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Draft
Study of Alternatives
Environmental Assessment

Wounded Knee

South Dakota

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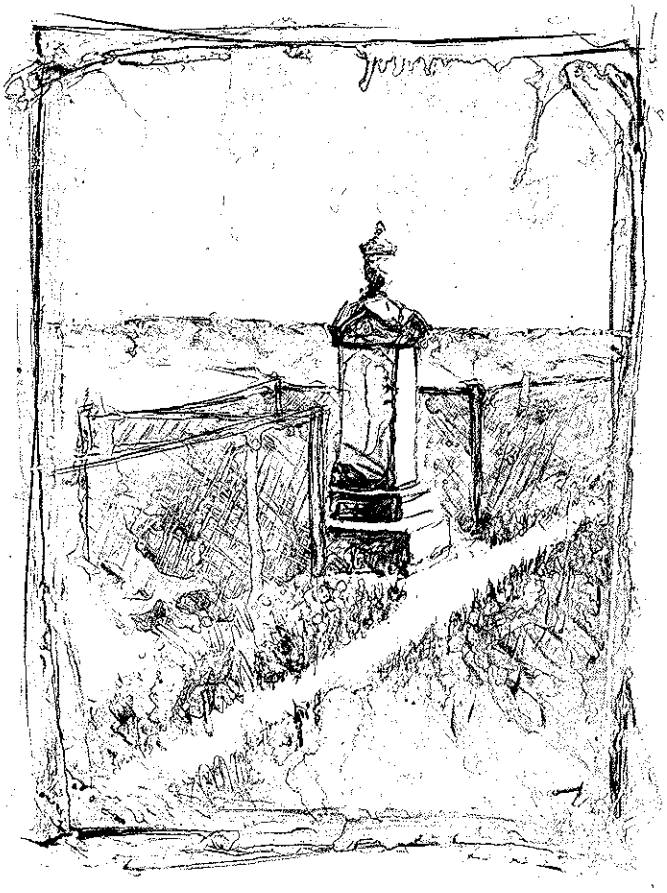
4/23/01

Many innocent women and children who knew no wrong died here.
— Inscription on the mass grave marker, 1903



Draft
Study of Alternatives
Environmental Assessment

January 1993

WOUNDED KNEE • SOUTH DAKOTA

United States Department of the Interior • National Park Service • Denver Service Center

SUMMARY

This *Study of Alternatives and Environmental Assessment* considers three alternatives to commemorate the tragedy that took place at Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota, on December 29, 1890. Each of these alternatives would acknowledge the massacre, memorialize the Lakota victims, and interpret the significance of the site. In accordance with National Park Service (NPS) policies, and to reflect the full range of alternatives mentioned by the public, a no-action alternative has also been considered. Under this alternative existing conditions at the Wounded Knee site would be continued, and a national memorial or park would not be established.

The differences between alternatives relate primarily to who would manage the area and how resources would be protected. Additional alternatives may be generated by incorporating elements from each of the three alternatives described in this document.

Alternatives 1 and 2 would both establish a Wounded Knee National Memorial as a unit of the national park system. The memorial would be managed by the National Park Service in close cooperation with the Oglala and Cheyenne River Sioux tribes.

Under **alternative 1** the goal would be to protect the historic scene throughout the entire area, including the national historic landmark and adjacent lands. The National Park Service would take the lead in managing and protecting the historic resources.

Under **alternative 2** only a core area would be managed directly by the National Park Service, and a historic landscape protection area would be established on surrounding lands. Present ownership would be maintained on these lands, but land uses would be controlled through cooperative management by the Oglala Sioux Tribe and the Park Service, along with the local landowners and the Wounded Knee community. The goal would be to ensure that nearby land uses did not detract from the significance and integrity of the national memorial.

Alternative 3 would establish an Oglala/Cheyenne River Sioux tribal park that would be jointly managed by both tribes and could be affiliated with the national park system. Under this alternative the National Park Service would offer technical assistance in management and development, but it would not be directly involved in seeking annual operating funds or in day-to-day operations.

Any proposal that would significantly affect either the Oglala Sioux Tribe or the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe could not be put into effect without the approval of the respective tribal governments.

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On the morning of December 29, 1890, the Seventh Cavalry of the U.S. Army engaged the Lakota followers of Chief Big Foot in a bloody and tragic confrontation near Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota. At approximately 9:15 A.M. a rifle was fired, precipitating a violent outbreak of gunfire on both sides. The most intense fighting occurred within the first 30 minutes, with many Lakotas being shot as they tried to flee to the west through a dry ravine. Accounts from eyewitnesses indicate that sporadic gun fire continued perhaps until early afternoon. It was nearly 5 P.M. before the wounded were evacuated, and the troops and many of the surviving Indians left for the Pine Ridge Agency. The U.S. Army lost 25 soldiers, many from their own crossfire; more than 250 Lakota men, women, and children died.

INTRODUCTION

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF WOUNDED KNEE

The tragedy at Wounded Knee has been recognized by American Indians, scholars, and the general public as a symbolic event in the long history of relations between the Indian and white societies. What transpired at Wounded Knee in 1890 has been described as both a massacre and a battle, reflecting two polarized interpretations that have evolved since reporters and photographers dramatically brought the event to the attention of the American public in the last days of 1890.

For the Lakotas, Wounded Knee shattered the Ghost Dance religious beliefs, broke their sacred hoop of the world, and left the tribe resigned to reservation life. The site of the massacre has become sacred ground, consecrated by the blood of their people and commemorated by survivors, relatives, and descendants. In 1973 Wounded Knee once again gained national attention when several hundred Lakotas and their supporters occupied the area in a violent expression of Indian rights.

For the U.S. Army, Wounded Knee comprised a final chapter in the Sioux Campaign of 1890–91, and the last major armed encounter between Indians and whites on the North American continent.*

PURPOSE OF AND NEED FOR THE STUDY

This study of alternatives, which was requested by the secretary of the interior, analyzes three alternatives for commemorating the tragic events at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890. Two alternatives propose the establishment of a national memorial as part of the national park system, and a third alternative proposes an intertribal park that would be managed by the Cheyenne River and Oglala Sioux tribes and that could be affiliated with the national park system. In accordance with NPS policies, and to reflect the full range of alternatives mentioned by the public, a no-action alternative is also considered. Under this alternative existing conditions at the Wounded Knee site would be continued, without the establishment of a national memorial or park.

The alternatives address the following issues and concerns:

- *Concept for a national memorial* — What would be the purpose of a memorial? Should there be a monument to memorialize the Lakota people who died at Wounded Knee? What should the landscape surrounding the mass grave look like? Should it be restored to look like it did in December 1890? Or should all existing development be removed and the area restored to a natural appearance?

- *Management* — Who should take care of the site and provide services? Should the National Park Service be involved? How should the Sioux tribes be involved? Should there be a commission to advise park managers? Who should be on the commission?

- *Interpretive themes* — How should the story be told to visitors?

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* The term Sioux is a French corruption of a Chippewa word for the peoples living to the west of them. The term collectively refers to three tribes — from east to west, the Dakotas, Nakotas, and Lakotas, who are all speakers of related Siouan languages. The Lakotas are also referred to as the Teton Sioux.

- *Resource protection* — What size area needs to be specially managed to protect the Wounded Knee site, including the mass grave? How should these lands be protected?

- *Facilities* — What facilities are needed for visitors and for site management, and where should they be located? Examples of visitor facilities include a visitor center, parking areas, and restrooms; management facilities include office space, maintenance facilities, employee housing, and utilities, such as sewage treatment.

- *Access* — How would visitors get to the memorial? Should they be able to drive to the grave site, take a shuttle, or only walk?

- *Entrance fees* — Should the memorial be free to all visitors, only to Lakota tribal members, or only to descendants of the victims?

- *Training, employment* — What kind of training should be offered, and who should offer it? Who should work at the site?

- *Acquisition, development, and operating costs* — Who should pay for the acquisition of lands? Who should pay for development and operations?

LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA

Wounded Knee is on the Pine Ridge Reservation in southwestern South Dakota. However, the chain of events that led up to the massacre stretched across the western half of the state, from the Standing Rock Reservation, where Chief Sitting Bull was killed on December 15, to the Cheyenne River Reservation, Chief Big Foot's home, to Wounded Knee (see the Region map).

CRITERIA FOR PARKLANDS

Under two alternatives a Wounded Knee National Memorial would be added as a unit to the national park system. To qualify for addition to the park system, a site must be nationally significant, and it must also meet suitability and feasibility requirements, as described below.

Criteria for National Significance

The criteria for evaluating areas for inclusion in the national park system are included in the 1988 NPS *Management Policies* and the *Criteria for Parklands*. These policies state that a resource will be considered nationally significant if it meets all four of the following criteria:

- It is an outstanding example of a particular type of resource.

- It possesses exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our nation's heritage.

- It offers superlative opportunities for recreation, for public use and enjoyment, or for scientific study.

- It retains a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of the resource.

These criteria closely parallel national historic landmark criteria that were developed in 1983. A site that has been designated as a national historic landmark has been determined to meet the criteria and is considered to possess national significance; therefore, a national historic landmark requires no further analysis of significance for consideration as a new unit of the national park system or as an affiliated area. The Wounded Knee site was designated a national historic landmark by the secretary of the interior on December 21, 1965.

Wounded Knee
South Dakota

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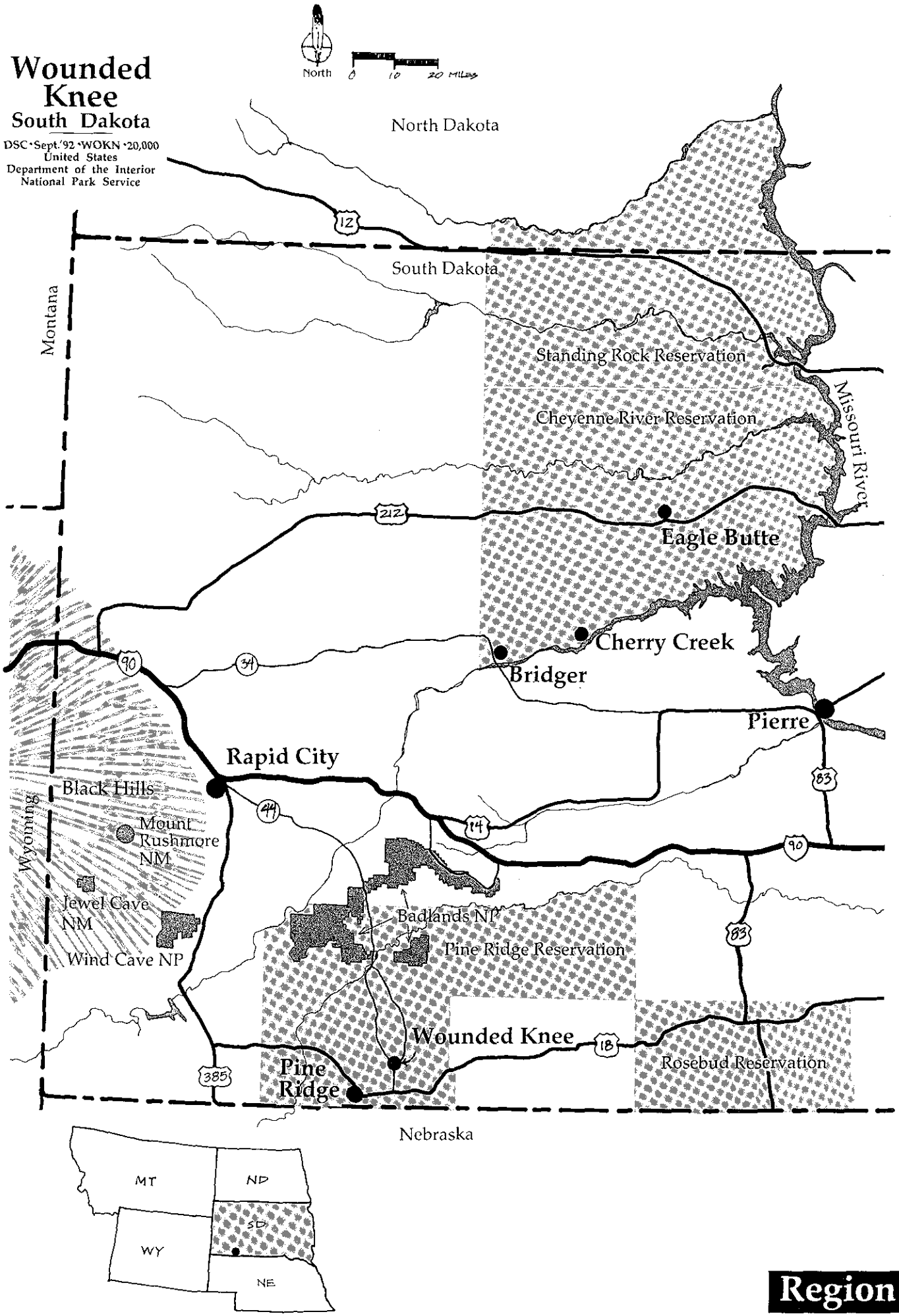
National Park Service



Region

Suitability and Feasibility for Inclusion in the National Park System

An area that is nationally significant must also meet criteria for suitability and feasibility to qualify as a potential addition to the national park system.

Suitability. To be suitable for inclusion in the national park system, an area must represent a natural or cultural theme or type of recreational resource that is not already adequately represented in the park system or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by another land-managing agency.

Cultural themes are defined in the *History and Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Historic Landmarks Program* (NPS 1987). Table 1 shows the various themes and subthemes that could be represented by a national park system unit at Wounded Knee. With respect to the theme "Indigenous American Populations," a national park system unit at Wounded Knee could place Lakota culture and history in a larger context. Before the arrival of white settlers, the Lakotas had traditionally followed a nomadic way of life on the Great Plains, pursuing the great herds of buffalo. But after 1890 they were forced onto reservations where food was rationed to them. With respect to the theme "Westward Expansion," Wounded Knee reflects the Lakotas' resistance and eventual resignation to reservation life, the growth and decline of the Ghost Dance religion, and the last major armed encounter between the U.S. Army and the American Indians.

Feasibility. To be feasible as a new unit of the national park system, an area must be of sufficient size and appropriate configuration, considering natural systems or historic settings, to ensure long-term protection of resources and to accommodate public use. It must also have potential for efficient administration at a reasonable cost. Important feasibility factors include landownership, acquisition costs, access, threats to the resource, and staff or development requirements. The feasibility of each alternative is discussed in the "Description and Analysis of Alternatives" chapter.

INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THIS STUDY AND OTHER EFFORTS

This *Study of Alternatives* is one in a series of proposals focusing on Wounded Knee or Lakota culture that date back to the 1950s.

Congressional bill — The Wounded Knee survivors associations of the Cheyenne River and Pine Ridge reservations have proposed legislation to Congress to establish a Chief Big Foot National Memorial Park and a Wounded Knee National Memorial. The bill was introduced in both houses of Congress on August 12, 1992. This NPS *Study of Alternatives* is unrelated to the bill.

The proposed legislation would establish both a national memorial and a national memorial park at the site of the Wounded Knee massacre, plus a unit on the Cheyenne River Reservation. It would also authorize studies to examine the feasibility (1) of designating a Chief Big Foot National Historic Trail, with visitor centers on Interstate 90 at Cactus Flats and on the Cheyenne Indian Reservation, and (2) of establishing a Crazy Horse Memorial Highway. The National Park Service, in consultation with a park advisory council, would be authorized to administer the site through a leasehold of Pine Ridge Reservation and Cheyenne River Reservation lands. The Park Service would also design and construct, in consultation with the Wounded Knee survivors associations, a memorial to the victims of the massacre.

Cankpe Taopi: Wounded Knee Feasibility Study, 1988–1990. This study was prepared by Wyss, Inc., for the South Dakota Historic Preservation Center, and it was funded

TABLE 1: THEMES AND SUBTHEMES POTENTIALLY REPRESENTED BY A NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM UNIT AT WOUNDED KNEE, SOUTH DAKOTA

Themes and Subthemes	Thematic Representation in the National Park System
Theme I — Cultural Developments: Indigenous American Populations Subtheme D — Ethnohistory of Indigenous American Populations 1. Native Cultural Adaptations at Contact h. Native Adaptations to Plains Environments 2. Establishing Intercultural Relations c. Military Scouts e. Defending Native Homelands f. Defending Native Religious Systems g. Introductions to Foreign Religious Systems 3. Varieties of Early Conflict, Conquest, or Accommodation c. The New Demographics (1) Disease and Massacres: Their Cultural and Biological Effects d. Changing Settlement Types (6) Reservations 5. Becoming Native American d. Native Responses to New Economic, Political, and Territorial Arrangements 6. The Myth of the Vanishing Native a. Ethnic Revitalization (1) Changing Tribal Statuses, Political, and Religious Systems	Agate Fossil Beds National Monument, Nebraska* Badlands National Park, South Dakota* Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, North Dakota* (Hidatsa and Mandan cultures) Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, Montana*
Theme X — Westward Expansion of the British Colonies and the United States, 1763–1898 Subtheme C — Military-Aboriginal American Contact and Conflict 3. The Northern Plains	Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area, Montana/Wyoming Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, Montana Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, North Dakota

* Units of the national park system potentially represented under theme I; units have not yet been formally classified.

by the South Dakota Historic Preservation Center, the South Dakota Department of Tourism, the South Dakota Community Foundation, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and the South Dakota Centennial Commission.

The purpose of this 1988–90 study was to help direct preservation and development of the Wounded Knee massacre site and cemetery. The study included a multidisciplinary team, directed by the South Dakota state historic preservation officer, with representation from the South Dakota Department of Tourism, the National Park Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Wounded Knee community, the Wounded Knee survivors associations, the Oglala Sioux Tribe, and representatives from the office of U.S. Congressman Tim Johnson of

South Dakota. Volume one contains visitor demand information, data analysis, a preliminary site inventory, and an identification of critical issues. Volume two provides preliminary concepts on visitation, management, and development of the site. Volume three contains numerous recommendations concerning development and visitation, including a preferred plan with the following major points:

- Interpretation should be from the viewpoint of the Lakotas.
- The best memorial is the land.
- The visitor center should be located outside the boundaries of the site.
- Existing roads should be rerouted around the site, and no vehicular access should be permitted to the site beyond the visitor center.
- All nonhistoric structures on the site should be relocated.

Proposal for the Oglala Sioux Museum and Cultural Center. This 1989 document was prepared by the Native American Resource Development Association, Pueblo, Colorado, for the Oglala Sioux Tribe Parks and Recreation Authority. Its purpose was to respond to the lack of tourist accommodations at Wounded Knee and to stimulate a tourist economy. The proposal consisted of an Oglala Sioux Museum and Cultural Center, with four buildings encircling the museum. The four buildings would include a Lakota art gallery, gift shop and restaurant, hotel, and a studio for Lakota artists.

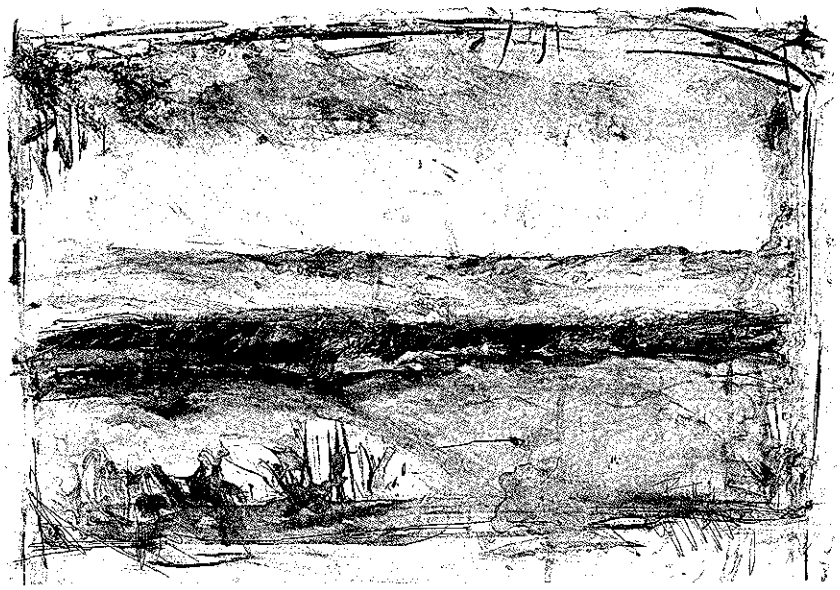
Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark Nomination. Although Wounded Knee was designated a national historic landmark in 1965, no nomination form was prepared. The draft nomination that has been prepared and is now on review includes a description of the site and its resources, a historic context, and a narrative of the events leading up to and including the massacre. The nomination also proposes an 870-acre boundary for the landmark. This national historic landmark documentation process is separate from this *Study of Alternatives.*

Special Site Report on Wounded Knee Battlefield, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, South Dakota. In 1965 the Midwest Regional Office of the National Park Service provided a brief historical overview of the "battlefield" site and described the physical environment. The report concluded that the site possessed national significance, but it contained no management recommendation.

Report on Historical Investigation of Wounded Knee Battlefield Site, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, South Dakota. Prepared in 1952 by Merrill J. Mattes, the NPS regional historian, this report assessed the significance and suitability of Wounded Knee for addition to the national park system. Prepared at the request of the South Dakota congressional delegation, the informal committee included representatives from the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council, the Wounded Knee Survivors Association, the Holy Rosary Mission, and landowners, as well as the Park Service. The study recommended that a small unit of the national park system be created, but there was no consensus on management, and the proposal was tabled.

When the firing began, there was so much smoke enveloping the scene that nobody could be seen with distinctness. There was no wind to clear it away. It hung like a pall over the field. Through the rifts in the smoke, heads and feet would be visible. Women were killed in the beginning of the fight, just the same as men were killed.
—Joseph Horn Cloud, a survivor

For us, December 29, 1890, will live forever in the memory of Indian people as a day of infamy.
—Melvin Garreau



THE WOUNDED KNEE MASSACRE

Historians frequently cite the Wounded Knee massacre as a turning point in Indian/white relations. But to the Lakotas, Wounded Knee symbolized an end to their traditional way of life and resignation to living on reservations.

During the late 18th and early 19th centuries the Lakota homelands covered portions of five present-day northern Great Plains states (North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Montana). The Lakotas followed a hunting-and-gathering way of life, using horses to pursue the herds of buffalo that were essential to their subsistence. The buffalo provided food, clothing, shelter, and a variety of implements. Because of the Lakotas' nomadic existence, the concept of an individual owning land was unknown.

The Lakota culture was based on sharing, especially with kinspeople in small and large extended families (*tiwahes* and *wicotis*). Several extended families made up a band (*tiyospaye*), and several bands constituted a tribe (*oyate*). There were seven affiliated Lakota tribes — the Blackfeet, Brulés, Hunkpapas, Minneconjous, Oglalas, Sans Arcs, and Two Kettles.

When Euro-American settlers started arriving in the mid 1800s, they brought with them the concept of individual proprietary rights, inevitably leading to a clash of cultures. As the Indian homelands were partitioned and sold to settlers, the Lakotas were relentlessly forced onto smaller and smaller tracts of land. By 1890 five Lakota reservations in North and South Dakota made up just a small fraction of their former territory.

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF WOUNDED KNEE

Prelude to Disaster

On February 8, 1887, President Grover Cleveland signed the Dawes Severalty Act. Championed by Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, the chairman of the Senate Indian Committee, the act's purpose was to quickly assimilate Indians into white society by instructing them in farming and the benefits of individualism and private property ownership. The act provided for 160 acres of land to be allotted to the heads of families, and for smaller allotments to bachelors, women, and children. Any "surplus" reservation lands were then opened to white homesteaders. As a result of the Dawes Act, the Lakotas lost more than 9 million acres of land. The allotment process seriously eroded the authority of tribal governments, destroyed traditional land tenure systems, dispersed close-knit extended families, and accelerated the spread of poverty among the Lakotas.

Almost before the ink was dry on the latest agreement, rations for the tribe were cut as a result of a government reduction in appropriations to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This loss of rations coincided with a severe drought on the High Plains in 1889 and 1890. Forced to abandon a satisfying nomadic way of life, the Lakotas had to stand in line like beggars to receive their rations as handouts, further emphasizing the shift from self-sufficiency to dependency.

The Ghost Dance. The harshness of reservation life and the failure of the govern-

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Note: The historical perspective of the events at Wounded Knee has been adapted from the national historic landmark nomination prepared for the site in 1990 by Richard E. Jensen and R. Eli Paul, authors of *Eyewitness at Wounded Knee* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991). An important documented source for the Lakota version of what happened is *The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker*, edited by Donald F. Danker (reprinted from *Nebraska History*, vol 62, no. 2, summer 1981). Ricker interviewed survivors of the massacre in the early 1900s.

ment to fulfill its treaty obligations doomed the Lakotas to a life of despair and frustration. But in 1889 rumors began circulating among Indian tribes of a messiah, sparking a glimmer of hope. In January 1889 a Paiute Indian shaman, Wovoka (also called Jack Wilson), had a great vision that prophesied the end of white culture. Wovoka lived near the Walker Lake Reservation in western Nevada, and in 1889 and 1890 two Lakota delegations slipped away from the Pine Ridge Reservation to find out more about what became known as the Ghost Dance religion. They returned with the news that the Messiah was truly on earth and that his coming would benefit the Indians, not the whites. The teachings foretold the return of dead ancestors, who would help defend their lands in the future, as well as the return of vast herds of buffalo, which would provide sustenance and fill a spiritual void for the Lakotas. The Lakotas embellished the significance of the Ghost Dance by adding elements of their own religious beliefs.

Whites viewed the adoption of the Ghost Dance as evidence of the Lakotas' warlike intentions, ignoring the primarily defensive character of the new religion and the fact that the Ghost Dance promised supernatural intervention in the struggle against the whites, rather than armed force. Nevertheless, the Bureau of Indian Affairs perceived the Ghost Dance as a threat to plans for the assimilation of the Sioux. Indian agents assigned to the reservations sought to ban all associations with the Ghost Dance on their agencies, supported by white settlers convinced the Indians were preparing for war.

In late September 1890 a South Dakota physician, Daniel F. Royer, arrived on the Pine Ridge Reservation as the new agent. His paramount goal was the suppression of the Ghost Dance. He insisted that military intervention was needed not only to suppress the new religion, but also to protect civilians from an imminent outbreak of hostilities.

On November 13, 1890, President Benjamin Harrison ordered Secretary of War Redfield Proctor to ready troops for the field. The following day, Commanding General John M. Schofield told Maj. Gen. Nelson A. Miles, commander of the Military Division of the Missouri, to "take such action as, in [your] judgement, may be necessary in view of the existing situation." By November 18 the War Department had dispatched troops to begin the military occupation of the reservations.

Brig. Gen. John R. Brooke, commander of the Department of the Platte, and about 400 troops marched north from the railhead at Rushville, Nebraska, toward the Pine Ridge Reservation, arriving before daybreak on November 20. Brooke's orders from General Miles were to protect the agency and to encourage the "loyal" faction of Sioux — those Indians who cooperated with government policy. Over the next month additional troops were transferred to Pine Ridge from posts scattered across the West. The Seventh Cavalry, containing several officers who had fought at the Little Bighorn 14 years earlier, left Fort Riley, Kansas, on November 23, arriving at Pine Ridge on November 26.

The Lakotas began to divide into two factions after the first army units arrived on November 20. Agents were ordered to segregate the "well-disposed from the ill-disposed Indians." At the same time the Ghost Dance leaders "notified all those who did not belong in the dance and would not join it, to stay at home or go to the agency." By November 24 there were 150 lodges of these "friendly" Lakotas camped near the east edge of the Pine Ridge Agency. The Ghost Dance followers, perhaps 3,500 people, congregated in the northwestern part of the reservation in a section of the Badlands that came to be known as the Stronghold. This group of dancers was comprised primarily of Brulé Lakotas from Rosebud, but many Oglala Lakotas from Pine Ridge were also present. Despite the attempted segregation, the

line between Ghost Dance believer and nonbeliever was never sharply drawn.

The Role of Chief Big Foot. Chief Big Foot and his band of Minneconjou Lakota Ghost Dancers near the Cheyenne River Reservation had begun attracting attention in mid-September. Big Foot clung to the old Lakota traditions and resisted efforts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to "civilize" him. The Minneconjou's Cheyenne River Reservation agent, Perain P. Palmer, reported that Big Foot's band was "becoming very much excited about the coming of a messiah. My police have been unable to prevent them from holding what they call ghost dances." Palmer also complained that nearly all of the dancers had Winchester rifles.

A part of the Eighth Cavalry closely monitored Big Foot's actions from Camp Cheyenne, a temporary station only about 15 miles west of Big Foot's village. After the army occupation of Pine Ridge, Lt. Col. Edwin V. Sumner was placed in command of the army camp on the Cheyenne River, with orders to prevent Indians from leaving their home reservations.

The Death of Chief Sitting Bull. On December 15 the situation was exacerbated when agency Indian police killed Chief Sitting Bull, who had permitted Ghost Dancing on the Standing Rock Reservation. About 150 of Sitting Bull's Hunkpapa Lakota followers fled the reservation and sought refuge. Big Foot offered to care for these refugees, and perhaps as many 40 Hunkpapas joined his village.

At the time of Sitting Bull's death, Big Foot and his people had been on their way to Fort Bennett to collect their winter rations. Now, fearing reprisals, they were reluctant to go on. Hump, who had given up the Ghost Dance, decided to go to Fort Bennett. However, Big Foot and his people decided to return home to their Deep Creek camp, near the forks of the Cheyenne River. Some 30 believers from Hump's band decided to join Big Foot's village.

Far to the south, most of the Ghost Dancers who had found refuge at the Stronghold left for the Pine Ridge Agency.

The Search for Chief Big Foot. Almost by default Big Foot had become the center of attention. General Miles had sought to close the trail between the Pine Ridge and the Cheyenne River reservations, which would keep Big Foot's followers from going to Pine Ridge. Miles called Big Foot "one of the most defiant and threatening" Ghost Dance leaders, and considered his band "malcontents of the Sitting Bull fracas." Miles believed that the situation was too volatile and the negotiations too delicate to allow the introduction of such a catalyst, and the order for Big Foot's arrest was issued.

On December 21 on their way back to their Deep Creek village, Big Foot's band was intercepted by Colonel Sumner. Big Foot agreed to take his people unescorted to Fort Bennett near the Cheyenne River Reservation and surrender. However, when Big Foot had not left by December 23, Sumner sent John Dunn, a civilian, to urge Big Foot to start for Fort Bennett. Dunn unaccountably advised the Minneconjous to head to Pine Ridge instead, warning that otherwise the Indians would be arrested and taken from their homes. Big Foot had already received a message from several important chiefs at Pine Ridge, including Red Cloud, who invited Big Foot and his growing band to come to Pine Ridge to "help make peace" with the U.S. Army. In return for his help, Big Foot was to receive 100 horses. No doubt motivated by a belief that his people would be safer if the various bands were consolidated, Big Foot was persuaded by his council to travel to Pine Ridge. On the night of December 23, the band quietly slipped out of the village and eluded the soldiers.

General Miles feared that this may have turned "all the scale against the efforts that have been made to avoid an Indian war." Troops from the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Cavalry regiments were sent to comb the country for Big Foot's band and to prevent them from escaping into the Badlands. On December 26 Maj. Samuel M. Whitside, with four troops of the Seventh Cavalry and accompanied by a platoon of the First Artillery, was ordered to find Big Foot. On that same day Whitside established a base camp for his field operations at Wounded Knee Creek.

Big Foot's Surrender. The Minneconjous moved in a southerly direction from Big Foot's village. When Big Foot came down with pneumonia, the march slowed to a crawl. On December 28 the band collided with Whitside's column just northeast of Porcupine Butte. Although Big Foot carried a white flag, both sides formed battle lines. Whitside met with Big Foot and ordered the Indians to move to the army camp on Wounded Knee Creek, and Big Foot agreed. When Whitside demanded 25 rifles, the chief became evasive but promised to turn the guns over later.

General Brooke sent Col. James W. Forsyth and four more troops of the Seventh Cavalry, a troop of Oglala scouts, and another platoon of the First Artillery to reinforce Whitside. On Sunday evening, December 28, Forsyth arrived at Wounded Knee and took command as senior officer. He established a camp to the northwest of Whitside's camp. Four Hotchkiss cannons were positioned on a little hill northwest of the tent camp.

Big Foot's people camped to the south of the soldiers along the north edge of a dry ravine. Little movement occurred in the Indian camp that evening, although Dewey Beard, a young man at the time and one of the Lakota survivors, later said, "There was a great uneasiness among the Indians all night [for fear] that they were to be killed."

December 29, 1890

On the morning of December 29 Colonel Forsyth called a council. He ordered the Lakotas to surrender all of their guns and told them they would be taken to another camp. This immediately started a rumor among the Indians that they were to be taken to Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma — a fate worse than prison to the Minneconjous. The Lakotas grudgingly surrendered a few old weapons, but because Forsyth believed the Indians were hiding their best rifles, he ordered a search of the warriors and the camp.

While a few soldiers rummaged through the Indians' tents for weapons, an Indian from the council circle began singing Ghost Dance songs and "stooping down, took some dirt and rose up facing the west . . . cast the dirt with a circular motion of his hand toward the soldiers." Lt. John C. Gresham later said that when he saw this action, he and the rest of the soldiers interpreted it to be a signal to attack the troops. But Dewey Beard later explained that the man threw the dirt "as they did in the ghost dance when they call for the Messiah."

Shortly after that, Black Coyote (sometimes called Black Fox) refused to surrender his rifle. A struggle ensued, and a gun was fired. Almost immediately fighting broke out on both sides. The few Indians who were still armed fought back, while others retrieved firearms from the pile of confiscated weapons and joined the fighting. According to Whitside, the Indians fired into Troops B and K and the soldiers returned the fire.

The shock, the surprise, and the pall of black powder smoke obscured much of the

horror of the first few minutes of fighting, when probably more than half of the fatalities occurred. Big Foot was wounded in the initial burst of gunfire and was later killed when his movements, according to newspaperman Charles Allen (an eyewitness), attracted the soldiers' attention.

At the time the shooting started, Capt. Charles A. Varnum and 15 men of Troop B had been conducting a weapons search of the Indian encampment, starting on the north end, "towards the hill where the battery was located." The remainder of Troops B and K moved to the hill where the artillery was placed. After the cavalrymen evacuated the Indian camp, artillerymen began firing the four Hotchkiss cannons. Discharging 50 two-and-a-half pound explosive artillery shells per minute, the cannons raked the Indian camp from one end to the other. As the fighting progressed, several men rolled one cannon down the hill to the ravine and fired on the fleeing Indians.

The deadly gunfire at the council circle only lasted about 10 minutes before the Indian survivors began to flee. Most of them ran to the south across the Indian camp to the meager safety of the ravine and ran to the west. Some crossed the ravine and escaped through the south line. Others took the road between Troop E (facing east) and the wire fence.

Troop I was positioned south of the ravine. Capt. Henry J. Nowlan, the troop commander, testified, "from the position I occupied on the far side of the ravine, I saw the Indians come towards us into the ravine and go up and down it." First came noncombatants who were allowed to pass unharmed, Nowlan said, but the men who followed later were fired on.

Lt. Sedgewick Rice led his platoon of Troop E to the northwest where they proceeded down the ravine toward Wounded Knee Creek. Many Lakotas died in the ravine, including most of the women and children. Dewey Beard, who also took refuge in the ravine, later described what he saw:

> I was badly wounded and pretty weak too. While I was lying on my back, I looked down the ravine and saw a lot of women coming up and crying. When I saw these women, girls, and little girls and boys, coming up, I saw soldiers on both sides of the ravine shoot at them until they had killed every one of them.

Troop movement then shifted to the head of the ravine, where Capt. Henry Jackson and Troop C captured a small number of Lakotas who had taken shelter under an overhang on the bank. A large war party of Indians coming from the direction of the Pine Ridge Agency fired on the soldiers from long range and succeeded in rescuing the prisoners. Some of the Indian survivors who escaped during the fighting found refuge at the Stronghold in the Badlands.

By afternoon the shooting at Wounded Knee had come to an end. The army gathered up their dead and wounded and began the slow march back to the Pine Ridge Agency. They were accompanied by most of the Indian survivors, including approximately 30 seriously wounded Indians who rode in army wagons. One soldier from the Seventh Cavalry recalled,

> Slowly, for the sake of the wounded, the long column left the battleground where the reds were lying as dark spots in the winter night and their sign of peace, the white flag, was moving gently with the wind.

The column reached the Pine Ridge Agency at 9:30 P.M.

When word of the slaughter at Wounded Knee reached the agency, where the firing

Wounded Knee
South Dakota

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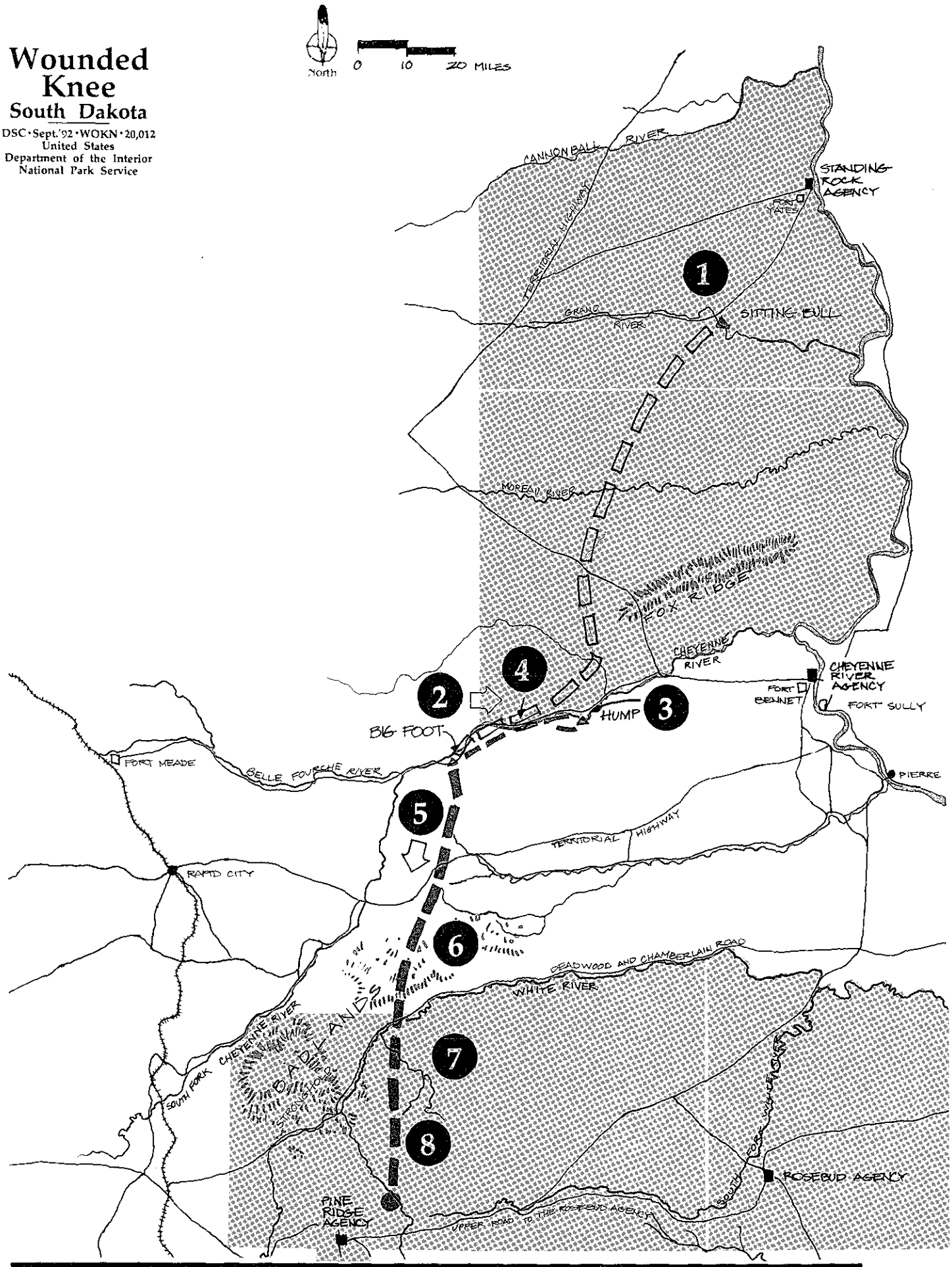
United States
Department of the Interior
National Park Service



Route of Big Foot and his people to Wounded Knee

Route of Big Foot and his people to Wounded Knee

1 Dec. 15, 1890: Chief Sitting Bull of the Hunkpapa Lakotas is killed by Indian policemen; many of his followers leave for Chief Hump's village to the south.

2 Dec. 15, 1890: Chief Big Foot leads his band of Minneconjou Lakotas east toward Fort Bennett for rations.

3 Dec. 20, 1890: At Hump's village, near the confluence of Cherry Creek and Cheyenne River, Big Foot learns of Sitting Bull's death from Hunkpapa refugees. Hump, who has given up the Ghost Dance, decides to take his followers to Fort Bennett. But Big Foot decides to return home, accompanied by about 40 Hunkpapas and about 30 of Hump's Ghost Dance believers.

4 Dec. 21, 1890: Big Foot's band is intercepted by Lt. Col. Edwin V. Sumner, Eighth Cavalry. Big Foot agrees to take his people on his own to Fort Bennett to surrender.

5 Dec. 23, 1890: A civilian, John Dunn, is sent to urge Big Foot to leave for Fort Bennett. However, Dunn instead urges the Indians to go to Pine Ridge. Although Big Foot wants to stay in the village, he finally accedes to the wishes of the majority, and they quietly leave for the south.

6 Dec. 24, 1890: Big Foot crosses the Badlands Wall through what has become known as Big Foot Pass.

7 Dec. 26, 1890: Big Foot and his band camp along Medicine Root Creek, seeking the shelter of steep bluffs.

8 Dec. 28, 1890: Big Foot's band is intercepted at Porcupine Butte by Maj. Samuel M. Whitside, Seventh Cavalry, and escorted under a white flag to a military camp near Wounded Knee Creek.

Note: This map is based on an 1891 map created by the U.S. Army, Engineers Office, Headquarters, Department of the Missouri.

Wounded Knee–Dec. 29, 1890

9 Col. James W. Forsyth, Seventh Cavalry, orders the Minneconjous to surrender their guns, and soldiers begin a search of the Indian village. While the Lakotas are being disarmed, a shot is fired in the council circle, and fighting erupts about 9:15 A.M. Big Foot is wounded in the initial burst of fire and is killed later.

10 Indians and Troops B and K return fire. Soldiers and Oglala scouts south of the ravine are inadvertently hit.

11 Hotchkiss cannons are fired from the hill overlooking the council circle.

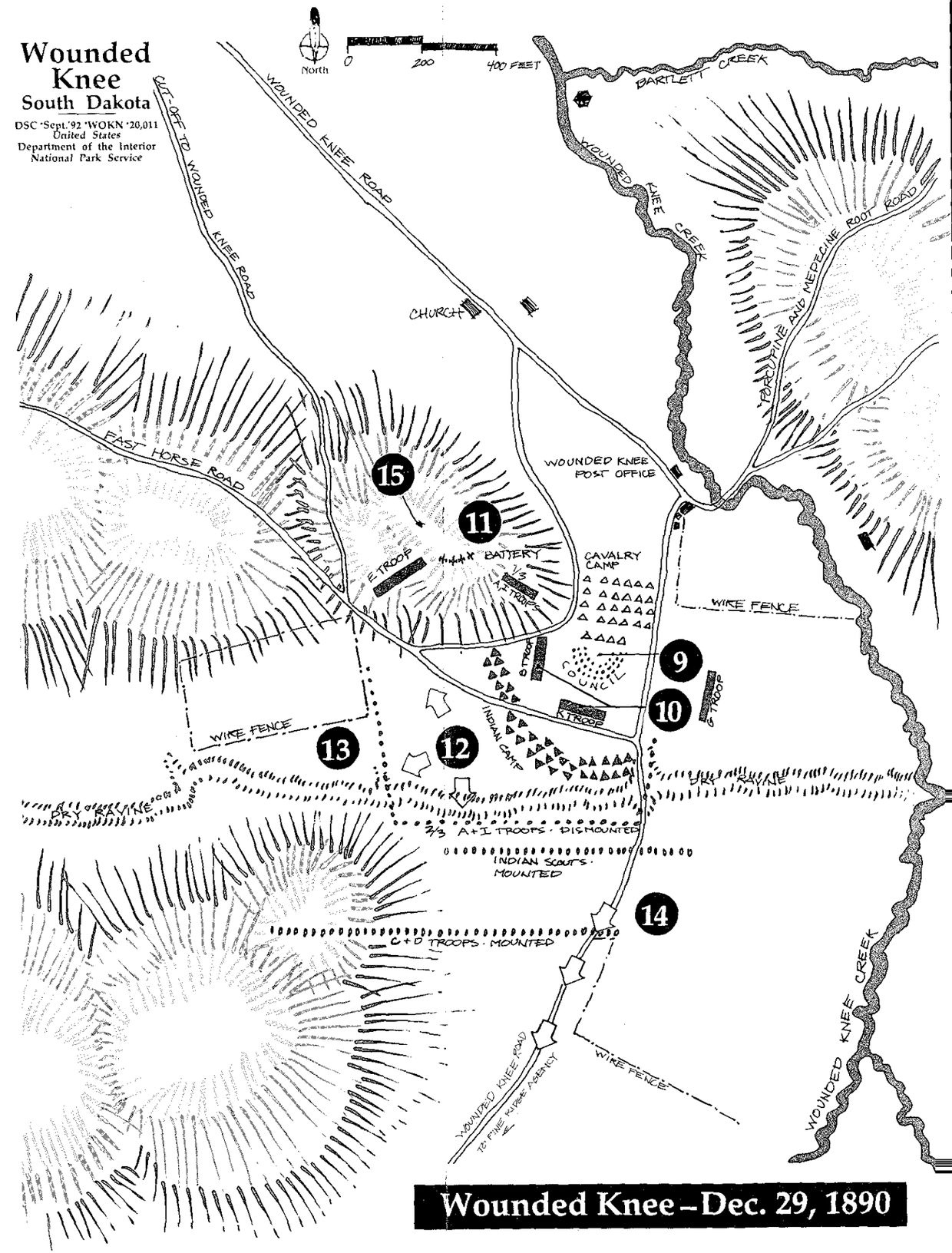
12 After about 10 minutes the Minneconjous begin to flee. Most run to the dry ravine and flee to the west, some run past the ravine and escape through the south line, and others take the road between Troop E and a wire fence.

13 A Hotchkiss cannon is rolled down the hill and fired into the ravine.

14 By mid-afternoon the shooting stops. The army gathers up the dead and wounded, including approximately 30 wounded Indians, and slowly returns to the Pine Ridge Agency, arriving at 9:30 P.M.

15 On Jan. 4, 1891, a total of 146 bodies are buried in a mass grave; however, more than 250 Lakota men, women, and children are believed to have been killed. A monument is erected at the site on May 28, 1903, by Joseph Horn Cloud.

Note: This map is largely based on sketches drawn by Lt. Sydney A. Cloman, acting engineer officer, First U.S. Infantry, after his inspection of the site on January 3, 1891. It shows Indian and troop positions when the fighting began.



Wounded Knee–Dec. 29, 1890

had been heard 15 miles away, a furor arose among the Lakotas camped nearby. Many Lakota men became enraged and fired on the soldier camp from long range. Brooke ordered his men to hold their fire. Civilians were convinced that the agency would be attacked, but it never happened. Nearly all of the Lakotas fled north to the Stronghold.

The Aftermath

On Tuesday morning, December 30, the first accounts of what happened at Wounded Knee appeared in daily newspapers nationwide. That same morning Lakota warriors who were angered by the slaughter set fire to a small log schoolhouse near the Drexel Mission, located about 4 miles below the Pine Ridge Agency. Responding to the blaze, Colonel Forsyth led his regiment into a narrow canyon where his 400 soldiers were pinned down all day by a band of no more than 50 warriors. Six soldiers were wounded and one killed before Forsyth's troops were rescued by a squadron from the Pine Ridge Agency under the command of Maj. Guy V. Henry.

Over the next few days Lakota warriors also fired on the Pine Ridge Agency and attacked an army supply train near the mouth of Wounded Knee Creek.

General Miles arrived on December 31 and took personal command at Pine Ridge. Miles had grave doubts concerning the accuracy of the initial accounts of the fight. He began to hear of the severe casualties suffered by noncombatants. Miles also began to suspect that the 25 soldier casualties were due to poor troop placement by Forsyth, which had resulted in a deadly crossfire. Miles was also displeased with Forsyth's performance at Drexel Mission on December 30. With the approval of Washington, General Miles launched an investigation.

On January 3, 1891, the Army escorted a civilian burial party to Wounded Knee. A second contingent of soldiers came from the Rosebud Agency, under the command of Capt. Folliet A. Whitney, Eighth Infantry, to meet the party. The burial detail had been detained because of concern about a possible Indian attack and a blizzard on the night of December 31.

Captain Whitney counted 47 dead in the immediate area where the council had met but noted "evidence that a greater number of bodies have been removed." During the course of their task, the burial party collected all the dead remaining on the site. Workers found numerous bodies in the ravine south of the Indian camp, where many of the victims had sought shelter. The next day 146 bodies were interred in a mass grave on the same hill from where the Hotchkiss cannons had raked Big Foot's camp.

The total number of fatalities at Wounded Knee was undoubtedly higher. Survivors, family, and friends removed some of the dead and dying before the burial party arrived on January 3, 1891. Oral tradition among the Lakota people today tells of several bodies being taken and buried along Wounded Knee Creek. Some of the Indians taken to Pine Ridge later died from their wounds. Eyewitness Joseph Horn Cloud compiled a list of 186 Indian dead. Interviews conducted later with survivors and others by Bureau of Indian Affairs investigator James McLaughlin indicate that some casualties were overlooked by Horn Cloud. At least 250 dead is almost certain.

By January 3 peace talks were again under way. On January 7 Miles requested Oglala leader Young Man Afraid of His Horses to travel to the Stronghold and serve as an

intermediary. Young Man Afraid of His Horses was able to convince many Oglalas to leave the Stronghold and to return to the agency. By January 15 the last of the Ghost Dancers had reached the Pine Ridge Agency, and on January 16 Kicking Bear surrendered his rifle to General Miles. On January 18 Miles officially proclaimed the end of the Sioux Campaign. With the "war" concluded, demobilization began immediately. The majority of troops were transferred from Pine Ridge by the end of January.

With the help of family and friends, Wounded Knee survivor Joseph Horn Cloud erected a monument at the site of the mass grave on May 28, 1903. The granite marker is inscribed with the names of many of those who were killed at Wounded Knee. The inscription reads in part,

> Big Foot was a great Chief of the Sioux Indians. He often said I will stand in peace till my last day comes. He did many good and brave deeds for the white man and the Red Man. Many innocent women and children who knew no wrong died here.

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE OF WOUNDED KNEE

The strong feelings the Lakotas hold for the Wounded Knee site are based on ethnographic interviews with Lakotas. Ethnography describes a people's culture — the distinctive beliefs, concerns, ideas, values, and related behavioral patterns that they share as members of a particular group. It also relates to how conflicts within the group are handled.

Land, identity, and spirit are all tied together among the Lakota people. Spirit or *nagi* is the essence of life and is related to coming from the earth and living with the animal, plant, and spirit resources of the land.

All land is, in a sense, sacred. It is the matrix of Lakota life, and there is a holistic relationship with the other forms of life in the universe. Specific places may assume a certain additional sacred quality or *wakan* because of important events. The Wounded Knee massacre site is such a place.

Lakotas generally agree that the mass grave at Wounded Knee is a place where respect is called for and should be shown when visiting. Some of the spirits of the dead may still be there. Regular pilgrimages to the site take place by families and individuals as homage to ancestors and a recognition of *wakan*. Small gifts of tobacco, food, and personal items are often left along with ribbons in the four sacred Lakota colors — black, white, red, and yellow. It is not unknown for people to visit at night as well as in the daytime. Respect is also shown by the periodic cleaning up and raking of the mass grave site, which is undertaken by various local church groups and other Lakota people.

Many Lakotas continue to live with the human suffering caused by the Wounded Knee massacre, and the tragedy remains very real and poignant, as if it had happened only yesterday. Many Lakotas continue to feel betrayed by the incident since Big Foot was traveling under a white flag of truce. The promise of safe conduct was broken, just as were all the other treaty

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Note: The ethnographic perspective has been developed by NPS anthropologist Larry Van Horn from interviews with Lakota people conducted on the Pine Ridge and Cheyenne River reservations, August 3–18, 1991; the "Cultural Review of the Wounded Knee Alternatives Study," by Beatrice Medicine, 1992; and the "Rapid Ethnographic Assessment: Wounded Knee Alternatives Study," by William K. Powers and Marla N. Powers, 1992.

promises of adequate land, food, and other provisions.

According to Lakota traditions, anything that afflicts the Indian people should be resolved by the seventh generation, and the Oglala medicine man Black Elk had also predicted that the tribe's sacred hoop would be mended during the seventh generation. One of the results of this belief is the Big Foot Memorial Ride Society *(Si Tanka Wokisuye Okolakiciye)*, which was established in 1985 as a way to commemorate the tragedy and to show respect for the riders' Lakota heritage.

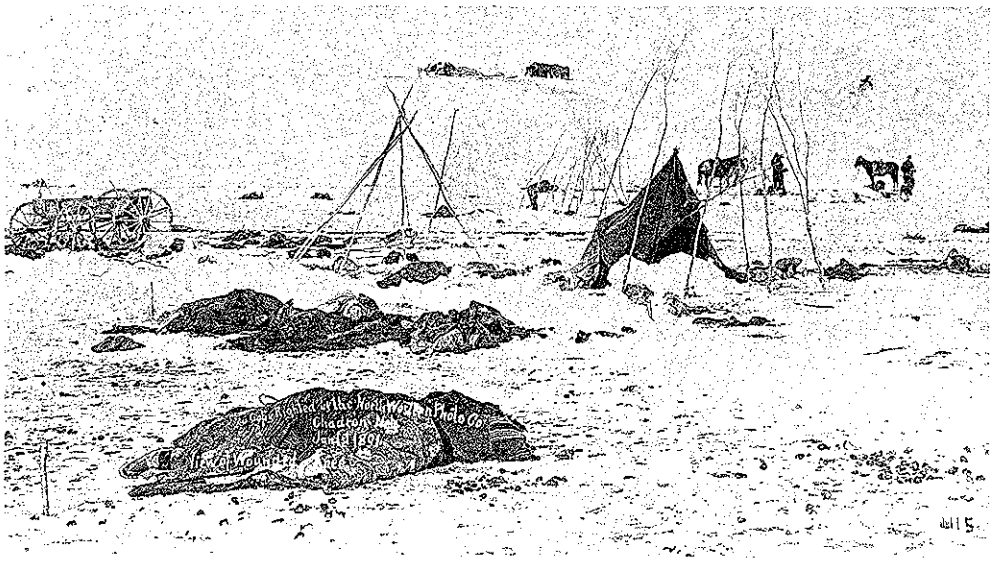
The Lakotas emphasize that the account of Wounded Knee needs to be told from their point of view, bringing out the stories that have been passed down orally in the families of survivors. For example, one story common among the Lakotas is that the troops had been drinking the night before. Another story relates how a soldier fired the first shot, purportedly at an Indian blanket he himself threw in the air. The Lakotas also believe that medals of honor and pensions for active war duty were awarded as a cover-up of the massacre. This is insulting to the victims, because in the context of Lakota values and situational ethics, people and human relationships are more important than the possession of material objects.

Because of the involvement of the Seventh Cavalry, many Lakotas insist that the massacre was revenge for the annihilation of George Armstrong Custer's troops by Lakotas and Northern Cheyennes at the Battle of the Little Bighorn or Greasy Grass on June 25, 1876. The Lakotas still regard Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse as heroes for having led that attack.

Another aspect of what happened is the fact that innocent people suffered greatly as a consequence for practicing their religion. The Ghost Dance was a peaceful way to call for the revitalization of the Lakota way of life — a return to the old ways before the arrival of whites — and they were persecuted for this.

The Lakota story would also include the aftermath of the massacre. Suffering continued for the survivors, some of whom made it back under conditions of great hardship to the area of the Minneconjou village in the Bridger/Cherry Creek area at Cheyenne River. Others stayed under equally adverse conditions among the Oglalas at Pine Ridge.

The Lakotas would like a detailed listing of the American Indian groups and individuals who ended up at Wounded Knee. Even though most of the victims were Minneconjous, there were also Hunkpapas and Oglalas, as well as two Crees. The exact identification of who was there is important to the contemporary Lakotas because it is the foundation of their own survivors' history.



Photos courtesy of the Nebraska State Historical Society.

Buried at the Dead
at the Battle of Wounded Knee S.D.
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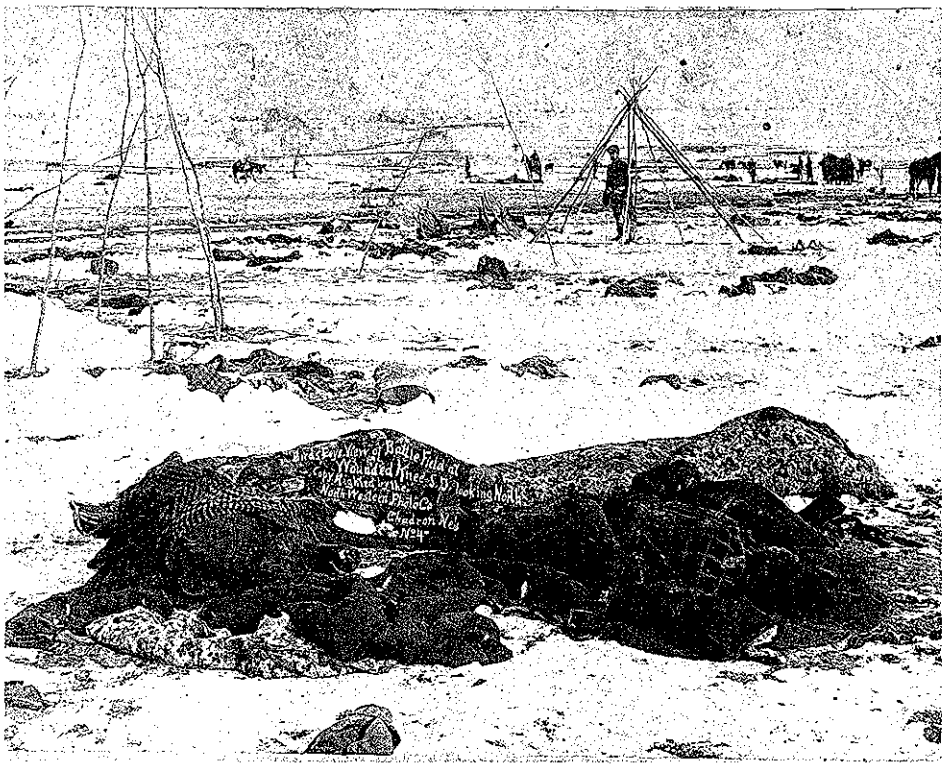
Western View of Battle Field at
Wounded Knee S.D.
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THE WOUNDED KNEE STUDY AREA

The Wounded Knee site, which lies in a low stream valley amid gently rolling grasslands in southwestern South Dakota, has experienced several physical alterations and intrusions since December 29, 1890. The natural features, however, have not been seriously compromised by the alterations. The three natural features that have the clearest and most direct associations to the historical event are the burial hill, the dry ravine, and Wounded Knee Creek. The burial hill was the location of the army's artillery during the engagement and, afterwards, of the mass grave. The dry ravine served as the major escape route for the Indians. And Wounded Knee Creek gave the site its name and served as a natural eastern boundary for the army and Indian camps and for the events in December 1890.

The study area consists of approximately 1,800 acres south of the community of Wounded Knee. This area includes the mass grave site and the national historic landmark. For a description of how this area was determined, see the "Viewshed Analysis" (page 28).

LOCATION/ACCESS

The community of Wounded Knee is in Shannon County on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Besides Wounded Knee, the nearest communities to the historic site are Manderson (approximately 9 miles to the northwest), Porcupine (approximately 8 miles to the north), and Pine Ridge (approximately 18 miles to the southwest). The area's primary access routes are Highway 27, which is a regional north/south route, and Highway 28, which enters the area from the northwest; both highways are maintained by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Numerous secondary dirt roads primarily serve as residential and grazing access routes.

The junction of Highways 27 and 28 is adjacent to the mass grave at Wounded Knee. The Bureau of Indian Affairs roads division has plans to improve Highways 27 and 28 in this area, including the purchase of a road easement, but action has been delayed on any local improvements pending the determination of plans for a national memorial or park area.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Topography

Wounded Knee is in the northern Great Plains physiographic province and is characterized by rolling mixed prairie grasslands. The grasslands are often cut by wide and shallow stream valleys, and the relief becomes slightly steeper along the Wounded Knee Creek and its tributaries. The elevations in the study area range from a low of 3,177 feet, to a high of 3,540 feet above sea level.

The site is cut by a dry ravine running east to west. Near Wounded Knee Creek, the ravine is approximately 50 feet wide and 20 feet deep with nearly vertical sides. As the ravine extends west, the gulch becomes narrower and deeper as it cuts into the uplands, and it divides into smaller narrow branches that rise to a ridge.

Climate

The climate of southwestern South Dakota is semiarid and characterized by hot summers and cold winters. Precipitation averages 16 inches each year, most of which occurs during May and June. Thunderstorms are the main source of spring rain-

fall. Flash flooding can occur along minor tributaries as a result of heavy rains.

The area can be extremely hot during the summer, with temperatures exceeding 100° F on an average of 13 days annually. Winds of 50 mph can be expected during any month, but are most likely during summer.

Winters can be very cold, with an average of 18 days per year with temperatures below 0° F. Yearly snowfall averages 24 inches, with a couple of heavy snowstorms each year. Heavy winds can create blizzards and snowdrifts of several feet, making road maintenance and travel difficult.

Floodplains

Wounded Knee Creek flows northward through the study area, entering on the southern side. Upstream from this point the creek drains 121.2 square miles. An estimated 152 acres within the 1,800-acre study area are within the 100-year floodplain (see Floodplain map).

The floodplain information is based on a preliminary analysis, and a flash flood area and probable maximum floodplain must also be defined. The probable maximum flood area is going to be significantly larger than the 100-year floodplain shown on the map, and no development or congregating of visitor use would be allowed in this area. Therefore, the siting of facilities would be even more restricted than indicated on the 100-year floodplain map. The full range of floodplain determinations must be made before any detailed site planning can occur.

Wetlands

The South Dakota Department of Wildlife and Fisheries (at South Dakota State University) is in the preliminary stages of identifying wetlands in the study area. Final mapping will take approximately two years.

The preliminary determination indicates that the wetlands area is slightly larger than the 100-year floodplain, including all oxbow areas (approximately 190 acres). The area most likely to support wetland vegetation is along Wounded Knee Creek; higher elevations and tributary streams would be less likely to support such vegetation. In terms of any future facility placement, the presence of forested or emergent areas of ash, box elder, willow, or Russian olive would indicate the likelihood of wetlands.

Soils

Each soil series has varying features that impose construction limitations on highways and foundations for low buildings. All soil types are susceptible to erosion, and highway construction would have to include measures to mitigate adverse effects, particularly in cut-and-fill sections.

The general soil association at Wounded Knee is Oglala-Canyon. Soils consist of rolling to hilly, well drained to excessively drained loamy types that are deep to shallow over soft sandstone. Patches of silty soils, mainly dark-colored Kieth and Rosebud soils, are scattered throughout the Oglala-Canyon association. Oglala and Canyon soils make up approximately 70% of the area; Kieth soils, 15%; and Rosebud and alluvial, 15%.

Kieth and Rosebud soils are also susceptible to frost heaving. Oglala and Canyon soils have fair to poor bearing capacities for building foundations, and Kieth soils, poor bearing capacity.

Permeable underlying material affects the water-holding capacity of most sewage lagoons in the Oglala-Canyon association.

Wounded Knee
South Dakota

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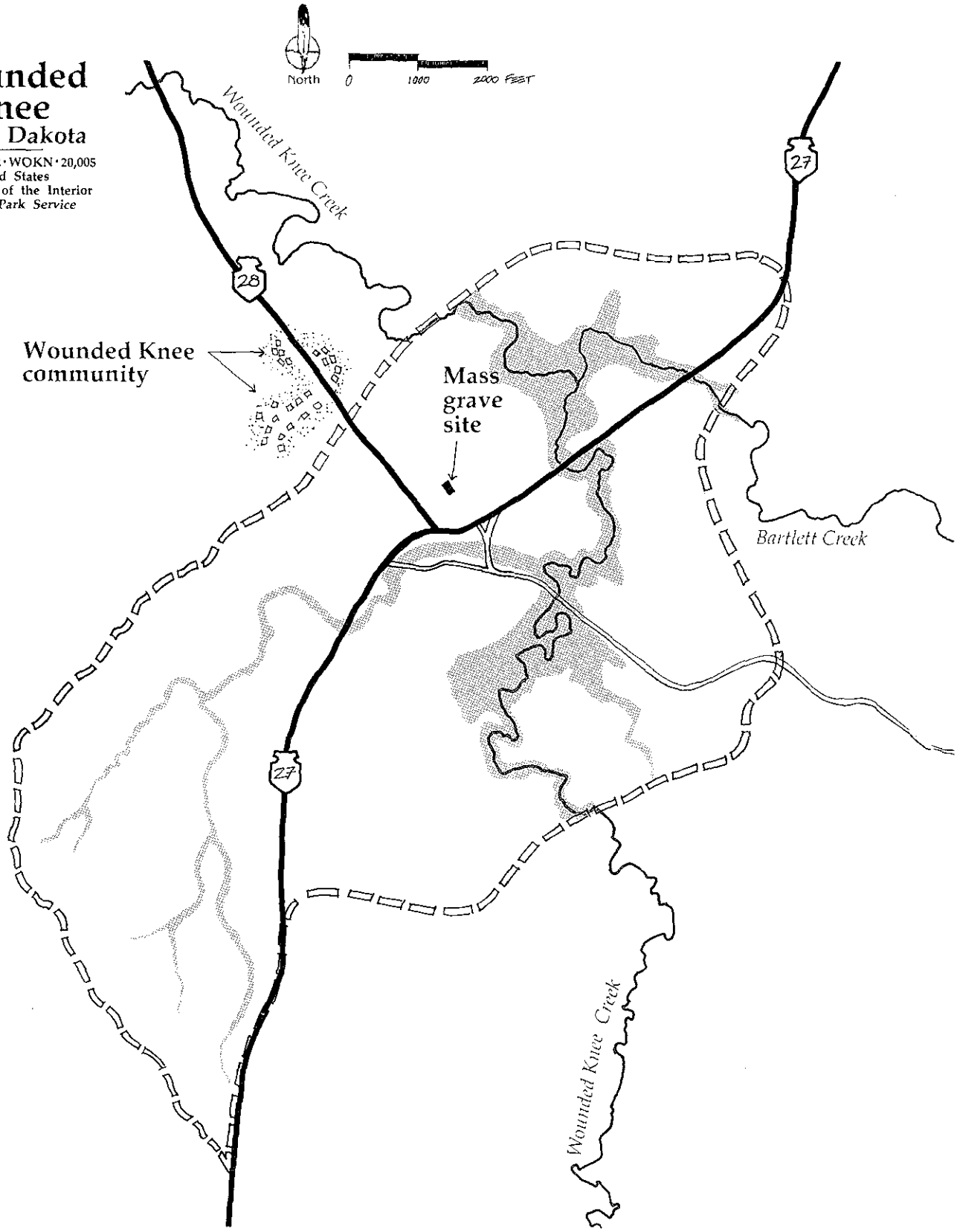

100–year floodplain inside study area

Historic landscape protection area

Floodplain

The topography and depth to bedrock are limitations on the use of these soils as sewage disposal fields. Care must also be taken in reshaping waterways since soils are susceptible to erosion until vegetation is well established, which may require a fairly long period in this climate.

The suitability of soil for topsoil depends largely on depth, texture, organic matter content, and natural fertility. Sand and gravel suitable for construction purposes generally are not available in Shannon County.

Minerals

In the past two decades the U.S. Geological Survey and the South Dakota Geological Survey have worked together on the Pine Ridge Reservation to identify potential mineral resources, such as clays, sand and gravel, zeolite, limestone, oil, and gas. In 1987 the Oglala Sioux Tribe established a mineral study program to compile the information produced by the mineral surveys. The tribe's mineral study program is scheduled to proceed with mineral studies and development through the end of 1992.

Mineral studies of the Wounded Knee area were undertaken in summer 1992. Of the mineral deposits known in the area, zeolite and limestone are minor and of poor grade, being soft and brittle. Other mineral deposits, including clay, sand, and gravel, have not yet been identified and are likely to be of little or no economic value.

By the end of 1992 the Oglala Sioux Tribe is scheduled to have completed all mineral studies, except for oil and gas. Currently, the Oglala Sioux Tribe's mining codes are being revised, and negotiations are being undertaken with outside companies interested in any type of lease or joint venture agreement that can satisfy both parties.

Vegetation

Vegetation within the Wounded Knee study area is characterized by a mixed prairie grassland, with a few areas of dense shrubs and relatively few trees. In addition to the short-grass prairie ecosystem, there is a riparian ecosystem along Wounded Knee Creek. Because of the semiarid climate, plants mature early in the summer and are able to withstand drought. Fire is part of the natural ecology of the grasslands.

Among the most important grass species at Wounded Knee are buffalo, blue grama, western wheat, needle, and thread. Along with many other species these grasses provide food for animals, as well as nesting habitat for birds. As grasses decay each season, or are set on fire, fertile organic compounds are added to the soil. Grasses also protect most of the soil from being washed away by heavy rains. Prairie wildflowers include phlox, raceme, goldenpea, salsify, prairie-coneflower, and primrose.

Shrubs and trees generally grow along the Wounded Knee Creek and tributary ravines, with the exception of a few scattered conifers such as ponderosa pine in higher hilly areas. Thick woody shrub species (including skunkbrush, chokecherry, soapweed, wild rose, and sagebrush) are densely grouped and make cross-country hiking difficult. Trees commonly found along the creek are the plains cottonwood, green ash, elm, hackberry, box elder, and several species of willow.

Rare plant species found in surrounding areas are the slimleaf scurfpea, and the largeflower townsend-daisy. Neither of these species is listed as threatened or endangered by the state or federal government. No known rare, threatened, or endangered species exist within the study area.

Wildlife

Wildlife found at Wounded Knee includes deer, antelope, grouse, beavers, badgers, skunks, raccoons, coyotes, foxes, prairie dogs, chipmunks, bats, rabbits, and songbirds. Wildlife is most likely to be seen either in the early morning or the late evening, since many animals find shelter in burrows and brushy areas during the day.

There are about 25 kinds of reptiles and amphibians in the area, about half of which are considered common. Reptiles include the prairie rattlesnake, bull snake, western plains garter snake, and eastern yellow-bellied racer. Amphibians include the western painted turtle, the plains spadefoot toad, boreal chorus frog, northern leopard frog, Rocky Mountain toad, and Great Plains toad.

More than 200 species of birds have been sighted in the area. Those most commonly seen include the black-billed magpie, western meadowlark, turkey vulture, grouse, and golden eagle. The grasslands support much of the birdlife, and many of the species are sighted in the spring and early summer.

Threatened or endangered species that have been identified by the South Dakota Fish and Wildlife Department include the bald eagle, peregrine falcon, and black-footed ferret.

The endangered bald eagle is an occasional winter visitor within Shannon County. Wounded Knee provides no suitable habitat for the bald eagle as wintering eagles depend on large water bodies and rivers for feeding on fish and waterfowl.

The endangered peregrine falcon has also been recorded in Shannon County as a migrant and occasional winter visitor. For habitat the peregrine prefers marshes, lakes, and rivers where waterfowl and shorebirds provide an ample prey base; none of these habitat types is found at Wounded Knee.

Prairie dog towns are considered to be potential habitat for the black-footed ferret. Ferret surveys may be required prior to any work involving a prairie dog town or complex greater than 80 acres. Any such work would be done in accordance with the Endangered Species Act and in consultation with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

Viewshed Analysis

There has been relatively little development at Wounded Knee since the massacre in 1890, with the highest concentration of structures in the community of Wounded Knee; other development consists of scattered dwellings and churches within a predominantly rural landscape. The only other major human imprint has been the construction of local highways.

Development is easily seen in this open landscape. This was the critical factor used in determining how much land should be included in a national memorial in order to adequately protect the historic scene.

Since the mass grave site is the historical focal point of the Wounded Knee site, views in every direction from this point (called the viewshed) were analyzed to determine where nonhistorical development is most intrusive. This process is called a viewshed analysis, and it was done by on-location mapping and computer-simulated geographic modeling.

The viewshed from the mass grave is large but irregular in shape because of the local terrain. It includes some distant views to the horizon, while certain closer areas are blocked from view by low ridges or other

irregularities in the landscape. Because there are relatively few trees, there is little difference between the winter and summer viewsheds.

Although the viewshed from the mass grave covers several acres, development would not have the same visual impact in all areas. Generally, development that is farther away is less noticeable. Also, an area tilted away from the viewpoint typically diminishes the visual impact, while an area tilted towards the viewpoint accentuates the visual impact. Development that would adversely affect views from the mass grave was determined from a computer-simulated geographic modeling program. The model also indicates where development would not intrude on this view.

The area that is most critical to the protection of the historic landscape was determined using the criteria of distance, terrain orientation, and accepted visual features. This area, including the proposed national historic landmark, consists of approximately 1,800 acres. It is not necessary or feasible to incorporate the entire viewshed in order to protect the resources at Wounded Knee.

CULTURAL RESOURCES

Historic Landscape

A small frontier community existed at Wounded Knee in 1890. The village included a post office that was housed in Louis Mousseau's general store. Mousseau's residence, and those of Red Bear, Eagle Bull, Plenty Bear, Six Feathers, and Fire Lighting, were located nearby. The first accounts of the massacre were written in one of these structures, and after the army departed, some of the wounded found shelter in these houses. The other structures in the community at the time consisted of an Omaha dance lodge, a school, a Presbyterian church, and at least six additional houses — all of which are unrelated to the massacre. None of these structures has survived.

Maj. Samuel M. Whitside selected the community of Wounded Knee for his camp on December 26, 1890, for several reasons. It was a known point on the road from the Pine Ridge Agency, and Whitside believed it was near his objective, the elusive Big Foot band. The nearby creek provided water for his men and animals, and trees provided fuel for cooking.

In 1890 barbed wire fences enclosed three small areas that may have been used for gardens or stock corrals. Although no evidence of them survives, two of the enclosures were important features during the massacre. The westernmost enclosure partially barred the escape route used by some of the women and children. Consequently, the escapees were funneled northward between the northeast corner of the enclosure and the right flank of Troop E. When the fighting began Lt. Thomas Q. Donaldson and his men of Troop C retreated behind the fenced area of the southernmost enclosure.

Historic maps indicate that several roads crossed the landmark, but nearly all vestiges of them have disappeared.

South and a short distance east of the burial hill is evidence of a crossing over the ravine. It is too far west to match the crossing shown on the map drawn by Lt. Sydney A. Cloman in 1891 (see the Wounded Knee map for Dec. 29, 1890), but it is in the vicinity of a crossing shown on a version of the same map published six years later in James Mooney's monograph on the Ghost Dance.

The granite marker that was erected in May 1903 at the mass grave site remains.

Wounded Knee
South Dakota

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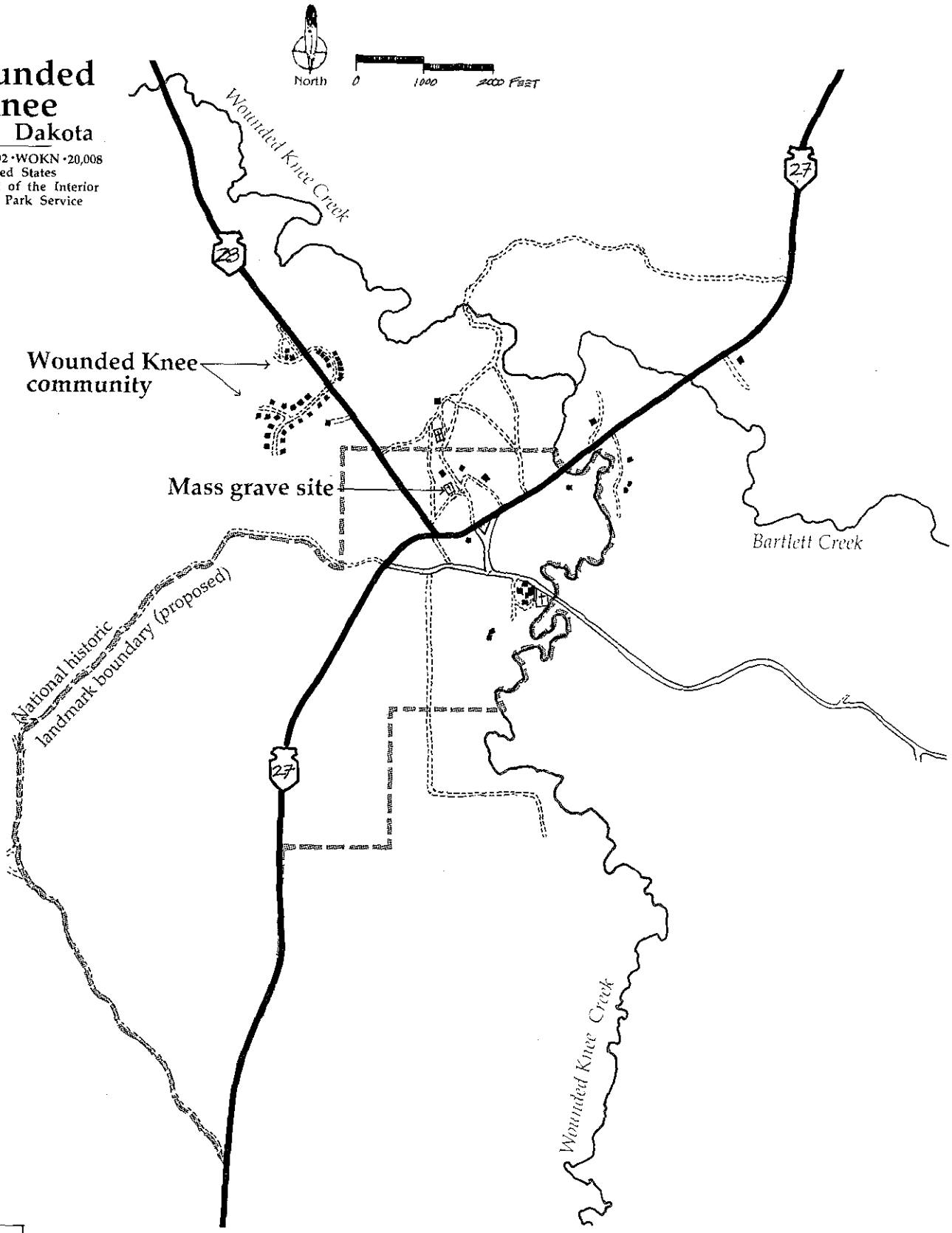

BIA highway
County road
Dirt road
Existing structure
Cemetery

Existing conditions

Archeological Resources

Current knowledge of archeological resources associated with Wounded Knee is limited by the lack of surveys. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has completed some fieldwork in conjunction with planned highway projects.

Richard E. Jensen, research anthropologist with the Nebraska State Historical Society, conducted an archeological reconnaissance of Wounded Knee October 17–19, 1989, as part of the national historic landmark boundary study. During the reconnaissance, square nails and salt-glazed pottery were found in the northeast corner of the site, suggesting the possible location of historic structures that had comprised the community of Wounded Knee. A shallow depression about 30 feet in diameter and 2 feet deep was also identified. This feature closely corresponds to the location of the Mousseau residence, as described in historic maps and photographs. This kind of feature can result from a partially filled basement, and Mousseau had noted that his house had a cellar. Archeological testing will be needed to confirm these preliminary observations.

Metal-detecting surveys could shed additional light on troop and Indian movements during the morning of December 29, 1890. Such studies could also provide specific information on the occupation of the site by Indian activists, local militia, and Federal Bureau of Investigation agents in 1973.

Despite the lack of previous surveys, the potential for a rich continuum of prehistoric archeological materials is likely at Wounded Knee. Research on prehistoric human ecology in the nearby White River Badlands has produced evidence of human presence extending from the Paleo-Indian (Clovis) period through the historic period. Diagnostic projectile points for all currently recognized cultural complexes on the northwestern plains of North America have been found (Hannus, Nowak and Winham 1984; Hannus and Winham 1985). In addition to the archeological data base, a wide range of well-preserved environmental data have been recovered, such as pollen, phytolites, diatoms, mollusks, and macro/microinvertebrates.

CURRENT USES AND LANDOWNERSHIP

The approximately 1,800-acre study area at Wounded Knee is divided into land parcels that are either tribally owned, allotted, or deeded (see page 32). This area encompasses approximately 35 tracts ranging in size from 10 to 240 acres.

Existing Uses

The majority of lands within the study area are currently used for grazing. Existing development consists of eight to 10 residential dwellings and mobile homes, two abandoned small frame dwellings, three churches with cemeteries, one partially constructed visitor center, one commercial site, and several garages and supplemental buildings. There are also foundations of a trading post, a church, and residences destroyed during the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee.

A Catholic cemetery around the mass grave was established early in the 20th century and continues in use at this time. It is enclosed by a chain link fence, and the entrance is flanked by brick columns. In 1975 a Catholic church was constructed immediately north of the burial hill, replacing the earlier church that was burned during the 1973 occupation. An active Church of God mission consists of a cha-

pel, meeting hall, utility building, mobile homes, and a cemetery. A Presbyterian church building is little used; a cemetery is also associated with this church.

The most noticeable modern structure is a circular visitor center being erected by volunteers from the nearby community of Wounded Knee. This facility would provide restrooms and other amenities for visitors.

Public utilities in the area include electricity and telephone. Water and sewer are available in the Wounded Knee community, approximately 0.5 mile northwest of the study area (see the Existing Conditions map).

Land Values

Land values for the purpose of this study are based on the selling prices of local comparable properties, interviews with real estate agents familiar with the area, landownership data, and property accessibility and productivity information. Local land values currently range from $40 to $300 per acre for undeveloped land and $500 to $1,000 per acre for developed land. The range of values cited for local grassland is $40–$125 per acre and $130–$300 per acre for dryland cropland.

There have been no recent sales of local small acreages for rural homesites or commercial sites; however, in nearby areas rural homesites without water have sold for $500 to $800. The highest and best use for these properties is as small farms or rural residential tracts of various sizes. Four tracts within the study area are owned in fee by private entities. The total assessed value for these properties is approximately $10,100, with an estimated annual property tax of $300.

Landownership on Reservations

A large part of the Wounded Knee massacre site is on deeded land, although the mass grave site is on tribal land (see the Landownership map). There are various claims to ownership by families of the Wounded Knee survivors and possibly others. An understanding of the policies of the Oglala Sioux Tribe concerning Indian lands provides a useful foundation for reviewing and considering title issues related to both tribal and allotted lands. (All land records for Shannon County are recorded in Fall River County.)

Many procedural statutes and regulations may either directly or indirectly affect title to any tract of Indian land. For example, lands are affected by constraints on the transfer of a landownership right or interest to another, and by land trust status, where land or an interest in land is held in trust by the United States for an Indian tribe or an individual. For land held in trust by the U.S. government, the government is responsible for ensuring that no federal action will adversely affect or destroy the physical assets of those lands.

Tribally Owned Land. Land currently owned by the Oglala Sioux Tribe is considered to be owned equitably by the tribe for all members of the tribe. No tribal member has any inheritable right to any particular tract of tribal land, nor can any tribal member force the partition of tribal lands. Tribal real property interests typically arise as a result of one of the following means: by action of prior governments, by aboriginal possession, by treaty, by acts of Congress, by action of executive order, or by purchase.

Allotted Lands. These lands have been allotted to individual tribal members and their families for their private use. The allotment is registered in the name of the

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South Dakota

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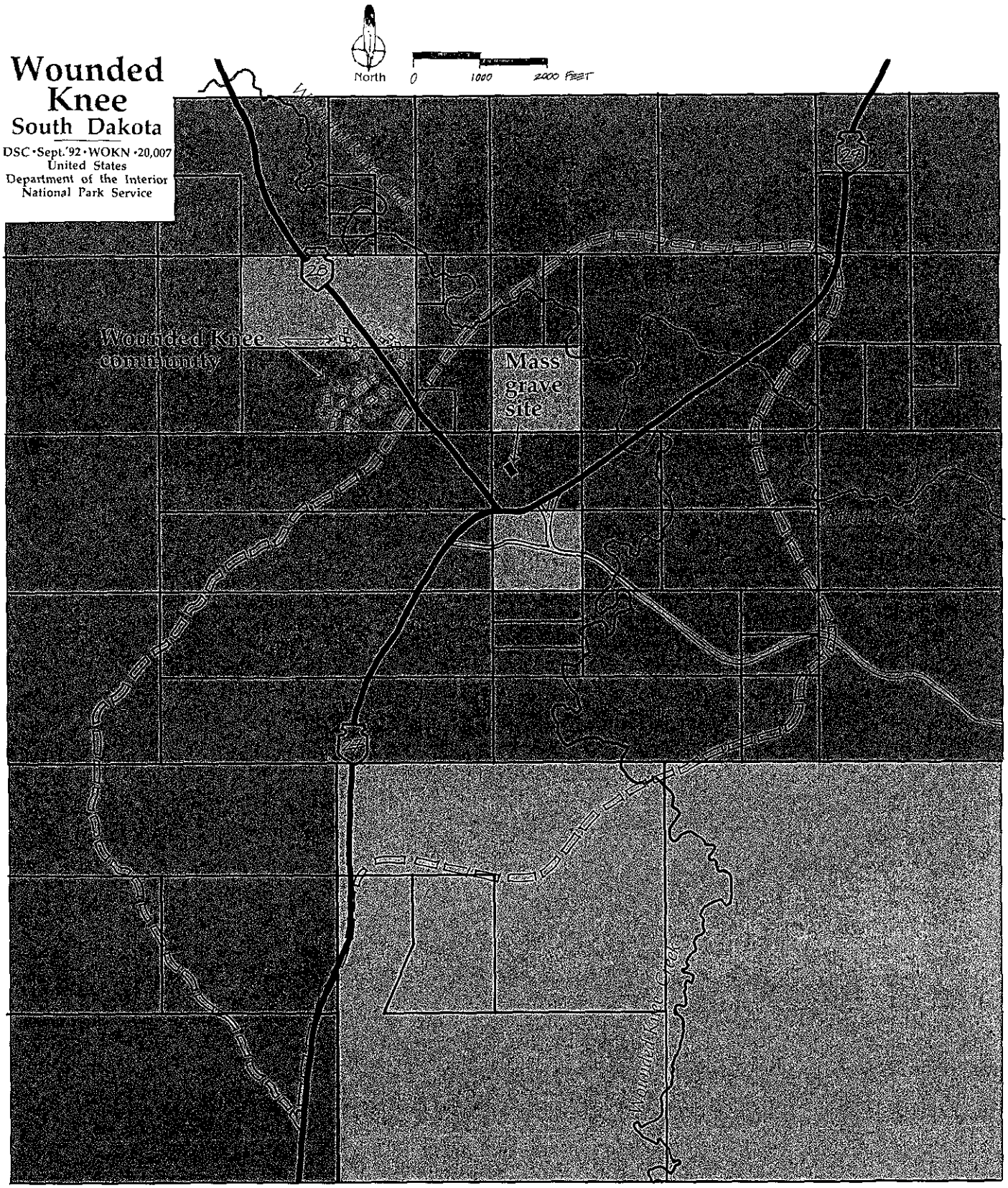
National Park Service



Tribal

Deeded

Allotted

Historic landscape protection area

Landownership

principal owners plus heirs. Mineral rights are also conveyed with the allotment. Allotted lands may be used for any purpose that does not conflict with tribal land use regulations. For example, the allotment holder may subdivide the parcel, sell mineral rights, or sell easements to specific property rights.

To sell an allotment outright, the owner must have the agreement of all heirs. The tribe has the first right of refusal to buy the land, and the U.S. government has the second right of refusal. The Oglala Sioux Tribe may buy back allotted land, with the approval of the federal government.

The 1887 General Allotment Act established common procedures for the selection of allotments of reservation lands by or for individual Indians. The intent of the act was to assimilate Indian people into white society and to terminate tribal landownership. The General Allotment Act provided that the United States would hold the individual allottee's land in trust for a period of 25 years, after which the land would be patented in fee to the allottee or the heirs. (A fee patent grants title to land and the unconditional power to dispose of the property as well as the responsibility to pay real estate taxes.)

Allotment acts typically allowed the individual Indian allottee, or the guardian of a minor allottee, to select a specific tract of land that would then comprise that individual's allotment. Upon approval of the allotment by the U.S. government, the individual was issued a trust patent for the lands. The trust patent legalized the allottee's selection of land, provided that the U.S. government would hold the title to the land until the 25-year trust period had passed. Typically, when allotments had finally been issued to all eligible tribal members, the federal government purchased the remaining unallotted lands on the reservation, and these acquired lands were then opened to homesteaders or otherwise disposed of.

At the conclusion of the 25-year trust period, a fee patent was to be issued in place of the trust patent. However, a change in the policy concerning the issuance of fee patents before the 25-year trust period had expired resulted in fee patents being issued to individuals where an allottee had not applied for a fee patent. This change in policy resulted in large amounts of individually owned land being patented in fee to Indians, who in turn conveyed such property to non-Indians. When a fee patent was issued, the lands became subject to state and local taxes. Subsequently, many Indian owners lost their lands through foreclosure for failure to pay the required taxes.

Individual Indians can sell trust land with the approval of the secretary of the interior or his representative. If an Indian wants to extinguish trust title to his or her land and hold fee title (including the responsibility of paying taxes), the secretary of the interior needs to find that the individual is able to assume financial responsibility.

The trust status of allotted land can be terminated for a number of reasons, among which are the issuance of a fee patent covering the land, the issuance of a deed to non-trust status, and inheritance by non-Indians or by Indians to whom the government owes no trust responsibilities.

Deeded Lands. Deeded lands are privately held lands identified by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Indians can buy and hold title to land purchased with their own funds. Some deeded lands on the Pine Ridge Reservation are owned by non-Indian people.

Mineral Rights and Outstanding Leases

One of the most important steps in the development of Indian mineral resources is the determination of the title owner of the lands and resources to be developed. The examination of title to Indian lands is unlike the examination of deeded, federal, or state lands. The primary difference stems from the trust status of Indian lands, and federal restraints on the transfer of a landownership right to another person (alienation).

A mineral estate is held either by the tribe or the allottee unless it has been specifically conveyed to another party, which requires the consent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs so that it is recorded and documented. If there are no mineral leases at Wounded Knee, the surface owners also own the subsurface. However, this may or may not be the case for deeded lands. Mineral estates for deeded lands can be as fragmented as for allotted lands. To determine mineral ownership, a standard title search is required.

Information about outstanding grazing leases cannot be obtained at this time due to privacy provisions.

Existing Tribal Zoning Laws

The Oglala Sioux Tribe has no zoning laws in effect. A draft zoning regulation has been introduced to the tribal council, but no action has been taken.

Hazardous Substance Determination

No hazardous substances are known within the study area. One area that should be physically checked is the former trading post complex in case it contains any underground fuel tanks or trash disposal areas.

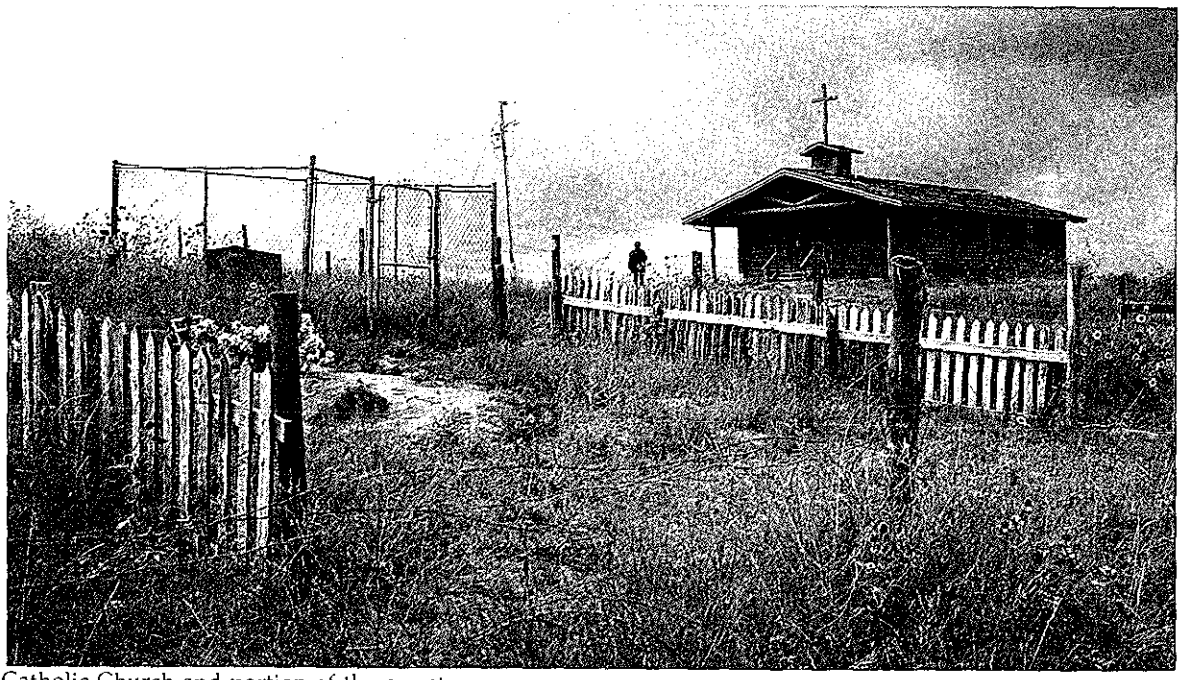
Threats to the Wounded Knee Resource

The most imminent threats to the Wounded Knee resource are further vandalism to cultural resources and the potential for additional development in areas that would result in the degradation of the historic scene or the additional loss of archeological resources. Vandals in the spring of 1992 sprayed black paint on the stone monument at the mass grave site. Previous development, including the construction of Highways 27 and 28, has disturbed the area of the Indian camp, the council circle, the army camp, and the dry ravine where the Lakotas fled. The visitor center being constructed by local residents is near the council circle site and was placed without regard for possible impacts on historic or archeological resources.

The mass grave and the massacre site could also be indirectly affected by adjacent land uses in the future. As described in the "Viewshed Analysis" section, land disturbances are visible for great distances in this open terrain, and the construction of a strip mine, a commercial complex, or even additional residences could adversely affect the scene.

Wounded Knee is sacred to the Lakotas, who continue to visit the site to honor their ancestors and to leave sacred offerings. These activities may be subject to disruption by the several thousand visitors who come to the site each year. In addition, the solemn aspects of the site for both Lakotas and visitors are compromised by panhandling and peddling by a few Lakotas. Such activities, although discouraged by some local people, disturb visitors and adversely affect the site's sanctity and contemplative nature.

View toward the mass grave.

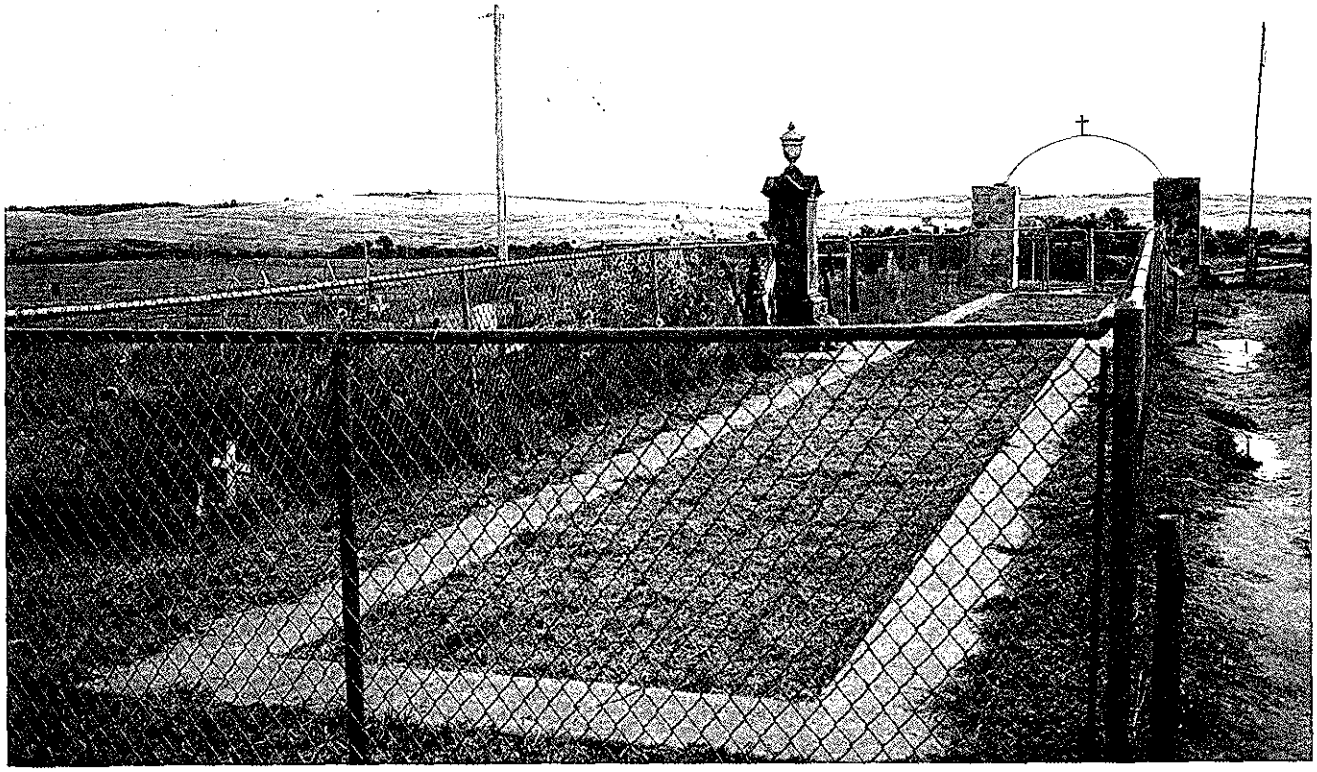


Catholic Church and portion of the cemetery.

Ruins of the Catholic Church destroyed during the 1973 occupation.

1903 monument.

WOUNDED KNEE — SEPTEMBER 1992



Mass grave.

SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Regional Overview

The region selected for an overview of socioeconomic conditions is comprised of five counties — Shannon and Jackson counties (which include the Pine Ridge Reservation), Dewey and Ziebach counties (which include the Cheyenne River Reservation), and Pennington County (which includes Rapid City and provides a comparison of reservation and non-reservation counties in the region).

Lands within the region are used almost exclusively for grazing and some dryland farming. Towns are small, ranging in size from a few hundred residents (such as Wounded Knee or Eagle Butte) to a few thousand (the town of Pine Ridge has a population of 5,720). Rapid City, which is 80 miles northwest of Wounded Knee, is the largest urban area in the region and has a population of 52,500.

The state's population grew slowly during the 1980s (a total growth of 2.5% between 1980 and 1986; see table 2). Three of the four counties within the region grew faster than this, particularly Shannon County, which grew over 12%. Populations in the reservation counties are small, however, and population densities are only two or three people per square mile. Pennington County, in contrast, has a density of 28 people per square mile, and the state average is nine people per square mile.

Per capita income in the reservation counties is considerably lower than the state average. This underscores the extreme lack of business and industrial development on the reservations. As discussed under "Visitor Use," tourist travel on reservation lands is limited, despite the proximity of these lands to major tourist flows within the region.

Generally, between 25% and 45% of the population on the reservations live below the poverty line, and unemployment is a significant problem. Shannon County has the highest percentage of persons living below the poverty line in the United States. Unemployment is understated in the statistics due to the large number of people who have ceased looking for work and do not collect unemployment compensation.

Pennington County stands in contrast to the reservation counties, with a per capita income higher than the state average ($10,170). Rapid City is a regional center for commerce and services, and regional tourism is funneled into the county on I-90 and routes to and from the Black Hills.

Agriculture in the region accounts for a level of employment generally higher than the state average, and there is a greater

TABLE 2: POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS
WOUNDED KNEE STUDY AREA

COUNTY/STATE	POPULATION 1986	CHANGE 1980–86	PER CAPITA INCOME	PERCENT BELOW POVERTY	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE
Dewey	5,500	2.1	3,430	23.6	7.9
Jackson	3,400	-2.1	3,683	35.6	4.7
Pennington	76,900	9.3	10,170	12.2	4.6
Shannon	12,800	12.7	3,419	44.7	12.1
Ziebach	2,500	9.2	3,392	43.7	5.6
South Dakota	708,000	2.5	8,553	16.9	4.7

TABLE 3: EMPLOYMENT BY SECTOR
WOUNDED KNEE STUDY AREA
(AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT)

EMPLOYMENT SECTOR	DEWEY	JACKSON	PENNINGTON	SHANNON	ZIEBACH	SOUTH DAKOTA
Agriculture	28.0%	31.1%	1.6%	9.6%	53.8%	11.8%
Mining	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%
Construction	0.0%	4.6%	5.5%	2.8%	6.6%	4.4%
Manufacturing	1.8%	0.0%	7.6%	0.0%	0.0%	8.6%
Transportation	7.0%	1.4%	4.5%	2.4%	0.0%	4.3%
Wholesale	2.2%	2.9%	4.2%	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%
Retail	19.9%	19.2%	18.9%	8.2%	6.4%	17.1%
Financial	6.7%	1.8%	6.2%	0.0%	0.0%	6.7%
Services	0.0%	18.0%	24.7%	41.9%	10.3%	24.0%
Government	33.7%	20.9%	26.1%	35.1%	22.9%	17.3%

reliance on government and government enterprises. This is particularly pronounced in Shannon County, where 35% of all employment is in government, and where private sector employment shows a concentration in services and a lack of trade (see table 3).

Pine Ridge Reservation

Manderson, Pine Ridge, and Wounded Knee are the three towns nearest the study area. Each of these towns is similar in terms of age distribution, housing units, and income, so the information for all three sites is averaged.

The 1990 population of Wounded Knee was 886, Manderson 1,027, and Pine Ridge 5,720. The median age is 19.7 years. The greatest portion of the population (13.6%) is between the ages of 25 and 34. The population is 50.6% male and 49.4% female.

According to the 1990 census, there are 245 housing units in Wounded Knee, 1,528 in Pine Ridge, and 285 in Manderson. For all three communities 81.6% of the housing units are occupied. The median value of a housing unit is $13,468.

An income profile of the three towns indicates that 45% of the households have an income below $15,000. The average household income was $21,947, while the average per capita income was $4,811. There are no unemployment statistics specifically for the community of Wounded Knee, but unemployment is chronically high.

VISITOR USE

Black Hills Area Tourism

Western South Dakota is rich in history and scenic beauty. I-90 carries tourist traffic to destinations throughout the upper Rocky Mountain west (including Yellowstone, Grand Teton, and Glacier national parks), and it is one of the most heavily traveled tourist corridors in the country. These travelers stop in the Black Hills and the Badlands, where there are one state and four national park system areas. Annual visitation is over 1 million at four of these parks, with Mount Rushmore, the most popular, receiving 2 million visits a year (see table 4).

Badlands National Park is the closest major destination to Wounded Knee. The park features outstanding geologic and paleontologic resources and is easily ac-

TABLE 4: BLACK HILLS AREA VISITATION

SITE	1980 VISITS	1990 VISITS	AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH
Badlands National Park	964,652	1,338,475	3%
Badlands South Unit	N/A	13,329	
Custer State Park	N/A	1,241,023	
Jewel Cave National Monument	90,527	137,632	4%
Mount Rushmore National Memorial	1,689,827	2,144,724	3%
Wind Cave National Park	969,764	1,169,648	2%
Wall Drug Store	N/A	1,200,000*	

* Estimate given by Wall Drug Store personnel.

cessible from I-90. The south unit of the park additionally features the history and culture of the Lakota people. The White River visitor center is the principal visitor contact and interpretive facility in the south unit, and it received over 13,000 visits in 1990 (about 1% of the park's total visitation). The relatively low visitation is due to the distance of the unit from the north unit and poor access, with relatively few paved roads. Towns are small, and there are limited services for travelers. Although use at the south unit between 1980 and 1984 increased at an average of 4% per year, over the last few years use has increased at a rate of about 50% per year. Besides the small visitor center, there is a campground.

Existing Wounded Knee Visitation

The traveling public consistently asks about Indian culture and history. This is especially true of Lakota culture and history, and Wounded Knee is a site of great interest. Although Wounded Knee is in a region that attracts many tourists, it is 50 miles from I-90 (the principal east-west summer tourism route).

Despite the lack of development, signs, and services, a substantial number of visitors stop at Wounded Knee each year. From observations at the site, it is estimated that from three to seven parties visit the site each hour during the six-month peak season. With an average of 2.5 people in each party, this means that between 8,100 and 18,900 visitors are now coming to Wounded Knee annually.

Visitation Forecasts

Wounded Knee. Future visitation to Wounded Knee has been estimated based on visitor use at eight sites that have an American Indian or a westward expansion theme.

Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Arizona — Open for 20 years, the site received 8,200 visits in 1990. It is 12 miles from I-10 and 125 miles from Tucson. The fort was the focal point of U.S. Army operations against Geronimo and his band of Apaches, and five historic structures remain from the period. The state promotes the site at a low to moderate level.

Knife River Indian Village National Historic Site, North Dakota — Open for 18 years, the site received 13,200 visits in 1990. It is 40 miles from I-90 and 60 miles from Bismarck. The site interprets Plains Indian culture and is comprised of earthlodge dwellings, archeological remains, and a moder-

ate-size visitor center. The state promotes the site at a low to moderate level.

Nez Perce National Historical Park, Idaho — Open for 27 years, this site received 35,000 visits in 1989. It is on U.S. Highway 12, 55 miles off I-90 and 10 miles from Lewiston. It has a small visitor center, and both the Nez Perce and Lewis and Clark national historic trails, along with Nez Perce culture, are interpreted. According to the park staff, visitation is strongly influenced by highway signs. Except for the printing of brochures, promotion is conducted by local businesses, cities, and the state.

Big Hole National Battlefield, Montana — Open for 23 years, this site received 50,000 visits in 1989. It is 60 miles from I-15 and I-90, and 100 miles from Missoula. It is comprised of a small visitor center and museum, which interprets the battlefield site and the Nez Perce trail. There are only a few highway signs. Except for the printing of brochures, promotion is done primarily by the state.

Horseshoe Bend National Military Park, Alabama — Open for 30 years, the site received 123,000 visits in 1990. It is 50 miles from I-85 and 75 miles from Montgomery. The site interprets the historic battle site and is comprised of a visitor center and museum; tours of the battlefield are also offered. Promotion and highway signing are minimal.

Cherokee Heritage Center, Oklahoma — Open for 23 years, this site in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, received 150,000 visits in 1989. It is near U.S. Highway 62 on the edge of the Ozark tourism region. At the end of the Trail of Tears, this site has a large museum, a living history Indian village, and an outdoor drama. Only minimal highway signs are posted. The current annual promotion budget is $35,000.

Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Arizona — Open for 25 years, the site received 185,000 visits in 1990. It is 40 miles from I-40 and 50 miles from Canyon de Chelly National Monument and Petrified Forest National Park. The site interprets the role of the trader in Navajo culture, as well as Navajo history and culture. It is comprised of the historic trading post, an active trading post, an American artist collection, and a visitor center. Promotion of the site is minimal and by word of mouth; it also attracts attention because of its proximity to other popular national park system areas.

Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, Montana — The area consists of a national cemetery established in 1879 and a national monument established in 1934. It received 233,000 visits in 1990. It is on I-90, 55 miles from Billings, Montana. The site includes a visitor center and museum, and tours of the battlefield are offered. Promotion by the state and general public recognition are high.

Visitation at these eight sites is between 8,000 and 233,000, and it is unlikely that visitation at Wounded Knee would vary much from these figures. The sites that are most heavily visited tend to be those that have been open longer than 20 years, are marketed quite heavily (either by the site or by a third party such as a state), and lie in an area enjoying high existing tourism.

Of these eight sites, Little Bighorn Battlefield is probably the best site to compare with Wounded Knee in terms of the nature of the event it interprets. Little Bighorn Battlefield, however, has been open to the public for many years, and it lies almost

directly on I-90. Because Wounded Knee is about 70 miles south of I-90, initial visitation would probably be less, although comparable visitation levels could be expected in the long term.

The Wounded Knee site is already a nationally recognized site, although no efforts are made to publicize it. The state of South Dakota is one of the nation's leading marketers of tourist resources, and the public has been exposed to the richness of the region's Lakota heritage through such recent movies such as *Dances with Wolves* and *Thunderheart*.

Designating a Wounded Knee National Memorial would provide additional exposure for the site as part of the national park system and through marketing efforts by the state. Present visitation (estimated to be between 8,100 and 18,900 visitors) could increase 10-fold within five years after development is completed, resulting in visitation levels of between 80,000 and 190,000 a year.

Bridger/Cherry Creek. While the main focus for visitation would be the Wounded Knee site, a visitor facility and monument at Bridger/Cherry Creek would also be visited by those interested in regional culture and history, as well as in the events leading up to the Wounded Knee massacre. The Bridger/Cherry Creek site is not in an area of high tourism and is away from all principal travel routes. Based on visitation at comparable sites, between 8,000 and 10,000 visits a year are projected.

Future Growth. The regional sites referenced above have experienced an annual growth of about 3% over the last 10 years. It is expected that this growth level will continue, and this rate has been applied to both the Wounded Knee and Bridger/Cherry Creek sites (see table 5).

TABLE 5: TWENTY-YEAR ANNUAL VISITATION PROJECTIONS (3% ANNUAL GROWTH)

WOUNDED KNEE	LOW ESTIMATE	HIGH ESTIMATE
After 5 Years	80,000	190,000
After 10 Years	92,742	220,262
After 20 Years	124,637	296,014
BRIDGER/ CHERRY CREEK		
After 5 Years	8,000	10,000
After 10 Years	9,274	11,593
After 20 Years	12,464	15,580

Si Tanka — Big Foot — was known as a man of peace, and what greater gift can we give to him than to make a place where peace could be. —Leonard Little Finger

The land speaks for itself, and that's the way it should be left.
—Alex White Plume

Don't establish a park here — let them rest in peace.
—William Horn Cloud

Something suitable and fitting should be erected in their memory. A historic place can be created, and it can be positive.
—Marie Not Help Him

People want to come and know what really happened at Wounded Knee. They want to know the real story, and a lot of the true stories never come out in books. —Claudia Iron Hawk

Comments from public meetings on Wounded Knee, June 18–28, 1991.

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF ALTERNATIVES

The three action alternatives being considered for the Wounded Knee site would all acknowledge the massacre, memorialize the Lakota victims, and interpret the significance of the site. Each alternative would also address the issues and concerns listed in the "Purpose of and Need for the Plan" (see page 3). The differences between alternatives relate primarily to who would manage the area and how resources would be protected. Additional alternatives may be generated by recombining various elements of each alternative.

In accordance with NPS planning guidelines, and to reflect the range of alternatives mentioned by the public, an alternative that would continue existing conditions is also described. This alternative is referred to as a no-action alternative, and it is the basis for comparing the impacts of alternatives 1, 2, and 3. The alternatives and their impacts are summarized in table 6 at the end of this chapter.

Any proposal that would significantly affect either the Oglala Sioux Tribe or the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe could not be put into effect without the approval of the respective tribal governments.

NO-ACTION ALTERNATIVE: CONTINUED EXISTING CONDITIONS

General Description

Under the no-action alternative existing conditions at the Wounded Knee site, as described in the previous chapter, would continue. A formal park or memorial would not be established, and informal patterns of visitation would continue. These patterns include Lakotas coming to pay homage to their relatives killed at Wounded Knee and non-Lakota visitors coming to see the site of the 1890 massacre they have heard or read about.

Management. The site is not now formally managed. As previously mentioned, the mass grave and adjacent areas are occasionally cleaned of accumulated trash by various church and community groups.

Interpretive Themes and the Visitor Experience. No formal interpretation is conducted at the Wounded Knee site. An interpretive sign near the intersection of Highways 27 and 28 identifies the site and briefly tells of the massacre. Visitors would probably continue to be able to walk through the cemetery and visit the mass grave.

Occasionally non-Lakota visitors make contact with visiting Lakotas or neighboring residents and hear family stories about the massacre. In addition, either through tribal-office arrangements or other word-of-mouth arrangements, individual Lakotas may conduct guided tours of the site.

Activities such as panhandling as well as peddling would probably continue.

Resource Protection. The massacre site and the mass grave are not protected and are subject to vandalism, as evidenced by recent black spray painting on the 1903 monument at the grave site. The status of national historic landmark affords a procedure to protect resources from adverse federal actions. Otherwise, there are no procedures to prevent potential development or to protect the historic landscape or archeological resources.

Facilities and Services. No facilities or services of any kind exist at Wounded Knee. Local community residents are building a visitor center east of the burial hill to provide restrooms and other amenities for visitors. No other development plans relating to the Wounded Knee site are known.

Impact Analysis

Natural Resources. Local practices affecting grassland and riparian habitats in the study area would likely continue in an unplanned manner, including the growth of exotic species. The natural attributes of the site would probably not be restored for commemorative purposes.

No concerted efforts to protect potential populations of two rare plant species (the slimleaf scurfpea and the largeflower townsend-daisy) would be taken.

Cultural Resources. Threats to historic resources at Wounded Knee as a result of vandalism and uncontrolled development would likely continue under this alternative. For example, the visitor center now under construction in the middle of the Wounded Knee site near the historic council circle was placed without regard for possible impacts on archeological or historic resources, and no archeological surveys were conducted beforehand. The building intrudes on the historic landscape and was erected against the wishes of many Lakotas.

Future construction or modification of existing buildings would add more nonhistoric elements to the landscape and increasingly detract from the historic appearance of the site. Present commemorative activities undertaken by families of survivors could be affected by any additional incompatible development or use.

Highways 27 and 28 would probably be realigned by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but they might not be relocated entirely out of the historic area (including the national historic landmark). Their original construction affected historic components of the Wounded Knee site, and their relocation could continue to intrude on the historic scene and perhaps further impact archeological resources associated with the 1890 massacre.

Sociocultural Environment. Visitors would continue to come to the site, and the number of visitors could increase in the future. Because access and parking facilities are inadequate or lacking, coupled with a lack of control on where visitors would be able to go, visitors would be more likely to intrude on the privacy of local residents, as well as on Lakotas showing respect for the dead. This impact would be most noticeable near the mass grave and cemetery site.

Visitor Experience. Current impromptu interpretive talks can be very interesting to non-Lakota visitors, but they are not comprehensive. Opportunities for visitors to learn the whole story of Chief Big Foot's journey from Cheyenne River, as well as the full meaning of the massacre to the Lakota people and culture, would be difficult to offer to all visitors without the establishment of a Big Foot Trail and related interpretive media.

Some non-Lakota visitors are disappointed to find that there is nothing onsite to commemorate the massacre. Other visitors who are knowledgeable about the events say they experience feelings of awe and spiritual enhancement towards healing.

Panhandling and peddling onsite disturb Lakota and non-Lakota visitors alike and compromise the solemnity of the site. These practices would probably continue.

Local Economy. The completion of the locally built visitor center would provide a focus for visitors coming to the site, and items sold at the center could benefit the local Wounded Knee economy. However, a possible lack of funds to complete the center or to provide staff on a regular basis makes the status of the project unclear.

ELEMENTS COMMON TO ALTERNATIVES 1, 2, AND 3

Monument to the Victims

Under alternatives 1, 2, and 3 a monument would be developed to commemorate the Wounded Knee tragedy. What happened at Wounded Knee is significant in history, and the design of the monument needs to recognize this significance. This *Study of Alternatives* does not address how the monument would look, not does it discuss where it should be located specifically; these are highly sensitive issues among the Lakota people, and various alternatives need to be carefully considered by the Lakota people to ensure that whatever is developed is in keeping with the spirit of Wounded Knee. Therefore, a separate plan should be undertaken once a memorial has been established. One possibility would be to hold a design competition so that a full range of concepts can be considered.

Numerous ideas have been expressed throughout this study process about how best to commemorate the tragedy. Most of the comments emphasize that the monument should be Lakota in spirit as well as in artistic expression, that the names of the victims and survivors should be displayed, and that the monument should be a place for contemplation and healing. Depending on the design selected, the monument may include elements of architectural form, landscape design, or statuary. The monument might also draw from examples of other monuments that commemorate a human tragedy, such as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C.

Big Foot National Historic Trail Feasibility Study

Under alternatives 1, 2, and 3 congressional authorization would be sought to study the feasibility of establishing a Big Foot National Historic Trail. A national historic trail is a route that is important with respect to American history. Such a trail has significant potential for historical interpretation and appreciation. The route Chief Big Foot and his followers took to Wounded Knee may qualify for designation as a national historic trail.

The feasibility study would verify the actual route taken by the Minneconjous, and possibly the route taken by Sitting Bull's people after his murder. The study would also help identify the location of Big Foot's camp in the Bridger/Cherry Creek area and establish its significance. The feasibility study would be presented to Congress, which would then decide whether or not to designate such a trail.

If a national historic trail was designated, a comprehensive management and use plan would be prepared. Interpretive markers would be posted along the route, and trail easements from willing landowners would be acquired for hiking and horseback riding, as well as vehicular access. Visitor use sites along the trail would also be determined. Operating funds for the trail would come from local, state, and federal agencies.

ALTERNATIVE 1: A WOUNDED KNEE NATIONAL MEMORIAL — PRESERVING THE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE

General Description

Wounded Knee would be designated a national memorial, and it would be included in the national park system under management by the National Park Service. A visitor center would be developed to explain what happened and would include exhibits and audiovisual presentations. To recognize that Big Foot and his people came from Cheyenne River, a visitor facility and monument would also be established in the Bridger/Cherry Creek area at a site yet to be determined, possibly near the historic location of Big Foot's camp.

As a sacred area to the Lakota people, the mass grave and massacre site would be protected in a respectful manner that would dignify those who gave their lives. Traditional Lakota religious practices (such as the leaving of offerings and paying homage) would be allowed. The memorial should be an area of healing for future generations of both Lakotas and whites. The national memorial should include sufficient land area to ensure that required development would not intrude on other uses or activities.

To contribute to the sanctity of the area, commercial activities would be prohibited within the national memorial. Highway 27 would be rerouted around the national memorial and would intersect Highway 28 outside the historic area.

If requested by the local community, the National Park Service could offer assistance to the community of Wounded Knee to help mitigate any adverse effects of increased tourism. Forms of assistance might include cooperative planning and visitor education about Lakota customs.

Management. Wounded Knee National Memorial would be managed by the National Park Service, in close cooperation with the Oglala and Cheyenne River Sioux tribes and in accordance with NPS *Management Policies* (NPS 1988).

An advisory commission would be established by Congress to make recommendations about management activities, interpretive proposals, and the design of the monument. Members of the advisory commission would include representatives from the Oglala and Cheyenne River Sioux tribes, the survivors associations, and the Wounded Knee community, plus representatives from the state of South Dakota, the National Park Service, and the Smithsonian Institution. Chairmanship of the commission would alternate between the Oglala and Cheyenne River tribes.

Interpretive Themes. At Wounded Knee the interpretive story would concentrate on the tragic events that occurred at Wounded Knee, and that story would fully portray the Lakota point of view. All interpretive media, including personal services, would be provided in both Lakota and English. The major objective of the interpretive program would be to recognize that Wounded Knee is not only the site of the massacre, but that it now should be a site for healing between the Lakota and white peoples.

Two concepts for how the national memorial would look are suggested. One concept is to restore the land to its natural appearance to honor Mother Earth. Modern structures would be removed or visually covered, but the mass grave and the 1903 marker would remain. The modern cemeteries would in all likelihood also remain, but limits on future burials and the locations of those burials is an issue that would need to be addressed in future planning for the memorial, which would be done in close coordination with the

Wounded Knee
South Dakota

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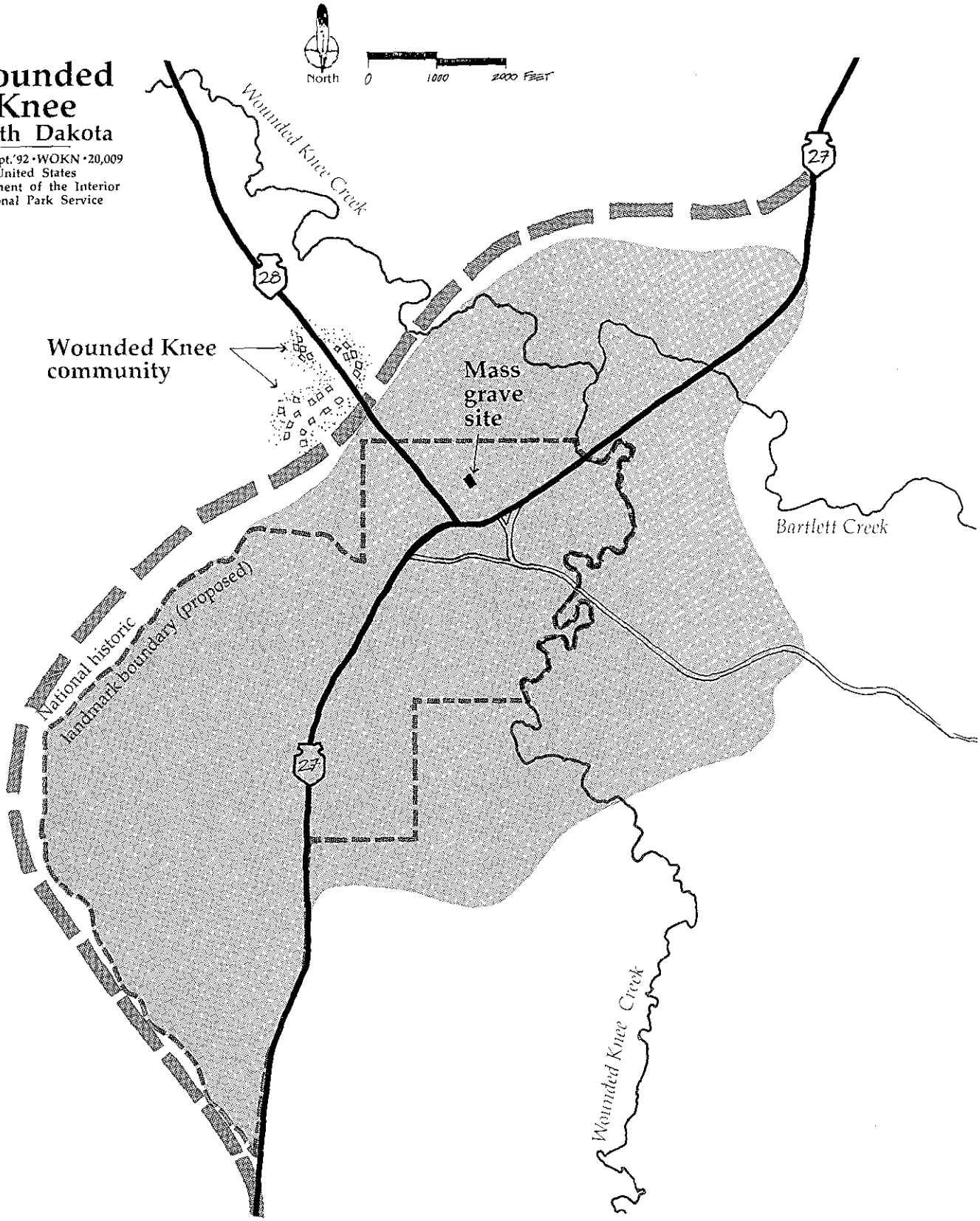

Proposed road realignment

Lands to be aquired for the Oglala Sioux Tribe with federal funds and managed by the National Park Service

Alternative 1
Preserving the historic landscape

Lakota people. No interpretive exhibits would be placed within the restored area, and access to the historic area would be controlled.

The other concept is to restore Wounded Knee to the way it looked at the time of Big Foot's arrival, including the army and Indian encampments. Alternatively, markers could be placed to identify important historic locations in the Wounded Knee area.

At the Bridger/Cherry Creek area a visitor facility and monument would be developed to focus on telling the story of Big Foot and the Minneconjou people. The site has not yet been determined.

Visitor Experience. All elements of the visitor experience at Wounded Knee would be directed to establishing a feeling for the sacred nature of the area and a sense of reverence. The visitor facility could be developed on a hillside on the periphery of or outside the historic landmark, where there would be a panoramic view of the mass grave and the massacre site. So as not to intrude on the historic scene, it might be possible to build the structure partially underground.

The visitor facility might basically be a theater with a very powerful audiovisual presentation. There should be minimal exhibits, perhaps selected objects and graphics to create a mood, an electronic topographic map to show the route of Big Foot and his people from Cheyenne River, the point of surrender, and the movement of people at the massacre site. Wayside exhibits on a patio overlooking the site could show the details of what the site looked like in December 1890 and the locations of the various participants and actions. A sales area would contain both interpretive materials and Lakota-produced art and handicrafts.

Upon arrival at Wounded Knee visitors would be directed to the visitor center for information, orientation, and an overview of the Lakota story. Visitors wishing to visit the mass grave, the massacre site, and the monument to the Lakota victims, or to explore the grounds, would be conducted individually or on regularly guided tours by Lakota guides from the visitor center.

To recognize that Big Foot and his followers came from Cheyenne River, the visitor facility and monument located near Big Foot's camp in the Bridger/Cherry Creek area could concentrate its interpretive efforts on telling the story of Big Foot and the Minneconjou people. The events that led to the journey to Wounded Knee, including the establishment of individual reservations, the Ghost Dance, and the arrest and killing of Sitting Bull, could be interpreted from Big Foot's perspective. Both visitor facilities would inform visitors of other visitor facilities, events, and sites to visit on the reservations.

Details of the interpretive stories, specific interpretive themes, and interpretive media would be determined in future planning.

Resource Protection. The focus of resource protection would be the national historic landmark and lands seen from the mass grave. This area comprises a historic landscape that retains the important natural features and the gently rolling grasslands that characterized the site in December 1890.

To determine the specific size and configuration of the land area that should be protected at Wounded Knee, the National Park Service used several criteria. Of primary concern is the 870-acre national historic landmark. The landmark's proposed boundary was determined through historical research and documentation to identi-

fy where specific events occurred. The proposed boundary includes the hill where the mass grave is (which was also the location of the Hotchkiss cannons), the Indian and soldier encampments, the council circle, and the dry ravines to the west that were used as escape routes and where many Lakota people were killed.

In addition to the national historic landmark, adjacent areas also need to be protected as part of the historic landscape. Based on a viewshed analysis (see page 28), areas of critical visual sensitivity were identified. This area includes approximately 1,800 acres (see the Alternative 1 map); this area would also provide sufficient areas for the development of visitor and support facilities. If these lands were left unprotected, future uses would have the potential to adversely affect the historical character of Wounded Knee.

In alternative 1 all lands for the national memorial would be acquired with federal funds for the Oglala Sioux Tribe. Acquisition and relocation costs are noted in the "Land Acquisition Costs" section below. An agreement with the tribe would grant management responsibility for the national memorial to the National Park Service. In consultation with the advisory commission, the Park Service would then determine specific guidelines for landscape management.

A site has not yet been identified in the Bridger/Cherry Creek area, and resource protection requirements at this time are unknown.

Facilities and Services. A small portion of the lands within the national memorial would be developed for a monument, visitor facility, administrative offices, residential area, maintenance facilities, and utilities (between 55 and 75 acres). Facilities would be sensitively placed to preserve the open character of the landscape and to provide a quiet, respectful setting for the monument. No specific locations have been identified for these facilities, and facilities would not necessarily be developed at a single site. For example, maintenance facilities should be far enough from the monument so that routine activities would not intrude on efforts to commemorate the victims. Likewise, the residential and utility area should not intrude on activities at the visitor center. Housing for employees could possibly be integrated into the existing community of Wounded Knee.

The placement of facilities would take into consideration federal regulations to protect floodplains and wetlands, slope and soil limitations, visual sensitivity, and the location of cultural resources (the national historic landmark boundary). A separate plan would be prepared to specifically locate needed facilities.

If it is decided that commercial services (such as retail sales) would be appropriate and necessary within the national memorial, the tribe would have preferential rights to provide these services. Any commercial services identified as not appropriate would have to be located away from the memorial.

Entrance Fees. Because the national memorial would commemorate a tragic event in American history that is important for all to understand, no entrance fees would be charged.

Access. So that the national memorial could be managed as either a natural area or a historic site, Highway 27 would be relocated and would intersect Highway 28 outside the historic area (see the Alternative 1 map). Both highways were constructed over the historic location of the

Indian camp, the council circle, the cavalry camp, and the dry ravine area. The relocation work would be undertaken in cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Access to properties that are now served by these sections of highway would be maintained through alternative routes.

Access onto the grounds of the historic area for non-Lakota visitors could be provided by paid seasonal and permanent Lakota interpreters. Such guided tours could include interpretation from overlooks or walks through the historic landscape.

Training and Employment. A park management training program would be developed for potential Lakota employees at the Oglala Lakota and Cheyenne River Community colleges. Also intern programs would be developed at the park. These programs would train Lakotas for employment so that they could qualify for site management responsibilities. In addition, preference for hiring would be given to Lakotas.

Land Acquisition Costs. The total land area proposed for the memorial consists of approximately 1,800 acres. This area encompasses approximately 35 tracts ranging in size from 10 to 240 acres. Most of the lands are either owned by the Oglala Sioux Tribe or are allotted to individuals and families for their private use; all or parts of four tracts are owned in fee by private entities.

As previously stated, the National Park Service would not own any lands; all lands for the national memorial would be acquired with federal funds for the Oglala Sioux Tribe. A variety of acquisition methods could be used, including donation, fee purchase, and exchange. The tribe could also assist in arranging land exchanges for landowners or allottees. An agreement with the tribe would grant management responsibility for the national memorial to the National Park Service.

Acquisition costs under alternative 1 would be approximately $825,000, including the purchase of improvements, the relocation of affected landowners, and severance damages. The highest priority for acquisition would be areas adjacent to the mass grave site. Second would be the 55–75 acres required for facility development. The final priority would be the remainder of the 1,800 acres, concentrating first on the national historic landmark area.

The location of facilities in the Bridger/Cherry Creek area has not been determined; therefore, landownership is unknown. Lands in the selected area would be leased to the National Park Service by the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe for management.

The Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act (Public Law 91-646) provides for uniform and equitable treatment of persons displaced from their homes, businesses, or farms by federal or federally assisted programs. It also establishes uniform and equitable land acquisition policies for federal and federally assisted programs. Actual purchase prices would be calculated in accordance with this act.

Relocation costs that would be provided in accordance with PL 91-646 would apply to the eight to 10 existing residential dwellings and mobile homes that would be removed, plus three churches within the proposed boundary. These costs would cover relocation assistance and advisory services such as moving expenses, replacement housing for homeowners, replacement housing for renters and others, and

displacement reimbursement for businesses, farms, or nonprofit organizations.

Property owners would not be asked to move until their property had been acquired and relocation assistance in finding a suitable replacement property had been offered.

Development Costs. The National Park Service would develop the visitor facilities at both Wounded Knee and Bridger/Cherry Creek.

Development would include a visitor facility and parking area; administrative, maintenance, and housing areas; and utilities. Preliminary development costs for Wounded Knee are estimated to be approximately $14.4 million, and for Bridger/Cherry Creek, $4.9 million. Total construction costs would be approximately $19.3 million. This estimate does not include costs for designing and constructing a monument to commemorate the victims, developing potential trails within the national memorial, placing existing electric and telephone lines underground, or relocating a portion of Highway 27.

Staffing and Operating Costs. At Wounded Knee 12 full-time positions would be required after five years, plus 6 to 10 part-time (seasonal) positions. At Bridger/Cherry Creek 3 full-time positions would be needed plus 4 to 6 part-time positions. The intent is that all staff positions would eventually be filled by Lakota people.

Estimated staffing and operational costs (including supplies and materials, amortized equipment, and other incidentals) for both Wounded Knee and Bridger/Cherry Creek would amount to $950,000 by the fifth year.

Impact Analysis

Natural Resources. At Wounded Knee the development of facilities (a monument, a visitor center, maintenance yard, and housing) plus roads would directly disturb up to 35 acres of soils and prairie vegetation. Additional cooperative planning efforts are needed with the Oglala Sioux Tribe for the final scale of development within the national memorial. At Bridger/Cherry Creek up to 10 acres would be disturbed by road and facility construction, and similar cooperative planning would be required with the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe.

Sizes of facilities would be identified during later detailed planning stages, as well as mitigating measures for development on certain soil types. The removal of existing development on lands within the national memorial would return approximately 7 acres to natural conditions, and rerouting Highway 27 around the memorial would restore approximately 22 acres to natural conditions. (Construction of the new road alignment outside the memorial would disturb an estimated 25.2 acres).

Air quality would be temporarily reduced by dust, noise, and engine exhaust during construction periods. Increased visitor use over the long term would have minimal impacts on air quality.

Water for facility development and visitor use would be supplied from wells, which would affect groundwater supplies. The quality of any water from subsurface sources, and required treatment, is unknown at this time.

No development would be sited in floodplains or wetlands, and no impacts on wetlands are anticipated.

Two rare plant species — the slimleaf scurfpea and the largeflower townsend-

daisy — have been sighted at locations around the proposed national memorial. If found onsite, these plant species would be preserved and maintained throughout the national memorial.

Prairie dog towns in the national memorial would be managed to protect potential habitat for the endangered black-footed ferret. The endangered peregrine falcon and the bald eagle are migratory species that have no suitable habitat in the proposed national memorial, and therefore would not be adversely affected.

Cultural Resources. The historic scene at Wounded Knee has been affected by the construction of roads and buildings, as well as natural erosion. These factors have altered visual and archeological information associated with the massacre. Specifically, the original roads passing south, east, and west of the mass grave knoll have been realigned, elevated, and paved. These roadways parallel or in part overlay the major trails that were in use in 1890. Houses, churches, and a partially completed visitor center stand on part of the site, and the historic buildings present in 1890 have long since vanished.

Alternative 1 would introduce certain new elements into the historic scene and remove many existing nonhistoric features. Two approaches to restoring the site — either to a natural state or to its 1890 appearance — would involve the alteration of existing conditions. In either instance the visible landscape would be enhanced. Archeological investigations would be required before allowing any ground disturbance associated with construction or other activities in order to ensure that no artifacts or historic information was lost.

Because the national memorial would include areas visible from the mass grave, the historic scene would be protected from future incompatible development. The use of commemorative elements would also require careful placement to ensure that the historic scene was not adversely affected. This is also true of the location of access roads, utilities, and facilities.

If a Big Foot National Historic Trail was established, it would promote the protection of historic resources related to the Minneconjou and Hunkpapa Lakotas. The National Trails System Act would require the preparation of a comprehensive management plan for the Big Foot Trail, encouraging nonfederal landowners to participate in the planning, protection, and interpretation of the trail. The trail would also provide an element of protection for the resource through recognition of its exact route. Continued use and development of the trail would require any distinguishable and fragile landscape features to be avoided, as well as any archeological or topographical features, should they exist.

Sociocultural Environment. As stated repeatedly during the public meetings in June 1991, there is considerable enduring resentment by Lakotas of white society and the suppression of their native culture. The fact that it has taken more than 100 years for any sort of formal recognition of the massacre underlies a distrust by many Lakotas of the U.S. government. Furthermore, the Wounded Knee massacre signified the breaking of the sacred hoop of the Lakota nation.

The establishment of a Wounded Knee National Memorial and fully portraying the Lakota point of view would have a significant positive impact on the Lakota nation. To many Lakotas this would be an acknowledgement that a terrible wrong had been committed, and it would help the healing process for the tribe, as well as improving relations with the white culture.

Some would consider this a step toward mending the sacred hoop of the Lakotas.

A difference of opinion exists as to what actions should be taken at Wounded Knee. Minority groups of Lakota traditionalists and Wounded Knee residents and landowners say that the site should be left alone, without any memorial or park being established, and local groups would take care of the site as they have in the past.

Others, especially descendants of survivors, want national recognition of the human suffering that occurred, and they fully support the establishment of a park or memorial. Alternative 1 would meet the expectations of the survivors, with park units on both the Pine Ridge and Cheyenne River reservations.

There would be rules and regulations for any park or memorial established at Wounded Knee, which would restrict current uses to some degree. Greater control of peddling, panhandling, and vandalism would be a positive impact from the perspective of most Lakotas. However, increased visitation could take away from the sacredness of the site.

Virtually all Lakotas believe that the historic and contemporary graves should remain if a memorial was established at Wounded Knee; the dead should not be disturbed. However, Lakota opinion is divided as to whether future burials should occur in the cemetery if a memorial was established.

Some hunting of small game and gathering of berries and other plants occurs in the bushy areas along Wounded Knee Creek. This practice is part of the community's subsistence activities. Unless specifically allowed in the enabling legislation, hunting and gathering would be prohibited within the park, in accordance with NPS *Management Policies*. This could reduce the subsistence resources of a few families.

Rules and regulations would also curtail the autonomous influence of the Pine Ridge and the Cheyenne River Wounded Knee survivors associations. Representatives from these associations would be members of the advisory commission, but the associations themselves would not be able to act independently with respect to the Wounded Knee site, as they have done in the past. For example, the associations recently accepted a statue for display at Wounded Knee; any future donations of sculptures would probably require the approval of the full advisory commission.

Under alternative 1 the greatest amount of allotted or deeded land would be acquired for the Oglala Sioux Tribe, with the tribe taking the lead in negotiating land exchanges or purchases. The lands would then be leased to the National Park Service for management. Many Lakotas, and especially some Wounded Knee landowners and residents, however, mistrust government agencies and oppose any federally created memorial. The primary issue is the fear of giving up more land. A secondary issue is the perceived loss of autonomy in the management of local affairs.

Increased tourism at the national memorial would unavoidably bring more people into the Wounded Knee community. This could have a positive impact in terms of providing limited business opportunities and greater income for local residents. However, increased traffic and visitation would also change local residents' patterns of life. Many residents could resent the potential invasion of privacy. The presence of strangers wandering into the community, discussions by tourists of Lakota sacred beliefs, and the use of cameras could prove annoying to Wounded Knee residents.

Increased tourism could lead to the commercialization of Lakota material culture. Arts and crafts could come to be manufactured more for their perceived marketability than for traditional aesthetic and functional qualities. A local natural/cultural history association, operating with guidance from the park's advisory commission, could establish and help maintain certain standards for arts and crafts.

Fully telling the Lakota version of what happened at Wounded Knee could be aided under alternative 1 by the National Park Service helping collect oral-history accounts, with professional help from the Lakota colleges. These would be documented by way of audiotapes, videotapes, and transcriptions. Such an effort would produce an archive of traditional information in Lakota and English that could prove invaluable towards the preservation and future study of the Lakota language, culture, and landscape features.

Approximately 15 permanent and between 10 and 16 seasonal positions (five to eight full-time equivalencies) would be required to staff both the Wounded Knee and Bridger/Cherry Creek sites. The intent is that most of these positions would be filled by Lakota persons after professional training. Some Lakota people voiced a concern that because unemployment is so high on the reservations, there could be competition between families for jobs. Lakota individuals would have to compete fairly among themselves without undue political or kinship influence.

Visitor Experience. Currently, visitors have a hard time finding the Wounded Knee site because there are no road signs to provide directions. Those people who do find the site are surprised at how poorly the site is taken care of, and occasionally visitors are harassed by panhandlers and people selling souvenirs.

Establishing Wounded Knee National Memorial as a unit of the national park system would ensure that the site would be nationally recognized. Signs would be posted on roads and highways to direct people to the site. The story of the massacre would be interpreted for visitors onsite, increasing public understanding of what happened and why. Fully portraying the Lakota version of what happened would also educate people about Lakota culture and history. The site would also be maintained, trash picked up, and inappropriate activities controlled.

Local Economy. Between 80,000 and 190,000 visitors a year are projected at the Wounded Knee site five years after development has been completed. At Bridger/Cherry Creek between 8,000 and 10,000 visitors are projected.

Jobs for 5 to 10 individuals could be generated at visitor-related facilities developed outside the memorial (for example, a service station and convenience store), which would be in addition to employment projected for the national memorial. It is expected that there would be enough local business to justify operating these businesses during the nonpeak season (October through April). Other existing businesses along travel routes to the site would also benefit from higher tourist volumes.

The construction of park-related facilities on both the Cheyenne River and Pine Ridge reservations would result in money being spent in the region for materials and labor. Development costs for both sites are currently estimated at $19.3 million. The actual economic benefit resulting from this development would depend on how many construction workers were hired locally and on how much material was purchased in the region.

Staffing and park operations would cost approximately $950,000 annually after five years. This money would continually benefit the local economy in terms of revenue generated for the region in the form of supplies purchased for operations and maintenance, utility costs, and salaries.

Annual property tax loss as a result of land acquisition would be less than $300.

Feasibility for Addition to the National Park System

To be feasible as a new unit of the national park system an area must be of sufficient size and appropriate configuration, considering natural systems or historic settings, to ensure long-term protection of resources and to accommodate public use, and it must have potential for efficient administration at a reasonable cost. Important feasibility factors include landownership, acquisition costs, access, threats to the resource, and staff or development requirements.

The approximately 1,800-acre area identified for a national memorial includes the national historic landmark and adjacent lands that need to be managed to protect the integrity of the historic scene, including the important natural features and the gently rolling grasslands that characterized the site in December 1890. The national memorial would include only those lands needed to ensure the long-term protection of the historic area. The boundary follows, as much as possible, ridgelines and existing roads to provide for distinct, definable edges. All of these features were incorporated into the proposed boundary configuration to provide for management efficiency as well as historic integrity. This area is considered to be the smallest area that would be feasible for management as a unit of the national park system.

A national memorial of this size would provide suitable sites for the development of a monument plus visitor, administrative, and maintenance facilities, which could be located in areas that would not intrude on the historic setting. Lands within the national memorial would be purchased in fee for the Oglala Sioux Tribe with federal funds, and they would be managed by the National Park Service under an agreement with the tribe. This would retain tribal sovereignty over these reservation lands. The management of the national memorial by the National Park Service would ensure that the area would be operated in accordance with national park system standards.

Federal land acquisition for the Oglala Sioux Tribe would cost approximately $825,000; acquisition costs for a memorial on the Cheyenne River reservation are unknown since a site has not been selected. Development for both Wounded Knee and Bridger/Cherry Creek would cost an estimated $19.3 million, and costs for annual staffing and operations after five years would be approximately $950,000. Access would be provided by way of Highways 27 and 28 at Pine Ridge and South Dakota Highways 34 and 73 at Cheyenne River.

The major threat to land resources at Wounded Knee is the potential for development of adjacent lands in ways that would intrude on the lands within view of the mass grave. Commercial or residential development, or even mineral exploration, could potentially occur on these properties. Unrestricted growth or uncontrolled development would severely degrade the sacredness of the site for Lakotas.

ALTERNATIVE 2: A WOUNDED KNEE NATIONAL MEMORIAL — COOPERATIVELY MANAGING THE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE

General Description

The concept for a national memorial would be the same as alternative 1. A monument would be erected in honor of the victims, and the interpretive program would fully portray the Lakota point of view. Within the national memorial either a historic scene could be partially recreated or the landscape could be partially returned to natural conditions. Under this alternative the objective of maintaining a historic landscape would be accomplished by keeping a rural setting without the addition of more structures. Current visual effects of existing residences and churches would be mitigated by using compatible colors for structures, and by ensuring that grounds were maintained.

The same facilities as described for alternative 1 would be constructed — a monument, visitor facility, administrative offices, residential area, maintenance facilities, and utilities. A visitor facility and monument would also be established in the Bridger/Cherry Creek area on the Cheyenne River Reservation. The tribe would have preferential rights to provide any appropriate and necessary commercial services within the national memorial. As described for alternative 1, Highway 27 would be relocated outside the national memorial.

A park management training program would be established, as well as park intern programs, to train Lakotas to qualify for site management responsibilities.

If requested by local residents, the National Park Service could offer assistance for mitigating any adverse effects of increased tourism (examples of assistance include cooperative planning and visitor education about Lakota customs).

The principal difference between this alternative and alternative 1 is how the lands and resources would be managed and protected, as described below.

Management. Under this alternative the National Park Service would directly manage visitor services and facilities, as well as administrative and maintenance functions. Facilities for these functions would require between 55 and 75 acres total, and these lands would be acquired for the Oglala Sioux Tribe and managed by the National Park Service under a lease arrangement with the tribe.

On the rest of the lands a historic landscape protection area would be established, consisting of approximately 1,800 acres and including the same lands as in alternative 1. However, no lands in this area would be acquired unless owners wanted to sell to the tribe. The historic landscape protection area would be cooperatively managed by the Park Service, the Oglala Sioux Tribe, the Wounded Knee community, and local landowners. (This idea is further described in the next section on "Resource Protection.")

Like alternative 1, an advisory commission with representatives from the Oglala and Cheyenne River Sioux tribes would be established by Congress to make recommendations about management activities, interpretive proposals, and the design for the monument to the victims.

Resource Protection. As described for alternative 1, the focus of resource protection would be on the national historic landmark and adjacent lands seen from the mass grave (see the Alternative 2 map). This area is referred to as the historic landscape protection area. Under alternative 2 landscape protection would be a joint effort between the Oglala Sioux Tribe and the National Park Service. The Park Service would work with the tribe, the landowners, and the Wounded Knee communi-

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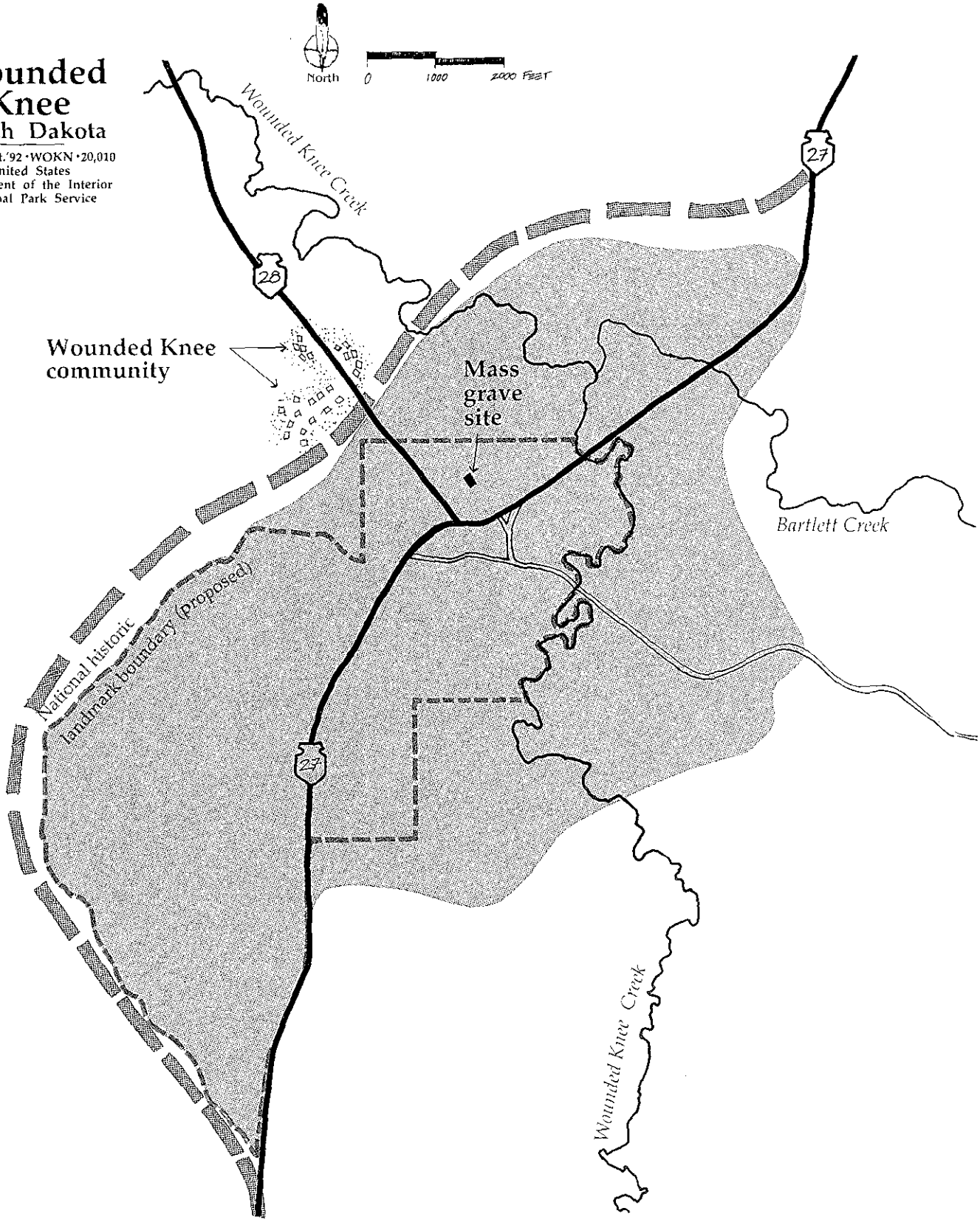

Proposed road realignment

Historic landscape protection area. Present land uses could continue in this area, subject to land use regulations or easements to protect the integrity of the historic scene. For visitor and support facilities, 55-75 acres would be purchased in fee for the Oglala Sioux Tribe and managed by the National Park Service.

Alternative 2
Cooperatively managing the historic landscape

ty to establish goals and ways to ensure that any development or use within the historic landscape protection area would preserve the sacred aspects of the Wounded Knee site and would not detract from the meaning or dignity of the national memorial.

The Oglala Sioux Tribe would take the lead in restricting development in the historic landscape protection area by adopting and stringently enforcing local zoning regulations. Scenic easements could also be purchased. A scenic easement is a partial purchase of a landowner's or allottee's property rights, which imposes certain restrictions on the property holder. Typically under a scenic easement purchase, the owner continues to use the land, but certain rights are sold (for example, the owner would agree not to build any more structures on the property). The landowner would then receive a one-time payment for selling these development rights.

Local zoning regulations and easements would control the location and type of use, and they would prevent the development of incompatible land uses within this area. Examples of incompatible uses that would not be allowed would include commercial operations or vending stands, multi-family dwellings, buildings with two or more stories, or more than two structures per acre. Residents in this area would also be expected to keep their lands free of discarded items (such as cars or appliances).

Land uses within the historic landscape protection area would be overseen by the advisory commission. The commission would make land use recommendations to the tribal council for enforcement.

If land use controls acceptable to both the National Park Service and the Oglala Sioux Tribe were not implemented within a mutually agreed upon period, the Park Service would recommend the acquisition of all lands, which would then be held in trust for the Oglala Sioux Tribe.

Entrance Fees. Under this alternative entrance fees could be charged to all visitors except Sioux tribal members. All fees collected would be returned to the tribes on a shared basis to help pay for additional tribal expenses related to the national memorial (for example, road improvements, police and fire protection, and utilities). The enabling legislation would have to specifically allow for entrance fees to be collected and returned to the tribes.

Access. Access to properties now served by Highways 27 and 28 would be maintained through alternate routes.

Non-Lakota visitor access onto the grounds of the historic area could be provided by Lakota guides under contract or other special permits from the National Park Service. As described for alternative 1, such guided tours could include interpretation from overlooks or walks through the historic landscape. Visitor access to sites within the historic area would be limited to tribally owned lands that were part of the national memorial and that were managed by the National Park Service under a lease arrangement with the tribe.

Land Acquisition and Easement Costs. Land acquisition under this alternative would be limited to the 55 to 75 acres required for the development of visitor, administrative, and maintenance facilities. These lands would be acquired with federal funds for the Oglala Sioux Tribe and would then be leased to the National Park Service for management.

For the rest of the lands in the historic landscape protection area either they would be retained under present ownership but regulated by local zoning ordinances enforced by the tribe (as previously described in the "Resource Protection"

section), or an easement could be purchased to ensure that present uses would not change in the future. Any purchases of easements would be made for the Oglala Sioux Tribe with federal funds, and the easements would be managed by the National Park Service under an agreement with the tribe. Also, landholders would have the option of selling land to the Oglala Sioux Tribe if they wanted.

This combination of land management options would provide for the protection of the historic landscape protection area at Wounded Knee while offering the landowners the option to retain their properties or to sell them in fee or easement to the Oglala Sioux Tribe.

The location of facilities in the Bridger/Cherry Creek area has not been determined; therefore, landownership is unknown. Lands in the selected area would be leased to the National Park Service by the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe for management.

As described for alternative 1, acquisition and easement costs would be determined in accordance with Public Law 91-646, the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act. Because it is not known under this alternative exactly how many properties might be purchased either in fee or easement, total costs could vary between $50,000 and $335,000 (for the purchase of easements on all lands). If all landowners and allottees were willing to sell their lands to the Oglala Sioux Tribe, the cost would be approximately $825,000, the same as alternative 1.

The only priority for acquisition would be the 55–75 acres that would be needed for visitor, administrative, and maintenance facilities. In terms of easements that might be needed, the highest priorities would be to protect views of the national historic landmark and the areas immediately adjacent to the mass grave.

Relocation costs would also be determined in accordance with PL 91-646. Under this alternative relocation costs would only apply to the 55–75 acres required for visitor or support facilities. The visitor center (now partly completed by local landowners) and one small frame dwelling would be affected.

Impact Analysis

Natural Resources. Impacts on natural resources as a result of developing visitor, administrative, and maintenance facilities plus access roads would be the same as described for alternative 1, and up to 35 acres would be directly affected. Existing development could remain on lands within the historic landscape protection area, and any existing effects on natural resources would continue. The National Park Service would work with the Oglala Sioux Tribe to develop guidelines that would ensure that any permitted uses on privately owned lands would not adversely affect natural resources, and that any existing adverse impacts would be corrected.

Cultural Resources. Under alternative 2 cultural resources throughout the historic landscape protection area would be protected. Because the majority of lands could continue to be privately owned, the National Park Service would work with the Oglala Sioux Tribe to develop guidelines to protect historic and archeological resources, including previously unknown resources that could be uncovered during construction projects. The highest level of protection would be given to lands within the national historic landmark.

Impacts related to the establishment of a Big Foot National Historic Trail would be similar to those described for alternative 1, with the long-term protection of sites related to Chief Big Foot, the Minneconjous, the Hunkpapas, and other Lakota people.

Sociocultural Environment. Impacts on Lakotas would be generally the same as described under alternative 1. However, under this alternative the National Park Service would only directly manage between 55 and 75 acres, and local landowners and the Wounded Knee community would have more influence in the development of land use regulations to protect the meaning and dignity of the national memorial. Consequently, Wounded Knee residents and landowners might prefer alternative 2 over alterative 1 because it would offer greater flexibility for individuals to remain on their lands and to use them for compatible purposes. Some local residents would still object to the creation of a national memorial.

Under alternative 2 the three churches on site would be permitted to remain, which would cause less disruption for the congregations. The continued presence of the churches would reflect a continuing spiritual context for the site and would serve as additional ways for visitors to learn more of the history of the Wounded Knee community. If the churches were kept open during visitor hours, they would become additional places for meditation and contemplation.

Visitor Experience. The visitor experience under alternative 2 would be similar to that described under alternative 1. However, continued private uses of lands within the historic landscape protection area would mean that the landscape would not be restored to either an entirely natural or historic setting. These uses could be seen as intrusions by some visitors; however, this impact would be offset by providing an interpretive program for visitors and by formally memorializing the victims of the massacre.

Local Economy. Impacts on the local economy and visitor use would be similar to alternative 1.

Feasibility for Addition to the National Park System

To be feasible for addition to the national park system, land use regulations would have to be strong enough to ensure the long-term protection of lands within the historic landscape protection area, particularly the national historic landmark.

Between 55 and 75 acres would need to be owned in fee by the Oglala Sioux Tribe and leased to the National Park Service so visitor, administrative, and maintenance facilities could be developed. Areas for this future development would need to consider the locations of floodplains and wetlands, slope and soil limitations, visual sensitivity, and the location of cultural resources. To provide a suitable setting for interpreting the massacre, these facilities should be dispersed so that administrative and maintenance activities would not intrude on the visitor experience or the site's sacred qualities.

If land use controls for the historic landscape protection area that were acceptable to both the Oglala Sioux Tribe and the National Park Service were not implemented within a mutually agreed upon period, then the Park Service would recommend the acquisition of all lands, which would then be held in trust for the Oglala Sioux Tribe.

Acquisition costs for land in fee or for easements would range between $50,000 and $825,000 (for full fee purchase). Adequate access is provided by Highways 27 and 28 at Wounded Knee and by South Dakota Highways 34 and 73 at Bridger/Cherry Creek.

As described under alternative 1, the major threat to the land resources at Wounded Knee is the possibility of future development near the historic area that would adversely affect the historic scene.

ALTERNATIVE 3: AN OGLALA/ CHEYENNE RIVER SIOUX TRIBAL PARK

General Description

The purpose of this alternative would be to foster a deeper understanding of Lakota history and culture by creating a joint tribal park. The focus of the park would still be the events at Wounded Knee, and a monument would be established to commemorate the Lakota victims. However, the park area would be expanded so that the events of December 29, 1890, could be put in a broader context of Lakota cultural history.

The park could consist of areas at Wounded Knee and Bridger/Cherry Creek, plus the south unit of Badlands National Park, which includes Stronghold Table — one of the last Ghost Dance sites. The south unit would be returned to the Oglala Sioux Tribe (this area is now managed by the National Park Service under a cooperative agreement with the tribe). The physical link that would tie all units of the tribal park together would be the Big Foot Trail, from Cheyenne River to Wounded Knee.

Management. The park would be managed by the Oglala and Cheyenne River Sioux tribes, and each tribe would manage its own lands. The tribal park could be designated as an NPS affiliated area if adequate protection of the national historic landmark could be guaranteed; and if the tribes established and continued standards of maintenance, operations, public service, and financial accountability consistent with requirements for national park system units.

Affiliated status could make available planning and design assistance, and possibly some construction funds. However, the National Park Service would not be involved in day-to-day management of the park. The tribes could also decide not to seek affiliated status.

Under this alternative the tribes could also establish an advisory group to make recommendations about parkwide management. However, the membership could be slightly different because of the expanded scope of the park. Members could include representatives from the Oglala and Cheyenne River Sioux tribes, the Oglala Sioux Tribe Parks and Recreation Authority, and affected landholders.

Interpretive Context. The primary purpose of interpretation would be to foster a deeper understanding of Lakota history and culture, and to help mend the sacred hoop of the Lakotas through education. The interpretive program would be from the Lakota point of view, and all interpretive media, including personal services, could be provided in both Lakota and English.

The story of the massacre of Lakota people at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890, could be placed in the larger context of the diverse interactions and gradually changing relationships between the Lakota and white societies during the 19th century — the establishment of individual reservations, the breaking of treaties, the Ghost Dance, Sitting Bull's death, Big Foot's journey to Wounded Knee, and the massacre. An effort could also be made to interpret the history and changing culture of the Lakota people from 1891 to the present. While the larger story of the cultural context would also be addressed in the first two alternatives, this approach would be most strongly emphasized under alternative 3.

Wounded Knee could be recognized not only as the site of the massacre, but as a site for healing between the Lakota and white societies. The primary interpretive theme could be the breaking and mending of the sacred hoop of the Lakota nation.

Visitor Experience. To generate an understanding of and appreciation for the history and culture of the Lakotas, each of the units (Wounded Knee, Bridger/Cherry Creek, the south unit of Badlands, and the Big Foot Trail) could provide a different aspect of the story. For example, while Wounded Knee and Bridger/Cherry Creek could provide the same type of visitor experience as outlined in alternatives 1 and 2, the south unit could be developed to concentrate on Lakota history and culture and the role of the Ghost Dance. A Lakota cultural center could be developed, with a mix of interpretive media ranging from audiovisual programs, to museum exhibits, to live performances and demonstrations. This would be a prime location to tell people about the sacred hoop, the period from white contact to 1889–90, and the period from 1891 to the present.

An increasingly popular form of tourism is low-impact eco-tourism, where visitors are given the opportunity to have a unique experience by immersing themselves in another culture. The success of these endeavors depends on an overriding concern for the social well-being, economic development, and protection of natural and cultural resources. Typically, eco-tours have few customers, each of whom pays a large fee for a unique experience.

Under this alternative Lakota guides could offer rides along portions of the Big Foot Trail or they could provide eco-tour opportunities for small numbers of visitors on the south unit of Badlands National Park. Rides along the Big Foot Trail could vary from a week-long trip from Bridger/Cherry Creek to Wounded Knee, a three-day trip from the Badlands south unit to Wounded Knee, and even a one-day trip from the Porcupine Butte surrender site. All participants would travel by historic means (horseback, wagon, or walking), sleep in tipis (provided at each campsite but erected by the participants), and eat traditional foods. Interpretation would be primarily by story telling along the trail and around campfires in the evenings. All interpretation would be provided by Lakotas.

Resource Protection. The Oglala and Cheyenne River Sioux tribes would determine which lands would be included in the park. In order for the park to be affiliated with the national park system, some sort of formal protection for the national historic landmark at Wounded Knee would be required.

The south unit of Badlands National Park (approximately 133,300 acres) could revert to management by the Oglala Sioux Tribe.

Facilities and Services. Each tribe would construct a visitor facility and a monument to the victims.

The existing White River visitor center in Badlands National Park could continue to be used until replaced by a permanent facility, with the option to develop a second visitor facility at Stronghold Table or Fog Creek.

Other facilities — administrative offices, maintenance facilities, housing for park employees, and utilities — would also be required.

The tribes would decide which types of commercial services would be appropriate within the park area. If the park was affiliated with the national park system, such services would have to be consistent with the requirements for affiliated status.

Entrance Fees. Entrance fees would be decided by the tribes.

Access. Local highways could be improved with assistance from the state and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Training and Employment. A park management training program could be pro-

vided through the Oglala Lakota and Cheyenne River Community colleges. The National Park Service could provide assistance initially in setting up these programs. Employment policies for the tribal park would be jointly decided by the Oglala and Cheyenne River Sioux tribes. The goal would be to have all positions filled by Lakota personnel.

Acquisition, Development, and Operating Costs. Land acquisition would be the responsibility of the tribal governments, who could seek grants or other assistance from private organizations or Congress. The park's advisory commission could also assist in fund-raising efforts.

Funding sources for constructing the visitor facilities, monuments, and support facilities (for example, administrative and maintenance facilities) could include grants from private foundations and corporations, a congressional appropriation, and fund-raising activities sponsored by the advisory commission. The National Park Service would offer design and construction assistance.

Annual operations could be financed in various ways. One option would be an annual congressional appropriation that would gradually decline over a 10-year period to a minimum set level. Another option would be to establish a foundation with money from a one-time appropriation by Congress and from other sources. The money would be invested, with the income from investments being used for operations. Annual operating funds could be further supplemented by concessioner profits and commission fund-raising efforts. Eco-tours could be a source of park revenues if horses, tipis, food, etc., were provided by a park concessioner for a fee.

The status of the tribal park as an affiliated area of the national park system would also increase opportunities for national promotion and marketing. The potential designation of a Big Foot National Historic Trail by Congress would help focus additional interest on the tribal park.

Impact Analysis

Natural Resources. For the tribal park to be affiliated with the national park system, the National Park Service would need to be assured that impacts on natural resources would not be significant. If federal funds were used for development, then impacts of development would need to be evaluated in compliance with the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act.

Cultural Resources. The protection of cultural resources and historic areas would be up to the tribes. If the tribal park was affiliated with the national park system, protection of cultural resources would have to comply with the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended.

Impacts related to the establishment of a Big Foot National Historic Trail would be similar to those described for alternative 1, with the long-term protection of sites tied to Chief Big Foot and the people who joined his band.

Sociocultural Environment. Impacts of a tribally operated memorial at Wounded Knee would probably be similar to those described under alternative 2. However, the management of the various park units by the Oglala and Cheyenne River Sioux tribes would be more acceptable to many Lakotas who distrust the federal government and management regulations.

All interpretation would be from the Lakota point of view, and the tribes would determine the interpretive message to be conveyed. Under this alternative the Wounded Knee massacre would continue to be one of the primary interpretive

themes, but Lakota culture would also be interpreted by means of a cultural center or eco-tours that would immerse visitors in the Lakota culture. Such an interpretive program could foster a greater sense of pride among Lakotas in their heritage.

Communities on both reservations could best practice local autonomy under this alternative, with local initiatives tied to the Big Foot National Historic Trail. The principal limitation would be finding adequate and continuous sources of funding. However, some community residents on both reservations, especially many at Wounded Knee itself, would probably prefer this situation. Some at Cheyenne River would like a living memorial at Cherry Creek or Eagle Butte in the form of a cultural/community center that would cater to the educational needs of the young people as well as to the needs of the elderly.

Visitor Experience. For people wanting to learn about the Lakota culture in-depth, this alternative would provide the greatest range of opportunities. Visitors could tailor their experience to their level of interest, ranging from a visit of a few hours at Wounded Knee to a multi-day ride along the Big Foot Trail with Lakota guides.

If the tribal park was affiliated with the national park system, the National Park Service would have to be assured that standards of maintenance, operations, public service, and financial accountability were consistent with requirements applicable to national park system units. This in turn would assure visitors of experiences comparable to those available at national park system areas.

Local Economy. Visitor projections for Wounded Knee and Bridger/Cherry Creek would probably be similar to alternative 1. Visitor projections for the Badlands south unit are unknown.

An eco-tour enterprise offering trips from one day to several days to a select clientele could be started. Options include rides along portions of the Big Foot Trail, or a multiday camping trip on the south unit of Badlands National Park.

A major concern about a tribal park is guaranteed funding while the park is beginning operations, without which it would be difficult for the park to succeed financially. Funding options would need to be carefully investigated.

Feasibility for Affiliation with the National Park System

Criteria for evaluating areas for formal affiliation with the national park system are included in the "Report on Criteria for Affiliated Areas" (NPS 1990), which was presented to Congress. The report recommends that the title of affiliated area be used for a select group of nationally significant areas that have a formal cooperative relationship with the National Park Service. Congress has not yet acted on the recommendations of this report.

A site could be affiliated with the national park system if it meets the criteria for national significance, if the resources could be most efficiently and effectively managed by a cooperative arrangement with the National Park Service instead of direct operation as a unit of the national park system, and if the National Park Service had some continuing responsibility for technical or financial assistance and oversight of the area's management. Either Congress or the secretary of the interior could determine whether or not a site qualified for affiliation.

For a tribal park to be affiliated with the national park system, some sort of formal protection for the national historic landmark would be required. Also, the park should meet certain basic operational stan-

dards to ensure the quality of visitor services and resource management. A cooperative agreement for affiliation should address issues such as the following:

- planning and technical assistance
- liability and insurance for facilities and employees
- volunteer-in-parks status for staff
- fee rates and collection policies
- hours and days of operation
- review and approval of annual budgets
- use of the NPS logo on signs and literature
- standards for concession operations
- content and scope of interpretive programs
- review and approval of sales items
- limits on uses of appropriated funds for lobbying
- accessibility for disabled visitors

Affiliated status would be subject to periodic review for consistency with established standards, and Congress or the secretary could discontinue affiliated status based on NPS recommendations.

It should be recognized that funding for affiliated areas must compete with other priorities for existing units of the national park system.

OTHER ALTERNATIVES CONSIDERED

The study team also reviewed several other alternatives. As previously stated, a no-action alternative (where no memorial or park would be established) has been analyzed, in accordance with NPS policies and to reflect a full range of alternatives. However, the Lakota team members have rejected this as a viable alternative because to them it is time that the massacre be acknowledged and the event commemorated.

Another alternative was a park area that would be initiated, funded, and managed by the community of Wounded Knee. This alternative was rejected because the local community does not currently have the managerial skills or financial assets to take a leadership role in developing and managing a park area. Also, the Lakota team members felt any park would require some degree of ongoing federal assistance. Furthermore, the tribal council would have to approve any form of local control.

An alternative to develop a park managed wholly by the Cheyenne River Tribe was considered, and the bodies in the mass grave would be moved to Cheyenne River. However, the Cheyenne River tribal representatives said they would only pursue the reburial of the victims as a last resort, and they would prefer to work with the Oglala Sioux Tribe to develop a suitable memorial. Also, some sort of development or monument would be needed at Wounded Knee because visitors would continue to come to the site of the massacre.

Another alternative to establish a park administered solely by the Oglala Sioux Tribe was also considered. However, the Oglala tribal representatives felt it was only proper to consider the desires of the Cheyenne River people in establishing a park or memorial since their ancestors were the primary massacre victims. Any park must be a joint undertaking.

The possibility of making Wounded Knee a unit of Badlands National Park was discussed. However, this option would diminish the significance of the Wounded Knee site, which deserves to be nationally recognized in its own right. Also, funding could be a problem because Wounded Knee would have to compete with other sites in Badlands for funding.

TABLE 6: SUMMARY OF ALTERNATIVES

	NO-ACTION ALTERNATIVE: CONTINUED EXISTING CONDITIONS	ALTERNATIVE 1: A WOUNDED KNEE NATIONAL MEMORIAL — PROTECTING THE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE	ALTERNATIVE 2: A WOUNDED KNEE NATIONAL MEMORIAL — COOPERATIVELY MANAGING THE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE	ALTERNATIVE 3: AN OGLALA/ CHEYENNE RIVER SIOUX TRIBAL PARK
DESCRIPTION OF ALTERNATIVES				
Common Elements		Provide monuments to commemorate the Wounded Knee massacre — one at Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation, and one at Bridger/Cherry Creek on the Cheyenne River Reservation. Conduct a feasibility study to establish a Big Foot National Historic Trail.		
Alternative Concepts	Continue existing conditions without the establishment of a park or memorial; allow existing visitor use patterns to continue.	Establish a national memorial as part of the national park system, and remove incompatible existing development. Protect the Wounded Knee site in a respectful manner to dignify both the victims and the survivors.	Same as alternative 1 except allow most existing uses within the area identified as the historic landscape protection area to continue, and provide for cooperative management of these uses.	Establish an Oglala/Cheyenne River Sioux tribal park consisting of areas at Wounded Knee, Bridger/Cherry Creek, and possibly the south unit of Badlands National Park; connect units by means of the Big Foot Trail. Interpret the massacre in the broader context of Lakota cultural history. Potentially affiliate the tribal park with the national park system.
• Management	No formal site management.	Manage the national memorial in accordance with NPS management policies, in close cooperation with the Oglala Sioux Tribe. Establish an advisory commission to make recommendations about management activities, interpretive proposals, and the monument design.	Cooperatively manage the lands identified as a historic landscape protection area by the National Park Service, the Oglala Sioux Tribe, the Wounded Knee community, and local landowners, with advice on land uses from an advisory commission. NPS management of visitor, administrative, and maintenance facilities (55–75 acres).	Continue tribal management of park lands, possibly with an advisory group to recommend parkwide management actions. If desired, seek affiliated status with the national park system, dependent on national historic landmark protection plus standards of maintenance, operations, public service, and financial accountability.
• Interpretive Themes	No formal interpretation; possibility for informal talks between non-Lakota visitors and local residents or other Lakota visitors, as well as occasional guided tours arranged by the tribe.	Focus interpretation on the massacre, which would fully portray the Lakota perspective; provide interpretation in both Lakota and English. Either restore Wounded Knee to a natural appearance (with the removal of modern structures) or to a historic appearance (Dec. 29, 1890).	Same as alternative 1, except there would be only partial restoration of a natural or historic scene.	Focus interpretation on the Wounded Knee massacre plus Lakota culture and history. Provide all interpretation from a Lakota perspective, with programs in both Lakota and English.
• Visitor Experience	No planned visitor experience.	Emphasize the sacred nature of the area and a sense of reverence. Tell visitors about the massacre at a visitor center and provide Lakota guides to conduct non-Lakota visitors onto the grounds.	Same as alternative 1.	Broaden the visitor experience by interpreting one element of the story at each park site. Possibly offer trail rides on the Big Foot Trail and eco-tours at the south unit of Badlands.

	No-Action Alternative: Continued Existing Conditions	Alternative 1: A Wounded Knee National Memorial — Protecting the Historic Landscape	Alternative 2: A Wounded Knee National Memorial — Cooperatively Managing the Historic Landscape	Alternative 3: An Oglala/ Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Park
• Resource Protection	No formal protection of natural and cultural resources other than protection of national historic landmark lands from adverse federal actions.	At Wounded Knee protect approximately 1,800 acres as a national memorial, including the national historic landmark and critical areas seen from the mass grave; protect resources in accordance with NPS management policies. Acquire all lands with federal funds for the Oglala Sioux Tribe and manage under an agreement with the tribe.	Protect most of the 1,800 acres designated as a national memorial through cooperative management (National Park Service, Oglala Sioux Tribe, Wounded Knee community, and local landowners). Cooperatively develop local zoning regulations, which would be adopted and enforced by the tribal council to protect historic resources; also buy scenic easements to protect the rural character. Use techniques such as compatible colors on structures to reduce current visual effects. If land use controls acceptable to both the Park Service and the tribe were not adopted within a certain period, recommend acquisition of all lands for the tribe.	Tribes to determine the level of resource protection. For affiliation with the national park system, guarantee long-term protection of the national historic landmark.
• Facilities and Services	No visitor facilities unless the locally built visitor center was completed and put into operation.	Facilities — a monument, visitor facility, administrative offices, residential area, maintenance facilities, and utilities. Place facilities so as not to intrude on the sacred setting of the site (specific locations determined through later planning). Commercial services — if determined to be appropriate and necessary within the national memorial, grant preferential rights to the tribe to provide these services.	Same as alternative 1.	Facilities similar to alternatives 1 and 2, with additional facilities at the south unit of Badlands. Tribes to determine appropriate commercial services provided in the park; if affiliated with the national park system, ensure services consistent with affiliated status requirements.
• Entrance Fees	None	None	Charge entrance fees for all visitors except Sioux tribal members. Return fees to the tribes on a shared basis to pay for additional tribal expenses related to the national memorial (e.g., police and fire protection, utilities).	To be determined by the tribes.

	No-Action Alternative: Continued Existing Conditions	Alternative 1: A Wounded Knee National Memorial — Protecting the Historic Landscape	Alternative 2: A Wounded Knee National Memorial — Cooperatively Managing the Historic Landscape	Alternative 3: An Oglala/ Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Park
• Access	No change from existing conditions.	Relocate Highway 27 outside the national memorial, along with the Highway 28 intersection. Allow non-Lakota visitor access onto the historic grounds only with paid Lakota interpreters.	Allow non-Lakota visitor access onto the historic grounds only with Lakota guides under contract or special permits from the National Park Service. Provide access to all properties in the historic landscape protection area. Allow no visitor access on privately owned lands.	Improve local highways with assistance of the state and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
• Training and Employment	None	Develop a park management training program for potential Lakota employees at the Oglala Lakota and Cheyenne River Community colleges, plus an intern program at the park.	Same as alternative 1.	Develop a park management training program at the Oglala Lakota and Cheyenne River Community colleges, with initial assistance from the National Park Service. Tribes to decide employment policies.
• Land Acquisition Costs	None	Wounded Knee: Estimated cost to purchase approximately 1,800 acres for the Oglala Sioux Tribe — $825,000 (including improvements, relocation of affected landowners, and severance damages). Bridger/Cherry Creek: Cost unknown.	Wounded Knee: For easement purchases, between $50,000 and $335,000; for full land acquisition, up to $825,000. Bridger/Cherry Creek: Cost unknown.	Land acquisition costs, if any, unknown.
• Development Costs	None	Wounded Knee: $14.4 million Bridger/ Cherry Creek: 4.9 million Total $19.3 million	Same as alternative 1.	Probably similar to alternatives 1 and 2 for the Wounded Knee and Bridger/Cherry Creek sites; additional costs for development at the Badlands south unit.
• Staffing and Operating Costs	None	Wounded Knee: 12 full-time positions, plus 6 to 10 part-time (seasonal) positions. Bridger/Cherry Creek: 3 full-time positions, plus 4 to 6 part-time positions. Total annual staffing/operating costs for Wounded Knee and Bridger/Cherry Creek: $950,000.	Same as alternative 1.	Probably similar to alternatives 1 and 2, plus management and operation costs for the Badlands south unit.

	No-Action Alternative: Continued Existing Conditions	Alternative 1: A Wounded Knee National Memorial — Protecting the Historic Landscape	Alternative 2: A Wounded Knee National Memorial — Cooperatively Managing the Historic Landscape	Alternative 3: An Oglala/ Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Park
Impacts				
Natural Resources	Potential for future development or land uses to affect grassland and riparian habitats.	Direct disturbance of up to 35 acres of soils and vegetation for road and facility development at Wounded Knee, and up to 10 acres at Bridger/ Cherry Creek. No significant natural resources affected.	Same as alternative 1, plus continued existing impacts on privately owned lands.	Extent of impacts on natural resources the responsibility of the tribes. For affiliation with the national park system, some guarantee that impacts would not be significant.
Cultural Resources	Potential impacts from vandalism and uncontrolled development. Impacts on the historic scene from existing development (including local visitor center) plus potential future development.	Protection and enhancement of the historic and natural scene by removing nonhistoric features. Protection of archeological resources from inadvertent loss. Protection of resources associated with the Big Foot Trail.	Same as alternative 1, except some intrusions on the historic scene as a result of continued private uses within the historic landscape protection area.	Protection of cultural sites and resources up to the tribes. Long-term protection of the national historic landmark required if the park was affiliated with the national park system.
Sociocultural Environment	Negative effect on local community from increased numbers of visitors without planned services or facilities to accommodate their needs.	Positive effect on the Lakota nation from establishing a national memorial and fully portraying the Lakota perspective; potentially better relations between the Lakota and white societies. Some local residents concerned about "outside" interference in their affairs.	Same as alternative 1, except possibly more support from the local community because of greater involvement in the management of local land uses.	Tribal management and greater local autonomy probably more acceptable to many tribal members, particularly those who object to any federal involvement. Opportunity for an interpretive program to foster a great sense of cultural pride for the tribes.
Visitor Experience	No coordinated interpretive program for visitors. Negative effects from peddling and panhandling.	Wounded Knee easier to find for visitors because of road signs. More complete interpretation of what happened in 1890. Site maintained to national park system standards.	Same as alternative 1, except the quality of the experience potentially affected by continuing certain existing uses and not fully restoring a natural or historic landscape.	Best opportunity for people wanting to learn about the Lakota culture in depth.
Local Economy	Wounded Knee: Between 8,100 and 18,900 annual visitors. Bridge/Cherry Creek: None No economic effect unless the locally built visitor center at Wounded Knee was completed and became operational, in which case any sales could benefit the local community.	Wounded Knee: Between 80,000 and 190,000 visitors five years after development was completed. Bridger/Cherry Creek: Between 8,000 and 10,000 visitors in five years. Some local economic development opportunities due to visitation. One-time local benefit from construction (depending on the amount of hiring and purchasing of supplies locally). Annual benefit from staffing and operating expenditures. Property tax loss less than $300 annually.	Same as alternative 1.	Visitor projections for Wounded Knee and Bridger/ Cherry Creek probably similar to alternatives 1 and 2; visitor projections for Badlands south unit unknown. Potential for development of a profitable eco-tour business.

CONSULTATION AND COORDINATION

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

The study team for this project includes representatives from the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, the Oglala Sioux Tribe, the National Park Service, and the state of South Dakota (see the list of team members as well as consultants at the end of this document).

An important aspect of the study has been to listen to the desires and concerns of the Lakota people on what would be suitable from their perspective, and also to evaluate Lakota cultural and socioeconomic concerns. The team's public involvement program consisted of holding formal public meetings, conducting initial ethnographic interviews, convening a Lakota cultural review panel, commissioning a rapid ethnographic assessment and another anthropological evaluation, and analyzing newsletter responses.

Ethnographic interviewing contributed significantly to the study's public involvement program, and the team acted on ethnographic insights as they emerged through the process. The team became especially sensitive to the viewpoints of various Wounded Knee community residents and other Lakota groups, including those of the elders. Throughout this process the team has received comments and input from 429 people. The public involvement is described below. The National Park Service has also prepared a report entitled, "Public Involvement with the Lakota People: A Summary of Results for the Wounded Knee Study of Alternatives," a copy of which is available on request from the National Park Service, Denver Service Center, DSC-TCE, P.O. Box 25287, Denver, CO 80225-0287.

Public Meetings — June 1991

From June 18 to June 28, 1991, nine public meetings were held in South Dakota to gather ideas about how the Wounded Knee site could be protected and managed. Four meetings were held on the Pine Ridge Reservation and two meetings on the Cheyenne River Reservation, along with meetings in Rapid City, Pierre, and Sioux Falls. Nearly 230 people came to these meetings, and about 80 people spoke about what they thought should be done.

The public comments were summarized in the team's first newsletter, *The Wounded Knee Update/Cankpe Opi Wonahun*, September 1991.

Initial Ethnographic Interviewing — August 1991

Because the public meetings were lightly attended, the team decided that informal ethnographic interviewing of Lakota individuals in their homes or other places of their choice would be productive and culturally appropriate. As a result, NPS anthropologist Larry Van Horn spent two and one-half weeks in August 1991 interviewing individuals on the Cheyenne River and Pine Ridge reservations. A total of 57 interviews were conducted, with questions ranging from whether a park/memorial should be established and what would be a suitable monument, to the desirability of establishing a Big Foot National Historic Trail, to family stories that have been handed down from survivors of the massacre and what the site itself means in terms of family history and Lakota history. Individuals were also asked what overriding message should be conveyed to the average non-Lakota visitor.

The Lakota Cultural Review Panel — November 1991

A Lakota cultural review panel was convened in Denver, Colorado, on November 1 and 2, 1991, to evaluate preliminary alternatives and interpretive concepts for cultural appropriateness and to suggest potential sociocultural and socioeconomic impacts related to the alternatives. In addition to four team members, three native Lakota cultural experts with training in anthropology and history attended, along with four anthropologists with extensive field experience among the Lakotas (see list of consultants at the end of this document).

Rapid Ethnographic Assessment — November–December 1991

Anthropologists Marla and William Powers were contracted to conduct additional ethnographic interviewing on the Pine Ridge and Cheyenne River reservations during November and December 1991. The Powerses are anthropologists with over 50 years experience together working with Lakotas on the Pine Ridge Reservation, and they have written several books about Lakota culture. They employed a method of cultural anthropology called rapid ethnographic assessment.

A total of 207 Lakotas were interviewed in their homes and community facilities, both individually and in small groups. Interviews were also held at the Wounded Knee massacre site and at larger community meetings called by the people themselves for the purpose of discussing the alternatives. Their report is entitled "Rapid Ethnographic Assessment: Wounded Knee Alternatives Study."

Preliminary Alternatives — March 1992

Two preliminary alternatives were developed by the study team in Pierre, South Dakota, September 16–19, 1991. Subsequent refinements to the first alternative in response to Lakota concerns about the area to be managed by the federal government resulted in the development of another alternative. The alternatives were presented to the public in the second newsletter, which was distributed in March 1992, and a total of 809 copies were mailed out to people on the mailing list. (People were invited to sign up for the mailing list at all public meetings held by the study team, as well as during interviews and radio programs. The news also spread by word of mouth and through distribution of the first newsletter.)

The newsletter included a mailback questionnaire. Seven questions were asked, ranging from how the historic landscape at Wounded Knee should be preserved for future generations, to whether any of the alternatives would preserve Wounded Knee the way the reader would like to see it done, to what is the most important message about Wounded Knee to tell to visitors.

A total of 77 comments were received during the public response period, which ended on May 15, 1992. Public responses to the newsletter are summarized in appendix B. The three alternatives presented in the newsletter, with additional refinements, are also presented and analyzed in this *Study of Alternatives.*

Cultural Evaluation of Alternatives — March 1992

Anthropologist Beatrice Medicine, a Lakota person from the Standing Rock Reservation and the author of numerous scientific articles for professional journals, was con-

tracted to evaluate the draft alternatives as presented in the second newsletter in terms of their Lakota cultural appropriateness.

PUBLIC INTEREST AND SUPPORT

The two survivors associations — the Cheyenne River Wounded Knee Survivors Association and the Pine Ridge Wounded Knee Survivors Association — have been working on legislation for the last seven years to establish a national historical park and memorial. This bill was introduced in both the U.S. Senate (S. 3213) and the House of Representatives (H.R. 5856) on August 12, 1992 (see page 6).

The governments of the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe and the Oglala Sioux Tribe have both passed resolutions favoring the survivors' bill for establishing a park/memorial at Wounded Knee.

Within the community of Wounded Knee there is some support for the establishment of a national memorial or park, as well as strong opposition among residents and landowners who do not want to give up any land or interests for such a purpose. For example, local Wounded Knee officials Anita Ecoffey and Patrick Tom Clifford want to pursue local initiatives, with no federal presence and no change in the status of land.

The *Si Tanka Tiwahe* or Big Foot's Family (an organization of descendants of Chief Big Foot) is also on record as opposing a federal park at Wounded Knee. This organization feels that the wishes of certain traditional elders should be recognized to keep any memorialization of the Wounded Knee site in the hands of the actual lineal descendants of the victims and survivors.

Governor George S. Mickelson of South Dakota is a strong supporter of a Wounded Knee park/memorial. He has met with the new president of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, John Yellow Bird Steele, to discuss Lakota concerns and opportunities for such a park.

Officials of the local Wounded Knee churches (Church of God, Presbyterian, and Catholic) were consulted about the possible establishment of a national memorial. The congregations are generally opposed to any relocation.

APPENDIX A: ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE THROUGH EXISTING PROGRAMS

FEDERAL

National Park Service

Historic Preservation Fund Grants to Indian Tribes. The Interagency Resources Division of the NPS Washington Office administers a direct grants program to Indian tribes. This program is authorized by section 101 of the National Historic Preservation Act, which authorizes the secretary of the interior to "make grants or loans or both under this section to Indian tribes . . . for the preservation of their cultural heritage." During fiscal year 1992 the grants program awarded approximately $1 million to Indian tribes for a variety of preservation projects. Individual grants range from $5,000 to $50,000.

Cultural Resource Training Initiative. In 1992 the NPS Preservation Assistance Division in the Washington Office began a cultural resource training initiative. Funded at $500,000 annually, the program targets "technicians, paraprofessionals, and professionals working to preserve cultural resources in both the public and private sectors." Training activities that could be funded include workshops, conferences, the development of course curricula, videotapes, and handbooks.

National Historic Landmark Studies. The NPS History Division of the Washington Office could conduct additional national historic landmark studies of the Stronghold and the Big Foot Trail. Such studies would provide a more comprehensive story of Wounded Knee, as well as a basis for developing interpretive and preservation plans. Additional assistance could be provided by the Rocky Mountain Regional Office's Division of National Preservation Programs.

National Trails System. The National Trails System Act (PL 90-543; 16 USC 1241 et seq. as amended through PL 100-559, October 29, 1988) provides congressional funding for the designation and management of national historic trails. The Big Foot Trail may meet the criteria for designation. The act includes identification, protection, and interpretive programs. Assistance is provided through the Division of Planning and Assistance, Rocky Mountain Regional Office.

Assistance is also provided in bikepath and trail planning and management. The Land and Water Conservation Fund program supports recreation through both financial and technical support. NPS affiliation is not required for assistance.

Other Federal Agencies

Other federal agencies might be able to participate in this effort, even if the area is designated as an affiliate. For example, the Bureau of Indian Affairs would need to be involved if planning, preservation, and interpretation included sites within the lands and roadways it manages. Some technical and financial support could be available from the bureau as well. The bureau may be able to participate in the inventory and evaluation of related resources outside the national historic landmark boundaries.

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

The financial resources of the tribal governments of the Lakota Sioux are limited. However the tribal governments may be able to donate lands or enter into cooperative agreements to help preserve and manage the lands associated with Wounded Knee and the Big Foot Trail. The Oglala Sioux Tribal Council in 1976 entered into a memorandum of understanding with the National Park Service to manage the south unit of Badlands National Park, which includes the Stronghold.

STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA

The State Historic Preservation Office can provide Historic Preservation Fund grants to local governments, institutions, and individuals to assist with preservation planning, with sur-

veying and inventorying, and with acquiring and developing historic resources. The state is the source of most "how-to" assistance for preservation projects. The South Dakota State Historic Preservation Office has been very active in stimulating preservation and economic development of Wounded Knee, and it has funded two feasibility studies in conjunction with the South Dakota Department of Tourism. The Department of Education and Cultural Affairs within the Department of Education, as well as the Governor's Office of Indian Affairs and Office of Economic Development, can also offer limited financial and technical support.

CITIES AND COUNTIES

Local preservation and recreation programs can provide a foundation for much of the work needed to accomplish any plan that will be developed, and the plan must be compatible with related local plans. The community of Wounded Knee has demonstrated their ability to use local expertise to tap technical assistance and funding sources. Their participation, and that of other cities and counties that may become associated with this effort, is critical for the continued success of the project.

Local and state governments, organizations, and individuals may receive awards through the Take Pride in America program for accomplishments in promoting the stewardship of natural and cultural resources.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, ORGANIZATIONS, AND INDIVIDUALS

The National Trust for Historic Preservation administers several small grant programs. Critical issues fund grants are matching grants of between $10,000 and $50,000 that are made for historic preservation projects with national implications. Preservation services grants are between $2,000 and $5,000 and are awarded for interpretation, planning, and the development of protection strategies.

APPENDIX B: SUMMARY OF PUBLIC RESPONSES TO THE PRELIMINARY ALTERNATIVES

The second issue of *The Wounded Knee Update / Cankpe Opi Wonahun* was distributed in March 1992, and a total of 809 copies were mailed out to people on the mailing list. The newsletter contained a mailback questionnaire to give people a way to comment about the three alternatives, in addition to sharing their thoughts about how the historic landscape at Wounded Knee should be protected and what message is the most important to tell people. A total of 77 comments were received during the response period, which ended on May 15, 1992. This represents a 9.5% return rate. Of the 77 questionnaires returned, 27 (35%) were postmarked in South Dakota, 18 (24%) in Nebraska, and 19 (25%) in sixteen other states (including Arizona, Massachusetts, Washington, Maine, and Florida); 12 (16%) had no postmark. Based on the zip code of the postmark and/or the contents of a response, 19 replies (25%) were assumed to be from Lakota people. The team also received 123 postcards from members of the Oglala Sioux Tribe who oppose the draft congressional bill introduced on behalf of the survivors. The questionnaire responses are summarized below.

Question 1: How would you like to see the historic landscape at Wounded Knee preserved for future generations?

The responses fell into the following categories, arranged in descending order of frequency:

Category	Number of Ideas Expressed	Percentage
Establish a natural landscape	24	20%
Provide facilities like a visitor center to show respect	23	19%
Restore the site to a historic 1890 landscape (three said to provide tipis, tents, and Hotchkiss guns)	17	14%
Leave the site alone; do nothing in terms of a park/memorial	15	12%
Designate a Big Foot trail	8	6%
Establish an NPS-Lakota "co-partnership" for joint management under all three alternatives (the amount of land and the number of subunits of a park/memorial would become the variables)	8	6%
No response	7	5%
Protect a 360° viewshed	7	5%
Allow access to the core area only with Lakota guides	6	4%
Establish a memorial only on a small parcel of land	2	2%
Establish permanent educational programs and workshops on both reservations as the memorial	2	2%
Have only historical field markers on the site as the memorial	2	2%
Decide what should be done by a referendum of the Cheyenne River and Oglala Sioux tribes	1	1%
Establish walking trails in the historic area among spots where the tragic events happened	1	1%
No comment (so indicated)	1	1%
Total	**124**	**100%**

Some respondents stated more than one idea or opinion, so altogether 124 ideas were expressed. The frequency of responses per category is given as a percentage of this total. One respondent in the leave-the-site-alone category warned, "Tell the visitors to leave our people alone . . . [and you] leave it alone. If you continue, Wounded Knee III will start, just like the [19]73 Wounded Knee takeover."

Question 2: Do you think it is important to protect the lands surrounding the mass grave site so that future uses would not detract from the meaning of the memorial?

Fifty-four respondents (70%) answered yes; 13 (17%) said no; and 10 (13%) did not answer.

Question 3: Do you think any of the alternatives described in this newsletter would preserve Wounded Knee the way you would like to see it done?

Category	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Alternative 1	21	27%
Alternative 3	21	27%
No Response	16	21%
Alternative 2	14	18%
None (so indicated)	5	7%
Total	77	100%

Of the 19 respondents assumed to be Lakota, seven chose alternative 3 (38%); five, alternative 1 (26%); five, alternative 2 (26%); one, the category "none" (5%); and one, no answer (5%).

Question 4: What would you change in alternative 1 to improve it?

Twenty-eight people (36%) made the following suggestions (the suggestions for this alternative, as well as for alternatives 2 and 3 [questions 5 and 6 in the newsletter], are paraphrased and consolidated):

Expand the park area to include Bridger, Cherry Creek, and the Big Foot Trail, as described for the concept of a tribal park (alternative 3). Also, emphasize the historical linkage of Wounded Knee with the Cheyenne River areas of Bridger and Cherry Creek.

Provide for park security and protection with plenty of law enforcement.

Do not reroute Highway 27 because of the people who use it and live along it (three responses). One respondent added that any development around the park should be decided by the Lakota people and not any other entities.

Concentrate on interpretation — telling what really happened at Wounded Knee with all the sad cruelty that the incident brought out. Interpret the site from both Lakota and white peoples' points of view. Produce a living history program about the tragedy.

Restrict any development to areas outside the park boundaries with the possible exception of a visitor center, which could be inside the park but only along the edge of the historic area.

Have a "drive-around" road surrounding the historic area as well as nature trails.

Reduce the amount of land to be operated as a park. Another person said reduce the historic landscape protection area to that of the historic landmark.

Erect a memorial bearing the names of all the victims and survivors with their band affiliation — Minneconjou, Hunkpapa, Oglala, and so forth.

Provide educational grants and scholarships for the young from a trust fund that would ensure that they learned the Lakota culture, history, and language.

Develop a park but have less NPS control and more sharing with the Lakota people in its management.

Have the National Park Service establish a park and run it initially, but gradually (perhaps within five years) turn it over for Lakotas to manage. Two respondents wanted "more Lakota involvement," without specifying how that might be accomplished.

Make sure the advisory commission is equally balanced by different types of representation; no one tribe or group should be able to dominate the commission.

Provide for a rotating chairperson of the advisory commission among all of the participating entities.

Establish a parking lot in addition to the one for a visitor center.

Allow only foot access to the historic area.

Specific comments included the following: "Lakota [persons] should have preference [in hiring,] but [in the spirit of healing] it is not necessary to have a 100% Lakota staff." "Equal opportunity policies [should also prevail] regardless of race . . . and ensure that fully qualified NPS personnel are assigned to key positions." One person said there should be "a formal written and spoken apology for the events that occurred there [at Wounded Knee] by the president [of the United States] and appropriate military personnel . . . [such as] the chairperson of the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

Question 5: What would you change in alternative 2 to improve it?

A total of 25 people (32%) made the following suggestions:

Do not have an entrance fee (nine responses). One of these commented that national monuments should be open and free to all Americans. Another said there should be an entrance fee for all visitors, or else no fee at all. Three said that a minimal fee would be acceptable if necessary, and two others said that only donations should be collected and that schoolchildren and senior citizens on field trips should be admitted with no request for a donation.

Provide adequate funds to manage the historic buffer zone.

Do not reroute Highway 27 because it would disrupt the community (three responses).

Provide for any acquisition of land by the Oglala Sioux Tribe.

Provide for operation of the park by the Oglala Sioux Tribe, with NPS affiliation.

Make all interpretation subject to Lakota approval and editing.

Protect the core historic area as a park but no other, larger area.

Include the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe in the management of the buffer zone for historic preservation.

Examples of specific comments: "Management of the park should be left to the Lakota people, and backed by the NPS." "Why not let the Sioux manage it instead of the National Park Service?" "The National Park Service should help start the memorial and run it until the tribes have people trained in this field [of park operations]." "Prohibit all commercial enterprises."

Question 6: What would you change in alternative 3 to improve it?

Twenty-nine people (38%) made the following suggestions:

Increase the funding base and include definite federal involvement. There should be no 10-year limit on congressional funding under alternative 3 as mentioned in the newsletter. Alternative 3 should be funded by the federal government. (A total of seven respondents commented about this topic.)

Establish a park with NPS assistance and gradually turn it over to the two tribes to operate, beginning with something like alternative 2 and then turning it into the intertribal park of alternative 3 (six responses).

Ensure that the mass grave and other graves at Wounded Knee remain in place and are not disturbed, and that the remains are not taken back to Cheyenne River.

Design development with Lakota themes; any buildings should have Lakota designs.

Provide a museum away from the massacre site to interpret "the lives of the Lakota people" and "the Lakota point of view."

Be careful about trying to change the current Oglala Sioux Tribe's agreement about the south unit of Badlands National Park. Less income to the tribe could be the result if the south unit becomes a unit of a new intertribal park. The south unit of Badlands National Park should not be part of alternative 3 or an intertribal park, said another respondent.

Strengthen tribal leadership on the advisory commission. The tribes should have the majority vote over the National Park Service and the U. S. Forest Service.

Provide training programs for Lakotas in park management, and spell out in alternative 3. One respondent said that strong NPS involvement would be critical to train Lakotas to run the park under alternative 3.

Do not set up a game range. (Alternative 3 suggested a game range on the south unit of Badlands as one means to help finance park operations.)

Make NPS technical assistance available and spell out in alternative 3.

Limit commercialization and commercial services the way the other two alternatives do.

Coordinate interpretation at all park sites. In an intertribal park, it would be important to have cooperation among all interpretive sites. The facilities would need to be comparable to NPS standards.

Eliminate NPS site affiliation because under alternative 3 "it should be a strong Lakota park on its own."

Specific comments included the following: The Wounded Knee site "must be recognized through proper cooperation and funding among the two tribes and the NPS." "Although intriguing, an intertribal park may be very difficult to establish and manage. Intertribal cooperation should be fostered in other ways, such as through a Big Foot trail." However, another person commented, "A joint Oglala/Cheyenne River Tribal Park, as proposed in alternative three, provides the best way of realizing my vision of the Wounded Knee Memorial. . . . This memorial would provide both the silence necessary to hear and the space necessary to come together. . . . The Big Foot National Historic Trail is the strongest aspect of all the proposed alternatives, and I feel has the most potential in fulfilling the goals the memorial represents. . . . This could be best accomplished by having the National Park Service work in partnership with the Lakota people to develop the Memorial, providing training and support in the construction, management, and maintenance of all facilities. . . . The Lakota people must be the ones responsible for the site if it is truly going to represent a new era in the U.S. government's relation to the first peoples."

Question 7: The story of what happened at Wounded Knee would be told from the Lakota point of view. What do you think is the most important message to tell to visitors?

Of the 62 people (80.5%) who responded to this questions, some 132 ideas were expressed:

Category	Number of Ideas Expressed	Percentage
Sequence of events	26	20%
Innocent people suffered	20	15%
Lakota culture is worthy of respect	15	11%
No response	15	11%
Healing by recognizing humanity in common	13	10%
How Lakotas feel today about what happened	13	10%
Tell both sides of the story	12	9%
U.S. Government must recognize the tragedy	10	8%
Lakota culture is in harmony with nature	6	5%
Such a tragedy should never happen again	2	1%
Total	**132**	**100%**

The sequence-of-events category includes stated references to the Ghost Dance and the assassination of Sitting Bull as well as the details of Big Foot's trek and the massacre that followed. One respondent suggested a method to gather information for interpretation, which is to videotape the elders "telling their accounts" and with their permission show certain portions to visitors.

APPENDIX C: ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETIVE CONCEPTS

To understand the story of the massacre of Lakota people at Wounded Knee, the tragic events of December 29, 1890, should be placed in the larger context of the long-term interactions of the Lakota and white societies. The first recorded contact was between the Lewis and Clark expedition and the Teton Sioux in 1804. Relationships between the two peoples were essentially friendly and mutually helpful until the early 1840s, when settlers wagon trains started traveling the transcontinental trails. Even with the wagon trains trespassing on the Lakota's homeland, the relationships remained basically friendly, with only occasional random acts of violence by individuals on both sides until 1854. From 1854 until the massacre of Big Foot's band in 1890 was a period of open hostilities, varying from all out war to periods of uneasy peace.

At the planning meeting in Pierre, South Dakota (September 1991), two basic approaches to interpret the story of the Wounded Knee massacre were discussed:

(1) Tell the story from both the Lakota and the white points of view and let the visitors decide, based on the evidence, where to place the blame.

(2) Tell the story from the Lakota point of view, recognizing that the white view has been widely written about and published for the past 100 years, while the Lakota version is very poorly known.

Four basic interpretive concepts were evaluated:

(1) *A historic site* — Deal with the park as a traditional NPS historic site covering the period of the significant event (i.e., a few days in December 1890). The site would be restored to its appearance on December 29, 1890, and a full range of interpretive media (audiovisual programs, exhibits, waysides, publications, and personal services) would be developed to tell the story.

(2) *A Lakota sacred site* — Create a Lakota sacred site and restore the site to its original natural appearance in honor of Mother Earth. The site would be a contemplative site; the only modern aspects would be the mass grave and the new monument to the Lakota victims. The period interpreted would cover the events of 1889–90, with the emphasis being on the massacre itself. This would involve moving the modern churches and cemeteries from the site. All interpretation would be provided offsite in a visitor center, with only personal services offered by Lakota interpreters on the site itself.

(3) *A bi-cultural site* — Establish a bi-cultural site that would deal with the Wounded Knee massacre as a result of a long period of interaction between the Lakota people and the white culture. This would involve a partial restoration of the site to its 1890 appearance (removal of most modern roads and buildings except for the churches and cemeteries). Agreements would be worked out with the churches to have them remain open during visitor hours as places for meditation. The interpretive story would be based on the theme of "people of the same land." The similarities and differences of the two cultures as they evolved in South Dakota between 1800 and 1890 would be presented.

(4) *A healing site* — Develop a site dedicated to the education of both the Lakota and white societies so they can learn to deal with each other based on the understanding of and acceptance of each other's culture and values. This approach would involve interpreting the history and culture of the Lakota people from their earliest days in South Dakota to the present.

Elements of all these concepts are represented in the alternatives considered in this document.

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