CHAPTER FIVE

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Initial Explorations and Trade in the Upper Missouri Region by Imperial Powers (1744-1803)

The fur trade spearheaded the advancement of the French and English colonial frontiers from the Atlantic seaboard westward into the northern reaches of the North American continent after the early 1600s. Europe's insatiable demand for beaver pelts for hats and other furs encouraged heavy investments by entrepreneurs and merchants in the North American fur trade. The rugged backcountry traders and trappers that formed the backbone of the industry often were the first whites to enter the wilderness country and the first to establish relations with its Native American populations. In exchange for their valuable furs, Indians received European manufactured goods that eased the hardship of every day life, such as blankets and metal pots, guns and knives and other tools and weapons as well as a variety of personal vanities and trinkets. The Indians benefited from the trade briefly before deadly European diseases, warfare, and displacement irrevocably altered their political, economic, and cultural traditions. For Euro-Americans the trade proved extremely lucrative but provided much more than economic gain. Accounts by fur traders and trappers of the land and its natural resources helped pave the way for their eventual domination of the upper North American continent from coast to coast, including the Upper Missouri region of the Trans-Mississippi West.

The French were the initial European force to advance the fur trade west of the Atlantic seaboard. By the mid-1630s, fur traders from French Canada—the name of eastern Canada during its tenure of French rule—had explored and founded posts in the Great Lakes basin, and by the early 1680s, they were in the Upper Mississippi Valley. It was at this time that French explorer Roberts Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle journeyed down the Mississippi to its mouth and claimed the surrounding wildness for his country. La Salle's "Louisiana Territory" stretched from the crest of the Appalachian Mountains southward to the Gulf of Mexico and west to the Rocky Mountains. A renewal of open warfare with its British colonial rivals and unfavorable relations with Indian Nations in eastern Canada, however, kept France's attention away from its holdings in the Great Lakes and west of the Upper Mississippi River for the next several decades.[1]

After reaching a tentative peace agreement with the British in 1713, France entered into a renewed period of exploration and expansion on the North American continent. The French frontier west of the Great Lakes quickly became a major focus of their efforts. There, the French hoped to challenge Britain's Hudson's Bay Company trading operations with the Assiniboine and Cree. A former soldier and one of the most noted and successful fur traders in the Canadian frontier, Pierre Gaultier de Varnnes, Sieur de La Verendrye, played a prominent role in the French assault. By the early 1740s, La

Verendrye, with the aid of his sons and others, had founded a string of posts from Lake Superior westward along a chain of rivers and lakes to Lake Winnipeg. They circumvented the British invasion into the area, having established harmonious relations with the Assiniboine and Cree.[2]

In common with those of other astute fur traders of the day, La Verendrye's ambitions went beyond establishing his wealth in the fur trade. During his early years with the Assiniboine and Cree, La Verendrye became intrigued by their lore and legends of a great western river in the land of their distant trading partners to the south, the Mandan Indians, semi-sedentary horticulturalists, who lived in villages along the river. He eventually convinced the Governor of New France to back him in a venture to explore the river and the surrounding lands for a western passage to the Pacific Ocean. In October of 1738, La Verendrye and a force of over 50 men, a mix of whites and Indians, set out from Lake Winnipeg on their southward journey. Before the end of the year, the expedition became the first Euro-Americans to reach the Upper Missouri River, arriving at a Mandan village near the mouth of the Heart River in what became the state of North Dakota. Troubles back at Lake Winnipeg, however, obliged La Verendrye to leave the Mandans without further exploration of the region.[3]

A few years later, with his resolve to discover a route to the Pacific still strong, de La Verendrye sent his sons Francois and Louis-Joseph on a second excursion to the upper Missouri. In 1742, after a few months stay with the Mandans and their close village neighbors, the Hidatsa, the second La Verendrye expedition started on what became a year-long journey of exploration. While the geographic extent of their travels will forever remain unknown, the La Verendrye brothers clearly penetrated deep into the central region of present-day South Dakota, visiting an Arikara village near the mouth of the Bad River on the west bank of the Missouri. The expedition explored as far west as the Black Hills and may have even ventured into the northeastern corner of the future state of Wyoming.[4]

The La Verendrye expeditions failed to impress New France officials, primarily because their show of beaver pelts from the Upper Missouri region was much poorer, both in quality and quantity, than that of the Great Lakes region. Of even greater disappointment, explorations by the La Verendryes confirmed that the Missouri River did not flow west towards the great western sea, but rather east and south towards the Gulf of Mexico. In 1744, La Verendrye was ordered back to eastern Canada, marking the end of New France's support for formal exploration of the Upper Missouri for good. The region saw sporadic visits by independent French Canadian trappers in the ensuing years.[5]

In the early 1760s, the last of a series of wars between the French and English over their North American colonies and territories brought major changes to the political dynamics of the European nations in North America. The Treaty of Paris, which ended the conflict, forced the French to cede eastern Canada and all of its territory east of the Mississippi to the English. With little chance of establishing authority over its claim to lands east of the Mississippi, France transferred the vast western half of the Louisiana Territory to England's other long-time nemesis in the New World—Spain.[6]

Spanish officials accepted France's gift of Louisiana primarily for defensive purposes rather than economic reasons. The Spanish feared that if England gained a foothold in the territory, the English would soon invade Spain's frontier population centers in New Mexico and Texas. Most wary of an English invasion from the southeast, Spain concentrated its efforts on establishing a strong presence in the lower Mississippi and lower Missouri valleys.[7] The Spanish neglect of upper Louisiana, however, soon played into the hands of British-Canadian interests. As of the mid-1780s, the Hudson Bay Company and the British North West Company had established direct and brisk trading ties with Mandan and Hidatsa tribes, who resided on the Upper Missouri at the mouth of the Knife River in present-day North Dakota.[8]

Early in the following decade, Spain finally took action to thwart the English presence in upper Louisiana. Lacking both the manpower and resources to wage a military campaign, the Spanish Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana decided to take a more commercial-based approach to securing the region. In 1793, he granted a 10-year monopoly to trade with Indian tribes of the upper Missouri to a group of merchants at the lower river port of St. Louis. In return for this privilege, the St. Louis merchants agreed to convince the Mandan and Hidatsa to cease trade with the British and pledge their allegiance to Spain.[9]

Operating under the corporate guise of a company commonly known as the Missouri Company, the St. Louis merchants sponsored a series of trading expeditions up the Missouri over the next few years. In 1794 Canadian Jean Baptiste Truteau (also Trudeau) led the first of these expeditions, but only ascended the river as far as an Arikara village at the mouth of the Grand River (in present-day northern South Dakota). He evidently explored the area around the Black Hills and, although highly speculative, it is possible that Truteau set eyes on the White River Badlands as well. Truteau's successor at the Missouri Company, James McKay, commanded a slightly more successful expedition in terms of challenging British control of the fur trade. After reaching the Mandan-Hidatsa villages in 1796, one member of his force, John Evans, single-handedly secured a British trading post on the Upper Missouri and raised the Spanish flag over the facility before heading back down the river.[10]

By the time that Evans and McKay returned to St. Louis in 1797, the Missouri Company had folded. Although short-lived and limited in geographic scope, the company's ventures provided some prophetic insights as to the favor or disfavor of some Native Americans towards whites venturing up the Missouri. In regards to the latter, both Truteau and McKay recorded unpleasant encounters with the Arikara as well as with hunting parties of Lakota Sioux in the vicinity of the mouth of the White River on Missouri, and the country northeast of the White River Badlands.[11] In his writing, Truteau specially warned "all voyagers who undertake to gain access to the Nations of the upper Missouri ought to avoid meeting this [Sioux] tribe, as much for the safety of their goods as for their lives even."[12]

Opening of the American Fur Trade Era on the Upper Missouri and Trading Activities in the Vicinity of the White River Badlands (1803-1866)

The true opening of the Upper Missouri to the fur trader did not occur until after the United States purchased the Louisiana Territory in 1803 and the subsequent exploration of the territory by the Louis and Clark expedition in 1804-06. The expedition left no doubt that the Upper Missouri was rich in prospects for the fur trade. Lewis and Clark discovered an abundance of beaver and otter at the mouth of Yellowstone River in the eastern plains of Montana and "more than any other country" at the headwaters of the Missouri where the plains meet the mountains. Additionally, massive herds of bison were observed throughout the Northern Plains region.[13]

Numerous St. Louis-based fur traders and trading outfits began planning excursions up the Missouri River in the wake of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Manuel Lisa, one of the most experienced of the St. Louis traders and an exceptionally skilled and shrewd businessman, led the most ambitious of these ventures. In 1807, in the company of some twenty-five men, Lisa ascended the Missouri to the Yellowstone and initiated a combined trading and trapper strategy that came to characterize his operations. Lisa had some of his men erect a post for the trade with the local Native America tribes, in this case the Crow, while others were set out to trap and harvest furs on their own. Lisa's initial operation on the Yellowstone and its tributaries proved extremely fruitful, but a subsequent attempt to trap and trade at the headwaters of the Missouri met with hostile resistance from the Blackfeet Indians. Lisa was forced to retract his primary field of operation to the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara.[14]

The outbreak of war with Great Britain in 1812 abruptly curtailed fur trade activities in the Upper Missouri. The British actively enlisted the aid of Dakota Sioux to help oust American traders from the region, while British blockades at New Orleans effectively obstructed the shipment of furs to east coast and European markets. Lisa retired to Council Bluffs for the duration of the three-year war.

By 1820, the Upper Missouri River trade had revived and entered into its most prosperous era. Over the next few years, American trading houses began to seriously exploit the resources in future South Dakota for the first time, including the country in the vicinity of the White River Badlands. Three posts appeared at the mouth of the White River during the early 1820s, each established by separate firms all competing for the trade with the Lakota and Dakota Sioux. These posts and their builders included Fort Recovery, established by Manuel Lisa's old firm, the Missouri River Fur Company; Fort Brasseau, built by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, a newly organized St. Louis-based firm headed by General William H. Ashley; and Fort Kiowa, built by the American Fur Company. Unlike its competitors, the American Fur Company had been in business for several years with its major field of operation centered in the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi regions. In 1822, it opened a Western Division in St. Louis for the purpose of expanding its sphere of influence up the Missouri as well as into the lower Mississippi and Illinois River valleys.[15]

Trade at the White River forts was quickly eclipsed by a trading post, Fort Tecumseh, established many miles upstream at a more strategic location, the mouth of the Bad River. Fort Tecumseh, completed in 1822 by the Columbia Fur Company, represented the interests of a group of Canadian traders who had been displaced by the merger of North West Company into the Hudson's Bay Company. This well-seasoned group selected the mouth of the Bad River for their main fort because it was the nearest shipping point on the Missouri to the Black Hills and the Upper Platte Valley, areas which both supported massive buffalo herds.[16]

By the mid-1820s, buffalo had become the mainstay of the Upper Missouri River's trading system. These large woolly animals were most prized for their hides that, when properly processed, turned into luxurious robes. Additionally, buffalo tongues proved a delicacy favored by Americans and Europeans alike, while buffalo bones were used in the making of tallow. American Indians played a major role in the buffalo trade, procuring and processing the robes. Harvesting the animals typically occurred during late fall and winter when their hides were at their thickest. American Indians transported their cache of robes to posts on the Missouri River, or to so-called "wintering houses," small outposts on the river's tributaries. The trading companies typically maintained their posts and wintering houses well stocked with blankets, tobacco, metal pots, hoes, knives, and other goods favored by American Indians. Trade goods were often by the American Indians themselves during the previous trading season.[17] As described in Chapter 4, by the late 1820s, Fort Tecumseh traders established seven major wintering houses on the two major rivers draining the White River Badlands, the Cheyenne and the White.

The American Fur Company and the Columbia Fur Company dominated the Upper Missouri trade by the mid-1820s. The former primarily served the horticulturalists above the Cheyenne River, the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara, while Columbia Fur Company controlled trade with the nomadic Lakota and Yankton Dakota Sioux. Competition between the two firms remained fierce until 1827 when the American Fur Company maneuvered an amicable take-over of Columbia Fur. Fort Tecumseh immediately became one of the major trading and distribution centers for American Fur's Western Division.[18]

In 1832, the American Fur Company abandoned Fort Tecumseh and built a replacement facility just a few miles upstream. They named the fort in honor of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., a prestigious St. Louis trader associated with the firm—Bernard, Pratte, and Company—that had managed American Fur's Western Division since 1827. As described by South Dakota historian Herbert Schell, Chouteau was the "guiding spirit" for the Western Division. His greatest contribution to American history was the introduction of steamboat travel to the Upper Missouri in 1831.[19]

Although the fur trade as the old traders had known it was in decline by the late 1830s, the market for buffalo robes and furs continued into the middle 1860s. The American Fur Company and its successors procured most of the business. Bernard, Pratte, and Company and its successors, still popularly known as the American Fur Company after the former acquired the company's Western Department in 1834, remained the largest

trading company on the Upper Missouri.[20] Chouteau oversaw the company's operation until it finally sold its posts and inventory 23 years later.

Fur trading on the Upper Missouri in the 1840s and 1850s probably worked much like it had in previous decades, with American Indians bringing buffalo robes and furs to posts on the river and wintering houses on its tributaries. Although the numbers of robes and furs obviously fell, profits remained quite high. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company used its post at Fort Pierre until 1855, when it sold the fort to the US Army.[21] The last use of Ogallala Post and Butte Cache as wintering houses in the Badlands vicinity is unknown. Yet as late as 1849, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company was still moving goods overland from Fort Pierre to another of its posts on the North Platte River via an old Indian trail that traversed the western edge of the Badlands; an alternate and more difficult route that probably involved Cedar Pass may have been used occasionally by traders.[22]

The last in the line of major trading companies to trade hides and furs on the Upper Missouri was the Northwest Fur Company. A late-comer to the Upper Missouri region, the company formed in March 1865. Its operations in the Dakota Territory were short-lived. The company dissolved in 1869, but as early as the fall of 1865, it abandoned trading operations in the northern Nebraska and southern Dakota Territories. After acquiring Fort Benton far up the Missouri in the Montana Territory in 1866, it placed the majority of its resources outside of the Dakota Territory.[23]

For the brief time that the Northwest Fur Company worked in western Dakota Territory, its traders were able to obtain a fair number of buffalo robes. At Fort Sully, the military post on the Missouri River established in 1863 where the Northwest Fur Company maintained a store, they delivered between 4,000 and 5,000 buffalo robes and an unspecified amount of "small" fur in 1865. Although the number may seem large, it represents just one-fourth of the robes shipped from Fort Pierre (not far upstream) just 14 years earlier.[24]

The Lakota and other American Indians still brought in most of the robes, trading them for items that the Northwest Fur Company kept stocked, including salt pork, beef, flour, bread, corn, beans, coffee, tobacco, rice, syrup, and sugar. In these later years, if not earlier, the trade also included Indian-made artifacts. At Fort Union farther up the Missouri, but presumably at Fort Sully as well, the company accepted moccasins, parfleches, tallow, and sinew in trade.[25]

Establishment of and Euro-American Expansion into the Dakota Territory (1858-1865)

Negotiations for, and signing of, the Yankton Treaty of 1858 might be considered the beginning of a complicated and evolving series of new relationships between Euro-Americans and the Lakota in the Badlands. Those relationships changed during the following half century from one of near-equal combatants to one of American Indian subjection, with fear and lack of trust characterizing the relationship between the two parties throughout most of the period.

In fact, the Yankton Treaty was actually an agreement between the US government and the Yankton Dakota Indians, another Sioux Indian group only distantly related to the Teton Sioux. The agreement was the first of its kind in what later became the Dakota Territory, and allowed for the original configuration of the territory. Signed on April 19, 1858, the treaty provided for a small reservation in the southwest corner of the Minnesota Territory (now southeast South Dakota) and annuity payments totaling $1.6 million, to be given over a 50-year period. The Yankton ceded a large piece of land roughly between the Big Sioux River on the east and the Missouri River on the west and south, and north to a line between Fort Pierre and future Watertown. What shortly became the Dakota Territory was "officially" open to settlement in July 1859, and two years later the territory was carved out of the Washington and former Minnesota Territories.[26]

While the treaty did not involve the Lakota, who at that time were confined to the west side of the Missouri River, it opened the East River for Euro-American settlement, thus pushing the line of intense contact between the two groups farther west. At the time, the treaty was of little concern to the Lakota, particularly the Oglala and Lower Brule, who were engaged in skirmishes with the US Army in the Nebraska Territory at Ft. Laramie on the North Platte River (see previous chapter).

Nor were the Lakota concerned about the current area of interest, the Badlands and adjacent Black Hills. There were few conflicts because the Lakota believed the area was their exclusive territory. An Indian/trader/military trail passed through a corner of the Badlands, but by the late 1850s few if any traders used it. The US Army had even surveyed the route and called it the Fort Pierre–Fort Laramie Road in 1855, but used it that one year, abandoning it when they closed Fort Pierre in 1857. For several years thereafter, the military had no interest in the Badlands and Black Hills area, concentrating its efforts to the south and west along the Oregon and Bozeman Trails.[27]

From the late 1850s until about 1862, there were no permanent Euro-American residents and almost no travelers in the Badlands area.[28] Traveling parties of Indians, Euro-Americans, and mixed-bloods passed through the area, but presumably only on rare occasion. Those small Euro-American parties that chose to explore or visit the area reportedly did so with considerable fear as large encampments of Lakota were often seen in the Badlands area.[29] These fears no doubt stemmed from regular reports of Siouan attacks farther south along the North Platte River.

Euro-American settlers in the East River portion of Dakota Territory found their new living conditions to be more difficult than expected. Commercial centers, such as Yankton, did not have a broad enough surrounding agricultural base to adequately support many businesses. Additionally, beginning in August 1862, there was a protracted period of Indian threat as the Santee Sioux left their reserve in Minnesota following the Minnesota Massacre, and moved to the Dakota Territory to avoid military troops.[30] When prospectors discovered gold in Montana and Idaho in 1862 and 1863, many East River settlers saw this turn of events as a way to improve their circumstances, either by heading west themselves or supplying the gold seekers with food, goods, and

transportation. A roadblock in the form of unceded Indian territory existed, however. Any northern route to the gold fields would have to pass directly through Lakota treaty lands, and no such road existed.

Far from ceded lands and seemingly lacking attractive and profitable resources, the Badlands and Black Hills were insulated from the increasingly frequent military conflicts between various Siouan tribes and the US Army. The Badlands could have been the scene of a contentious battle in 1865, when plans were developed to construct three overland roads between the Missouri River and Montana, one of which was to skirt the Black Hills on the north, another on the south, and a third to follow the Missouri River from Fort Randall. The first two never made it as far as a complete survey, because the Lakota rebuffed survey crews traveling without military escort. The third road, begun at Sioux City, ended at Fort Randall, still in ceded Indian (Dakota) territory. The Badlands, Black Hills, and most other parts of western Dakota Territory continued more or less as a sanctuary from Euro-American peoples. The Lakota apparently did not challenge river travel along the Missouri, leaving the river as the only reliable transportation route through that part of the Dakota Territory.[31] River traffic brought no noticeable changes to the Badlands area status quo.

Laramie Treaty of 1868 and Its Consequences (1868-1876)

The Laramie Treaty of 1868 marked a departure from the foregoing US government and Lakota relations, setting the Lakota on a path to sedentism. Ratified on February 16, 1869, the treaty established the Great Sioux Reservation, which covered the territory between the Missouri River and the Dakota Territory's west edge and between the Nebraska line and the present-day North-South Dakota line. This was an area that the Lakota and other American Indian tribes had occupied for years with little Euro-American interest.[32] The Lakota proved victorious in closing the Bozeman Trail and a handful of associated military outposts, and they also had the Powder River area of Wyoming and Montana recognized as Indian hunting ground. Yet, the treaty called for the establishment of several agencies at which the Lakota were encouraged to live.[33] This provision and others were aimed at settling individual families on 160-acre allotments away from any lands valued by large populations of Euro-Americans.[34] As of the early 1870s, the two agencies nearest to the Badlands area were the second Whetstone Agency, located in Nebraska not far from present-day Pine Ridge, for followers of Chief Spotted Tail of the Brule, and the second Red Cloud Agency, located near present-day Crawford, Nebraska (near Fort Robinson), for followers of the Chief Red Cloud of the Oglala Sioux.[35]

Activities pursued or encouraged by the US government at the new agencies primarily were geared toward dismantling the Indian's traditional nomadic hunting lifeway. The Lakota were not permitted to hunt buffalo outside their reservation boundaries, and the dwindling buffalo population inside the reservation was not large enough to sustain the Lakota. Beginning in the summer of 1869, taking over from the US Army, a small number of government workers distributed rations, consisting of beef, corn or meal, flour, sugar, coffee, salt, bacon, soap, and clothing.[36] Beef rations, furnished on the hoof, were

brought to the agencies by Nebraska and Kansas cattle companies, including the Bosler Cattle Company, Jack Morrow and W.A. Paxton, and Hampton B. Denman.[37] In addition to the ration provision of the Laramie Treaty, the treaty also required children to attend school. The Episcopalian Church operated a school at the Whetstone Agency by 1873, and boasted an enrollment of 156 students within four years. It did not open a comparable school at the Red Cloud Agency and apparently neither did the government, suggesting that the school attendance provision was irregularly enforced.[38] Initially, the allotment provision was not enforced, although those who lived near the agencies must have begun to be acquainted with the concept.

The establishment of agencies for the Oglala and Brule enabled Christian churches to proselytize to a somewhat captive audience. The US government had formally identified the Episcopalian Church as *the* church to serve the Pine Ridge Agency. The Episcopalians established its Christ Church at the Whetstone Agency in 1873, and the preacher periodically visited the second Red Cloud Agency, too.[39] In the early years, missionaries made few converts and effected little change in other aspects of the Siouan lifeways.[40]

The new Indian agencies put other non-government Euro-Americans in contact with the Lakota on a more regular basis. In many circumstances, Euro-American men married one or more Lakota women and chose to live with them at or near the agencies.[41] These men may have come from a variety of places and backgrounds, but most worked in a frontier business involving a fairly solitary life. Occupations included Indian traders, ex-cavalry, cattle herders, and woodcutters.[42] In general, the men provided some services of use to the Sioux outside of their family obligations. Mixed-blood families frequently offered advice about how to deal with Euro-Americans, translated Lakota to English and vice versa, and provided loans or gifts to families less able to take care of themselves.[43] Certainly, these marriages were critical to the inclination of mixed-blood families to settle near the agencies rather than pursue the traditional nomadic hunting lifeway.

Despite these numerous programs, the US government's plan to tie the Lakota to specific locations as an early step toward assimilation was generally unsuccessful. Less than half of the Sioux settled near the agencies, and those who did were often of mixed descent, and were frequently more docile than their full-blooded counterparts.[44] The latter remained dedicated to a nomadic lifestyle of hunting buffalo and other game, a lifeway not possible in a comparatively small area adjacent to an agency. As buffalo became more scarce, families had to travel more widely to obtain sustenance and spiritual well-being, even as early as 1873.[45]

After a brief period of relatively few violent confrontations between the Lakota and Euro-Americans, a new crisis loomed, involving Euro-American incursions into the Black Hills, and resulting in the Sioux Wars of 1876. As early as March 1872, the US Army began warning Euro-Americans that the Black Hills were off-limits to non-military exploration, prospecting, setting, and the like. The Black Hills were the heart and soul of the Great Sioux Reservation and of supreme spiritual value.[46] Although there had been no actual gold discovery at that time, the unsubstantiated but believable reports of gold

found in and near the Black Hills made miners confident of the metal's presence. "Insistent and increasing agitation" prompted another military warning to would-be trespassers.[47]

At this same time, the US government realized that the provision of the Laramie Treaty that allowed the various Lakota tribes to wander freely, even into the Powder River country west of the Great Sioux Reservation, was not the solution it had been seeking. Agency personnel had not been able to usurp the power of Lakota chiefs Red Cloud and Spotted Tail with its rations program at the agencies.[48] Anticipating a conflict ahead and at the same time actually hastening it, General Sheridan, commander of the military's Division of the Missouri, decided that the Army needed to establish a large post in the Black Hills. In June 1874, Lieutenant Custer was ordered to make an expedition to that country. Leading a large contingent of US cavalry and infantry, Indian scouts, scientists, newspapermen, and prospectors, Custer concluded the expedition with no report of a preferred location for the military post. Instead, the most notable and immediate "report" was that gold had been found in French Creek toward the south end of the Hills near present-day Custer.[49]

The resulting rush of Euro-American trespassers in late 1874 and 1875 overwhelmed both the military and the Lakota. Troops stationed at Forts Randall, Sully, and Laramie were sent to oust miners where they had been reported, and scouted areas such as Wounded Knee and Porcupine Tail Creeks where they might be passing. While removing many trespassers from the Great Sioux Reservation, the military rarely detained or otherwise punished them, other than by destroying their wagons and contents in a few cases. Presumably, the more determined prospective miners still entered the Black Hills, perhaps following a slightly different route. The Lakota set up road blocks on two roads which led to the hills from the south; their success is not documented.[50]

When a grand council of tens of thousands of Lakota and their allies convened near the second Red Cloud Agency in October 1875, US negotiators wanted to either lease or buy the Black Hills and expected the northern bands of the Lakota to relinquish any claim to the "Wyoming Big Horn country" in the bargain. Both Lakota and US parties left in anger and frustration without an agreement. The US Army thereafter refused to actively work to keep Euro-Americans from entering the Black Hills, although it also did not provide any military protection for trespassers.[51]

By the spring of 1876, the Black Hills community of Custer boasted a population of 6,000, with another 4,000 people spread elsewhere across the Black Hills. Many miners traveling from eastern points reached the Black Hills via Wyoming, while others headed west through the Great Sioux Reservation from Fort Pierre. One promoter had plans for a more direct route to the Black Hills for those traveling up the Missouri River. Charlie Collins' proposed the Brule City (near Chamberlain)—Badlands Trail. The trail, which presumably followed the White River for much of its course, was used only a handful of times in 1875 and 1876, initially because the US Army evicted users and later because the Lakota did.[52] One party even planned to run a stage route over the trail, but the report that six miners from Iowa had been killed by Lakota warriors "somewhere in the

Badlands" ended any real interest in the trail.[53] Almost certainly the Badlands clash between Lakota and miners was one of several during those frantic days of the initial Black Hills gold rush. Even into 1877, small numbers of Indians raided Black Hills settlements, prompting Lawrence County at the north end of the Hills to offer a bounty on any Lakota found in the county, brought in dead or alive.[54]

The refuge of the Great Sioux Reservation had been shattered, leaving the Lakota angry and vengeful. Retiring mainly to the Big Horn and Powder River country, the Indians were prepared for a major military confrontation. The resulting Sioux Wars of 1876 in what is now eastern Montana (see previous chapter) ultimately ended not only their claim to the Black Hills, but also to all lands to the north and south.

The Great Sioux Reservation, 1877-1889

The reduced Great Sioux Reservation, whose west border was set at the 103rd meridian (roughly even with the west edge of the present-day Pine Ridge Reservation) during post-surrender negotiations in 1877, was still quite large, but the Sioux could not really take full advantage of the breadth of the land. Individual families were now forced to live near one of the new agencies. Specifically, in spring 1878 the Oglalas were sent to the fourth Red Cloud Agency, now the Pine Ridge Agency, and Spotted Tail's bands of Brule were sent to the Rosebud Agency.[55] There were 7,300 Oglala and 500 Cheyenne Indians assigned to the Pine Ridge site and 4,000 Upper Brule to the Rosebud site.[56] Expected to settle at the new, permanent agencies, the Sioux did so, more or less, although hunting parties, visiting, and generalized travel were not uncommon. The Lakota also checked for trespassers, turning them away if possible or demanding payment for use of their land.[57]

US military presence on the reservation faded as face-to-face contact grew between the Indians and Euro-American government workers, businessmen, missionaries, settlers, and travelers. The most obvious change was the strong control and authority wielded by agency superintendents beginning in the late 1870s. This control reached all aspects of Lakota society from subsistence, housing, education, language, governance, and religion, to personal freedom. Agency officials employed a range of mechanisms to hasten Sioux acculturation. Considered cruel by today's standard, they also were generally ineffective in the short term in forcing Lakota assimilation and acculturation.

Prohibited from hunting for game wherever it might be found, "…the Sioux subsisted almost entirely on government dole…."[58] In fact, there were practically no buffalo left to hunt, and the last the Lakota killed was in November 1883.[59] Indian farming was almost entirely non-existent, a situation attributed to both the Lakota's disinclination toward the work and environmental adversities (such as aridity, poor soil, and short growing season). Initially, the Sioux resisted becoming farmers because of the stigma of subservience, a fear of a reduction in rations, and "wanderlust." Then, in the late 1880s and into 1890, all farming in western South Dakota was plagued by drought, grasshoppers, and hail; most years ended in crop failure.[60]

Two good economic opportunities did present themselves for a small number of Lakota, however. In 1884, some Pine Ridge Indians went into the freighting business, delivering goods from the Missouri River to the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Agencies and to the Black Hills they had once controlled. This offered the Lakota the chance for regular travel (simulating their former nomadic existence), plus independence and cash for items not provided as rations.[61] Those Indians who worked off the reservation had more frequent contact with Euro-Americans, although perhaps not of any more congenial nature.

The other opportunity for work that some Sioux accepted was livestock production. This activity actually was encouraged on two fronts, by Euro-American cattlemen who married Lakota women and by agency government personnel who found the work to be well-suited to the reservation environment. Although the record is unclear, it seems that some cattle, probably in small numbers during the late 1870s and early 1880s, ranged on the south end of the Great Sioux Reservation near Pine Ridge. These herds, along with cattle herds distributed directly to the Sioux by the government, grew to be quite large during the ensuing 25 years.[62]

The new order on the reservation meant that traditional Indian chiefs were stripped of their power, and influenced by means of a handful of effective methods. First, rations were distributed to families rather than through the chiefs and in some cases were withheld if the chiefs countermanded the agency superintendent. Second, "non-progressive" chiefs, such as Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, were displaced by either "progressive" chiefs or others who rose to prominence under encouragement from the agency superintendent. Third, Indian police, primarily former warriors, were organized at the behest of the superintendent, and meted out punishment without particular attention to the chiefs' wishes. Lastly, families were strongly encouraged to spread out across the landscape on their land allotments. The tribal encampment or grand circle no longer met seasonally and chiefs could not readily communicate with the scattered family units.[63]

Under the threat of withheld rations, the Lakota sent their school-aged children to out-of-state boarding schools, most notably the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania, and, beginning in 1880, to reservation day-schools run by the government.[64] In both situations, they were raised without regard to their Sioux heritage. Teaching, accomplished solely in English, was strongly "devoted to industrial training, agriculture, and housekeeping,"[65] and discipline on the reservation was measured out by corporal punishment, confinement in jail, and military-like drills.[66]

The first six-day schools, established in 1880 and 1881, were set-up in scattered camps within 40 miles of the Pine Ridge Agency; attendance at each school varied between 12 and 20 students, and by 1882 about 200 children were enrolled. In late 1883, a government-run boarding school opened at the agency. Within two years, 600 Indian children attended schools on the Pine Ridge district of the reservation, although they were "from bands opposed to Red Cloud and…against Red Cloud's advice."[67]

Regarding their spiritual lives, the Sioux were forced to abandon dancing and other "pagan customs." The superintendent of the Pine Ridge Agency forbade the Sun Dance

after 1881.[68] Catholic and Protestant missionaries of all denominations were allowed, even encouraged after that date, to open multiple chapels across the entire reservation.[69] They promoted a belief in Christ to the exclusion of Spirits and multiple deities that had formerly been the core of the Lakota belief system. Between 1880 and 1887, the Episcopalian Church built a total of nine chapels in the Pine Ridge district alone.[70] Although the Catholic Church did not have the personnel and funding for construction early on, one priest preached to the Oglala in 1884, baptizing a relatively small number of them.[71] There is some disagreement about the effectiveness of these early conversion efforts. One source stated that the Lakota were generally indifferent to the new religions that the Euro-Americans promoted,[72] while another found that the missionaries "made good progress."[73] The latter source noted the special relationship between missionaries and Lakota church attendees, writing that "…the church was about the only place on the reservation where the Indian found himself actually treated as an equal by white men."[74]

Contact with Euro-Americans living adjacent to the reservation often proved counter to the wishes of government personnel. Crimes committed against individuals or the group as a whole included the sale of whiskey, rape, and the stealing of wood, horse, and cattle. The Indian police reportedly did evict criminals, but these crimes were rarely prosecuted, especially since agency personnel had no policing authority off-reservation.[75]

The October 1876 agreement by which the Black Hills were removed from the Great Sioux Reservation (ratified by Congress in February 1877) allowed for up to three roads to be built across the reservation. The Dakota Territory appropriated $3,000 each for road survey and improvement. [76] The Fort Pierre–Deadwood Road became the most heavily used of the three. The Merchants Transportation Company, which a Yankton mercantile had organized in April 1876, employed 300 men in its freight and passenger business on the Fort Pierre route by 1880. The Northwestern Express and Transportation Company was a heavy user of the second road, between Bismarck and Deadwood. Receiving much of its freight via the Northern Pacific Railway, it provided passenger, freight, and mail service from April 1877 until late 1880. After that time, the route was rarely used because rail service, in the form of the Chicago & North Western Railroad, had reached Fort Pierre, and the Fort Pierre road was considerably shorter than the Bismarck road. [77]

The third road, the Chamberlain to Rapid City road, also served the Black Hills, but primarily in 1882 and not at all after 1886**.** That road passed through the Badlands, rather than north of them as the other two did, and it was disagreements with the Lakota that ultimately forced abandonment of the route by major freighters. The Chamberlain Road followed the course of the White River for about 50 miles of its total 219-mile length. It offered the advantage over the Fort Pierre route by having fewer hills and more pasture and water, but the disadvantage of being 40 miles longer. Because the Chamberlain Road cut through the Great Sioux Reservation, its development was dependent on a use agreement with the Sioux. Officials with the Chicago, Milwaukee, & St. Paul Railway negotiated that agreement in 1881, after their Assistant Chief Engineer F.W. Kimball had surveyed the best rail route between the Missouri River and the Black Hills during the previous summer. The Chamberlain Road was built on that surveyed rail route.

Freighter Fred Evans made several improvements to the Chamberlain Road between its namesake and the west edge of the reservation, including construction of six way stations. He completed the work by the spring of 1882. Although heavily used by Evans and other freighters that year, disagreements with Lakota ended significant use of the route by the end of the freighting season. Freighters who did not stay within the negotiated 200-foot right-of-way through the reservation ran the risk of losing their oxen to the Sioux due to trespass. Smaller freighting outfits used the road and its way stations between 1883 and 1886, occupying the stations, including one in the Badlands at the future site of (old) Interior. All freighters abandoned the road when in 1886 the Fremont, Elkhorn & Missouri Valley Railroad reached Rapid City from the south without passing through the Great Sioux Reservation.[78]

As early as the late 1870s when the Lakota were moving to their respective agencies, stockmen were herding cattle to Dakota Territory from Texas and Kansas. Although interested in supplying Black Hills communities with beef, cattlemen were more attracted by the good grasslands that lay from the Black Hills to the eastern boundary of the Great Sioux Reservation, and their value for fattening their herds for sale elsewhere. The new range was almost fully stocked by 1880; in fact, members of the Black Hills Livestock Association reported about 264,000 head in the winter of 1881-1882.[79]

As the range filled with cattle, stockmen viewed the large, mostly "unused" Great Sioux Reservation with interest. "The constant search by the cattle industry for new pasturage was an important factor in the agitation for reduction of the Great Sioux Reservation during the eighties."[80] Additionally, the Great Sioux Reservation formed a wide barrier between the Black Hills and the rest of the Dakota Territory, much to the inconvenience of Black Hills residents. As noted above, a few well-used wagon roads—from Fort Pierre, Bismarck, and Chamberlain—crossed the reservation, but there was no rail transportation. The only railroad to serve the Black Hills was the Fremont, Elkhorn & Missouri Valley (later Chicago & North Western).[81] The reservation barrier also frustrated East River businessmen. Because agricultural land east of the Missouri River was being quickly claimed, and shortly would be completely occupied, entrepreneurs looked to the Black Hills and points between for opportunities for continued business expansion.[82]

The wheels had been set in motion for a reduction of the Great Sioux Reservation as early as 1882 when the Edmunds Commission crafted an agreement to create five smaller reservations while allowing heads of Lakota households 320-acre allotments. Never legally approved by the Lakota, the agreement was dropped.[83] The US Congress continued to seek measures to secure reservation reduction, and ultimately accomplished it by the passage of three acts in 1887-1889. The first was the General Allotment Act or Dawes Act of 1887. Intended to be applied to all Indian reservations, the Act awarded 160-acre allotments and subsequently disposed of unallotted parcels. The Sioux Act of 1888, which was designed to break up the Great Sioux Reservation, created six smaller reservations, and *then* was to allot lands on each smaller reservation "at a leisurely pace." Other provisions included establishment of a permanent $1 million fund for education and "advancement," plus the mechanics and price for homesteading ceded lands.

Actually the reverse of the process outlined by the Dawes Act passed just months before, the 1888 proposal failed to be approved by three-fourths of the Lakota adult men. One year later, Congress authorized the Crook Commission, lead by General George Crook who had been a Sioux fighter years before, to negotiate a decidedly more generous agreement with the Sioux and thereby obtain the needed signatures. Crook made several promises to the Sioux in an attempt to address some of their "deeply rooted suspicion[s]." Ultimately, the required majority of the Sioux approved the terms of the Sioux Act of 1889.[84]

The promises not included in the act, and promises included in the Act but then broken or unfulfilled, proved to be fuel for the Ghost Dance fire that would soon sweep the Sioux reservations (see previous chapter). Among the promises were no cut in rations, yet just two weeks later such a cut took place. The commission also had led the Sioux to believe that there would be more preferences for Indian hires at the agencies, construction of grist mills, removal of the ban on certain dances, increase in the education appropriation, and prompt availability of interest on the $3 million permanent fund.[85] It seems that none of these promises were acted on for at least two years.

The Pine Ridge Reservation Sioux and Their Neighbors (1890-1910)

On February 10, 1890, President Harrison opened the ceded Indian territory. Aside from the possibility of free travel and large tracts of unclaimed rangeland, the opening of the former Great Sioux Reservation had little immediate effect on railroad transportation, homesteading, and other anticipated Euro-American occupations. The Chicago & North Western and Chicago, Milwaukee, & St. Paul Railways did not extend their lines west of the Missouri River until 1905 and 1907, respectively.[86] Until land surveys could be made, new settlers, of which there were understandably few, lived as squatters. Most of the initial Euro-American settlers never made it as far as the Badlands area.

Off-reservation interactions between the Lakota and new settlers in the ceded territory, and particularly along the White River, were a far cry from the hostilities that characterized Indian and American relations just 15 years earlier. One White River rancher diary gives some clues to the relationship of the Lakota and their new neighbors in 1890 and 1891. Euro-American settlers, more properly identified as cattlemen rather than homesteaders, were scattered along the river sometime in clumps of three or four ranches along a short stretch of the river. The new arrivals would see the Lakota, often from some distance, simply observing them with curiosity but caution. Unable to communicate directly because of the language barrier, conversations were short and primitive. Because the Pine Ridge Agency was a relatively close supply/trading post and for a brief time the nearest post office, Euro-American settlers traveled through the new reservation on several occasions, and often stayed with Lakota families for shelter along the way. Again, visits were short and generally amiable.[87]

This relationship changed for a short period at the end of 1890. In the fall and winter of 1890 to 1891, the Pine Ridge superintendent called for federal troops in anticipation of a

Lakota uprising. The flight of 6,000 Lakota to the Badlands, the death of Sitting Bull at the Standing Rock Reservation, and the rising number of Ghost Dancers on the Pine Ridge Reservation, led many Euro-Americans in the Badlands/Black Hills area to become alarmed, suspicious, and afraid. They armed themselves, either with their own rifles or with those sent by the South Dakota governor, for a confrontation with the Sioux headed to the Pine Ridge Reservation for the Ghost Dance. Many Euro-Americans barricaded themselves in defensible buildings, while others, recognizing some of the more sensational reportings as fiction, were cautious, but elected to continue with their ranching chores as the Ghost Dance drama unfolded.[88]

The massacre of Chief Big Foot and his Minneconjou followers at Wounded Knee held the settlers' interest and pity, but only briefly.[89] Afterwards, some travelers "…especially on the Pine Ridge Reservation, reported that the Indians were restless and seemingly ready for an outbreak in the spring,"[90] but one resident on the White River reported no such restlessness. In early 1891, White River settlers saw isolated Indian families traveling downriver as hunting parties, or looking to "trade" at the small Euro-American store at the Lodge post office. These Indians they greeted as briefly and sincerely as they had other Lakota prior to the debacle.[91]

Following the Wounded Knee Massacre, the Lakota at the Pine Ridge Reservation gradually began to embrace several of the more palatable changes agency personnel had been pushing for years. At the same time, the agency personnel perhaps became more realistic about the options available to the Lakota for survival, and they tolerated some practices that incorporated Lakota traditions and interests with government directives.

An example of the compromise relates to health care. The health of the Lakota had become of grave concern to Euro-Americans, and well it should have. Tuberculosis killed almost one-fifth of the population on the Pine Ridge Reservation between 1896 and 1906. Sedentism and the permanent housing in which the Sioux were made to live had exacerbated the spread of the disease. In 1896, the government hired Dr. James R. Walker to work at the Indian Service hospital. Walker's efforts focused on the treatment of tuberculosis. This he accomplished in part by employing psychological methods he learned by observing Lakota medicine men, while instructing the Indians in ways to prevent the spread of the disease.[92]

In addition to medicine men continuing to care for the Sioux people, another aspect of Lakota culture that remained intact during the first 20 years of the Pine Ridge Reservation was the collection of wild plants. Some Lakota people were allowed to travel off-reservation to gather plants in traditional collecting areas. On at least two occasions in 1903, the Pine Ridge Agency superintendent signed weeks-long passes to small groups who wished to collect plants in the Black Hills. The Lakota used this opportunity to also hunt antelope and small game, although not with the express permission of the superintendent. Although the 1903 passes ended in tragedy in Wyoming, passes for traditional plant gathering, for both spiritual and medicinal purposes, may not have been uncommon at the turn of the twentieth century.[93]

Reservation churches expanded their programs considerably during this period. While the Episcopalians had initiated much of their church building prior to 1890, the Catholic missionaries began work in the following two decades. The Catholic Church had long been eager to work with the Lakota on the Pine Ridge Reservation. In September 1877, Red Cloud specifically requested that the Jesuit assist his people in the new life the chief knew was ahead of them. However, it was not until 1888 that the church completed the Holy Rosary Mission, a boarding school built on White Clay Creek at Calico. The school quickly became an alternative to government-run schools. The church building at the mission was not completed until 1898. Within the following 12 years, another nine Catholic churches were built or occupied at communities across the reservation, namely, Allen, Kyle, Manderson, No Water, Pine Ridge Agency, Potato Creek, Slim Buttes, Wanblee, and Wounded Knee.[94] The Presbyterian Church also established a mission on the Pine Ridge reservation, but specifics in the period to 1910 are unknown.[95]

The small communities that developed along the White River in the 1890s, of which there were several, came to serve both Lakota and Euro-American customers regularly. One example was Black. First occupied in 1882 as a way station on the Chamberlain–Rapid City Road, the site was abandoned in 1886. In the spring of 1890, way station tenders George and Louis Johnson returned as settlers. Other Johnson family members joined them there, and the place grew to include a post office in 1891. Black came to be an early shopping center for the Sioux who lived in the Wanblee and Potato Creek areas of the Pine Ridge Reservation. The Indians also received their mail there. The Black name was changed to (old) Interior in 1894.[96]

As formal land surveys of the former Great Sioux Reservation were completed, and more importantly the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul and Chicago & North Western Railways were extended through the Badlands in 1907, contact between Euro-American homesteaders and Lakota Indians on the north end of the Pine Ridge Reservation became even more frequent and routine. Livestock was often the common denominator in those relationships. The settlers' livestock regularly crossed the White River to the reservation side because of the superior grass, but often were retrieved in short order. Some cattle and horses belonging to larger operations such as the U+ Cattle Company and the 73 Company were intentionally grazed on the reservation, apparently under a fee arrangement. In those circumstances, the amount of contact between Euro-Americans and Indians is uncertain, but presumably it was minimal due to the type of work. Contact may have been limited to overnight stays.[97]

The problem of large numbers of cattle drifting onto the Pine Ridge Reservation from places as far away as Montana during winters in the 1890s was partially addressed beginning in 1897 by charging a grazing fee. The problem of many unbranded (therefore unidentifiable) cattle on the range continued. In 1902, the reservation held a roundup, with all unbranded cattle becoming the possession of a volunteer crew of Lakota. After 1902, the Lakota fenced the north edge of the Pine Ridge Reservation using Indian labor, and hired Lakota fence riders for repairs.[98]

At the same time the first "settlers" moved to the White River and began cattle operations, the Lakota began to embrace the business of cattle raising, and they turned out to be quite skilled; "…the Pine Ridge Dakota became steeped in the life of the cowboy…" during this period.[99] In just over 25 years, from 1885 to 1912, the Lakota cattle herds quadrupled in size.[100] "As ranchers, Lakotas gained more of the roping, riding, and wrestling skills that they would…display in [rodeo] competition."[101] Fairs, including rodeos, began to be organized and gained in popularity during the period from 1905 to 1910.[102] In addition to their large cattle herds, the Lakota retained the tradition of owning many horses.[103] They continued to raise good-quality horses in large numbers until World War I. Some that they raised were sold to the US Army at very good prices.[104] Finally, to support their large herds, the Lakota were actively engaged in hay production.[105]

Over the years, a few mixed-blood families developed livestock operations of state-wide significance. For example, the Open Buckle Ranch at the north end of the reservation at one time covered tens of thousands of acres both on- and off-reservation. Gus and Jessie Craven, he a cattleman of Irish heritage and she a "part Indian" native of Denver, raised a large herd of cattle that garnered top dollar in Midwestern markets before World War I. They apparently supplemented the family's income by working for the Indian Service as farmer and teacher at Kyle.[106]

Cattle raising supplanted crop and vegetable production as the focus of Lakota agricultural pursuits. The government hired "boss farmers," who instructed the Lakota on proper agricultural practices, and one can only assume they also focused on cattle. Located near the larger communities including Pine Ridge, Allen, Manderson, Kyle, and Porcupine, the Euro-American farmers no doubt were integral to helping the Lakota make their operations work on their small allotments.[107]

While there was widespread recognition that small allotments were not suitable for farming or even livestock raising, the US government moved forward with its mission to allot lands on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Each head of a Lakota family received 640 acres, and his wife and children over 18 years of age (as of July 29, 1904) received 320 acres. Younger children received 160-acre allotments. The first allotments on the Pine Ridge Reservation date to 1904, and within a few years even the non-progressive Lakota were selecting their parcels. Most eligible Lakota had chosen their tracts by 1916.[108] Although the Sioux were allowed to lease their allotments under special circumstances, leases to Euro-American cattlemen during these earliest years of the Pine Ridge Reservation were very rare.[109] Most Sioux apparently used the grass on the allotments for their own herds.

By 1910, the Lakota on the Pine Ridge Reservation were 30 years removed from their nomadic life on the Northern Plains. Their reservation lands were in the process of being allotted and many families had embraced the business of cattle raising which they had learned from government employees and off-reservation cattlemen. Within a short time, rations would be reduced to minimal amounts.[110] Their children regularly attended school, where they became steeped in Euro-American culture in everything from English

to hygiene, cleanliness, obedience, and agriculture. More and more Lakota attended church at one of almost two dozen Episcopalian, Catholic, and Presbyterian churches across the reservation. Some traditions continued in the home, such as speaking Lakota, seeking the help of medicine men, and collecting wild plants for religious or ceremonial purposes, but these formed a fairly small part of the emerging Lakota culture. Meanwhile, two railroads had penetrated the Badlands area, immediately north of the reservation. Homesteaders were staking claims there, and finding out first-hand how ill-suited the land was to farming on small plots. Most gave little thought to the events that had transpired before their arrival. The Lakota, for their part, were considered curiosities, cautious neighbors, and expert horsemen on the rare occasions when the new settlers saw them.

[1] Schell, *History of South Dakota,* 24-25.
[2] Ibid., 25-26.
[3] Ibid., 26-27; Sheire, *Badlands Historical Basic Data Study,* 18.
[4] Schell, *History of South Dakota,* 27-28.
[5] Ibid., 28-29; W. Raymond Wood, "An Introduction to the History of the Fur Trade on the Northern Plains," *North Dakota History: Journal of the Northern Plains* 61, no. 3 (1994): 2.
[6] Schell, *History of South Dakota,* 30*;* Karolevitz, *Challenge, The South Dakota Story,* 18.
[7] David J. Weber, "The Spanish-Mexican Rim," in *The Oxford History of the American West,* eds. Clyde A. Milner, II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994): 60.
[8] Wood, "The Fur Trade on the Northern Plains," 2.
[9] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 31-32.
[10] Ibid., 32-35; Sheire, *Badlands Historical Basic Data Study,* 19-20; Karolevitz, *Challenge, The South Dakota Story,* 20.
[11] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 34-35.
[12] Ibid., 24, quotes in A. P. Nasatir, ed., *Before Lewis and Clark—Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804* (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Society Documents Foundations, 1952): I, 218.
[13] David J. Wishart, *The Fur Trade of the American West: 1807-1840* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979): 18-20.
[14] Ibid., 42-45; Schell, *History of South Dakota,* 51-52.
[15] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 52-53; Wishart, *The Fur Trade of the American West*, 48.
[16] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 53-54; Wishart, *The Fur Trade of the American West,* 50; Sheire, *Badlands Historical Basic Data Study*, 23-4.
[17] Wishart, *The Fur Trade of the American West,* 10, 81.
[18] Ibid., 54; Schell, *History of South Dakota*.
[19] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 54-55.
[20] Donald Jackson, *Voyages of the Steamboat Yellow Stone* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 111.
[21] "Chouteau Trading Post," at Chouteau Trading Post & The Museum of Stone Age Tools website, http://www.stoneagetools.net (accessed December 13, 2005).
[22] Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands*, 8-9.
[23] William E. Lass, "The History and Significance of the Northwest Fur Company, 1865-1869," *North Dakota History* 61, no. 3 (1994): 21-2, 30-31.
[24] Ibid., 28; "Chouteau Trading Post."
[25] Lass, "Northwest Fur Company ," 23, 27-8.
[26] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 70-2, 77.
[27] Ibid., 66-7; Sheire, *Badlands Historical Basic Data Study*, 56, 58; Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands*, 8; Robert G. Athearn, *Forts of the Upper Missouri* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 50.
[28] Shuler, *A Revelation Called the Badlands*, 14-15.
[29] Fielding B. Meeks, "Journal of a Trip to Nebraska Territory in 1853," MS on file at Smithsonian Institution, cited in Sheire, *Badlands Historical Basic Data* Study, 94, 113, 121, 124.

[30] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 78-80, 84.
[31] Ibid., 80-2.
[32] Ibid., 88-9.
[33] Mattison, "Indian Reservation System," 145.
[34] Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 41.
[35] Mattison, "Indian Reservation System," 157-8.
[36] Ibid., 146-7.
[37] Ibid., 148; Bob Lee and Dick Williams, *Last Grass Frontier: The South Dakota Stock Grower Heritage* (Sturgis, SD: Black Hills Publishers, 1964), 28-9.
[38] Dakota Territory Centennial Commission, *Dakota Panorama*, 182-3; Nancy J.Hulston, "Federal Children: Indian Education and the Red Cloud-McGillicuddy Conflict," *South Dakota History* 25, no. 2 (1995): 84.
[39] Dakota Territory Centennial Commission, *Dakota Panorama*, 183; "History of Red Cloud," at Red Cloud Indian School website, http://redcloudschool.org (accessed December 9, 2005).
[40] Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 21.
[41] See, for example, Lee and Williams, *Last Grass Frontier*, 23; JoAllyn Archambault, "A Man of Two Worlds: Joseph Archambault," *North Dakota History* 68, no. 2 (2001): 24. There reportedly were 100 such men at Whetstone: Richmond Lee Clow, "The Brule Indian Agencies: 1868-1878," *South Dakota Department of History Report and Historical Collections* 36 (1972), 165.
[42] Archambault, "A Man of Two Worlds," 24; Lee and Williams, *Last Grass Frontier*, 23, 41; Nellie Cuny, interview with Mitzi Rossillon, tape recording, 27 January 2005.
[43] Archambault, "A Man of Two Worlds," 25.
[44] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 91, 126.
[45] Smith, *Moon of the Popping Trees*, 53.
[46] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 125.
[47] Ibid.; Karolevitz, *Challenge: The South Dakota Story*, 102; John D. McDermott, "The Military Problem and the Black Hills, 1874-1875," *South Dakota History* 31, nos. 3-4 (2001): 189.
[48] Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 21.
[49] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 126-8.
[50] Ibid., 129-132; McDermott, "The Military Problem and the Black Hills," 198, 201-2; Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands*, 30.
[51] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 129-32.
[52] Ibid., 141, 143; Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands*, 31-2.
[53] Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands*, 32.
[54] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 143-4.
[55] Ibid., 139.
[56] Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 20.
[57] Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands*, 40-44, 79.
[58] Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 23.
[59] Macgregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, 32.
[60] Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 23-4.
[61] Ibid., 26.
[62] Ibid., 25; Lee and Williams, *Last Grass Frontier*, 23.
[63] Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 26-29.
[64] Macgregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, 35, 37; Hulston, "Federal Children," 85, 90.
[65] Macgregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, 36.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Hulston, "Federal Children," 85-7, 91-2; quote, reproduced on p. 92, is from Agency Superintendent McGillicuddy in his correspondence to Commissioner of Indian Affairs John DC Atkins, 15 September 1885.
[68] Macgregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, 32.
[69] Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 33; Robert W. Galler, Jr., "A Triad of Alliances: The Roots of Holy Rosary Indian Mission," *South Dakota History* 28, no. 3 (1998): 157.
[70] Dakota Territory Centennial Commission, *Dakota Panorama*, 183.

[71] Galler, "A Triad of Alliances," 158.
[72] Macgregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, 37.
[73] Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 33.
[74] Ibid., 34.
[75] Mattison, "Indian Reservation System on the Upper Missouri," 163; Mark R. Ellis, "Reservation *Akicitas*: The Pine Ridge Indian Police, 1879-1885," *South Dakota History* 29, no. 3 (1999): 187.
[76] Hall, *Reflection of the Badlands*, 32.
[77] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 154-5.
[78] Hall, *Reflections of the* Badlands, 37-45, 79-80.
[79] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 156, 243.
[80] Ibid., 247.
[81] Karolevitz, *Challenge: The South Dakota Story*, 126, 132, 192.
[82] Paula M. Nelson, *After the West Was Won: Homesteaders and Town Builders in Western South Dakota, 1900-1917* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1986), 9.
[83] Purcha, *The Great Father*, 213.
[84] Ibid., 214-5; Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 51, 53.
[85] Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 54-6.
[86] Karolevitz, *Challenge: The South Dakota Story*, 132.
[87] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 247; Charles Lowell Green, "The Administration of the Public Domain in South Dakota," *South Dakota Department of History Collections* 20 (1940), 162; Thomas R. Buecker, editor, "'The even tenor of our way is pursued undisturbed': Henry P. Smith's Diary during the Ghost Dance Movement, 1890-1891," *South Dakota History* 34, no. 3 (2004): 202-3, 206-7, 230-2; Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands*, 103, 132.
[88] Buecker, "Henry P. Smith's Diary," 209-213; Karolevitz, *Challenge: the South Dakota Story*, 198-200; Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands*, 58-64.
[89] Buecker, "Henry P. Smith's Diary," 224.
[90] Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 284-5.
[91] Buecker, "Henry P. Smith's Diary," 226-232.
[92] Don Southerton, "James R. Walker's Campaign against Tuberculosis on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation," *South Dakota History* 34, no. 2 (2004): 107, 113, 117-8.
[93] Lee R. Boyer, "Conflict over Hunting Rights: Lightning Creek, 1903," *South Dakota History* 23, no. 4 (1993): 302-3, 312.
[94] Galler, "A Triad of Alliances," 156; "Spiritual Life" and "History of Red Cloud," at Red Cloud Indian School website, http://redcloudschool.org, (accessed December 9, 2005).
[95] Big Foot Historical Society, R*eservation Roundup* (Shannon County, SD: n.d.), 11.
[96] Hall, *Reflections of the Badlands*, 84-5, 103-5, 110.
[97] Ray S. Paulsen, untitled manuscript, 2, on file, attached to transcription of John Paulsen interview, Oral History Collection, Badlands National Park, Interior, SD.
[98] Macgregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, 37; Hall, *Reflections on the Badlands*, 137-8, 140.
[99] Macgregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, 38.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Allison Fuss, "Cowboys on the Reservation: The Growth of Rodeo as a Lakota National Pastime," *South Dakota History* 29, no. 3 (1999): 214.
[102] Ibid. 215, 217.
[103] Ellis, "Reservation *Akicitas*," 193.
[104] MacGregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, 39; Hall, *Reflections on the Badlands*, 151.
[105] Maude Olney, "Light on the Badlands," *South Dakota Department of History Report and Historical Collections* 33 (1966), 499.
[106] Nauman, *Vanishing Trails Expedition*, 43-4.
[107] Big Foot Historical Society, *Reservation Roundup*, 11, 15.
[108] Macgregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, 38; Boyer, "Conflict over Hunting Rights," 319-20; Big Foot Historical Society, *Reservation Roundup*, 11.
[109] Green, "Public Domain in South Dakota," 36; Macgregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, 39.
[110] Macgregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, 39.