

Chapter Two

TRACES OF DIVERSITY: THE PREHISTORIC RECORD

The prehistoric picture of human occupation in and around the Black Hills only started to come into focus in recent years. Current analyses of available site data suggest that over time multiple groups with contrasting adaptive strategies and different artifact assemblages used this area for varying lengths of time (Chevance 1978; Hovde 1982; Cassells, Miller, and Miller 1984; Tratebas 1986; Sundstrom, L. 1989:66, 73, 100; Hannus 1994). Much of this record has been thoroughly reviewed by Linea Sundstrom in two comprehensive monographs *Culture History of the Black Hills with Reference to Adjacent Areas of the Northern Great Plains* (1989) and *Rock Art of the Southern Black Hills* (1990), and it only needs to be summarized here. Also, Jennifer Galindo (2000a, 2000b, 2001) has conducted surveys and excavations at the park. Since her research is still in progress, it is only mentioned in this discussion. The overview that follows directs attention to the various trails of published evidence that might link the prehistoric occupation of the Black Hills to its historic populations and cultural uses.

I. CULTURAL SEQUENCES

The archeological record of the Black Hills is both incomplete and complex. Much of the survey work and excavation in this region has taken place only within the past thirty years, and many regions, including the area where Wind Cave National Park now sits, have not been thoroughly studied. Nearly fifty different indigenous sites are identified within the park in the South Dakota State Archaeological Society's site index, but only one, the Beaver Creek Rock Shelter, involved extensive below-ground excavation (Alex, L. 1991).¹ Despite important surveys and excavations in the larger region of the southeastern Black Hills and at locations along the South Fork of the Cheyenne River, most of the work remains insufficient to establish a local cultural sequence (Sundstrom, L. 1989:3-12). Moreover, the greater portion of excavations in the region focus on Paleoindian (7000-12000 B.P.) and Archaic (0-7000 B.P.) time periods with comparatively little indepth study of sites and occupancy patterns during more recent Prehistoric and Protohistoric periods. Lacking a local cultural sequence, much of the current reading of site material for the Black Hills is carried on from the perspective of sequences associated with the Northwestern Plains and also the Plains Woodland and Village complexes (Sundstrom L. 1989:11, 1990:64).

A. Paleoindian Times

This period is associated with the hunting of big game, particularly bison. Although Paleoindian remains linked to the Folsom period are located along the southwestern flanks of the Black Hills, it is not until the time of the Plano, roughly 7500 to 10000 B.P., that these sites appear on their southeastern borders (Sundstrom, L.1989:28-39). Projectile points from this time-period, however, are spread throughout the interiors of the Black Hills, especially near springs and meadows (Sundstrom, L. 1990:67). The Plano period is characterized by the hunting of large

¹ This does not include archaeological work now taking place in the park under the direction of Jennifer Galindo (2000a, 2000b, 2001).

game through a wide range of communal techniques, most of which were deployed at locations in the surrounding plains. Toward the end of this period, however, a much more diversified pattern of subsistence emerged. Not only do faunal assemblages contain a more varied selection of game, but there is also increasing evidence of more specialized patterns of adaptation (Sundstrom, L. 1989:82-88). On the one hand, there was the development of a broad-spectrum pattern focused on mountain environments and concentrated at locations inside the Hogback. On the other hand, there was the persistence of more specialized, open-plains bison hunting patterns on the grasslands surrounding the Hills. Groups following the latter pattern apparently used areas inside the Hogback on a seasonal basis (Sundstrom, L. 1990:67-68, 1990:34-40).

B. Archaic Period

The arrival of the Archaic coincides with a major shift in the region's climate towards warmer and more arid episodes, which Linea Sundstrom (1989:40-42, 1990:68) suggests made many areas in the open plains less desirable for human occupation but opened the interior mountain areas to settlement. One of the few Early Archaic sites found in the Black Hills during this period is Beaver Creek Rock Shelter at Wind Cave National Park (Martin, Alex, and Benton 1988; Alex 1991; Frison 2001:135). Although there is little archaeological data to determine the exact nature of procurement strategies during this period, Sundstrom (1989:42-43, 88-89) hypothesizes that a broad-spectrum subsistence pattern was likely followed at locations inside the Hogback.

At the start of the Middle Archaic, 5000 years ago, the northwestern region of the plains was dramatically reinhabited. In fact, the largest concentrations of sites in the Black Hills are reported for this period. This was a time when a clear separation between mountain and plains adapted populations developed in the Black Hills (Tratebas 1986; Sundstrom, L.1989:48-55; 1990:70-71). Inside the Hogback, there were two different patterns of transhumance movement: one involved an extensive summer use of the high elevation interiors with winter settlement in the Hogback, while the other entailed the winter use of the Hogback with a movement to the open plains in the summer months. This period is also associated with diverse artifact assemblages, suggesting that populations with diverse ethnolinguistic origins used the Hills (Sundstrom, L. 1990:90-93).

The dawn of the Late Archaic phase, 3000 years ago, is associated with a time when cultural traditions of the Northwestern Plains and the Plains Woodlands begin to meet and overlap in the vicinity of the Black Hills (Sundstrom, L. 1989:56-63, 1990:70). Three lithic traditions associated with the Northwestern Plains, the Avonlea, Pelican Lake, and the Besant have been discovered at site locations skirting the Hills. There is not enough site excavation to conclusively link any sites inside the Hogback with any of these traditions, even though lithic scatters associated with them are found throughout the Hills. All three traditions were dependent on bison hunting, although the Besant complex appears to be the most specialized of the three (Sundstrom, L. 1990:71).

The picture of the Late Archaic is further complicated by the arrival of influences from complexes originating in areas east of the Black Hills, including a northeastern variant of the Besant tradition with clear Woodland influences (Sundstrom, L. 1989:93-97). In addition, ceramic material and projectile points associated with remains from the valley of the Missouri River start to appear here, but identifiable sites linked to specific Woodland complexes are rare (Sundstrom, L. 1990:72). Sundstrom (1990:72-73) suggests that while the Northwestern Plains pattern continues to persist in the Black Hills during this period, Woodlands elements overlay its manifestations at locations throughout the region.

This period and the earlier Middle Archaic are closely associated with some of the unique rock art styles found in the southern Black Hills (Sundstrom, L. 1990:221). Most of the rock art in the region is located in the canyons of the Hogback, with the greatest concentrations found in Red, Craven, and Whoop-Up canyons. The earliest style of rock art is called "Pecked Realistic," and it is associated with realistic depictions of animals, scenes of hunting with pounds and atlatls or spears as weapons, as well as representations of ritual activity (Sundstrom, L. 1990:228-236). Curiously, most of the animals pictured in this art are cervids and pronghorns, with only a few panels displaying either bison or bighorn. Sundstrom (1990:233-234) suggests that the earliest rock art may have been associated with a specialized form of adaptation largely localized to the southern Hogback and coexisting with other patterns, including the open plains bison-hunting pattern, or it may have represented one kind of procurement practiced by groups with mixed subsistence orientations. Culturally, the closest affinities to the Black Hills' unique pecked realistic rock art style are located at sites in western Wyoming, and in areas with a long history of occupation by Numic-speaking peoples, notably the Comanches and Shoshones (Sundstrom, L. 1990:236).

Two other styles of rock art, the "pecked geometric" and the "pecked abstract," developed in the southern Hills sometime during the Late Archaic. Neither of the styles appears to be connected to the earlier pecked realistic tradition. The newer styles date from approximately A.D. 500 to A. D. 1200. Even more so than the pecked realistic style, the others are unique to the Black Hills area. Some of the motifs and designs, however, parallel rock art styles found in the Great Basin and eastern Colorado. Again, these were areas occupied primarily by Numic-speaking peoples. The similarities, however, are not strong enough to suggest any cultural relationship (Sundstrom, L. 1990:236-239).

C. Prehistoric Phase

The introduction of the bow and arrow, largely associated with the Avonlea complex, took place in the Northwestern Plains between 1600 and 1000 B.P. (Sundstrom, L. 1990:73). Their arrival marks an era of incredible diversification in the lithic traditions and cultural complexes associated with the Black Hills (Sundstrom, L.1989:63-73, 97-100). The area not only witnessed the continuation of the more specialized communal bison-hunting pattern, but it also saw the expansion of a broad spectrum, mixed hunting and foraging pattern in regions south and west of the Hills. Added to these adaptive patterns, various manifestations of semihorticultural complexes associated with the Missouri River valley found expression in the Black Hills and at sites now inundated by the Angostura Reservoir on the South Fork of the Cheyenne River (Sundstrom, L. 1989:66, 67-68).

Unfortunately, only a few sites from the late Prehistoric period have been excavated in the Black Hills, and many of these are located in the southern regions of the Hogback. Much of the archaeological material from southern Hogback sites suggests the emergence of a distinct localized complex, very different in its manifestations from the specialized bison-hunting sites found in the northern Black Hills. Some of it also reveals the utilization of the southern region of the hills by semihorticultural populations from the Missouri River valley (Alex, R. 1981:42-43; Sundstrom, L. 1990:74). In fact, a number of sites give concrete evidence of the seasonal presence of Middle Missouri populations, who came to the Black Hills to procure resources from knappable rock to plants and game (Sundstrom, L. 1989:65, 70, 1990:75-76).

Incised and painted styles of rock art emerge in the late prehistoric era and continue until A.D. 1850. Many of the panels can be easily dated by the presence of horses and equestrian

scenes (Sundstrom, L.1990:239-240; Sundstrom and Keyser 1998). Some of the motifs, including the famous rectangular-bodied and shield-bearing human figures, which are rare in the area, reveal the possible influence of Numic speaking peoples, notably Comanches and Shoshones (Sundstrom, L.1990:266). V-shouldered human figures, which appear at the dawn of the Late Archaic phase, are more common and seem to have had multiple cultural connections (Sundstrom, L. 1990:266-267). Other motifs, such as the knob-head figures, show affiliations with Missouri River village traditions and probably were created after A.D. 1300 (Sundstrom, L. 1990:247). The hoof print and vulva motifs, which are widespread in the area, are strongly associated with Siouan and Algonkian iconographic traditions, although specific tribal affinities have not been determined (Sundstrom, L. 1990:267-268, 2002:109). Sundstrom (1990:270-272) also suggests that a number of panels in the southern Black Hills can be traced to a Southeastern ceremonial tradition linked to the Oneota complex and specifically to Siouan speakers such as the Poncas and Omahas.

Whatever their ethnolinguistic origins, it is clear that the rock art of the southern Black Hills was associated from its very beginnings with religious and ritual traditions. It is worth quoting Linea Sundstrom (1990:337-338) on the matter:

...the canyonlands of the southern Black Hills seem to have had significance beyond food procurement...the key to understanding the distribution of the rock art may lie in the special nature of the Hogback zone itself, as the transition between the interior mountains and the grasslands of the surrounding plains. Passage of water from the higher mountains out onto the plains through the Hogback reinforces this concept of transition. This geographic transition may have been a metaphor for other kinds of transition or passages such as that between the everyday world and the spirit world. From this perspective, use of the Hogback zone in ritual activity is not unexpected.

As revealed in much greater detail in Sections Three and Four, the status of the Hogback as a transition zone was very significant not only to the subsistence practices of local populations but also to their cosmological traditions, which were closely tied to the animals, plants, rocks, and waters of the region. Indeed, the sacred significance of the area of Wind Cave National Park to modern day Lakotas and Cheyennes is a function, in part, of the park's location in a transitional zone that straddles a portion of the Race Track between the Limestone Plateau and the Hogback.

250 B.P. is linked to the time when local tribes began to adopt the use of horses, and it is also the period when archaeological evidence can be combined with tribal oral traditions regarding the movements of populations in and around the Black Hills. Since this is the era when the records of European traders and explorers begin to shed light on the occupation of the region, it is described in the next chapter.

II. HYPOTHESIZED ETHNOLINGUISTIC CONNECTIONS

In the millennium prior to the arrival of Europeans in North America, the archaeological record reveals that ethnically diverse peoples lived in and/or near the Black Hills. Local populations followed at least three distinct adaptive patterns. In reference to the Late Prehistoric period, Sundstrom (1989:73) summarizes these patterns as follows:

The picture suggested by research done in the area to date does not fit easily into any of the cultural sequences proposed for surrounding areas. The bison jumping dominated subsistence pattern of the open high plains, the mixed hunting-and-foraging pattern of the Wyoming

basins, and the semihorti-cultural, semi-sedentary village pattern of the Missouri and Central Plains all may be represented in the Black Hills.

Each of these patterns was also associated with diverse artifact assemblages, suggesting that the area was occupied by a number of different cultural groupings with stylistically distinct tools. While archeologists are generally confident about the general technologies and adaptive strategies of some of the prehistoric populations who occupied the Black Hills, they are much less certain of their ethnic and language affiliations. Nevertheless, some scholars (Schlesier 1987) have started, albeit in a very speculative way, to assign possible ethnic and linguistic affiliations to archaeological sites associated with the Black Hills and surrounding areas. In recent years, there has been no end to the conjecturing over which historic peoples might be linked to the Black Hills' prehistoric record (Hannus 1994:197).

A. Mandan

There is some degree of tentative agreement on the identity of the area's prehistoric populations whose adaptive strategies were built around the practice of horticulture. One possible, although highly speculative, connection involves the Mandan. Mandan oral traditions refer to a time when one of their divisions, the *Awigaxa*, occupied settlements and planted crops at the base of hills west of the Missouri River, a location where they also secured their flint (Bowers 1950: 158-160).² Karl Schlesier (1987:137, 1994:342-344) argues that these hills were the Black Hills and that many late archaic horticultural sites on their eastern slopes, in the neighboring Badlands, and along the Belle Fourche River were inhabited by populations ancestral to the historic Mandan. There are also horticultural sites closer to the area of Wind Cave National Park along the South Fork of the Cheyenne River with storage pits and fortifications (Alex, R. 1981:42-43; Wood 2001:192-193), but whether these sites are Mandan in derivation is open to question. Nevertheless, it is clear that ancestors of the Mandan did occupy sites along the Missouri River from the mouth of the White River to the Little Missouri, circa 950 to 1300 A.D. (Schlesier 1994:342; Wood 2001:192-193). No matter the specific location of their horticultural settlements, it is probable that these village peoples, or others related to them, used the Hills as a procurement area. The remains of their presence are revealed in some of the ceramic material associated with late Prehistoric to Protohistoric hunting sites on the southeastern side of the Hills where Wind Cave National Park is now located (Sundstrom, L. 1989:71).

B. Hidatsa-Crow

Around 1200 A.D., a confederation of groups who spoke closely related languages of the Hidatsa-Crow family migrated to the Missouri River from the prairie and parkland regions of northeastern North Dakota and adjoining areas of Manitoba (Wood and Hansen 1986). These groups also practiced horticulture and lived in semisedentary villages. There is good evidence that one of these groups, the Crow, took up settlements near the Black Hills in protohistoric times. Crow-style ceramics have been found along the Little Missouri River and in the northern reaches of the Black Hills, but not in the central or southern Hills (Sundstrom, L. 1989:65,70-71, 1990:75). There is nothing in the archeological or historical record to suggest, as Peter Rosen (1895:3-15) and James Hanson (1983:16) did, that they ever settled in the southeastern Black Hills in any appreciable numbers, although there is historic evidence that small groups

² The Mandans also had oral traditions about specific locations in the northern Hills, including Spearfish Canyon and Bear Butte (Rosen 1895).

occasionally traveled to the area to camp with the Kiowas and to conduct raids against the Arikaras and later the Cheyennes and Lakotas.

C. Arikara-Pawnee

After 1300 A.D., another group of horticultural villagers entered the region. These were the ancestors of the Arikaras who moved north from Nebraska to establish themselves on the Missouri at locations from the mouth of the White River to the Cheyenne (Schlesier 1994:346-361). Closely related to the Pawnees and Skidi Pawnees, they represent one of the northern Caddoan speaking populations who occupied much of the central Plains after 50 B.C. By the protohistoric period, these populations were traveling to the upper reaches of the Niobrara, White, and Platte rivers to hunt bison, and there is some evidence of their periodic attempts to establish year-round residency at higher elevation locations (Eighmy 1994; Krause 2001:202, 205). There is also a considerable body of ceramic material and circumstantial evidence to support the seasonal presence of Arikaras in the eastern regions of the Black Hills after they broke away from the Pawnees and moved to the Missouri River (Alex, R. 1981:42-43; Sundstrom, L. 1989:72; Schlesier 1994:339-341). By early historic times, there is also good documentation for them reaching this area of the Hills on their summer bison hunts.

D. Ponca-Omaha

One of the other populations who relied on horticulture, the Poncas, moved towards the Hills in the late protohistoric era. Like other semihorticultural populations who arrived in the region before them, they followed a pattern of seasonal movement where locations near the base of the Hills were used as summer/fall bison hunting grounds. The Poncas are reported to have made periodic attempts to plant near the Hills and to establish long-term residency in the region during the protohistoric era (Howard 1965a:130-133). There is also evidence from rock art sites in the southern Black Hills related to Oneota cultural complexes from which the Poncas are descended (Sundstrom, L. 1990:270-272).

E. Apache

The next population for which there is considerable consensus on their presence in the Black Hills are the Apaches. In the protohistoric period, there was a continuous settlement of proto-Apachean peoples, often identified in early historic records as Padoucas and in the archeological record as the Dismal River people. Their settlements ranged from western Kansas north to the eastern slopes of the Black Hills. Some of their populations were specialized bison hunters, but many appear to have followed broader spectrum foraging strategies and even casual forms of horticulture (Wedel 1959:69-75, Gunnerson 1960, 2001:239-244). Archaeologically, the progenitors of these people are linked to the Avonlea cultural tradition, which had a wide distribution in the prehistoric Plains with sites reported from Saskatchewan to Colorado. One of the major proponents of the Avonlea-Apache (Athapaskan) connection is J. Loring Haskell (1987). Avonlea sites are associated with the use of the bow and arrow, ritualized bison drives, and a heavy exploitation of plant resources (Sundstrom, L. 1989:63-64), and they appear from 100 to 1200 A. D. with many found in regions surrounding the Black Hills (Hannus 1994:188-190). More recently, Karl Schlesier (1994:324-335) has expanded upon Haskell's theory and argued that most of the protohistoric hunting sites on the eastern edge of the Black Hills are associated with Apachean occupation.

At sites now buried by the Angostura Reservoir, and attributed to the Dismal River people, stone tools were found quarried from material originating at Battle Mountain and other locations inside the southeastern region of the Hogback (Sundstrom, L. 1990:59-60; Wedel and Frison 2001:44-45, 49). Clearly by the time the historic record begins for this area, Apachean peoples were the ones most often located in areas of the Black Hills adjoining Wind Cave National Park.

F. Comanche, Shoshone, and Ute

Another population with hypothetical links to the Black Hills are members of the Numic language family. Adrian Hannus (1994:195) has long argued for their presence in the area from 400 to 1700 A.D.. Although no one has refuted Hannus, there are no major archaeological complexes that can be indisputably linked to their presence. There are a number of rock art panels in the southern Hills, however, that show figures bearing a remarkable resemblance to styles found in well-established areas of Numic occupation. Given their well-known history of transhumance movement and their long-standing association with broad-spectrum hunting and plant economies, Numic speakers make good candidates for some of the localized interior populations that Sundstrom (1989:66-68, 99-100, 107) describes for later phases of the Archaic. The historic Shoshones, for example, had a well-established tradition of transhumance adaptations that mirror those described for the Black Hills. In Wyoming and Idaho, they were divided into two major population groups known as the *Kutsundika* (Buffalo Eaters) and the *Tukadika* (Meat [Bighorn Sheep] Eaters) or *Toyahini* (Mountain Dwellers). The latter, specialized hunters of bighorn, lived much of the year in the high elevation recesses of the Sawtooth, Wind River, Gallatin, and Absaroke mountains (Shimkin 1986:308-335; Hannus 1994:195). Some of the mountain-adapted groups may very well have occupied higher elevation locations farther east in the Big Horns, Laramie Mountains, and the Black Hills from the late Archaic to the early Protohistoric period, but this is a subject of some debate (Hughes, S. 2000). Certainly by 1700 the people known as Comanche, an offshoot of the Shoshone, were well established in the region of the Black Hills, being identified with the Apachean Padouca and taking over much of their territory in the eighteenth century.

G. Kiowa

Karl Schlesier (1994:309-316) attributes another widely distributed archeological complex in the region, Pelican Lake, to Tanoan speaking populations, which include the Kiowas. Sites from this complex, which occur from 1500 B.C. to 300 A.D., are located in areas to the north and west of the Hills (Hannus 1994:182). Like Avonlea, Pelican Lake sites cover a large swath of territory that extends from the plateau of British Columbia in the north to the high plains of Colorado in the south. Pelican Lake sites are associated with populations who relied heavily on bison hunting (Sundstrom, L. 1989:59-60). Given the possible connection of Tanoan to the isolate language Kutenai, spoken by people of western Montana and neighboring British Columbia, and given Kiowa oral traditions of their origins in the Montana Rockies, Schlesier has connected the two with the distribution of Pelican Lake sites, which in British Columbia are clearly attributed to the Kutenai. The time depth of Schlesier's associations, however, make them highly speculative.

H. Arapaho, Cheyenne, Sutaio, and Lakota

Equally controversial are the ethnic affiliations of the archeological sites known as Besant, which were coterminous in the late Prehistoric period with Pelican Lake and Avonlea traditions. The Besant tradition existed in the Plains from 500 B.C. to 800 A.D., and its sites are also

associated with specialized bison-hunting populations. They are common in areas surrounding the Hills, but less frequent than those of Pelican Lake (Sundstrom, L. 1989:61-63; Hannus 1994:184). Besant-style points frequently appear in surface collections from the Black Hills, but their stylistic features are highly variable, complicating questions of their ethnic origins (Hannus 1994:187). Karl Schlesier (1994:316-323) is the proponent of a theory that affiliates the Besant tradition with Algonkian speakers, more specifically with proto-Cheyenne populations. Briefly, his very complex and highly tenuous argument is that ancestors of the Cheyenne were in the Black Hills region in the Late Archaic period but retreated to the Woodland margins of the prairies where they remained until the Protohistoric period before beginning their return migrations to the Plains. Because Besant sites are so variable in the nature of their Woodlands influences, some archeologists have suggested connections to Siouan-speaking populations from regions east of the Missouri, pushing back in time the possible entry of proto-Lakota peoples in the high plains areas of South Dakota (Bad Horse 1979; Michlovic 1985; Sundstrom, L. 1989:75; Gibbon 2003:41-42). Some of the most compelling evidence for a much earlier occupation of the Hills by Cheyenne and Lakota populations comes from rock art styles in the southern Black Hills, but most of these probably do not date before the protohistoric period (Sundstrom, L. 1990:167-268; Sundstrom and Keyser 1998).

Notwithstanding numerous hypotheses on the subject, it is nearly impossible to determine whether a given archeological assemblage is associated with any one ethnolinguistic group or whether it contains cultural features widely adapted and shared by people of different backgrounds. Except in instances where sites are associated with deep and uninterrupted chronologies that can be traced to the historic era, often the case for horticultural groups with some degree of sedentism, attempts to trace tribal identities become very speculative as one moves back in time beyond the Protohistoric to the Late Archaic period (Hannus 1994:197).

In concluding her monograph on the prehistory of the Black Hills, Linea Sundstrom (1989:108) writes:

Few threads of continuity run throughout Black Hills prehistory. Instead, adaptations and patterns of interaction fluctuated according to a number of ecological and cultural factors. At times, the Black Hills area was part of the mainstream Northwestern Plains cultural developments; at other times, fairly isolated, localized cultures developed, only indirectly influenced by outside cultures. Ethnic and economic diversity also changed over time. If any single conclusion emerges from this discussion of Black Hills prehistory, it is that the way people perceived the area changed as the resources and related technologies fluctuated.

This nicely summarizes what we know about the Black Hills in prehistoric times; that it was a region of immense diversity both in terms of the kinds of adaptive patterns local groups followed and the cultures whose artifacts are now found across the Hills' environmentally varied landscapes.

III. WIND CAVE IN LIGHT OF BLACK HILLS PREHISTORY

Except for the remains of sweat lodges [CU0900] built by members of the American Indian Movement three decades ago and a few farmsteads [CU0822, CU0900, CU1284] attributed to late nineteenth century European American settlers, none of the sites in and around Wind Cave National Park area have been definitively affiliated with any historic tribal group. Most of them, including the Beaver Creek Rock Shelter (Martin, Alex, and Benton 1988; Alex 1991), are too old to make any conclusive ethnic identification. Since most of the recorded sites have not been

studied in any depth, much less dated, they have not been linked to any local or regional cultural sequence either.

What little information can be gathered from the site records held by the South Dakota State Archaeological Center permits only the most general observations, one of which is this was an area of human habitation. In and around park properties, sites recorded at Wind Cave Canyon [CU0821],³ Gobbler Knob [CU0868], and the 7-11 Ranch [CU0004] hold the remains of human occupation. One of the earliest recorded sites [CU0002], the Sanson Buffalo Jump, indicates the presence of a bison pound and a settlement. Several sites in the area [CU0869, CU0870, CU0871, CU0872, CU0873, CU0876, CU1234, CU1235, CU1236, CU1285] reveal the quarrying of chalcedony, rose quartz, or other knappable material used in tool-making. The last three are on park properties. Many more sites [CU0353, CU0358, CU0781, CU0900, CU0912, CU0918, CU0919, CU0920, CU0921, CU1234, CU1237, CU1286, CU1287, CU1288], consisting predominately of artifact scatters, suggest various kinds of hunting activity at diverse locations throughout the park and adjacent lands. There is also one stone alignment dating from the historic period (CU1287). The archeological record clearly reveals that the area in and around Wind Cave National Park was a location for settlement, hunting, and the acquisition of tool-making materials. Beyond this, we can conclude very little other than to say that cultural complexes and adaptive patterns hypothesized for the southeastern region of the Hills as a whole probably hold currency here as well.

In Fall River County, south of Wind Cave National Park, there is considerable evidence that this region was densely inhabited throughout much of the prehistory of the Black Hills (Chevance 1978:28-33). Some of the evidence of habitation inside the Hogback suggests year-round occupancy, but much more of it reveals a regular and recurring pattern of seasonal use. From available archeological research, we can infer fairly confidently that, during the Archaic period, populations with two separate adaptive strategies wintered at locations along the Red Valley: one focused on the summer use of the high elevation interiors and the other the open plains. By the late Prehistoric period, much of the occupation in the high elevation interiors appears to have been more temporary and seasonally based. In addition to the remains of a highly localized cultural complex associated with many settlement sites inside the southeastern stretch of the Hogback, there is evidence that populations who lived most of the year outside the Hills, even at locations as far away as the valley of the Missouri River, visited the area to procure game, plant, and knappable resources.

From the late Prehistoric through the Protohistoric era, we can safely conclude that peoples ancestral to the Plains Apaches were the principal inhabitants of the southern regions of the Hills, and we can also suggest, less confidently, that Numic and Tanoan speaking populations may have resided in the region at this time too. In addition, we can deduce that various semihorticultural populations ancestral to the Mandans, Arikaras, and Poncas made regular forays into the area in conjunction with their summer buffalo hunts, and some probably attempted, as the Cheyennes certainly did in protohistoric times, to establish horticultural sites along major waterways at the base of the Hills. We can even hypothesize, based on studies of the region's rock art that people ancestral to the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and the Lakotas may have been in this region at dates earlier than the historic record would suggest. Finally, we can surmise that other populations, including those ancestral to the Pawnees and the Crow-Hidatsas, traveled in this area too, but there is no evidence of any extended presence or use.

³ Rufus Pilcher (1964), one of the park's early superintendents, recalled that there were many tipi rings and other evidence of occupation at the mouth of the cave before the area was developed to make room for an elevator and a new visitor's center.