

Chapter 1

First Residents

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Introduction

The first residents of the Black Hills like other residents of other places and times, shared a common morphology, a common physiology, and resulting common biological imperatives. The few ways in which their responses to physical environments differed from that of other peoples provides us an opportunity to expand our knowledge and understanding of ourselves. Although the story of pre-European Black Hills residents was not memorialized by tomes of writings, it is recorded by those objects they created, used, and left behind.

The first residents of the Black Hills left artifacts of their daily lives; arrow points, spear points, fire pits, and bones. They left tools for butchering, and tools for creating. They left rock art as well as offerings to the concepts depicted in that art. In short, they left dots along the contour lines that defined their culture. Connecting those dots into a meaningful matrix is our profoundly legacy.

Paleo-Indian

The prehistoric human use and occupation of the Black Hills not only fascinates us with its wealth of anthropological lessons about human commonality and human divergence, it tempts us to fill the gaps in our knowledge. Scientific evidence shows prehistoric human activities along the middle Missouri River to the east, human presence along the Loup River to the south, and small Paleo-Indian groups hunting the Prairies. But prehistoric Black Hills could be compared to a family album that not only has lost an occasional page, but has entire sections missing. In 1984, when United States Forest Service archaeologist Steve Cassells with David Miller and Paul Miller had completed their survey of 544,264 acres of Forest Service land, they wrote:

Given that quantity of systematic survey, along with limited excavation, it might be expected that our knowledge of the prehistory of the Black Hills and the Black Hills National Forest would essentially be complete. This is not the case. There do seem to be some holes in the cultural sequence, and the question remains whether the gaps are reflective of reality, or a bias in sampling, preservation or exposure.

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Two obvious gaps in the Black Hills culture sequence are the lack of Clovis and Folsom sites. These are known from the Badlands to the east, and from the Powder River Basin to the west. It is true that such finds are rare even in the richest of Paleo-Indian locales. However, it seems unusual that the Black Hills lack the most minimal of evidence.¹

Clovis artifacts found adjacent to the Black Hills include a mammoth kill site excavated in the White River area of the Badlands east of the Black Hills and an excavation in the Powder River Basin west of the Hills. Additionally, a Clovis-age deposit comprised the lowest section of an excavation in Agate Basin immediately southwest of the Hills.²

The Clovis (or Llano) culture was the earliest of Paleo-Indian cultures dating from 10,000 to 9,000 BC whose artifacts have been found from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic and from southern Canada to northern Mexico. Clovis people are thought to have lived primarily by hunting mammoths, bison, horses, camels, and other large Pleistocene animals as well as having foraged for edible plants. The Folsom culture dates from around 9,000 to 7,000 BC.³

Gaps in the prehistoric chronology also make it difficult for anthropologists to draw definitive conclusions about the specific ethnological origins of modern tribes. Archaeologist Patricia Albers, a University of Minnesota faculty member who conducted anthropological work in the Black Hills in 2003, state the problem succinctly:

Notwithstanding numerous hypotheses on the subject, it is nearly impossible to determine whether a given archeological assemblage is associated with any one ethnolinguistic group or whether it contains cultural features widely adapted and shared by people of different

¹ E. Steve Cassells, David B. Miller, Paul V. Miller, *Paha Sapa: A Cultural Resources Overview of the Black Hills National Forest, South Dakota and Wyoming* (Custer, SD: United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, 1984), 50. Note: Artifacts of the Folsom culture are also found throughout North America between the Rocky Mountains and the Atlantic and between southern Canada and northern Mexico. Edward B. Jelks and Juliet C. Jelks, editors, *Historical Dictionary of North America: Archaeology* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 106, 166.

² Linea Sundstrom, *Storied Stone: Indian Rock Art in the Black Hills Country* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 9.

³ Cassells, Miller, Miller, *Paha Sapa*, 50

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backgrounds. Except in instances where sites are associated with deep and uninterrupted chronologies that can be traced to the historic era, often the case for horticultural groups with some degree of sedentism, attempts to trace tribal identities become very speculative as one moves back in time beyond the protohistoric⁴ to the Late Archaic period.⁵

When the physical evidence is not clearly presented in uninterrupted, physically ascending layers of artifacts (which provide a chronological picture of cultures from the most ancient to the most recent), we are left to conjecture.

Regardless of the gaps, what we do know about prehistoric Black Hills is impressive. There is abundant evidence supporting the conclusion, for example, that Plano groups⁶ were present in the Black Hills. As of this writing, archaeologists have excavated at least four Plano group sites in and immediately adjacent to the Black Hills: the Hudson-Meng bison kills site, fifty miles south of the southern Hogback; the Long site immediately outside of the southern Hogback; and the Agate Basin, and Jim Pitts sites, both in the southwest Hills.⁷ Importantly, some of the Plano artifacts found (points and biface knives) were constructed of material indigenous to the Black Hills.⁸ An archaeologically significant find in the Wind Cave National Park, known as the Beaver Creek Shelter site, was radiocarbon dated from 7,550 to 8,570 BP (before the present) so we know that people were living in the Black Hills at least then.

⁴ The *protohistoric* period is that period of time when European goods had appeared within the Native American culture, but before the actual appearance of Europeans.

⁵ Patricia C. Albers, Anna Bendickson, Christina Berndt, Elizabeth Brown, Yvonne Kelly, Vanessa Kittelson, Kim Rossina, Stacy Schlegel, Andrea Yardley, *The Home of the Bison: An Ethnographic and Ethnohistorical Study of Traditional Cultural Affiliations to Wind Cave National Park* (Custer, SD: Wind Cave National Park, National Park Service, 2003).

⁶ The *Plano* culture is the most recent of the three groups into which archaeologists have divided the Paleo-Indian cultures. The Plano culture is generally dated from 7,000 to 4,000 BC. Plano groups were hunter-gatherers, whose hunting focused principally on large animals, particularly bison. Jelks and Jelks, *Historical Dictionary of North American Archaeology*, 378.

⁷ Sundstrom, *Storied Stone*, 12.

⁸ Cassells, et al., *Paha Sapa*, 51.

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Paleo-Indian⁹ occupations (which, by definition, included Plano groups) were concentrated in the Black Hills interior (west-central limestone plateau—an area defined by Beaver Creek, Deerfield, Moon, and Gillette ridges). It appears that foragers during this late Paleo-Indian period only slightly used the southern Hogback and central mountain uplift. Their greatest presence, based upon the archaeological evidence, seemed to have been on the western Limestone Plateau near springs. Chisels, spoke shaves, and biface implements have been found at sites in this area; their close spatial and temporal proximity would appear to indicate the manufacture of hunting weapons there. Interestingly, these finds are generally characterized by physical evidence of both hunt preparation and butchering activity. Assemblages of the remnants resulting from the manufacture of biface hunting points as well as the hunting shafts to which the points were attached were present. This is a departure from evidence discovered from the Archaic period of Black Hills occupations, where staging or hunt-preparation activities such as shaft manufacture appeared to have been performed in areas peripheral to the Black Hills.¹⁰ Some researchers believe that the Paleo-Indian groups may have entered the interior of the Black Hills in small, specific-task groups, such as hunting groups rather than family groups.¹¹

Significantly, very few grinding stones were found in the Hogback area, implying that very little food preparation was done there. However, grinding stones were found not far to the south, along the Cheyenne River, indicating the preparation of food and, permitting the reasonable

⁹ It is important that the reader be somewhat familiar with some terms and conventions used by archaeologists that are not a part of common lexicon. Some of the terms necessary for an understanding of this chapter's narrative are: **Paleo-Indian** (11,000-4,000 BC); **Archaic** (a period, culture or era sandwiched between the Paleo-Indian and the Woodland periods); **Woodland** (a cultural tradition that followed the Archaic tradition and generally appeared by 1,000 BC). As used by archaeologists, these terms denote a plethora of cultural, temporal, and spatial detail. None, however, are intended to precisely define a specific time, but rather are used to broadly define general cultural attributes. For example, the production of clay pots using techniques that left fabric or cordage impressions on the pot is one of the attributes used to classify a culture as a Woodland period culture. But such pots found in one geographical region may date from 1000 years before or after similarly made pots found in a different region. An excellent source for a fuller treatment of these and other terms is Jelks and Jelks, editors, *Historical Dictionary of North American Archaeology*.

¹⁰ Brad Noisat, "The PaleoIndians," *Black Hills National Forest Cultural Resources Overview* Lane Rom, Tim Church and Michele Church, editors (Custer, SD: US Department of Agriculture, Black Hills National Forest, 1996), 2a-5.

¹¹ Alice M. Tratebas, "Black Hills Settlement Patterns: Based on Functional Approach" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1986), 338.

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conclusion that these sites were occupied by family groups rather than specific-task groups such as hunting parties.¹²

Archaic

About 8000 years ago, the climate was undergoing a dramatic change. It was the end of the most recent ice age and the advent of a climate more comparable to what we have today. During the ice age, the weather was predominately wet and cool, with little seasonal variation. As the ice age ended, the climate became dryer and warmer, and seasonal variations became more pronounced. Climatic changes necessitated not only adding new foods to the diet but also adapting to a wider variety of foods. For example, one archaeological site located on the Belle Fourche River in present-day Wyoming, which is bounded on the west by open prairie and on the east by wooded areas of the Black Hills, uncovered evidence that the residents had availed themselves of a very wide diversity of plant and animal resources: mussels from the Belle Fourche River; squirrel and deer from the forest edge; and bison from the edge of the Prairie. Their diet also included wild onion, silver buffalo berry seeds, Plains prickly pear cactus leaves and seeds, chokecherry pits, limber pine nuts, wild rose hips, sego lily, biscuit root, and bitterroot.¹³

Greater seasonal variations in the weather also had a significant social influence on human groups living near the Black Hills. Since plant varieties became increasingly available only during certain times of the year; and game animals moved in response to floral seasonal changes, human groups became more mobile in pursuit of the plants and animals that constituted their diet. This forced increase in mobility inhibited the development of large, long-term communities among the original residents. Groups were often forced to split into smaller groups to travel different directions, each seeking its own sustenance. During good years, they would rejoin, forming large communities that would participate in communal bison hunts. During lean years, the community would again split into small groups, wandering to hunt small game and gather plant food.

Archaeologists generally identify this period that foretold the end of the ice age and the advent of a dryer, warmer, more seasonal era (about 7,500 years before the present) as the end of the Paleo-Indian period and the beginning of the Archaic Period. The Archaic Period stretched from 7,500 years until approximately 1,500 BP.

¹² *Ibid.*, 72.

¹³ Raymond DeMallie, ed., "Plains," *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 13, Part 1* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1988), 136.

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Several sites excavated in the Black Hills that have revealed physical evidence from the Early Archaic Period: Beaver Creek, Boulder Creek, and Red Canyon, all Black Hills rock shelters, Victoria Creek, Buster Hill, and Blaine. The Black Hills, however, saw its heaviest prehistoric use by humans during the Middle Archaic Period, beginning about 5,000 BP. Radiocarbon dating from Black Hills sites substantiate a peak in prehistoric use between 3,500 and 4,000 BP.¹⁴ Based on the nature and quantity of artifacts found at various Black Hills sites, archaeologists have hypothesized two general site types from the period. First, sites along permanent streams or high-discharge springs were probably occupied by larger groups for longer periods. A wide variety of foods appear to have been processed, and tools and weapons were manufactured at these sites. Second, sites adjacent to low-discharge springs appear to have been used primarily for hunting and butchering but for very little other food production.¹⁵

Some anthropologists argue that the Black Hills was first occupied year-round as long ago as 5,000 BP.¹⁶

With climatic improvement about 5,000 BP, these groups [were] fully adapted to the Black Hills environment. [F]or the first time one can speak of a native population, or at least an inquiry about the meaning of 'native occupations' versus 'intrusions' can be initiated.¹⁷

Year-round residents of the Black Hills during the Archaic Period appear to have continued to hunt and gather as they had when they were visitors—communal bison hunting combined with individual hunting for deer and other large and small game, as well as broad spectrum foraging.¹⁸ Archaeologist Brad Noisat observed that their methods of exploitation had to adapt to changing resources:

¹⁴ Sundstrom, "Middle Plains Archaic," *Black Hills National Forest: Cultural Resources Overview*, Rom, et al., editors, 2c-1.

¹⁵ Tratebas, *Black Hills Settlement Patterns*, 83.

¹⁶ Cassells, *Paha Sapa*, 55.

¹⁷ Brad Noisat, "Early Plains Archaic," *Black Hills National Forest: Cultural Resource Overview*, Rom, et al., editors, 2b-3.

¹⁸ James D. Keyser and Carl M. Davis, "Ceramics from the Highwalker Site: A Study of Late Prehistoric Period Cultural Systematics on the Northwestern Plains," *Plains Anthropologist* 27 (1982): 287-303. Also see James D. Keyser and Carl M. Davis, "Lightning Springs: 4000 Years of Pine Parkland Prehistory," *Archaeology in Montana* 25 (1984): 1-64.

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These people . . . found their principal food source, bison, scarce. Possibly decimated by the old mass kill techniques and under severe stress to reach a viable carrying capacity, bison may have vanished from the food regimen. This only reinforced the pattern of broad-spectrum foraging and cultural isolation. Previously this pattern had been countered by periodic food surpluses and communal hunts. Individual groups in their territories were compelled to 'reinvent' themselves to survive. They became hunters of deer and elk. Individual ability and initiative needed to obtain these species supplanted the ethic of group cooperation and group success. This 'scaled-down' life way left small imprints: a few, small sites scattered throughout the Forest, all but invisible in light of succeeding Middle and Late Archaic occupations.¹⁹

The archaeological hypothesis being argued by Noisat in this quote is that human groups began placing an increasing emphasis on exploiting food sources of the Black Hills as the bison population on the Plains surrounding the Black Hills diminished, and this change in emphasis resulted in a broader dispersal of the population into smaller groups that were spread farther apart across the landscape.

We can learn about prehistoric groups not only from the nature of their tools and implements, but also from the raw material that they use to make these objects. In the case of Archaic Period Black Hills residents, that raw material was stone. Much of the lithic material present in the Black Hills was of inferior quality, and Archaic Period residents imported the lithic resources used for tool manufacture. A type often found today in archaeological explorations is porcellanite, a silicate often found in Wyoming's Powder River Basin. Other lithic materials found in the Hills that are associated with the Archaic Period human presence are flint from the Knife River and brown and plate chalcedony from the Badlands. The source of these materials permits conclusions regarding the travels of the Archaic Period Black Hills residents as well as their commercial intercourse. Since Powder River Basin porcellanite and Badlands chalcedony are often found together and the two locales are not terribly remote from each other, one can logically conclude that the original users of these materials probably

¹⁹ Noisat, "Early Plains Archaic," *Black Hills National Forest*, Rom, et al, editors, 2b-2.

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visited both locales. The Knife River Flint, on the other hand, had been imported from a distance of more than three hundred miles, which would lead one to conclude that that material was probably a trade item. Based upon geomorphological and spectrographic studies, scientists have concluded that there were four major outside sources of lithic material that was imported into the Black Hills: Spanish Diggins, Wyoming (which included a fine-grained, yellow-to-tan quartzite often confused with a quartzite indigenous to the Black Hills); porcellanite sources north and northwest of the Hills (the nearest is the Powder River Basin)²⁰; Knife River in west-central North Dakota (Knife River Flint); and the Badlands east of the Hills (flattop and plate chalcedony).²¹

The Archaic Period in and around the Black Hills also appeared to be a time of other innovations, both physical and social. Pit houses, corrals and pounds for the capture and killing of large animals, caches to store both food and tools, production of micro blades and micro tools, rock-filled roasting pits—these represented either new developments during this time or substantial improvements to earlier innovations.²² Some anthropologists have conjectured these physical innovations led to or were accompanied by significant social changes. Specifically, a new way of life, characterized by an adherence to scheduled and organized patterns of resource exploitation, developed out of more unscheduled hunting and foraging. Regular seasonal movements in pursuit of resources also served to encourage different social interactions. Pit houses, compounds, and corrals had to be constructed and available during the appropriate season year after year, and the logistics of group movements had to be coordinated.²³

The late Archaic Period saw Black Hills population decline compared to its level during the Middle Archaic Period. Extrapolations of population size from human use intensities indicate that population levels reached a low point between 3,000 and 2,500 BP. Radiocarbon dating of fire pits and components seem to indicate a steady population recovery, but not reaching the numbers seen in the Middle Archaic Period.²⁴ Close proximity of components at various sites around the peripheral foothills

²⁰ Interestingly, porcellanite is a silicate created by protracted exposure of slate depositions to the intense heat of natural fires occurring in subterranean coal deposits.

²¹ Cassells, *Paha Sapa*, 61.

²² Kevin D. Black, "Archaic Continuity in the Colorado Rockies: The Mountain Tradition," *Plains Anthropologist* 36 (1991): 1-29. See also George Frison, *Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains* (New York: Academic Press, 1991).

²³ Linea Sundstrom, "Middle Plains Archaic," *Black Hills National Forest*, Rom, et al., editors, 2c-1—2c-21.

²⁴ Tratebas, *Black Hills Settlement Patterns*, 114. See also Linea Sundstrom, *Cultural History of the Black Hills With Reference to Adjacent Areas of the Northern Great Plains* (Lincoln, NE: J & L. Reprints, 1989).

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have led some archaeologists to conjecture that sites used by Black Hills Middle Archaic populations continued to be used seasonally by groups during the Late Archaic Period.²⁵

Scattered Late Archaic sites have also been found throughout the Black Hills interior as well. These sites include large base-camp sites as well as smaller, special-activity sites, and include open-air as well as rock-shelter sites. Late Archaic sites appear to have often been situated near springs and meadows; however, rock shelters throughout the Black Hills were also occupied, particularly in the western foothills. The archaeological evidence also appears to support the conclusion that Late Archaic Black Hills residents used several types of dwellings. Tepee rings have been found in both the eastern and the western foothills. Large, multi-component fire-pit and hearth complexes lead to the conclusion that Late Archaic groups may have continued the diversification-based lives that developed during the Middle Archaic. This pattern included a subsistence economy based on the scheduled exploitation of plant food as well as procurement of a wide diversity of fauna, including deer, pronghorn, jackrabbit, and elk. The location of plant food as well as wood for fires appears to have dictated the specific locations of sites.²⁶

Significantly, as the Late Archaic Period wore on, the northern Plains became increasingly rich in grasses, with resulting increase in the bison population. And those changes caused the human pendulum to swing again. Human groups again placed increased emphasis on bison procurement, but this time with a new technological innovation—the bow and arrow. First introduced approximately 2,000 years BP, the bow and arrow offered greater accuracy and range compared to the dart and lance, and increased the hunter's efficiency, thus permitting an increased reliance on bison as a food source. As the bison population grew during the Late Archaic Period, the Black Hills hunter-and-gatherer groups had more frequent encounters with hunting parties from the Missouri River farming communities. These farmers were leaving their villages after spring planting to procure bison meat, returning in the fall to harvest their crops.²⁷

It is important to bear in mind that the transformations being discussed here, such as the changing emphasis on the types of food relied upon, were neither immediate nor total. Climate changes and the related changes in the flora and fauna mix were slow, protracted evolutionary events taking several decades, generations, even millennia in some cases. Consequently, the changes in resource exploitation were a prolonged

²⁵ Linea Sundstrom, *Rock Art of the Southern Black Hills: A Contextual Approach*. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990).

²⁶ Linea Sundstrom, "Late Plains Archaic," *Black Hills National Forest*, Rom, et al., editors, 2d-1—2d-23.

²⁷ Lindstrom, *Storied Stone*, 16.

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transformation. Neither were these changes total—over time some new flora and fauna items were added to the food mix, or diet, and others abandoned as they became increasingly difficult to find. In short, these transformations are more accurately characterized as shifting emphases, not all-or-nothing changes.²⁸

The archaeological literature is of little help when trying to develop understanding of the truly significant cultural and environmental issues specific to Jewel Cave National Monument. As anthropologist Linea Sundstrom has written:

Lacking a local cultural sequence, much of the current reading of site material from the Black Hills is carried on from the perspective of sequences associated with the Northwestern Plains and also the Plains Woodland and Village Complexes.²⁹

A 1995 survey of Jewel Cave National Monument searching for cultural artifacts was conducted by Glenna J. Sheveland and Ann Johnson. Sheveland, the field investigator, spent three seasons from 1992 to May 1995 walking the area in parallel courses, each course separated from the preceding parallel course by approximately one hundred feet. In addition to watching for artifacts lying exposed on the ground surface, the investigator carefully examined subsurface material that had been exposed by natural phenomena. Roots of trees felled by wind, ground turned by burrowing animals, and ground layers newly exposed by the erosion caused by rain, snow-melt runoff, and the seasonal swellings of streams and springs were all carefully examined. Additionally, the same areas were checked during different seasons in an attempt to avoid ground-obscuring plant growth. The field investigator examined some areas multiple times, including five separate searches of Hell Canyon. The field investigator discovered sixteen new sites, fourteen of which were within the monument. Previous investigations had disclosed six sites within the monument.³⁰

In an attempt to develop a statistical base from which a period of use could be extrapolated, the investigator expanded the spatial scope of the study to encompass both the monument as well as an area one mile beyond its borders. A records search revealed that a total of twenty-one archaeological sites had been found by various investigators within this

²⁸ Tratebas, *Black Hills Settlement Patterns*.

²⁹ Sundstrom, *Cultural History of the Black Hills*, 11.

³⁰ Glenna J. Sheveland, "An Intensive Cultural Resources Survey of Jewel Cave National Monument" (Custer, SD: Jewel Cave National Monument, National Park Service, 1995).

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expanded area. Of these twenty-one sites, fourteen were presumed to be prehistoric, five were historic, and two sites contained both historic and prehistoric artifacts. Extrapolating from these numbers, the 1992-95 investigators concluded that 75% of the sites located within the monument boundaries should be prehistoric. This projection based on probability proved to be a relatively accurate predictor—87% of the sites found by the 1992-95 investigators were prehistoric. The results of Sheveland's investigation are presented in an appendix to this study.³¹

Unfortunately, the scope of the investigation did not include any subsurface examination either physically or through the employment of remote sensing equipment. Consequently, little more can be said other than that physical evidence of prehistoric human use probably exists within the boundaries of Jewel Cave National Monument.

Protohistoric

Many historians and archaeologists maintain that the cultural consequences attributable to the retreat of ice and glaciers from much of the North American continent were equaled or even surpassed by the appearance of European trade goods and the pathogens that came with them. Spain had established a colonial presence in what is today Mexico; France and England had arrived on the Saint Lawrence in eastern Canada, and France also had arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi River. Europeans wanted furs and pelts from the indigenous populations of North America and traded steel, cloth, guns, and horses for them. The Protohistoric Period is the period when European goods began to enter the material culture assemblage of Native Americans, but was prior to the actual settlement of Europeans. In the Black Hills, the Protohistoric Period is generally considered to be from 1600 to 1874 AD. Much of the information regarding native cultural dynamics during the Protohistoric Period is derived from writings of European trappers, explorers, or military personnel.

Unfortunately, along with European trade goods from the Old World came pathogens, most notably the small pox virus, that were new to the peoples of the New World. Smallpox is a disease transmitted by casual human interaction but with potentially deadly results. A person infected with the smallpox virus can communicate the viral infection to other human hosts with minimal contact, and when antibodies are not present, there is a comparatively high probability that the new human host will die from the disease. The denser the human population, the higher the incidence of communication. When this biological fact is juxtaposed

³¹ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

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against the demographics of the Late Archaic and early Protohistoric Plains, it becomes apparent why smallpox had a much more devastating effect on those agricultural populations living in densely settled villages along the middle Missouri River than they did on small roving bands of nomads like the Lakota. The wandering groups of the Sioux, in general, were far less vulnerable to various epidemics than the agricultural villages of the Arikaras, Hidatsas, and Mandans.³²

Prior to these epidemics, residents along the Missouri River, including Mandan, Arikaras, and others, had traveled into the Black Hills in the summer to hunt and trade. This pattern of summer use, which may have prevailed for nearly a millennium,³³ was dramatically altered by the arrival of smallpox pathogens. Epidemics occurred along the Missouri River in the winters of 1779-1780, 1780-1781, and again in 1801-1802. In 1795, Jean Truteau reported that the Arikaras had been reduced from thirty-two large villages to two villages, and from 4,000 warriors to 500 warriors. The smallpox virus reached the Mandan and Hidatsa villages in 1781, having a similarly devastating effect on those populations.³⁴

The high mortality from smallpox experienced by these villages had a profound and lasting effect on the demographics of the Black Hills. Historically, the presence of these densely populated, well-defended farming villages along the middle Missouri River had been a barrier to population groups that had moved west across the Missouri River, onto the Plains, and ultimately to the Black Hills. Among these groups, was the population that would ultimately have a profound impact on the Black Hills—the Lakota groups, who had been moving south and west from above the Great Lakes area for generations. The devastation visited upon these Missouri River farming village populations by the smallpox epidemics compromised their ability to defend themselves. The decimation of Indians located below the mouth of the Cheyenne River by smallpox epidemics between 1771 and 1781 opened the way for the more northerly Teton tribes (Lakota) to cross the Missouri River.³⁵

By 1803-1804, when the arrival of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark announced the new American presence on the Missouri, the old borders and the old balance of power along the Missouri River were already undergoing radical change. The Mandans, Hidatsas, Arikaras, and Omahas

³² Richard White, "Winning the West: The Expansion of the Western Lakota in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of American History* (September 1978), 325-26.

³³ Linea Sundstrom, "Protohistoric and Historic Native American," *Black Hills National Forest*, Rom, et al., editors, 2f-4.

³⁴ Donald Jackson, editor. *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1962), 166, 228, as quoted in White, "The Winning of the West," 326.

³⁵ DeMallie, "Sioux Until 1850," 722.

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possessed only a shadow of their former strength. The Lakota dominated the upper Missouri nearly to the Yellowstone River. An Oglala party under Standing Bull had reached the Black Hills in 1775-1776, and by the turn of the century the Oglalas were contesting the Plains country between the Missouri and the Black Hills with the Kiowas, Arapahos, Crows, and Cheyennes.³⁶

It is important to be aware that not only was there great loss of life within these communities, there were profound changes in regional cultures and demographics. Groups once part of strong, thriving, well-defended villages were suddenly alone and isolated, and forced to cast their lot with other similarly isolated groups from other areas, or with nomadic groups. Life patterns defined by village community, adhering to seasonal planting, cultivation, and harvesting—life patterns that had predominated along the Missouri River for millennia—were forever changed for these epidemic survivors and their children and their children's children.

Anthropologists have been unable to ascertain which tribes occupied the Black Hills at which times. There is general agreement, however, that the Black Hills was never occupied by any single tribe to the exclusion of another tribe during the Protohistoric Period. According to a team of National Park Service anthropologists who completed an ethnohistorical study of nearby Wind Cave National Park in 2003:

This lack of territorial exclusiveness was very common in the Plains region, and contrary to the conventional image of tribes being dispersed across the landscape like separate pieces in a jigsaw puzzle, populations of diverse ethnic origin were generally not separated by distinct territories but were interspersed over the same territorial ranges.

A strong case can be made for the presence of Apachean-speaking peoples, commonly known as the Padoucas, in the vicinity of Wind Cave National Park from the sixteenth through the early eighteenth century. For reasons that are not at all clear, the Padoucas' powerful presence in the region was destroyed, leading them to abandon the area or join forces with other tribes, including some of their erstwhile enemies.

³⁶ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, as quoted in White, "Winning of the West," 327.

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By 1804 the Black Hills were held and completely surrounded by the Cheyenne with small numbers of Plains Apaches and Arapaho in their midst. At this point in time, most of the Arapahos and Plains Apaches had moved to the western side of the Hills and to locations along the Platte River and beyond.

It is clear that in the first decade of the nineteenth century, when Lewis and Clark wrote about the locations of tribes in the region, the lands between the forks of the Cheyenne River and the Platte, which included the southern Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park, were the shared territorial domain of the Arapahos and Cheyennes. Indeed, we can assert that the Hills were at the center of these two tribes' territorial ranges, with the largest concentrations of Cheyennes reported on the northern and eastern sides of the Hills and the main body of Arapahos located in areas to the west and south. It was not until the decades after 1825 that the Lakota became the dominant population in the region.

In the coming decades, the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Lakotas would be the only populations regularly affiliated with the Black Hills.³⁷

The horse and the gun would also profoundly and permanently transform many aspects of life in the Black Hills and the surrounding Prairie. The first horses and guns reached the Black Hills area during the period 1679-1750³⁸; horses came from Spanish sources to the Southwest,

³⁷ Patricia Albers, Anna Bendickson, Christina Berndt, Elizabeth Brown, Yvonne Kelly, Vanessa Kittelson, Kim Rossina, Stacy Schlegel, and Andrea Yardley, *The Home of the Bison: An Ethnographic and Ethnohistorical Study of Traditional Cultural Affiliations to Wind Cave National Park* (N.p.: National Park Service and the University of Minnesota, 2003), 50-51. Unfortunately, the authors neither present the evidence supporting their arguments, nor refer the reader to the source(s) of their information.

³⁸ Frank Secoy, *Changing Military Pattern of the Great Plains Indian, Monograph 21, American Ethnological Society* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1953). See also Wilbur Ney, *Bad Medicine and Good Tales of the Kiowa* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962) and Mildred Mayhall, *The Kiowas* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1871.)

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and guns from the French and English sources to the Northeast. According to some anthropologists, including Linea Sundstrom, the gun and horse not only transformed tribal alliances, which became increasingly based upon the ability to acquire guns or horses, it also resulted in some groups abandoning semi-horticultural activities in favor of a more nomadic life.

Native American uses of the Black Hills must be examined within the context of those radical and rapid contemporary changes taking place in the Plains surrounding the Black Hills. Prior to the introduction of the horse, several ethnic groups occupied the Black Hills and the surrounding area. By 1700, Crow, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Comanche, and Suhtai are believed to have been there,³⁹ followed first by the Arapaho and Cheyenne and much later by Lakota groups moving south and west. Arapaho and Cheyenne had abandoned their semi-sedentary, horticulturist life near the Missouri River east of the Black Hills. This movement resulted in the displacement of the Crow and Kiowa. As presented in the table in this chapter, entitled "Native American Groups That Occupied the Black Hills," by the mid-1700s the Arapaho and Cheyenne were the predominant ethnic groups in the Black Hills.⁴⁰ Some researchers maintain that some Arapaho may have been in the Black Hills area as early as 1550.⁴¹ The Arapaho, in turn, were displaced by groups, including the Lakota. There may have been a time when the Arapaho and the Cheyenne both lived in the Black Hills area and perhaps even cooperated in trade activities; however, by the end of the 18th century, increasing pressure from Lakota groups resulted in the Arapaho moving south to live along the Platte River.⁴² By 1816 Lakota groups had displaced both the Cheyenne and Arapaho, who then occupied the area of the headwaters of the Platte, Arkansas, and Red rivers, well south of the Black Hills.⁴³

³⁹ Douglas Bamforth, *Ecology and Human Organization of the Great Plains* (New York: Plenum Press, 1988).

⁴⁰ Sundstrom, "Protohistoric and Historic Native American," *Black Hills National*, Rom, et al., editors, 2f-3.

⁴¹ Carl Schlesier, "Introduction," *Plains Indians, A.D. 500-1500: The Archeological Past of Historical Groups*, edited by Karl Schlesier (Norman: OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).

⁴² Albers, et al., *Home of the Bison*

⁴³ Zachary Gussow, "Cheyenne and Arapaho Aboriginal Occupation," *Arapaho-Cheyenne Indians*, edited by D. A. Horr (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 83.

Europeans

A snapshot of these cultural dynamics is offered by the field notes prepared by Lewis and Clark in 1805 on their way west. Lewis and Clark recorded an ethnic dispersal they gleaned from conversations with trappers, traders, and Native Americans. They reported Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache groups at the head of the Belle Fourche River; Suhtais at the head of the Cheyenne and White river; and Arapahos at the head of the North Platte. Lewis and Clark also recognized the formidable presence of Lakota groups along the Missouri River. They reported that it was the one tribe that had the power to significantly affect the ability of the United States to trade up the Missouri.⁴⁴

Notwithstanding the Lewis and Clark report, some anthropologists believe that Lakota groups had entered the Black Hills area about 1775 and within a decade had driven out the remaining Kiowa and conquered and later befriended the Cheyenne and Arapaho.⁴⁵ The Lakota never exclusively occupied the Black Hills. As late as 1877 when the United States government removed all Native Americans from the Black Hills, Cheyenne and Arapaho camps were interspersed with the camps of the much larger Lakota population. By the 1830s, however, population in and around the Black Hills was predominately Lakota; in fact, some anthropologists assert that the Black Hills was the spatial center of the Lakota culture.⁴⁶

Perhaps the two most important factors influencing the westward expansion of the Lakota toward and ultimately into the Black Hills were disease and commerce. The Western Lakota were very involved in the trade of pelts and continued their expansion westward in search of pelts and skins. Jean Baptiste Truteau described the Lakota he encountered (c. 1796) as being trappers and traders who also hunted buffalo:

The Sioux tribes are those who hunt most for the beaver and other good peltries of the Upper Missouri. They scour all the rivers and streams without fearing anyone. They carry away every springtime . . . a great number of them, which they exchange for merchandise

⁴⁴ White, "Winning of the West."

⁴⁵ Marla N. Powers, *Ogala Women Myth, Ritual and Reality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 50.

⁴⁶ Robert W. Larson, *Red Cloud Warrior-Statesman of the Lakota* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

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with the other Sioux situated on the St. Peter's
[Minnesota] and Des Moines Rivers.⁴⁷

Rock Art

For thousands of years, people who lived in or visited the Black Hills inscribed or painted messages on rock walls. The area is rich with these dynamic, first-person dispatches from the past.

Rock art, like letters written on paper, can make dry, third-person history and archaeology come alive. Such communications resonate with those who come later by imparting a sense of immediacy to the past, pointing out human commonalities, or showing us our differences. They are intentional, not accidental, and they can speak through the ages.

Unlike rock art, archaeological artifacts communicate to us by inadvertence. Spear points, biface knives, and arrow tips are found where they were thrown, dropped, shot, or perhaps simply lost or discarded. These artifacts can tell us a great deal based on the way they were constructed, what was used to make them, and what other artifacts or organic matter they were associated with *in situ* (at that location). But they were not intended as messages.

On the other hand, the man or woman standing before a rock face patiently chipping or painting is leaving a message. We may not know if the message is biographical, sociological, spiritual, astrological, or any (or all) of these. But we do know it is not the mere doodling hurried scratching of a person engaged in casual communication with nearby neighbors. Significant intentionality went into these petroglyphs, these rock art lythic memorials.

The Black Hills contains some of the richest rock art in the entire Great Plains cultural area. As of 1996, 113 rock art sites had been recorded,⁴⁸ including both carved and painted figures. The great diversity in rock art styles (three styles of carved and four styles of painted) is evidence that the work was created by differing cultures and at different times.⁴⁹

Linea Sundstrom, an archaeologist and recognized expert on Black Hills rock art, describes the chronology of rock art in her 2004 book *Storied*

⁴⁷ Annie Heloise Abel, editor, *Tabeau's Narrative of Leisler's Expedition to the Upper Missouri* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), 120-23.

⁴⁸ Linea Sundstrom, *Rock Art of the Southern Black Hills: A Contextual Approach* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990). See also Linea Sundstrom, "Rock Art," *Black Hills National Forest*, Rom, et al., editors, 3d; and Linea Sundstrom, *Storied Stone: Indian Rock Art in the Black Hills Country* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

⁴⁹ Sundstrom, *Rock Art of the Southern Black Hills*.

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Stone. She commences with Late Paleo-Indian or Early Archaic and continues into the Historic Period. Sundstrom reports that the lithic substrate upon which the petroglyphs were placed has not been dated by geologists; however, dates have been estimated based on an assortment of circumstantial evidence such as the height of the petroglyphs above or below present ground level,⁵⁰ the type of weapons depicted (firearms/bow-and-arrow/spear)⁵¹, and carbon-14 dating of organic matter found in close proximity. It appears that painting and engraving techniques were used concurrently—the use of one did not predate the use of the other. There is also evidence that the two media were mixed. Residue of material used to impart color has been found inside the incised cuts of engraved work.

Making reasonable fact-based conclusions about the motives behind the rock art is highly problematic. In fact, the nature and substance of the messages intended by the creators of rock art has been the subject of seemingly endless speculation. Some argue that the art is biographical, perhaps autobiographical; others believe the art is astrological or astronomical in its use of simplified star charts. Still others maintain that the work is spiritual or religious, or that humans didn't create the rock art at all. Sundstrom believes that all but the spirit-carvings are plausible motives.⁵²

Identifying the motives of persons who acted thousands of years ago is inherently difficult. Even interviews of persons who share a high statistical DNA commonality with these artists of 5,000 years ago are very conjectural. A few proponents of the oral-tradition approach have on occasion asked twentieth-century Lakota to explain the meaning of specific symbols found in rock art that was created some two thousand years ago. Knowledge of a culture's mythology may lead to some informative possibilities. An exploration of Black Hills rock art by students of prehistoric Black Hills mythologies may disclose a high correlation between these ancient beliefs and this ancient art. This is the approach pursued by Linea Sundstrom in her *Storied Stone*.⁵³

Excavations at several sites immediately adjacent to extensive works of rock art have provided material evidence that links the spiritual

⁵⁰ Familiarity with the rate of erosion or accretion of the ground immediately adjacent to the rock art can enable a researcher to extrapolate from the present height of the petroglyphs above or below the ground, the approximate number of years ago the ground level would have conveniently permitted a person to reach the rock face that he or she carved or painted.

⁵¹ Most rock art reproduced in both Sundstrom's publications, as well as that published by others, appears to be focused predominately on either hunting or inter-personal violence, consequently, the tools almost always depicted are implements used to kill or injure.

⁵² Sundstrom, *Storied Stone*, 24.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 24.

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beliefs of Native Americans and the rock art they created. Artifacts that appear to have never been used by the original owners—tools, arrows, arrow points, biface knives and jewelry—have all been found near petroglyphs. These items appear to have been eminently useable but were merely discarded, unused. One explanation, and a highly probable one that would comport with generally accepted human experience, is that the items were left as offerings. Carbon-14 dating of several of these artifacts has indicated that they were left behind some 2000 years ago.⁵⁴ Importantly, the offerings appear to be multi-cultural. It would be safe to conjecture, then, that the site and its associated petroglyphs were not tribe- or nation-specific.⁵⁵

The content of the rock pictures is equally tantalizing. Several designs were used repeatedly by multiple individuals, apparently from multiple cultures or nations, and from multiple geological or anthropological times. These are cultural indicators that give us insight into the individual men and women who stood in front of rock faces thousands of years ago patiently chipping away.

Lakota

What makes a Sioux a Sioux rather than a Cheyenne, an Arapaho, or a Scotsman? Most anthropologists would say that a group is defined by common linguistic and cultural attributes that differ from other groups. Anthropologists traditionally identify three distinct groups within the Sioux culture: the Santee, the Yankton-Yanktona; and the Teton. Although linguistically each of the three had some systematic sound differences and some vocabulary unique to their area, members of each of the three groups were intelligible to one another. They did, however, speak three, distinct dialects, and were, therefore, considered by anthropologists as three discrete cultural groups. The Santee called themselves “Dakota,” the Yankton-Yanktonai referred to themselves as “Nakota,” and the Teton called

⁵⁴ Carbon-14, or radioactive carbon dating, is related to calendar time, but not directly linear with it. The amount of carbon in the atmosphere has varied from time to time throughout the history of the planet. Additionally, the amount of radioactive material within the environment has been substantially modified by climatic changes as well as human actions, particularly since the 1950s. However, for the purposes of the protracted periods being discussed here, being off by a couple hundred years is of minor significance, and increasing the temporal precision of this narrative would not enhance its accuracy or significance.

⁵⁵ Sundstrom, *Storied Stone*, 132.

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themselves “Lakota.”⁵⁶ The nomadic Lakota eventually separated from the eastern Dakota bands (Yankton-Yanktonai and Santee) and became predominant in the Black Hills. They became, therefore, a western branch of the Sioux.

Sioux oral tradition places their beginnings near “the northern lakes east of the Mississippi.” By the middle 1600s, the Sioux resided in a broad area stretching from central Minnesota into the deciduous forests and open grasslands that followed the Missouri and Mississippi rivers; however, until the eighteenth century they remained on the east side of the Missouri River. Although it is without doubt a gross oversimplification, the movement westward from the Great Lakes region was stimulated in part by escalating warfare from the early 1640s to the mid-1660s when the Iroquois launched large-scale incursions into areas occupied by other nations, including the Sioux. The Iroquois, having been devastated by disease and warfare, looked to the land bordering the Great Lakes and down into the Ohio Valley for additional land and slaves to replace their losses. According to historian Richard White, the Iroquois intrusions into historical Sioux areas resulted in the region’s populace becoming refugees.

Never again in North America would Indians fight each other on this scale or with this ferocity. People fled west, fleeing the slaughter. The largely Algonquian-speaking world west of Iroquoia broke up, and the Iroquois pushed the fragments west.⁵⁷

Initially the Iroquois were armed with guns, and the Algonquian groups—including the Hurons, Petuns, and others—were not. The only response of these groups was to flee west. The fleeing refugees ultimately bumped up against Sioux groups who initially were able to restrain them from occupying Sioux land, forcing the fleeing groups to gather in refugee centers along a strip of land stretching from the Great Lakes south toward the Mississippi.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the western Sioux refugees (representing all three divisions—Santee, Yankton, and Teton, or Lakota) sustained themselves primarily by hunting bison between the upper Mississippi and the Missouri rivers. They neither engaged in farming nor

⁵⁶ Raymond J. DeMallie, “Sioux Until 1850,” *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vd. 13, Part 2 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 718-19. Also see Edward Lazarus, *Black Hills/ White Justice: The Sioux Nation Versus the United States, 1775 to the Present* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), 4.

⁵⁷ Richard White, *The Middle Ground* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1.

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gathered wild rice as their neighbors to the east had done for centuries. During the hunting season, several villages of the western Sioux gathered for communal hunts. Hunters would circle the herd and kill as many bison as possible as the herd milled about. Some archaeologists estimate that between 100 and 120 buffalo were killed in a single hunt.⁵⁸ Western Sioux villagers depended almost totally on the food obtained during these hunts. The buffalo were butchered at the site of the kill and the meat was dried and cached for use throughout the winter; hides were treated and used for clothing and shelter covering. The communal hunting group would then move on in search of another herd.⁵⁹

Western Sioux society of the late 1600s was one of small village groups loosely bound by common language and customs. One's primary allegiance was to his or her village, not to what we today refer to as the "tribe." Villages traveled independently of one another except for communal hunt gatherings during the summer months.⁶⁰ There was no unilinear organization; boys were named for elders in the father's family, and girls were named for members of the mother's family. Adoption was commonly practiced, and adopted adults and children, both Sioux and non-Sioux, were treated as if they were biological relatives and referred to using kin terms. Captives were on occasion adopted to replace a deceased relative. Leaders, or "chiefs" had no power over village residents other than the power of persuasion. Members of the village were free to follow or disregard advice given by the village leaders.⁶¹

As noted above, in the 1700s, the Sioux villages began shifting their residence westward because of pressure from the better-armed Chippewa and Cree to their east, and the need to follow the buffalo, whose population was shrinking and whose range was slowly moving west. Additionally, residents to the west of the Sioux, in villages along the Missouri River, became less able to protect their lands. The Teton Sioux, or Lakota, who later occupied the Black Hills, was in the vanguard of this westward movement, and by the mid-eighteenth century the Lakota were hunting the prairies west of the Missouri River.⁶²

The band structure based upon lodge groups in large part enabled Sioux groups to maintain social and political stability yet be flexible in adapting to the rapid changes in their lives resulting from their western migration. The lodge group was the minimal social unit that remained together throughout the year. Frequently, two or three lodge groups would gather together for the summer months, but with the advent of winter, the

⁵⁸ DeMallie, "Sioux Until 1850," 725.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 722.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 725-27.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 725-27.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 727.

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group would again disperse into separate lodge groups. The lodge groups averaged between ten and twenty families consisting of approximately one hundred people. Although the lodge groups were frequently kinship groups, the members were not always related to one another. Each group was headed by a leader (frequently called “chief” in the more romantic literature), who usually inherited the position from his father.

The leaders did not rule as much as confer and counsel, while the village as a whole or a smaller group of leaders decided most village-wide issues. This political and social fact would later be partially acknowledged in the Laramie Treaty of 1868,⁶³ when the treaty language expressly required a majority of all males in the tribe to agree to any future changes or modifications to the treaty.⁶⁴

Lakota Spiritual Connection to the Black Hills

Some writers have reported that Lakota tradition placed spiritual significance on the Black Hills. In fact, it would probably not be an overstatement to say that the literature dealing with the Lakota in the Black Hills contains a wealth of reported assertions by numerous Lakotas that the Black Hills were spiritually significant to them. Most of these reports present neither supporting physical evidence nor information supporting the reliability of their informants. For example, Edward Lazarus in his presentation of the Lakota occupation of the Black Hills, writes that “The [Black] Hills were a holy place, a place for vision quests, home to *Wakan Tanka*, the Great Spirit, the sum of all that was powerful, sacred, and full of mystery.”⁶⁵ Lazarus acknowledges in the preceding paragraph, however, that the Lakota did not secure the Black Hills until the early 1800s. Lazarus also indicates that the source of his information was statements rumored to have been made by a Lakota named Red Thunder, who, in turn, had reported been told of the unique spiritual nature of the Black Hills by a god. Lazarus offers no physical evidence supporting the assertion. Similarly, Watson Parker in his 1962 Master’s Thesis writes:

Even Harney Peak itself, in the very center of the Hills, was supposed to be the shrine of the Indians, a suitable site for vision quests and spiritual exercises. It is significant, however, that one of the principal sources of this notion is the

⁶³ 15 Stat. 635

⁶⁴ A. H. Abel, 1939, quoted in DeMallie, “Sioux Until 1850,” 734.

⁶⁵ Edward Lazarus, *Black Hills/ White Justice: The Sioux Nation Versus the United States, 1775 to the Present* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), 7.

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story which Black Elk tells of his vision quest -- in which he was transported to the top of Harney Peak, not physically, but in a dream. Even today, local tradition holds that the Indians performed religious rites in vast caves on the western slope of the Peak. It may well have been so, for Harney is an awesome and imposing mountain, well suited to be either the temple or the footstool of the gods.⁶⁶

Parker then adds a footnote indicating that his source was an "old timer" in the Black Hills, who "was not considered a reliable informant by those who knew him best."⁶⁷

The Lakota have argued forcefully that the Black Hills are a sacred space. They are "the heart of everything that is. They are the heart of our home and the home of our heart," the Lakota said during and after U.S. Senate hearings in the mid-1980s.⁶⁸ Yes, assertions that the Black Hills have been spiritually significant in Lakota tradition are rendered problematic by the fact that the Lakota occupation of the Black Hills spanned such a brief period of less than two hundred years. Such a brief period would appear to be an extraordinarily short time for a body of beliefs to become inculcated by any society. Even famous Lakota religious leader Black Elk, who told stories about the importance of the Hills, particularly Harney Peak, said nothing about their sacredness. This concept did not emerge until two decades after his death. Additionally, as noted above, there is a wealth of material cultural evidence of spiritual activity found within the Black Hills in the form of rock art. Yet, none of this evidence has been connected directly or indirectly to the Lakota. Prolific noted environmental historian Donald Worster, after exhaustive historical investigation, has found no hard evidence about the Hills sacredness, but instead a strong emotional attachment that the Lakota have for the Black Hills that has produced a feeling of sacred reverence for this place. According to Worster, the Lakota "are drawing on emotions and issues that have been around for a long while, breathing new life into them, finding coherence of purpose and depth of meaning where it may not have existed before."⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Watson Parker, "The Exploration of the Dakota Black Hills," (Masters Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1962), 20.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 20.

⁶⁸ As quoted in Donald Worster, *Under Western Skies: Nature and History in the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 136.

⁶⁹ Worster, *Under Western Skies*, 151. Worster recommend returning the Black Hills to the Lakota for their cultural betterment and for improved racial relations.

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Native American groups that occupied the Black Hills and areas immediately adjacent to them between 1500 and 1781.⁷⁰	
<u>Nation(s)</u>	<u>Location(s)</u>
Padouca	Wind Cave National Park area (during the period 1500-1700 AD)
Comanche	Wind Cave National Park area (during the period 1500-1700 AD)
Kiowa, Arapaho, Plains Apache, Crows	Between the Platte River and the southern Black Hills (after 1760)
Arapaho and Kiowa	South Black Hills (after 1760)
Cheyenne and Sutaio allies	Black Hills (annual hunts and some settlements) Upper reaches of the White River and South Fork of the Cheyenne River (after 1760)
Wotapio Cheyenne with allied Kiowa	Upper reaches of the White River and the south fork of the Cheyenne River (after 1760)
Suhtai and Omisis Cheyenne ...	Northern edge of the Black Hills (after 1760)
Plains (Kiowa) Apache and Arapaho	Northern edge of the Black Hills. Also near the forks of the Cheyenne River (after 1760)
Oglala and Sicangu Lakota	Southern Black Hills (after 1760)
Minneconjou and Itazipco Lakota, Arikara and Ponca	Seasonal hunting into the eastern and southern portions of the Black Hills (prior to 1781)

Table 1-1

⁷⁰ Source: Albers, et al., *Home of the Bison: An Ethnographic and Ethnohistorical Study of Traditional Cultural Affiliations to Wind Cave National Park* (2003). NOTE: The material presented in this table is extracted from a narrative in the cited publication. None of this particular narrative was accompanied by citations to the sources of the information upon which the authors based their findings.

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Native American groups who occupied the Black Hills and areas immediately adjacent to them between 1782 and 1806.⁷¹

The smallpox epidemic of 1781 resulted in a large decrease of Indians living along the Missouri River. Prior to the epidemic, these were densely populated and well-defended villages presenting a barrier to groups moving west. After the 1781 epidemic, this barrier no longer existed and large groups began moving west across the Missouri River toward the Black Hills.

<u>Nation(s)</u>	<u>Location(s)</u>
Lakota	Major tributaries that flowed From, in, and around the Black Hills; Northern flanks of the Hills
Oglala and Sicangu Lakota	Tributaries of the White and Bad rivers
Kiowa	Southern Black Hills, including areas having tributaries of the White and Bad rivers, where they encountered and fought Lakota groups (until early 1800s.)
Crow	Southern Black Hills areas having tributaries of the White and Bad rivers where they encountered and fought Lakota Groups
Arapaho	Southern Black Hills, including areas having tributaries of the White and Bad rivers and the northern flank of the Black Hills
Cheyenne	Cheyenne River area and other locations around the Black Hills, including the northern flank.
Plains Apache	Southern Black Hills area (until early 1800s)
Comanche	Southern Black Hills area (until early 1800s)

Table 1-2

⁷¹ Source: Albers, et al., *Home of the Bison* (2003). NOTE: The material presented in this table is extracted from a narrative in the cited publication. None of this particular narrative was accompanied by citations to the sources of the information upon which the authors based their findings.