burned Julesburg twice and threatened to sever communication along the Platte. The US Army counterattacked and eventually the various tribes retreated to their lands north of the Platte. In 1865, the commander of Fort Laramie committed an atrocity by hanging two innocent Oglala chiefs who had returned a white woman who had been taken captive. This incident incited further Indian attacks and raids on white settlers, ranchers, traders, and soldiers throughout the region.

Later that year in 1865, the US gathered individuals from the Minneconjou, Lower Brule, Two Kettle, Blackfeet, Sans Arc, Hunkpapa, Yankton, Yanktonai, and Oglala tribes at Fort Sully to formulate new treaties with these tribes. As was typical of government officials and soldiers throughout this period of American history, the American Indians that assembled for the treaty council often lacked the authority to speak for their tribe. Those selected to attend the treaty talks rarely represented the tribe as a whole, at best they spoke on behalf of a small group of Indians. To the great satisfaction of government officials, the treaty was finally signed by a number of "paper chiefs." Unfortunately, they overestimated the importance of the signing parties. The chiefs who signed the document on the Missouri River did not represent the tribes further to the west whose lands were subject to another flood of emigrants.

Sitting Bull was one of many principal chiefs who neither signed nor recognized the terms of the treaty, which, according to government officials, allowed the United States to build a road through Indian reservations without repercussion or harassment. The intent was to build the road along the western edge of the reservation rather than through its center. Many of the Oglala chiefs, including Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, did not sign the treaty, as they believed that the unclaimed land west of their reservation was also their land. Therefore, any trail between Fort Laramie and Bozeman was another dagger in the heart of the Lakota nation.[79] Quite naturally, the military and US government considered the unceded land as US property, and the use of that property was not subject to debate with any of the American Indian nations.

In 1866, the US military began construction of a series of forts along the Bozeman Trail, which extended from Fort Laramie into Montana Territory. The Oglala and other Lakota tribes and allies in the region took immediate exception to the road and forts and frequently confronted the soldiers and burned their supplies. In the summer of 1866, Chief Red Cloud, Man Whose Horse They Fear (note: this name is often erroneously reported as Man-Afraid-of-His-Horse) and a number of other chiefs confronted the soldiers at a military stable along the Bozeman Trail.[80] The role which Red Cloud played in the numerous attacks remains unclear. That he was a leader and active participant in shutting down and eventually closing the Bozeman Trail is not disputed, but White reports that numerous other chiefs played an equally important role, if not a greater one.[81] In December 1866, the combined forces of various Lakota tribes lured a detachment of soldiers, led by Captain Fetterman, away from Fort Phil Kearney (near present-day Sheridan, Wyoming) and killed the entire regiment. The incident, recorded as the Fetterman massacre in American history, was recorded in Lakota winter counts as the "Battle of Hundred Slain." This event again demonstrated that the federal government was far from being in control of events on the Plains.[82]

During the spring of 1867, a government-appointed commission met with Red Cloud, Man Whose Horse They Fear, and others to discuss the opening of the Bozeman Trail. The Lakota refused to budge on the issue until the soldiers agreed to dismantle and abandon the series of forts they were trying to build along the trail. The Indians continually kept the soldiers pinned down and civilians refused to hazard traveling across the trail without Army protection. In the summer of 1867 the Cheyenne and Lakota joined forces in launching attacks on Fort Smith and Fort Phil Kearney. These battles, referred to as Wagon Box Fight, ended with both sides declaring victory and nothing resolved, save for the fact that the Bozeman Trail remained closed.

By the fall of 1867, government officials in Washington, along with a large percentage of the nation's population, were convinced that the Indian Wars were too costly, both in lives and expenses, and too many atrocities had been committed on both sides. Moreover, the fact that the Bozeman Trail had effectively been shut down and the Indian tribes remained, for the most part, in control of events on the Plains revealed to Congress that it was time to devise a new treaty. Washington officials wanted to confine the

Indians to their reservations and to have access through the "unceded territory" without threat to their safety. Thus, the stage was set for yet another treaty council.

In the spring of 1868, President Grant ordered General Sherman to close Fort Smith, Fort Kearney, and Fort Reno. Red Cloud and his followers burned the forts immediately upon their abandonment. In April, the Brule signed the treaty and a month later many of the Minneconjou and Oglala signed. Several chiefs, including Red Cloud and Hump of the Minneconjou, had not signed the treaty. However, in October, Red Cloud, Spotted Tail, and several other Lakota chiefs reluctantly agreed to sign the Fort Laramie Treaty. Nonetheless, some Lakota chiefs refused to sign the treaty, and for them this agreement and the Great Sioux Reservation never existed. This treaty defined the "Great Sioux Reservation" as all the land west of the Missouri River and east of the Big Horn Mountains and south to the North Platte River. Essentially the western half of South Dakota as well as large portions of Wyoming, Montana, and North Dakota became part of the Lakota Territory. The US Government promised that no white men could cross or settle in Indian Territory without their permission and the government agreed to pay annuities and rations for 30 years following the treaty. In addition to keeping the Indians confined within their territorial limits, the US Government was intent on shifting them to a sedentary agrarian lifestyle near the agencies rather than allowing them to continue their nomadic lifestyle. The government agreed to provide 160 acres to each family along with the necessary farm implements and seeds, one cow, and one pair of trained oxen. They were also to have schools and stores built in order to distribute food and clothing. In exchange, the Lakota were promised this land forever without unauthorized incursion by outsiders, that is outsiders were supposed to petition the Lakota in order to obtain permission to cross their lands. The only way that reservation land could be validly ceded in the future was through agreement with at least three-fourths of all adult male Indians.[83]

By the time the Fort Laramie treaty was signed in 1868, the US government was covertly, if not overtly, supporting a type of ecological warfare against all the American Indian tribes of the Plains. Several noted officials, including Columbus Delano (Secretary of the Interior under President Grant), General Sheridan, General Sherman, and others were outspoken in their support of the mindless slaughter of thousands and thousands of bison as a practical solution to the "Indian problem." The advocates of bison extermination contributed to a forced agrarian lifestyle for the Lakota and all other American Indians. It was often quoted that the bison hunters had more to do with ending the Indian Wars than anything that the military had accomplished. By the mid-1860s, bison were relatively scarce around Fort Laramie. The transcontinental railroad split the bison herds into a northern and southern herd. Bison were first eliminated from the southern Plains and by 1884 bison were nearly extinct in North America. The "buffalo hunters" had successfully decimated the bison herds, and in less than two decades the Lakota and other Plains Indians saw their subsistence base completely disappear.[84]

The second Fort Laramie treaty eased tensions between the Lakota and the Americans, but it did little to stop Lakota aggression on other Indians, most notably the Pawnee and the Crow. Red Cloud visited Washington in 1870 and convinced President Grant to

allow the Lakota trading rights at Fort Laramie and to establish an Oglala agency on the Cheyenne River, north of Fort Laramie rather than on the Missouri. In 1871, the first Red Cloud agency was established on the North Platte River, just downstream from Fort Laramie, and the first Spotted Tail agency was located near White Clay, Nebraska.[85] In 1873, bison were extremely scarce on the Plains, and the Lakota, like other Plains Indians, found it difficult to procure enough bison to sustain themselves. When a group of Lakota warriors encountered a Pawnee village south of the Platte River, despite its location outside the reservation boundaries, the Sioux took the opportunity to attack, and destroyed the Pawnee village, killing over 50 Pawnee, many of them women and children.[86] Other accounts of the incident state the number of Pawnee killed was over 100.[87] After this defeat, the Pawnee abandoned their Nebraska homeland and moved to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. After this initial incident, the Sioux warriors began raiding the increasing number of settlers living along the Platte River, many of whom were encroaching on Indian lands.

Although the 1868 treaty eased relations between the Lakota and the US government, it had done little to prevent Euro-American incursions into the Lakota treaty lands. Euro-American encroachment became more widespread after Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer, without permission from the Sioux, led an expedition of soldiers, scientists, engineers, topographers, and gold miners through the Black Hills in 1874 and declared the discovery of gold. The US Government reasoned this breach of the 1868 Treaty acceptable arguing the importance of allowing exploration and the necessity of charting of the Black Hills. However, the treaty stipulated that no white man should enter the Great Sioux Reservation so the argument that it was necessary to "explore" and "chart" this region was completely unfounded.

With the discovery of gold in the Black Hills, there was no stopping the Euro-American gold seekers or the infrastructure necessary to support the miners. The US government demanded that the Lakota either sell or lease the Black Hills. Needless to say, the Lakota refused to sale, lease, or surrender their most sacred of all land. After several failed attempts by the US Government to negotiate the lease or sale of the Black Hills from the Lakota, the US Government, at the direction of the President, abandoned all attempts to control white men's access into the region. The ensuing Black Hills gold rush from 1874 to 1876 saw hundreds of Americans illegally enter Lakota lands for the sole purpose of gold prospecting. Eventually, the US military sent soldiers to protect the miners and settlers that flooded the area. By this time Red Cloud was convinced that the American soldiers would defeat, if not absolutely crush, the Lakota, regardless of Indian numbers, alliances, or stealth. Although Red Cloud pleaded with his people to be peaceful, his words fell on deaf ears as more and more young warriors joined Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, a Hunkpapa chief.

The Sioux War of 1876 was a direct result of treaty violations by Euro-American settlers and the failure of the US Government to enforce the treaty. The government, enraged at their failure to acquire the Black Hills through purchase, ordered all non-treaty bands and all other bands living outside the reservation boundaries (i.e., the unceded territory of Montana and Wyoming) to return to the reservation and surrender. Crazy Horse, Sitting

Bull, and many other Lakota and Cheyenne chiefs and their followers were living outside the reservation boundaries in the unceded land, still preferring to live a nomadic lifestyle predicated on bison hunting. In order to encourage these "wild bands" to return to the reservation, the government dispatched several thousand soldiers under the direction of General Crook to the unceded lands in Montana and Wyoming for the purpose of capturing (or killing) any Indians they encountered. Crook envisioned a three-pronged attack. He took his men up the Rosebud Creek, approaching from the south; General Terry and General Gibbon were sent along the north side of the Yellowstone River, and Lt. Colonel Custer and his men were to circle in from the north. Roughly 1,000 Lakota and Cheyenne warriors, led by Crazy Horse, first encountered General Crook and his 1,200 men at Rosebud Creek on June 16, 1876, where they fought to a stalemate though the Indians claimed victory in having forced the military to retreat.

The next and more decisive battle, which occurred on June 25, 1876, along the waters of the Greasy Grass or the Little Big Horn River, resulted in the annihilation of Custer and his men. Custer, against strict orders not to attack, divided his men into three groups. Major Reno attacked the camp from the north but was quickly forced to retreat. Captain Benteen's men never engaged the Indians as they were struggling with artillery and supply wagons at the rear. Custer attacked the camp from the south, and his troops were soon surrounded and killed. The victory at Little Big Horn proved to be the high water mark for the Lakota. Their greatest victory also proved to be the beginning of the end for their culture and lifestyle. Outraged by the defeat of Crook at the Rosebud and the annihilation of Custer at Little Big Horn, the US government wasted little time in retaliation. For their part, the US Army brought swift, dramatic, and violent military force on all Indians within the Great Sioux Reservation. Sensing swift and brutal repercussions for their actions, the Indian tribes elected to scatter, some succumbing to surrender and returning to the reservation, and others stubbornly continuing to range outside the reservation. Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, and their followers fled to Canada, but their freedom was short-lived.

In October 1876, Congress passed an act that in effect forced the Lakota to either sell the Black Hills or starve to death. The act further stated that all rations and annuities would be stopped until the Lakota had returned to the reservation and relinquished claims to the Black Hills. Second, their hunting rights were severely reduced and the wagon roads were cut across the Lakota reservation to provide access to the Black Hills. Facing starvation, and with no means to procure food for the coming winter, the Black Hills were sold. Nevertheless, contrary to the terms of the Fort Laramie Treaty only about 10 percent, rather than the stipulated 75 percent, of adult Indian males approved the sale of the Black Hills (Paha Sapa) to the government. In February 1877, Congress passed the Black Hills Act which seized a swath of land, including the Black Hills, over 50 miles wide and 200 miles in length. At long last the American government had acquired the coveted and sacred Black Hills of the Lakota and reduced the Great Sioux Reservation in size to an area that excluded the Black Hills as well as regions to the north and south. In the winter of 1876-1877, the Army, led by Crow and Pawnee scouts that were bitter enemies of the Lakota and Cheyenne, was in close pursuit of the renegade tribes. Several skirmishes and battles occurred, but eventually the tribes surrendered. First Crazy Horse,

facing starvation and wishing to avoid another major battle, surrendered to the US Army near the Canadian border in Montana in 1877. Several years later, Sitting Bull, who had fled to Canada, surrendered in 1881.

In May 1877, Crazy Horse was taken to the Red Cloud Agency near Fort Robinson, where the commander promised to make Crazy Horse chief of all the Lakota if he would agree to go to Washington and meet with President Hayes. Crazy Horse refused to go, and he also refused to council with the other chiefs and General Crook at Fort Robinson. Red Cloud, who as a young man in 1841 was accused by other Lakota of killing Chief Bull Bear, and Spotted Tail, another prominent chief, became extremely jealous of Crazy Horse and the attention and respect he received from Lakota and whites alike. When Crazy Horse refused to attend the council, General Crook suggested that the Indians needed to gain control over Crazy Horse, and that the US government would be sympathetic toward any chiefs who helped to arrest Crazy Horse.[88] In September, Crazy Horse decided (or was persuaded by his good friend Fast Thunder) to go to Fort Robinson to tell General Crook that he wanted to settle along Beaver Creek (Nebraska). According to military orders received at Camp Robinson, Crazy Horse was to be arrested and sent to Fort Jefferson in the Dry Tortugas. When he arrived at the fort, rather than go to a council meeting, Crazy Horse was arrested. When he realized what was happening, he resisted and a struggle ensued with Little Big Man. Crazy Horse was restrained by several Indians, including Fast Thunder, but Crazy Horse was stabbed twice by a soldier and died within the day. Some say it was accidental, some accounts indicate Crazy Horse was reaching for a pistol to kill the soldiers. Many Lakota accounts state that Crazy Horse was murdered under orders from the jealous chiefs Red Cloud and Spotted Tail.[89] The succeeding years did not bring much hope for the Indians, David White refers to them as the period of 'Land Takings' (1877-1889) and a continuation of Coercive Assimilation (1883-1934).[90]

Failure of the Reservation System, the Ghost Dance Religion, and the End of the Indian Wars (1880-1891)

With the "sale" of the Black Hills to the American government, the flood gates opened and wave after wave of American emigrants crossed Siouan lands on their way to the gold fields in the Black Hills. Large quantities of freight had to be hauled to the miners and settlers, and much of it was brought on lines that followed trails along or near the White River. One of the more prominent early trails was the Brule City-Badlands Trail. Use of this trail dwindled as Brule City struggled for survival, and with the closing of the Brule City Post Office in December of 1881, the trail was largely forgotten.[91] The Chamberlain-Rapid City Trail, which followed the White River and crossed the Cheyenne River near the Badlands and then paralleled Rapid Creek, became one of the more prominent freight trails between the Missouri River and the gold mines of the Black Hills. Early railroad lines and later State Highway 44 would more or less follow this same route.

The decade following the sale of the Black Hills saw the Lakota tribes struggling for survival on the reservation, especially now that bison hunting was no longer practical or acceptable. Unfortunately, for both the Lakota and the Americans the transition to an

agrarian lifestyle was far more difficult than even the most optimistic had envisioned, and ultimately it became clear, even to the government officials, that 160 acres of land in this cool arid climate was not sufficient acreage to provide enough food to sustain a family. Yet as settlers crossed the vast grasslands between the Missouri River and the Black Hills, the overwhelming sentiment was that the Lakota were lazy scoundrels who were too ignorant to learn farming and therefore had no right to all this excess land. The Indians faced pressures from various divergent groups (e.g., military, government bureaucrats, missionaries, and settlers), all of whom either wanted them to become self-sufficient farmers or simply wanted their land for their own benefit. Not surprisingly, all the white critics failed to consider that (1) the Indians did not know how to farm, (2) the soil was poor, (3) the climate was too arid, (4) the growing season too short, and (5) their farms were too small. The US government and others argued that once the Indians settled on their individual lots, the excess land could be consolidated and sold to farmers, ranchers, and speculators.

From 1880 to 1881 the US government made agreements with the Sioux to transfer a large part of the Great Sioux Reservation to public lands. This opened the area for Euro-American settlement and allowed for the development of transportation routes to the Black Hills. Trails such as the Chamberlain-Rapid City and the Chamberlain-Deadwood trails were established and the territorial governor allotted thousands of dollars for their maintenance. Throughout this time, the Americans could not overcome a prevailing attitude that all the land within the Great Sioux Reservation was going to waste. Government and agency officials were more committed than ever to assimilating not only the Lakota, but all tribes. They instituted a "reform" or assimilation policy that had three basic components. First, there was the suppression of Indian culture, religion, family life, community organization, and social structure, by all means. Second, there was the effort to acculturate the Indians into mainstream American Protestant values through education, including the written and unwritten policy of refusing to allow Indians to use traditional names, as well as the policy of taking the children away from their families and sending them to boarding schools far away from their homes to educate them according to the white man's culture. Third, reformers sought a land allotment policy that would sever the Lakota concept of "community" and install a belief in private land ownership. Those lands that were not utilized by a family should be made available to white farmers and ranchers who knew how to make a living off the land and not allow the land to sit idle.[92] To government officials and legislators, the answer was simple, give each Indian his land allotment and whatever was leftover would become surplus land that could be sold to whites.

After a number of failed efforts and several commissions, the proposed amendments were adopted through a bill passed by Congress. The Dawes Act, or General Allotment Act, was passed initially in 1887. One element of the Act was to officially dissolve the Great Sioux Reservation. The Indians refused to approve the first Act, but after modifications, both the Indians and Congress approved the Dawes Act in 1889. This Act divided the Great Sioux Reservation into six smaller reservations (Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Lower Brule, Crow Creek, Pine Ridge, and Rosebud). The act implicitly signaled that henceforth the US government intended to treat and deal with Indians on an individual

basis and not at the tribal level and most certainly, they would not be treated as sovereign nations. The Dawes Act had profound effects on the Lakota, beyond the loss of their land. First it removed control of the land from the tribe and placed it in the hands of the individual land owner, but more importantly, it separated the Lakota into six different reservations, making it far more difficult for the Lakota to organize and communicate as a single voice or unified force. Not surprisingly, the Dawes Act was poorly received on the reservations, and it was not until the Act was rewritten in 1889, whereby the land allotments were increased to 320 acres and the government promised not to reduce the daily meat ration, that General Crook, who came out of retirement, was able to secure the signatures of three-fourths of the Indian males.[93]

The constant reduction of tribal lands, the reworking of treaty agreements and the flood of new settlers increased tensions and resentment among the populations. To make matters worse, within months of signing the Dawes Act the US government once again went back on its "solemn" word and reduced the "Sioux Appropriation" and, in effect, reduced the individual meat rations by more than forty percent.[94] The winter of 1889-1890 was extremely brutal and hundreds of Lakota starved to death. The harsh winter was followed by a severe drought that ruined crops all across the reservation lands and left in its wake a starving and desperate people who were denied the opportunity to practice their traditional cultural lifeways and religious practices. Throughout 1890, the Lakota received less than half the promised rations, as many officials rationalized that this strong-arm approach would force the resistant Indians to quickly adapt to the American lifestyle. Poor living conditions and malnutrition were pervasive on the reservations and rendering the people vulnerable to disease.

Many Indians saw hope in a revitalization movement known historically as the "Ghost Dance." Wovoka, the prophet or Messiah, who came from among the Paiute of Nevada, had a simple message that formed the core of the Ghost Dance religion. Wovoka, known to whites as Jack Wilson, was a holy man who followed in the footsteps of his father, Tavibo, a Paiute shaman or holy man. When Wovoka was about 12 his father had a vision that God was going to renew the earth, but only for the Indians, as all whites would be wiped out. Tavibo went on to preach the message of his vision, that the renewed earth would be lush and plentiful with game, and that all the Indians who had died before would return to life and be young again. God asked only that the Indians believe in Tavibo's words and perform the sacred dance, "the Dance of the Souls Departed" or the "Ghost Dance."[95] Tavibo died about two years later, and Wovoka was adopted by a white rancher (David Wilson) and given the name Jack Wilson. He was raised as one of David Wilson's sons and from all accounts was a hard-working, solid citizen that mainly worked for his adopted father.

When Jack was about 30 years old he had a vision, nearly identical to his father's. He told some Indians of this, but nothing much came of it for three more years, when Wovoka had a near death experience and God came to him again and reiterated his message. This time God also informed Wovoka that he had been promoted to be his leader and Messiah in the West.[96] Although Wovoka's message was simple, it combined the teachings and knowledge of various religions, including Protestants, Mormons,

Shakers, Dreamers, and Paiute shamans. God told Wovoka that he was going to destroy the current world order and renew the earth as a fresh and happy place for all Indians and their ancestors. He preached of earth renewal, advocated nonviolence, and told the people to always do good deeds, and never lie. So long as the people believed in Wovoka and danced the sacred dance, then it was only a matter of time before the new world order would be put into place. After seeing the third of Wovoka's three miracles, he earned the respect of hundreds of followers and many converts came to learn this special dance and learn from the Messiah in order to take his teachings back to their own tribes, so that they too could dance and have a new beginning. The overwhelming feeling of hopelessness and despair across all Indian reservations in the West fueled the spread of the new Messiah's teachings. For his part, Wovoka invoked the aid of the US Government, for ironically, Wovoka sent hundreds of letters of introduction and instruction via the US postal service to tribal leaders and shaman across the West. The news of the Ghost Dance religion spread like wildfire across the reservations and gained devout followers on a daily basis.[97]

In the fall of 1889, the Lakota appointed a commission visit the Paiute Messiah directly and learned his teachings. The commission consisted of the following: the Oglalas appointed Broken Arm, Flat Iron, Good Thunder, and Yellow Breast; the Minneconjou appointed Kicking Bear; and the Brule appointed Short Bull and one other.[98] Upon the commission's return, tribal members were eager to hear the word from the Indian Messiah, Wovoka. On the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations, the Indian agents sent police to arrest Good Thunder, Short Bull, and the others before they could speak to the crowd. At the Cheyenne River Reservation, Kicking Bear began preaching a somewhat different message, one which directly violated Wovoka's teaching of nonviolence. According to some interpretations and accounts, Kicking Bear encouraged the elimination of the white invaders and spoke of a holy shirt that would protect Sioux warriors from the white man's bullets.[99] White challenges the notion that the Lakota followers of the Ghost Dance changed the meaning of Wovoka's message to a message with hostile or violent overtones.[100] Rather, he maintains the Lakota did not change Wovoka's message or how this new religion was to be practiced. Whether or not the Lakota Ghost Dance issued a message of violence against whites may never be known with any degree of certainty. What is known is that (1) most whites (and certainly those who lived at the different agencies) shared the perception that the Ghost Dance was simply a prelude to war, and (2) the Indians' belief that the "holy shirts" would keep them safe from bullets would eventually have catastrophic results.

Regardless of the exact message, it gained popularity among the Lakota, slowly at first, and, as a result, tensions and anxieties rose between the Lakota followers of the Ghost Dance and the white Indian agents and missionaries. White quotes Eastman as stating that the Ghost Dance Religion on the Pine Ridge Reservation began on 'Medicine Root Creek and the edge of the Badlands,' presumably between Kyle and the White River.[101] From there the dancers retreated further into the Badlands as whites became more and more fearful of the Indians' intentions and the religious craze that swept across the tribal members.

In the spring and early summer of 1890, recruitment into this new religious doctrine was still going somewhat slowly for Kicking Bear, Short Bull, and the other leaders. Events quickly changed both the frequency of the dancing as well as the number of participants. As noted previously, the Plains area experienced a severe drought in 1890. Moreover, the government decided to again cut food rations to the reservation and outlaw hunting. Rather than persuading the Indians to resist the Ghost Dance movement and return to their family lots and continue farming, the government actions evoked the exact opposite reaction: scores of people quickly adopted this new religion and joined the groups that were dancing at various locations across the reservations. The Ghost Dance had one other element that made it attractive to the Lakota. Unlike other rituals and ceremonies that were exclusive to certain people, the Ghost Dance was open and available to everyone regardless of age or gender.[102] By October 1890, well over 30 tribes in 12 states vigorously practiced the Ghost Dance Religion.[103]

Among the Minneconjou, Kicking Bear found several recruits, including the great chiefs Hump, Big Foot, and Sitting Bull, and the medicine man Yellow Bird. Sitting Bull was more of a curious observer and should have been considered a casual participant rather than a hard core convert. Nonetheless, the idea that the Messiah was coming to rid the earth of white men and leave a new rejuvenated earth for the Indians and their ancestors was certainly appealing to the downtrodden Lakota, and so the number of dancers continued to grow on all the reservations. Indian agents at the Standing Rock Reservation had Kicking Bear escorted off the reservation, and he returned to the Pine Ridge Reservation where he continued to dance. In mid-November, President Harrison directed the military to take responsibility for suppressing any unrest on the reservations, and shortly thereafter the Bureau of Indian Affairs asked the various agents to supply the government and the military with a list of the "fomenters of disturbances."[104] Because Sitting Bull's name was erroneously added to the list, General Miles naturally assumed he was responsible for the unrest.

In November 1890, Agent McGillycuddy of the Pine Ridge Reservation sent a telegraph to Washington, DC, demanding immediate protection from the Ghost Dance "agitators." On the night of November 19, 1890, the US Army deployed a large number of troops to the reservation. They quickly spread word that everyone was to come to the agency and establish a temporary camp. Those who agreed to come would be provided protection and additional rations, those who did not, were to have rations withheld and would be considered hostiles. From previous experience, the Lakota knew that being considered "hostiles" was tantamount to being forcibly rounded up like cattle and herded to the agency and placed in confinement. Given that most people were starving and winter was soon to arrive, the majority of people surrendered and moved to the agency. However, Kicking Bear, Short Bull, Two Strike, and other chiefs led their followers, primarily people from the Pine Ridge and Brule reservations, deeper into the Badlands. Wherever they went, it was clear that they intended to dance until the Messiah came. In late November, Short Bull had a vision that the Messiah was ready to return to earth in the next few months and that he was ready to meet the dancers at Stronghold Table. Strong Bull sent runners to tell Two Strike (at Wounded Knee), Kicking Bear (at the Cheyenne River Reservation), and Sitting Bull (at Grand River on the Standing Rock Reservation)

of his vision; he requested that everyone join him at the Stronghold on Cuny Table for a Ghost Dance ceremony.

On December 1, 1890, Short Bull and Two Strike met at White River and proceeded together to the Stronghold. For the first time Ghost Dancers from both Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reservations gathered as one group, perhaps as many as 4,000 people, with a single purpose of reaching Stronghold Table to dance until the Messiah arrived.[105] Stronghold Table, located at the northeast corner of Cuny Table, is a natural fortress that measures about one mile from east to west and one half mile from north to south. The Stronghold is detached from the remainder of Cuny Table, except for a narrow strip of land perhaps 20-25 feet wide. The dancers brought the "entire agency's beef herd and many privately-owned cattle and horses."[106] The Stronghold was not only easily defended, but the dancers had ready access to a spring on the west side of the table and cedar trees below the rim that provided plenty of fuel for fires. It was an ideal place to dance unimpeded by the soldiers and government officials and wait for the coming Messiah. A number of small, and sometimes bloody, encounters occurred during the following two to three weeks between Indians, settlers, ranchers, and the military. On December 21, General Brooke sent a peace delegation of about 130 Indians and three wagons of supplies under the leadership of Little Wound, Big Road, and Fast Thunder to Stronghold Table in an effort to get the Ghost Dancers to surrender and return to the Agency.[107] The mission proved somewhat successful, for several days later many of the dancers returned to the agency, leaving only about 250-350 Indians under the leadership of Kicking Bear and Short Bull still on the Stronghold. [108]

By December 11, Sitting Bull had had time to digest the message from Short Bull and although he was somewhat skeptical of this new religion, he asked the Indian agent if he could travel to the Pine Ridge. This was regarded as an act of defiance, and proved to be too much for American officials and they immediately requested that Sitting Bull be arrested. On December 12, General Miles was ordered to "secure the prisoner."[109] After a few more days of futile correspondence, the Indian agent, James McLaughlin, and Colonel Drum agreed that Sitting Bull must be arrested and under no circumstances should he be allowed to escape.[110]

Sitting Bull had decided to move his people to join Short Bull at Stronghold Table, and it was rumored that he intended to make the journey on the morning of December 15. In the early hours of that day, 43 Indian police agents arrived at Sitting Bull's cabin with orders for his arrest. In the event of trouble, Army personnel were nearby, but remained out of sight. The Indian police were more than anxious to arrest Sitting Bull as several among them, primarily Black Feet and Yankontais, held long-standing grudges against him that they wanted to settle. Sitting Bull agreed to go with the Indian police to the Agency, and while he was getting dressed, two policemen were to prepare his horse and bring it to the cabin. For some reason there was a delay in preparing the horse and in the meantime some 150 followers of Sitting Bull arrived in front of his cabin and began shouting and threatening the Indian police agents. Sitting Bull complied with his son's request not to surrender, and resisted the Yanktonai police, refusing to go any further. The Hunkpapa followers of Sitting Bull rushed the police, and one of them shot the

Indian lieutenant in the side. The police surrounding Sitting Bull shot him in the head, and mortally wounded Shave Head. This shooting touched of a brief but fierce battle that resulted in 12-14 dead, seven or eight Hunkpapa and five or six police.[111]

Some 200-300 of Sitting Bull's Hunkpapa followers fled 90 miles south to the Cheyenne River Reservation to join the camp of the Minneconjou led by Chief Hump. When they arrived cold and hungry from three days' journey, they found the camp virtually deserted. Hump and all but 80 or so young dancers had traveled, at the request of General Miles, to Fort Bennett to surrender. Hump not only accepted payment and rations for coming into the fort, but he also accepted the blue uniform of the Indian police. When the Hunkpapas heard this news they knew that it was only a matter of time before Hump would set out to arrest Big Foot and his followers. Big Foot was one of the great chiefs of the Minneconjou, as well as one of the leaders of the Ghost Dance religion. Big Foot was preparing to take his followers to Fort Bennett for their annuities when he received word from several chiefs on the Pine Ridge Reservation that his presence was wanted to resolve a dispute that was brewing. Not wanting his people to go hungry, Big Foot decided to first go to Fort Bennett and from there down to the Pine Ridge Reservation. At this same time, orders were issued to arrest Big Foot and take him and his people to Fort Meade near the Black Hills. On December 21, Big Foot's Indians encountered Colonel Sumner's troops who were on their way to arrest Big Foot and take him to Fort Meade. Big Foot and Colonel Sumner liked and trusted one another, and Big Foot agreed to travel to Camp Cheyenne. Colonel Sumner sent word to General Miles that Big Foot, his followers, and about 30 of the Standing Rock Hunkpapa warriors were in his custody and headed to Camp Cheyenne and then on to Fort Meade.

On December 22, on their way to Camp Cheyenne, Big Foot's Indians passed close to their homes and took refuge in their houses. Rather than risk bloodshed by rounding the Indians up and taking them to Camp Cheyenne, Colonel Sumner allowed them to stay overnight in their houses with the understanding that Big Foot would bring them into Camp Cheyenne the following morning for a council. The following day, Big Foot and his followers failed to go to the military camp as promised. Later that day when Big Foot learned that Colonel Sumner was coming to arrest all the Indians, he decided to make a run for the Stronghold and join Short Bull and Kicking Bear. They fled on the night of December 23. To add to the confusion of the events, Big Foot had become ill and quickly developed pneumonia, thereby reducing their rate of travel. Nonetheless, by mid-day on December 24, Big Foot's group had reached the Badlands Wall and slowly transcended it one wagon at a time at a place that has become known as Big Foot Pass. They crossed the White River and by nightfall made camp along the White River, still over fifty miles from the Pine Ridge Agency, but nonetheless on the reservation.[112] Big Foot had been informed that Short Bull and Kicking Bear had agreed to return to the Pine Ridge Agency on December 29, and they wanted Big Foot to time his travel so they could arrive together. Big Foot was also informed that soldiers were waiting and looking for him in the vicinity of Wounded Knee. Indeed, soldiers from throughout the area were looking for Big Foot.

After General Miles learned from Colonel Sumner that Big Foot had "escaped," the Eighth Cavalry battalion, the Fort Bennett column, a Sixth Cavalry troop, and the Seventh Cavalry from the Pine Ride Agency, via Fort Riley, Kansas, were dispatched in an all-out effort to capture Big Foot before he could join the other Indians at the Stronghold.[113] The Seventh Cavalry, under the direction of Colonel Forsyth and Major Whitside, had traveled quickly and reached Wounded Knee. At this time the Seventh Cavalry included five officers as well as several non-commissioned officers who had been with Custer's divided troops at Little Big Horn.

On December 28 Big Foot's condition worsened and it was his intention to get back to Red Cloud as soon as possible. The Indians broke camp and began traveling southwest over the drainage divide of Porcupine Creek. Around noon, while they stopped for lunch along Porcupine Creek, Big Foot's advanced guards rode into the group with four captured soldiers from the Seventh Cavalry. Big Foot retained two prisoners and sent two soldiers back with a message to Major Whitside that he and his followers were coming to surrender and they were coming in peace.[114] Later that afternoon, Major Whitside and his troops encountered Big Foot and demanded his unconditional surrender, which he granted. Major Whitside placed Big Foot in an ambulance and the entire group, including about 350 Indians (120 men and 230 women and children), headed toward the Seventh Cavalry's camp along Wounded Knee. That evening, the commanding officer of the Seventh Cavalry, Colonel James Forsyth, arrived with his remaining troops, who he deployed around the Indian camp. In addition to over 500 soldiers and officers, Major Whitside reported the Seventh Cavalry had in their possession four rapid-firing Hotchkiss guns that could fire almost one shell per second for a distance of several hundred yards.[115]

On the spring-like morning of December 29, 1890, as the Indians were happily loading their wagons and travois for the final leg of the journey, Colonel Forsyth ordered all weapons to be collected from the Indian camp. Initially, the Indians only surrendered their old and broken guns, while hiding their more sophisticated weapons. Colonel Forsyth was enraged when he saw the dearth of weapons collected by his troops and ordered a search of the entire camp. A second search produced many other weapons (such as knives, axes, hatchets, and tent pegs) but only 40 additional rifles were taken to Colonel Forsyth at the council.[116] During the search, tensions began to rise and mistrust and apprehension between Indians and soldiers increased dramatically. As tensions mounted, Yellow Bird, an older medicine man and firm believer in the Ghost Dance, began chanting and dancing, inciting others to join him. At this time it is important to remember that many of the Lakota Ghost Dance followers believed that wearing special ghost shirts would protect them from the bullets of the white man. At some point, a rifle was confiscated, and a scuffle ensued. Some say a shot was fired as an Indian was overpowered, fighting to retain his weapon; others report that an Indian demanded payment for a rifle that he had just purchased and in the ensuing struggle a shot was fired.[117] In any event, the single shot triggered further scuffles and troops surrounding the Indian camp opened fire with the Hotchkiss guns as well as their regular Army-issue weapons. Indians who tried to flee to their tipis or hide in the nearby gullies were hunted down and killed, and the shooting only ceased when hundreds of people had been killed.

According to some accounts, many of the green recruits of the Seventh Cavalry began shouting "Remember the Little Big Horn, Remember Custer." [118]

The events that occurred that day have become known as the Wounded Knee Massacre and have been recounted many times by various survivors and observers of this tragic event. The investigation presented the military side of the events during the court martial of Colonel Forsyth, who was court-martialed not because the troops under his command were responsible for the massacre, but because he deployed his troops in such a manner that when the fighting broke out the American troops may have accidentally shot and killed some of their own troops. Needless to say, Indian survivors tell a story that at times varies considerably from the official military record. Journalists and other observers that witnessed the massacre also reported their perspective of how this tragic event transpired.

Accounts of the precise events and the death toll vary considerably, but it is likely that the soldiers killed between 150 and 300 Sioux men, women, and children, the great majority of whom were unarmed bystanders.[119] Smith places the number of Sioux killed at the massacre between 170 to 190, or nearly two-thirds of the entire camp.[120] Thirty-one US soldiers were killed in the action and 33 were wounded, many of the slain or wounded were injured as a result of "friendly fire." Thus, one out of every eight soldiers was shot by their own troops.[121] The unprovoked massacre of hundreds of unarmed women and children by US troops at Wounded Knee in December 1890 marked the end of Sioux resistance. During Colonel Forsyth's first court-martial hearing he was exonerated and a second hearing more or less supported the rulings of the previous court. Oddly enough the US military never referred to the incident at Wounded Knee as a massacre.

On January 1, 1891, a burial party left from the Pine Ridge Agency to gather the frozen bodies of these Indians who had been left in the blizzard the night of the massacre. Dr. Charles Eastman, a Santee Sioux and the Agency Physician had this to say of the burial party:

> Fully three miles from the scene of the massacre we found the body of a woman completely covered with a blanket of snow, and from this point we found them (bodies) scattered along as they had been relentlessly hunted down and slaughtered while fleeing for their lives. Some of our people discovered relatives or friends among the dead…When we reached the spot where the Indian camp had stood…we saw the frozen bodies lying close together or piled one upon another.[122]

News of the massacre spread quickly to Pine Ridge and thousands of Indians gathered their belongings, scattering to more remote locations in order to escape potential harm. A group of about 150 Oglala and Brule warriors collected their weapons and headed back to Wounded Knee to face the soldiers and gather the wounded. These warriors had a brief skirmish with some soldiers and were able to save about 25 Minneconjou survivors before riding off to safety. Kicking Bear and Short Bull had nearly reached the Agency

to surrender when news of the massacre came to them. Kicking Bear and Short Bull retreated, fleeing about 15 miles down White Clay Creek where they camped and regrouped. Two Strike and his followers attacked the Agency and tried unsuccessfully to set it on fire before they too fled to White Clay Creek. Utter and Smith report several small skirmishes occurred across the reservation over the following 10-12 days. [123] During one skirmish, the Seventh Cavalry was surrounded and had to be saved by the Ninth Cavalry. According to Utter, military (and civilian) casualties during this 10-12 day period were limited to four dead and five wounded, and he reports the Indians had similar losses.[124] Kicking Bear, Short Bull, Two Strike and their followers, surrounded by an ever-tightening noose of soldiers and lacking supplies for survival, surrendered to General Miles on January 15, 1891, at the Pine Ridge Agency. The Great Sioux Wars had finally ended together with the hopes and dreams of the Lakota. Manifest Destiny and the onslaught of the American Industrial Age had finally overrun the Lakota, the last of the Indian tribes to be subjugated by the American government. As Black Elk wrote in his later years,

> I did not know then how much was ended. As I look back from the high hill of my old age, I can still see the butchered women and children lying heaped and scattered all along the crooked gulch plain as when I saw with eyes still young. And I can see that something else died there in the bloody mud and was covered by the blizzard. A people's dream died there. It was a beautiful dream.…[Now] the nation's hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead.[125]

With the culmination of the Great Sioux Wars and Indian resistance, the United States government had transformed not only the Indian nations into small groups of dependent wards, but in the process had also transformed the government into a large bureaucratic network, led by the US military and the unusually large Bureau of Indian Affairs. Together, these two bureaucratic arms of the federal government dictated the terms and conditions under which thousands of individuals would live their lives. White argues that the United States government perverted the promise of one powerful and dominant sovereign nation protecting other weaker, but also sovereign nations, into a

> mandate for bureaucrats appointed by one government to oversee the personal lives of individual members of those weaker nations.…In reducing the Indians to wardship (status), the federal government had enhanced its own power. Congress could, according to the courts, dictate the fates of thousands of people in the American West and control tens of millions of acres of Indian land.[126]

At long last after decades of struggle and strife and at a cost of tens of thousands of lives (many of them innocent women and children on both sides), millions of dollars (money spent to purchase Indian lands and pay for rations, annuities, and other items), and broken treaties too numerous to count, the United States had finally realized their quest for Manifest Density. The Badlands, the Black Hills, and adjacent Plains were transformed into farms and ranches, but in their footprints lay the shattered dreams of many "sovereign nations." From this point, much of the history of the Badlands is the history

of Euro-American settlers and ranchers and their interactions with the increasingly powerful federal government.

Sacred Sites in the Vicinity of the Badlands

As noted previously in this chapter, the following section is derived from the ethnographic overview of Badlands National Park prepared by Dr. David White. White reports that whether or not the *Mako Sica* (Badlands) is considered to be a sacred site is "open to interpretation."[127] Historically, the Badlands were more often used for refuge and retreat (or occasional hunting and gathering), than as a primary occupation area. That said, there are several important locations in or near the Badlands that may be considered sacred. White reports that some so-called "tipi ring" sites may actually represent the ruins of eagle trap locations, and vision quest sites are common in various places throughout the Badlands.[128] The ubiquitous fossils of the Badlands reportedly have traditional cultural importance to the Lakota and other Plains tribes. The Lakota believe the fossils in the Badlands are associated with monsters although the fossil remains of mammoth and titanotherium are believed to be the remains of the mythic *Tatanka*, and therefore would be considered sacred.[129]

According to White, possible sacred locations in the vicinity of the Badlands include the following:

- Cedar Pass (an area that used to support 30 to 40 foot cedar (juniper) trees),
- the spring at Cliff Shelf (an important area to gather plants for food or medicinal use),
- Sage Creek,
- Medicine Hill (near Porcupine and said to be very *waken* or holy, or sacred),
- Porcupine Butte (one of the last locations for the Ghost Dance in November 1890 and perhaps the location where the Sacred Pipe was given to the Lakota),
- Medicine Root Creek (a location used by Little Wound and his people for the Ghost Dance in the fall of 1890),
- Eagle Nest Butte (seven miles south of Wanblee in the northeast corner of the Pine Ridge Reservation, also several locations—Buzzard Butte, Saddle Butte, and Snake Butte—near Eagle Nest Butte are recognized as sacred places and vision quest sites),
- Sheep Mountain Table (a sacred place among the Oglala, second only to Stronghold Table within the Park),
- Indian Creek (reportedly a sacred burial area west of Sheep Mountain Table),
- Cedar Butte (there are no less than six Cedar Buttes in South Dakota, including one just south of Sheep Mountain Table, one near the White River between Cuny Table and Stirk Table, and one north of I-90 between Cactus Flat and Kadoka),
- Big Foot Trail (a portion of which traverses the Badlands), Big Foot Pass (located in the North Unit of the Park), and other locations identified along Big Foot Trail that occur within the Park: Cedar (or Big Foot) Spring, Redwater Creek (south of Conata), Medicine Root Creek (near Kyle), American Horse Creek, and Porcupine Creek,

- and Cuny Table Stronghold (discussed in detail below).[130]

Stronghold Table is actually part, albeit a nearly detached part, of Cuny Table. The Stronghold is often described as an almost inaccessible tract of land that is connected to Cuny Table by a "narrow land bridge, scarcely wider than a wagon."[131] This large tract of land was apparently used for Ghost Dancing as well as a refuge for Ghost Dancers. Mooney reports people fleeing to the Stronghold in the fall of 1890. Black Elk also mentioned people fleeing to Stronghold during the fall of 1890.[132] Accounts of dancing at Stronghold are somewhat sketchy, but it seems that the followers of Short Bull, Kicking Bear, Two Strike, and Crow Dog were present at the Stronghold throughout most, if not all, of December. As noted previously, some dancers, under the leadership of Two Strike and some other chiefs, were persuaded to return to Pine Ridge in early December at the request of General Brooke, while Short Bull and Kicking Bear remained on the Stronghold, continuing to dance for a few more weeks until they agreed to go to the Pine Ridge Agency on December 29, 1890, and surrender.[133]

Historical accounts by Standing Bear and Charles Eastman claim that people fled to the Stronghold after the Wounded Knee Massacre, where they stayed until persuaded to surrender by a group of Lakota chiefs. Lautenschlager also reports that Ghost Dancers were at Stronghold Table following the Wounded Knee incident.[134] White disputes this information regarding the timing of activity at the Stronghold because Colonel Offley, under orders, preemptively occupied the Stronghold after the Wounded Knee Massacre. As stated previously, after the Wounded Knee Massacre, Short Bull, Kicking Bear, Two Strike, Little Wound, Big Road, No Water, and Red Cloud went to a refuge along White Clay Creek, near present day Oglala.[135] The location of the "Lakota's Last Stand" referred to as the Onogazi (or O-ona-gazhee) has come to refer to two places: one is the Stronghold at Cuny Table, the other is the retreat near Oglala where people fled after the Wounded Knee Massacre. White reports the term Onogazi means "place of shelter" and therefore is likely to have been applied to several locations. White reports that some references to Onogazi clearly refer to the Cuny Table Stronghold while others seem to refer to an area closer to Oglala near White Clay Creek.[136] To complicate matters, maps from the United States Geological Survey (USGS) incorrectly label a free-standing mesa north of Cuny Table as Stronghold Table. NPS maps and other maps from the early twentieth century label this mesa as "Galligo Table." Today, some refer to the Stronghold location on Cuny Table as the *Wasichu's* (whiteman's) Stronghold. Others state that there were always two Stronghold locations, one was a free-standing table that was harder to get to and was for the protection of women, children, and the elderly; while the other, more visible location was for the warriors. [137] Hall and others maintain that the USGS label of Stronghold Table is simply incorrect and that this location should be called Galligo Table, as it is referred to locally.[138] White concludes his discussion of Lakota sacred sites with a cautionary note that any "discussion of the stronghold is a very sensitive topic, and any NPS interpretation for the public should be developed in close coordination with the Lakota people."[139]

[1] David White, *Mako Washte: An Ethnographic Overview and Oral History of the Badlands National Park,* (Santa Fe, National Park Service, 2001).

[2] Jeffrey R. Hanson, "The Late High Plains Hunters," in *Archeology on the Great Plains*, (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1998), 465-466; David T. Hughes, "Cultural Affiliations of Native Americans: To the Region Encompassing Scottsbluff National Monument and Agate Fossil Beds National Monument in Northwestern Nebraska," Lincoln, NE, Midwest Region, National Park Service, 1998: 30.
[3] Doane Robinson, *A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians*, (Minneapolis, MN: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1904), 43.
[4] Ibid., 45-46.
[5] Ibid., 43-47; Hughes, "Cultural Affiliations," 30-32.
[6] Jeffrey R. Hanson, "The Late High Plains Hunters," in *Archeology on the Great Plains*, (Lawrence,KS: University of Kansas Press, 1998), 466.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Robinson, *A History of the Dakota*, 30-37.
[11] Philip S. Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands*, (Freeman, SD: Pine Hill Press, Inc., 1997), 1-2.
[12] Ibid., 2.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Robinson, *A History of the Dakota*, 79-80.
[15] Ibid., 141.
[16] Rex Alan Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees: The Tragedy at Wounded Knee and the End of the Indian Wars*, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 8.
[17] Robinson, *A History of the Dakota*, 141.
[18] Philip S. Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands*, 6.
[19] Ibid., 7-8.
[20] Robinson, *A History of the Dakota*, 153.
[21] Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West*, (Norman, OK: Oklahoma University Press, 1991), 86-87.
[22] Ibid., 87.
[23] Hughes, "Cultural Affiliations," 38.
[24] White, *Mako Washte*,50.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Hughes, "Cultural Affiliations," 23.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," *American Ethnology*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), 155.
[30] Hughes, "Cultural Affiliations," 24.
[31] Ibid.
[32] White, *Mako Washte*, 66-67.
[33] Ibid., 67.
[34] Hughes, "Cultural Affiliations," 43.
[35] James Howard, *Known Village Sites of the Ponca*, (Plains Anthropologist 1970),131.
[36] White, *Mako Washte*, 67.
[37] Hughes, "Cultural Affiliations," 40-41.
[38] White, *Mako Washte*, 43.
[39] Waldo R. Wedel, *An Introduction to Pawnee Archaeology*, (Lincoln, NE: J&L Reprint Company, 1977), 16.
[40] Hughes, "Cultural Affiliations," 42.
[41] Wedel, *An Introduction to Pawnee*, 17-18.
[42] George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians*, (University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), 38.
[43] White, *Mako Washte*, 42-44.
[44] Ibid., 51-52, 64.
[45] George Frison, *Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains* (New York: Academic Press, 1978), 61-66.
[46] White, *Mako Washte*, 68.

[47] Hughes, "Cultural Affiliations, 25, Figure 6.
[48] Ibid., 26.
[49] Ibid., 24.
[50] Ibid., 26.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Mooney, "Calendar History," 953-954.
[53] V.C. Trenholm, *The Arapahoes: Our People*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 33.
[54] Hughes, "Cultural Affiliations," 27.
[55] White, *Mako Washte*, 42.
[56] Hughes, "Cultural Affiliations," 28.
[57] Ibid., 28.
[58] Ibid., 29.
[59] Ibid.
[60] White, *It's Your Misfortune*, 86.
[61] Rex Alan Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees: The Tragedy at Wounded Knee and the End of the Indian Wars*, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 11-12.
[62] Ibid.
[63] White, *It's Your Misfortune*, 90.
[64] White, *Mako Washte*, 77.
[65] Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 13.
[66] White, *It's Your Misfortune*, 90.
[67] Ibid., 92.
[68] Ibid., 94.
[69] White, *Mako Washte*, 79.
[70] Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 15-24.
[71] Ibid., 28-31.
[72]White, *Mako Washte*, 79.
[73] Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 35.
[74] White, *Mako Washte*, 79.
[75] Ray H. Mattison, "The Indian Reservation System on the Upper Missouri: 1865-1890," *Nebraska History* 1955, 142.
[76] Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 37.
[77] White, *It's Your Misfortune*, 96.
[78] Ibid., 96.
[79] Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 40-41.
[80]White, *Mako Washte*, 80.
[81] Ibid., 82.
[82] Ibid., 81.
[83] Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 51.
[84] White, *Mako Washte*, 99.
[85] Ibid., 84; Mattison, "The Indian Reservation System," 156-157.
[86] Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 53.
[87] White, *It's Your Misfortune*, 98.
[88] Edward Kadlecek and Mabell Kadlecek, *To Kill an Eagle: Indian Views on the Last Days of Crazy Horse*, 7th printing, (Boulder, CO: Johnson Books, 1981), 50.
[89] Ibid., 52-53; White, *Mako Washte*, 93; White, *Mako Washte*, 91
[90] Ibid., 91.
[91] Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands*, 30-36.
[92] White, *It's Your Misfortune*, 109-111.
[93] Ibid., 109-111.
[94] Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 62.
[95] Ibid., 65-66; Jack Utter, *Wounded Knee and The Ghost Dance Tragedy*, Memorial edition, (Lake Ann, MI: National Woodlands Publishing Company, 1991), 3
[96] Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 68; Utter, *Wounded Knee*, 4.
[97] Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 68-70; Utter, *Wounded Knee*, 6.

[98] Smith, Moon of the Popping Trees, 71.
[99] Ibid., 75.
[100] White, *Mako Washte,* 215-217.
[101] Ibid., 215.
[102]Utter, *Wounded Knee,* 13.
[103] Ibid., 14.
[104] Ibid., 15.
[105] Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 134-135; Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands,* 60.
[106] Ibid., 61.
[107] Ibid., 70.
[108] Ibid.; Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees,* 172-176.
[109]Utter, *Wounded Knee, 16.*
[110] Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 150-153.
[111] Utter, *Wounded Knee*, 16-17; Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 158-159; Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands*, 67.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Utter, *Wounded Knee,* 20.
[114] Ibid., 20; Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 177.
[115] Ibid., 180.
[116] Utter, *Wounded Knee*, 21-22; Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 177.
[117] Utter, *Wounded Knee*, 21-22; Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 190-191.
[118] Utter, *Wounded Knee*, 24.
[119] Ibid., 25.
[120] Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 196.
[121] Ibid., 25.
[122] Utter, *Wounded Knee*, 25.
[123] Ibid., 26; Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees,* 201-204.
[124] Utter, *Wounded Knee*, 26.
[125] John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux,* (University of Nebraska Press, 1979).
[126] White, *It's Your Misfortune*, 117.
[127] Ibid., 237.
[128] Ibid., 238.
[129] Ibid., 239.
[130] Ibid., 241-244.
[131] Ibid., 244.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Virginia I. Kain Lautenschlager, *A History of Cuny Table: 1890-1983,* (Rapid City, SD: Pioneer Baptist Press, 1983), 7.
[134] Ibid., 13-15.
[135] Ibid., 245.
[136] Ibid., 245-246.
[137] Ibid., 246.
[138] Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands,* 10.
[139] White, *Mako Washte,* 246.